

# Adjectives relate individuals to states: Evidence from the two readings of English Determiner + Adjective

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**Abstract** As an argument in favor of the (minority) view that adjectives involve a neo-Davidsonian state argument, I argue that it grounds an analysis of the English Determiner + Adjective construction (*the old*). On its ‘individuated’ reading (*the old are generally happier*), this construction seems to refer to *old individuals*; on its ‘mass’ reading (*the old is never ordinary*), to something like *oldness*. Empirically, this paper uses naturally-occurring data to show that both readings are more productive than sometimes suggested. Theoretically, the two readings are parsimoniously derived by existentially closing off one or the other of the two arguments (the individual argument  $x$ , the state argument  $s$ ) made available by the state analysis –  $\lambda x \lambda s [old(s) \wedge holder(x, s)]$  – deriving a predicate of individuals for the individuated reading, and a predicate of states for the mass reading. This account of Determiner + Adjective further reflects the philosophical idea that properties can be construed as predicates of individuals or as the abstract thing that those individuals share; and connects to other ways of nominalizing both verb phrases and adjectives.

**Keywords:** lexical semantics, event semantics, states, adjectives, degrees, nominalization, kinds, properties, corpus data

## 1 Introduction

While it is very common for verb phrases to be analyzed to relate individuals to events (1) (Davidson 1967; Castañeda 1967; Higginbotham 1985; Parsons 1990; Kratzer 1996), the parallel ‘neo-Davidsonian’ analysis of ad-

jectives – taking them to relate individuals to states (2) – remains a minority position (advocated by Higginbotham 1985; Parsons 1990; Rothstein 1999; Landman 2000; Mittwoch 2005; Fulst 2006; Husband 2010; Wellwood 2014; 2015; Anderson & Morzycki 2015; Baglini 2015: but still outnumbered in the huge literature on adjective meaning).

(1) **Event analysis of verbs**

Alex ran =  $\exists e[\text{run}(e) \wedge \text{agent}(\text{Alex}, e)]$

‘There is a *run* event carried out by Alex’

(2) **State analysis of adjectives**

Alex is old =  $\exists s[\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(\text{Alex}, s)]$

‘There is an *old* state held by Alex’

After introducing the debate about adjective meaning (§2), this paper offers an argument in favor of the state analysis: that it illuminates the two readings of a relatively obscure English construction, with better-studied analogues in other Indo-European languages, in which an adjective combines with a determiner to serve as a Determiner Phrase (3) (Quirk et al. 1972; Pullum 1975; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Günther 2017).<sup>1</sup>

Without a noun, which usually fixes the referent of a DP, this construction has two readings, each with distinct grammatical behavior. In what I call the *individuated* reading (3a), *the old* seems to refer to old individuals (presumably people), and acts as a plural count noun (Quirk et al. 1972), triggering plural verb agreement. In what I call the *mass* reading (3b), it seems to refer to something like *oldness* as an abstract concept, and acts as a mass noun (Quirk et al. 1972), with singular agreement. Throughout this paper, the superscript <sup>web</sup> indicates that the example was found in naturalistic web data, for which the Appendix provides the context and URL.

- (3) a. **Individuated:** The old are generally happier than the young.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** The old is never ordinary.<sup>web</sup>

The empirical goal of the paper is to show, contrary to some claims in the literature, that this construction is quite productive on both readings (§3; Bauer et al. 2013; Günther 2017). The theoretical goal is not only to capture the correct semantics for each reading, but also to illuminate *why*

<sup>1</sup> Outside English, see e.g. Kester (1996); McNally & de Swart (2011; 2015) on an analogous construction in Dutch; Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999) on Greek and English; Goes (2007) and Lauwers (2008) on French; Villalba (2009; 2013) on Spanish; Sleeman (2013) on Dutch and Greek; McNally et al. (2017) on Dutch, English, French, and Slovak; and Richtarcikova (2017) on Slovak.

these two readings are the ones that are found. More broadly, the analysis of Determiner + Adjective is argued to support the claim that adjectives involve a neo-Davidsonian state argument.

Using the state analysis (2), *old* relates an individual  $x$  to a state of oldness  $s$ . To derive the two readings of Determiner + Adjective, §4 proposes (building on Richtarcikova 2017, who in turn builds on a much earlier version of this work, Glass 2014) that either of these two arguments may be existentially closed off. When the state argument is closed off, we get a predicate of *old* individuals (4a): deriving the individuated reading. When the individual argument is closed off, we get a predicate of *old* states (4b): deriving the mass reading.

- (4)    a.    **Predicate of individuals (individuated reading):**  
                $\lambda x \exists s [old(s) \wedge holder(x, s)]$   
               ‘individuals who hold some state of being old’  
       b.    **Predicate of states (mass reading):**  
                $\lambda s \exists x [old(s) \wedge holder(x, s)]$   
               ‘states of being old held by some individual’

§5 relates the proposed analysis of Determiner + Adjective (and the state analysis of adjectives underlying it) to the longstanding philosophical idea that properties can be conceptualized both as predicates of individuals, and as the abstract quality shared by the individuals of whom they are true. §6 connects Determiner + Adjective to other ways of nominalizing both verb phrases and adjectives.

As for alternative ways of analyzing these data, §7.1 discusses approaches to this construction in the literature, and §7.2 explores how the data could be handled on a state-less analysis. Some of these alternatives also capture the facts, but I advocate the current analysis as a way of connecting Determiner + Adjective to independently motivated ideas. §8 concludes.

## 2 Do adjectives have a state argument?

As previewed in §1, this paper weighs in on the debate about whether or not adjectives should be analyzed in terms of a neo-Davidsonian state argument.

### 2.1 The state analysis

The state analysis expands to adjectives the idea of event semantics originally designed for verb phrases. Without event semantics, an intransitive

verb such as *run* is simply a predicate of individuals, yielding *true* of every individual who runs. In the event semantics of Davidson (1967), a verb such as *run* also includes an argument for an *event*, so that *Alex ran* is true if there is an event of running by Alex. Davidson uses events to account for entailment relations among sentences with adverbial modifiers (*Alex ran yesterday* entails *Alex ran*), and to explain anaphoric reference to events (*it was her first run in awhile*).

Building on this ‘Davidsonian’ analysis, the ‘neo-Davidsonian’ approach of Castañeda (1967); Higginbotham (1985); Parsons (1990); and Landman (2000) uses thematic roles – labels for the roles played by participants in an event (Gruber 1965; Dowty 1991) – to link the individual arguments of the verb to its event argument: *Alex ran* is true if there is an event of running whose *agent* is Alex. (It is assumed that the subject of a verb like *run* saturates its agent argument, while its event argument is bound existentially – see Champollion 2015 for discussion.) In some theories of the syntax-semantics interface (Kratzer 1996 and work inspired by it), these thematic roles are treated as separate syntactic heads; but for simplicity (like, e.g., Anderson & Morzycki 2015), I do not adopt that assumption here.

The original Davidsonian analysis did not include adjectives. Since then, researchers (in the tradition of Higginbotham 1985 and Parsons 1990) have proposed to handle adjectives, like VPs, as predicates of eventualities. This move is motivated theoretically by analogy to VPs, and empirically by similar data to that which originally motivated event arguments: entailment relations among sentences with adverbial modifiers (*Alex was happy yesterday* entails *Alex was happy*), and anaphoric reference (*it didn’t last long*).

On such a view ((5), repeated from above), an adjective like *old* relates an individual to an *old* state held by that individual, just as a verb like *run* relates an individual to a *run* event carried out by that individual:

$$(5) \quad \text{Alex is old} = \exists s[\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(\text{Alex}, s)] \quad = (2) \\ \text{‘There is an old state held by Alex’}$$

In (5),  $x$  is an argument in the domain of individuals, while  $s$  is an argument in the domain of states (taken to be a subtype of eventualities; Bach 1986). *Old*( $s$ ) says that  $s$  is state of being old; *holder*( $x, s$ ) indicates that the ‘old’ state  $s$  is manifested in – ‘held by’ – the individual  $x$ .

The state analysis is built on the idea that eventualities – events and states (Bach 1986) – are ontologically ‘reified’ as primitive semantic objects (Parsons 1990; Piñon 1995). As eventualities, states as well as events occupy time and space (Piñon 1995), and can instantiate ‘manners’ (Landman

& Morzycki 2003; Anderson & Morzycki 2015: *dance beautifully; beautifully old*).

The state analysis is used in various ways to unify adjectives with other phenomena: to connect adjectives to verb phrases (treating both as predicates of eventualities; Parsons 1990; Landman 2000); to handle adjectival analogues of the data which motivated the neo-Davidsonian analysis of verb phrases (Parsons 1990; Piñon 1995); to explain why adjectives can be modified by what appear to be predicates of eventualities (*strangely old, suddenly old*; (Mittwoch 2005; Fulst 2006; Anderson & Morzycki 2015; Wellwood 2015); to create a theory of comparison that works for verb phrases (*ran more*) and noun phrases (*more coffee*) as well as adjectives (*older*) (Wellwood 2014; 2015); to build a theory of aspect that uses states as a primitive building block (Dowty 1979; Rothstein 1999; 2004; 2012); and to unify adjectives with words from other lexical categories expressing adjective-like meanings across languages (Baglini 2015; Baglini & Kennedy to appear), on the assumption that these are all built on states.

In the philosophical tradition, Moltmann (2004; 2009) argues that adjectives relate individuals to *tropes*, which are particularized instantiations of properties. Abstracting away from subtle ontological differences, Moltmann's trope analysis can essentially be seen as a variant of the state analysis (Baglini 2015; Anderson & Morzycki 2015).

The state analysis faces some criticism: for example, Katz (2000; 2008) claims that states are not needed because there are no adverbs that modify them specifically; Maienborn (2007) argues that some (mostly verbal) purportedly stative predicates such as *resemble Mary* should not be analyzed as such because she claims that they are not perceptible or located in space/time (Alexiadou 2011 makes similar claims). These arguments are challenged by Mittwoch (2005) and Ernst (2016). The biggest challenge for the state analysis, however, is not just counterarguments, but the fact that many authors do not discuss it.<sup>2</sup> It is discussed in the literature on event semantics; but within the literature on gradable adjectives, it remains a minority position.

## 2.2 The state-less analysis

The alternative is that adjectives do not have an eventuality argument. As one widespread implementation of this idea, adjectives can be analyzed sim-

<sup>2</sup> For example, the state analysis is not mentioned in several recent review articles and dissertations on adjective meaning, such as Demote (2011); Kennedy (2012); and Bochnak (2013).

ply as functions from individuals to degrees: *old*(*x*) yields *x*'s age (Bartsch & Vennemann 1972; Cresswell 1976; von Stechow 1984; Kennedy 1999). When *old* is used as a predicate in its basic, 'positive' form (as opposed to as a comparative or superlative), it is adjusted from a measure function to something that can be true or false of an individual (using an operator known as POS; von Stechow 1984; Kennedy 1999). Ultimately (6) is true if Alex's maximal degree of oldness (age) exceeds some contextual standard  $\theta$  for what counts as *old* in the context.

- (6) Alex is POS(*old*) =  $old(Alex) \geq \theta_{old}$   
 'Alex's degree of oldness exceeds the contextual standard for what counts as *old*'

Reflecting the intuition that gradable adjectives describe scalar properties that are not just true or false of an individual, but hold to varying extents, this analysis invokes degrees (points or intervals partially ordered along some dimension, such as age for *old*) and scales (a set of ordered points along a dimension; Bartsch & Vennemann 1972; Kennedy & McNally 2005). As abstract measurements, degrees and scales do not occupy time or space (Moltmann 2009). Degrees are predicted to be modified by scalar modifiers such as *very*, but not by manner modifiers such as *beautifully*, which are taken to modify eventualities. (For Anderson & Morzycki 2015; Wellwood 2015, the fact that these modifiers do appear with adjectives constitutes evidence that adjectives are built on states rather than degrees).

Degrees in themselves are broadly consistent with the state analysis, in that degrees can be built on top of states (Moltmann 2004; Fults 2006; Moltmann 2009; Wellwood 2014; 2015; Anderson & Morzycki 2015; Baglini 2015; Baglini & Kennedy to appear). The high-level idea is that states can be grouped into *equivalence classes* (Cresswell 1976; Bale 2008; Lassiter 2011): groups of individuals or states which are the same with respect to some measure. We can make an equivalence class of individuals who are equally *old*, or of *old* states which are equal in oldness (age); and order these equivalence classes with respect to one another. These orderings are then mapped to degrees. Since states can be enriched with degrees, we do not face a choice between one of these analyses or the other, but between both together or one of them alone: between the state analysis enriched with degrees vs. the degree analysis on its own (6) – in other words, the choice of whether adjectives have a state argument or not.



As an empirical argument in that debate, I propose that the state analysis grounds a parsimonious account of Determiner + Adjective.

### 3 Data

As previewed (§1), this paper explores what I call the ‘individuated’ and ‘mass’ readings of Determiner + Adjective:

- (7) a. **Individuated:** The old are generally happier than the young.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** The old is never ordinary.<sup>web</sup>

In English, Determiner + Adjective is said to be rather restricted. On both readings, it is widely thought to appear only with the determiner *the* (Kester 1996; Chierchia 1998; Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Bauer et al. 2013; Lieber 2016). On its individuated reading, better studied than the mass reading, it is said to denote only humans (Quirk et al. 1972; Pullum 1975; Chierchia 1998; Sleeman 2013), and only as a kind in the sense of Carlson 1977 (Kester 1996; Chierchia 1998; Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999; Huddleston & Pullum 2002) – a generalization across instances of a recognized type, such as *lions*. Determiner + Adjective is sometimes said to not be fully productive across adjectives – which may be linked kind reference, on the assumption that not all adjectives can be mapped to kinds (Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999). It is also said to disallow certain modifiers, which Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999) say is because a modified adjective may not correspond to an established kind.

These restrictions are called into question by the naturalistic data (culled from web searches) presented here. Converging with other corpus studies (Bauer et al. 2013; Günther 2017), these data show that the construction is more productive and flexible than previously suggested, and depict Determiner + Adjective in its full diversity – the first step for analyzing it correctly.

#### 3.1 Distinguishing Determiner + Adjective from ellipsis

In the literature, Determiner + Adjective is distinguished from ellipsis within a DP, as in (8) (Quirk et al. 1972; Kester 1996; Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999; Lauwers 2008; McNally & de Swart 2015; Richtarcikova 2017).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> But see Günther (2017) (reviewed in §7.1) for an analysis which instead attempts to unify Determiner + Adjective with DP-internal ellipsis.

- (8) I hope, however, that attention will also be paid to the less pyrotechnic numbers: the Madison in ‘Hairspray’; the country line dance in ‘Footloose,’ both the old one and the new.<sup>web</sup>

In (8), as in Determiner + Adjective, we observe a determiner and an adjective behaving like a DP (*the new*). But the ellipsis cases require an antecedent (often a contrastive one), and vary in reference depending on what this antecedent is (Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999), while Determiner + Adjective cases do not. In (8), *the old one* and *the new* refer to (the 1984 and 2011) versions of the film *Footloose* – a highly idiosyncratic referent determined by the linguistic context, which could be picked up by the anaphoric pronoun *one*. In contrast, the two readings of Determiner + Adjective are stable in their reference (to individuals of whom the adjective is true; to something like the adjective suffixed by *-ness*) across contexts, and generally have no prior discourse referent to antecede *one* or *ones*.

