

Subjectivity and Evaluation in Standard Setting: A Study on Mandarin *hen*

Huilin Fang

1. Introduction

In the tradition of degree semantics, *positive degree sentences* refer to those like ‘John is tall’, which has the meaning that the degree of tallness of the subject exceeds a contextually given standard. A commonly accepted view is that this standard is introduced by the *positive degree morpheme*, *pos* (see von Stechow 1984, Kennedy 1999, Kennedy 2005, a.m.o., for related discussions). In languages under extensive study, such as English, *pos* does not have overt morphology. One possible exception is Mandarin Chinese, in which a particle *hen* is obligatory with relative adjectives, especially when the sentence is uttered out of the blue (see (1)). On the surface, *hen* seems to be semantically vacuous. Therefore, it is regarded as the overt realization of *pos* (Kennedy 1999, Liu 2010, Zhang 2015, among others).

Hen form:

- (1) Afu *hen* {gao/pang/congming/ingjun}.
Afu HEN tall/fat/smart/handsome
‘Afu is tall/fat/smart/handsome.’

In this work, I argue that the traditional theory of *pos* as introducing a contextually salient standard is not sufficient to account for *hen*. Rather, *hen* provides a *subjective standard* determined by a sentient judge that makes evaluation over whether the subject ‘stands out’ in terms of degree. It is well known that certain subtypes of adjectives are subjective, in the sense that they express opinions rather than absolute facts, such as *Predicates of Personal Tastes* (PPTs) (Lasnik 2005) like *tasty* and *fun*. In a sentence with subjective adjectives, the truth conditions are relativized to a judge. An example is (2), and *j* represents the judge.

- (2) a. The cake is tasty.
b. The cake is tasty for *j*.

In English, non-subjective adjectives like *tall*, *long*, and *full* do not always require a judge (Kennedy 2013), although the standards can still sometimes be subjective (see Kennedy 2013, Bylinina 2013, among others). I argue that this is not the case in Mandarin *hen* sentences. For both subjective and non-subjective adjectives, *hen* can be present in forming positive degree sentences across-the-board. For example, *Afu hen gao* ‘Afu is *hen* tall’ is now transcribed as ‘Afu’s height is significantly tall for a judge *j*.’ This added meaning is not necessarily present in the English counterpart.

There are four major arguments for this analysis. The first one is related to the behavior of *hen* with adjectives of different scale structures. Second, *hen* predicates patterns with eventive and dynamic

* Huilin Fang, University of Southern California, fhuilin@usc.edu. I’m grateful to Roumyana Pancheva, Barry Schein, Andrew Simpson, Audrey Li, Robin Jeshion and Rachel Walker for their valuable comments and suggestions. Special thanks to Alan Bale, John Beavers and the reviewers and audience of WCCFL 34. All remaining errors are my own.

verbal predicates under negation. Third, *hen* sentences have several properties that are similar to subjective adjectives, such as embedding under attitude verb *find*, and in triggering faultless disagreement. Finally, evidence from a Mandarin aspectual marker *le* shows that the traditional view of *pos* is insufficient for *hen*.

2. Scale structures and positive degree structures in Mandarin Chinese

A commonly accepted view is that standard setting of gradable adjectives is determined by their scale structures. Scales can be divided into bounded scales and unbounded scales. A bounded scale contains sets of degrees that have maximal or minimal degrees, or both. Adjectives with such scales are called *absolute adjectives* (see Rotstein & Winters 2004, Kennedy & McNally 2005, Kennedy 2007, a. o.), which include *full*, *dirty* and *clean*. In comparison, adjectives with unbounded scales are called *relative adjectives*, such as *tall*, *heavy* and *large*. The understanding of a contextually given standard is more related to relative adjectives. In contrast, the standards for absolute adjectives are usually set at the upper or lower bounds, as in (4).

