

*We will compound this quarrel:*

(The Taming of the Shrew, 1.2.552)

Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson and Their Use of Compounds

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## Content Overview

Abbreviations .....	15
List of Tables.....	19
List of Figures .....	21
1. Introduction: The Shakespeare-Myth and Its Consequence .....	23
2. Objectives and Outline of the Study .....	25
2.1. The Aims, Focus Areas and Structure of the Study .....	25
2.2. Synchrony and Diachrony .....	29
2.3. The Corpus .....	31
2.4. The Writers and Works under Study .....	33
3. Previous Research on Compounding and the Language of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson .....	48
3.1. Accounts of the Language of the Three Playwrights and Their Use of Compounds	48
3.2. Research on Compounds in Early Modern English, Earlier Periods of English and in Present-Day English .....	54
4. The Concept of the Compound .....	65
4.1. The Problems of Defining Compounds .....	65
4.2. Process- or Product-Oriented .....	68
4.3. Demarcation of Composition and Derivation.....	70
4.4. Criteria for the Demarcation of Compounds and Syntactic Groups.....	85
4.5. Further Related Topics .....	111
4.6. Summary: The Concept of the Compound Revisited.....	120
5. Metaphoricity.....	124
5.1. Metaphor: From a Rhetoric Device to a Cognitive Systematicity.....	124
5.2. Metaphor and Literary Genius.....	140
5.3. Metaphoricity in the Compounds under Study.....	150
6. General Preferences for Compound Use: Frequency.....	175
6.1. Principles of Compound Registration and Counting.....	175
6.2. Compound Frequency per Playwright .....	177
6.3. The Influence of Genre, Subject Matter and Tone on Compound Frequency .....	178
7. Qualitative Analysis and Comparison of the Compounds .....	182
7.1. Principles and Problems of the Morphological Classification .....	182

7.2.	The Question of the Verbal Nexus .....	197
7.3.	Principles and Problems of the Semantic Classification .....	199
7.4.	Compound Nouns .....	211
7.5.	Compound Adjectives .....	321
7.6.	Verbal Compound Constructions .....	406
7.7.	Summary.....	409
8.	Special Cases and Fringe Areas of Compoundhood.....	411
8.1.	Opaque Compound Constructions.....	411
8.2.	Multi-Part Compounds .....	415
8.3.	Phrasal Compound Constructions .....	418
8.4.	Reduplicative Formations: Rhyme Compound Constructions .....	420
8.5.	Borrowed Compounds .....	422
9.	Comparative Overview of the Results .....	426
9.1.	Morphological Distribution and Diversity of the Compounds from the Corpus.....	426
9.2.	Semantic Distribution and Diversity of the Compounds from the Corpus.....	429
9.3.	Two Comparative Perspectives on Metaphor.....	434
10.	The Factor ‘Inventiveness’: New Formations among the Compounds from the Corpus	445
10.1.	Lemmatization Issues .....	445
10.2.	First Recorded Use and Datings .....	449
10.3.	The Creativeness of the Playwrights under Study.....	453
11.	Conclusion .....	477
	Appendix .....	480
	Kurzzusammenfassung.....	518
	References .....	524

## Table of Contents

Abbreviations .....	15
List of Tables.....	19
List of Figures .....	21
1. Introduction: The Shakespeare-Myth and Its Consequence .....	23
2. Objectives and Outline of the Study .....	25
2.1. The Aims, Focus Areas and Structure of the Study .....	25
2.2. Synchrony and Diachrony .....	29
2.3. The Corpus .....	31
2.4. The Writers and Works under Study .....	33
2.4.1. The Playwrights .....	34
2.4.1.1. Christopher Marlowe .....	34
2.4.1.2. William Shakespeare .....	35
2.4.1.3. Ben Jonson .....	36
2.4.2. The Plays .....	38
2.4.2.1. The Genre Classification of the Plays.....	38
2.4.2.2. The Comedies .....	41
2.4.2.3. The Tragedies.....	44
2.4.2.4. The Histories .....	45
3. Previous Research on Compounding and the Language of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson .....	48
3.1. Accounts of the Language of the Three Playwrights and Their Use of Compounds	48
3.1.1. Literature on Shakespeare’s Language .....	48
3.1.2. Literature on the Language of Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson.....	51
3.2. Research on Compounds in Early Modern English, Earlier Periods of English and in Present-Day English .....	54
3.2.1. Literature on Early Modern English Compounds in General .....	54
3.2.2. Relevant Studies on Compounds in Old and Middle English .....	57
3.2.3. Present-Day English Compounds and Approaches to Their Analysis and Classification .....	60
4. The Concept of the Compound .....	65
4.1. The Problems of Defining Compounds .....	65

4.2.	Process- or Product-Orientation .....	68
4.3.	Demarcation of Composition and Derivation.....	70
4.3.1.	Exocentric Structures.....	70
4.3.2.	Synthetic Compounds.....	75
4.3.3.	Diachronic Transitions.....	79
4.3.4.	Summary.....	84
4.4.	Criteria for the Demarcation of Compounds and Syntactic Groups.....	85
4.4.1.	Orthography.....	86
4.4.2.	Stress Pattern .....	89
4.4.3.	Morphological Shape.....	95
4.4.3.1.	Isolation by Type .....	95
4.4.3.2.	Fixed Order of Elements .....	97
4.4.3.3.	Linking elements.....	98
4.4.3.4.	Internal Inflection.....	98
4.4.3.5.	Opaque Elements .....	101
4.4.4.	Morphological Structure.....	102
4.4.5.	Syntactic Behaviour.....	105
4.4.5.1.	Premodification.....	105
4.4.5.2.	Inseparability.....	106
4.4.5.3.	Anaphoric Reference.....	108
4.4.6.	Semantic or Cognitive Unity .....	109
4.5.	Further Related Topics .....	111
4.5.1.	Lexicalization .....	111
4.5.2.	The Question of Verbal Compounds .....	115
4.6.	Summary: The Concept of the Compound Revisited .....	120
5.	Metaphoricity.....	124
5.1.	Metaphor: From a Rhetoric Device to a Cognitive Systematicity.....	124
5.1.1.	Aristotle and the Traditional View(s) on Metaphor .....	124
5.1.2.	The Cognitive Approach to Metaphor.....	126
5.1.2.1.	The 'Contemporary Theory of Metaphor' .....	126
5.1.2.2.	The Cognitive View on Metaphor in Literature .....	130
5.1.3.	A Step towards Reconciliation .....	132
5.1.4.	Terminological Clarifications: Metaphors Dead or Alive, Conventional or Institutionalized .....	134

5.1.5.	Metaphor and Metonymy .....	137
5.2.	Metaphor and Literary Genius.....	140
5.2.1.	More than Concepts: The Importance of Linguistic Choices.....	140
5.2.1.1.	Semantic Compactness .....	140
5.2.1.2.	Possible Leverages in the Use of Linguistic Metaphor.....	143
5.2.1.3.	The Influence of Rhetoric .....	146
5.2.2.	Literary Metaphor as Common Good or ‘Token of Genius’? .....	148
5.3.	Metaphoricity in the Compounds under Study.....	150
5.3.1.	The Two-Fold Perspective on Metaphor in Compounds from a Literary Corpus.....	150
5.3.2.	The MIP(VU) as a Systematic Method for Metaphor Identification.....	152
5.3.3.	Metaphor and Simile.....	154
5.3.4.	The Categories of Metaphor in the Compounds under Study .....	158
5.3.5.	Beyond Endo- and Exocentricity.....	162
5.3.6.	The Identification of Metaphor in Adjective Compounds.....	163
5.3.7.	Determining the Scope of Metaphoricity in (and of) Compounds .....	164
5.3.7.1.	The Extent of Direct Metaphors .....	164
5.3.7.2.	The Extent of Indirect Metaphors .....	166
5.3.7.3.	The Extent of Conceptual Distance between Domains: Nicknames .....	168
5.3.8.	Metaphor and Metonymy in Compounds.....	169
5.3.9.	Metaphoricity and Semantic Change.....	171
5.3.10.	Use vs. Creation of Metaphors and the Informative Value of the Categories	173
6.	General Preferences for Compound Use: Frequency.....	175
6.1.	Principles of Compound Registration and Counting.....	175
6.2.	Compound Frequency per Playwright .....	177
6.3.	The Influence of Genre, Subject Matter and Tone on Compound Frequency .....	178
7.	Qualitative Analysis and Comparison of the Compounds .....	182
7.1.	Principles and Problems of the Morphological Classification .....	182
7.1.1.	The Morphologic Types .....	182
7.1.2.	Zero-morphemes?.....	185
7.1.2.1.	Exocentric Compounds and Bahuvrihis.....	185
7.1.2.2.	Conversion or Zero-derivation.....	188
7.1.3.	Determining word-classes .....	192
7.2.	The Question of the Verbal Nexus .....	197