Although the distinction between DP-internal ellipsis and Determiner + Adjective may be clear in theory, it can be difficult in practice to diagnose a given example as one or the other. In (9), *the nonreligious* might be analyzed as ellipsis anteceded by *people*, or as an instance of Determiner + Adjective on its individuated reading.

- (9) There is, for example, convincing evidence that religious people are happier than the nonreligious.<sup>web</sup>

I follow the literature in assuming that DP-internal ellipsis and Determiner + Adjective are distinct phenomena. Similar to Richtarcikova (2017): 47, I distinguish unambiguous examples of Determiner + Adjective by checking the surrounding context of textual examples (provided in the Appendix) to exclude cases where there is a clear elliptical antecedent – such as (9), where *the nonreligious* could be anteceded by *people*.

### 3.2 Interpreting attested but perhaps ‘marked’ data

In English, Determiner + Adjective is admittedly marked. Although all the examples reported here are taken from vetted attested data, some may be introspectively judged as marginal, ‘metalinguistic’, or erroneous. Such judgments may also vary with individual speakers, adjectives, or usages in ways to be explored. Determiner + Adjective could often be more naturally replaced by a paraphrase: for the individuated reading, something like *old people* or *those who are old*; for the mass reading, *oldness* (§6.2), *old stuff*, or *that which is old*. A speaker’s choice to use Determiner + Adjective over



these alternatives seems to trigger some subtle, variable shades of connotation – but here, I leave those aside in order to focus on the core semantics of this construction.

Although certainly marked, Determiner + Adjective is robust. It appears in highly copy-edited sources such as *The New Yorker* and *The New York Times* (unlikely to contain typos); in colloquial texts such as personal blogs; and everywhere in between. Other authors also consistently find it in corpora and claim that it is productive:

- Quirk et al. (1972), discussing adjectives as heads of noun phrases, distinguish three types (all of them separated from DP-internal ellipsis; §3.1): (a) personal adjectives which act as plurals (the individuated reading, in my terms: *the poor*); (b) nationality/ethnic adjectives (*the Swiss*, which can be modified by adjectives but not adverbs); and (c) those with abstract reference (the mass reading, in my terms; *he admires the mystical*).
- Bauer et al. (2013): 549, who use corpus data, distinguish between cases where the adjective is understood as plural (the individuated reading: *the marina where the rich and famous moor their luxury yachts*) vs. as singular (the mass reading: *the outrageous is expected*). They claim that ‘the productivity of [Determiner + Adjective] is not usually fully recognized. Any pragmatically appropriate adjective may be used in this way’ (p. 549). They add that its productivity ‘is masked by the fact that tokens of the relevant construction types are rare, and where they do occur are often not in a syntactic context where number is apparent’.
- Günther (2017) distinguishes between the ‘Human’ (individuated, plural) and ‘Abstract’ (mass, singular) readings of Determiner + Adjective, drawing on data from the British National Corpus, specifically identifying ‘hitherto unaccounted-for aspects such as the range of adjectives permitted’. She also acknowledges that at least the human/individuated reading occurs with a variety of determiners, and that it does not always behave generically or as a kind (§3.4).

These references show that this construction on both its readings has long been recognized in English.

For every example taken from web data in this paper (indicated by the superscript <sup>web</sup>), the Appendix gives its source; date; author (if available); and the sentences that precede and follow it in context. This information not only helps to disambiguate each example from DP-internal ellipsis (§3.1),

but also shows that it is produced by a proficient English user, and illuminates its intended meaning in context.

In sum, while acknowledging that it may sound marked and that different speakers may be more or less disposed to use it, I take Determiner + Adjective on both its readings to be robustly part of the structure of English. No matter how infrequent or marked it may be, it clearly exists, is used, and is interpreted, which is what this paper aims to explain.

### 3.3 Determiners and agreement

Both readings of Determiner + Adjective are prototypically associated with the determiner *the*. But, contrary to what is sometimes suggested, both readings are productive with other determiners as well: possessives, demonstratives, and various quantifiers. The quantifier data reinforce what we see in verb agreement: the individuated reading behaves like a plural count noun, appearing with count quantifiers such as *many* (which work with count nouns such as *lions*, but not mass nouns such as *rice*: *many lions*/?*many rice*) and triggering plural verb agreement; while the mass reading behaves like a mass noun, appearing with mass quantifiers such as *much* (*much rice*/?*much lions*) and triggering singular verb agreement.

- (10) a. **Individuated:** America's rich are really, really rich.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** These rich live in apartment houses, not limestone mansions that stretch a block.<sup>web</sup>  
 (on 'New York rich' versus other rich)  
 c. **Individuated:** Some fired say they are so relieved to be jobless just so they can be done with that school.<sup>web</sup>  
 d. **Individuated:** Many educated are far from role models.<sup>web</sup>  
 e. **Individuated:** Too many homeless are warehoused for a night and then tossed out in the morning.<sup>web</sup>
- (11) a. **Mass:** Facing your ugly is difficult. You have to remind yourself of times that are embarrassing, petty, painful, and stressful.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** All of this pretty is worth over \$2,000.<sup>web</sup>  
 (raffling off a collection of goods)  
 c. **Mass:** Want to add some cute to your workout routine?<sup>web</sup>  
 d. **Mass:** Trendy is good, too much trendy is not.<sup>web</sup>  
 e. **Mass:** There was not enough cute to counteract the dull and stupid here.<sup>web</sup>

Not surprisingly, anaphoric pronouns reflect the same facts about number: the individuated reading acts like a plural count noun (antecedent *they*), and the mass reading acts like a mass noun (antecedent *it*).

- (12) a. **Individuated:** The rich are cocky, arrogant people who think they're better than everyone else.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** The crazy [in that academic repository] is easily detected and easily ignored. It doesn't taint the quality of everything else there.<sup>web</sup>

In addition to all of the diverse determiners available to Determiner + Adjective, we even find examples of both its readings with no determiner at all. These seem to be even more unusual (less common, more marked) than versions with a determiner, although I leave quantitative investigations to future work.

- (13) a. **Individuated:** The liberal press recites their favorite politico's mantra that businesspersons and wealthy are more than willing to be subjected to disproportionate taxes.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** Rich and poor, educated and uneducated are affected.<sup>web</sup>  
 (on the Haiti earthquake)  
 c. **Mass:** New is exciting.<sup>web</sup>  
 d. **Mass:** Simple and sleek is beautiful, but if your business card is plain white with an ordinary black font, you're taking simplicity too far.<sup>web</sup>  
 e. **Mass:** The Japanese are born into cute and raised with cute. They grow up to save money with cute (Miffy the bunny on Asahi Bank ATM cards), to pray with cute (Hello Kitty charm bags at Shinto shrines), to have sex with cute (prophylactics decorated with Monkichi the monkey [...]).<sup>web</sup>

### 3.4 Does Determiner + Adjective have to refer to a kind?

It is also claimed (Kester 1996; Chierchia 1998; Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999) that the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective must refer to a kind in the sense of Carlson 1977: *the rich* is said to describe *rich people in general*.

In fact, it is surprising that *the rich* can refer to a kind at all. English definite plurals do not usually refer to kinds (Carlson 1977; Krifka et al.

1995; Chierchia 1998); the definite plural (14) most naturally refers to particular, salient lions. To refer to lions in general, it is more common to use bare plurals (15), and to some extent singular definites and singular indefinites (16)–(17).

- (14) **Definite plural:** The lions nap for most of the day.
  - a. ?? lions in general
  - b. ✓ some particular lions
- (15) **Bare plural:** Lions nap for most of the day.
  - a. ✓ lions in general
  - b. ?? some particular lions
- (16) **Definite singular:** The lion naps for most of the day.
  - a. ✓ lions in general
  - b. ✓ a particular lion
- (17) **Indefinite singular:** A lion naps for most of the day.
  - a. ✓ lions in general
  - b. ✓ a particular lion

The literature on genericity (e.g., Krifka et al. 1995, Carlson 2011, Mueller-Reichau 2011) distinguishes between noun phrases that denote kinds (*lions*) and ‘characterizing’ sentences that generalize across situations or members of a category (*I don’t smoke; these students are motivated*). These two phenomena often co-occur – *lions nap* (15) both refers to lions in general and characterizes their habits – but they come apart. *I don’t smoke* characterizes my general habits, but involves no kind-referring noun phrase; *the rat reached Australia in 1770* (Krifka et al. 1995; Doron 2003) refers to a kind, but describes a specific episode.

When a sentence states a generalization, it may involve a kind-denoting noun phrase, a ‘characterizing’ predicate, or both. How to tell if the subject noun phrase is kind-denoting? A noun phrase unequivocally denotes a kind if it combines with a predicate that applies specifically to kinds: *extinct, widespread, scarce, rare; invented (by X, in year X); come in several sizes/types*. A noun phrase does *not* denote a kind if it describes particular individuals: if it does *not* combine with kind-only predicates (*extinct, scarce*, and so on), and if it *does* combine with ‘episodic’ (non-generic) predicates such as *are ruining my garden*.

Since the literature claims that Determiner + Adjective involves genericity, it is not surprising that the individuated reading is found in character-

izing sentences (18), and with kind-only predicates (19). What is surprising is for an English definite plural to behave like a kind.

- (18) a. **Individuated:** The successful want more success.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** The selfish say, 'I got mine, and the hell with you.'<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Individuated:** The grieving are often isolated when they most need community.<sup>web</sup>
- (19) a. **Individuated:** Today, wealth has been democratized and individualized, and the rich come in all ages, shapes, sizes and ethnicities.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** The poor come in all shades.<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Individuated:** The humble are rare.<sup>web</sup>

However, contrary to some suggestions in the literature – but consistent with the behavior of English definite plurals in general – we also find examples (20) in which the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective describes particular individuals and episodes:

- (20) a. **Individuated:** The homeless said they had noticed an uptick in the number of officers on subway trains over the last week.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** When the displaced tried speaking to the herders, the alleged perpetrators shot them.<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Individuated:** Despite skepticism of prominent Catholics, the faithful said they trekked to Sterrett, about 30 minutes south of Birmingham, with hopes of hearing a message from the mother of Jesus.<sup>web</sup>

Moreover, the determiner data from above (§3.3) already shows that not all instances of Determiner + Adjective refer to a kind. Determiners such as *some*, which usually do not appear in kind-denoting DPs, are found in Determiner + Adjective.<sup>4</sup> Such examples cannot combine with kind-only predicates: *?some educated are scarce* and *?many homeless are widespread* sound decidedly odd.

As for the mass reading, it seems to refer to some sort of abstract concept. Abstract concepts are inherently abstractions, just as kinds are, so it may be difficult to separate these notions. Like the individuated reading, the

<sup>4</sup> The claim that *some* doesn't occur with kinds has an exception for sub-kinds: *some wines are expensive*.

mass reading occurs in characterizing statements (21a) and with kind-only predicates (21b)–(21c):

- (21) a. **Mass:** Just as the cute is no longer solely associated with Japan, so too is it no longer solely the preoccupation of females.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** The crazy is widespread and just getting worse.<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Mass:** The beautiful comes in infinite shapes, sizes, and forms.<sup>web</sup>

Also parallel to the individuated reading, the potential for kind reference is actually rather surprising; in English, it is usually bare mass nouns (*rice*) which refer to kinds, not definite ones (*the rice*).

Although often associated with genericity, the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective (like the individuated reading, and like definite mass nouns in English more generally) can also be used in episodic contexts and with the progressive (not usually used in characterizing sentences; Krifka et al. 1995). And we have already seen (§3.3) that – like the individuated reading – it combines with determiners such as *some*, which do not usually appear in kind-denoting DPs (22c)–(22d). Compared to the definite, generic uses of mass Determiner + Adjective, the non-definite, non-generic examples may seem particularly ‘marked’; but they are still well attested.

- (22) a. **Mass:** I scraped the burnt off of the brownies (my mom taught me well), and they came out delicious.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** My girlfriend has always been fairly neurotic, but since we had a child, the crazy is making me nuts.<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Mass:** I really liked the chipotle mayo as it added some spicy to the dish.<sup>web</sup>  
 d. **Mass:** Add some festive to your home with this Christmas tree.<sup>web</sup>

In sum, while there are claims that Determiner + Adjective inherently involves kind reference, the reality is more complex. It is actually surprising that definite uses of Determiner + Adjective can refer to kinds at all, since English definite plurals and definite mass nouns do not usually do so. Furthermore, contrary to claims that it must describe a kind, the construction can also describe particulars.

### 3.5 Does the individuated reading have to refer to humans?

As previewed above, the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective seems to refer to individuals displaying the property described by the ad-



jective. It is sometimes claimed that the individuated reading refers only to humans; Pullum 1975 names it ‘*people deletion*,’ suggesting that the word *people* serves as an implicit noun in the construction – although, Huddleston & Pullum 2002 note (p. 420), inserting the noun *people* actually alters the meaning, because *the rich* can describe rich people in general, while *the rich people* (like other definite plurals in English; §3.4) cannot.

But we actually find examples where the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective refers to animate entities other than humans. (23a) refers to living things from all species, (23b) to opossums, and (23c) to living things in general (discussing evolution and natural selection).

- (23) a. **Individuated:** In nature, only the fittest survive.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** The young are about the size of a bee when they are born.<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Individuated:** The weak and mutated die, the healthy survive to pass on their genes.<sup>web</sup>

In rare cases, it even refers to inanimates, such as bike parts (24). However, in all such cases that I have found, the inanimate entity in question is mentioned in the prior discourse, so these cases may be indistinguishable from ellipsis (§3.1).

- (24) **Individuated:** Bike prices are like most economies of the world – the expensive are getting more expensive, the cheap are getting cheaper, and the middle class has disappeared.<sup>web</sup>

Although the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective most commonly refers to humans, (23a)–(23c) show that human reference is not essential.

### 3.6 Types of adjectives

On both its readings, Determiner + Adjective is productive with a vast range of adjectives, including those from every class proposed by Dixon 1982 (dimension, age, value, color, physical, speed, and human propensity); the intersective (*drunk*), subsective (*talented*), and privative (*imaginary*) classes of Partee 1995; and both the stage-level adjectives (describing transient properties; *drunk*) and individual-level adjectives (describing stable properties; *old*) discussed by Carlson 1977 and Husband 2010. I do not provide all of these examples for space; but (25) illustrates some of the diversity of adjectives used in this construction:

- (25) a. **Individuated:** The finding may help explain why the sleep-deprived are more likely to give in to calorific temptations.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** The young and the drunk are both reprieved from that oppressive, nagging sense of obligation that ruins so much of our lives.<sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Individuated:** The well-dressed are heading out on the highway in motorcycle jackets.<sup>web</sup>  
 d. **Individuated:** The expensive are usually the vulnerable; they are the ones who need coverage the most and whom insurance companies want to cover the least.<sup>web</sup>  
 e. **Mass:** The imaginary is the thing that occupies most people's lives and allows them to function.<sup>web</sup>  
 f. **Mass:** I love these unconventional images; my taste for the surreal is thoroughly indulged.<sup>web</sup>

Some adjectives strongly favor one reading or another; those describing human propensities in the sense of Dixon (e.g. *talented*, *proud*) strongly favor the individuated reading; those rarely predicated of humans (*geological*, *spicy*) the mass reading. But the same adjective can appear in both readings:

- (26) a. **Individuated:** The pretty are recipients of a halo effect, with beneficial impact upon their exam results and ability to make friends.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** I mention above that the pretty is seldom discussed in aesthetics.<sup>web</sup>
- (27) a. **Individuated:** In a mad world, grumble malcontents from Rousseau to Foucault, only the crazy are authentic.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** The crazy [in that academic repository] is easily detected and easily ignored.<sup>web</sup>

### 3.7 Modifiers

Syntactically, the 'adjective' in Determiner + Adjective acts like a noun in that it can be modified by adjectives (28), prepositional phrases (29)<sup>5</sup>, and relative clauses (30); but acts like an adjective in that it can be modified by adverbs (31), degree modifiers, superlatives (32) (Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999; Günther 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Quirk et al. 1972 claim that prepositional phrase modifiers are possible, but less productive than adjectival modifiers.