- (3) a. John is tall.
 b. John's height is at least as tall as a contextually salient standard. (Relative adjectives)
- (4) a. The cup is full.
 b. The cup reaches the absolute degree of fullness. (Absolute adjectives)

Absolute adjectives can be further classified into three categories by their scales. An *upper-closed scale* has a maximal degree, but no minimal degrees. The standard is usually set at the maximal degree. A *lower-closed scale* has only a minimal degree, but no maximal degree, and the standard is set at the minimal degree. A *totally closed scale* has both a maximal and a minimal degree, and the standard is set at the maximal degree. Relative adjectives do not have maximal and minimal degrees. The standard is introduced contextually. Some examples are given below.

Absolute adjectives:

- (5) a. Upper-closed scales: *Ganjing* 'clean', *zhi* 'straight', *ping* 'flat', *gan* 'dry'
 Standard = dmax
 b. Lower-closed scales: *Shi* 'wet', *zan* 'dirty', *wan* 'bent'
 Standard = dmin
 c. (Totally) closed scales: *Man* 'full', *xing* 'awake', *touming* 'transparent', *kai* 'opened',
 Standard = dmax *kandejian* 'visible'

Relative adjectives:

- (6) Open scales: *Gao* 'tall', *pan* 'fat', *congming* 'smart', *haochi* 'tasty', *ingjun* 'handsome'
 Standard: contextually determined

In English, positive sentences formed with relative adjectives and absolute adjectives are not grammatically distinct. It is not the case in Mandarin. Despite the common understanding that *hen* is used to form positive sentences, it is only the default form for relative adjectives (see (1)). There is a second form, the *shi...-de* form, which is the default positive form for absolute adjectives, as in (7). Note that when using the *shi...-de* form, the standards are set at upper or lower bounds, same as those in the English counterparts. *Shi* is the main copula, and *-de* is a modifier marker in Mandarin.

Shi...-de form

- (7) Wazi shi gan-de
 Sock COP dry-DE
 'The sock is dry.'
 Implication: The dryness of the sock reaches dmax (Upper-closed scales)

- (8) Wazi shi shi-de
 Sock COP wet-DE
 ‘The sock is wet.’
 Implication: The sock has at least minimal wetness (Lower-closed scales)
- (9) Beizi shi man-de
 Cup COP full-DE
 ‘The cup is full.’
 Implication: The fullness of the cup reaches the maximum (Totally-closed scales)

However, *hen* can still occur with absolute adjectives. Yet the standard does not need to be the minimal or maximal degrees: it can be somewhere between the two. In the *hen* marked forms, there is a strong implication that the degree is rather high. When the adjective has both an upper bound and a lower bound, the standard is significantly higher than the minimal degree, but it does not need to reach the maximal degree. This is illustrated in (10). The *hen* sentence is compatible with an expression that denies the degree reaching the maximal degree, as shown in the part after *dan* ‘but’ in (b).

Hen with totally-closed scale adjectives: $d_{\max} \geq d_{\text{standard}} \gg d_{\min}$

- (10) a. Beizi hen man
 Beizi HEN full
 ‘The cup is *hen* full.’
- b. Beizi hen man, dan bu-shi (quan) man-de
 Cup HEN full but NEG-COP totally full-DE
 ‘The cup is *hen* full, but it’s not totally full.’
 ‘The cup HEN full. \Rightarrow the fullness reaches d_{\max} .’

When *hen* co-occurs with lower-closed scale adjectives, the standard is significantly higher than the minimal degree.

Hen with lower-closed scale adjectives: $d_{\text{standard}} \gg d_{\min}$

- (11) Wazi hen shi
 Wazi HEN wet
 ‘The sock is *hen* wet.’
 Implication: the degree of wetness is significantly higher than d_{\min} .

With upper-closed scale adjectives, the standard need not reach the d_{\max} , but the degree is still quite high. As shown in (12)b, the sock being *hen*-dry does not entail that the sock is totally dry.

