# A New Level of Stupid, a Different Kind of Cool:
# Noun-*of*-Adj(P) Structures in English

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# Abstract

This paper is concerned with English constructions of the surface form [Noun+*of*+Adj(P)], e.g. *the realm of cute*, *the same amount of sad*, *a new level of stupid*. These constructions are interesting first because the preposition *of* appears to take on an adjectival complement instead of a nominal one. Second, an expression of this form is sometimes but not always interchangeable with its counterpart using the overtly nominalized form of the adjective; e.g. *The amount of stupid is impressive = The amount of stupidity is impressive*, but *We are the same amount of sad ≠ #We are the same amount of sadness*.

    In this thesis, I argue that noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions involve a syntactic process that changes the Adj(P) into a noun. Moreover, to account for the contrast mentioned above, I distinguish between two types of distribution for noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions. One is the basic case, where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression behaves nominally ("the amount of stupid" paraphraseable as "the amount of stupidity" in *The amount of stupid is impressive*). The other is when the noun-*of*-Adj(P) exhibits both nominal and adjectival characteristics despite having a surface structure that seems to be nominal ("the same amount of sad" paraphraseable as "equally sad" in *We are the same amount of sad*). To arrive at an account for the basic structure of these noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, I first focus my attention on the Adj(P) part of the expression and propose an analysis of the mechanism by which the Adj(P) is able to function as a nominal, arguing in favor of a conversion analysis over one that involves an empty noun or *pro*, as has been proposed for human and abstract constructions such as *the poor* and *the impossible*. Finally, in order to explain the behavior of noun-*of*-Adj(P) in cases where the expression exhibits both properties of an adjectival phrase as well as those of a nominal phrase, I posit that in some instances, noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions may participate in multidominance structures.

**Keywords:** adjectives, nouns, *of*, conversion, abstract construction, Distributed Morphology, multidominance, parenthesis, language change, partitives

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# Contents

# 1  Introduction

Prepositions, or more generally adpositions, are words that combine with complements composed of a nominal phrase or a clause that functions nominally to form prepositional phrases (PP), which express some sort of grammatical and/or semantic relation to another unit within a clause. This paper investigates the syntactic properties and structures of English constructions with the surface form [(Det+)Noun+*of*+Adj(P)], in which a noun is followed by what appears to be a PP consisting of the preposition *of* and an adjective or adjective phrase, Adj(P), that appears to function as its complement. I will refer to these as 'noun-*of*-Adj(P)' constructions. Examples include expressions such as those in (1):

(1)  a.  the realm of cute

    b.  the same amount of sad

    c.  a new level of stupid

These constructions are interesting for a few reasons. First, the complement of the preposition *of* appears on the surface to be adjectival instead of nominal, as is usually the case for complements of P. Second, a phrase of this form is not always (though it can be) equivalent to its counterpart using the overtly nominalized form of the adjective; i.e. *amount of sad* cannot always be replaced with *amount of sadness*, and neither are *kind of stupid*[1] and *kind of stupidity* always interchangeable, as demonstrated in (2).

(2)  a.  We are the same amount of sad.

    b.  #We are the same amount of sadness.

(To account for this observation and others, I will propose a difference between the syntactic structures of (2a) and (2b).)

I will base my examination of the syntactic behavior of these constructions on attested occurrences found in conversation and internet sources, at the same time synthesizing existing work on related or (at least superficially) similar constructions such as the human (3) and abstract (4) con-

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[1]Here I am not referring to the use of the phrase that means "a little stupid," which is an AdjP with *kind of* acting as a degree adverb, and sometimes realized as *kinda stupid*.

structions (Kester 1996, Günther 2013, Wu 2020), and adjective-to-noun conversion or deadjectival nouns as in (5) (Kim 2010, Brown & Miller 2016, Wu 2020).

(3)  the poor, the young, the very wise, the accused

(4)  the familiar, the impossible, the unimaginable

(5)  the unfashionables, unknown unknowns, a facial, a regular, perishables, explosive

Because the constructions are relatively novel and occur mainly in colloquial registers, not all constructions of the superficial form [N+*of*+Adj(P)] may be accepted by all speakers. However, examination of attested examples of such constructions reveals a few interesting characteristics in their structural makeup and syntactic distribution. I will argue that these constructions involve conversion of the Adj(P) and behave nominally in syntax, with the Adj(P) actually forming part of a nominal constituent, as in cases like (6) and (7), where *cute* and *stupid* behave as nominals connoting some abstract concept or property and are replaceable by *cuteness* and *stupidity*.[2]

(6)  There were a good few years where Nintendo had almost no competition in **the realm of cute**...*web*

(7)  **The amount of stupid** is actually kind of impressive...*web*

However, we also see that in some cases noun-*of*-Adj(P) may behave adjectivally despite having a surface structure that appears nominal, as in (8), where the adjective *proud* can go on to take a rather complex complement and is not interchangeable with *proudness*.

(8)  We're also **the same amount of proud of a woman who just took herself to dinner alone for the first time**.*web*

The contrast between the examples in (6) and (7) and that in (8) forms the basis of my distinction between the type of noun-*of*-Adj(P) that is strictly nominal and the type that demonstrates both nominal and adjectival behavior. I will focus my attention first on the Adj(P) part of the expression and propose a mechanism by which the Adj(P) is able to function as a nominal, arguing in favor of a conversion analysis. This will form the basis of my structural analysis for noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions that exhibit purely nominal behavior, e.g. (6) and (7). To account for cases like (8),

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[2]All examples marked with *web* were taken from the internet. URLs to the sites for each example, when available, are included in the Appendix. Examples not otherwise marked are made up by me.

where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) exhibits both nominal and adjectival behavior, I posit that in these cases the noun-*of*-Adj(P) is participating in a multidominance structure.

All examples in this paper marked with a [web] were obtained through the internet, by searching up phrases that try to limit results to cases of noun-*of*-Adj(P) (e.g., it would be ineffective to do a search on a phrase of the form *kind of [Adj(P)]*, because in this case *kind of* may function adverbially; in contrast, searching on a phrase of the forms *a/the (same/different/new) kind of [Adj(P)]* or *level of [Adj(P)]* would be more likely to yield results I am interested in). Whenever available, the URL to where the sentence or phrase was found are included in the Appendix, though of course the links may not be valid/active indefinitely. Additionally, a number of examples were identified through Sketch Engine using CQL (again, URLs for these items are provided when possible in the Appendix). Example items not otherwise marked or cited from other works are of my own creation.

This paper is organized as follows. The remainder of this section discusses the syntactic and lexical distributions of the noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions. Section 2 first provides an overview of adjectival-seeming elements that are used nominally, followed by a novel conversion analysis of what has previously been categorized as abstract constructions by some. Section 3 discusses and presents an analysis for the first type of noun-*of*-Adj(P), which behaves nominally. Section 4 does so for the second type of noun-*of*-Adj(P), which exhibits both nominal and adjectival behavior, and for which I propose an analysis involving multidominance. Section 5 concludes.

## 1.1   Noun-*of*-Adj(P) Constructions

In this section, I provide a survey of noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions and discuss their distribution and composition. The vast majority of the examples presented here and throughout this paper are attested examples, from online articles and forums, books, as well as my personal correspondence.

### 1.1.1   Syntactic Distribution of Noun-*of*-Adj(P)

I first turn to the syntactic distribution of noun-*of*-Adj(P). As is probably clear by the examples presented up until now and those that follow, the noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction usually follows after a determiner, can be modified by adjectives (9), and can occur in the position of a possessed

noun phrase (10), all of which suggest that the construction, perhaps unsurprisingly, has nominal properties.

(9) Tiktok is **a different kind of stupid**<sup></sup>*web*

(10) Fortunately, Sana is only **a normal person's level of afraid of Vader**...*web*

Here I would like to draw a distinction between argument and predicate positions. We note that noun-*of*-Adj(P) can occur in both subject (11) and object (12) positions, as well as as complements of P (13). These positions are argument positions,

(11) a. Y'all, **the level of stupid** is astounding.*web*

b. **This level of scary** suits me personally very well.*web*

(12) a. M-MY HEART! IT CAN'T HANDLE **THIS EXTENT OF CUTE**!!!*web*

b. There are writers who deliver **the same kind of awesome** every time...*web*

(13) I'm on **another level of bored**.*web*

Noun-*of*-Adj(P) can also function as predicate. Although many of the examples that have been presented already contain noun-*of*-Adj(P) in predicate position, I present a few more in (14) below to illustrate the point:

(14) a. Been **a new level of angry** the past few days...*web*

b. But really it's **the same amount of hard**. It's all hard.*web*

This distinction between argument and predicate positions will be relevant in my discussion of the two different types of distribution exhibited by noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions.

### 1.1.2 The Noun

A variety of nouns can appear in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions. It appears that nouns that are often found in these constructions tend to belong to one of four roughly defined groups, which I now discuss.

**I.** First, taking the classic *level of stupid* as a canonical example, we find nouns such as *level*, *amount*, and *degree*, which denote a quantity or a limit. Examples of this type are as shown in (15) below, with the noun in question underlined.

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(15)　a. Everyone on #ThisIsUs is sad, but not everyone is **the same <u>amount</u> of sad**.<sup>*web*</sup>

　　b. **The <u>amount</u> of stupid** is actually kind of impressive...<sup>*web*</sup>

　　c. I am **the <u>level</u> of tired I think I'm going to spend most of 2019 at**<sup>*web*</sup>

　　d. Too bad Barnes can't work up **a <u>degree</u> of nasty to match his looks**, which would have really added to the showdown.<sup>*web*</sup>

**II.**　Second, we also tend to find nouns that imply a generalization in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions. Nouns of this second type include words such as *kind*, *type*, and *sort*; a number of examples are presented in (16).

(16)　a. Are You **the Right <u>Type</u> of Busy**?<sup>*web*</sup>

　　b. weed people, diet people, and crypto people are **the exact same <u>kind</u> of annoying**<sup>*web*</sup>

　　c. **Some <u>Sort</u> of Happy** (title of book by Melanie Harlow)

　　d. We would find that we are the same kind / **The same <u>kind</u> of broken** (song lyrics from "Same Kind of Broken" by Jason Castro)

**III.**　Third, we also find nouns such as *epitome*, *image*, and *definition* appearing in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, usually used to convey the idea of being the characteristic example of property denoted by the Adj(P). Examples are shown in (17).

(17)　a. This guy was **the <u>epitome</u> of stressed**.<sup>*web*</sup>

　　b. Outside of providing context for what little happens, Jac's presence is **the very <u>definition</u> of unnecessary**.<sup>*web*</sup>

　　c. The former Nsync singer, seen by many as **the very <u>image</u> of cool** for his work in music and film, told US magazine GQ that the sobriquet does not fit him.<sup>*web*</sup>

　　d. I highly recommend her as a therapist who is absolutely **the <u>embodiment</u> of kind**.<sup>*web*</sup>

**IV.**　Lastly, we have nouns such as *realm*, *world*, and *domain*, which are often used in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions to refer to a space or boundary, physical or abstract, characterized by the property or concept denoted by the Adj(P), as in (18).

(18)　a. *Zoombies* enters **another <u>world</u> of stupid that's honestly charming**.

b. But even if that's the case, we're happy to see any instance of engineers pushing performance into **the realm of unnecessary**.*web*

c. ...so bizarre that it managed reach out and touch **the domain of weird colonised by the Silver Surfer's surfboard and Galactus's helmet**.*web*

d. Japanese drugstores are **another world of confusing** for this beauty junkie.*web*

e. ...human experience is **an entire universe of strange and surprising***web*

f. Libras are ruled by Venus, **the planet of pretty**.

g. it's uncanny to **the point of disturbing***web*

h. What you see here are 4 Veitchii Gardenias in **various stages of dead and dying**.*web*

Note, however, that although I have identified four groups of nouns that are often found to occur in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, I am not claiming that these are the *only* types of nouns that can occur in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions.

### 1.1.3  The Adjective (Phrase)

Having examined the noun in noun-*of*-Adj(P), I now turn my attention to the variety of adjectival phrases that can appear as the Adj(P) in the constructions.

**Coordinated Adj(P)s.**   The vast majority of the examples I have presented up to this point have involved fairly simple adjective phrases that consists of a single word, but this does not have to be the case. Consider the examples in (18e, 18h) and below in (19), where we have coordination between two or more Adj(P)s (underlined):

(19)  a. The mise-en-scene is so bleak as to **the extent of scary or even gruesome**.*web*

b. Cinderella is **the very image of hard working, humble, and absolutely deserving of more**.*web*

**AdjPs with Complements.**   Moreover, we find examples of AdjPs in which adjectives take complements. Consider the examples in (8) and (20), again with the AdjPs underlined:

(20)  a. ...I am **a huge amount of proud of our city, school district and the wonderful Rose Kennedy Greenway parks**.*web*

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b. So I was really scared, **the kind of <u>scared of the dark</u> I was when I was a kid**, which was a little embarrassing.[*web*]

c. Fortunately, Sana is only **a normal person's level of <u>afraid of Vader</u>**...[*web*]

d. I'm **"I just used a grocery cart at a liquor store" level of <u>nervous about this election</u>**[*web*]

e. Whatever it is you're passionate about, be *that* **level of <u>curious about it</u>** to become an expert.[*web*]

f. ...even if we're all **some different level of <u>angry with each other</u>**.[*web*]

In (20a), the AdjP is headed by the adjective *proud*, and *proud* selects for a complement PP headed by *of*. In (20b, 20c), the adjectives *scared* and *afraid* also select for complement PPs headed by *of*. In (20d, 20e), the adjectives *nervous* and *curious* select for PPs headed by *about*. And in (20f), *angry* selects for a complement PP headed by *with*. In addition, considering the AdjPs underlined in (19) and (20), we can conclude that it is possible for long and/or structurally complex AdjPs to occur in [N+*of*+Adj(P)] constructions.

**Adj(P)s with Adverbial Modifiers.**  We also find noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions in which the Adj(P) contains adverbial modifiers such as degree modifier *too* and intensifier *super*, as in (21).

(21)  a. Touch of brilliance or verging in **the realm of <u>too cute</u>**?[*web*]

b. One rose to **the level of <u>too stupid to be written</u>**...[*web*]

c. I mean, there are a lot of cute bungalows in the neighborhood — some of which you could even classify in **the realm of <u>*super cute*</u>**.[*web*]

**Comparatives & Superlatives.**  There are also examples in which the AdjP contains the comparative form of the adjective, such as those in (22), as well as those that contain the superlative form, as in (23). However, there may be semantic factors that make it more unlikely for comparatives or superlatives to appear in the noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction, as examples like (22) and (23) are much harder to find.

(22)  a. We're Holding On For **the Kind of <u>Better</u> That Can Only Come From the Worse**[*web*]

b. **The kind of <u>better</u> we need** is **the kind of <u>better</u> so antithetical to the logic of white supremacy that that logic must reflexively oppose it**.*web*

c. Then, at work I had to work harder, longer and smarter than the men around me to get ahead. I had to dress better, be skinnier, and be **just the right amount of <u>cuter</u>**, too.*web*

(23) a. **The amount of <u>cutest</u>** is almost too much.*web*

b. Rising definitely ascended him past **the level of <u>coolest</u>**.*web*

**Non-AdjPs.** Lastly, there are also instances where, instead of an AdjP, we find a PP in its position. The canonical example I have found is with the PP *in love*, used adjectivally, as in (24). Note that in (24c) the PP is hyphenated; this is not uncommon.

(24) a. Even though they look. . . **the same amount of glamorous and <u>in love</u>**?*web*

b. . . . you're one of the odd ones: a little too obsessed with camping, but **just the right amount of <u>in love with the great outdoors</u>**.*web*

c. My grandparents are **the kind of <u>in-love</u> that makes people want to believe in soulmates**.*web*

I propose that in these cases the phrase *in love* actually functions not as a prepositional phrase, but as a phrasal adjective that is only used predicatively.