- (28) a. **Individuated:** This is a story of the silly rich.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** The understated chic is something that I think several fashionistas will love.<sup>web</sup>
- (29) a. **Individuated:** There is little doubt that a system of deferrals would be established that, just as in the Vietnam era, could create a caste-like system separating the privileged of America from the others.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** First, there's the crazy of the minority – a crazy consisting of wild conspiracy theories by the powerless.<sup>web</sup>
- (30) a. **Individuated:** Mary O'Connell brings us the stories of the depressed who are on the path to wellness and the methods that can be used to get them there.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** After all, how's a nice, left-leaning gal like me going to survive the crazy that is this election?<sup>web</sup>
- (31) a. **Individuated:** Even the disgustingly rich aren't immune to rejection.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Mass:** Lee Ann, herself, was the outstanding example of the owner's appreciation of the expensively beautiful.<sup>web</sup>
- (32) a. **Individuated:** The Bangladesh committee began giving goats or cows to the very poor as a first step toward encouraging their participation in the microcredit program.<sup>web</sup>  
 b. **Individuated:** Intriguingly, these oldest of the old are usually of sound mind and physically active until their death [...] <sup>web</sup>  
 c. **Mass:** His silky voice maintains an air of casual reporting, indicating that even the very bizarre is simply business as usual in Night Vale.<sup>web</sup>

### 3.8 Summary

	Individuated reading	Mass reading
<i>Example</i>	<i>The old are happier</i>	<i>The old is never ordinary</i>
<i>Determiners</i>	Productive; count determiners	Productive; mass determiners
<i>Agreement</i>	Plural	Singular
<i>Referent</i>	Individuals (not necessarily humans) that Adj is true of; not necessarily a kind	‘Adjective-ness’; not necessarily a kind
<i>Productivity</i>	Productive across adjectives	Productive across adjectives
<i>Modifiers</i>	Degree modifiers, adverbial modifiers, adjective modifiers, relative clauses, prepositional phrases	Degree modifiers, adverbial modifiers, adjective modifiers, relative clauses, prepositional phrases

This section has shown, using attested data (summarized in the Table), that Determiner + Adjective is more productive than sometimes claimed. Next comes the theoretical goal of providing an analysis, which in turn is used to motivate the state analysis of adjectives.

## 4 Analysis

I propose to derive the two readings of Determiner + Adjective by manipulating the two variables – the individual variable and the state variable – present in the state analysis of adjectives (33). The proposal is simply to existentially close off one or these or another, so that the adjective can come to serve as a predicate of individuals (33a), or as a predicate of states (33b).

(33) **Basic denotation of an adjective  $A$ :**  $\lambda x \lambda s [A(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$

a. **Predicate of individuals (state argument closed off):**

$\lambda x \exists s [A(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$

b. **Predicate of states (individual argument closed off):**

$\lambda s \exists x [A(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$

Specifically, I propose two nominalizing type-shifters, one (34a) which derives (33a); and one (34b) which derives (33b). These type-shifters close off the correct argument of the adjective, yielding a predicate of the remaining, unclosed-off argument.

(34) a. **Individuated-deriving type-shifter:**  $\lambda A_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x \exists s [A(x)(s)]$

b. **Mass-deriving type-shifter:**  $\lambda A_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda s \exists x [A(x)(s)]$

Using this setup, we can derive the meaning of the individuated reading as in (35), and the mass reading as in (36). In both, I analyze *the* in terms of the ‘maximizing’  $\iota$  (‘iota’) operator (Sharvy 1980; Link 1983), which takes a property and yields its maximal member in the context. Thus, (35) yields the maximal grouping of individuals  $y$  in the context who each hold some ‘old’ state. Given that *old* is often predicated of humans, (35) is understood to describe old people.

(35) **Individuated reading**

- a.  $\llbracket \text{nom.indiv} \rrbracket = \lambda A_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x \exists s [A(x)(s)]$
- b.  $\llbracket \text{old} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda s [\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$
- c.  $\llbracket \text{nom}(\text{old}) \rrbracket = \lambda x \exists s [\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$
- d.  $\llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \lambda P [\iota y [P(y)]]$
- e.  $\llbracket \text{the}(\text{nom}(\text{old})) \rrbracket = \iota y \exists s [\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(y, s)]$

In parallel, (36) yields the maximal grouping of ‘old’ states  $y$  in the context for which there is some individual holding that state.

(36) **Mass reading**

- a.  $\llbracket \text{nom.mass} \rrbracket = \lambda A_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda s \exists x [A(x)(s)]$
- b.  $\llbracket \text{old} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda s [\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$
- c.  $\llbracket \text{nom}(\text{old}) \rrbracket = \lambda s \exists x [\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(x, s)]$
- d.  $\llbracket \text{the} \rrbracket = \lambda P [\iota y [P(y)]]$
- e.  $\llbracket \text{the}(\text{nom}(\text{old})) \rrbracket = \iota y \exists x [\text{old}(y) \wedge \text{holder}(x, y)]$

I assume that one type-shifter or the other must apply, because otherwise the Adjective Phrase would have two unsaturated arguments ( $\lambda x \lambda s$ ) – in which case, if it combined with a determiner such as *the*, it would still have an open argument. *The* combined with the un-type-shifted denotation for *old* yields  $\iota y \lambda s [\text{old}(s) \wedge \text{holder}(y, s)]$  – which has a dangling, unsaturated state argument. But after the nominalizing type-shifter closes off one of these arguments or another, the determiner can apply properly (35)–(36).

This proposal has several attractive features. When we assume the state analysis of adjectives (§2), then the two arguments used to derive the two readings of Determiner + Adjective are already given in the semantics of adjectives. All that is needed is the widely used operation of existential closure, already needed for the adjective to combine with a determiner. The two meanings derived for *the old* – the individuals holding some *old* state, and the *old* states held by some individual(s) – approximate the intuitive meanings of each reading. I advocate further below for this analysis, and in

turn the state analysis of adjectives, over a variety of alternatives. But first, I lay out some specifics.

**Kind reference** The meanings in (33a) and (33b) combine with *the* as given in (35)–(36). In the same way, (33a)–(33b) can also combine with other determiners (*some*, *many*, *much*, and so on), accounting for the diversity of determiners observed in §3.

Unlike regular English definite plurals and mass nouns, however, both readings of definite Determiner + Adjective can refer to kinds (§3.4). I claim that these kind readings arise when *the* is interpreted as Chierchia's (1998) kind-forming  $\cap$  operator rather than the  $\iota$  operator used for regular, non-kind definites. Of course, English *the* is not usually interpreted as the kind-forming  $\cap$  (since English definite plurals don't usually refer to kinds; §3.4), so more must be said.

The vast literature on kind-referring noun phrases across languages (e.g., Chierchia 1998; Schmitt & Munn 1999; Doron 2003; Krifka 2003; Dayal 2004; 2011) argues over whether there are clear cross-linguistic generalizations about the availability and potential for kind reference of bare vs. definite and singular vs. plural nouns. But restricting our attention to English, it seems that definite noun phrases only refer to kinds when the bare noun phrase is not available. Among plurals, the bare noun *lions* is available; the definite plural *the lions* cannot refer to a kind. Among singulars, the bare noun *lion* is not allowed; the definite *the lion* can refer to lion-kind. Therefore, I suggest that the definite Determiner + Adjective can refer to a kind because the bare version of it is not robustly available.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the English definite article can convey the kind-forming meaning  $\cap$  only when the silent version of  $\cap$  (used by Chierchia and others for kind-denoting bare nouns in English) is not available. It is inherently challenging to explain why the kind-referring potential of Determiner + Adjective diverges from the rest of English; but tying these facts to the relative unavailability of the bare form seems like a promising direction.

**Existential commitment** The proposed analysis existentially closes one of an adjective's arguments or the other to leave a predicate of the remaining argument. Of course, whichever argument is existentially bound is required to exist. I argue that these existential implications are welcome. For the individuated reading, every *old* individual requires the existence of an *old*

<sup>6</sup> §3.3 presents some determinerless examples such as *rich and poor are affected*, but these seem to be less productive.



state, which makes sense if we assume that what it means to be *old* is to hold some *old* state. For the mass reading, every *old* state requires the existence of an individual holding that state, which also makes sense if we assume that *old* states do not exist except as they are instantiated by particular individuals – consistent with Piñon’s claim that eventualities only exist if their participants do (Piñon 1995: vi); with Moltmann’s discussion of ‘tropes’ (essentially, states) as properties instantiated by particular individuals; with Anderson and Morzycki’s claim that a state of *oldness* is measured by measuring the age of its bearer (which is required to exist); and with Baglini’s claim (Baglini 2015: 218) that every state must be associated with a unique bearer.

**Individuation and plurality** Furthermore, I assume that the individuals (people, animals, and so on) described by the individuated reading are countable, explaining why (35) behaves like a count noun; while states act like mass nouns, capturing the mass behavior of (36). This assumption draws on work by Bach (1986); Krifka (1992); and Piñon (1995) pointing out the formal parallels between the atelicity of states and the unboundedness of mass nouns; and work observing that abstract nouns which arguably denote states (*wisdom*, *courage*; see §6.2) behave similarly – though not identically – to mass nouns (Tovena 2001; Nicolas 2004; Baglini 2015). More basically, to use an idea dating back to Jespersen (1924): 198, perhaps abstractions such as *courage* (or the mass reading of *the old*) behave like mass nouns because they do not come in regular, bounded units the way the things denoted by count nouns do (see also Grimm 2012). If one assumes a syntactic analysis of determiner selection and agreement, one could posit a ‘count’ Num head for the individuated reading and a ‘mass’ Num head for the mass reading (Richtarcikova 2017), in order to reflect facts which are ultimately grounded in the (un)boundedness of the two readings’ referents.

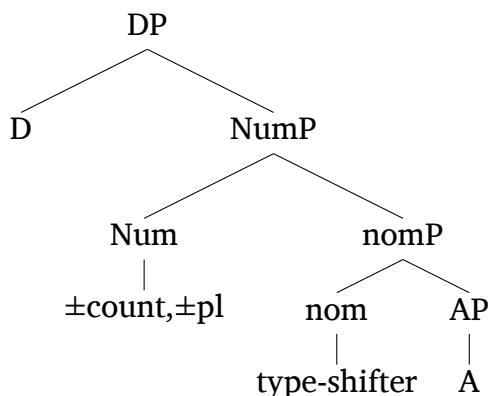
While it may be possible to derive this construction’s mass / count behavior from deeper principles, another fact has no clear motivation: that the individuated reading behaves as a plural. The semantics in (35), combined with a determiner, should in theory be able to pick out a singular referent as well as a plural one: *the old* should be able to refer to a single, salient, old individual. But in reality, the individuated reading only acts as a plural, triggering plural verb agreement and only appearing with plural count determiners such as *many*, not singular count determiners such as *a(n)* or *one*. I follow several previous analysis (reviewed below in §7.1) in simply stipulating this fact. If the count behavior of the individuated reading is

captured by a ‘count’ Num head, then this Num head may also be marked as plural.

As for the mass reading, I assume that its Num head is marked as singular, which is consistent with the singular grammatical behavior of mass nouns more generally.

**Syntax** Turning to the syntax, I assume a structure like the one sketched in (37): the type-shifter is hosted in a ‘nominalizing’ node Nom, and combines with a full Adjective Phrase to create a nominalization. This nominalization then combines with a Num head which ensures the correct mass/count and plural behavior: a plural count Num head for the individuated reading, and a mass singular Num head for the mass reading (similar to Richtarcikova 2017). Finally, that whole structure serves as a complement to a determiner.

(37)



This representation, not as elaborate as one that a syntactician might propose, is simply intended to capture the syntactic facts laid out in §3. The full construction is analyzed as a DP because it has the syntactic distribution of one. The NumP is used to capture the facts about each reading’s individuation and plurality behavior. The presence of the NomP is motivated because the construction can be modified by adjectives, which generally only modify nominals (*the silly rich*; §3). The type-shifter sits in the ‘nominalizing’ node Nom as a sister to the AP because it combines with the Adjective Phrase to turn it into something noun-like. The adjective is placed within an Adjective Phrase to explain why the adjective can be modified by adverbs and degree modifiers (*the disgustingly rich*; §3), which can generally only modify adjectives (and are assumed to serve as adjuncts to the AP).

In sum, the proposal is to derive the two different readings of Determiner + Adjective by existentially closing off one or the other of the two variables which the state analysis makes available in the semantics of adjectives, cre-

ating a predicate of individuals (for the individuated reading) or a predicate of states (for the mass reading). Several parts of this analysis invite further work: the potential for kind reference remains a bit of a puzzle; the plural Number projection used for the individuated reading is a stipulation. But on the positive side, I argue that this analysis of Determiner + Adjective (and in turn, the state analysis of adjectives on which it is built) connects to a variety of independently motivated ideas (§5–§6), giving it an advantage over alternatives (§7).

## 5 The dual nature of properties

One advantage of the proposed analysis, I argue, is its connection to the philosophical literature on the dual nature of properties.

When we imagine a property such as *old*, we can think of the individuals who display it (*old people*), or we can think of the abstract thing that they share (*oldness*). These two construals have a long history in the philosophy literature on properties – the things which adjectives are thought to describe (Dixon 1982). Since the work of Frege 1892, properties have been analyzed in two ways (Chierchia 1985; Chierchia & Turner 1988; Bealer & Mönlich 1989; Orilia & Swoyer 2016):

- (i) as predicates, which can be true or false of individuals
- (ii) as abstract individuals themselves

Part of the motivation for this ‘Fregean’ duality comes from natural language (Chierchia 1985; Chierchia & Turner 1988; Moltmann 2004). A predicate of individuals such as (*is*) *old* combines with an individual to create a proposition (*Alex is old*). But when such a predicate of individuals is morphosyntactically nominalized (*oldness*), it appears to function grammatically as an individual, serving as an argument to other predicates (*oldness is subjective*). These ‘properties-as-individuals’ are ‘objects’ for Frege, and ‘individual correlates’ of properties for Chierchia & Turner. They behave in many ways like mass nouns (Levinson 1978): *so much oldness* / *?so many oldnesses*. No matter how it is implemented, the intuition is that the concept *old* can be thought of as a thing that is true or false of individuals (the predicate of individuals *old*); or alternatively as the quality shared by the individuals of whom it is true (the mass-like *oldness*).

Of course, these two construals of a property like *old* / *oldness* – as a predicate of individuals, and as an abstract mass-like noun – are strikingly

parallel to the two distinct readings of *the old*. The proposed analysis takes advantage of this parallelism: the ‘predicate of individuals’ construal of properties underlies the individuated reading (implemented as a predicate of individuals who hold some *old* state), and the ‘abstract mass’ construal (implemented as a predicate of *old* states held by some individuals) underlies the mass reading.