Hen with upper-closed scale adjectives: $d_{\max} \geq d_{\text{standard}}$

- (12) a. Wazi hen gan
 Sock HEN dry
 ‘The sock is *hen* dry.’
- b. Wazi hen gan, dan bu-shi (quan) gan-de
 Sock HEN dry but NEG-COP totally dry-DE
 ‘The sock is *hen* dry, but it is not (completely) dry.’
 The sock HEN dry. \Rightarrow the dryness reaches the d_{\max} .

If *hen* does not set the standards on the minimal or the maximal degrees, a question then arises on what exactly is the standard introduced by *hen*.

3. Negation and the *hen* predicate

The second puzzle related to *hen* is that it patterns with eventive or dynamic predicates under negation. In Mandarin Chinese, there are two different negation markers, *bu* and *mei*. In general, *bu*

negates generic situations and states, as in (13). *Mei* negates eventive or dynamic predicates ((see Huang 1988, Ernst 1995, Hsieh 2001, Lin 2003, a.m.o.), as shown in (14).

Bu: negating generic sentences and states

- (13) a. Wo bu chi shuiguo
 I NEG eat fruit
 ‘I don’t eat fruit (in general).’ (Generic sentences)
- b. Afu bu shi laoshi.
 Afu NEG COP teacher
 ‘Afu is/was not a teacher.’ (Stative sentences)

Mei: negating eventive or dynamic predicates

- (14) Wo mei chi shuiguo
 I NEG eat papaya
 ‘I did not eat papayas.’ (Eventive/dynamic sentences)

In general, *mei* cannot negate states. It is ungrammatical to negate nominal predicates ((15)a), the *shi...-de* form ((15)b), and the ‘bare’ form of adjectival predicates without the presence of *hen*, as in (15)c.

- (15) a. *Afu mei shi laoshi
 Afu NEG COP teacher
 Intended: ‘Afu is/was not a teacher.’
- b. *Beizi mei shi man-de
 Cup NEG COP full-DE
 Intended: ‘The cup is/was not full.’
- c. *Afu mei gao
 Cup NEG tall
 Intended: ‘Afu is not tall.’

However, when *hen* is present, the sentence can be negated by *mei*, although it is a stative predicate. When *hen* is absent, the sentence is not grammatical. This is shown in the contrast between (15)c and (16).

Hen form under mei:

- (16) Afu mei *(hen) gao
 Afu NEG HEN tall
 ‘Afu is/was not *hen* tall.’

The data above suggest that either the previous analyses on the distinction between *bu* and *mei* is flawed, or *hen* sentences are in fact eventive or dynamic. The second view is more advantageous because it does not require much modification from previous insights.

4. *Hen* predicates are subjective

Another important trait of *hen* predicates is that they pattern with subjective adjectives like PPTs in several respects. There are two commonly used tests for subjectivity, faultless disagreement (Lasersohn 2005, 2009, Pearson 2013, Kennedy 2013, among others) and embedding under perceptual verb *find* (Lasersohn 2005, 2009, Sæbø 2009, Kennedy 2013, Pearson 2013, among others). *Hen* predicates patterns with English subjective adjectival predicates on both respects. However, what sets *hen* predicates apart is that the adjectives do not need to be subjective themselves. With the presence of *hen*, non-subjective adjectives become subjective.

Faultless disagreement refers to the situation that two or more speakers argue over whose opinion is more valid, of which none of them is in fact wrong. In English, subjective adjectives can trigger faultless disagreement, as in (17), while non-subjective predicates, such as *being a doctor*, do not, as in (18). In (17), since the tastiness of chili is about personal opinions, neither John nor Mary is making a wrong statement.

Subjective predicates:

(17) *John*: The chili is tasty.

Mary: No! The chili is not tasty.

(Lasersohn 2005)

On the contrary, *being a doctor* can only be true or false as long as the references of the indices are set. Only John's or Mary's statement is correct.

Non-subjective predicates

(18) *John*: I'm a doctor.