7.3.	Principles and Problems of the Semantic Classification .....	199
7.3.1.	Aims and Scope of the Semantic Analysis in the Present Study .....	199
7.3.2.	General Principles of Classification .....	200
7.3.3.	Previous Approaches to the Semantic Analysis of Compounds.....	201
7.3.4.	Methodology and Semantic Types of the Present Study .....	205
7.4.	Compound Nouns .....	211
7.4.1.	Noun + Noun .....	211
7.4.1.1.	Morphological Description .....	211
7.4.1.2.	The Noun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	213
7.4.1.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	213
7.4.1.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Noun Compounds .....	217
7.4.1.5.	Semantic Description .....	218
7.4.1.6.	Metaphoricity .....	226
7.4.2.	Noun + -s + Noun .....	232
7.4.2.1.	Morphological Description .....	232
7.4.2.2.	The Noun + -s + Noun compounds from the Corpus.....	234
7.4.2.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	236
7.4.2.4.	Innovation among the Noun + -s + Noun Compounds.....	238
7.4.2.5.	Semantic Description .....	239
7.4.2.6.	Metaphoricity .....	243
7.4.3.	Adjective + Noun.....	249
7.4.3.1.	Morphological Description .....	249
7.4.3.2.	The Adjective + Noun compounds from the Corpus .....	253
7.4.3.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	253
7.4.3.4.	Innovation among the Adjective + Noun compounds .....	256
7.4.3.5.	Semantic Description .....	257
7.4.3.6.	Metaphoricity .....	262
7.4.4.	Numeral + Noun .....	267
7.4.4.1.	Morphological Description .....	267
7.4.4.2.	The Numeral + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	269
7.4.4.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	269
7.4.4.4.	Innovation among the Numeral + Noun Compounds .....	270
7.4.4.5.	Semantic Description .....	270
7.4.4.6.	Metaphoricity .....	270



7.4.5. Pronoun + Noun.....	271
7.4.5.1. Morphological Description .....	271
7.4.5.2. The Pronoun + Noun compounds from the Corpus .....	272
7.4.5.3. Morphological Particularities among the Pronoun + Noun compounds... 272	
7.4.5.4. Innovation among the Pronoun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus ....	272
7.4.5.5. Semantic Description .....	273
7.4.5.6. Metaphoricity .....	274
7.4.6. Particle + (Deverbal) Noun.....	274
7.4.6.1. Morphological Description .....	274
7.4.6.2. The Particle + (Deverbal) Noun Compounds from the Corpus .....	276
7.4.6.3. Morphological Particularities.....	277
7.4.6.4. Innovation among the Particle +(Deverbal) Noun Compounds .....	279
7.4.6.5. Semantic Description .....	280
7.4.6.6. Metaphoricity .....	283
7.4.7. Verb + Noun .....	286
7.4.7.1. Morphological Description .....	286
7.4.7.2. The Verb + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	288
7.4.7.3. Morphological Particularities.....	289
7.4.7.4. Innovation among the Verb + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	291
7.4.7.5. Semantic Description .....	291
7.4.7.6. Metaphoricity .....	295
7.4.8. Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun .....	297
7.4.8.1. Morphological Description .....	297
7.4.8.2. The Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun Compounds from the Corpus .....	299
7.4.8.3. Morphological Particularities.....	300
7.4.8.4. Innovation among the Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun Compounds .....	301
7.4.8.5. Semantic Description .....	302
7.4.8.6. Metaphoricity .....	306
7.4.9. Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i> .....	308
7.4.9.1. Morphological Description .....	308
7.4.9.2. The Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i> Compounds from the Corpus.....	309
7.4.9.3. Morphological Particularities.....	310
7.4.9.4. Innovation among the Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i> Compounds .....	311
7.4.9.5. Semantic Description .....	312

7.4.9.6.	Metaphoricity .....	315
7.4.10.	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> .....	317
7.4.10.1.	Morphological Description .....	317
7.4.10.2.	The Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> Compounds from the Corpus .....	318
7.4.10.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	318
7.4.10.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> Compounds .....	319
7.4.10.5.	Semantic Description .....	319
7.4.10.6.	Metaphoricity .....	320
7.5.	Compound Adjectives .....	321
7.5.1.	Noun + Adjective.....	321
7.5.1.1.	Morphological Description .....	321
7.5.1.2.	The Noun + Adjective Compounds from the Corpus .....	322
7.5.1.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	323
7.5.1.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Adjective Compounds from the Corpus ..	324
7.5.1.5.	Semantic Description .....	325
7.5.1.6.	Metaphoricity .....	327
7.5.2.	Adjective / Adverb + Adjective.....	330
7.5.2.1.	Morphological Description .....	330
7.5.2.2.	The Adjective / Adverb + Adjective compounds from the Corpus .....	332
7.5.2.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	332
7.5.2.4.	Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Adjective Compounds.....	333
7.5.2.5.	Semantic Description .....	334
7.5.2.6.	Metaphoricity .....	334
7.5.3.	Numeral + (Deverbal) Adjective .....	335
7.5.3.1.	Morphological Description .....	335
7.5.3.2.	The Numeral + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds from the Corpus.....	336
7.5.3.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	337
7.5.3.4.	Innovation among the Numeral + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds .....	337
7.5.3.5.	Semantic Description .....	337
7.5.3.6.	Metaphoricity .....	338
7.5.4.	Adjective + Noun (Adj. / Adv.).....	338
7.5.4.1.	Morphological Description .....	338
7.5.4.2.	The Adjective + Noun (Adj. / Adv.) Compounds from the Corpus .....	340
7.5.4.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	340

7.5.4.4.	Innovation among the Adjective + Noun (Adj. / Adv.) Compounds.....	341
7.5.4.5.	Semantic Description .....	341
7.5.4.6.	Metaphoricity .....	341
7.5.5.	Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective.....	342
7.5.5.1.	Morphological Description .....	342
7.5.5.2.	The Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds from the Corpus .....	343
7.5.5.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	343
7.5.5.4.	Innovation among the Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds .....	344
7.5.5.5.	Semantic Description .....	344
7.5.5.6.	Metaphoricity .....	345
7.5.6.	Particle + (Deverbal) Adjective .....	346
7.5.6.1.	Morphological Description .....	346
7.5.6.2.	The Particle + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds from the Corpus .....	347
7.5.6.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	347
7.5.6.4.	Innovation among the Particle + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds.....	348
7.5.6.5.	Semantic Description .....	348
7.5.6.6.	Metaphoricity .....	349
7.5.7.	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adj.).....	351
7.5.7.1.	Morphological Description .....	351
7.5.7.2.	The Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> Compounds from the Corpus .....	352
7.5.7.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	352
7.5.7.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> Compounds .....	353
7.5.7.5.	Semantic Description .....	354
7.5.7.6.	Metaphoricity .....	354
7.5.8.	Adjective / Adverb + Verb + <i>-ing</i> .....	355
7.5.8.1.	Morphological Description .....	355
7.5.8.2.	The Adjective / Adverb + Verb + <i>-ing</i> Compounds from the Corpus .....	357
7.5.8.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	357
7.5.8.4.	Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Verb + <i>-ing</i> Compounds.....	358
7.5.8.5.	Semantic Description .....	359
7.5.8.6.	Metaphoricity .....	361
7.5.9.	Noun + Verb + <i>-ed</i> .....	362
7.5.9.1.	Morphological Description .....	362
7.5.9.2.	The Noun + Verb + <i>-ed</i> Compounds from the Corpus .....	363