More deeply, the proposed analysis of Determiner + Adjective connects to the dual nature of properties because the state analysis of adjectives itself does so. By relating an *old* individual to an *old* state, the state analysis characterizes both the individuals who are *old* (reflecting the construal of properties as predicates of individuals), and the *old* states held by such individuals (reflecting the construal of properties as [predicates of] abstract objects). In other words, the state analysis is not just motivated by analogy to the neo-Davidsonian treatment of verb phrases (§2), but is more fundamentally motivated by its connection to the philosophical conception of properties, which adjectives are thought to describe. I take this connection as a point in favor of both the state analysis of adjectives and of the proposed account of Determiner + Adjective which is built on it.

## 6 Connection to other nominalizations

As further motivation, I connect the state analysis of adjectives and of Determiner + Adjective to independently motivated analyses of deverbal (§6.1) and deadjectival (§6.2) nominalizations.

### 6.1 Deverbal nominalizations

The state analysis of adjectives was originally motivated by analogy to the event analysis of verb phrases (§2). The state analysis of *nominalized* adjectives (such as Determiner + Adjective) can similarly be motivated by analogy to the event analysis of nominalized verb phrases.

Broadly, there are two types of deverbal nominalizations (e.g., Baker & Vinukurova 2009, Grimshaw 2011, Roy & Soare 2013): those referring to the individual participants in the event described by the verb phrase (38a) (often ending with *-er* for agents, *-ee* for patients; Levin & Rappaport 1988, Lieber 2004); and those referring to the event described by the verb phrase (38b) (often ending with *-ing*; Higginbotham 1985, Zucchi 1993; see Maienborn 2011: §2).

(38) (adapted from Baker & Vinukurova 2009: 517)

- a. **Agent nominalization:** the finder of the wallet
- b. **Event nominalization:** (the) finding (of) the wallet

These two types of nominals can be analyzed as predicates of one or the other of two arguments assumed to be present in the semantics of a verb phrase on the neo-Davidsonian analysis: the agent argument (38a), and the event argument (38b) (e.g., Baker & Vinukurova 2009, Roy & Soare 2013).

Of course, this approach exactly parallels the proposed analysis of Determiner + Adjective. The individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective is analyzed as a predicate of individuals holding some *old* state, just as (38a) (before combining with the determiner) is analyzed as a predicate of individuals who serve as the agent to an event of finding the wallet. (In the same way, both *-er* nominalizations and the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective have a strong tendency to refer to humans, but are not required to do so: (38a) is presumably a human, but might also be a dog or robot.) The mass reading of Determiner + Adjective is analyzed as a predicate of *old* states, just as (38b) (before combining with the determiner) is analyzed as a predicate of events of wallet-finding. It is an advantage of the proposed analysis of Determiner + Adjective, and of the state analysis of adjectives more generally, that it mirrors this independent analysis of deverbal nominalizations.

## 6.2 Nominalizing adjectival suffixes (-ness)

Determiner + Adjective can also be connected to other ways of nominalizing adjectives. There is no widely productive adjectival analogue of the verbal *-er* suffix (38a) to denote individuals; but there are suffixes such as *-ness* which turn an adjective into an abstract mass-like noun (*oldness*) denoting something like the quality shared by *old* individuals.

Most authors would agree that a deverbal nominalization such as *finding the wallet* denotes an event of some sort (§6.1). In contrast, there is no consensus about the meaning of deadjectival mass nouns such as *oldness*. For Nicolas (2004), such nouns denote instances of a property; for Richtarcikova (2017): Chapter 3, they denote tropes (arguably indistinguishable from states); for Moltmann (2004) *et seq.*, kinds of tropes; for Villalba (2009; 2013), they may denote more specifically tropes or ‘entity correlates’ of ‘properties’ or ‘qualities’; for Bochnak (2013): Chapter 4, they denote the maximal degree to which an individual holds a property; for Baglini (2015), they denote states. Citing languages where meanings

that would be adjectives in English are instead expressed by abstract mass nouns such as *oldness*, Koontz-Garboden and Francez offer a series of further proposals: for Koontz-Garboden & Francez (2010), words like *oldness* denote the ‘individual correlate’ of a property (Chierchia & Turner 1988); for Francez & Koontz-Garboden (2015), they denote a predicate of ‘portions’ of an abstract ‘substance’ – the abstract version of a mass noun like *water*, analyzed as in Link (1983). For Francez & Koontz-Garboden (2017), inspired by subtle grammatical differences between abstract nouns like *oldness* and concrete ones like *water* – Tovenà (2001) for Romance, Baglini (2015) for Wolof – *oldness* characterizes ‘portions’ of a ‘quality’, which are ordered by their ‘size’, whereas portions of concrete masses such as *water* are ordered by a Link-style part/whole relation (Link 1983). In English specifically, the debate extends further to the meaning of the suffix *-ness* on its own: how it does or does not differ from its less productive counterpart *-ity* (Riddle 1985; Romaine 1985; Arndt-Lappe 2014; Baeskow 2012; Lieber 2016), and whether it has a semantic function or just a syntactic category-changing one (Riddle 1985; Romaine 1985; Baeskow 2012; Baglini 2015: 291; Lieber 2016: Chapter 7).

The current investigation of Determiner + Adjective raises a more targeted question: how do suffixed forms such as *oldness* compare to the mass reading of *the old*? Grammatically, both forms act like mass nouns; referentially, they seem similar; but are they synonymous?

Looking first at the data, we find many examples where these forms appear interchangeable. (39) provides naturally occurring examples of the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective which scarcely differ (to my native-speaker judgment) from substitutions by the *-ness* form. In the reverse direction, (40) shows examples where the original *-ness* seems to be synonymously substituted with the mass version of Determiner + Adjective.<sup>7</sup>

(39) ***-ness* can replace original mass Determiner + Adjective**

- a. The {crazy / craziness} [in that academic repository] is easily detected and easily ignored.<sup>web</sup>
- b. My girlfriend has always been fairly neurotic, but since we had a child, the {crazy / craziness} is making me nuts.<sup>web</sup>
- c. All of this {pretty / prettiness} is worth OVER \$2,000.<sup>web</sup>
- d. There was not enough {cute / cuteness} to counteract the {dull / dullness} and {stupid / stupidity} here.<sup>web</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The web examples where *-ness* is used in the original are not listed in the Appendix because no one would dispute that such examples occur robustly in English.



- e. I really liked the chipotle mayo as it added some {spicy / spiciness} to the dish.<sup>web</sup>

(40) **Mass Determiner + Adjective can replace original -ness**

- a. For the most part, the {silliness / silly} is intended to lift an advertiser's message beyond the clutter.<sup>web</sup> (*New York Times* article about a new trend for 'silly' advertisements)
- b. And now that the {craziness / crazy} is over, I've had time to reflect on my strange five-day adventure in Vegas.<sup>web</sup>
- c. Kitschy things are often pretty, and the {prettiness / pretty} is often merely sentimental or, worse, manipulative.<sup>web</sup>
- d. The result is enough {cuteness / cute} to make your week: a sweet, pitiful almost-howl, interrupted by the most adorable snorts you've ever heard.<sup>web</sup>  
(description of a video of a puppy learning to bark)
- e. Food from these countries are among my favourite, if the {spiciness / spicy} is toned down to a reasonable level.<sup>web</sup>

But there are also examples where the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective and the -ness form are not interchangeable: the -ness form cannot be substituted for the original mass Determiner + Adjective in (41); the mass Determiner + Adjective form cannot be substituted for the original -ness form in (42).

(41) **-ness cannot replace original mass Determiner + Adjective**

- a. A new entertaining and insightful exhibition [...] confronts one of the most dynamic and hard-to-define concepts in American cultural life – the {cool / ?coolness}.<sup>web</sup>
- b. What they [Bronze Age rural people] did share with them [urbanites] was a taste for the {expensive / ?expensiveness} and the {exotic / ?exoticness}, and thanks to well-established trade-routes [...] they had long been able to get what they wanted.<sup>web</sup>
- c. This tendency toward the {cheerful / ?cheerfulness} is grounded in aesthetic choices, certainly.<sup>web</sup>
- d. The line between the {eccentric / ?eccentricness} and the {tacky / ?tackiness} is very fine, and season after season, Jeremy Scott has demonstrated his skill at walking that tightrope of taste.<sup>web</sup>
- e. His silky voice maintains an air of casual reporting, indicating that even the very {bizarre / bizarreness} is simply business as usual in Night Vale.<sup>web</sup>

- (42) **Mass Determiner + Adjective cannot replace original *-ness***
- The {coolness / ?cool} of owning great audio gear waxes and wanes.<sup>web</sup>
  - In the first [study], researchers asked 35 people to rate the {expensiveness / ?expensive}, {sweetness / ?sweet} and density of yogurt eaten with several plastic spoons.<sup>web</sup>
  - [...] along with a cameo by an effusive Busta Rhymes, who has the {cheerfulness / ?cheerful} of new money.<sup>web</sup>
  - Not only did it [the cinematography] convey the {eccentricity / ?eccentric} of the bar, but the juxtaposition of these two shots encapsulates much of the humor in this show.<sup>web</sup>
  - Knowing someone else is going through the {bizarreness / ?bizarre} of pregnancy with you makes it feel a little less impossible.<sup>web</sup>

More generally, when studying constructions or suffixes that can apply to many different lexical items, one faces a methodological question: if many doublets appear synonymous but some diverge, is it better to capture the synonymy and tinker to get the contrasts, or to capture the contrasts and tinker to get the synonymy (Lieber 2016: Chapter 7)?<sup>8</sup>

In this case, I propose to capture the synonymy between these two intuitively similar constructions by deriving the *-ness* form in the same way as the mass version of Determiner + Adjective: closing off the individual variable to yield a predicate of *old* states (43).<sup>9</sup> This predicate of states can combine with a determiner (*the oldness*); or, like other bare mass nouns in English, can be mapped via Chierchia's  $\cap$  operator to a kind-denoting bare mass noun.

- (43)
- $\llbracket old \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda s [old(s) \wedge holder(x, s)]$
  - $\llbracket -ness \rrbracket = \lambda A_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda s \exists x [A(x)(s)]$
  - $\llbracket oldness \rrbracket = \lambda s \exists x [old(s) \wedge holder(x, s)]$

<sup>8</sup> This question comes up in the literature on *-ness* versus *-ity*: there are doublets that seem synonymous (*the pureness/purity of her enthusiasm*; Lieber 2016) but also ones that differ (*ethnicness/ethnicity*; *antiqueness/antiquity*; Riddle 1985; Baeskow 2012). Lieber (2016) argues that the divergent doublets arise when the *-ity* form ‘drifts’ to encode an idiosyncratic meaning, but do not stem from any semantic difference between *-ity* and *-ness*.

<sup>9</sup> This analysis coheres with Parsons (1990) (Chapter 10), who intuitively that *Agatha's cleverness* refers to a state (‘but I don’t know how to prove it’, he adds); and with Richtarcikova (2017): Chapter 3, who analyzes the Slovak version of *-ness* essentially the same way as I do here (using ‘tropes’ rather than ‘states’, although depending on one’s implementation, these may be two names for the same thing).

As for the subtle differences between them, I argue that these arise because *-ness* applies only to adjectives, not full adjective phrases; and because the *-ness* version cannot refer to a kind when used as a definite (§3.4), requires no determiner, and is more generally less marked. (41a) may be degraded with the *-ness* form because the original *the cool* in (41a) refers to coolness in general, while the definite *the coolness* refers to some specific coolness, which is absent from the context (similarly for (41b)–(41d)). Consistent with that claim, (41a)–(41d) become much closer in meaning if the definite article is removed from the *-ness* form (*coolness* instead of *the coolness* in (41a)), on the assumption that the determinerless version (*coolness*) can denote a kind. As for (41e), *very bizarre* is too syntactically complex to be suffixed by *-ness* (and *very* does not modify nouns such as *bizarreness*). Conversely, (42a)–(42e) may be degraded with the relatively more marked mass Determiner + Adjective form because its markedness seems to increase in object position (vs. subject position); with particularized, non-kind reference; and with prepositional phrases (Quirk et al. 1972). Such differences can separate the two constructions even if their meaning is identical.

In sum, I propose to analyze both the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective and the *-ness* form in a uniform fashion as predicates of states. In fact, the idea that there are multiple different adjective-nominalizing strategies with the same semantics has historical precedent: the (arguably synonymous) suffixes *-ity* and *-ness* have been in competition for centuries (Riddle 1985; Romaine 1985; Arndt-Lappe 2014). Synchronically, the Determiner + Adjective strategy is clearly the underdog relative to *-ness*; but it remains an open question whether it is gaining or losing ground diachronically.

Stepping back, the state analysis of adjectives was originally motivated by the parallels between verb phrases and adjectives. This section has further motivated the analysis by exploring the same parallels among both verb phrases and adjectives that have been nominalized – further illustrating the utility of analyzing adjectives (similar to verbs) not just in terms of the individuals of whom they are true, but also in terms of the properties/states that they ascribe to those individuals.

## 7 Other ways of analyzing these data

Having advocated for the proposed analysis of Determiner + Adjective and the state analysis of adjectives more generally, I now explore some alternatives: other analyses of Determiner + Adjective from the literature (§7.1),

and a hypothetical analysis built on an analysis of adjectives using only degrees, not states (§7.2).

## 7.1 Previous analyses of Determiner + Adjective

For each analysis of Determiner + Adjective from the literature, I present its empirical predictions and theoretical commitments. Empirically, a few approaches make predictions that do not fit with the English data because they were designed for languages with different facts. Theoretically, while these approaches illuminate various other larger questions, most do not aim to connect Determiner + Adjective to the broader picture of adjectives and nominalizations pursued here.

**Mapping properties to kinds** Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999) discuss both readings of Determiner + Adjective, in Greek and to some extent English, but only give an analysis of the individuated reading. For them, the adjective denotes a property and the definite determiner contributes <sup>∩</sup> (Chierchia 1998), which maps properties to kinds; so *the rich* denotes rich individuals as a kind.

Theoretically, their account is built on the kind-forming <sup>∩</sup> operator. Empirically, Giannakidou and Stavrou predict that Determiner + Adjective requires the definite determiner; that it inherently denotes a kind (although it need not denote humans); and that it is restricted in its productivity. (Not every property has a corresponding kind, they say, so not every property can appear in Determiner + Adjective.) In English as opposed to Greek, these predictions are called into question by the data presented in §3.

**Silent nouns** Another, more common approach derives both readings of Determiner + Adjective using silent nouns with the desired semantics: humans for the individuated reading, stuff for the mass reading. While §3.5 shows that the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective does not universally refer to humans, this point should not be decisive; any analysis could be adjusted to capture the few exceptions.

Kester (1996) proposes a silent noun with the features [+human +generic +plural] for the individuated reading, and another one with the features [-animate -count] for the mass reading. Empirically, she predicts that the English individuated reading refers only generically, and only to humans. Theoretically, one might wonder why these particular silent nouns are available.