Mary: No, you're not a doctor!

(Lasersohn 2005)

Hen predicates also trigger faultless disagreement, even when the adjective is non-subjective, such as *man* 'full'. The *shi...-de* form does not, as shown in the contrast between (19) and (20).

Scenario: the cup is filled with water to a certain degree, but not totally full.

Hen form

(19) A: Beizi hen man.

Cup HEN full

'The cup is *hen* full.'

B: Cuo! Beizi bu hen man!

Wrong! Cup NEG HEN full

'Wrong! The cup is not *hen* full!'

(Both A and B are not wrong)

Shi...-de form

(20) A: Beizi shi man-de

Cup COP full-DE

'The cup is full.'

B: Cuo! Beizi bu shi man-de

Wrong cup NEG COP full-DE

'Wrong! The cup is not full!'

(No faultless disagreement; A is wrong)

Furthermore, English subjective adjectives are licensed under perceptual verb *find*, while non-subjective predicates are less acceptable, as shown in (21)a and (21)b respectively. According to Kennedy (2013), *find* is similar to *think* or *believe*, but it requires the doxastic anchor of the sentence to be the direct experiencer. In this sense, *find* selects adjectives related to the judge's direct experience.

(21) a. Anna finds her bowl of pasta tasty/delicious.

b. ?Anna finds her bowl of pasta big/large/small.

In Mandarin Chinese, there is a near counterpart of *find*, *ganjue* 'find/feel.' Different from *find*, *ganjue* strongly implies that the judgment is based on one's sensory perception or gut feelings. Similar to *find*, only subjective predicates can embed under *ganjue*. Non-subjective predicates like *yuen* 'round' and *man* 'full' cannot embed under *ganjue*.

(22) a. #Afu ganjue diqiu shi yuen-de.

Afu find Earth COP round-DE.

Intended: 'Afu found Earth to be round.'

- b. #Afu ganjue beizi shi man-de
 Afu find cup COP full-DE
 Intended: 'Afu find the cup to be full.'

When *hen* is present, both subjective and non-subjective adjectives can embed under *ganjue*.

- (23) Afu ganjue zhe dangao hen haochi
 Afu find this cake HEN tasty
 'Afu find this cake *hen* tasty.' (Predicates of Personal Tastes)

- (24) Afu ganjue Ali hen gao.
 Afu find Ali HEN tall.
 'Afu finds Ali *hen* tall.' (Non-subjective predicates)

The data above suggest that *hen* predicates are subjective, in the sense that they requires an experiencer's evaluation over the situation, even when the adjectives themselves are not subjective.

5. *Hen* and the event of evaluation

In order to account for the data of *hen* in the previous sections, I propose that *hen* introduces an event of evaluation, in which an experiencer makes the judgment on whether an object stands out in degree to be qualified as having the property designated by the adjective. In this sense, a closer translation of *hen* is similar to *find*. A more scrutinized meaning of a *hen* sentence is in (25).

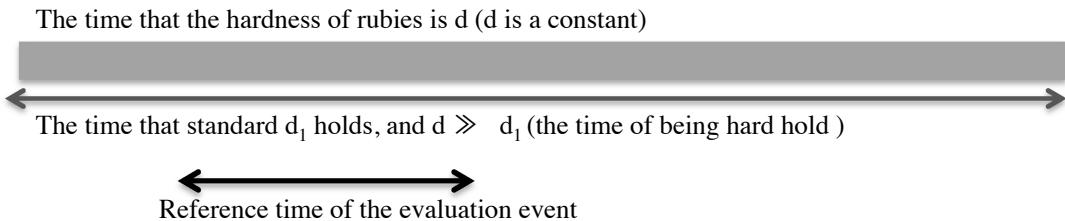
Scrutinizing the semantics of the *hen* sentence:

- (25) Afu hen gao.
 Afu HEN tall
 'There is an event of evaluation which a judge finds Afu's height standing out.'