## 1.2 This Paper: Two Types of Noun-*of*-Adj(P)

In this paper, I will be proposing that there are two types of noun-*of*-Adj(P) structures, which I will term simply *Type I* and *Type II*. I claim that Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P), which is the basic case and which I discuss in Section 3, tends to occur in argument positions and involves the conversion of the adjective (phrase) into a nominal element, involving a null nominalizing category head $n_{\text{prop}}$ that merges with an Adj(P) to form a noun, where $_{\text{prop}}$ indicates that the resulting noun is interpreted as some property denoted by the adjective (phrase). The motivations for $n_{\text{prop}}$ are discussed in Section 2. For the sake of completeness, I will discuss two cases of Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P), one that involves a noun taking a PP complement, as in *the realm of cute*, and one that should be treated as a pseudopartitive, as in *the same amount of sad*. What is common to both of these cases is that

the Adj(P) in noun-*of*-Adj(P) is analyzed as having undergone conversion to a noun. In both cases, the Adj(P) is interpreted to mean something along the lines of *Adj(P)-ness/-ity* or *being Adj(P)*, and the resulting noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction behaves nominally (i.e. distributes as one would expect an NP to) as a whole.

On the other hand, Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P), as I discuss in Section 4, only occurs in predicate positions and simultaneously exhibits properties of both adjectival elements and nominal elements. Crucially, we find occurrences of Type II constructions in syntactic environments that select for adjectival elements, for instance as complement to perception verbs like *seem* and *look*. Moreover, the Adj(P) in Type II constructions cannot be felicitously replaced with a corresponding *-ness/-ity* counterpart or be paraphrased as *being Adj(P)*; that is, these expressions are interpreted primarily as adjectival elements, not nominal. Even more surprising then is that these constructions are found to participate in relative constructions, even as they are (in the matrix clause) interpreted as predicates or adjectives, not nominals. As such, I will distinguish these noun-*of*-Adj(P) instances from the basic Type I cases, and ultimately posit that a Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction may be participating in a multidominance structure such that its relationship to the rest of the clause allows for both an adjectival and a nominal interpretation.

# 2 Adjectives Used Like Nouns: A New Classification

The appearance of an Adj(P) after the preposition *of* in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions is unexpected, as it tends to be nominal elements that follow prepositions. This suggests that the Adj(P) in noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions may be functioning like a noun. This section, therefore, discusses instances of adjectives which are (or appear to be) used nominally. I survey existing work on constructions in which adjectives appear to behave nominally, looking at both human and abstract constructions (section 2.1.1) as well as cases of adjective-to-noun conversion (section 2.1.2). In particular, I focus on making a distinction between abstract constructions such as *the impossible* and cases of adjective-to-noun conversion in which the resulting noun is noncount and refers not to some entity describable by the adjective but to a property or state denoted by the adjective itself, an abstract concept. I present a novel argument in section 2.2 that certain cases that have been analyzed previously as abstract constructions are actually cases involving conversion. In Section 3, I ultimately argue that the Adj(P) involved in a noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction undergoes conversion from an adjectival to a nominal element.

## 2.1 Existing Analyses

### 2.1.1 Determiner + Adjective Constructions

One widely studied class of constructions has been constructions of the form Determiner + Adjective, in which a determiner, most commonly the definite *the*, is combined with an adjective (and no noun) to form a determiner phrase (Pullum 1975, Quirk et al. 1985, Kester 1996, Fillmore, Lee-Goldman & Rhodes 2011, Glass 2019, 2013, Günther 2013, 2018, Wu 2020). Within this class of constructions, two constructions have been distinguished: the **human construction** (25) and the **abstract construction** (26). Examples like those in (27) have also been categorized as abstract constructions in the existing literature by authors like Wu (2020) and Glass (2019, 2013); however, I will argue that the examples in (27) involve conversion and should not be analyzed in the same way as those in (26), which I consider abstract constructions proper.

(25)   HUMAN CONSTRUCTION

    a. **The creative** are more likely to be intrinsically (internally) motivated.

<div align="right">(=(1a) in Glass 2013)</div>

    b. Even **the disgustingly rich** aren't immune to rejection.    (=(31a) in Glass 2019)

(26)   ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION

    a. **The familiar** is something dangerously wonderful.    (=(1b) in Glass 2013)

    b. Lee Ann, herself, was the outstanding example of the owner's appreciation of **the expensively beautiful**.    (=(31b) in Glass 2019)

(27)   ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION—OR SOMETHING ELSE?

    a. All of **this pretty** is worth OVER $2,000.    (=(39c) in Glass 2019)

    b. There was not **enough cute** to counteract **the dull and stupid** here.

<div align="right">(=(39d) in Glass 2019)</div>

The human construction is the most extensively analyzed of these Det+Adj constructions, and it has variously been termed "*people* deletion" (Pullum 1975), the Human Construction (Kester 1996, Günther 2013, 2018), the individuated reading of Det+Adj (Glass 2013, 2019), the *Adjective-as-Nominal.Human* construction (Fillmore, Lee-Goldman & Rhodes 2011, Arnold & Spencer 2015), and the Generic Human Construction (Wu 2020). Human constructions typically refer to a group of people with the property denoted by the adjective in the construction. For example, *the rich*, as a human construction, refers to 'people who are rich.' Human constructions also exhibit plural agreement (i.e. *the rich are...*, but not \**the rich is...*), leading Glass (2013, 2019) to refer to them as demonstrating the *individuated* reading of Det+Adj constructions.

In contrast with the human construction, the abstract construction (26) does not denote humans or individuals, and has been termed the *mass* reading of Det+Adj by Glass (2019), the Abstract Construction by Günther (2018), and the Generic Abstract Construction by Wu (2020). Whereas the human construction exhibits plural agreement, the abstract construction exhibits singular agreement (*the impossible is*, not \**the impossible are*). Abstract constructions refer to some abstract entity that can be described by the adjective; e.g. *the impossible*, as an abstract construction, refers to 'that which is impossible.'

Below I briefly outline a few existing analyses of these Det+Adj constructions.

**Analysis of the human construction using *pro*.**  Kester (1996) provides an analysis of Det+Adj constructions by proposing the presence of the null noun *pro* (N-*pro*).  She argues that N-*pro* requires formal licensing and identification, which can be satisfied by inflectional morphology, and claims that, given the lack of inflectional morphology in English, it is not surprising that the distribution of N-*pro* in adjectival contexts is largely limited to the human construction, which may only refer to humans and has a generic interpretation:

(28)    the homeless, the poor, the rich, the blind, the disabled, the Dutch, the French

(=(5) in Kester 1996)

(29)    The very wise avoid such temptations

(=(6b) in Kester 1996, from Quirk et al. 1985)

From examples such as those in (28) and (29), Kester concludes that *pro* in the human construction in English is [+human, +generic, +plural]. Following this, she posits that this set of features forms the default values of *pro*.

Kester then examines human constructions and abstract constructions in Dutch, noting that the feature specification of *pro* in Dutch is not restricted to the default set of values, given that the Dutch human construction can also be used in the singular and in existential contexts. She argues that this contrast between English and Dutch can be explained "in terms of the absence versus presence of inflectional morphology" that allows the features of *pro* to be made visible for interpretation (Kester 1996: 67). Finally, this analysis is extended to other languages, drawing upon cross-linguistic evidence from languages such as Swedish, German, Spanish, and Finno-Ugric languages. Kester ultimately attributes the differences between noun ellipsis in English and other languages to the lack of inflectional adjectival morphology in English. She does not, however, elaborate on the existence of abstract constructions in English, which cannot be [+human], or their analysis.

**Empty noun analyses for human and abstract constructions.**  Panagiotidis (2003) provides an alternative analysis that makes use of null empty nouns, which he denotes $e_N$. Panagiotidis posits that overt and null empty nouns, i.e. *one* and $e_N$, belong in the same natural class, defined

by their lack of denotation. His theory argues that $e_N$ and *pro* differ in that while *pro* requires licensing and identification, $e_N$ is a grammatical noun that does not denote any concept and is a bundle containing only formal features and no descriptive (interpretable) features, being therefore semantically blank. Panagiotidis claims that null empty nouns ($e_N$) have "no (special) licensing and identification conditions" (Panagiotidis 2003: 428), and that since they are not lexically recoverable, their reference is understood through pragmatic context. As such, null empty nouns can be freely merged as the heads of DPs, making this analysis readily extendable to both human and abstract constructions.

Wu (2020) adopts Panagiotidis's notion of the empty noun and proposes an analysis in which feature assignment for [±plural], [±human], [±generic], and [±count] features happen at the DP level (NP level in the framework Wu assumes). Under Wu's framework, the contrast between the human and abstract constructions can be captured by various combinations of features, as shown below in (30) and (31), respectively. (Using his four proposed features, Wu further distinguishes between various types of the human construction—e.g. for phrases such as the singular *the accused*—but because the distinction between different human constructions is not relevant to the topic of the present paper, I will not discuss it here.)

(30)   *the poor* (human)
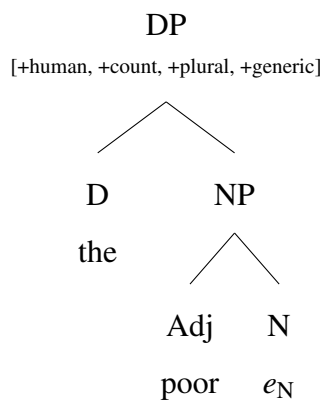


(adapted from (26a) in Wu 2020)

(31)  *the unknown* (abstract)

```
                    DP
        [−human, −count, −plural, +generic]
                   /    \
                  /      \
                 D        NP
                the      /  \
                        /    \
                      Adj     N
                    unknown  e_N
```
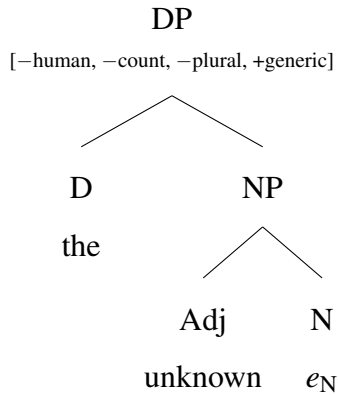
(adapted from (26d) in Wu 2020)


**When Det+Adj might not be abstract constructions.**   As mentioned previously, I would like to make a distinction between abstract constructions, like those in (26), and constructions that superficially resemble abstract constructions, like those in (27), repeated below as (32).

(32)   a.  All of **this pretty** is worth OVER \$2,000.                    (=(39c) in Glass 2019)

     b.  There was not **enough cute** to counteract **the dull and stupid** here.

(=(39d) in Glass 2019)

An abstract construction denotes some abstract entity (much as how a human construction denotes human entities) that can be described by the adjective, and can be paraphrased as 'that which is [Adj(P)]' (Wu 2020), as in (33a), below. On the other hand, the adjectives in examples like (32) do not denote entities; instead, they refer to the concepts or properties denoted by the Adj(P)s, and are often interchangeable with [Adj]-*ness* or [Adj]-*ity*, if the corresponding -*ness*/-*ity* forms exist, as in (33b).

(33)   a.  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.

(=(41b) in Glass 2019)

     b.  There was not enough {cute/cuteness} to counteract the {dull/dullness} and {stupid/stupidness} here.

(=(39d) in Glass 2019)

Notice in particular how in (33a) *expensive* and *exotic* are not interchangeable with *expensiveness* and *exoticness*, but in (33b) *cute*, *dull*, and *stupid* can be replaced with *cuteness*, *dullness*, and *stupidness/stupidity*.

Additionally, we note that in (33a), the abstract constructions *the expensive* and *the exotic* can felicitously be replaced with *that which is expensive* and *that which is exotic*. Another possible paraphrase of the abstract construction is '[Adj] stuff,' which, while often not matching the register of the original utterance, can also capture the singular agreement that is characteristic of mass nouns; in the case of (33a), the correct meaning is preserved if we substitute *the expensive stuff* and *the exotic stuff* for *the expensive* and *the exotic* (though the register is not).

These observations reveal similarities between the human construction and the abstract construction: The human construction can be paraphrased as '[Adj] people/ones' or 'those who are [Adj(P)],' and the abstract construction can analogously be paraphrased as '[Adj] stuff' or 'that which is [Adj(P)].' As such, we see that both the human and the abstract constructions refer to entities. In contrast, the interpretation of the boldfaced/bracketed adjectives in sentences like (32) and (33b) refer to *properties* (not entities) denoted by the adjectives, and it is based on this difference, among others, that I argue that they warrant a separate analysis, which I provide in section 2.2.

### 2.1.2 Adjective-to-Noun Conversion

Having discussed Det+Adj constructions above, I now direct my attention to another possibility for adjectives displaying nominal behavior that has been discussed in the literature. Examples such as those in (5)—repeated below as (34)—and (35) appear to be adjectives whose distribution matches much more closely to that of nouns. Namely, these "adjectives" are able to follow the indefinite determiner *a/an* and take on plural morphology (*-s*), unlike Det+Adj constructions.

(34)   the *unfashionables*, unknown *unknowns*, a *facial*, a *regular*, *perishables*, *explosives*, *academics*, a *professional*, an *intellectual*

(35)   a. Let a woman ask me to give her an *edible* or a *wearable*...I can at least understand the demand...

   (=(61a) in Wu 2020, (7) in Brown & Miller 2016, from Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*)

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b. It offers a rare chance to one of the *unfashionables* to reach the final.

(=(61b) in Wu 2020, =(8) in Brown & Miller 2016)

I will follow authors like Wu (2020) in treating these as instances of conversion from adjective to noun.

What Wu (2020) does not necessarily discuss (or distinguish from abstract constructions), however, are cases of adjective-to-noun conversion that result in mass or noncount nouns. In fact, Wu (2020) places things like *the unconscious* and *the general public* in the category of abstract constructions. A foray into major dictionaries like the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and Merriam-Webster, however, reveals that while words like *inevitable*, *familiar*, and *unpredictable* (which lend themselves easily to participating in abstract constructions) are only listed as adjectives, words like *unconscious* and *public* are separately listed as both adjectives and nouns in most dictionaries. Moreover, if we examine the meaning of *the unconscious*, we notice that it cannot be equivalently paraphrased as 'that which is unconscious' or 'the unconscious stuff'—according to the OED, in a phrase like *the unconscious*, the word *unconscious* has the particular meaning of "that part of the **mind** which is inaccessible to the consciousness." This is similarly the case with something like *the (general) public*, where we observe not the meaning 'that which is public' but rather a specific interpretation of the word *public* to mean something along the lines of "community or people as a whole."

As such, diverging from Wu (2020), I consider cases like those involving *unconscious* and *public* not as instances of a Det+Adj construction like the abstract construction, but as cases of adjective-to-noun construction in which the resulting noun is noncount. In the particular cases of *unconscious* and *public*, one of the arguments for treating them as conversion and separate from abstract constructions is their idiosyncratic semantics arising from their conventional uses. In the following section, I argue that it is also possible to have "spontaneous" conversion from adjectives to noncount nouns where conventional meanings of the resulting nouns have not necessarily been established in the language.

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## 2.2 A Recategorization: Abstract Concept-Denoting Nouns

In this section, I will propose a morphosyntactic analysis for the construction in examples like (32), mentioned previously as superficially resembling abstract constructions. I observe that, unlike abstract constructions, constructions like those in (32) are not denoting any entity. As demonstrated in (33b), repeated as (36), the adjectives in these constructions can often be replaced by a corresponding *-ness* or *-ity* form, which is not the case for abstract constructions.

(36)    There was not enough {cute/cuteness} to counteract the {dull/dullness} and {stupid/ stupid-ness} here.

(=(39d) in Glass 2019)

Analyses such as that in Wu (2020) and Glass (2019) contain discussion of constructions like those in (37) and attempt to unify them under a single syntactic structure along with abstract constructions like those in (26). However, I will diverge from their efforts and propose instead that the adjectives in (37) are involved in an altogether different derivation from that of the abstract construction: namely, that the adjectives in (37) are cases of conversion involving a null nominalizing category head $n_{\mathrm{prop}}$.

(37)    a.    All of **this pretty** is worth OVER \$2,000.                    (=(39c) in Glass 2019)

        b.    There was not **enough cute** to counteract **the dull and stupid** here.

(=(39d) in Glass 2019, adapted)

### 2.2.1    Differences from the abstract construction

As has already been touched upon in section 2.1.1 earlier, the interpretations of human constructions and (what I consider to be) abstract constructions form a parallel, with the former paraphrasable as '[Adj] people/ones' or 'those who are [Adj(P)]' and the latter as '[Adj] stuff' or 'that which is [Adj(P)].' Both human and abstract constructions, therefore, refer to entities of some sort. Cases like the adjectives in (37), however, are different. The adjectives here do not (or do not have to be) interpreted as some entity that can be described by the adjective. Rather, they lend themselves more easily to be interpreted as referring to some property denoted by the adjective, and are in many cases interchangeable with *-ness* or *-ity* counterparts.

