## Contents

**Acknowledgments**  page x

1 Preliminaries  1
   1.1 Two problems  1
   1.2 What this book is and isn’t  2
   1.3 Background assumptions  3
      1.3.1 Glossing logical notation  3
      1.3.2 Theoretical framework  4
      1.3.3 Notational and typographical conventions  7
   1.4 What, if anything, is modification?  8
   1.5 Roadmap  12

2 The lexical semantics of adjectives: more than just scales  13
   2.1 Introduction  13
   2.2 How adjectives and nouns combine: a typology  14
      2.2.1 Intersective interpretations  14
      2.2.2 Subsective interpretations  16
      2.2.3 Apparently subsective intersective interpretations  20
      2.2.4 Ordinary non-subsective adjectives  22
      2.2.5 Privative adjectives, which may not exist  24
   2.3 The type of adjectives and the nature of subsectivity  26
      2.3.1 How powerful are adjectives?  26
      2.3.2 Siegel: the Doublet Theory  30
      2.3.3 Larson: events inside the nominal extended projection  34
      2.3.4 The implicit-argument approach  41
      2.3.5 How much power is too much? Impossible adjectives  42
   2.4 The menagerie of adjectives  44
      2.4.1 A word about adjective classification  44
      2.4.2 Temporal-ordering adjectives  45
2.4.3 Classificatory/relational adjectives 48
2.4.4 The trouble with stone lions 53
2.4.5 The attributive-with-infinitive construction 55
2.4.6 Adnominal degree modifiers 57
2.5 Adjectives where they have no right to be: adverbial readings 59
   2.5.1 A scope puzzle 59
   2.5.2 Frequency adjectives: the facts 60
   2.5.3 The adverbial reading of frequency adjectives 63
   2.5.4 The internal reading of frequency adjectives 67
   2.5.5 Average Americans and parasitic scope 68
   2.5.6 Sameness and difference 74
   2.5.7 Other adverbial readings and the bigger picture 77
2.6 Adjective position and syntactic issues 79
   2.6.1 Attributive vs. predicative, prenominal vs. postnominal 79
   2.6.2 Indirect modification 81
   2.6.3 Stage-level/individual-level contrasts 82
   2.6.4 A focus position? 84
2.7 What is it to be an adjective? 85
2.8 Questions for further reflection and discussion 86
2.9 Suggestions for further reading 87

3 Vagueness, degrees, and gradable predicates 88
3.1 Introduction 88
3.2 Vagueness 89
   3.2.1 Identifying vagueness 89
   3.2.2 Vagueness vs. ambiguity 91
   3.2.3 Vagueness vs. imprecision 93
   3.2.4 Some foundational questions 96
3.3 Theories of vagueness and gradability: a false start 97
   3.3.1 Three approaches 97
   3.3.2 Fuzzy logic 98
3.4 The inherent vagueness approach 100
   3.4.1 Extension gaps 100
   3.4.2 Precisification and supertruth 102
   3.4.3 Comparatives 104
   3.4.4 Degree words 107
   3.4.5 Degree functions and comparatives revisited 108
3.5 The degree-based approach 109
   3.5.1 Degrees 109
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.5.2 Gradable predicates</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.3 Borderline cases and context-dependence</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.4 The tautology and contradiction issue</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.5 Comparatives</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.6 Degree words</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.7 Varieties of degrees</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Degree or not degree? That is the question</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Scales and the lexical semantics of adjectives</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.1 Antonyms</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.2 Open and closed scales</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.3 Dimensional and non-dimensional adjectives</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.4 Extreme adjectives</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.5 Gradable modal adjectives</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.6 On scales and categories</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8 Questions for further reflection and discussion</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9 Suggestions for further reading</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Comparatives and their kin</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Introduction</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 The syntax and semantics of the extended AP</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 Getting terminology out of the way</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2 The unpronounced in comparative clauses</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3 First steps</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4 The big DegP view</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.5 The small DegP view</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.6 Scope and degree operators</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7 The Russell ambiguity</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.8 Quantification and comparative clauses</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Other degree constructions</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Differential comparatives and measure phrases</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Equatives</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3 Superlatives</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4 Sufficiency and excess</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.5 Degree exclamatives and degree questions</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.6 Metalinguistic comparatives</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.7 Comparison of deviation</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.8 Indirect comparison</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Neutralization and positive-entailingness</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 The crosslinguistic picture</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.1 Measure phrases</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5.2 Comparison strategies 187
4.5.3 How much degree is there in your degree constructions? 188
4.6 Questions for further reflection and discussion 191
4.7 Suggestions for further reading 191
5 Adverbs 193
5.1 Introduction 193
5.2 Classifying adverbials 194
5.3 The compositional puzzle 197
5.3.1 Modifiers of propositions? 197
5.3.2 Subject-oriented adverbs and the predicate-modifier approach 199
5.3.3 Problems for the intersective approach 201
5.3.4 Davidsonian events: the intersective approach redeemed 204
5.4 Manner and subject orientation 208
5.4.1 Augmentation and passive-sensitivity 208
5.4.2 The Neo-Davidsonian strategy and thematic roles 212
5.4.3 Comparison classes and related tools 215
5.4.4 The bottom-up analytical strategy 221
5.4.5 Topic-orientation 223
5.4.6 Is there such a thing as a manner? 226
5.5 Speaker-oriented adverbials 228
5.5.1 Speech-act adverbials 228
5.5.2 Evaluative adverbs 233
5.5.3 Modal adverbs 235
5.5.4 Polarity 236
5.6 Locative adverbials 237
5.6.1 Types and positions of locative adverbials 237
5.6.2 Vector Space Semantics 238
5.7 Adverbs as modifiers of adjectives 240
5.8 Phenomena we will mostly set aside 243
5.8.1 Temporal adverbials 243
5.8.2 Adverbs of quantification 245
5.9 Adverb order revisited 246
5.10 Questions for further reflection and discussion 248
5.11 Suggestions for further reading 249
6 Crosscategorial concerns 250
6.1 Introduction 250
6.2 Amounts and cardinality scales 251
## Contents

6.2.1 Quantity adjectives and number words 251  
6.2.2 Amount comparatives 255  
6.3 Gradability and non-adjectival predicates 257  
6.3.1 Verbal gradability 257  
6.3.2 Nominal gradability 260  
6.4 Hedging and reinforcing across categories 262  
6.5 Nonrestrictive modifiers 267  
6.6 Predicates of personal taste 271  
6.7 Questions for further reflection and discussion 273  
6.8 Suggestions for further reading 274  
7 Taking stock 276  
7.1 Back to the beginning 276  
7.2 Where to from here? 279  

Glossary 284  
References 298  
Index 330