An important advantage of this analysis is that the adjectival property of a *hen* sentence does not need to be temporally bounded, although it contains an evaluation event that can be bounded potentially. I give an example about the hardness of rubies, as in (26). Imagine that the standard is the hardness of talc. Since it is a fact that rubies are harder than talc, (26) holds true as long as the standard is fixed. Let d be the degree of hardness of rubies, and the standard d_1 be the hardness of talc. Since d always exceeds d_1 , and if the standard does not change over time, then (26) is a permanent property. In this situation, what is temporally bounded can't be the state of being hard, but the event of evaluation. This is illustrated in (27).

- (26) Hongbaoshi hen ying.
 Ruby HEN hard
 'Rubies are/were hard.'

- (27) Illustration of sentence (26): d = the hardness of rubies; d_1 = the hardness of talc (the standard)



In (27) above, the darker and shorter arrow indicates the temporal duration of the evaluative event. The lighter and longer arrow is the duration that d_1 holds, which implies the property of being hard

holds. The bar is the duration of *d*, the hardness of rubies, which is a constant, holds. The time of the evaluation event is contained within the time of the state. As long as the standard does not change, the property of being hard can be permanent.

6. *Hen* predicates are not (necessarily) stage-level

The above analysis rules out a more straightforward account: *hen* marked predicates are stage-level predicates. Similar to eventive and dynamic predicates, stage-level predicates are temporally bounded. If this is the right analysis, one could make a new generalization that *mei* negates bounded properties or events. The meaning of a *hen* sentence would refer to a temporary state. Here I show more evidence that the stage-level versus individual-level distinction is not on the right track.

In the literature, there are several commonly used tests to distinguish stage-level predicates from individual-level predicates (see Carlson 1977, Kratzer 1995, Jäger 1999 a.m.o.). For example, only stage-level predicates can embed under perceptual verbs, to occur with *when*, and to be modified by frequency adverbs. While a stage-level predicate like *tired* can appear in these environments, an individual-level predicate like *altruistic* cannot.

In Mandarin, the presence of *hen* does not automatically change an adjective with a more individual-level meaning into a stage-level meaning. Rather, the type of the predicates is still determined by the meaning of the adjectives themselves. This is shown in (28) to (30). The (a) sentences contain a *hen* marked predicate, and the (b) sentences are the *shi...-de* forms. For both forms, only *lei* ‘tired’ is more acceptable to appear in these environments, while *wusi* ‘altruistic’ is not. The *hen* forms in (a) are not more grammatical than the *shi...-de* form with *wusi*.

Embedding under perceptual verbs (Carlson 1977)

- (28) a. Wo kandao Afu hen #wusi/lei
 I see Afu HEN altruistic/tired
 Intended: ‘I saw Afu being *hen* altruistic/tired.’ (Hen form)
- b. Wo kandao Afu shi #wusi/lei-de
 I see Afu COP altruistic/tired-DE
 Intended: ‘I saw Afu being altruistic/tired’ (Shi...-de form)

Embedding under *dan* ‘when’ (Kratzer 1995)

- (29) a. Dan Afu hen #wusi/lei de shihou, ta hui juanxian
 When Afu HEN altruistic/tired DE time he will donate
 Intended: ‘When Afu is being *hen* altruistic/tired, he will donate money.’
- b. Dan Afu shi #wusi/lei-de shihou, ta hui juanxian
 When Afu COP altruistic/tired-DE time then will donate
 Intended: ‘When Afu is being altruistic/tired, he will donate money.’

Frequency adverbs (Kratzer 1995)

- (30) a. Afu youshihou hen ?wusi/lei
 Afu sometimes HEN altruistic/tired
 Intended: ‘Afu is sometimes being *hen* altruistic/tired.’
- b. Afu youshihou shi ?wusi/lei-de
 Afu sometimes COP altruistic/tired-DE
 Intended: ‘Afu is sometimes being altruistic/tired.’