Moreover, we find instances of adjectives used to a similar effect *without* determiners, as in (38).

(38)  a.  the image of **cool**

  b.  **Crazy** is good.

  c.  I don't want **sad**.

What is also worth noting is that examples like (37) and (38) have an informal register, while what I consider abstract constructions proper do not. Additionally, speakers whose grammars allow for abstract constructions proper do not always accept constructions like (37) and (38) as fully grammatical. This can be seen in the differences between the written representations of these constructions, in that while abstract (or human) constructions are never specifically marked in a sentence, constructions like like (37) and (38) can often be found with the adjective (phrase) marked using italicization or delimited by quotation marks, as demonstrated below in (39) (all formatting preserved from source).

(39)  a.  But I don't want "good" and I don't want "good enough" (song lyrics from "I Want Crazy" by Hunter Hayes, as presented on Genius)

  b.  ...some of which you could even classify in the realm of *super cute*.[web]

Below is a comparison of the human construction, the abstract construction, and cases of conversion from adjective to noncount noun denoting an abstract concept or property.

(40) HUMAN VS ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTIONS VS CONVERSION

| | Human Construction | Abstract Construction | Conversion (abstract concept) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Examples** | *the poor, the creative* | *the impossible, the inevitable* | *(the) cute,* I don't want **sad** |
| **Determiner** | necessary | necessary | optional |
| **Interpretation** | Adj(P) people, those who are Adj(P) | Adj(P) stuff, that which is Adj(P) | Adj(P)-ness/-ity, (the) property Adj(P), being Adj(P) |
| **Denotes entities?** | yes | yes | no |
| **Number agreement** | plural | singular | singular |
| **Informal register?** | no | no | yes |
| **Special orthography?** | none | none | quotation marks, italics |

We see that in general, while human and abstract constructions appear to be analogous in both their syntax and their interpretation, conversion cases deviate in that the determiner is not always present, the resulting nouns do not denote entities, the register is informal, and that these expressions may sometimes be marked orthographically. Having argued for a distinction of these nominal expressions from the abstract construction, in the following sections, I provide a conversion account for them under the general framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1994).

### 2.2.2 Overview of Distributed Morphology

Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle & Marantz 1994) is an approach to morphology that posits that the machinery of morphology, or word formation, is not concentrated in a single component of the grammar, but distributed among several components. The central tenets of the theory are: Syntax All the Way Down, Late Insertion, and Underspecification (of Vocabulary Items).

The first, *Syntax All the Way Down*, states that the primary mode of meaningful composition of elements within morphology (i.e. Vocabulary Items or VIs) is the syntax, and as such, syntactic

principles and operations also govern word-formation. *Late Insertion* refers to the hypothesis that the pieces manipulated by syntax are abstract complexes of semantic and syntactic features lacking any phonological content, and that the pairing of phonological features to the terminal nodes happens post-syntactically, in a process called Vocabulary Insertion that maps the output of syntax to Phonological Form (PF). *Underspecification* states that in order for a VI to expone a given terminal node, its identifying features must be a subset of the features at the terminal node, but the item need not match every feature specified in the terminal node. Hence, an underspecified VI may be inserted when a more specific form is not available.

Being a root-based theory of morphology, DM assumes that roots lack syntactic category. In DM, category-less roots (lexical/l-morphemes) combine with functional category heads *n*, *a*, or *v* (functional/f-morphemes) to derive nouns, adjectives, or verbs, respectively (Marantz 2000, Arad 2003). These category heads have been proposed to be cyclic, and the size of the resulting cyclic domains have been discussed by works such as Embick (2010), Bobaljik (2012), and Moskal (2015).

Under this framework, a noun such as *cuteness* can be analyzed as shown in (41), where we have the root √CUTE first merging with an adjectivizing category head *a*, and the resulting *a*P then merging with a nominalizing category head *n*. In this case, √CUTE is exponed (realized) as *cute* /kjut/, the *a* as phonologically null, and the *n* as *-ness* /nəs/.

(41)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
n\text{P} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
n \qquad a\text{P} \\
\text{-ness} \quad \diagup \diagdown \\
a \quad \sqrt{\text{CUTE}} \\
\qquad \text{cute}
\end{array}
$$
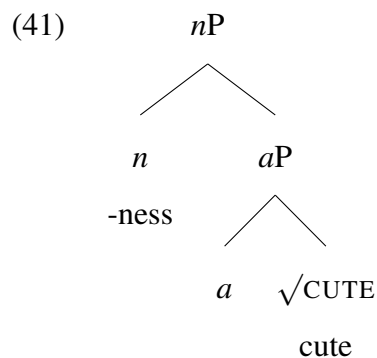
There may be more than one head for a particular category. In the case of nominalizing heads, for example, we find elements like *-ness* and *-ity* for adjectives, *-ing* and *-(s/t)ion* for verbs. In instances of conversion from one category to another, the category head may be analyzed as phonologically null, as in a pair like *walk* (v.) and *walk* (n.), where the noun counterpart is derived from the verb, shown in (42). (Head movement is responsible for arranging the Vocabulary Items in the final

order, i.e. *cuteness*.)

(42)    *n*P

```
        nP
       /  \
      n    vP
          /  \
         v   √WALK
              walk
```
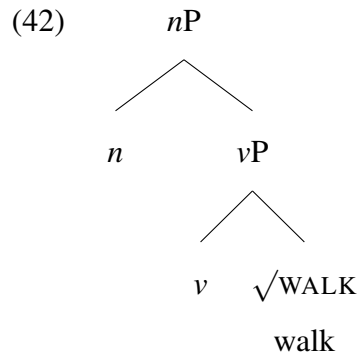
Given the existence of null category heads, an interesting question then arises of how to determine whether a given word is root-derived or derived from some other already categorized word. Arad (2003) discusses the question by contrasting pairs of nouns and verbs like *hammer* (n.)-*hammer* (v.) and *tape* (n.)-*tape* (v.). Citing observations first made by Kiparsky (1982), Arad argues that *hammer*-type verbs are root-derived while *tape*-type verbs are derived from the corresponding noun. Evidence for this comes from the judgments in (43).

(43)    a.  He hammered the nail with a rock.                    (=(22d) in Arad 2003)

        b.  *She taped the picture to the wall with glue/pushpins.

                                                        (=(23a) in Arad 2003, adapted)

Arad notes that *tape*-type verbs like *tape*, *chain*, and *button* entail the existence of the corresponding noun (43b), while *hammer*-type verbs (e.g. *string*, *anchor*, *paddle*) do not (43a), suggesting that *hammer*-type verbs do not include their noun counterparts. This leads to the following structures for *tape* (v.) and *hammer* (v.) in (44). While *tape*-type verbs are results of conversion into verbs from nouns, *hammer*-type verbs are not.

(44) a.　　*v*P

```
        vP
       /  \
      v    nP
          /  \
         n   √TAPE
             tape
```

b.　　*v*P

```
      vP
     /  \
    v   √HAMMER
        hammer
```
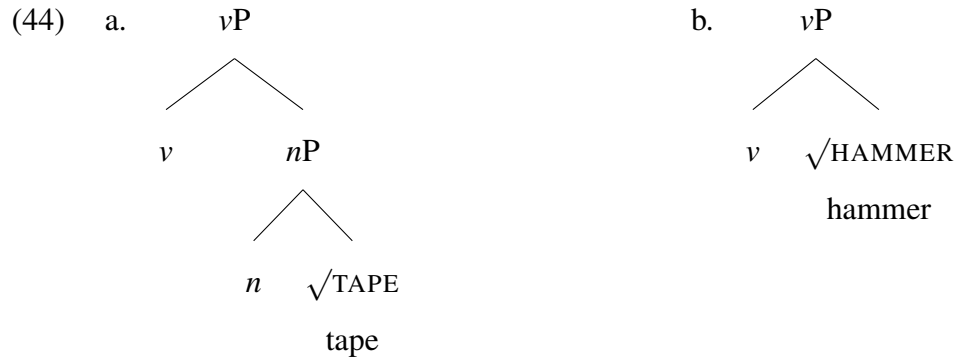
## 2.2.3　A Conversion Account for Abstract Concept-Denoting Nouns

With the general assumptions of DM in mind, I now propose the existence of a null nominalizing head, represented as $n_{\text{prop}}$, that merges with an adjective (*a*P) to form a noun (*n*P) which refers to the property denoted by the adjective or adjective phrase. The schematics of this is shown in (45) below.

(45)

```
           nP
          /  \
    n_prop    aP
             /  \
            a    √
```
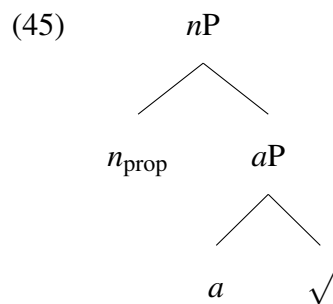
There are a few reasons in favor of the structure above, as opposed to a structure for a root-derived noun, as in (46).

(46)

```
           nP
          /  \
    n_prop    √
```
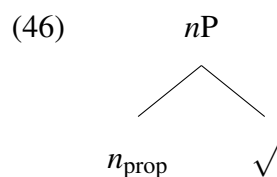
The first is the parallel between (45) and (41), the structure for the noun *cuteness*, which involves the overt nominalizing category head *-ness*. In earlier sections, I have discussed the similarity in interpretation and interchangeability of the adjective-as-nominals in (47) with their overtly nominalized counterparts. The similarity in semantic relationship between *cute* (a.) and *cuteness* (n.)

and between *cute* (a.) and *cute* (n.) can be straightforwardly captured by such analogous derivational structures.

(47)  a.  All of this **pretty** is worth OVER $2,000.  (=(39c) in Glass 2019)

    b.  There was not enough **cute** to counteract the **dull** and **stupid** here.

(=(39d) in Glass 2019, adapted)

    c.  the image of **cool**

    d.  **Crazy** is good.

    e.  I don't want **sad**.

The second piece of evidence for proposing a conversion analysis (as opposed to one that assumes root derivation) is the participation of adjective phrases in these constructions (48).

(48)  a.  Touch of brilliance or verging in the realm of **too cute**?*web*

    b.  But I don't want "good" and I don't want "**good enough**" (song lyrics from "I Want Crazy" by Hunter Hayes, as presented on Genius)

    c.  . . . which you could even classify in the realm of ***super cute***.*web*

In order to arrive at the phrasal nominals like *too cute*, *good enough*, and *super cute* in (48), it must be the case that at some point in the derivation, the adjective (e.g. *cute*, *good*) indeed merges with an adjectivizing category head. The proposed structure for *too cute* in (48a) is shown below.

(49)
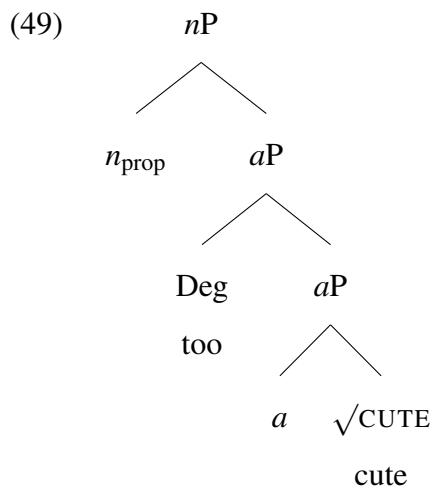


Such an approach, in which phrasal elements is proposed to undergo zero-derivation to a nominal category, has been discussed by authors such as Harley (2011), in her discussion of phrasal

compounds like *stuff-blowing-up effects* or *bikini-girls-in-trouble genre*, where she proposes the following structure for these converted phrases.

(50)  $[[\text{XP}] n^0]_{n\text{P}}$  (=(13) in Harley 2011)

where XP represents the phrasal elements ultimately converted into a nominal category. The one difference between the conversion involved for *stuff-blowing-up* and *bikini-girls-in-trouble* in these phrasal compounds and that involved for *too cute*, *good enough*, and *super cute* in (48) is that in the latter case, the phrasal elements are specifically adjectival.

In sum, now that we have arrived at an account for the adjective-looking nominals in cases like those in (47), we are able to compare the difference in derivational structure between these and the abstract construction. The two structures are juxtaposed in (51), and examples are presented in (52), where the VIs are assembled in the order of spellout; the symbol $\varnothing$ represents an empty noun, following works such as Wu (2020).

(51)  a. CONVERSION:

```
            nP
           /  \
      n_prop    aP
               /  \
              a    √
```

b. ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION:

```
            DP
           /  \
          D    nP
              /  \
            aP    nP
           /  \    △
          a    √   ∅
```
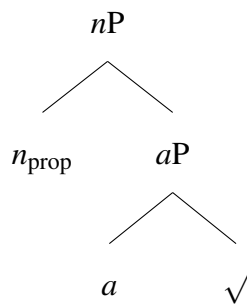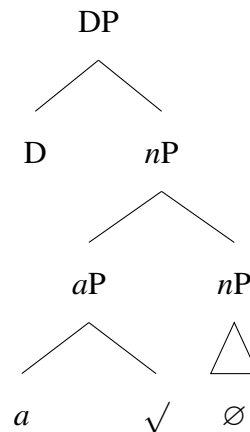
(52)  a. CONVERSION: $[_{n\text{P}} [_{a\text{P}} \text{(too) cute}]\text{-}n_{\text{prop}}]$

b. ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION: $[_{D\text{P}} \text{the} [_{n\text{P}} [_{a\text{P}} \text{(absolutely) impossible}] \varnothing]]$

In the next section, I discuss the basic structure of noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, proposing an analysis in which the Adj(P) is a case of the conversion discussed above.

# 3   An Analysis of Noun-*of*-Adj(P): Conversion

The present section develops an analysis for noun-*of*-Adj(P). Having discussed the various constructions in English that appear to involve an adjectival element used nominally in the previous section, I will now propose a basic structure for noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions that involves the conversion of the Adj(P), where the Adj(P) in question merges with $n_{\text{prop}}$ to form a noun that refers to the concept or property denoted by the Adj(P). In the noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions discussed in this section, such as (53), the Adj(P) is interchangeable with an overtly nominalized counterpart, if one exists, without significant changes in meaning; for example, *sc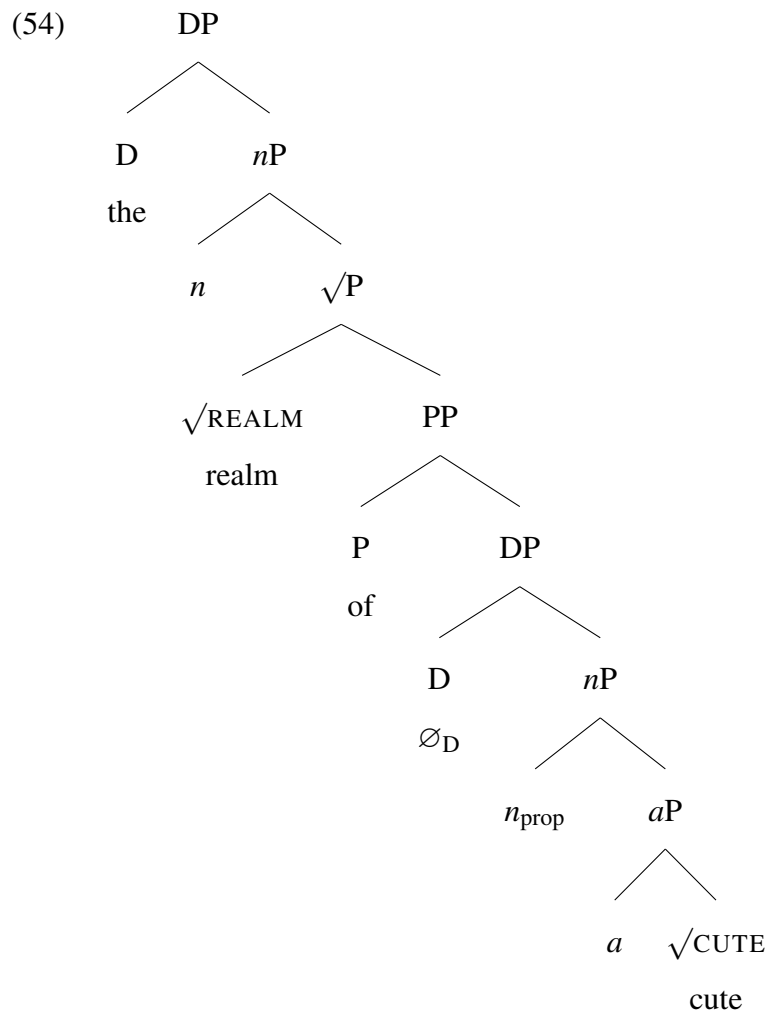ariness*, *awesomeness*, *boredom* in the following examples in (53). I will refer to noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions with this type of distribution (i.e. a nominal distribution) as Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P). (This is in contrast with noun-*of*-Adj(P) that exhibits both nominal and adjectival distribution, which I discuss in Section 4.) Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P) tends to occur in argument positions, though they can also occur in predicate positions.