7.5.9.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	363
7.5.9.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Verb + <i>-ed</i> Compounds.....	364
7.5.9.5.	Semantic Description .....	365
7.5.9.6.	Metaphoricity .....	367
7.5.10.	Adjective / Adverb + Verb + <i>-ed</i> .....	369
7.5.10.1.	Morphological Description .....	369
7.5.10.2.	The Adjective / Adverb + Verb + <i>-ed</i> Compounds from the Corpus.....	371
7.5.10.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	372
7.5.10.4.	Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Verb + <i>-ed</i> Compounds.....	374
7.5.10.5.	Semantic Description .....	374
7.5.10.6.	Metaphoricity .....	377
7.5.11.	Numeral + Noun + <i>-ed</i> .....	379
7.5.11.1.	Morphological Description .....	379
7.5.11.2.	The Numeral + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compounds from the Corpus .....	380
7.5.11.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	381
7.5.11.4.	Innovation among the Numeral + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compounds.....	382
7.5.11.5.	Semantic Description .....	382
7.5.11.6.	Metaphoricity .....	383
7.5.12.	Adjective / Adverb + Noun + <i>-ed</i> .....	384
7.5.12.1.	Morphological Description .....	384
7.5.12.2.	The Adjective / Adverb + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compounds from the Corpus.....	386
7.5.12.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	387
7.5.12.4.	Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compounds.....	388
7.5.12.5.	Semantic Description .....	389
7.5.12.6.	Metaphoricity .....	390
7.5.13.	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i> .....	393
7.5.13.1.	Morphological Description .....	393
7.5.13.2.	The Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compounds from the Corpus .....	394
7.5.13.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	395
7.5.13.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compounds.....	395
7.5.13.5.	Semantic Description .....	396
7.5.13.6.	Metaphoricity .....	398
7.5.14.	Verb + Noun + <i>-ed</i> .....	400
7.5.14.1.	Morphological Description .....	400

7.5.14.2.	The Verb + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compound from the Corpus.....	400
7.5.14.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	400
7.5.14.4.	Innovation of the Verb + Noun + <i>-ed</i> Compound.....	401
7.5.14.5.	Semantic Description .....	401
7.5.14.6.	Metaphoricity .....	401
7.5.15.	Noun + Noun (Adj.).....	401
7.5.15.1.	Morphological Description .....	401
7.5.15.2.	The Noun + Noun (Adj.) Compounds from the Corpus .....	403
7.5.15.3.	Morphological Particularities.....	404
7.5.15.4.	Innovation among the Noun + Noun (Adj.) Compounds .....	404
7.5.15.5.	Semantic Description .....	404
7.5.15.6.	Metaphoricity .....	405
7.6.	Verbal Compound Constructions .....	406
7.6.1.	Morphology of the Verbal Compound Constructions .....	406
7.6.2.	Semantics of the Verbal Compound Constructions.....	407
7.6.3.	Metaphoricity of the Verbal Compound Constructions .....	408
7.7.	Summary.....	409
8.	Special Cases and Fringe Areas of Compoundhood.....	411
8.1.	Opaque Compound Constructions.....	411
8.2.	Multi-Part Compounds .....	415
8.3.	Phrasal Compound Constructions .....	418
8.4.	Reduplicative Formations: Rhyme Compound Constructions .....	420
8.5.	Borrowed Compounds.....	422
9.	Comparative Overview of the Results .....	426
9.1.	Morphological Distribution and Diversity of the Compounds from the Corpus.....	426
9.2.	Semantic Distribution and Diversity of the Compounds from the Corpus.....	429
9.3.	Two Comparative Perspectives on Metaphor.....	434
9.3.1.	The Use of Metaphor .....	434
9.3.1.1.	The Use of Metaphorical Compounds per Play and Playwright.....	434
9.3.1.2.	The Distribution of the Metaphorical Compounds over the Different Forms of Metaphoricity .....	438
9.3.2.	The Creation of Metaphor .....	441
10.	The Factor ‘Inventiveness’: New Formations among the Compounds from the Corpus	445
10.1.	Lemmatization Issues .....	445

10.1.1. Compounds and Dictionaries.....	445
10.1.2. Registration Policy of the OED .....	446
10.2. First Recorded Use and Datings .....	449
10.2.1. Polygenesis of Compounds .....	449
10.2.2. The OED's Bias(es).....	450
10.3. The Creativeness of the Playwrights under Study.....	453
10.3.1. Method.....	453
10.3.2. Results .....	456
10.3.2.1. Statistical Overview 1: The Inventiveness of the Playwrights .....	456
10.3.2.2. The Registered New Formations from the Corpus .....	459
10.3.2.3. Hapax Legomena .....	464
10.3.2.4. Antedatings .....	466
10.3.2.5. Non-Registered Formations .....	469
10.3.2.6. Statistical Overview 2: Inventiveness by Play .....	473
11. Conclusion .....	477
Appendix .....	480
The Noun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	480
The Metaphorical Noun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	491
The Adjective + Noun Compounds from the Corpus.....	496
Formations from the Corpus Not Recorded in the OED.....	501
Alphabetical List of All Compounds.....	506
Kurzzusammenfassung.....	518
References .....	524

# Abbreviations

## Corpus of Plays

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- EII Marlowe, Christopher. 1987-1998 [1594]. “Edward II”. In: *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* ed. by Roma Gill, Richard Rowland & David Fuller, vol.3. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- EM Jonson, Ben. 1927 [1601]. “Every Man in His Humour: The Revised Version from the Folio of 1616”. In: *Ben Jonson* ed. by Charles H. Herford & Percy Simpson, vol.3, 292–403. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- JM Marlowe, Christopher. 1987-1998 [1633]. “The Jew of Malta”. *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* ed. by Roma Gill, Richard Rowland & David Fuller, vol.4. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- O Shakespeare, William. 1986 [1622]. “The Tragedy of Othello the Moor of Venice”. *The Complete Works: Original-Spelling Edition* ed. by Stanley Wells & Gary Taylor, 929–966. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- RII Shakespeare, William. 1986 [1597]. “The Tragedie of King Richard the Second”. *The Complete Works: Original-Spelling Edition* ed. by Stanley Wells & Gary Taylor, 413–445. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- S Jonson, Ben. 1927 [1605]. “Sejanus: His Fall”. In: *Ben Jonson* ed. by Charles H. Herford & Percy Simpson, vol.4, 327–486. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- T Marlowe, Christopher. 1987-1998 [1590]. “Tamburlaine the Great: Part 1”. *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* ed. by Roma Gill, Richard Rowland & David Fuller, vol.5, 2–77. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- TS Shakespeare, William. 1986 [1623]. “The Taming of the Shrew”. *The Complete Works: Original-Spelling Edition* ed. by Stanley Wells & Gary Taylor, 29–61. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

## Dictionaries

- CEPD Jones, Daniel & Peter Roach. 2011. *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*. 18<sup>th</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

LPD	Wells, John C. 2010. <i>Longman Pronunciation Dictionary</i> . 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed. Harlow: Pearson.
MED Online	McSparran, Frances, ed. <i>Middle English Dictionary Online</i> . <a href="https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/">https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/</a> , Accessed September 26, 2017. (printed edition by Hans Kurath and Robert E. Lewis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1954-2001.)
OED Online	Proffitt, Michael, ed. <i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i> . <a href="http://www.oed.com.easyproxy.ub.uni-muenchen.de/">http://www.oed.com.easyproxy.ub.uni-muenchen.de/</a> , Accessed September 26, 2017. (second printed edition by John Simpson and Edmund Weiner. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1989.)
ODEE	Onions, Charles T., ed. 1966. <i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology</i> . Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

### Further Abbreviations

A, B; AB	compound constituents (A first constituent, B second constituent, AB whole compound)
AD	antedating; compound, whose occurrence in the corpus antedates its documentation in the OED
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
cp.	compare
e.g.	exempli gratia; for example
EME	Early Middle English
EModE	Early Modern English
f	and the following page (in citations of secondary sources)
ff	and following pages (in citations of secondary sources)
G	Germanic
Ger.	German
HL	hapax legomenon
i.e.	id est; that is
n.	noun



NR	non-registered formation; compound not documented in the OED
ME	Middle English
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
ON	Old Norse
P.	Prologue (for compounds from the prologue of a play)
PDE	Present-Day English
Pers.	Personae (for compounds from the list of characters of a play)
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
RHR	righthand-head-rule
RNF	registered new formation; compound, whose use in the corpus is recorded as its first occurrence in the OED
S	Subject
SC	Subject Complement
s.v.	sub voce (for dictionary entries)
T.t.R.	To the Reader (for compounds from the address to the reader in a play)
v.	verb
vs.	versus