In conclusion, despite that a *hen* predicate can be negated by *mei*, it does not imply that the predicate is stage-level.

7. The semantics of *hen* predicates

In a sense, *hen* is semantically similar to perceptual verbs like *appear* or *seem*, but it does not involve as much uncertainty. I follow Fernald’s analysis (Fernald 2000) on these two verbs. According

to him, they provide the meaning that the speaker perceives a certain situation of the subject, and makes an assertion that the subject possesses the property denoted by the embedded adjective. Fernald's original idea is illustrated in (31), which adopts the approach of Carlsonian sorted types. The argument x^s is a stage of John. Q is some perceived property of John by the speaker, z^i refers to intelligent individuals in general, and y^s refers to general stages realized by z . R is the Carlsonian realization function.

(31) a. John appeared to be intelligent.

b. $\exists Q, x^s [R(x, j) \& \textit{perceive}(Q(x)) \& Q(x) \& \exists y^s, z^i (Q(y) \& R(y, z)) [\textit{intelligent}(z)]]$

(Modified from Fernald 2000: 90)

For (31), there exist some stage-level property Q , and a stage x^s , such that John is realized as x , and there is a perceiving event of x having Q , and in general, for any stage y^s and any individual z^i such that z realizes as y , if y also has the property Q , then z is regarded as intelligent.

Hen, which can be roughly translated as *find*, also have a similar meaning, as shown (32). Here v is the judge, x is a stage of the subject Afu, and *Eval* represents an event of evaluation.

(32) a. Afu hen gao
Afu HEN tall
'Afu is *hen* tall.'

b. $\exists Q, x^s, v^i [R(x, \textit{Afu}) \& \textit{Eval}(Q(x))(v) \& \exists y^s, z^i (Q(y) \& R(y, z)) [\textit{tall}(z)]]$

The meaning of (32) is that there is a property Q , a stage x^s , and a judge v^i , such that the subject Afu is realized as x , and there is an evaluation event in which the judge v evaluates the stage x of Afu as having the property Q . Furthermore, in general, for any z realized as y , if y has the property of Q , then z is tall.

This analysis suggests that *hen* is similar to a verbal head, rather than an adverbial modifier that takes a propositional complement. As a result, the function of *hen* proposed here diverges from the previous account that *hen* is simply a positive degree morpheme, in the sense that it merely introduces a contextually determined standard. A further piece of evidence that is against the traditional *pos* analysis is shown by the aspectual marker *-le*, which will be discussed in the next section.

8. *Hen* is not just a positive morpheme: evidence from *le*

Le is traditionally viewed as a perfect marker, but it has some unique uses. *Le* has two meanings. These two readings are mutually related. The first is the *change of state* meaning or an inchoative meaning (Li & Thompson 1981, Sybesma 2013, Soh 2009, among others). As in (33), in both readings, there is a prior stage in which the flower is not red, or less red, that changes into a stage of being red or redder.

Bare adjectives: change of state/ inchoative *le*

(33) Hua hong le.
Flower red LE

'The flower has become red/redder.'

(Change of state reading)

'The flower starts to get red/redder.'

(Inchoative reading)

The second meaning is the *contrary to expectation* reading. This *le* is similar to German *schon* or English scalar *already* (Löbner 1989), and has the implication that the situation is unexpected.

Stative verbs: contrary-to-expectation *le*

(34) Ta xiang baba le
He resemble father LE

'He already resembles his father (, contrary to what one may expect.)'

(Soh 2009)

Interestingly, when *hen* is present, it does not allow the change of state or inchoative meaning, in striking contrast with (33), where *hen* is absent. Rather, it is interpreted only with the contrary to expectation meaning.

- (35) Hua hen hong le
 Flower HEN red LE
 ‘The flower is already quite red (to the extent that it’s redder than expected).’
 NOT ‘The flower has become red.’
 NOT ‘The flower has started to become red.’