(53)  a.  **This level of scary** suits me personally very well.*web*

   b.  There are writers who deliver **the same kind of awesome** every time.*web*

   c.  I'm on **another level of bored**.*web*

   d.  There were a good few years where Nintendo had almost no competition in **the realm of cute**...*web*

I will discuss two cases of the basic (Type I) noun-*of*-Adj(P). The first involves a noun taking a PP complement, as in *the realm of cute* or *the same kind of awesome*. The second, I claim, should be treated as a pseudopartitive, as in *the same amount of sad*. In both cases, the Adj(P) in the noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction is analyzed as having undergone conversion to a noun by merging with $n_{\text{prop}}$. In both cases, the Adj(P) is interpreted to mean something along the lines of *Adj(P)-ness/-ity* or *being Adj(P)*, and the resulting noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression behaves nominally (i.e. distributes as one would expect an NP to) as a whole.

## 3.1   Case 1: Noun Taking PP Complement

The first case of noun-*of*-Adj(P) has the same structure as an NP such as *king of England*, in which the first noun, *king*, takes a PP complement, *of England*. This gives the following structure in (54), for example, for a noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction like *the realm of cute* in (53d).

(54)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
               D         nP
               the      /  \
                       n    √P
                           /    \
                    √REALM        PP
                     realm       /    \
                               P        DP
                               of      /   \
                                      D       nP
                                     ∅_D     /  \
                                         n_prop   aP
                                                 /  \
                                                a    √CUTE
                                                     cute
```

Additionally, as discussed in Section 2, it is possible for $n_{prop}$ to combine with an adjective phrase consisting of multiple words. An example is shown in (55) below.

(55)   One rose to **the level of too stupid to be written**...

```
                        DP
                     ╱      ╲
                   D          nP
                  the       ╱    ╲
                          n        √P
                               ╱       ╲
                          √LEVEL        PP
                           level      ╱    ╲
                                    P        DP
                                    of     ╱    ╲
                                          D       nP
                                         ∅_D    ╱    ╲
                                            n_prop    aP
                                                    ╱    ╲
                                              too stupid to be written
```
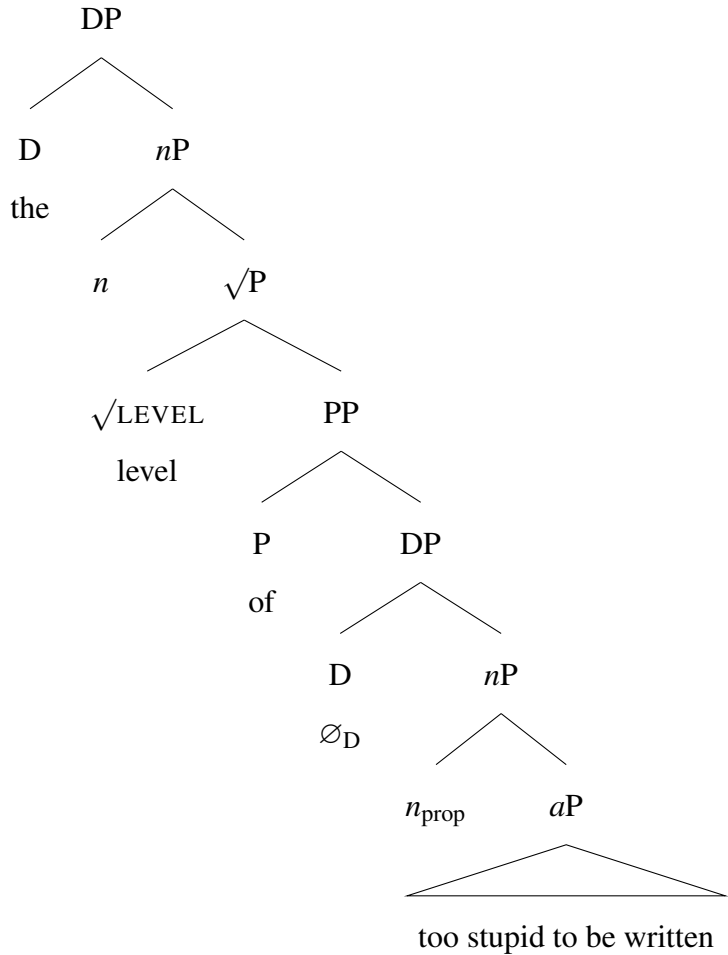
## 3.2   Case 2: Pseudopartitives

The second case of noun-*of*-Adj(P) falls under the umbrella of pseudopartitive constructions. However, as in the previous case, the Adj(P) involved in this case also undergoes the conversion process involving $n_{prop}$ discussed in Section 2. What is different is the structure above the Adj(P) portion of the expression. In these pseudopartitive instances of noun-*of*-Adj(P), the noun denotes a quantity (usually *amount*).

(56)   a. This little girl pushing a dog in a stroller is **the exact amount of cute that'll get you through the day**.[web]

b. Unfortunately, I went with an expensive 300$ osprey instead and **the amount of worth it** is absolutely incredible.[web]

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c. **The amount of stupid** is actually kind of impressive...[web]

d. getting the right job *for you* is key to unlocking **a big amount of happy** in your life[web]

In the subsections that follow, I provide a brief discussion of existing work on pseudopartitives constructions, then present a structure for pseudopartitive noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions.

## 3.2.1   Pseudopartitive Constructions

A partitive refers to a structure like those in (57), which refers to a part or subset of a (definite) superset; a *pseudopartitive* resembles a partitive, except that it refers to an amount or quantity of some (indefinite) substance, as in (58) (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, Rutkowski 2007).

(57)  a. a cup of the juice

 b. three of the senators

(58)  a. a cup of juice

 b. a group of students

Rutkowski (2007) cites Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) in listing a number of semantic classes of nouns that may act as the first (higher) element of the pseudopartitive construction:

(59)  • Conventionalized measures: a liter of milk, a kilo(gram) of apples

 • Abstract quantity nouns: a large amount of apples

 • Containers: a cup of tea, a pail of apples

 • Fractions or parts: a slice of bread, a large portion of students

 • Quantums (for mass nouns): a lump of sugar, a drop of milk

 • Collections (for count nouns): a group of students, a herd of sheep

 • Forms: a pile of sand/bricks, a bouquet of roses

(Rutkowski 2007, adapted)

Despite superficial similarity, partitives and pseudopartitives are distinguished by many in the literature, and different structural analyses for the two constructions have been proposed.

**Pseudopartitive as grammaticalized partitives.**  Rutkowski (2007) analyzes pseudopartitives as resulting from the syntactic grammaticalization of partitive structures, citing synchronic and diachronic syntactic properties of pseudopartitives in a number of languages as evidence.  He assumes the model proposed by Roberts & Roussou (1999), in which grammaticalization involves the reanalysis of lexical material as functional material.

Rutkowski observes that in languages such as English and Romance languages, the second noun (N2) in a pseudopartitive structure is not preceded by a determiner.  Other differences in overt syntactic structure between partitives and pseudopartitives include the absence of preposition and determiner in the pseudopartitive (Swedish, Dutch, German, Greek), different case markings on the N2 for partitive and pseudopartitive constructions (Finnish, Armenian, Russian), and differences in word order between the two constructions (Lithuanian).

Rutkowski cites as examples of grammaticalization the development of the Greek future marker *that* from the verb *thélo* (Roberts & Roussou 1999) and the historical development of Old Polish numerals, which were likely to have been regular nouns, into their Modern Polish equivalents (Rutkowski 2002).  He then argues that the transition from partitive to pseudopartitive involves a loss of structure similar to those cases, motivated by the fact that the result of such a process is a simplification of the partitive one.

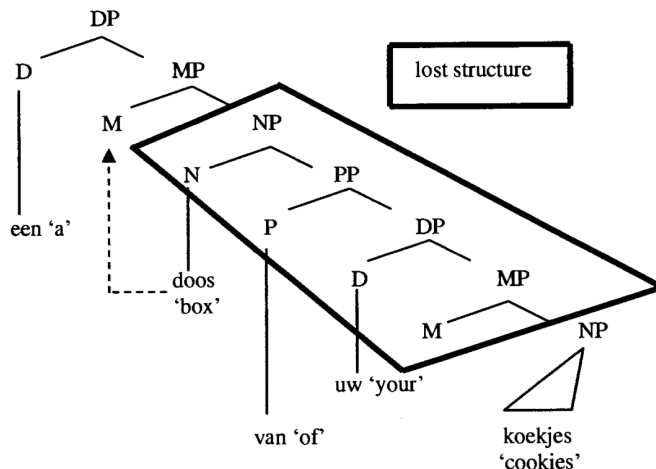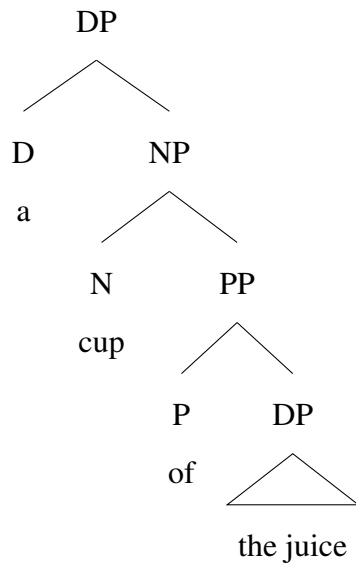(60)   Taken from Rutkowski (2007):



Figure 7: Loss of structure in pseudo-partitives

Rutkowski (2007) ultimately concludes that many of the differences in characteristics between pseudopartitive heads and proper partitives and regular nouns can be accounted for by positing
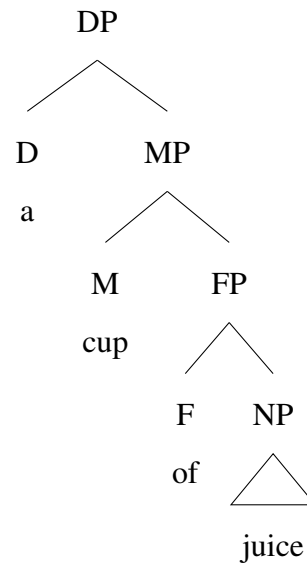
a process of structural simplification (i.e. Roberts & Roussou's (1999) syntactic grammatical-ization), during which the first noun (N1) in a pseudopartitive construction is reanalyzed as a functional element rather than a lexical one.

**The pseudopartitive as a single nominal projection.** Stickney (2009) presents the following structures for partitive and pseudopartitive constructions.

(61) a. PARTITIVE:

```
            DP
           /  \
          D    NP
          a   /  \
             N    PP
            cup   / \
                 P   DP
                 of  /\
                the juice
```

b. PSEUDOPARTITIVE:

```
            DP
           /  \
          D    MP
          a   /  \
             M    FP
            cup   / \
                 F   NP
                 of  /\
                   juice
```

(Stickney 2009, adapted)

According to Stickney (2009: 44), "the partitive is a bi-phrasal structure with one DP embedded inside another (by way of a PP)," but "the pseudopartitive is a single nominal projection." She argues that the word *cup* is a lexical noun that heads an NP in a partitive like *a cup of the juice*, but it serves as the functional head of a measure phrase (MP) in a pseudopartitive like *a cup of juice*; moreover, while *of* is a preposition in proper partitives, it is a functional node in pseudopartitives. Stickney (2009) notes that it is not unheard of for an element that resembles a preposition to appear in a functional position in English, citing complementizer *for* and infinitive *to* in support. She also presents a number of diagnostics that showcase the different syntactic behavior of partitives and pseudopartitives, including with respect to adjectival modification and extraposition; I will not discuss these here.

The measure phrase is distinguished from a noun phrase, although elements residing in the measure head may appear noun-like. Stickney (2009) cites the notion of semi-lexical categories and the possibility that measure heads may have both functional and lexical properties. Löbel (2013: 263) says of pseudopartitives that they contain two constituents, but "at the level of interpretation…they have only one referent." A deeper discussion of semi-lexicality, however, is beyond the scope of this essay; I direct the interested reader to Corver & van Riemsdijk (2013).

### 3.2.2 Pseudopartitive Noun-*of*-Adj(P).

Finally, I now propose a pseudopartitive structure for the second case of Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P), based on the pseudopartitive structure of Stickney (2009).

(62)

DP
  D
  the
  MP
    M
    amount
    FP
      F
      of
      $n$P
        $n_{\mathrm{prop}}$
        $a$P
          stupid/cute/happy/...
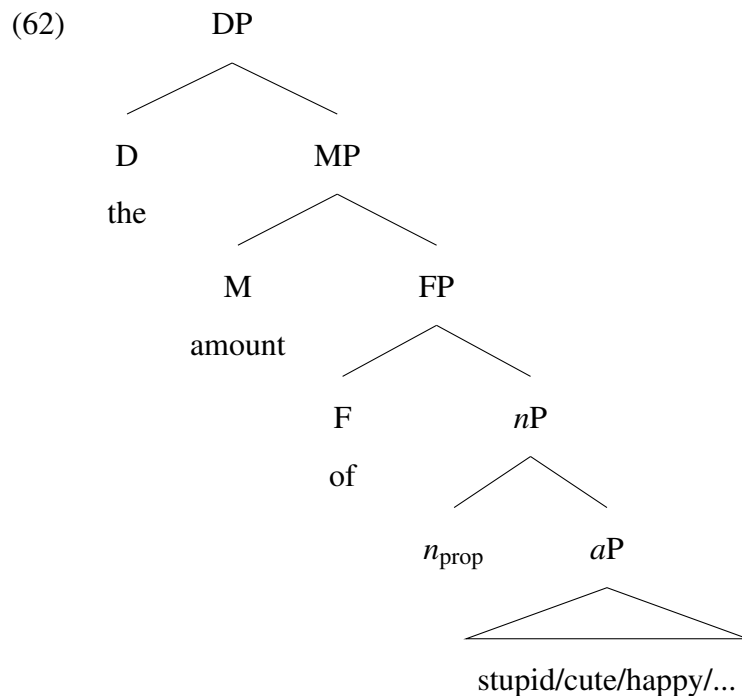
# 4    Problematic Cases: Is Noun-*of*-Adj(P) Adjectival or Nominal?

A distinction between argument and predicate positions is drawn in section 1.1.1. In Section 3, I mentioned that Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, which are nominal, tend to appear in argument positions, though they can occupy predicate positions as well. In this section, I present evidence for the existence of another type of distribution exhibited by noun-*of*-Adj(P), which I will term Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) for convenience. Type II noun-of-Adj(P) is *only* observed in predicate positions, specifically when the subject is logically describable by the Adj(P) when used as a predicate adjective (as opposed to a predicate nominative), or as complements for verbs that select for Adj(P)s. Type II noun-of-Adj(P) also occurs with a more limited selection of nouns, mainly those denoting quantity (*amount*, *level*, etc.) and generalization (*type*, *kind*, etc.). In Type II constructions, the Adj(P) is not interchangeable with an overtly nominalized counterpart without change in meaning, as demonstrated in (63) below.

(63)    a.    Been **a new level of {angry/#angriness}** the past few days...

  b.    ...not everyone is **the same amount of {sad/#sadness}**

These Type II constructions appear to be inconsistent with the structure of noun-*of*-Adj(P) presented in Section 3. In particular, it seems probable that the Adj(P) in Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) is still adjectival—or more specifically, that it retains its adjectival properties both syntactically and in its interpretation. For instance, we find Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) in positions that select for adjective phrases, not nominal ones. At the same time, however, Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) appears also able to assume a nominal categorical identity, most notably in its ability to participate in relative constructions. In the following sections, I discuss the adjectival and nominal properties of Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) in turn, and ultimately posit an account for Type II behavior by augmenting the basic analysis for noun-*of*-Adj(P) presented in the previous section with the notion of *multidominance*, which has been investigated and/or assumed variously by works such as Citko (2005), de Vries (2009, 2012), O'Brien (2017), and Harizanov & Gribanova (2019) in discussion of a range of linguistic constructions and phenomena. Namely, I claim that Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) is connected

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to the rest of the utterance at multiple points, forming a multidominance structure with the Adj(P) as a pivot.

## 4.1 Puzzling Characteristics of Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P)

### 4.1.1 Evidence for Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P) as Adjectival

**Not interchangeable with noun.** The first motivation for an analysis separate from that of Type I (which behaves as one would expect of a nominal constituent DP) comes from the observation in (63) above, where we see that the Adj(P) in Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) cannot be replaced with an overtly nominalized counterpart, even if one exists, suggesting that the interpretation of the Adj(P) in Type II constructions is not nominal, the way it is in Type I constructions.

**Able to appear in positions that select for AdjPs.** The second observation of note is that we find instances of noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions directly embedded under verbs like *look* and *seem*, as in (64):

(64)  a. Even though they <u>look</u>. . .**the same amount of glamorous and in love**?*web*

     b. Other than that my game runs great and weapons <u>seem</u> **the same amount of broken as each other**...*web*

     c. Nothing looks different from how it did back then, even the signs <u>seem</u> **the same degree of sunwashed**.*web*

     d. nah, pvp <u>seems</u> **the same amount of toxic as it's ever been for me**_web_

     e. All the floral scents all <u>smell</u> **the same amount of HORRIBLE!**_web_

     f. I <u>get</u> **a different kind of excited** when packing up orders for return customers_web_

Verbs like *look*, *seem*, *smell*, and *get* are among a small group of verbs identified by Roeper & Siegel (1978) to select for adjectival complements.[3] This context has traditionally been considered a diagnostic for adjectivehood by many, including by Fruehwald & Myler (2015) in their analysis of the *done my homework* construction. Nominal expressions, in contrast, tend to resist this position

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[3]Others include *act (grim)*, *sound (funny)*, *taste (pleasant)*, *appear (angry)*, *remain (calm)*, etc. (Roeper & Siegel 1978).

in modern American English, at least in the same informal/colloquial register that noun-*of*-Adj(P) appears to usually occur in. Compare (65) and (66) below.

(65)   a.   Mary seems foolish.

       b.   His writing seems nonsensical.

(66)   a.   ?Mary seems a fool.

       b.   ?His writing seems nonsense.

Although the sentences in (66) may be acceptable, they tend to be perceived as belonging to a higher register than the corresponding sentences in (65). Matushansky (2002), working with British English, posits that verbs like *seem*, when used with a perceptual interpretation and not an epistemic one, impose a scalarity-related restriction on its complement. Adjectival expressions are therefore licensed in this context, as are some PPs (e.g. *They seem **in love***, *She seems **out of her mind***).[4]

**Possibility of the adjective taking a complement.**   The third observation that seems to distinguish between Type I and Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) is that the adjectives in Type II constructions are much more often found to take complements. In fact, the examples of AdjPs with complements presented in section 1.1.3, repeated below as (67), are all predicative uses.

(67)   a.   …I am **a huge amount of <u>proud of our city, school district and the wonderful Rose Kennedy Greenway parks</u>**.[web]

       b.   So I was really scared, **the kind of <u>scared of the dark</u> I was when I was a kid**, which was a little embarrassing.[web]

       c.   Fortunately, Sana is only **a normal person's level of <u>afraid of Vader</u>**…[web]

       d.   I'm **"I just used a grocery cart at a liquor store" level of <u>nervous about this election</u>**[web]

---

[4]Matushansky (2002) also allows certain nominal expressions to appear as complements to *seem*, including *a fool* and *nonsense* in (66). However, she acknowledges (and I concur) that this is mostly a property of British English. As indicated in (66), such constructions do not sound as natural to most speakers of American English. (This is also why being able to appear as a complement to verbs like *seem* and *look* has been used as a diagnostic for adjectivehood by authors such as Fruehwald & Myler (2015).)

  e. Whatever it is you're passionate about, be ***that* level of <u>curious about it</u>** to become an expert.[*web*]

  f. ...even if we're all **some different level of <u>angry with each other</u>**.[*web*]

With the exception of (56b), all examples presented in this paper of noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions where the adjective takes a complement are cases where the construction functions as predicate and, I claim, are Type II constructions. While both Type I and Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) appear to allow for modification of the adjective by (typically degree) adverbs, only noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions in predicate positions appear to allow the adjective to take a complement. This behavior provides further suggestion for the hypothesis that the adjectives in Type II constructions retain their properties as adjectives.[5]

## 4.1.2 Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P) as Nominal: Relative Constructions

If we consider only the adjectival characteristics discussed above, it may appear possible to analyze these Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) structures as adjectival phrases, with the material preceding the Adj(P) as complex adverbials similar to items such as *a bit*, *a little*, *a great deal*, *kind of*, or *sort of* (68).

(68) a. a tiny bit sad, a little confused, a great deal older

   b. sort of annoying, kind of stupid

Examples in (68a) show adverbial elements that consist of a determiner (generally *a/an*) and a noun (*bit*, *little*); examples in (68b) demonstrate adverbial elements that consist of a noun (*kind*, *sort*) and the preposition *of*. In the case of Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, we observe both the presence of a determiner before the noun (not limited to the indefinite *a/an*) and the occurrence of the preposition *of*, and while it may appear plausible to propose that Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) represents a blend or generalization of the constructions in (68a) and (68b), we also find data that challenge this hypothesis. Such examples are discussed in this section, where we see that Type

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[5]It may be that in Type I constructions, because the Adj(P) undergoes conversion, speakers prefer shorter Adj(P)s. Indeed, conversions of multi-word phrases such as *too cute* or *too stupid to be written* tend to acquire a quotative flavor. In the particular case of (56b), I hypothesize that the adjective *worth* ends up taking the generic pronoun *it* as a complement because *worth* is an adjective that requires a complement.

II noun-*of*-Adj(P)s also exhibit behavior particular to nominal elements—namely, the ability for them to participate in relative constructions.

To start off the discussion, consider the following examples in (69), where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction occupies a predicate position and is interpreted as adjectival in the matrix clause (MC), yet (1) it also participates in a relative construction and (2) it is interpreted nominally or in an argument position in the relative clause (RC) (underlined).

(69)  *Adjectival in MC, nominal in RC*

    a.  I am **the level of tired I think I'm going to spend most of 2019 at**[web]

    b.  My grandparents are **the kind of in-love that makes people want to believe in soul-mates**.[web]

    c.  I mean. . . yeah, she is damaged. And she's **the type of damaged where it isn't just her that's effected**, she inadvertently takes it out on those around her.[web]

    d.  Cat flipped pages until she returned to the girl in pigtails, who looked **the kind of happy that came easy**. (*Caterpillar Summer* by Gillian McDunn)

    e.  In the course of a few short hours he kicked bramble ass and made it look **the sort of effortless that made us wonder if we (mom and I) were just doing it wrong**. . .[web]

    f.  . . . I remember Kyle looking **the sort of handsome one sees in Sears underwear catalogs circa 1984**, and I remember nothing else about Dune.[web]

In the examples in (69), we can tell that the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression is serving an adjectival function both via its interpretation as well as, in the cases of (69d-69f), by the fact that the expression follows after the verb *look*, which selects for adjectival complements. However, within the relative clause, the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression is interpreted nominally, i.e. as subject, object, or prepositional object.

There are also cases in which the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression serves a nominal function in the matrix clause, but an adjectival one when interpreted within the relative clause, as in (70) (relative clause underlined). In the matrix clause the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions (*the kind of happy*, *the amount of happy*) occupies argument position, while in the relative clause the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression would be interpreted as the predicate or the complement of a verb selecting for adjectival complements (*look*, *make*).

(70)   *Nominal in MC, adjectival in RC*

    a.  And I'm talking about **the kind of happy <u>you looked just now when you were lis-tening to that song</u>**.*web*

    b.  **The amount of happy <u>this makes me</u>** is infinite*web*

    c.  **The amount of heartbroken <u>I am</u>** is unexplainable.*web*

Lastly, it is (theoretically) possible to have cases where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression participates in a relative construction, yet in both the matrix and relative clauses have an adjectival interpretation.[6] However, the examples I have been able to find all involve an appositive-like structure, where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression does not serve as the main predicate, but rather appears to be an appositive that qualifies the predicate adjective. In these instances, the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression can plausibly be interpreted as an (adjectival) predicate in apposition with another (preceding) predicate. An example is shown in (71).

(71)   *Adjectival in both MC and RC*

    He could feel that she was not diet-thin, but athlete-thin, **the kind of thin <u>that he was</u>**, all muscle and skin, no fat at all.*web*

These relative constructions suggest that, at least at some point in the derivation of these Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions, the structure is nominal. As such, an analysis that treats Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) simply as a projected adjective phrase, as briefly discussed at the beginning of this subsection, would not be able to explain all the data. What is needed appears to be an account that would allow for Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) to exhibit both nominal and adjectival properties. I propose one such account in the next section.

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    [6]The case where a noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression is interpreted nominally in both the matrix and the relative clause, as in (i) below, does not fit into the discussion here, for in this case we would be dealing with a case of Type I noun-*of*-Adj(P), which is purely nominal. This section discusses Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P), which exhibits behavior of *both* nominals and adjectivals.

    (i)  I'm talking about **the kind of tired <u>that doesn't go away with a full night of sleep</u>**.*web*

## 4.2  The Structure of Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P): Multidominance

The analysis I propose in this essay for Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P) will involve the idea of multidominance in syntax (Citko 2005, de Vries 2009, 2012, O'Brien 2017). This section first provides an overview of multidominance, discussing in particular how such a notion has been used to analyze phenomena including across-the-board (ATB) movement, right-node-raising (RNR), and syntactic amalgams. Afterwards, I propose a schema involving multidominance for utterances containing Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) to explain the simultaneously nominal and adjectival behavior exhibited by these noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions.

### 4.2.1  Multidominance

Chomsky (2001) distinguishes between two types of Merge, Internal Merge and External Merge, responsible for building up structure. In External Merge, two distinct rooted structures are joined into one; this is the basic type of Merge. In Internal Merge, on the other hand, one of the two objects being joined is a subpart of the other; this has also been called *internal remerge* in works such as de Vries (2009). Internal Merge is one common way to formulate movement phenomena (e.g. *wh*-movement). Citko (2005) argues in favor of a third type of Merge, Parallel Merge (or *external remerge* to de Vries), which involves two distinct rooted structures (as in External Merge) but combines the two by taking a subpart of one of them (as in Internal Merge).
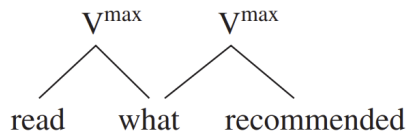
**Across-the-Board Movement.**  Citko (2005) applies Parallel Merge to ATB constructions, where parallelism is captured by allowing a single *wh*-element to merge with elements in both conjuncts.

(72)  I wonder *what Gretel recommended and Hansel read.*  (=(7) in Citko 2005)
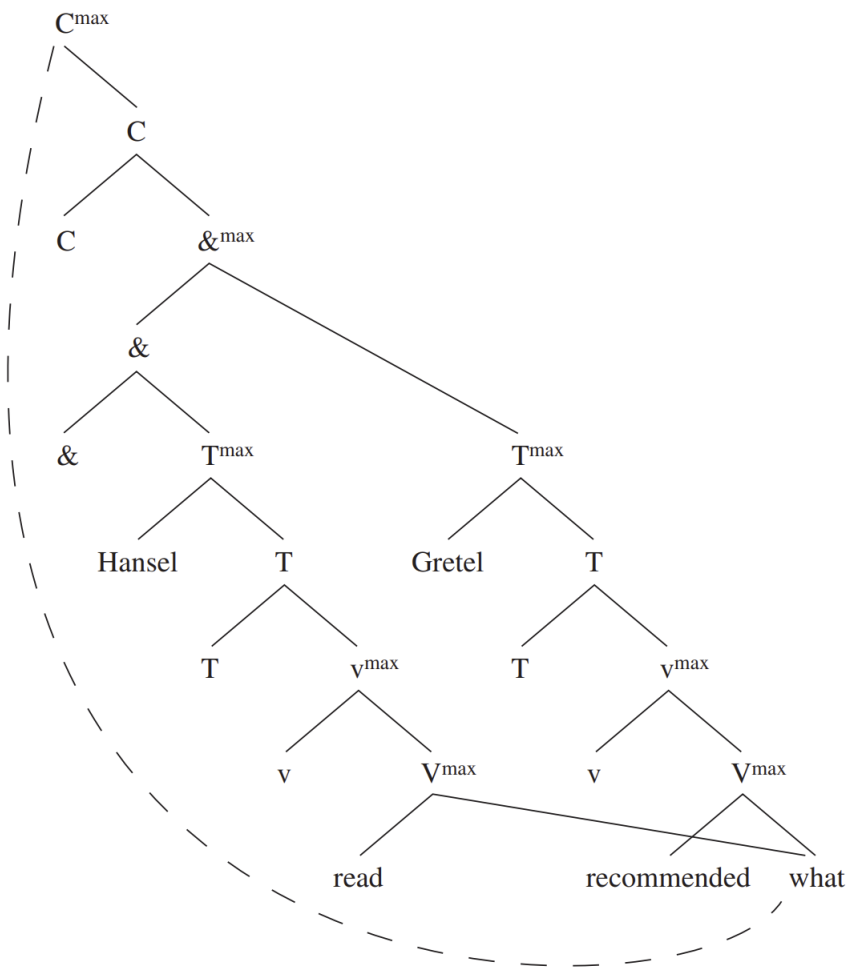
(73)  a.  Merge *read* and *what*, project *read*



41
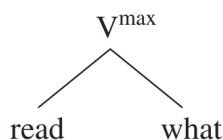
b. Parallel-merge *recommended* and *what*, project *recommended*

$$V^{max} \quad V^{max}$$

read    what    recommended

Assuming a standard approach to conjunction, where the conjunction *and* heads the entire projection and the two conjuncts are in an asymmetric relationship, Citko proposes the following structure in (74) for the embedded question in (72).

(74)

$C^{max}$

C

C    $\&^{max}$

$\&$

$\&$    $T^{max}$        $T^{max}$

Hansel    T        Gretel    T

T    $v^{max}$        T    $v^{max}$

v    $V^{max}$        v    $V^{max}$

read        recommended    what

Because Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) derives linear precedence from strict asymmetric c-command, the symmetric structures generated from Parallel Merge are incom-

patible with the LCA. To address this, Citko (2005) cites Chomsky (1995) in assuming a version of the LCA in which the LCA does not have to order elements that will disappear at spellout, such as a trace or an unpronounced copy. Such a theory, Citko argues, would allow Parallel Merge as long as its effects are invisible at spellout, as in cases of ATB movement.

**Right-Node-Raising.** Authors such as de Vries (2009, 2012) and O'Brien (2017) have also applied the notion of multidominance to right-node-raising structures.

(75)   John admires but Jill hates **Bush**.                    (=(8) in de Vries 2009, adapted)

(76)
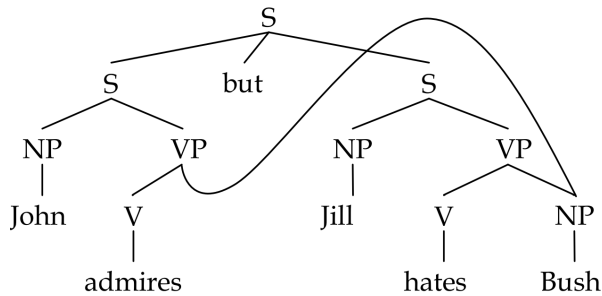


(=(9) in de Vries 2009)

Distinct properties of RNR that differentiate it from ellipsis and regular movement may arise naturally from a multidominance approach. In particular, O'Brien (2017) argues in favor of a pivot-internal, in-situ multidominant analysis of RNR constructions, in which there is no movement. Here, *pivot* refers to the material that is "shared" by the conjuncts (presented in bold font in (77)-(82), also note that in these examples an underscore does not denote a "gap" left behind by movement, but rather how and where the pivot material is interpreted.). O'Brien mentions a number of reasons for an analysis not involving (rightward) movement, the first of which is (77).

(77)   *Island insensitivity in RNR sentences*

        John talked to a guy who admires _, and Bill met someone who despises _, **the 44th president of the United States**.                    (=(32) in O'Brien 2017, adapted)

RNR also appears not to be subject to certain locality constraints on rightward movement. For example, RNR is not sensitive to the ban on prepositional stranding in English rightward extraction.

(78)  Waylon edited a review of _ and Hank blogged about _ **my syntax textbook**.

<div align="right">(=(33b) in O'Brien 2017, adapted)</div>

Moreover, O'Brien (2017) notes that RNR can target constituents that ordinary movement processes typically cannot. In particular, unlike movement, RNR can apply below the word level.

(79)  a.  My theory under-_, and your theory over-**generates**.

b.  Lev wrote a book comparing pre-_ and some post-**Soviet** business practices in Russia.
    (=(35) in O'Brien 2017, adapted)

And unlike rightward (80a) or leftward (80b) movement, RNR can target constituents such as a single N head (81).

(80)  a.  *John met an interesting _ yesterday teacher.

b.  *What is Mary an interesting _?

(81)  Mary is both an interesting _ and an aspiring **teacher**.

<div align="right">(=(36), (37) in O'Brien 2017, adapted)</div>

Finally, a key motivation of O'Brien's pivot-internal, non-movement analysis for RNR is what are called right-node wrapping sentences, as in (82), in which the pivot may be non-rightmost in the final conjunct.

(82)  a.  I defiled _ and then turned **the homework assignment** into a paper airplane.

b.  Garth should read _ and then give **the book** to Merle.
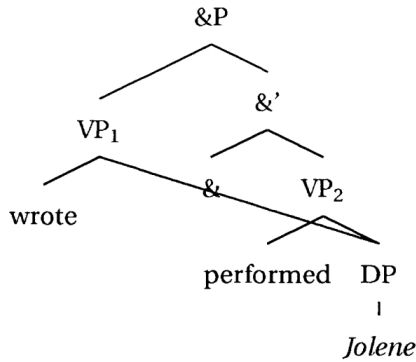
<div align="right">(=(48) in O'Brien (2017))</div>

Sentences like (82) would suggest that the pivot in RNR sentences does not undergo rightward movement, and instead is realized in-situ in the final conjunct.

To provide a theory of linearization that will work with such an in-situ multidominant analysis of RNR structures, O'Brien defines a notion of *complete dominance*.

(83)  A *completely dominates* B in some structure C iff A is included in every path from B to C.

As an example, in (84), $VP_1$ does *not* completely dominate *Jolene* in &P, because there are two paths leading from the pivot to the root, <DP, $VP_1$, &P> and <DP, $VP_2$. &', &P>, but $VP_1$ is not included in both of them.

(84)