## List of Tables

Table 1: The text corpus.....	32
Table 2: The categories of metaphoricity in the compounds under study .....	161
Table 3: Compound frequency per playwright.....	177
Table 4: Compound frequency per play .....	178
Table 5: Warren's (1978) semantic types .....	204
Table 6: Semantic classes and types established for the present study .....	208
Table 7: The noun + <i>-s</i> + noun compounds from the corpus.....	236
Table 8: The metaphorical noun + <i>-s</i> + noun compounds .....	244
Table 9: The metaphorical adjective + noun compounds.....	264
Table 10: The numeral + noun compounds from the corpus.....	269
Table 11: The metaphorical numeral + noun compounds .....	271
Table 12: The pronoun + noun compounds from the corpus .....	272
Table 13: The metaphorical pronoun + noun compounds.....	274
Table 14: The particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus .....	276
Table 15: The metaphorical particle + (deverbal) noun compounds .....	283
Table 16: The verb + noun compounds from the corpus.....	289
Table 17: The metaphorical verb + noun compounds .....	295
Table 18: The verb + <i>-ing</i> + noun compounds from the corpus.....	300
Table 19: The metaphorical verb + <i>-ing</i> + noun compounds .....	306
Table 20: The noun + verb + <i>-er</i> compounds from the corpus.....	310
Table 21: Metaphorical noun + verb + <i>-er</i> compounds.....	315
Table 22: The noun + verb + <i>-ing</i> compounds from the corpus .....	318
Table 23: The metaphorical noun + verb + <i>-ing</i> compounds .....	320
Table 24: The noun + adjective compounds from the corpus .....	323
Table 25: The metaphorical noun + adjective compounds.....	328
Table 26: The adjective / adverb + adjective compounds from the corpus .....	332
Table 27: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + adjective compounds .....	335
Table 28: The numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus .....	337
Table 29: The adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds from the corpus .....	340
Table 30: The metaphorical adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds .....	341
Table 31: The pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus.....	343
Table 32: The metaphorical pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds .....	345
Table 33: The particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus .....	347
Table 34: The metaphorical particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds .....	350
Table 35: The noun + verb + <i>-ing</i> (adj.) compounds from the corpus .....	352
Table 36: The metaphorical noun + verb + <i>-ing</i> (adj.) compounds .....	354
Table 37: The adjective / adverb + verb + <i>-ing</i> compounds from the corpus.....	357
Table 38: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + verb + <i>-ing</i> compounds .....	361

Table 39: The noun + verb + <i>-ed</i> compounds from the corpus .....	363
Table 40: The metaphorical noun + verb + <i>-ed</i> compounds.....	368
Table 41: The adjective / adverb + verb + <i>-ed</i> compounds from the corpus .....	372
Table 42: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + verb + <i>-ed</i> compounds .....	377
Table 43: The numeral + noun + <i>-ed</i> compounds from the corpus .....	380
Table 44: The metaphorical numeral + noun + <i>-ed</i> compounds.....	383
Table 45: The adjective / adverb + noun + <i>-ed</i> compounds from the corpus .....	387
Table 46: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + noun + <i>-ed</i> compounds.....	390
Table 47: The noun + noun + <i>-ed</i> compounds from the corpus .....	395
Table 48: The metaphorical noun + noun + <i>-ed</i> compounds.....	399
Table 49: The verb + noun + <i>-ed</i> compound from the corpus.....	400
Table 50: The noun + noun (adj.) compounds from the corpus .....	404
Table 51: The metaphorical noun + noun (adj.) compounds.....	405
Table 52: The verbal compound constructions from the corpus .....	406
Table 53: Selected opaque compound constructions from the corpus .....	412
Table 54: Selected multi-part compounds from the corpus.....	416
Table 55: Selected phrasal compound constructions from the corpus .....	419
Table 56: Selected reduplicative formations from the corpus .....	421
Table 57: Selected borrowed formations from the corpus .....	424
Table 58: The registered new formations from the corpus.....	460
Table 59: The hapax legomena from the corpus .....	465
Table 60: The antedatings from the corpus .....	467
Table 61: The noun + noun compounds from the corpus.....	491
Table 62: The metaphorical noun + noun compounds from the corpus .....	4966
Table 63: The adjective + noun compounds from the corpus .....	500
Table 64: The non-registered formations from the corpus .....	505
Table 65: Alphabetical list of all compounds from the corpus.....	517

## List of Figures

Figure 1: The focus areas of the investigation .....	26
Figure 2: Innovation among the noun + noun compounds .....	217
Figure 3: Semantic types of the noun + noun compounds .....	219
Figure 4: Metaphorical noun + noun compounds per playwright .....	226
Figure 5: Metaphorical noun + noun compounds per play .....	226
Figure 6: Innovation among the noun + -s + noun compounds .....	238
Figure 7: Semantic types of the noun + -s + noun compounds .....	240
Figure 8: Metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds per playwright .....	245
Figure 9: Metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds per play .....	245
Figure 10: Innovation among the adjective + noun compounds .....	256
Figure 11: Semantic types of the adjective + noun compounds .....	258
Figure 12: Metaphorical adjective + noun compounds per playwright .....	264
Figure 13: Metaphorical adjective + noun compounds per play .....	264
Figure 14: Innovation among the particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus .....	279
Figure 15: Semantic types of the particle + (deverbal) noun compounds .....	280
Figure 16: Semantic types of the verb + noun compounds .....	292
Figure 17: Innovation among the verb + -ing + noun compounds .....	302
Figure 18: Semantic types of the verb + -ing + noun compounds .....	303
Figure 19: Innovation among the noun + verb + -er compounds .....	312
Figure 20: Semantic types of the noun + verb + -er compounds .....	313
Figure 21: Innovation among the noun + adjective compounds .....	325
Figure 22: Semantic types of the noun + adjective compounds .....	326
Figure 23: Innovation among the noun + verb + -ing (adj.) compounds .....	353
Figure 24: Innovation among the adjective / adverb + verb + -ing compounds .....	358
Figure 25: Semantic types of the adjective / adverb + verb + -ing compounds .....	359
Figure 26: Innovation among the noun + verb + -ed compounds .....	364
Figure 27: Semantic types of the noun + verb + -ed compounds .....	366
Figure 28: Innovation among the adjective / adverb + verb + -ed compounds .....	374
Figure 29: Semantic types of the adjective / adverb + verb + -ed compounds .....	375
Figure 30: Innovation among the adjective / adverb + noun + -ed compounds .....	388
Figure 31: Innovation among the noun + noun + -ed compounds .....	396
Figure 32: Semantic types of the noun + noun + -ed compounds .....	397
Figure 33: Morphological distribution and diversity of the compounds from the corpus .....	427
Figure 34: Semantic distribution and diversity of the compounds from the corpus .....	431
Figure 35: The use of metaphorical compounds per play and playwright .....	435
Figure 36: The distribution of the metaphorical compounds over the two major forms of metaphor per playwright .....	439

Figure 37: The distribution of the contextually metaphorical compounds over the two forms of contextual metaphor per playwright .....	439
Figure 38: The distribution of the morphologically metaphorical compounds over the four classes of morphological metaphor per playwright .....	440
Figure 39: The creation of metaphor in and by compounds per play and playwright .....	442
Figure 40: The distribution of all new formations from the corpus per playwright .....	457
Figure 41: The distribution of the new formations from the corpus per play.....	474

# 1. Introduction: The Shakespeare-Myth and Its Consequence

"'Shakespeare had the largest vocabulary of any English writer.' If I had a pound for every time I've heard someone say that, I'd have enough to buy a First Folio." (Crystal 2009:2) When David Crystal introduces one of his quite numerous books on the language of Shakespeare with these humorous lines, the well renowned linguist wittily points his finger at a phenomenon which he himself quickly refutes and dismisses as the "Quantity Myth" (2009:2) that surrounds Shakespeare's lexicon.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, claims such as the one quoted above have been made persistently throughout decades of enthusiastic appraisals of Shakespeare's lexical abilities, that, in varying wording and elaboration, all emphasize the "endless fecundity of [his] linguistic resourcefulness" (Stanley Wells in the preface to Crystal & Crystal 2002). This exceptionally high appreciation of the richness and pre-eminence of Shakespeare's vocabulary is by no means confined to the quantitative aspect, however. Repeatedly applauding Shakespeare's magniloquence, his "poetic superiority" (Booth 2004:18) and his "daring and resourceful use of words" (Baugh & Cable 2013:230),<sup>2</sup> both linguistic and literary scholars readily seem to accept the early modern poet as a general paragon of language use.

Besides the emergence of myths, such as the one alluded to by Crystal, the accordance among a great part of researchers with regard to Shakespeare's superiority in lexical matters, has certain consequences, perceptible especially in the research landscape of English linguistics – and here, eventually, a line to the aims and intentions of the present book will be drawn. Indeed, the unanimous acceptance of Shakespeare's predominance in masterful use of language leads to a blatant imbalance among scholarly research: while critical voices from the field of literary studies occasionally make remarks about Shakespeare's contemporary EModE playwrights being relegated to second place in terms of literary scholars' (as well as theatre intendants') attention,<sup>3</sup> it is the area of linguistic research in which Shakespeare's "rival

---

<sup>1</sup> In his work, Crystal (2009), maybe hardly surprisingly, notes that recent quantitative evaluations of Shakespeare's actual vocabulary clearly reveal that quantity cannot be the decisive factor upon which the poet's so frequently postulated superiority in language matters may be based. (cp. Crystal 2009:3f) Both the numbers David Crystal gives for the approximate size of Shakespeare's vocabulary and the number of words the online Shakespeare Database Project (Neuhaus 1994) comprises hover around 20,000 lexemes, while Crystal (2009) assumes that most PDE speakers use "at least 50,000 words" (3).