If *hen* is simply a positive morpheme, it should be compatible with the inchoative and change of state meaning, which expresses that the flower changes from being not red to being red. However, this meaning is blocked. If *hen* provides a similar semantics as evaluative *seem* or *find*, this is explained, since both verbs are unlikely to have the change of state reading.

9. Conclusion and further issues

This work proposes that *hen* is similar in function as a perceptual verb, which provides a subjective standard determined by a judge. Although this analysis provides a unified account of *hen* with both absolute adjectives and relative adjectives, the problem that *hen* is obligatory when the sentence is uttered out of the blue, remains unexplained.

Here I make an informal explanation: a positive degree sentence spoken out of the blue is more likely to be related to a subjective standard, since the standard is only known to the judge (the speaker) without the help of context. The subjectivity may be based on the speaker’s personal feelings, his subjective knowledge base, or a comparison class that the speaker has in mind.

One support of this assumption is that sentences without *hen* are still acceptable, but only in marked contexts that strongly imply a salient standard agreed by the participants (see (36)). This implication is sometimes explicit, as in (37), in which the phrase ‘as we all know’ implies that the participants of the conversation share the same knowledge about the standard.

- (36) Afu gao.
 Afu tall.
 ‘Afu is tall.’
 Implication: there is a contextually given standard that is agreed by the speakers, and Afu belongs to the tall category.

- (37) Afu gao, women dou chidao.
 Afu tall we all know
 ‘As we all know, Afu is tall.’

Another possible explanation that *hen* is obligatory is syntactic: it could be a copula-like particle that takes gradable expressions. This analysis is not too far-fetched. S. Z. Huang (2006) argues that *hen* is a predicativizer, in the sense of Partee (1987) and Chierchia (1998), which takes an adjective and returns a predicate of individuals. His analysis is based on the assumption that Mandarin adjectives are individual-denoting. In a similar vein, He and Jiang (2011) study a marked form of *hen* sentences, the *hen*+N structure, and propose that *hen* in this particular use is a type-shifter that takes a kind noun, and coerces it into an adjectival property triggered by that kind, as shown in (38). Both analyses suggest that *hen* is copula-like. Therefore, *hen* in its canonical form with gradable adjectival complements can also be a copula.

- (38) Zhe-ge nuhai hen shunu_(N)
 This-CL girl HEN fairlady
 ‘This girl is fair-lady like.’

There are several other views that put emphasis on other aspects of *hen*, and they are compatible with the copula analysis. For example, according to Grano (2012), *hen* is regarded as Deg, the head of DegP (see also Liu 2010 and Zhang 2015) that projects a [+V] feature for DegP to satisfy the tense requirement of certain clausal structures. In a sense, this special Deg head can also be a copula. A closer examination of *hen*'s syntactic category is beyond the scope of this work. I leave it for future studies.