Chierchia (1998) handles the individuated reading of English Determiner + Adjective with a silent plural noun denoting people. On his account, the adjective modifies a null noun ( $\Delta$ ) with a +plural feature.  $\Delta$  takes an adjective (a predicate of individuals) as an argument, and returns a function from individuals to ‘true’ if those individuals are the unique, maximal, group of people (from the semantics of the  $\iota$  operator) with that property. Ultimately, *the rich* (44) yields the totality of rich people.

- (44) *the rich*  $\Delta = \iota x[x = \iota rich(people)]$  adapted Chierchia (1998): 395  
 ‘the maximal  $x$  such that  $x$  is the maximal set of rich people’

Empirically, this account predicts that the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective always refers to humans, as a kind. The definite determiner is said to be needed to license the silent noun  $\Delta$ . These restrictions may be questioned by the data in §3 showing that the individuated reading occurs with a variety of determiners. Theoretically, the account posits a silent *people*, which Chierchia acknowledges may be stipulative (Chierchia 1998: 395).

McNally & de Swart (2015) analyze the Dutch individuated reading as in (45). The adjective modifies a null noun, *pro*, referring to human kinds. The plural morphology realized on the Dutch adjective *rijken* (‘rich-PL’) then maps this kind to its realizations via a realization operator  $R$  (Carlson 1977); and these realizations are guaranteed to be pluralities by the pluralizing ‘star’  $*$  operator from Link (1983). The result is a function characterizing the set of pluralities of rich people (45); combined with *de* ‘the’, it yields the maximal set of plural realizations of the kind ‘rich people’.

- (45) *de rijken* (‘the rich-PL’) adapted McNally & de Swart (2015): 324  
 $rijken = \lambda y[R*(y, x_k) \wedge rich_{+human}(x_k)]$   
 $de\ rijken = \iota y[R*(y, x_k) \wedge rich_{+human}(x_k)]$   
 ‘the maximal  $y$  such that  $y$  is the set of plural realizations of the kind of rich people’

For the Dutch mass reading, they propose a construction which works like a free relative (*the good* is analyzed as *that which is good*), explaining certain syntactic restrictions in Dutch.<sup>10</sup> But in a followup paper, McNally

<sup>10</sup> Specifically, *het goede* ‘the good’ is given the semantics in (i). *Good* combined with *pro* yields a function from situations to anything ‘good’ in that situation; the  $*$  operator from Link gives the closure under sum of that function, yielding all ‘good’ from the situation. When we add the  $\iota$  operator contributed by the definite article, we get a function from situations to the unique, maximal sum of all the ‘good’ stuff in that situation. Note that  $s$





that the individuated reading occurs with demonstratives and possessives in addition to the definite determiner. As for the mass reading, she claims that it always takes a definite article, and acts as a singular mass noun. Theoretically, although Günther's proposal is unique in relating Determiner + Adjective to DP-internal ellipsis (§3.1), it is similar to other 'null noun' analyses in that the desired readings are derived by positing null material referring to individuals or stuff.

### Deriving Determiner + Adjective from material internal to the adjective

A different genre of analysis – exemplified by Richtarcikova (2017), who actually draws on a much earlier instantiation of the current work (Glass 2014) – explains Determiner + Adjective essentially the same way as I do here: by manipulating material already posited to be present in the semantics of adjectives.

Focusing on the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective in Slovak<sup>11</sup>, Richtarcikova's analysis begins from a version of the state analysis of adjectives: she assumes that adjectives relate 'tropes' (concrete instantiations of properties; Moltmann 2004) to their 'bearers' (the individuals or stuff manifesting that property), as in (47a). The Slovak mass reading of Determiner + Adjective is analyzed in terms of a type-shifter which existentially quantifies over the trope variable, leaving a predicate of bearers of that trope (47b) which can then combine with the definite  $\iota$  operator. Ultimately, the Slovak version of the mass 'the new' has the semantics in (47c). Syntacti-

<sup>11</sup> In Slovak, as in Dutch and several other languages (McNally & de Swart 2015; McNally et al. 2017), the individuated and mass readings of Determiner + Adjective are joined by a third construction with no English equivalent where the adjective combines with a prepositional Noun Phrase to yield the meaning 'the ADJECTIVE aspect of NP', as in the Slovak example *to cenné na cirkvi* 'the valuable [aspect] of the church' (Richtarcikova 2017: 82). Richtarcikova is primarily interested in on the difference between the Slovak equivalent of the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective (what she calls the 'bearer' reading) and the version where the adjective combines with a prepositional phrase (what she calls the 'trope' reading). For Richtarcikova, 'the valuable of the church' has the semantics in (i), where *the church* saturates the 'bearer' variable of the adjective and its trope variable is maximized by the definite  $\iota$ :

- (i) *to cenné na cirkvi* 'the valuable (aspect) of the church' adapted Richtarcikova (2017): 82  
 $\iota t_{trope} [valuable(t) \wedge bearer(t, \iota c[church(c)])]$   
 'the unique, maximal trope  $t$  such that  $t$  is valuableness and  $t$  is manifested by the church'

cally, Richtarcikova posits that the adjective combines with a -count Num head, capturing its mass behavior.

- (47) (to) *nové* ‘the new’ adapted Richtarcikova (2017): 73
- a.  $\text{new} = \lambda z \lambda t_{\text{trope}} [\text{new}(t_{\text{trope}}) \wedge \text{bearer}(t_{\text{trope}}, z)]$
  - b.  $\text{new}_{\text{nom}} = \lambda z \exists t_{\text{trope}} [\text{new}(t_{\text{trope}}) \wedge \text{bearer}(t_{\text{trope}}, z)]$
  - c. (to) *nové* ‘the new’ =  $\iota z \exists t_{\text{trope}} [\text{new}(t_{\text{trope}}) \wedge \text{bearer}(t_{\text{trope}}, z)]$   
‘the unique, maximal  $z$  for which there is a trope of newness manifested by  $z$ ’

As for the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective, Richtarcikova briefly suggests that it has the exact same semantics as the mass reading (47c), except that it combines with a +count Num head instead of a -count one.

Empirically, Richtarcikova allows that both readings may refer generically or particularly (depending on whether the definite  $\iota$  or the kind-forming  $^{\cap}$  is applied, both of which she takes to be silent in Slovak); that the individuated reading need not refer to humans; and that both readings may be productive with a variety of determiners and modifiers – all consistent with §3. Theoretically, her analysis capitalizes on semantic material that is arguably independently motivated when adjectives are taken to relate individuals to states (tropes), just as I do here. However, given that the individuated and mass readings differ in their reference, it may seem odd that they differ only in having a count or mass Number projection. Furthermore, while I analyze the mass reading as a predicate of states and the individuated reading as a predicate of individuals (§4), Richtarcikova analyzes both of these as predicates of individuals and reserves the ‘predicate of states / tropes’ analysis for a third Slovak construction with no English equivalent (see Footnote 12).

While her analysis is implemented differently from mine, it shares the broad goal of deriving Determiner + Adjective from material already hypothesized to be present in the semantics of adjectives on the state (‘trope’) analysis thereof.

**Discussion** To summarize, some accounts of Determiner + Adjective do not fully capture the English facts. Others do, but without connecting Determiner + Adjective to the state analysis of adjectives or the analysis of eventuality-denoting nominalizations. While any analysis that captures the data is of course valid, I would like to advocate for the value of situating Determiner + Adjective in a broader light, as I have tried to do here.

## 7.2 The degree analysis without states

One more alternative has not been advocated in the literature, but arises when the state analysis of adjectives is contrasted with the state-less degree analysis (§2): how could Determiner + Adjective be analyzed if adjectives are actually just measure functions (48)?

- (48) Alex is POS(old) =  $old(Alex) \geq \theta_{old}$   
 ‘Alex’s degree of oldness exceeds the contextual standard for what counts as *old*’

When the adjective combines with POS (§2), it transforms from a measure function (type  $\langle e, d \rangle$ ) into a function from individuals to truth values (type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ ). In that case, it has only one argument (the individual argument). Whereas §4 handles Determiner + Adjective by existentially closing off one or the other of the two arguments made available by the state analysis, that strategy is not available when the adjective is taken as a predicate of individuals. Instead, one could adopt various other analysis from the literature (§7.1). For Kester, the adjective would modify a silent noun with the correct features. For McNally and de Swart, the individuated reading would be handled with a null *pro* denoting humans, and the mass reading would be handled as a free relative (‘that which is old’) or as a predicate of realizations of the kind of *old* ‘stuff’. For Günther, both readings would involve a silent *one* which can denote either humans or abstractions. These analyses treat adjectives as predicates of individuals<sup>12</sup>, which is what we get on the degree analysis after applying POS.

More along the lines of the analysis advocated here (§4), one could instead manipulate the two variables (the individual variable and the degree variable) used in the degree analysis of adjectives. Drawing on Bochnak (2013): Chapter 4, one could analyze the individuated reading of Determiner + Adjective as a predicate of individuals whose degree of oldness exceeds some contextual threshold for what counts as *old* in the context (49a); and the mass reading as a predicate of degrees of oldness (perhaps those exceeding some threshold) held by some individual (49b).

- (49) a. **Predicate of individuals:**  $\lambda x \exists d [old(x) \geq d \geq \theta_{old}]$   
 b. **Predicate of degrees:**  $\lambda d \exists x [old(x) \geq d \geq \theta_{old}]$

<sup>12</sup> Actually, for McNally and de Swart, adjectives (and nouns) are predicates of *kinds* which are mapped to their realizations by number marking; but their analysis could be recast without that assumption.

For the individuated reading, (49a) is satisfactory: it yields a predicate of *old* individuals, essentially the same as on my analysis (§4). It is the mass reading – analyzed as a predicate of degrees (49b) – which raises questions. While degrees and states are both quite abstract, they can be distinguished by arguments that states (like all eventualities) occupy space and time (Moltmann 2009; Villalba 2013) and instantiate manners (Landman & Morzycki 2003; Anderson & Morzycki 2015; Wellwood 2014; 2015), while degrees do not.<sup>13</sup> Some authors have claimed to the contrary that states are not full Davidsonian eventualities (Katz 2000; 2008; Maienborn 2007) – that they do not occupy time or space or instantiate manners – but there are strong empirical arguments that they do. For example, stative predicates (including adjectives) can be modified by adverbs thought to apply to eventualities rather than degrees (Mittwoch 2005; Anderson & Morzycki 2015; Wellwood 2014; 2015; Ernst 2016).

If that states but not degrees occupy space/time and instantiate manners, then the state analysis but not the state-less degree analysis can explain data showing the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective combining with temporal (50), spatial (51), and manner (52) predicates and modifiers – which are all assumed to characterize eventualities rather than degrees.

- (50) a. **Mass:** The crazy lasted about two months after pregnancy while hormones levelled out and my body normalized.<sup>web</sup>
- b. **Mass:** I'm glad the sad lasted for an hour and not days.<sup>web</sup>
- c. **Mass:** The sour lasts a little bit – it's the heart of the perfume – and then it dries down to this generic shampoo scent.<sup>web</sup>
- (51) a. **Mass:** Otherwise all the interesting is located in the City, which is easily reached by bus.<sup>web</sup>
- b. **Mass:** The sweet is found in herbs, such as parsley [...] <sup>web</sup>
- c. **Mass:** I have spent more of my time trying to control the crazy on the outside than I have working toward creating calm on the inside.<sup>web</sup>
- d. **Mass:** I like the sparkly on the redhead's dress.<sup>web</sup>
- (52) a. **Mass:** I love trying to capture the delicate beautiful of these winter blooms.<sup>web</sup>
- b. **Mass:** This photo by Jassen Todorov reveals the rugged beautiful of Koehn Lake in the Mojave Desert in California.<sup>web</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Moltmann also claims that degrees cannot serve as objects of perception nor enter into causal relations; but those diagnostics are somewhat less convincing (see Bochnak 2013: Chapter 4).

In the same way, if the *-ness* forms are analyzed as synonymous to the mass Determiner + Adjective forms (as predicates of states on the state analysis, or predicates of degrees on the state-less degree analysis), then the state analysis but not the degree analysis explains why those forms also can combine with temporal (53a), spatial (53b), and manner (53c) predicates and modifiers.

- (53) a. One time I bought two dresses for \$100/each. The happiness lasted for a couple of months and then disappeared.<sup>web</sup>  
(personal finance blog)
- b. The country's highest court has a strategy for combatting the craziness in Washington: stop focusing on the President.<sup>web</sup>
- c. Explore the beautiful ruggedness of the UK coastline whilst enjoying [...] our coastal bed and breakfast accommodation.<sup>web</sup>

Furthermore, if the degree analysis treats nominalized adjectives as predicates of degrees, then it would abandon the parallel between eventive and stative nominalizations yielded by the state analysis (§6.1).

To summarize, I have argued that the proposed analysis of Determiner + Adjective captures more data when built on the state analysis rather than a rival analysis without states.

## 8 Conclusion

This paper has weighed in on a debate about adjective meaning – whether adjectives should be given a state argument or not – by arguing that the state analysis better handles the Determiner + Adjective construction in English. Empirically, the paper has shown that Determiner + Adjective is more productive and flexible than sometimes suggested: it occurs with a variety of determiners, adjectives, and modifiers, and need not denote a kind. Theoretically, the two readings of Determiner + Adjective are derived by existentially quantifying one or the other of the two arguments that the state analysis makes available in the semantics of adjectives. On its individuated reading, *the old* picks out the individuals who hold some *old* state; on its mass reading, it picks out the *old* states held by some individual. This analysis is predicted to extend to similar constructions in other languages, which can be tested in future work. Future work might also build on Cresswell (1976); Bach (1986); Piñon (1995); Kennedy & McNally (2005); Bale (2008); Moltmann (2009); Lassiter (2011); Well-

wood (2014); Baglini (2015); Champollion & Krifka (2015); Francez & Koontz-Garboden (2017); and others to further clarify the formal ontological profiles of states, degrees, tropes, and properties, left somewhat vague here.

The proposed analysis – and in turn the state analysis of adjectives underlying it – not only captures the two readings of Determiner + Adjective, but also yields insight into why these are the two readings that are found. The two readings of this construction are connected to the conceptual duality of properties from the philosophy literature, as predicates of individuals and as the abstract thing that those individuals share. They are also connected to two ways of nominalizing verb phrases: the individuated reading is parallel to nominalizations of verb phrases denoting participants, while the mass reading is parallel to nominalizations of verb phrases denoting events. By treating the mass reading of Determiner + Adjective as a predicate of states, the analysis further sheds light on the semantics of adjectives nominalized by *-ness*. These connections all build on the idea that adjectives relate individuals to the states they hold, just as verb phrases relate individuals to events in which they participate.

More deeply, the neo-Davidsonian analysis reflects the intuition that verb phrases (*run*) and adjectives (*old*) do not just characterize the individuals who serve as their grammatical subjects, but also describe events that happen or states that hold. That is why they are given semantic arguments for both individuals and eventualities. From that perspective, it is not surprising that Determiner + Adjective can come to refer to either of these arguments.

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## 9 Appendix

All of these URLs were live in July 2018, but they unfortunately may not remain stable.