<sup>2</sup> For further examples, see, e.g., Schabert (2009:284), Scheler (1982:15;90).

<sup>3</sup> For instance, Lars Engle and David Rasmussen, in their study of *Shakespeare's Contemporaries*, remark that, in the eyes of many, the labels "'Shakespearean' and 'non-Shakespearean' divide English Renaissance drama between the Best and the Rest" (2014:207) and coin the word 'bardolatry' to refer to "the Shakespeare-worship that has been an enormous force in literary studies [...] since the mid-eighteenth century" (2014:207).

Elizabethan writers" (Shapiro 1991:168) have faced outright neglect.<sup>4</sup> As imbalance is always undesirable from a scientific perspective that strives for objectivity and comparability, this consequence of the mystification of 'The Bard', is certainly deplorable in itself. More importantly with regard to the present study, however, it inevitably raises the question of how (and if) the repeatedly attested superiority of Shakespeare's language can be justified on scientific (linguistic) grounds. Or, to phrase that question differently: What are the linguistic characteristics and properties that seem to distinguish Shakespeare's language from that of other writers and elevate him above his fellow playwrights in terms of language abilities – and, maybe even more interesting, do they exist at all?

Since the endeavour to examine these questions exhaustively would obviously exceed the confines of a single monograph, the present study can only make a first attempt at mending the imbalance in linguistic research, the recognition of which can be said to have initially sparked it. By providing an in-depth analysis of one particular aspect of the language used by two EModE poets contemporary to Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson, alongside with a purely linguistic view on his own language, this project set out to gain empirical, systematic and comparative insights into the three main Renaissance playwrights' habits and preferences within one subdomain of language, namely compounds. From this initial aim and the venture to shed light on the peculiarities and differences of Shakespeare's and his contemporaries' language use, however, a detailed investigation of the possibilities, the diversity and complexity of compounding in EModE has accrued, so that, eventually, the focus of the present work can be understood as a two-fold one: Primarily located in the field of English Historical Linguistics, this study combines aspects of a stylistic comparison between plays and playwrights of the Renaissance period on the basis of the compounds from a corpus of nine plays by Shakespeare, Marlowe and Jonson with a comprehensive analysis of EModE compounds (from a literary context) in general, that, as will become evident in the course of this book, has not been undertaken so far. Keeping in mind that, most certainly, "[q]uantity is not enough" (Crystal 2009:3) for the assessment of language and, thus, for either of these purposes, the investigation attempts to bring together quantitative and qualitative perspectives and hopes, thereby, to make a contribution to both fields of research, that proves of value and potentially promotes further scholarly engagement with thematically related issues.

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<sup>4</sup> The overview of previous linguistic research on the EModE playwrights under study, as presented in ch. 3 of this study, will aptly illustrate this fact.



## 2. Objectives and Outline of the Study

### 2.1. The Aims, Focus Areas and Structure of the Study

The two-fold superordinate aim of the present study, as announced in the introductory chapter, combines the comparative assessment of certain aspects of language use as individually observable for the three Renaissance playwrights with a detailed analysis of compounds in EModE. The rationale for the restriction of the study's focus on compounds lies primarily in the level of depth and detailedness of linguistic description, which the project endeavours to provide and for which a restricted focus is expedient and ultimately inevitable. Further, it is particularly in the light of Renaissance preoccupation with language matters, the ongoing debate about the massive influx and borrowing of loan words, derogatively termed 'inkhorn terms' by their opponents, that creative compounding became a way to counter these tendencies for many poets. (cp. Barber 1997:42ff) Hence, not least due to Spenser's efforts, whose "archaising attempts made him a fundamental figure in placing compounds again at the centre of poetic diction" (Pons-Sanz 2014:86), as well as to the influence of classical models, Elizabethan poets and playwrights exhibit a "hunger for new words" (Pennanen 1951:60), noticeable especially in the "immense popularity" (Pennanen 1951:61) of poetic compound epithets to ornament their style. The ways in which the three playwrights employ, form and use compounds, therefore, promise to provide a fruitful area of research. Besides their special status in that period, however, the specific properties of these particular products of word-formation make compounds extraordinarily profitable research targets, conducive to the objectives pursued in this study. Not only has compounding in general been noted repeatedly as a word-formation process of immense and enduring productivity (cp., e.g., Jespersen 1942:139f), with "thousands of lexicalized compounds" (Jackendoff 2011:108) existent at all stages of the English language,<sup>5</sup> while novel compounds are able to be "built on the fly" (Jackendoff 2011:108) at all times, they are further marked by extraordinary morphological and semantic diversity, observable from the catalogues of morphologic types that have been set up in scholarly literature (cp., e.g., Bauer 1983; Marchand 1969; Sauer 1992), as well as from the

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<sup>5</sup> The degree of productivity of the process varies over the history of English, of course. While compounding is highly productive in OE, Sauer (1988) perceives the decline of its productivity in the ME period as having been caused by, firstly, the massive influx of French loanwords that "rendered the coinage and use of cpds less necessary" (186), and, secondly, by a change of the standards of poetic diction that, from "particularly favour[ing] the creation of cpds" (186) in OE, develops towards a style that is less markedly coined by this word-formation pattern. Nevertheless, Sauer (1988) emphasizes that compounding as a productive process and its respective results do not cease to exist in (and after) ME. (cp. 186ff; further Sauer 1992:7)

various attempts to develop exhaustive inventories of semantic types that, more often than not, are accompanied by assertions about the futility of any such undertaking, since semantic diversity among compounds is practically unlimited. (cp. Downing 1977:828; further Jackendoff 2011; Jespersen 1942; Koziol 1972; Warren 1999) Moreover, the special morphological shape and structure of compounds, combining two independent words in one lexeme,<sup>6</sup> allows for several different anchor points for metaphor (and metonymy), which results in compounds being marked by various forms of figurativity and, hence, lending themselves to a systematic investigation of the creativity and imaginativeness involved in their use and formation, which constitutes one of the goals of the present study.

The specific characteristics of compounds just outlined form the basis for the approach followed in this study, which intends to take up each of these aspects. Hence, when examining EModE compounds and the specific habits of their use (and formation), which can be detected, distinguished and eventually assessed for each of the three main Renaissance playwrights, the present project considers both purely quantitative aspects and qualitative facets such as the items' morphology, semantics, metaphoricity and innovation. For this purpose, three focus areas of investigation have been defined – *frequency*, *quality* and *inventiveness* – each of which aggregates several separate analyses, the results of which are all presented in this work.

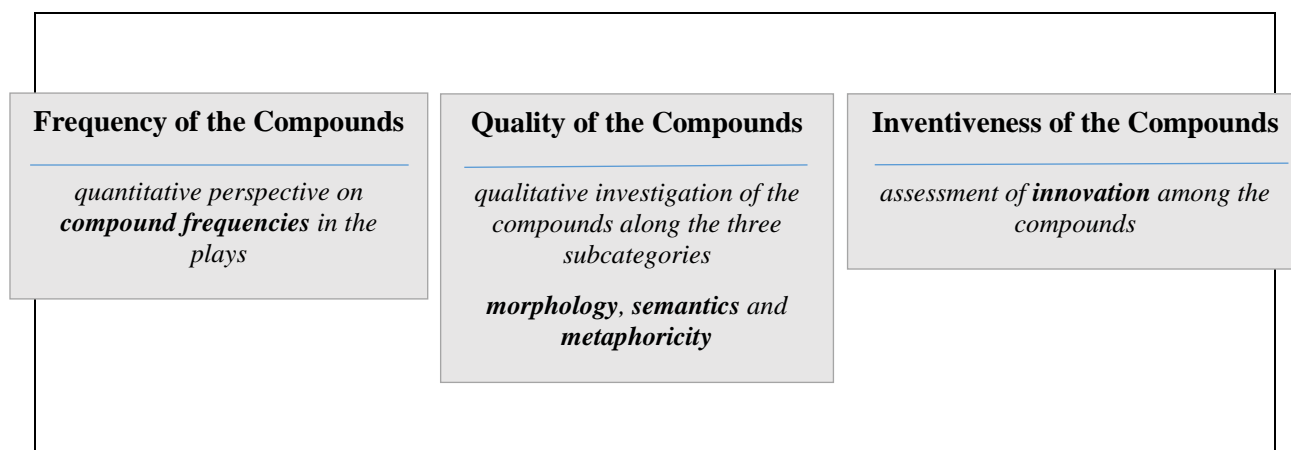


Figure 1: The focus areas of the investigation

It is with an eye to the multifacetedness of compounds, as the topic of research, and their use in the literary corpus, which will be presented in the next subchapter, as well as to the variety of different analytical perspectives taken in this work, each of which demands a different

<sup>6</sup> This very basic definition will serve the purpose of the present chapter, but does by no means do justice to the complexities and problems involved in the definition of compounds. These, however, will be addressed in detail in ch. 4 of this book.

vantage point, that a pick-and-choose approach to existing theoretical frameworks and schools within the field of linguistics has been perceived as the most advantageous one for the study at hand. Thus, the theoretical basis for the analyses conducted within the three focus areas of investigation combines elements from the subfields of both structuralist and cognitive linguistics, since any strict limitation of the investigation to one particular invariable framework runs the risk of missing crucial opportunities to illuminate certain elements of the multi-layered phenomenon of compound use in the analysed works.