```
              &P
          ／      ＼
        VP₁      &'
       ／      ／   ＼
    wrote   &    VP₂
              ／  ＼
         performed  DP
                    |
                  Jolene
```

$$\text{(84)} \quad \begin{array}{c} \&P \end{array}$$

(=(53) in O'Brien 2017)

Whereas Kayne's (1994) LCA derives linear precedence from c-command, O'Brien (2017) follows Wilder (1999) and proposes that complete dominance be taken as the relevant structural relation instead, showing that such an algorithm would be able to correctly linearize RNR structures. As a more in-depth discussion of linearization is beyond the scope of the present essay, I direct the interested reader to section 2.4 of O'Brien (2017) for a more concrete implementation of such a linearization algorithm.

**Syntactic Amalgams.** The last group of constructions I would like to mention in the context of multidominance is what are called syntactic amalgams (see Lakoff 1974, Guimarães 2004, van Riemsdijk 2006, de Vries 2009, 2012, Kluck 2011, among others). The two types of amalgams most widely discussed in the literature are Andrews-amalgams (*wh*-amalgams), as in (85), and Horn-amalgams (cleft amalgams), as in (86).

(85)  John wrote *you'll never guess how many **words*** in one hour.

(86)  John wrote *I think it was **his brother*** a letter.

The italicized material in (85) and (86) are often referred to as Interrupting Clauses (ICs), and the text in bold font can be treated as the pivot in a multidominant structure (e.g. Guimarães 2004, van Riemsdijk 2006, de Vries 2009, 2012). Below is a schematic of the approach, taken from de Vries (2012).

(87)

*interrupting clause*

main clause ⟶ *pivot* (...)
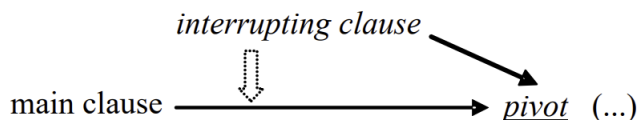
(=(28) in de Vries 2012)

The IC in these amalgams has been argued to involve parenthesis (Kluck 2011, de Vries 2012), a term that has been used to include a heterogeneous group of constructions, including parentheticals, appositives, hedges, and non-restrictive relative clauses (see Dehé 2014 for a more in-depth discussion). de Vries (2012) presents the working definition in (88).

(88) **Parenthesis:** *A grammatical construction type that involves a message that is presented or perceived as secondary with respect to the host*, where *message* covers propositions, modal propositions, questions, metalinguistic comments, and so on.

(de Vries 2012: 9)

In the case of these syntactic amalgams, operating under the assumption that the ICs are parenthetical in nature, de Vries (2012) observes the following.

(89) a. *Apparently non-local behavior of amalgams:* The pivot can be deeply embedded inside the interrupting clause.

b. *Invisibility of the interrupting clause in amalgams:* Material inside the interrupting clause (with the exception of the pivot) is invisible for c-command-based relationships with phrases in the host structure.

c. *Visibility of the pivot in amalgams:* The pivot is visible for c-command-based relationships with phrases in the host structure.

(=(32) in de Vries 2012, adapted)

Note that (89a) and (89b) are consistent with the assumption of parenthesis, while (89c) is consistent with a multidominant analysis of the Andrews- and Horn-amalgams, in that the pivot is part of the structure of the matrix clause as well as of the IC and therefore visible to both. de Vries provides sentences like the following in (90) and (91) in support of (89a).

(90) a. John got *I think it was Mary who claimed that it's **a kangaroo*** for his birthday.

b. John got *I guess I have to convince you it's **a kangaroo*** for his birthday.

(91) a. John got *I'm sure you'll never guess how many **instruments*** for his birthday.

b. John got *I guess there's nobody here who can even imagine how many **instruments*** for his birthday.

(based on (33), (34) in de Vries 2012)

In support of (89b) and (89c), which state that while the pivot is visible to c-command relations in the matrix clause, the rest of the IC is not, de Vries (2012) cites examples (92)-(95) from Kluck (2008). The sentences in (92) show that quantifier binding of a variable inside the IC is generally not possible.

(92)    a.   *[No one]$_i$ is going to *he$_i$ thinks it's **New York** this Sunday.

        b.   *[Every student]$_i$ bought *he$_i$ didn't realize how many **books** that day.

                                    (=(35) in de Vries 2012, adapted)

In contrast, in (93) we see that the binding of a variable inside the pivot is possible.

(93)    a.   [Every student]$_i$ sold *you can imagine how many of **his$_i$ books** that day.

        b.   [No one]$_i$ is going to see *I think it's **his$_i$ girlfriend** this Sunday.

                                      (=(36) in de Vries 2012, adapted)

Moreover, (94) and (95) demonstrate that R-expressions in the IC (save the pivot) do not give rise to Condition C effects, while R-expressions in the pivot do.

(94)    a.   He$_i$ had seen, *John$_i$ said it was **Anna** on TV yesterday.

        b.   He$_i$ bought, *John$_i$ didn't even know (himself) how many **books**.

                                      (=(37) in de Vries 2012, adapted)

(95)    a.   *He$_i$ had seen *I think it was **John$_i$** on TV yesterday.

        b.   *He$_i$ bought *you can imagine how many **books about John$_i$**.

                                      (=(38) in de Vries 2012, adapted)

To explain the relationship between the IC and the matrix clause, de Vries (2012) proposes an operation Parenthetical Merge (par-Merge), which he uses as a technical implementation of the invisibility effects exhibited by parenthesis. In de Vries's words, "par-Merge breaks the transitive line of regular inclusion" (de Vries 2012: 13). He posits the existence of an abstract parenthetical phrase ParP, which is headed by the head Par that triggers par-Merge. According to de Vries, in the schematic below, the line of regular inclusion is unaffected in the host YP, but stops within ParP, accounting for the observation that c-command-based structural relations do not seem to hold in

the parenthetical portion XP$_{par}$. (Note that de Vries uses asterisks beside a downward arrow to indicate par-Merge.)

(96)
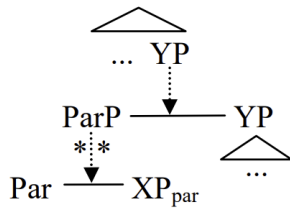


par-Merge (Par, XP$_{par}$) → ParP
Merge (ParP, YP) → YP

(=(25) in de Vries 2012)

Applying the par-Merge operation to Andrews- and Horn-amalgams to provide an account of how the IC relates to the matrix clause, de Vries (2012) presents the following structures in (97) and (98), respectively.

(97)  a.  Joop got *you will never guess how many **instruments*** for his birthday.

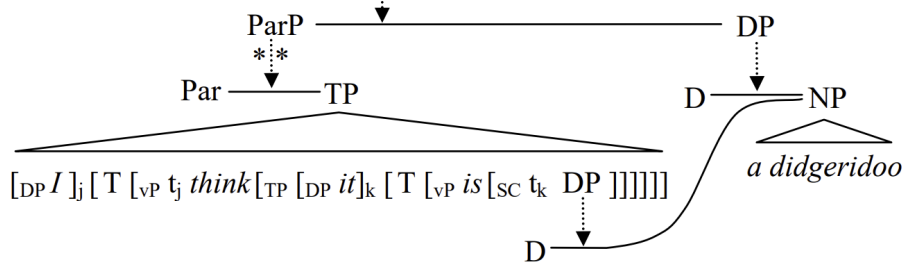  b.  [$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Joop*]$_i$ [ T [[$_{vP}$ t$_i$ *got* [D  NP ]] *for his birthday*]]]
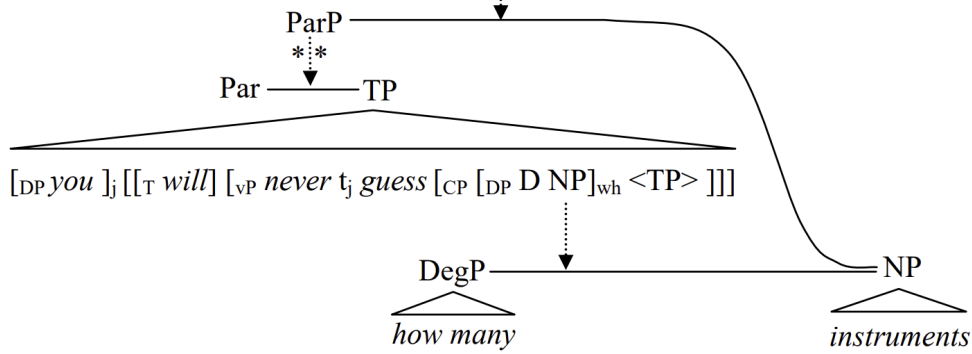


(=(31) in de Vries 2012)

(98)  a.  Joop got *I think it is **a didgeridoo*** for his birthday.

  b.  [$_{TP}$ [$_{DP}$ *Joop*]$_i$ [ T [[$_{vP}$ t$_i$ *got* DP ] *for his birthday*]]]



(=(30) in de Vries 2012)

In (97) and (98), we can see that the IC in an amalgam is connected to the matrix clause via par-Merge, accounting for its parenthetical behavior. Moreover, the pivot is visible to both the IC and the matrix clause because it is multiply dominated by both.

## 4.2.2 Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P) as Multidominance

Having discussed multidominance and a few constructions to which such an approach is applicable, I would now like to present an analysis for Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) that makes use of a multidominant structure. To begin, I propose that a sentence like that in (99) involves two separate phrases, *John seems sad* and *a different kind of sad*, as in (100).

(99)  John seems a different kind of sad.

(100)  a.  [$_{TP}$ John [$_{VP}$ seems [$_{a}$P sad]]][7]

     b.  [$_{DP}$ a [$_{n}$P different kind [$_{PP}$ of [$_{n}$P $n_{prop}$ [$_{a}$P sad]]]]]

In (100a), the word *sad* is an adjective *a*P, while in (100b) it is converted into a noun by combining with $n_{prop}$ before merging with the preposition *of*. Note here that (100b) has the basic structure presented in Section 3 for noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions.

In this case, *sad* becomes the pivot of the multidominant structure. To be more specific, because it is [$_{a}$P sad] that is shared across (100a) and (100b), I say that the *a*P *sad* is the pivot (and not the *n*P *sad*, which only exists in (100b)). A tree representation for this is presented below in (101).[8]

---

[7]For the sake of simplicity, I do not show movement from Spec-V to Spec-T.

[8]For the sake of simplicity, in (101) and later trees, I do not show the TP level in the matrix clause.

(101)
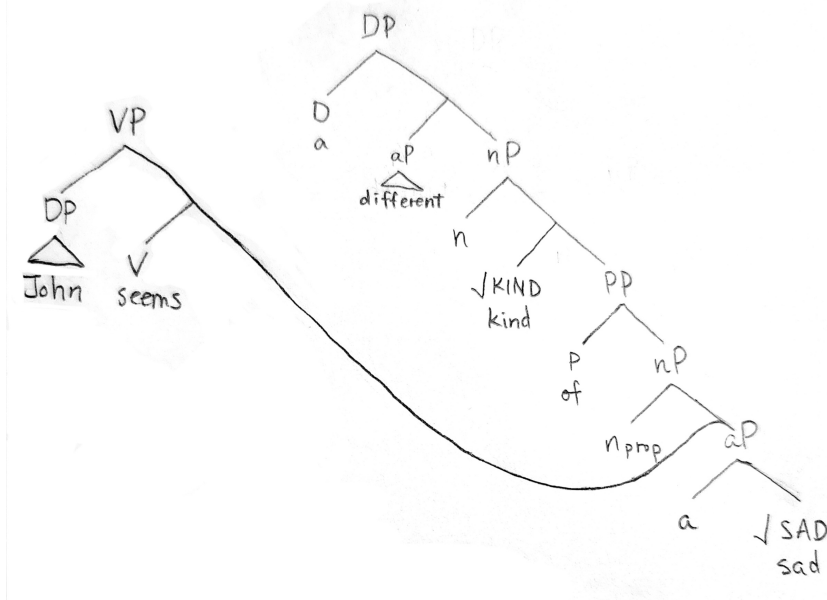


Such a structure would account for the observations made in section 4.1, where we saw that Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) exhibits both adjectival and nominal behavior. The fact that Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) can serve as complement to perception verbs that select for adjectival complements is consistent with the structure in (101) in that the perception verb merges with an *a*P, not a DP. The observation that the adjective in Type II constructions can take a complement (while the same is rarely, if ever, observed with Type I constructions) may also be accounted for if we assume that, because the *a*P has merged not only with $n_{\text{prop}}$ in the process of conversion, but also with a node (e.g. a perception verb, copula) that selects for its adjectival status and interpretation, any resistance to the conversion of a multi-word phrase is mitigated in Type II constructions (but not so much in Type I, where the only node dominating *a*P is *n*P). Moreover, at the same time, the fact that the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression *is* a DP—in the case of (101), *a different kind of sad*—explains how it can participate in relative constructions.

A parallel can be drawn between sentences like (99) and the syntactic amalgams discussed in section 4.2.1. Whereas in Andrews- and Horn-amalgams we have Interrupting Clauses (ICs) and nominal pivots, in sentences containing Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression itself is the "interrupting" element and the pivot is adjectival. Indeed, it could be argued that sentences containing Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) are another category of syntactic amalgams, and I will henceforth refer to Type II DPs like *a different kind of sad* in (99) as Interrupting DPs (IDPs).

The question arises of what the relationship between the matrix clause and the IDP is. Earlier we saw that ICs in Andrews- and Horn-amalgams have been analyzed as parentheticals (Kluck 2011, de Vries 2012). I now show that it may be possible to take the IDP in a sentence containing Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) as a parenthetical element. Consider the sentences in (102)-(104).[9] (The italicized portions are the IDPs, and the bold are the pivots.)

(102)  \*He$_i$ was *a huge amount of **proud of John's$_i$ victory***.

(103)  ?He$_i$ was (feeling) *John's$_i$ usual sort of **happy***.

(104)  ?He$_i$ was *the kind of **happy** that John$_i$ usually was after a victory*.

Much like what has been observed in Andrews- and Horn-amalgams, Condition C effects are observed for R-expressions in the pivot of sentences containing Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P), as in (102), while they are not observed for R-expressions occurring in the rest of the IDP, as in (103) and (104).

Adopting de Vries's (2012) par-Merge operation, the relationship between the matrix clause and the IDP in (99) can be analyzed as in (105), where solid lines represent (regular) Merge and dotted lines represent par-Merge.

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[9]Note that judgments (collected via personal correspondence with a number of native English speakers) on these sentences vary, but there is a general agreement that (102) is impossible, while (103) and (104) may be strange but possible.

(105)
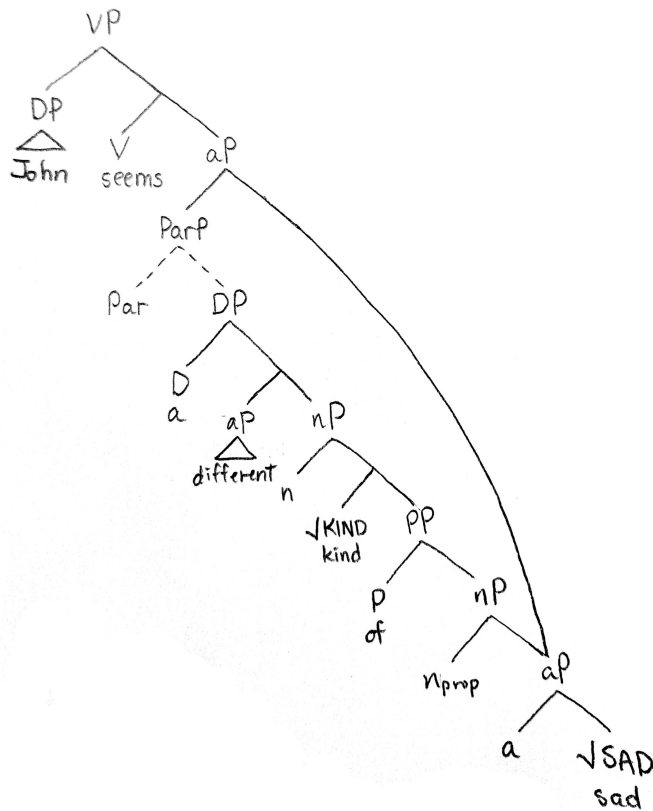


In the case of a relative construction where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) is interpreted predicatively in the matrix clause but nominally in the relative clause, as in (106), I propose the structure in (107).[10] Again, we have the basic composition of the matrix clause as *She looks happy* and the IDP *the kind of happy that comes easy*, which is connected into matrix clause via an instance of par-Merge.

(106)   She looks the kind of happy that comes easy.                    (based on (69d))

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[10]I adopt a raising hypothesis of relative clauses based on one that is presented in Sportiche, Koopman & Stabler (2014).

(107)
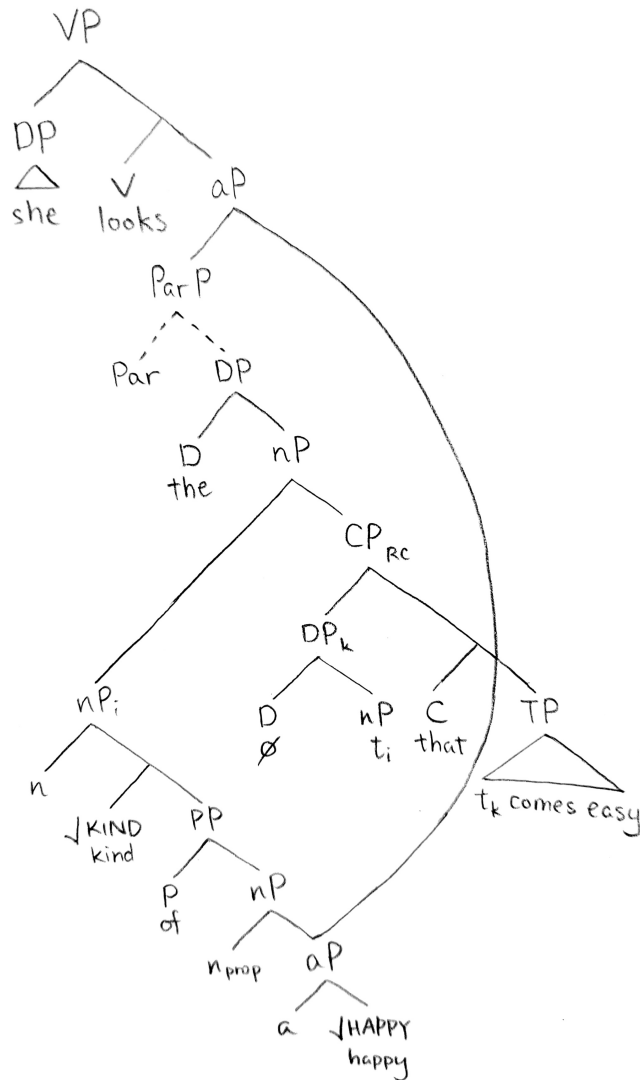


The situation is slightly different in cases where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression is interpreted adjectivally in the relative clause, as in (108) below, where in the matrix clause the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression occupies an argument position (object of P), while in the relative clause it is interpreted as the complement of the verb *looked*, which selects for adjectival phrases.

(108)   I'm talking about the kind of happy you looked just now.                    (based on (70a))

I propose the following structure in (109) for (108).

(109)

*[Tree diagram for (109): DP → D "the" + nP → CP_RC; nP_i (n √KIND "kind" + PP [P "of" + nP [n_prop + aP [a + √HAPPY "happy"]]]) and DP_k [D "PP ∅" + nP t_i] + C + TP [DP_j "you" + T [PAST] + VP [DP t_j + [V "looked" + aP [ParP [Par + DP t_k]]] + AdvP "just now"]]]*