References

- Bylinina, Lisa (2013). *The grammar of standards* (Doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University).
- Carlson, Greg N. (1977). Reference to kinds in English: University of Massachusetts at Amherst dissertation.
- Chierchia, Gennaro (1998). Reference to kinds across language. *Natural language semantics*, 6(4), 339-405.
- Ernst, Thomas (1995). Negation in mandarin Chinese. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 13(4), 665-707.
- Fernald, Theodore B. (2000). Predicates and temporal arguments. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grano, Thomas. (2012). Mandarin *hen* and universal markedness in gradable adjectives. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 30(2), 513-565.
- He, Chuansheng, & Yan Jiang (2011). Type shifting, Chinese *hen*+ N structure, and implications for semantic parameters. *Lingua*, 121(5), 890-905.
- Hsieh, Miao-Ling (2001). Form and meaning: Negation and question in Chinese (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California).
- Huang, James C. T. (1988). *Wǒ pǎo de kuài* and Chinese phrase structure. *Language*, 274-311.
- Huang, Shi-Zhe (2006). Property theory, adjectives, and modification in Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, 15(4), 343-369.
- Jäger, Gerhard (1999). Stage levels, states, and the semantics of the copula. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 14, 65-94.
- Laserson, Peter (2005). Context Dependence, Disagreement, and Predicates of Personal Taste*. *Linguistics and philosophy*, 28(6), 643-686.
- Laserson, Peter (2009). Relative truth, speaker commitment, and control of implicit arguments. *Synthese*, 166(2), 359-374
- Li, Charles N, and Sandra A. Thompson (1981). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Univ of California Press.
- Lin, J. W. (2003). Aspectual selection and negation in Mandarin Chinese. *Linguistics*, 41(3; ISSU 385), 425-460.
- Liu, Chen-Sheng Luther (2010). The positive morpheme in Chinese and the adjectival structure. *Lingua*, 120(4), 1010-1056.
- Löbner, Sebastian (1989). *Germanschon-erst-noch*: An integrated analysis. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 12(2), 167-212.
- Kennedy, Christopher (1999). *Projecting the adjective: The syntax and semantics of gradability and comparison*. Routledge.
- Kennedy, Christopher (2005). Parameters of comparison. *Ms. University of Chicago*.
- Kennedy, Christopher (2007). Vagueness and grammar: The semantics of relative and absolute gradable adjectives. *Linguistics and philosophy*, 30(1), 1-45.
- Kennedy, Christopher (2013). Two sources of subjectivity: Qualitative assessment and dimensional uncertainty. *Inquiry*, 56(2-3), 258-277.
- Kennedy, Christopher, & Louise McNally. (2005). Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates. *Language*, 345-381.
- Kratzer, Angelika (1995). Individual-Level Predicates. *The generic book*, 125.
- Pearson, Hazel (2013). A judge-free semantics for predicates of personal taste. *Journal of Semantics*, 30(1), 103-154
- Rotstein, Carmen, & Yoad Winter (2004). Total adjectives vs. partial adjectives: Scale structure and higher-order modifiers. *Natural Language Semantics*, 12(3), 259-288.
- Partee, Barbara (1987). Noun phrase interpretation and type-shifting principles. *Studies in discourse representation theory and the theory of generalized quantifiers*, 8, 115-143.
- Sæbø, Kjell Johan (2009). Judgment ascriptions. *Linguistics and philosophy*, 32(4), 327-352.
- Soh, Hooi Ling (2009). Speaker presupposition and Mandarin Chinese sentence-final-*le*: a unified analysis of the “change of state” and the “contrary to expectation” reading. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 27(3), 623-657.
- Sybesma, Rint (2013). *The mandarin VP* (Vol. 44). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Zhang, Niina Ning (2015). Functional head properties of the degree word *Hen* in Mandarin Chinese. *Lingua*, 153, 14-41.

Proceedings of the 34th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics

edited by Aaron Kaplan, Abby Kaplan,
Miranda K. McCarvel, and Edward J. Rubin

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2017

Copyright information

Proceedings of the 34th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics
© 2017 Cascadilla Proceedings Project, Somerville, MA. All rights reserved

ISBN 978-1-57473-471-3 library binding

A copyright notice for each paper is located at the bottom of the first page of the paper.
Reprints for course packs can be authorized by Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Ordering information

Orders for the library binding edition are handled by Cascadilla Press.
To place an order, go to www.lingref.com or contact:

Cascadilla Press, P.O. Box 440355, Somerville, MA 02144, USA
phone: 1-617-776-2370, fax: 1-617-776-2271, sales@cascadilla.com

Web access and citation information

This entire proceedings can also be viewed on the web at www.lingref.com. Each paper has a unique document # which can be added to citations to facilitate access. The document # should not replace the full citation.

This paper can be cited as:

Fang, Huilin. 2017. Subjectivity and Evaluation in Standard Setting: A Study on Mandarin *hen*. In *Proceedings of the 34th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Aaron Kaplan et al., 195-204. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #3312.