- (3)
  - a. This doesn't mean that an awful lot of us won't need a great deal of looking after and that, according to a House of Lords report, Britain is 'woefully unprepared' for this. But despite this gloomy prospect, and the threats of dementia, immobility and incontinence that hang over us all, there is the surprising discovery that **the old are generally happier than the young**. According to a survey by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), old people are happier because they value their friends more and tend to feel more part of their community. = (7a)  
'Despite dementia, immobility and incontinence, the old are generally happier than the young', *The Spectator* article by Alexander Chancellor, 2013: (<https://www.spectator.co.uk/2013/03/long-life-42/>)
  - b. 'We love preserving and renewing the histories of antique textiles so they can be worn by today's beautiful women,' Bridgette says of the new collection. 'We feel this is the ultimate in upcycling, and we want to raise awareness that fashion can be about great beauty and art and not the disposable commodity it's become today.' In other words, at Morphew, **the old is never ordinary**. Above, a first look at some of the handcrafted pieces from Morphew's debut collection. = (7b)  
'Meet the Designers Behind Emily Ratajkowski's Mysterious New Dress', article in *Vogue* by Brooke Bobb, 2017 (<https://www.vogue.com/article/fashion-runway-morphew-vintage-emily-ratajkowski>)
- (8) The break dancing in 'You Got Served,' the stepping (a highly regimented group dance, with marvelous arm and hand jive, that is popular at black colleges in the South) in 'Stomp the Yard': these group numbers will go down in history as a significant part of the late twentieth century's contribution to world culture. **I hope, however, that attention will also be paid to the less pyrotechnic numbers: the Madison in 'Hairspray'; the country line dance in 'Footloose,' both the old one and the new.** In this line dance, it is a joy to see everyone's individuality – the heroine's vanity, the hero's vigor, his best friend's shyness – tempered by the group pattern, but still visible, just as people once imagined that every soul, after death, would join in the heavenly chorus but still be themselves. 'Happy feet: the pleasures of teen dance movies', article in *The New Yorker* by Joan Acocella, 2011: <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/happy-feet-the-pleasures-of-teen-dance-movies>
- (9) Other statistical correlates of happiness often seem to integrate a healthy balance of these broad categories. **There is, for example, convincing evidence that religious people are happier than the nonreligious**, but this may be because religion often involves interpersonal connections within a community and a larger sense of purpose for our lives. It may also be the case that religion does not so much make people happy as happy people tend to be attracted to religion

— teasing out the causal nature of these relationships is always as much an art as it is a science.

‘Pursuing the science of happiness’, article in *Oregon Humanities* by Andrew Guest, 2010:

<https://oregonhumanities.org/rll/magazine/ha-fall-winter-2010/pursuing-the-science-of-happiness/>

- (10)
- a. This is good news, because we’re going to need to tax them more if we’re ever going to solve the world’s real inequality problem: the estimated 900 million people who live on less than \$1.25 a day. First things first: **America’s rich are really, really rich.** U.S. Census data suggest every man, woman, and child in the top 1 percent of U.S. households gets about \$1,500 to live on each day, every day.  
‘We’re All the 1 Percent’, article in *Foreign Policy* by Charles Kenny, 2012:  
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/02/27/were-all-the-1-percent/>
  - b. Now, we all know about the New York rich. [...] Even so, these are not the rich about whom F. Scott Fitzgerald was so wistful. **These rich live in apartment houses, not limestone mansions that stretch a block;** the Hamptons, where many of them summer, are expensive but scarcely exclusive; and the clothing of the rich, bar the sables, can be duplicated by anybody who has a contact in the garment business, which is everybody. These rich are not separated from the rest of us by miles of lawn, or by miles of mystique either.  
‘Close to Home’, article in *The New York Times* by Mary Cantwell, 1989:  
<https://mobile.nytimes.com/1989/10/05/garden/close-to-home.html>
  - c. Maybe a credentialed teacher costs more than one they can pass off as having credentials, so goodbye good teachers, hello fakes. **Some fired say they are so relieved to be jobless just so they can be done with that school.** That’s telling.  
comment by ‘IvyParent’ on discussion board (‘Ivy Academia charter schools under investigation’), 2009:  
<http://www.topix.com/forum/city/norwalk-ca/TH1KR69GFPOS8QDUU/p5>
  - d. I like the article ...role models are important. But is it OK that I disagree a bit about education? [...] As a physician, I have lots of education. I know many from school that are equally educated. I lived with them and know that their education is not what makes them role models – and **many educated are far from role models.**  
comment by Dr. Michael Haley on ‘Separate the Real Role Models from the Fakes’, blog post on the website of author/leader Charles P. Garcia, 2013:  
<http://charlespgarcia.com/separate-the-real-role-models-from-the-fakes>
  - e. Being homeless subjects you to a dehumanizing experience. Navigating shelters involves the bureaucratic nightmare of being processed, somewhat like a criminal, in order to have somewhere to sleep. **Too many homeless are warehoused for a night and then tossed out in the morning.** To be successful the approach should be toward more permanent housing.  
‘Addressing Homelessness Isn’t Rocket Science’, editorial in *Time* by Richard Gere, 2015:  
<http://time.com/collection-post/4107059/richard-gere-homelessness/>

- (11) a. I would be quick to think how a person who hurt me had no clue as to how hurtful their actions were. The fact is they won't have an idea unless they wanted one. **Facing your ugly is difficult.** You have to remind yourself of times that are embarrassing, petty, painful, and stressful.  
'Facing your ugly', blog post by Aminah Imani, 2014:  
<https://aminahimani.com/2014/09/30/facing-your-ugly/>
- b. That's why I am B-A-C-K with another giveaway, and dare I say it's even more fun than our Valentine's Day favorites? I think this one may take the cake! **All of this pretty is worth OVER \$2,000**, which is crazy – and the best thing ever! Brace yourself, your Friday is about to get REALLY GOOD.  
'My 2017 Spring Favorites Giveaway', blog post by Ashley Brooke, 2017:  
<https://ashleybrookedesigns.com/2017-spring-favorites-giveaway/>
- c. **Want to add some cute to your workout routine?** Look no further than this Asics collaboration with Sanrio. The Hello Kitty activewear collection, which includes shoes, a tank, a hoodie, and even arm warmers, will be available at select Sanrio stores and on Sanrio.com starting next Tuesday, November 15.  
'Sanrio and Asics Partner for "Run With Hello Kitty" Collection', blog post on *Racked* by Lilit Marcus, 2011:  
<https://www.racked.com/2011/11/11/7745049/sanrio-and-asics-partner-for-run-with-hello-kitty-collection>
- d. This trend [of groomsmen wearing only vests but no jacket] seemed to peak late last summer. It's certainly cute for a few pictures, but you shouldn't risk letting your wedding guests dress better than your wedding party. While adorable and pintersty right now, in the future, you may come to regret not having coats at all. **Trendy is good, too much trendy is not.**  
'Tuxedos for Rustic Weddings', blog post (no byline) on the website of clothier 'Savvi formalwear', 2014:  
<https://savviformalwear.com/blog/post/2014/07/23/tuxedos-for-rustic-weddings>
- e. My wife doesn't like every movie, but she doesn't loudly question movies very often. To put that in perspective, the last time she watched an animated feature and wasn't happy with it was *G-Force*. Congrats, *Legend of the Guardians*, you are in elite company. Apparently, **there was not enough cute to counteract the dull and stupid here.** Let's be honest, though. This is a movie for kids, and the standards of entertainment for children are comically low.  
film review of 'Legend of the Guardians' by Brian of BrianVs.Movies.com, 2012:  
<http://brianvsmovies.blogspot.com/2012/11/legend-of-guardians-owls-of-gahoole.html>
- (12) a. The negative projections and derogatory labels placed on the rich are endless. One of the most common is that **the rich are cocky, arrogant people who think they're better than everyone else.** The truth is successful people are confident because they repeatedly bet on themselves and are rarely disappointed.  
'What The Middle Class Doesn't Understand About Rich People', article in *Business Insider* by Steve Siebold, 2014:

<http://www.businessinsider.com/middle-class-doesnt-understand-wealth-2014-10>

- b. I don't doubt that the stuff you list is there, however I don't see it. I check arXiv qbio regularly and I don't see anything 'crazy.' In other words, **the crazy is easily detected and easily ignored. It doesn't taint the quality of everything else there.**  
comment by Joel J. Adamson on a blog post on Mendeley Blog ('Is the time right for a preprint server for life science?'), 2013:  
<https://blog.mendeley.com/2013/04/03/is-the-time-right-for-a-preprint-server-for-life-science/>  
(topic: whether the academic sharing platform 'arXiv' has too many 'crazy' / low-quality articles)

- (13) a. The same study found: forty one percent of adults self-graded their financial aptitude at C, D or F; only thirty-eight percent of Vermonters had monies set aside for emergencies and forty-six percent of Vermonters have sub-prime credit scores. Qualities reminiscent of the financial situation our legislators have placed upon our state. **The liberal press recites their favorite politico's mantra that businesspersons and wealthy are more than willing to be subjected to disproportionate taxes** in return for remaining in Vermont – an absurd hypothesis, unsupported by antidotes or facts. The truth is that the state is losing both premier employers and the maligned wealthy at an ever increasing rate.  
'We Don't Need More "Change" – What We Need is Improvement!', post on the campaign website of Vermont gubernatorial candidate H. Brooke Paige, 2016:  
<http://www.brookepaige.us/id58.html> (originally published in the Central Vermont local newspaper *The World*)
- b. Decade after decade, major events continue to happen; dictators, military coups, violence, famine, floods and the rest. It never seems to end, but this week makes those other disasters look like child's play. **Rich and poor, educated and uneducated are affected.** What next? All they can do is wait. Wait for assistance, wait for supplies to arrive, wait for medical care, wait for the nightmare to end.  
'A prayer and a plea for Haiti', blog post by 'Gary' a.k.a. 'InsidePlaya', 2010:  
<https://insideplaya.org/2010/01/18/haiti/>
- c. From unlocking your phone to switching between apps, day to day tasks on the iPhone X feel new and different because they are new and different. On the one hand, **new is exciting.** And the excitement helps us breeze past the learning curve. But make no mistake about it: there's a learning curve. 'Here is Everything You Need to Know About the iPhone X', post on the personal finance blog 'Len Penzo Dot Com', by Tex Freitag, 2017:  
<https://lenpenzo.com/blog/id46415-here-is-everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-iphone-x.html>
- d. *Mistake #1: Too Plain.* **Simple and sleek is beautiful, but if your business card is plain white with an ordinary black font, you're taking simplicity too far.** According to StatisticBrain.com, there are about 27,397,260

business cards printed daily, with the total number of business cards printed in the United States each year reaching an astonishing 10,000,000,000. If you want your business cards to make an impression, you'll need to find a way to make your cards unique and interesting.

'7 Mistakes to Avoid on Your Business Cards', LogoMaker blog post by Simone Ellis, 2017:

<https://www.logomaker.com/blog/2017/01/12/7-mistakes-to-avoid-on-your-business-cards/>

- e. The assumption is that Japanese men and women will line up for the opportunity to ride a jet whose fuselage, headrests, and beverage cups are decorated with the adorable yellow whatever-he-is, Pikachu. To anyone who knows Japan, the assumption seems apt. There, the pull of the cute is a powerful and omnipresent force. **The Japanese are born into cute and raised with cute. They grow up to save money with cute (Miffy the bunny on Asahi Bank ATM cards), to pray with cute (Hello Kitty charm bags at Shinto shrines), to have sex with cute** (prophylactics decorated with Monkichi the monkey

, a condom stretched over his body, entreating, 'Would you protect me?'). They see back-hoes painted to look like giraffes and police kiosks fixed up like gingerbread houses.

'Cute, Inc', *Wired* article by Mary Roach, 1999:

<https://www.wired.com/1999/12/cute/>

- (18)
  - a. We all – as Paul Tournier points out so well in his article – struggle in much the same way. **The successful want more success.** One step up whets the appetite for the next.  
'A message from the publisher', *Christianity Today International* article by Harold L. Myra, 1981:  
<https://www.christianitytoday.com/pastors/1981/winter/8111146.html>
  - b. I'd rather pay taxes for education and health care than for fighting, foreign aid to countries who despise us and bailouts to car makers who built monstrous SUVs, when it was obvious decades ago we needed to retool. **The selfish say, 'I got mine, and the hell with you.'** Liberals like me say, 'I got mine, and I want to help you get yours.'  
'Messing with the mind', personal blog post by Michael Spinner Smith, 2011:  
<https://michaelspinnersmith.com/category/my-writing/columns-in-reality-check/2011/>
  - c. We just have to be strong, and act like we're doing 'just fine.' **The grieving are often isolated when they most need community.** No wonder people think they're going crazy when a wave of sadness or anger overtakes them unexpectedly, often at odd times and places.  
'Together we have the power over the isolation of grief', blog post at the Community Grief Center by director Dr. Debby Baker, 2017:  
<https://www.communitygriefcenter.org/blog/together-we-have-the-power-over-the-isolation-of-grief>
- (19)
  - a. Identifying the rich used to be fairly simple: They dressed, talked and looked a certain way. They had iconic last names like Hutton or Hearst

or Phipps, often with Roman numerals at the end. **Today, wealth has been democratized and individualized, and the rich come in all ages, shapes, sizes and ethnicities.** People often ask me, 'What do the rich wear? How can you tell by looking at someone today if they're rich?' Such questioners are usually recalling old myths about watches and shoes, but my answer is that there is no way to tell.

'How to Spot a Rich Person', blog post on *The Wall Street Journal* by Robert Frank, 2007:

<https://blogs.wsj.com/wealth/2007/11/01/how-to-spot-a-rich-person/>

- b. Let's be clear, however, that Black and poor are not synonymous. **The poor come in all shades**, and Black Americans come in all financial conditions. But with this said, it is true that Black Americans tend to suffer disproportionately more from whatever ails America.

'Black taxes and reparations', editorial in the *Chicago Crusader* by 'crusader', 2017:

<https://chicagocrusader.com/black-taxes-and-reparations/>

- c. The world is full of self-important, self-absorbed, and self-promoting people. I prefer humble people. They are truly a breath of fresh air when I meet them. [...] Six reasons I like humble people: (1) **The humble are rare.** It is ironic that people today spend so much time declaring they are unique. They want to stand out in a crowd and be noticed. Unfortunately that is becoming a majority. Humility is truly unique. It is the humble who stand out.

