

Adjectival quantification over hidden events

Marcin Wągiel

In this paper, I investigate certain intriguing properties of two types of quantificational adjectives exemplified by the English *two-time* and *double* and their interactions with event semantics. Based on a corpus study data and native speaker judgments, I explore the distribution and semantic behavior of *two-time* and *double* in phrases such as (1) and (2) and show that they operate on hidden eventive components within the semantics of the modified NPs. Building on Zobel's (2017) analysis of social roles and Wągiel's (2018) theory of subatomic quantification, I propose an analysis that accounts for their puzzling properties. In particular, I argue that *two-time* counts events of acquiring of a salient and conventionalized social role by an individual, whereas *double* is a subatomic quantifier that counts essential parts of an event. The results indicate that nominal semantics is more complex than typically assumed and call for adopting a richer ontology and a more nuanced mechanisms of quantification.

(1) two-time champion

(2) double murder