Since several of the individual chapters of this book combine certain aspects of all three areas of investigation, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the simultaneous delineation of these focus areas, the analyses they entail and a forward look at the outline and structure of the work at hand.

Preceding the practical investigation of the compounds from the corpus, which starts with chapter 6 of this work, several theoretical foundations have to be laid in order to contour both the object of research and the methodological considerations that have been made. After the introduction of corpus, authors, works and research aims as conducted in the present chapter, a concise observation of previous contributions to the field of linguistic analysis of (EMoDE) compounds and the language used by the three playwrights, as presented in chapter 3, demonstrates the imbalance in the research landscape touched upon in chapter 1. Subsequently, chapter 4 provides a detailed discussion of the theoretical issues involved in the definition of compounds and their delimitation from other phenomena of word-formation, as well as from syntactic constructions. To point out the understanding of metaphor which underlies the analyses of metaphorical compounds in the present study, chapter 5 goes on to discuss aspects of metaphor theory and metaphor identification, and eventually presents the framework for the analysis of metaphor in compounds used in this study. The first of the three focus areas of investigation, *frequency*, is the subject of chapter 6, which is targeted at a general observation of the frequency of compounds in the plays and provides a purely quantitative perspective on the individual preferences for using compounds, that each of the authors displays. The analyses conducted in this area involve the calculation of compound frequencies for each play, relative to the length of the respective works (i.e., the number of verses) and the results in this area of investigation allow for inferences concerning each author's habit of using compounds. Further, compound frequencies of individual plays can be connected to the influence of external factors, such as genre-specific conventions, tone and subject matter of the works.

The quantitative insights obtained in this first focus area are complemented in this study by the second and most substantial and extensive focus area of investigation, which takes a *qualitative perspective* on the compounds from the corpus and combines three subordinate analyses, respectively taking the compounds' morphology, their semantics and the issue of metaphor as entailed in or created by the compounds into focus.

In perceiving the description of the morphological status of a compound's constituents as the natural and most accessible starting point for the systematic and exhaustive analysis of compounds, the present study follows Hans Marchand, who, in his groundbreaking work on English word formation, presents and performs the "description of the morphological shape of a given compound" (Marchand 1969:54) as the "first task" (Marchand 1969:54) of analysis. Hence, the classification of the compounds into morphologic types according to the lexical class and morpheme status of their constituents is undertaken as the first of the three qualitative analyses and thenceforward serves as the scaffold along which the major part of the further qualitative investigation is structured, as chapter 7 provides a separate analysis of each of the morphologic types existent in the corpus. As indicated above, however, the qualitative assessment of the compounds goes beyond this morphological aspect. Instead, it further involves the classification of all compounds from the corpus into semantic types, according to the semantic relations between their constituents (cp. further ch. 7.3), as well as an assessment of their metaphoricity, which aims at locating metaphor within the structure of the compound and / or its contextual use, and operates on the basis of the framework introduced in chapter 5. Thus, the morphological description of each morphologic type in chapter 7 is complemented by information on the semantics and the metaphoricity of the respective compounds in each of the morphological classes. This chapter, therefore, constitutes the core part of the present work, presenting a thorough analysis of the EModE compounds under study, subdivided into morphologic types but addressing all three qualitative aspects. In addition to that, quantitative statements about the new formations found among the compounds from each morphologic type take up the third focus area of this study, *inventiveness*, for the first time and provide insights into the degree of innovation among the compounds from the corpus as well as into the individual interrelationship between morphological patterns and productivity. While chapter 8 is dedicated to the discussion of items which do not qualify for compound status but have been classified as 'fringe types', it is chapter 9 that addresses the comparative aspect entailed in the objectives of the present study most clearly. Here, the three playwrights' individual use of compounds is compared along the different parameters established in this study, and the focus moves away from the individual discussion of morphologic types towards a comprehensive

view on morphological and semantic diversity of the compounds by each playwright and in each play. Moreover, a comparative view on the use and the creation of metaphor in (and by) the compounds is provided, the results integrating findings from both the analysis of metaphoricity of the compounds and the assessment of their individual status as either new formations or earlier formations. Thereby, chapter 9 offers an overall perspective on the compounds from the corpus and contains statements about the three playwrights' individual preferences, habits and strengths in this area of language, which are based on both quantitative and qualitative insights gathered in this study. Finally, chapter 10 entails an independent and comprehensive treatment of the third focus area of this investigation, *inventiveness*. Although certain aspects of innovation have partially figured in some of the previous analyses, this chapter is devoted to the overall assessment of innovation among the compounds from the corpus. It offers an overview of all new formations found among the material, along with specifications regarding their individual status based on their documentation in the Oxford English Dictionary<sup>7</sup> and their distribution over playwrights and plays. Besides the discussion of general issues connected to the dating of compounds, the conclusiveness of first documented usages in dictionaries and potential imbalances in the documentation practices of the OED, partly reflected in the present material, the inventiveness and productivity of the compounds is assessed and compared. Hence, the factor innovation adds the last aspect to an investigation of EModE compounds, intended to be as exhaustive as possible within the confines of one monograph. Since it is inevitable, however, that the scope of a work like the one at hand is finite and unavoidable restrictions apply to the size of the corpus and the number of issues that can be addressed, chapter 11, apart from summarizing the main results obtained in this study, concludes it by pointing out some of the desiderata that emerged in the course of the investigation but had to remain unexplored.

## 2.2. Synchrony and Diachrony

Before turning to the works included in the text corpus from which the compounds have been extracted, a brief discussion of the intertwining of synchrony and diachrony in the approach chosen will be provided.

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<sup>7</sup> Henceforth abbreviated *OED*.

It has been noted repeatedly in recent scholarly discourse that a clear-cut distinction between synchrony and diachrony in linguistic research, as envisaged by Ferdinand de Saussure in his famous *Cours de linguistique générale* (1959 [1915]), runs into danger of falling short of the reality of language, especially when concerned with phenomena of grammaticalization and semantic change, that in many respects are located at the interface of synchrony and diachrony. (cp. Aitchison 2012; Giacalone Ramat et al. 2013) A comprehensive study of compounds, however, does, of course, in theory allow for the restriction of the focus on the purely synchronic status quo, i.e. on the description of the morphological and / or semantic patterns available at one particular stage of the language, as is practiced in various well-known works on PDE word-formation in general or compounding in particular. (cp., e.g., Adams 1973, 2001; Bauer 1983) Hence, it lies in the hand of the researcher, whether they perceive the integration of an additional, diachronic viewpoint to be of benefit for the analysis and, obviously answering this question affirmatively, scholars such as Hans Marchand opt for liberating themselves from the obligation of strictly adhering to one of the two perspectives only relatively early and choose what they term a "synchronic – diachronic" (1969:8) approach for their study of English word-formation. And indeed, the comparative elements involved in the objectives of the present study, together with the circumstance that the literary corpus investigated exclusively comprises works from one rather narrow period of time, first and foremost demand a description of the synchronic (i.e. Early Modern English)<sup>8</sup> status, structure, shape and properties of its items. Nevertheless, the integration of certain diachronic aspects into this essentially synchronic view on the compounds from the corpus, appears as the most profitable method also for the present work. By the occasional inclusion of the diachronic perspective, the study takes account of the historicity of its research topic and corpus and sheds light on the historical dimension of compounding patterns, their origins and their development. Therefore, similar to the mixing of elements and approaches from several theoretical and methodological schools, that has been mentioned above, to most adequately meet the requirements posed by the multifacetedness of both the research target and the research objectives, the treatment of synchrony and diachrony in the present study is best described as hybrid, although the main emphasis lies on synchronic description. Hence, while the analysis of the compounds in terms of their classification into morphologic and semantic types, and the investigation of metaphoricity of and within the items

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<sup>8</sup> Terminology is somewhat ambiguous in this respect, since, in the case of the present work, of course, the period in focus, Early Modern English, is a historical one, so that one could argue that the study is bound to have a 'diachronic perspective', in the sense of focussing on a past period (from the standpoint of the present). The terms 'synchronic' and 'diachronic', however, as they are used here, are understood to describe the exploratory approach, that can either target a description of language *over time* (diachronic) or its analysis at a *certain point in time*. (synchronic) regardless of whether this point lies in a past period of the language, or not.

is based on a primarily synchronic view of the status of the respective lexemes in EModE (and in the context of their use in the respective plays from the corpus), I venture to include diachronic (and etymological) elements in the general description of morphologic types as well as in the discussion of semantic, morphologic or metaphoric properties of individual compounds from the corpus of texts, that will be presented in the next chapter.