'Six reasons I like humble people', post on *Anderson Leadership Solutions* blog by Dave Anderson, 2014:

<http://www.andersonleadershipsolutions.com/six-reasons-i-like-humble-people/>

- (20) a. 'Each night we make a little amount of progress,' he said. 'But for the individuals, it's a life-changing amount of progress.' **The homeless said they had noticed an uptick in the number of officers on subway trains over the last week.** 'It's double,' said Pedro Vargas, 32, a former racehorse jockey from Venezuela who had been living in the subways for three years. 'As Homeless Take Refuge in Subway, More Officers Are Sent to Help', *New York Times* article by Annie Correal, 2018:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/14/nyregion/new-york-subways-homeless-police.html>
- b. Hussein Abu Asharati, spokesman of association for displaced and refugees, told Radio Dabanga that herders stormed the village and forced their livestock into the farms on Sunday midday, 16 December. **When the displaced tried speaking to the herders, the alleged perpetrators shot them,** burned the huts and looted the surroundings, according to the spokesman. He said the attack left Adam Ahmed Gomaa dead and Adam Abdallah and Hussein Ali injured, adding that they come from the Kalma camp. 'Herders allegedly kill man in voluntary return village', article (no byline) on ReliefWeb, 2012:  
<https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/herders-allegedly-kill-man-voluntary-return-village>



- c. A visit from a Croatian woman who says she sees the Virgin Mary on a daily basis drew thousands of people to a small Alabama town this week. Many traveled long distances to be near the self-proclaimed visionary. **Despite skepticism of prominent Catholics, the faithful said they trekked to Sterrett, about 30 minutes south of Birmingham, with hopes of hearing a message from the mother of Jesus**, witnessing miracles, and receiving direction about how to follow their faith. 'I am here to get our Lady's graces,' said Steve Schoenecker, 56, who came from Minnesota. 'Woman who claims to see Virgin Mary visits Ala.', article (with no byline) in *The Blade*, 2012:  
<http://www.toledoblade.com/Religion/2012/07/07/Woman-who-claims-to-see-Virgin-Mary-visits-Ala.html>
- (21) a. Much as The Sims provided a relatively gender-neutral entry to gaming for women, Pokémon broke new ground for girls who subsequently adopted the Game Boy platform and trading card games. **Just as the cute is no longer solely associated with Japan, so too is it no longer solely the preoccupation of females.** Increasingly, versions of cute culture grace mobile and gaming spaces, socializing the technologies and contextualizing the new into media histories of the region.  
*Games and Gaming: An Introduction to New Media*, p. 76, book by Larissa Hjorth, 2011, Berg, UK (found on Google Books)
- b. You have to remember that there are actually people out there who think you should get the death penalty if you kill an animal. **The crazy is widespread and just getting worse.**  
 comment by 'Gremlin1974' on 'LegalInsurrection' blog, 2015:  
<https://legalinsurrection.com/2015/07/lion-what-lion-zimbabwe/>  
 (topic: discussing the angry reactions to an American big game hunter who killed a famous lion in Zimbabwe)
- c. What after all is being represented when we judge that an object is beautiful? It cannot be that something is a certain kind of object. **The beautiful comes in infinite shapes, sizes, and forms.** Moreover, there appears to be a necessary connection between aesthetic judgments and feeling. 'Reading Kant's Third Critique: What the Beautiful Can Teach Us About Judgment', University of California, Riverside philosophy dissertation by Josef Nicholas Cressotti, 2017:  
<https://cloudfront.escholarship.org/dist/prd/content/qt8p15d8ch/qt8p15d8ch.pdf>
- (22) a. Of course then I burned the brownies. I wasn't really hitting any home runs in the baking department today, I'll tell you that. But is anyone really surprised? Things turned out, as they usually do. **I scraped the burnt off of the brownies (my mom taught me well), and they came out delicious.** We ended up with another great week of America-meets -Morocco baking class and a ton of great tasting treats.  
 'My Moroccan sisters', personal blog post by 'HiThereSara', 2014: <http://sarainmorocco.blogspot.com/2014/06/my-moroccan-sisters.html>



- b. Dear Dategirl, **My girlfriend has always been fairly neurotic, but since we had a child, the crazy is making me nuts.** Her pregnancy was fairly smooth, but she could never relax and enjoy it. She was certain she was going to miscarry or the baby would be born with multiple defects. ‘Possibly Gay Baby Has Mom in a Tizzy’, request for advice from ‘FlummoxedFather’ in the ‘Dategirl’ advice column, *The Seattle Weekly News*, 2012:  
<http://archive.seattleweekly.com/2012-06-20/diversions/possibly-gay-baby-has-mom-in-a-tizzy/>
  - c. The soft shell crab also had a really crunchy exterior, and the crab flavour came through quite well. **I really liked the chipotle mayo as it added some spicy to the dish,** and this was balanced out nicely by the pickled cucumber for a more acidic taste. The egg was cooked perfectly and the yolk oozed out when cut into, however I didn’t actually know there was eel in the dish until I read the menu again upon doing this blog post [...] ‘White Mojo’ restaurant review by ‘Vivian’ a.k.a. ‘DelightfullyTastyMelb’ (Melbourne food blogger), 2016: <http://delightfully-tasty.blogspot.com/2016/11/white-mojo-cbd.html>
  - d. High density iron bases to keep the tree planted in an upright position. **Add some festive to your home with this Christmas tree.** Don’t hesitate to buy it!  
 ‘Goplus 5Ft Pre-Lit Fiber Optic Artificial PVC Christmas Tree w/ Metal Stand Holiday’, Sears ad, unknown author, 2018:  
<https://www.sears.com/goplus-5ft-pre-lit-fiber-optic-artificial-pvc/p-A009831377>
- (23)
- a. It might help to first spell out quickly what Darwin’s theory of evolution actually says. Most of us have the general idea: species change over time, **only the fittest survive**, and somehow a monkey-like creature gave rise to human beings. Darwin’s theory of evolution says that each new organism is subtly different from its parents, and these differences can sometimes help the offspring or impede it.  
 ‘How do we know that evolution is really happening?’, article on *BBC Earth* by Chris Baraniuk, 2015:  
<http://www.bbc.com/earth/story/20150803-how-do-we-know-evolution-is-real>
  - b. The Virginia opossum is the only living marsupial from North America. It is common in the eastern USA and has spread north and west. **The young are about the size of a bee when they are born.** Females have a furlined pouch on their abdomen into which these tiny, under-developed young crawl.  
 ‘Virginia Opossum’, fact sheet (with no byline) by the Chattahoochee Nature Center, no date (retrieved June 2018):  
<http://chattnaturecenter.org/includes/wildlife/factsheets/VirginiaOpossum.pdf>
  - c. As the waves of sadness wash over you, you will ‘feel’ natural selection at work. **The weak and mutated die, the healthy survive to pass on their genes.** All that technology and all of modern medicine exists to fight against the selective forces of nature.

‘How can we practically feel “Nature is highly selective”?’ Quora [question/answer website] answer, by Matan Shelomi, 2013:

<https://www.quora.com/How-can-we-practically-feel-Nature-is-highly-selective>

- (24) Bikes parts are becoming less and less interchangeable. **Bike prices are like most economies of the world – the expensive are getting more expensive, the cheap are getting cheaper, and the middle class has disappeared.** The bottom line is you’re left with the choice of spending big bucks every year maintaining the components on an expensive bike, or spending tons of time finding the right parts to maintain your oldschool bike.  
 ‘Steve Litt’s Guide to Transportational Bicycling’, by Steve Litt, circa 2004-2009:  
<http://www.troubleshooters.com/bicycles/>
- (25) a. The frontal lobes, just behind and above the eyes, which help provide self-control, were less active. **The finding may help explain why the sleep-deprived are more likely to give in to calorific temptations.** One of the study’s authors, Matthew Walker, explained: ‘What we have discovered is that high-level brain regions required for complex judgments and decisions become blunted by a lack of sleep, while more primal brain structures that control motivation and desire are amplified.’  
 ‘Why the Sleep-Deprived Crave Junk Food and Buy Higher Calorie Foods’, *PsyBlog* article (no author), 2013:  
<https://www.spring.org.uk/2013/11/why-the-sleep-deprived-crave-junk-food-and-buy-higher-calorie-foods.php>
- b. Drunkenness and youth share in a reckless irresponsibility and the illusion of timelessness. **The young and the drunk are both reprieved from that oppressive, nagging sense of obligation that ruins so much of our lives,** the worry that we really ought to be doing something productive instead. It’s the illicit savor of time stolen, time knowingly and joyfully squandered. ‘Time and the Bottle’, *New York Times* article by Tim Kreider, 2009:  
<https://proof.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/03/30/time-and-the-bottle/>
- c. Start your engines. **This fall, the well-dressed are heading out on the highway in motorcycle jackets.** The perennial favourite of bikers, rockers and off-duty models, the cropped, asymmetric-zipped cut is everywhere you turn this season, showing up in stores in countless colours, fabrics and styles.  
 ‘Style how-to: The moto jacket’, *Toronto Sun* article by Natalia Manzocco, 2013:  
<https://torontosun.com/2013/10/02/style-how-to-the-moto-jacket/wcm/8e9f50d1-4878-429f-ac4a-21b4d74ddf2e>
- d. When you are trying your best just not to die, the last thing you can take on is an insurance battle. And the cynic in me thinks many insurance companies count on that. **The expensive are usually the vulnerable; they are the ones who need coverage the most and whom insurance companies want to cover the least.** This is why I’m taking steps to sue.  
 ‘The Tenth Circle of Hell: Dealing with Insurance Companies’, *Stupid Cancer Blog* article by Lanie Brewster Quinn, 2017:  
<https://blog.stupidcancer.org/the-tenth-circle-of-hell-dealing-with-insurance->

companies-b1dd690f0482

- e. What I find fascinating about the real world is that fantasy is one of the few things that allows you to talk about the imaginary. From what I can see, **the imaginary is the thing that occupies most people's lives and allows them to function**. Money is imaginary. It is a concept, an idea. 'Without the imaginary, we can't function' - in conversation with Neil Gaiman, interview of author Neil Gaiman on *Book Riot* by Edd McCracken, 2013: <https://bookriot.com/2013/09/17/without-imaginary-cant-function-conversation-neil-gaiman/>
  - f. I see Dali-esque landscapes with strangely wrapped animals, a bandaged giraffe suspended in a late-romantic stage set, a monkey trapped clutching a fake tree. I admit it, **I love these unconventional images; my taste for the surreal is thoroughly indulged**. Richard Barnes's pictures can be seen at the Foley Gallery, 547 West 27th Street, through June 5th. 'On and off the walls – Richard Barnes: Animal Magic', *New Yorker* article by Elisabeth Biondi, 2010: <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/photo-booth/on-and-off-the-walls-richard-barnes-animal-magic>
- (26)
- a. Last year the journal *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* found that attractive people are more successful throughout their careers, regardless of factors such as socioeconomic background, parental education, even their own IQs. Previous studies have suggested that the pretty tend to be hired sooner, promoted more rapidly and earn more than less attractive colleagues. **The pretty are recipients of a halo effect, with beneficial impact upon their exam results and ability to make friends**. They are perceived as helpful, receive quicker attention from medics. They even have more chance of getting away with crime. 'Do girls ALWAYS have to be pretty?', blog post by 'OhGirlIAmInTrouble', 2014: <https://ohgirliamintrouble.blogspot.com/2014/08DoGirlsALWAYSHaveToBePrettyOrCanTheyBeBr.html>
  - b. It is arguable that once the intimate connections between aesthetic and other pleasures is made clear, once aesthetics is no longer isolated in the realm of fine art or art plus nature, it will be taken more seriously by philosophers who had previously neglected it. [Section Break] I mention above that **the pretty is seldom discussed in aesthetics**. I want to stress the strangeness of that here. 'Pretty' appears in the indexes of no encyclopedias, companions, guidebooks, or textbooks of aesthetics I know of. 'Defending Everyday Aesthetics and the Concept of "Pretty"', by Thomas Leddy, *Contemporary Aesthetics*, 2012: <https://contempaesthetics.org/newvolume/pages/article.php?articleID=654>
- (27)
- a. This book, like previous ones such as 'On Kissing, Tickling, and Being Bored,' brings his original and accessible readings of psychoanalytic thought to bear on some unexamined phrases of daily life. Historically, he argues, sanity has been consigned to one of two fates: it's either been ignored

because it's not dramatic enough (Hamlet gets all the good lines), or it's been written off by cultural critics (**in a mad world, grumble malcontents from Rousseau to Foucault, only the crazy are authentic**). Some of his categorical claims are inflated. Richard Ford's Frank Bascombe and Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe, for example, spring to mind as imaginatively sane literary characters. "Going Sane": A Mad, Mad World', *New York Times* book review by Gideon Lewis-Kraus, 2005:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/02/books/review/going-sane-a-mad-mad-world.html>

- b. I don't doubt that the stuff you list is there, however I don't see it. I check arXiv qbio regularly and I don't see anything 'crazy.' In other words, **the crazy is easily detected and easily ignored. It doesn't taint the quality of everything else there.**

comment by Joel J. Adamson on a blog post on Mendeley Blog ('Is the time right for a preprint server for life science?'), 2013:

<https://blog.mendeley.com/2013/04/03/is-the-time-right-for-a-preprint-server-for-life-science/>

(topic: whether the academic sharing platform 'arXiv' has too many 'crazy' / low-quality articles)

- (28) a. What would you do if you had an extra hundred million dollars? Would you provide food for the needy? How about helping save endangered species? Maybe you could fund research that might find the cure for cancer. The billionaire family in this documentary decided to build the largest home in America, just for their own nuclear family. **This is a story of the silly rich.** At first, the absurdity is hard to believe.  
'Watch Twice', film review of *The Queen of Versailles* posted on Amazon by Molly McGee, 2015:  
[https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/R3T5PWDJ0R4MCF/ref=cm\\_cr\\_dp\\_d\\_rvw\\_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B008PZ69SE](https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/R3T5PWDJ0R4MCF/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B008PZ69SE)
- b. Chloe's resort wear 2011 is a fun mixture of clothes that Chloe Sevigny herself would be found strolling the streets in. **The understated chic is something that I think several fashionistas will love**, as the pieces are all very easy to wear. The line also features looks that can be paired with heels or sneakers, it is such a mix of styles, which why I like this line so much.  
'Chloe Sevigny Fashion Show', *The Fashion Journal* blog post by Emily Costlow, 2011:  
<http://emilys-thefashionjournal.blogspot.com/2011/05/chloe-sevingy-fashion-show.html>
- (29) a. The Pentagon's top personnel officer, David S.C. Chu, said the size of today's military – 1.4 million in the active component, and 1.2 million in the National Guard and Reserve – is a much smaller percentage of a much larger pool of possible recruits than the United States faced during World War II and into the 1950's. And since the military could not possibly absorb all the 18-year-olds in the population should a draft be reinstated, **there is little doubt that a system of deferrals would be established that, just**

as in the Vietnam era, could create a caste-like system separating the privileged of America from the others. ‘What do you do when not all need to be called and only a few are chosen?’ said Mr. Chu, who is under secretary of defense for personnel and readiness.

‘Need for Draft Is Dismissed by Officials at Pentagon’, *New York Times* article by Thom Shanker, 2004:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/31/politics/need-for-draft-is-dismissed-by-officials-at-pentagon.html>

- b. **Mass:** Allow me to suggest that there are two kinds of crazy in politics. **First, there’s the crazy of the minority – a crazy consisting of wild conspiracy theories by the powerless.** [...] Then there’s the crazy of the majority, characterized by empowered groupthink.  
‘Crazy of the Majority drives Olbermann from Daily Kos’, *Washington Examiner* article by David Freddoso, 2010:  
<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/crazy-of-the-majority-drives-olbermann-from-daily-kos>

- (30) a. So how can those who suffer from depression receive effective treatment and even possibly recover? In the third hour of Rethinking Depression, IDEAS producer **Mary O’Connell brings us the stories of the depressed who are on the path to wellness** and the methods that can be used to get them there. *Participants in the program:* Dr. Sally Merry is an Associate Professor in Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, University of Auckland, New Zealand, Director of Werry Centre Research, headed a team to create SPARX, a computer fantasy game for adolescents with depression.  
‘Rethinking Depression, Part 3’, description of a radio program by Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio, 2013:  
<https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/rethinking-depression-part-3-1.2913444>
- b. So instead, I decided to write a survival guide. **After all, how’s a nice, left-leaning gal like me going to survive the crazy that is this election?** Oh no, I don’t mean the orange guy or the creepy one who looks like Grandpa from the Munster’s TV show. I mean ‘How’s a nice left-leaning gal like me going to survive the insanity that is coming from my own people?’ ‘A Leftie’s Election Survival Guide in 5 Easy Steps’, *Psychology Today* article by Laurie Essig, 2016:  
<https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/social-studies/201603/lefties-election-survival-guide-in-5-easy-steps>
- (31) a. Facebook’s purchase of WhatsApp, which will completely preserve WhatsApp’s independence but pave the way for future collaboration, has been in the works for about two years now. The mammoth sale also isn’t all that surprising considering how Zuckerberg bought Instagram in 2012 and more recently attempted to buy Snapchat (whose company execs politely declined the \$3 billion offer, proving that **even the disgustingly rich aren’t immune to rejection**). We asked NYU students what they know about WhatsApp and responses were varied, consistent with the global user base. ‘Facebook Continues To Take Over The World And Buys WhatsApp’, *NYU Local* article by Amisha Sharma, 2014:

<https://nyulocal.com/facebook-continues-to-take-over-the-world-and-buys-whatsapp-8c8fada0f91>

- b. The rest of the apartment had been designed around the early twentieth century and late nineteenth century paintings. The decor spoke quietly of taste and money. **Lee Ann, herself, was the outstanding example of the owner's appreciation of the expensively beautiful.** Just over five feet tall, the slender Lee Ann was a far cry from the thick-waisted women Kay had heard an uncle of hers describe.