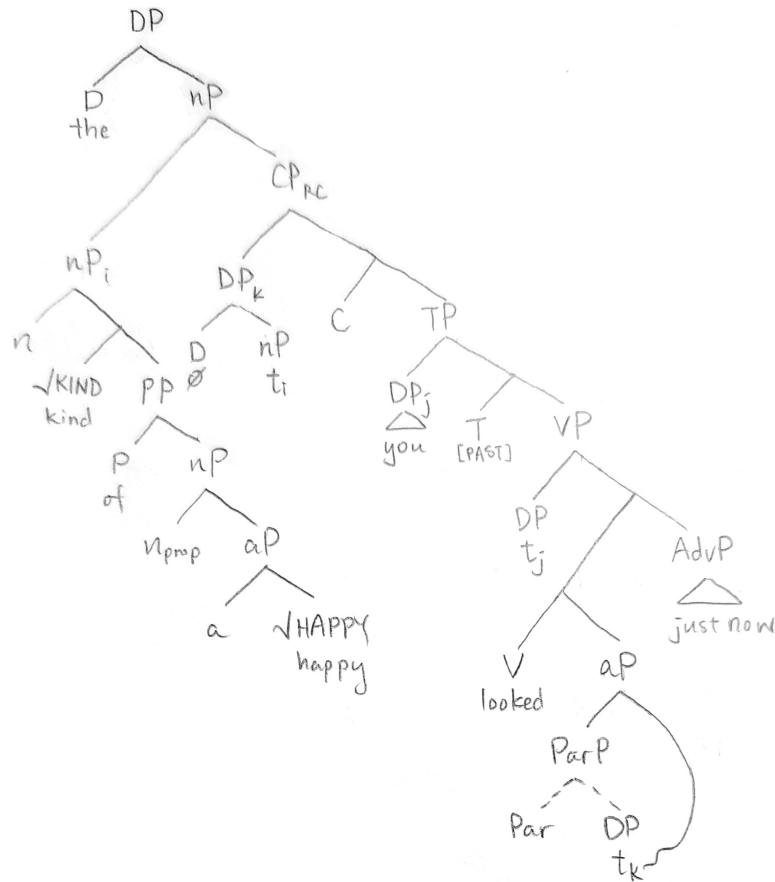
In (109), the pivot *happy* (*a*P) starts out in the relative clause multiply dominated by the VP headed by *looked* and the *n*P formed by merging with $n_{prop}$. The latter is what allows it to become part of the DP ∅ *kind of happy*, while the former accounts for its predicative interpretation in the relative clause following the verb *looked*. Note that in the tree in (109), it is not $t_k$/DP$_k$ that is being multiply dominated but the *a*P *happy* within $t_k$/DP$_k$. A partial derivation is shown in (110) below (italicized = IDP, bold = pivot).

(110)  i.  [$_{TP}$ you looked [$_{IDP}$ ∅ [$_{nP}$ *kind of **happy***]$_i$]$_k$ just now]

ii.  [$_{CP}$ [$_{IDP}$ ∅ [$_{nP}$ *kind of **happy***]$_i$]$_k$ that [$_{TP}$ you looked $t_k$ just now]]

iii.  [$_{DP}$ the [$_{nP}$ [$_{nP}$ *kind of **happy***]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{IDP}$ ∅ $t_i$]$_k$ that [$_{TP}$ you looked $t_k$ just now]]]]

The situation for a sentence where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression is interpreted adjectivally/ predicatively in both matrix and relative clauses is similar, with the difference that there will be two instances of par-Merge—one in the relative clause, and one in the matrix clause, once the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression has moved out from the relative clause and into the matrix.

On a side note, sentences such as (108), where the noun-*of*-Adj(P) is interpreted predicatively/adjectivally within the relative clause, may offer evidence in support of a raising or promotion analysis for restrictive relative clauses, as it would be difficult to explain the adjectival interpretation of the noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression by way of simply assuming a relative operator that is coindexed with but separate from the *n*P participating in relativization, since it would be hard to argue that such an operator could be internally complex and mirror exactly the structure of the *n*P it is coindexed with.

### 4.2.3   Syncretism, Multidominance, & Type II Noun-*of*-Adj(P)

In this final subsection, I will briefly address the question of what may have motivated or makes possible Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions. Moreover, as the analysis presented thus far for Type II constructions assumes that multidominance can operate at a morphological, word-internal level, a question also arises as to why a contrast like that in (111) exists, where it is possible for *happy* (*a*P) to act as pivot in a multidominant structure in (111a) but not in (111b).

(111)   a.   John seems *a different kind of* ***happy***.

   b.   *John seems *a different kind of* ***happi****ness*.

In (111a), the nominalizing category head involved is the null $n_{prop}$ I have proposed in this paper. In (111b), however, the nominalizing category head is the overt *-ness*. At this point, I would like to entertain the hypothesis that Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions are possible because conversion by definition results in syncretic forms. We observe other resolution effects arising from syncretism elsewhere in English as well, for example as demonstrated in (112) and (113).

(112)   a.   *Either they or I **{are/am/is}** going to have to go.

   b.   Either they or you **are** going to have to go.

(113)   a.   *I certainly will, and you already have, **{clarify/clarified}** the situation.

   b.   I certainly will, and you already have, **set** the record straight.

(adapted from (4), (5) in Asarina 2010)

In (112) and (113), the (a) sentences are ungrammatical but the (b) sentences are grammatical. What distinguishes the (a) and (b) sentences is that syncretic forms are available in the (b) sen-

tences, but not in the (a) sentences. It has been proposed that the existence of a syncretic form allows for the resolution of conflicting features when exponing a node, making sentences like (112) and (113) possible (e.g. Asarina 2010). A similar argument can perhaps be made to account for the fact that while noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions (e.g. *a different kind of happy*) can participate in Type II constructions and exhibit adjectival behavior, corresponding expressions with an overtly nominalized adjective (e.g. *a different kind of happiness*) cannot particpate in such a multidominant structure: In the former case, the *a*P *happy* is syncretic with the *n*P *happy*, whereas in the latter case this is not true. While this is certainly not the final verdict or only possible explanation for why Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) constructions are possible, I present the hypothesis above as a potential answer to a question that remains open.

In conclusion, this section has been concerned with cases of noun-*of*-Adj(P) that demonstrate both adjectival and nominal characteristics. These cases would appear inconsistent with the structure proposed in Section 3 for (Type I) noun-*of*-Adj(P), which predicts that noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions distribute strictly as nominals. However, I show here that a multidominance analysis of a sentence or utterance containing Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P), in which the Adj(P) is treated as the pivot, provides a possible explanation for the simultaneous nominal and adjectival behavior exhibited by Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P), since any element in the rest of the utterance that selects for an adjectival complement is merged not with the entire noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression (which is nominal), but with the Adj(P) within within the expression.

# 5   Conclusion

This paper has discussed English constructions of the superficial form noun-*of*-Adj(P). I have proposed that these constructions involve conversion of the Adj(P) into a noun—as opposed to being a case of some other nominal adjective construction such as the abstract construction. In the process of doing so, I have provided a recategorization of constructions involving adjectives used like nouns, crucially arguing for a distinction between cases of the abstract construction and cases of conversion from adjective into a noncount noun denoting abstract concepts, the latter of which has previously been categorized as the abstract construction by works such as Glass (2019) and Wu (2020). Operating under the framework of Distributed Morphology, I propose that a null

nominalizing category head, which I denote as $n_{\text{prop}}$, is involved in the conversion of the Adj(P) in noun-*of*-Adj(P), such that the Adj(P) first combines with $n_{\text{prop}}$ to form a noun before merging with the rest of the noun-*of*-Adj(P) construction. For convenience, I term noun-*of*-Adj(P) expressions used purely nominally "Type I" noun-*of*-Adj(P).

Furthermore, I discuss in Section 4 cases where noun-of-Adj(P) exhibits distribution characteristic of adjectives as well as nouns ("Type II"). I present an analysis of these cases of noun-*of*-Adj(P) involving multidominance and possible parenthesis. Namely, I show that it is possible to account for the simultaneous adjectival and nominal distributions observed in Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) by assuming a multidominant construction in which the adjective in noun-*of*-Adj(P) serves as the pivot, such that, for example, verbs that select for adjectival complements merge with only the Adj(P) and not the entire noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression, which is nominal. I also provide a brief discussion of the possibility that the relationship between a Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) expression and the host clause involves a case of parenthesis. What should be noted here is that the difference between Type I and Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) lies not in the internal structure of the noun-of-Adj(P) expression, but in how the expression connects to the rest of the sentence/utterance, in that in the former case the noun-*of*-Adj(P) merges into nominal positions and functions as nominals, while in the latter case the expression is connected at multiple points to a host clause, such that it is able to demonstrate properties both nominal and adjectival. In proposing such an analysis, I am also positing that multidominance may be possible at the "morphological" (word-internal) level, and not merely at the syntactic level (as has already been shown in analyses that argue for a multidominance approach to other phenomena like ATB movement and RNR).

Of course, several questions remain for further investigation. A number of these are theoretical questions surrounding the immplementation of multidominance, including how linearization would work for such structures. I have briefly mentioned O'Brien's (2017) linearization algorithm for multidominant structures, but do not engage in a rigorous discussion in this paper. Moreover, although I have postulated that Type II noun-*of*-Adj(P) might be a case of parenthesis, this is only a speculation; further investigation is necessary in order to determine whether this is an appropriate analysis. Questions about the degrees of acceptability of noun-*of*-Adj(P) among various speakers, the demographics of users, and other variations in the usage of noun-*of*-Adj(P) also remain open for future work.

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# Appendix: Sources & Context for Web Examples

Examples are listed in the order of first appearance in this paper.

- **There were a good few years where Nintendo had almost no competition in the realm of cute** - the Gamecube era, where almost everyone else making video games was obsessed with the race towards realism (and the veil of "maturity" that grimdark settings and brown-and-grey colour palettes provided), and Sega had sadly thrown in the towel after the Dreamcast sunk.
  (https://kotaku.com/nobody-is-as-good-as-nintendo-at-making-cute-games-1706915762)
- I'm not even mad **The amount of stupid is actually kind of impressive**... I'm impressed
  (https://www.pinterest.com/pin/241153755023911501/)
- Instead, we lift each other up, and have a place to celebrate the things the world never acknowledges. Like how proud we are of a single woman who just bought her first house on her own. **We're also the same amount of proud of a woman who just took herself to dinner alone for the first time.**
  (https://shanisilver.medium.com/youre-not-supporting-creators-you-re-paying-for-what-you-use-927ac12a9ef7)
- **Tiktok is a different kind of stupid**
  (https://www.reddit.com/r/antiwork/comments/r5sfdl/tiktok_is_a_different_kind_of_stupid/)
- All Aphra can think about is the last time she saw Vader, and how he swore he would find her. **Fortunately, Sana is only a normal person's level of afraid of Vader**, and is able to hustle her out of the party.
  (https://www.comicsxf.com/2021/08/25/catch-up-with-doctor-aphra-just-as-things-go-from-bad-to-worse/)
- **Y'all, the level of stupid is astounding.**
  (https://twitter.com/MartySmithESPN/status/1329590841619456003)
- **This level of scary suits me personally very well.** The ghost/witch/devil/dark with a sense of humor theme is one of my favorites.
  (https://medium.com/@michaelperssonse/five-things-that-got-me-hooked-on-chilling-adventures-of-sabrina-ec5b1704a5e9)
- **M-MY HEART! IT CAN'T HANDLE THIS EXTENT OF CUTE!!!**
  (https://www.reddit.com/r/danganronpa/comments/btzm4h/comment/ep5rehq)
- Jo Walton is an amazing author. She is one of my absolute favourite authors of all time. **There are writers who deliver the same kind of awesome every time** (you know what you're going to get, for example, from a Terry Pratchett book or an Alastair Reynolds, a Robin Hobb or a Stephen King)...
  (https://bookforager.wordpress.com/2017/09/29/the-kings-peace-the-kings-name-by-jo-walton/)
- **I'm on another level of bored.**
  (https://www.reddit.com/r/SoulKnight/comments/ekunyh/im_on_another_level_of_bored/)

- **Been a new level of angry the past few days**, I've never been silent in my music but now im even louder! RT to make the racists hella mad #BlackLivesMatter
  ([https://twitter.com/rayblk_/status/1268608975542640640](https://twitter.com/rayblk_/status/1268608975542640640))
- "It's pretty great. I think I was a little nervous that it was going to be harder," Milano told PEOPLE at the 2014 March of Dimes Hollywood Luncheon on Friday. "**But really it's the same amount of hard. It's all hard.**"
  ([https://people.com/parents/alyssa-milano-two-kids-is-the-same-amount-of-hard/](https://people.com/parents/alyssa-milano-two-kids-is-the-same-amount-of-hard/))
- **Everyone on #ThisIsUs is sad, but not everyone is the same amount of sad.** So we made a ranking
  ([https://twitter.com/NYMag/status/1482568721847705601](https://twitter.com/NYMag/status/1482568721847705601))
- **I am the level of tired I think I'm going to spend most of 2019 at**
  ([https://twitter.com/NathanSykes/status/1082915208950095873](https://twitter.com/NathanSykes/status/1082915208950095873))
- So the partner sends for a gunman, played by the formidable-looking Walter Barnes. **Too bad Barnes can't work up a degree of nasty to match his looks, which would have really added to the showdown.**
  ([https://www.imdb.com/review/rw1705659/?ref_=tt_urv](https://www.imdb.com/review/rw1705659/?ref_=tt_urv))
- **Are you the RIGHT type of busy?** How to tell if you are and what to do if you're not!
  ([http://www.thebusinessbakery.com.au/right-type-busy-tell-youre/](http://www.thebusinessbakery.com.au/right-type-busy-tell-youre/))