### 2.3. The Corpus

The main objective in the composition of the text corpus was to compile plays from the three main Renaissance authors that allow for different anchor points along which individual comparisons could be conducted. Hence, the nine plays that have been selected comprise works from the three main subgenres of drama: Comedy, tragedy and history,<sup>9</sup> and thus works that exhibit certain differences in terms of their subject matter, tone, register and style. A further criterion for the selection was the representativity of the works with respect to the authors' oeuvre, in that all plays are well recognized in literary history and relatively firmly established as canonical works.<sup>10</sup> In addition to these key points, the works have been chosen with respect to their time of creation, in order to provide three plays per author which are distributed as evenly as possible, relative to the productive periods of the respective playwrights. Considering these criteria and under the basic assumption that an evenly distributed number of three works per author allows for the most balanced approach, the following plays have been selected for the corpus:<sup>11</sup>

Author and Edition	Title and Abbreviation	Chronology	Basis for the Edition	Genre
<b>William Shakespeare</b> (1564-1616)	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> (TS)	First publ. in Folio 1623	<u>Folio 1623</u>	Comedy

<sup>9</sup> The issue of genre in general and the genre classification the plays from the corpus will be addressed in more detail in ch. 2.4.2.1.

<sup>10</sup> I am aware, that, besides the canonisation of literary works being an intricate issue in itself (cp, e.g., Guillory 1995 for a critical perspective on canon-formation), the degree of establishment, that the individual plays display, differs, which can, not least, be read as a reflection of the issues addressed in the introduction to this work. The main indication for their status as part of a literary canon of a traditional understanding is their appearance in anthologies, literary histories and companions to English literature. All nine plays have, for instance, separate entries in Drabble (2006) and are explicitly mentioned in Nowak (2010).

<sup>11</sup> The chronological data as well as the details on the basis for the respective editions provided in the table are based on information given in the editorial introductions of the respective scholarly editions, which were used as the textual basis for the study, as well as in Drabble (2006).

(eds. Wells, Stanley and Gary Taylor. 1986)	<i>Richard II (RII)</i>	Written no earlier than 1595; first Quarto 1597	<u>Quarto 1597</u> (+ Folio 1623)	History
	<i>Othello (O)</i>	Performed before James I 1604; first Quarto ed. 1622	<u>Quarto 1622</u> (+ Folio 1623)	Tragedy
<b>Christopher Marlowe (1564-93)</b> (eds. Gill, Roma et al. 1987-1998, vols. III, IV, V)	<i>Tamburlaine (Pt.1) (T)</i> (ed. Fuller, David)	First rec. performance 1594, presumably already 1587; first Octavo ed. 1590	<u>Octavo 1590</u>	Tragedy
	<i>The Jew of Malta (JM)</i> (ed. Gill, Roma)	First rec. performance 1592; first Quarto ed. 1633	<u>Quarto 1633</u>	Tragedy
	<i>Edward II (EII)</i> (ed. Rowland, Richard)	Entered in Stationers' Register 1593; first Quarto ed. 1594	<u>Quarto 1594</u> (+ Quartos 1598, 1612, 1622)	History
<b>Ben Jonson (1572/73-1637)</b> (eds. Herford, C.H. and Percy Simpson. 1927, vols. III, IV, V)	<i>Every Man in His Humour (EM)</i>	First rec. performance 1598; first Quarto ed. 1601, revised version in Folio 1616	<u>Folio 1616</u> (revised version) <sup>12</sup>	Comedy
	<i>Sejanus; His Fall (S)</i>	First rec. performance 1603; first Quarto ed. 1605	<u>Folio 1616</u> (+ Quarto 1605, Folio 1640)	History
	<i>The Alchemist (A)</i>	Entered in Stationers' Register 1610; First Quarto ed. 1612	<u>Folio 1616</u> (+ Quarto 1612, Folio 1640)	Comedy

Table 1: The text corpus

In order to secure the appropriate degree of authenticity, scholarly editions of the respective texts have been chosen, which are only minimally intrusive in their editing and adhere very closely to the original early prints in terms of lexis, spelling and punctuation. Since the compounds were extracted manually, no digital editions were needed and decisions about compound status and the inclusion of items into the corpus of compounds could be made

<sup>12</sup> In the case of Ben Jonson's comedy *Every Man in His Humour*, two versions, one based on the quarto version of 1601 and the other on the strongly revised folio version of 1616, are available in the Oxford edition by Herford and Simpson. As the quarto and folio texts differ greatly not only on a formal level, but also with regard to plot elements and due to the quarto version of the play having been radically revised and altered by its author before their publication in the 1616 Folio, the present study understands the latter as an "entirely new version[]" (Butler 1999:8) of the play. As its history of scrupulous revision, therefore, suggests that it "represent[s] Jonson's final choice in matters of location, naming of characters and the wording of the dialogue, which varies substantively in a great number of cases" (Bevington 1999:24), I have chosen only the folio version of 1616 to be included in the corpus.



individually for each lexeme. Thereby, the influence of spelling irregularities, such as the inconsistent insertion of spaces or hyphens, was minimized.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, factors connected to the items' use in the context of each play could be adduced for their classification and analysis. Obviously, the choice of individual cohesive texts as sources for the collection of the compounds to be analysed (instead of dictionaries, for instance), as well as the literariness of these texts, were predetermined by the research aims and the comparative set-up of the present study. This embeddedness of the compounds in a specific (in this case literary) context, however, in many respects influences their analysis: While frequently facilitating certain classificatory decisions, for example by providing relevant information concerning semantic structures, (cp. also Sauer 1992:4) the literariness of the corpus and, most importantly, the context-embeddedness of its compounds simultaneously demands an adjustment of methodological decisions, in order to do justice to the contextuality of meaning, word class and figurativity of the individual lexemes. In the present study, the availability of a specific context for the interpretation and analysis of the compounds is perceived as a clear advantage for the project, which generally emphasizes the significance of context in the analysis of compounds and hopes, in many respects, to illuminate the inextricable intertwining of the compounds' interpretation and classification, and their contextual use in the analysed literary texts.

## 2.4. The Writers and Works

In order to provide the reader with basic information concerning the authors and plays, the present chapter contains a short compilation of essential facts, with regard to the playwrights' biographies and the plot of the nine plays included in the corpus.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the genre classification undertaken for these nine works will be discussed.

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<sup>13</sup> As will be pointed out in detail in ch. 4.4.1, EModE spelling does not serve as an appropriate criterion for decisions about the compound status of a construction. Its impact on the in- or exclusion of items from the corpus was, therefore, minimal.

<sup>14</sup> Information given in this chapter will be restricted to the most fundamental key-data. For more elaborate and extensive accounts of the three playwrights' biographies as well as for in-depth literary interpretations of the plays, I allow myself to refer the reader to relevant works from biography research and literary studies.