*Death and Near Death: A Yoshinobu Mystery* by John A. Broussard, Boson Books, 2005, p. 63:

[https://books.google.com/books?id=KriDAOzINhSC&pg=PA4&lpg=PA4&dq=Death+and+Near+Death:+A+Yoshinobu+Mystery&source=bl&ots=hi3XtBDwqm&sig=LSgs3ntnHWHm\\_HBFWjadFzwKMpg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiA1JTF-O\\_bAhXL5p8KHRHkBs0Q6AEIRDAI#v=onepage&q=Death%20and%20Near%20Death%3A%20A%20Yoshinobu%20Mystery&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=KriDAOzINhSC&pg=PA4&lpg=PA4&dq=Death+and+Near+Death:+A+Yoshinobu+Mystery&source=bl&ots=hi3XtBDwqm&sig=LSgs3ntnHWHm_HBFWjadFzwKMpg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiA1JTF-O_bAhXL5p8KHRHkBs0Q6AEIRDAI#v=onepage&q=Death%20and%20Near%20Death%3A%20A%20Yoshinobu%20Mystery&f=false)

- (32) a. Driving up default rates will serve only to discredit microfinance and to blur the line between it and other forms of direct aid. Instead of microloans for everyone, **the Bangladesh committee began giving goats or cows to the very poor as a first step toward encouraging their participation in the microcredit program.** Microfinance should not be allowed to fall victim to its success.  
'Microcredit's Limits', *New York Times* editorial (by the editorial board), 2004:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/05/opinion/microcredit-s-limits.html>
- b. Would you rather live a long life in poor health or a short life in good health? For most of us this seems to be the trade-off but for the select few who become 'supercentenarians' (those living to > 110), they seem to have the best of both worlds. **Intriguingly, these oldest of the old are usually of sound mind and physically active until their death,** and avoid many of conditions or diseases that almost seem to be an inevitable part of old age such as cardiovascular disease, metabolic disorders or dementia. Most of us aspire to an old age like the supercentenarians, which is active and healthy but when ill-health makes its inevitable appearance, the decline is rapid but brief.  
'Lessons from the oldest of the old', blog post about a 'Healthy Aging' course at McMaster University, by Dawn Bowdish, 2017: [http://alumni.mcmaster.ca/controls/email\\_marketing/admin/email\\_marketing\\_email\\_viewer.aspx?sid=1439&eiid=6454&seiid=3932&usearchive=1&puid=791564b6-61d4-4aed-9884-764df4f5a0ca](http://alumni.mcmaster.ca/controls/email_marketing/admin/email_marketing_email_viewer.aspx?sid=1439&eiid=6454&seiid=3932&usearchive=1&puid=791564b6-61d4-4aed-9884-764df4f5a0ca)
- c. Perhaps my favorite part of the podcast is the jovial and unfazed manner with which Cecil reports even the most bizarre occurrences [sic]. **His silky voice maintains an air of casual reporting, indicating that even the very bizarre is simply business as usual in Night Vale.** Which makes for all the more impact when he reports on something that is odd, even by Night Vale standards.  
'Radio Drama Love: Welcome to Night Vale', post on *Tea Leaves and Tweed* blog by Jenn Robinson, 2016:



<https://tealeavesandtweed.com/2016/03/04/radio-drama-love-welcome-to-night-vale/>

- (38) a. I don't doubt that the stuff you list is there, however I don't see it. I check arXiv qbio regularly and I don't see anything 'crazy.' In other words, **the crazy is easily detected and easily ignored. It doesn't taint the quality of everything else there.**  
comment by Joel J. Adamson on a blog post on Mendeley Blog ('Is the time right for a preprint server for life science?'), 2013:  
<https://blog.mendeley.com/2013/04/03/is-the-time-right-for-a-preprint-server-for-life-science/>  
(topic: whether the academic sharing platform 'arXiv' has too many 'crazy' / low-quality articles)
- b. Dear Dategirl, **My girlfriend has always been fairly neurotic, but since we had a child, the crazy is making me nuts.** Her pregnancy was fairly smooth, but she could never relax and enjoy it. She was certain she was going to miscarry or the baby would be born with multiple defects. 'Possibly Gay Baby Has Mom in a Tizzy', request for advice from 'FlummoxedFather' in the 'Dategirl' advice column, *The Seattle Weekly News*, 2012:  
<http://archive.seattleweekly.com/2012-06-20/diversions/possibly-gay-baby-has-mom-in-a-tizzy/>
- c. That's why I am B-A-C-K with another giveaway, and dare I say it's even more fun than our Valentine's Day favorites? I think this one may take the cake! **All of this pretty is worth OVER \$2,000**, which is crazy – and the best thing ever! Brace yourself, your Friday is about to get REALLY GOOD. 'My 2017 Spring Favorites Giveaway', blog post by Ashley Brooke, 2017:  
<https://ashleybrookedesigns.com/2017-spring-favorites-giveaway/>
- d. My wife doesn't like every movie, but she doesn't loudly question movies very often. To put that in perspective, the last time she watched an animated feature and wasn't happy with it was *G-Force*. Congrats, *Legend of the Guardians*, you are in elite company. Apparently, **there was not enough cute to counteract the dull and stupid here.** Let's be honest, though. This is a movie for kids, and the standards of entertainment for children are comically low.  
film review of 'Legend of the Guardians' by Brian of BrianVs.Movies.com, 2012:  
<http://brianvsmovies.blogspot.com/2012/11/legend-of-guardians-owls-of-gahoole.html>
- e. The soft shell crab also had a really crunchy exterior, and the crab flavour came through quite well. **I really liked the chipotle mayo as it added some spiciness to the dish,** and this was balanced out nicely by the pickled cucumber for a more acidic taste. The egg was cooked perfectly and the yolk oozed out when cut into, however I didn't actually know there was eel in the dish until I read the menu again upon doing this blog post [...]  
'White Mojo' restaurant review by 'Vivian' a.k.a. 'DelightfullyTastyMelb' (Melbourne food blogger), 2016: <http://delightfully-tasty.blogspot.com/2016/11/white-mojo-cbd.html>



- (40) a. Cultural concepts are always fuzzy, but that doesn't make them useless. [...] **A new entertaining and insightful exhibition** at the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery **confronts one of the most dynamic and hard to define concepts in American cultural life – the cool**. 'American Cool' broaches its subject through photographs of people who helped define and embody the cool since before the idea had even taken definite form, to the current day when it is highly questionable if the 'cool' is still meaningful. 'Defining cool, from Walt Whitman and James Dean to Steve Jobs and Tony Hawk', *Washington Post* article by Philip Kennicott, 2014:  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/defining-cool-from-walt-whitman-and-james-dean-to-steve-jobs-and-tony-hawk/2014/02/05/159e6f9e-8e84-11e3-84e1-27626c5ef5fb\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.f624af722925](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/defining-cool-from-walt-whitman-and-james-dean-to-steve-jobs-and-tony-hawk/2014/02/05/159e6f9e-8e84-11e3-84e1-27626c5ef5fb_story.html?utm_term=.f624af722925)
- b. From China to Britain, people [in the Bronze Age] continued to live in relatively small farming communities, with none of the problems or opportunities of the new large urban centres. **What they did share with them was a taste for the expensive and the exotic, and thanks to well-established trade-routes** even in Britain, on the outside edge of the Asian/European landmass, **they had long been able to get what they wanted**. We're in Canterbury in this programme, around 4000 BC, where the supreme object of desire is a polished jade axe.  
 'Episode 14: Jade Axe', transcript of the British Museum / BBC radio show 'A History of the world in 100 objects' by Neil MacGregor, 2011:  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/about/transcripts/episode14/>
- c. Yachty is at the center of a groundswell of joyousness in hip-hop. [...] In an earlier era, the song might have been overlooked as a curiosity; in the streaming era, where online enthusiasm can give an artist a nitro-boost, it has become a Billboard-chart-topping anthem. **This tendency toward the cheerful is grounded in aesthetic choices, certainly**. Yachty is a disciple of Lil B, the irreverent and cultish Bay Area rapper whose ethos of self-love and hyperpositivity continues to influence each new micro-generation of rap.  
 'What Lil Yachty's Optimism means', *New Yorker* music review by Carrie Battan, 2017:  
<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/05/29/what-lil-yachtys-optimism-means>
- d. **The line between the eccentric and the tacky is very fine, and season after season, Jeremy Scott has demonstrated his skill at walking that tightrope of taste**. Armed with a volcanic creativity and a witty irony, Scott has transformed the Moschino brand into a new entity, and the men's collection he showcased in Florence's historic Palazzo Corsini is the fruit of this process.  
 'Moschino Men's RTW Fall 2016', *Women's Wear Daily* article by Alessandra Turra, 2015:  
<http://wwd.com/menswear-news/mens-fashion/moschino-mens-rtw-fall-10158393/>
- e. Perhaps my favorite part of the podcast is the jovial and unfazed manner with which Cecil reports even the most bizarre occurrences [sic]. **His silky voice maintains an air of casual reporting, indicating that even the very bizarre is simply business as usual in Night Vale**. Which makes

for all the more impact when he reports on something that is odd, even by Night Vale standards.

'Radio Drama Love: Welcome to Night Vale', post on *Tea Leaves and Tweed* blog by Jenn Robinson, 2016:

<https://tealeavesandtweed.com/2016/03/04/radio-drama-love-welcome-to-night-vale/>

- (49) a. Pregnancy is the worst fucking thing. It's uncomfortable and gross, and you feel like a goddamn crazy person. Nothing makes sense and everything is upsetting because you don't understand why it's so annoying. You're always tired, drained and hungry and nothing makes it feel better. Personally, I HATED being pregnant. But it ends, the baby comes, and I fell SO MUCH in love with my baby that it makes it all worth it. **The crazy lasted about two months after pregnancy while hormones levelled out and my body normalized.** It will get better.  
 Reddit comment on the relationships forum [r/relationships](#) by 'r\_matsuiya', 2016:  
[https://www.reddit.com/r/relationships/comments/3bl1x3/me\\_28\\_m\\_with\\_my\\_wife\\_of\\_29f\\_of\\_4\\_years\\_pregnancy/](https://www.reddit.com/r/relationships/comments/3bl1x3/me_28_m_with_my_wife_of_29f_of_4_years_pregnancy/)
- b. There's been a lot of change lately and sometimes it all just hits me at once. I am happy and maybe it's good to have those off nights, so that I can appreciate that I'm not feeling like that all the time anymore. It was a good day, and I am so blessed with the people that I have in my life right now. **I'm glad that the sad lasted for an hour and not days.** Or weeks. Or months. Always a silver lining!  
 'My city is better than yours (Neener Neener)', blog post on 'Probably not? Why not?' by 'MsCammell', 2014: <http://probablynotwhynot.blogspot.com/2014/01/>
- c. Then a burst of green comes in: hyacinth, and it is slightly sour. I thought, okay, why not? **The sour lasts a little bit - it's the heart of the perfume - and then it dries down to this generic shampoo scent.** This literally smells like if you dried shampoo in your hands.  
 'A rose without a rose', perfume review on the personal blog of 'Luha Thoughts', 2014:  
<http://luhathoughts.blogspot.com/2014/01/a-rose-without-rose-perfume-review.html>
- (50) a. In my opinion, there is nothing particularly interesting in Drumcondra area, except the botanic gardens which is worth visiting. Otherwise **all the interesting is located in the City, which is easily reached by bus.** Pubs and restaurants in the area seem to be a bit cheaper than in the city though.  
 'Good base for stay in Dublin', Tripadvisor review by 'eskobar', 2008:  
[https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186605-d606158-r27590436-Willow\\_House\\_Bed\\_and\\_Breakfast-Dublin\\_County\\_Dublin.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186605-d606158-r27590436-Willow_House_Bed_and_Breakfast-Dublin_County_Dublin.html)
- b. When the retreat was finally over, I was joyfully relieved to get back to talking. I remember talking nonstop to anyone who would listen to me about why extroverts should never participate in silent retreats! It has taken me decades to get to this realization: **I have spent more of my time trying to**

**control the crazy on the outside than I have working toward creating calm on the inside.** This was as big a revelation as the one that came in my late 20s when I finally understood that the way you look on the outside matters, but only a fraction as much as who you are on the inside.

‘A Center of Calm’, article in *Christianity Today* by Nicole Johnson, 2017:

<https://www.christianitytoday.com/women/devotions/2017/choosing-stillness/center-of-calm.html>

- c. Okay, so the white dress looks alright. Not great, and pretty boring coming from a fashion icon, but there’s nothing actually wrong with it. But, it’s the only one. Although **I like the sparkly on the redhead’s dress**, the rest of it is just such an ugly colour. It would have been nice if not for that colour. ‘Bag The SatC [Sex and the City] Poster: Round 5’, blog post by ‘Miss Bittens’, 2008:

<https://missbittens.wordpress.com/2008/06/12/bag-the-satc-poster-round-5/>

- (51) a. I am obsessed once a year with these beautiful blooms. My Japanese magnolia tree was stunning this year. **I love trying to capture the delicate beautiful of these winter blooms.**  
 ‘Japanese Magnolia bloom #1’, artist’s description of a painting for sale, by USA-based artist Pamela Long, on the Saatchi Art (art sales) website, no date (retrieved June 2018):  
<https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Japanese-Magnolia-bloom-1/892238/3744004/view>
- b. **This photo by Jassen Todorov reveals the rugged beautiful of Koehn Lake in the Mojave Desert in California.** [no preceding or following context, since this is just a one-line caption in a photo essay.]  
 ‘Earth like you’ve never seen it before: Stunning aerial photos reveal beauty of frozen rivers, rainbow tulip fields and the turquoise waters at the Great Barrier Reef’, *Daily Mail* article by Becky Pimberton, 2015:  
[http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel\\_news/article-3116761/Earth-like-ve-never-seen-Stunning-aerial-photos-reveal-beauty-frozen-rivers-rainbow-tulip-fields-turquoise-waters-Great-Barrier-Reef.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-3116761/Earth-like-ve-never-seen-Stunning-aerial-photos-reveal-beauty-frozen-rivers-rainbow-tulip-fields-turquoise-waters-Great-Barrier-Reef.html)