- **weed people, diet people, and crypto people are the exact same kind of annoying** (won't shut up about their neutral-at-best, likely much worse hobby being the thing that heals everyone in the world)
  ([https://twitter.com/NINETIREDBUGS/status/1478172264608800774](https://twitter.com/NINETIREDBUGS/status/1478172264608800774))
- **This guy was the epitome of stressed.** He often didn't get full lunch breaks due to fires and emergencies. He often worked more than 40 hours per week and worked odd hours. He's had bursts of anger which I know are brought on by stress...
  ([https://workplace.stackexchange.com/questions/156970/how-do-you-take-on-less-stress-in-a-role-than-your-predecessor-did](https://workplace.stackexchange.com/questions/156970/how-do-you-take-on-less-stress-in-a-role-than-your-predecessor-did))
- ...George Jac is bad. Really bad. In fact, The Max Hart Show segments actually drag the movie further down. In fact, one will struggle to understand why Jac's character is in the movie. **Outside of providing context for what little happens, Jac's presence is the very definition of unnecessary.**
  ([https://theabominabledrwelsh.blog/2021/01/12/hacksaw-some-legends-should-probably-stay-dead/](https://theabominabledrwelsh.blog/2021/01/12/hacksaw-some-legends-should-probably-stay-dead/))
- He is known as one of the world's hippest and most stylish men but pop icon Justin Timberlake has admitted he does not consider himself cool... **The former Nsync singer, seen by many as the very image of cool for his work in music and film, told US magazine GQ that the sobriquet does not fit him.**
  ([https://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/pop-icon-justin-timberlake-tells-2786221](https://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/pop-icon-justin-timberlake-tells-2786221))
- She is in touch with client needs and understands they value of meaningful connection. **I highly recommend her as a therapist who is absolutely the embodiment of kind.**
  ([https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/therapists/kate-west-knoxville-tn/864351](https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/therapists/kate-west-knoxville-tn/864351))
- With the basic premise of "*Jurassic World* but with zoo animals gone crazy", ***Zoombies***

**enters another world of stupid that's honestly charming.**
(https://gruesomemagazine.com/2016/12/22/thomas-marianis-worst-horror-films-2016/)

- It's been argued that even pro gamers can't perceive or really benefit from numbers above 240 Hz. **But even if that's the case, we're happy to see any instance of engineers pushing performance into the realm of unnecessary.** Pricing and an on-sale date still to come.
(https://www.popularmechanics.com/technology/gear/a30393997/ces-2020-editors-choice-awards/)

- The Goblin's weaponry has always been a celebration of the ridiculous, **so bizarre that it managed reach out and touch the domain of weird colonised by the Silver Surfer's surfboard and Galactus's helmet**. I mean, this is a guy who actually spent time building bombs that look like pumpkins.
(https://maxwell-grant.tumblr.com/post/677656974547156992/if-this-isnt-a-problem-that-is-what-do-you-think)

- I thought Hongkong or Korean drugstores had trained me well, but no. **Japanese drugstores are another world of confusing for this beauty junkie.**
(https://twindly.com/blog/2018/05/5-things-to-know-when-youre-beauty-shopping-in-japan/)

- I think the world is profoundly strange and surprising—the actual, real world. And **human experience is an entire universe of strange and surprising**...
(https://uwm.edu/creamcityreview/category/contest/page/2/)

- **Libras are ruled by Venus, the planet of pretty.** Those that fall under this sign are natural albeit indecisive art lovers and this SAMSUNG TV does double duty;
(https://nypost.com/2022/07/13/the-perfect-amazon-prime-day-2022-deal-for-your-zodiac-sign/)

- **it's uncanny to the point of disturbing**
(https://twitter.com/rachelmillman/status/926872495877222401)

- **What you see here are 4 Veitchii Gardenias in various stages of dead and dying.** These four were planted a year ago and did great at first: beautiful white blooms, a little bit of growth, etc. A couple months ago the problems started, yellowing of leaves, followed by dying blooms, then browning and dying leaves.
(https://www.houzz.com/discussions/3899521/help-dying-gardenias)

- I feel the filmmaker's effort to impact on audiences' senses with music and noises...**The mise-en-scene is so bleak as to the extent of scary or even gruesome.** The intentional production of black and white creates such a feeling of horror and the film milieu is fraught with imminent danger and violence.
(https://www.imdb.com/review/rw3123262/?ref_=tt_urv)

- **Cinderella is the very image of hard working, humble, and absolutely deserving of more.** Every iteration of the popular Disney story has Cinderella slaving her way into the realm of audience sympathy so that they can cheer her on when she lands her big break.
(https://dailyforest.com/entertainment/10-tiny-details-about-cinderella-tiana-and-belle-that-will-leave-you-smiling)

- I had a truly tiny role in making this happen and **I am a huge amount of proud of our city, school district and the wonderful Rose Kennedy Greenway parks**. Kudos to all the people who worked hard for this wonderful collaboration.

(<https://www.facebook.com/ABostonFamily/posts/2165495930375172>)

- Worst case scenario. Best case scenario: a bear... **So I was really scared, the kind of scared of the dark I was when I was a kid, which was a little embarrassing.** I wanted to stop, but then I would just be a sitting duck for the witch and wouldn't be making any noise to ward off the bears.
  (<https://thetrek.co/appalachian-trail/rock-n-sole-hostel-well-im-new-york-scorecard/>)

- **I'm "I just used a grocery cart at a liquor store" level of nervous about this election**
  (<https://twitter.com/Ten_Toes_7/status/1323697873171718146?s=20&t=3ikxfP2zXRAh3MyQss27qg>)

- ...**Whatever it is you're passionate about, be that level of curious about it to become an expert.**
  (<https://heathandalyssa.com/best-books-i-read-in-2018/>)

- I love how it feels to come home after a night out, drink water and eat mozzarella sticks with my best friends, **even if we're all some different level of angry with each other**.
  (<https://ndsmcobserver.com/2022/04/love-and-attention/> [link inactive])

- What do you think? **Touch of brilliance or verging in the realm of too cute?** Every reader will have to make up their own mind. I can honestly see both sides.
  (<http://vincereview.blogspot.com/2019/03/the-magic-pudding-by-norman-lindsay.html>)

- No I don't think they rose to the level of jerkish in this specific context, but I'm not a mod. **One rose to the level of too stupid to be written**, one rose to the level of being possibly perceived as a little creepy to the one person it was directed toward but she has chimed in to say it didn't bother her.
  (<https://boards.straightdope.com/t/a-bit-heavy-handed-asmovian/735787/95>)

- **I mean, there are a lot of cute bungalows in the neighborhood — some of which you could even classify in the realm of *super cute*.** But this one, Faith explained, has a leg up on the competition.
  (<https://candysdirt.com/2021/09/10/is-this-victor-street-craftsman-the-most-adorable-bungalow-ever/>)

- **We're Holding On For the Kind of Better That Can Only Come From the Worse**
  (<https://herviewfromhome.com/marriage-were-holding-on-for-the-kind-of-better-that-can-only-come-from-worse/>)

- Beginning again with pretentious composure, I said, "Better is not a school system made to appease affluent families." Another well-placed, dramatic pause here. "**The kind of better we need is the kind of better so antithetical to the logic of white supremacy that that logic must reflexively oppose it.**"
  (<https://richmondracialequityessays.com/dennis-williams>)

- As a woman, I have always been worried about what physically might happen to me (our for a walk in the park, in a toxic relationship, drunk at a party, if I didn't respond to a cat call...) **Then, at work I had to work harder, longer and smarter than the men around me to get ahead. I had to dress better, be skinnier, and be just the right amount of cuter, too.**
  (<https://www.reddit.com/r/EckhartTolle/comments/is6r4y/women_vs_men/g56qgyf/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3>)

- **The amount of cutest is almost too much.**
  (<https://surprise.katespade.com/products/puffy-coin-purse/PWR00372.html>
  [link inactive])
- **Rising definitely ascended him past the level of coolest.**
  (<https://steamcommunity.com/app/287700/discussions/0/490123197959281313>
  <https://#c490123727971836360>)
- Anyway! Look how glorious and married they are. Isn't this better than before they were
  married? **Even though they look ...** *the same amount of glamorous and in love?*
  (<https://www.cosmopolitan.com/style-beauty/fashion/news/a33312/angelina>
  <s-latest-red-carpet-look-is-a-lace-lovers-dream-come-true/>)
- It takes a unique breed to forsake all the comforts most people take for granted, trek off into
  the woods and set up shop just for the serene and simple pleasures that camping brings. [...]
  If this list hits home for you, congratulations – **you're one of the odd ones: a little too
  obsessed with camping, but just the right amount of in love with the great outdoors**.
  (<https://trekbaron.com/signs-you-may-like-camping-too-much/>)
- **My grandparents are the kind of in-love that makes people want to believe in soulmates.**
  I lived with them for a while during middle school, and a lot of my nights were spent grinning
  at the two of them.
  (<https://marquettewire.org/3968631/opinion/hughes-am-i-a-bad-feminist-f>
  )
- **This little girl pushing a dog in a stroller is the exact amount of cute that'll get you
  through the day**
  (<https://www.yahoo.com/lifestyle/little-girl-pushing-dog-stroller-22075>
  <7032.html>)
- **Unfortunately, I went with an expensive 300$ osprey instead and the amount of worth
  it is absolutely incredible.** It fits my bear canister, tent, water, sleeping bag, and MORE -=
  INSIDE =-
  (<https://www.amazon.com/review/R1J9RRBATY72WX/ref=cm_cr_srp_d_rdp_perm?>
  <ie=UTF8&ASIN=B00HA3E27W>)
- **getting the right job \*for you\* is key to unlocking a big amount of happy in your life**
  and, we are obsessed with creating happy
  not just for our customers, but also within our team
  (<https://mylittlemascaraclub.com/pages/careers>)
- I don't agree with op as exemplified by my previous comment but Carian Retaliation needs
  to be fixed. **Other than that my game runs great and weapons seem the same amount of
  broken as each other** but Carian Retaliation is literally just a glitch that needs fixing.
  (<https://steamcommunity.com/app/1245620/discussions/0/31778593589665488>
  <19/#c3177859358966557890>)
- The thing is, I wouldn't be surprised if the basketball hoop and picnic tables here are the
  same ones. **Nothing looks different from how it did back then, even the signs seem the
  same degree of sunwashed.**
  (<https://weallscreamforicecream.wordpress.com/2008/11/01/sterling-ice-c>
  <ream-bar-sterling-ma/amp/>)
- **nah, pvp seems the same amount of toxic as it's ever been for me**
  (<https://us.forums.blizzard.com/en/wow/t/anyone-else-notice-an-uptick-i>

)
- The cucumber melon is the only one and possibly the cotton candy even though it doesn't really smell like cotton candy that I liked. **All the floral scents all smell the same amount of HORRIBLE!**
(https://www.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/RY1QZMJ5RC9K8/ref=cm_cr_dp_d_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B077SJTCWP)
- Packing up orders today, and I always get excited when I'm packing orders for new customers! **I get a different kind of excited when packing up orders for return customers**, and sometimes by that point I can put a face to the name, especially if they are active on social media here
(https://www.facebook.com/solaskincare/photos/a.254049198066035/1893075090830096/?paipv=0&eav=AfYwrR6Iopt27VWQpqdMfqv7o5w5URcpMO5fv9XqrTHSJxeDlknf5NlmCBtvW3yOcvQ)
- **I mean. . . yeah, she is damaged. And she's the type of damaged where it isn't just her that's effected, she inadvertently takes it out on those around her.**
(URL no longer available)
- You know, the only person to ever take us up on that was Mick. **In the course of a few short hours he kicked bramble ass and made it look the sort of effortless that made us wonder if we (mom and I) were just doing it wrong...**
(http://www.heyrick.co.uk/blog/index.php?diary=20200407)
- I remember Sting in his weird BDSM getup, **and I remember Kyle looking the sort of handsome one sees in Sears underwear catalogs circa 1984, and I remember nothing else about Dune.**
(http://www.toddalcott.com/fairies-and-fantasy-the-dark-crystal.html#comment-13719)
- "I'd say you have strange tastes, but no one has the right to judge you if he makes you happy." Gabrielle's head tilted slightly. "And **I'm talking about the kind of happy you looked just now when you were listening to that song.** So, ask yourself: who were you thinking about during that song?"
(https://www.fanfiction.net/s/13808042/1/Playlist-of-Love)
- headlines from this week!!!!!!!!!!!!»»>**The amount of happy this makes me is infinite**
(https://www.pinterest.com/pin/513199320012040774/)
- **The amount of heartbroken I am is unexplainable**.
(https://twitter.com/kaylacbrown_/status/1420765956893253638)
- He supported her weight with a hand around her waist. **He could feel that she was not diet-thin, but athlete-thin, the kind of thin that he was, all muscle and skin, no fat at all.**
(http://www.comicfic.net/fic/benway/hero02.htm)