## 2.4.1. The Playwrights

### 2.4.1.1. Christopher Marlowe

Notwithstanding his significance as “one of the towering presences in English drama” (Engle & Rasmussen 2014:209), “[t]he facts of Marlowe’s life are few, scattered and of doubtful accuracy” (Riggs 2006:205), so that any account of the playwright’s biography is bound to remain fragmentary.<sup>15</sup>

Born in 1564, in the same year as Shakespeare and potentially only two months before the latter, Christopher Marlowe grew up as the son of a cobbler in Canterbury. After visiting the local King’s School, he took up his studies at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1580 on a scholarship, where he commenced to write plays and poems. After graduating with a B.A., Marlowe was initially denied admission to proceed to an M.A., “on the ground that he intended to go abroad to join the dissident English Catholics in Rheims” (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1003). An intervention by the Privy Council, that successfully demanded Marlowe’s admission, reveals that the poet, at that time, had already started to work “as some kind of secret agent” (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1003) The specific nature of that employment and of the relatively well-documented “contacts with the secret service between 1587 und 1589” (Riggs 2006:205), however, remain obscure, and, in this regard, the statements in literature are largely speculative: “The likeliest possibility is that he served as a spy or agent provocateur against English Catholics, who were conspiring to overthrow the Protestant regime” (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1003). In the following years, Marlowe is documented to have been involved in “a series of clashes with the law” (Engle & Rasmussen 2014:209) ultimately leading to a short period of imprisonment. In 1591, after his release, Marlowe lived in London, together with his friend Thomas Kyd, who should later, “when put under torture” (Engle & Rasmussen 2014:210) accuse him of atheism and treason. In the spring of 1593 (some sources indicate the 30th of May, others the 3rd of June) Christopher Marlowe, aged 29, was stabbed in a tavern in Deptford, “in what the inquest describes as a quarrel over the bill” (Engle & Rasmussen 2014:210). While the exact circumstances of his violent death remain unresolved, modern biographical research on the playwright has worked out that “the murderer and the others present in the room at the

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<sup>15</sup> The biographical sketch of Christopher Marlowe is based on the following sources: Greenblatt & Abrams (2006); Riggs (2006); Drabble (2006); Engle & Rasmussen (2014). For a more extensive account of Marlowe’s biography, see, for example, Hotson (1967); Kuriyama (2002). For an investigation of the relationship and mutual literary influences of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, see, e.g., Shapiro (1991); Wells (2006).

inn had connections to the world of spies, double agents, and swindlers to which Marlowe himself was in some way linked." (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1003)

#### 2.4.1.2. William Shakespeare

The works of William Shakespeare, "dramatist, man of the theatre and poet" (s.v. "Shakespeare". Drabble 2006), have been subject to extensive research relatively early in the realms of literary criticism and, among those concerned with his life and his works, we find illustrious names such as Dryden, Pope, Coleridge or Dr. Johnson (cp. "Shakespeare". Drabble 2006). Yet, despite his outstanding importance in the history of English literature, "the extent and loudness of the documentary silence are startling" (Worden 2006:24) when it comes to Shakespeare's life and character. The rarity of contemporary sources documenting his biography, although unsurprising for a time where his profession was yet to acquire the esteem it is awarded today, (cp. Boltz 2009:118f) leaves several blank spaces in Shakespeare's life and any attempts to gain access to his biography and character via his works appears problematic as well: "To anyone interested in the relationship of art to the life of the artist, Shakespeare presents an impossible challenge. He is unknowable" (Worden 2006, 23). Nevertheless, several biographical facts can be compiled, which are commonly perceived as verified:<sup>16</sup>

As the son of the glovemaker John Shakespeare, William Shakespeare was born in 1564 in Stratford-upon-Avon. He was baptized on 26 April 1564, and his birthday, for which no explicit documentation exists, is commonly assumed to be the 23rd of April. William's father was successfully involved in various commercial, political and administrative activities, but "later suffered financial and social reverses, possibly as a result of adherence to the Catholic faith" (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1058), so that it is unclear whether "Shakespeare may or may not have had a Catholic upbringing" (Worden 2006:23). Documented facts about his youth and early education are rare, but it is commonly assumed that Shakespeare attended the local grammar school, where he acquired "a reasonably impressive education, including a respectable knowledge of Latin" (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1058). Other than for Christopher Marlowe, there are no sources indicating that Shakespeare proceeded to any form of higher education at

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<sup>16</sup> The biographical sketch of William Shakespeare is based on the following sources: Boltz (2009); Drabble (2006); Greenblatt & Abrams (2006); Worden (2006). For further information, see, for example, the extensive studies by E.K. Chambers (1963 [1930]) or S. Schoenbaum (1975), as well as the numerous sources listed in Boltz (2009).

Oxford or Cambridge. In the autumn of 1582, aged 18, William Shakespeare married Anne Hathaway, with whom he was to have three children in the course of the following three years. The passage of seven years after the birth of his twins, Hamnet and Judith, in 1585 is often referred to as the "lost years" (Boltz 2009:141) by biographical researchers, since no verifiable documentation concerning either his occupation or his whereabouts during that time exists. Some researchers have, however, conjectured a potential employment as a schoolmaster for this period, which has, in turn lead to further speculation about William Shakespeare being identical with one William Shakeshafte, who is recorded to have worked as a Catholic teacher in Lea Hall, Lancashire, in 1581. Yet, reliable evidence for this theory is missing and Shakespeare reappears in the sources no earlier than in the year 1592, when he is documented as having been working as an actor and playwright in London. From 1594 onwards he was a "leading member of the Lord Chamberlain's Men" (s.v. "Shakespeare". Drabble 2006), that were later renamed 'The King's Men'. It was this ensemble with which Shakespeare worked closely and productively throughout his career and to whose success and constantly increasing prestige he contributed significantly. The reciprocal fecundity of this collaboration is reflected in Shakespeare's own financial and societal success, which culminated in the construction of the Globe Theatre – a renowned open-air stage built exclusively for Shakespeare's company, which, after 1599, used it successfully for their performances. While Shakespeare lived and worked in London until 1611, his family resided in *New Place*, a "handsome house in Stratford" (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1058) and it is assumed that the poet himself, after having finished *The Tempest*, retreated there as well. It was, in any case, *New place*, where William Shakespeare signed his will in March 1616 and where he eventually died on 23 April 1616 – if the inscription on his grave in the Holy Trinity Church in Stratford is to be believed.

#### 2.4.1.3. Ben Jonson

In terms of biographical information on Ben Jonson, the youngest of the three Renaissance playwrights under study, biographers have profitted greatly from both Ben Jonson's relative self-confidence as a playwright and a poet, which lead him to "create a powerful representation of himself in his poetry and his prologues" (van den Berg 2000:1)<sup>17</sup> and William Drummond of Hawthornden's detailed notes of their *Conversations* from the year 1619 (cp. Jonson &

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<sup>17</sup> Boltz (2009) refers to Ben Jonson as "Meister der Selbstinszenierung [master of self-dramatization]" (118; my translation).

Drummond 1923). Hence, whereas for Shakespeare the opposite has been claimed to be the case (cp. above), Ben Jonson appears "to stand before us a stable and knowable self" (van den Berg 2000:1).<sup>18</sup>

Born in 1572 as the posthumous son of a minister, Ben Jonson was a pupil at Westminster School, where he studied with the antiquarian scholar and headmaster William Camden, whose influence on the young Ben Jonson is supposed to have set "the foundation of [his] humanist values" (van den Berg 2000:7). Nevertheless, Ben Jonson had to take up a "loathed apprenticeship as a bricklayer" (van den Berg 2000:2) in his adolescent years, during which he married Anne Lewis. Three children resulted from this marriage, two of whom Jonson and his wife were to lose early. Truly bereaved after the death of his daughter at the age of six months and his first-born son at the age of eight, Jonson expressed his grief in two affectionate epitaphs. By 1596 Ben Jonson had quitted the apprenticeship and had started to work as an actor and, soon after, as a playwright. His collaboration with Thomas Nashe in a scandalous play named *The Isle of Dogs*, which is lost today, led to his imprisonment and when he, having just been released, killed his fellow actor, Gabriel Spencer, in a duel, he managed to escape execution only narrowly by pleading benefit of clergy. Now "branded [...] as a felon" (s.v. "Jonson". Drabble 2006) and having converted to Catholicism during his time in jail, "Jonson was now more than ever a marginal figure" (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1324). The 1598 performance of *Every Man in His Humour* by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, "with Shakespeare in the cast" (Jonson. Drabble 2006), however, heralded the start of his rise "to prominence as a playwright and a man of letters" (van den Berg 2000:1). His societal and financial advancement was overshadowed only by two instances of conflict with the authorities, in connection with unwelcome plot elements of *Sejanus* and *Eastward Ho!* and a quarrel with John Marston and Thomas Dekker, that should become known as *The War of the Theatres*. Regardless of these issues, that may partly be attributable to the "quarrelsome spirit" (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1325) biographers rather unanimously ascribe to Jonson, he established himself at James' I court and, in 1616, at the peak of his career, even gained "the vague title of 'Poet Laureate'" (Engle & Rasmussen 2014:214). In the course of his life, Ben Jonson "gathered about himself a group of admiring younger men" (Greenblatt & Abrams 2006:1325), as well as numerous patrons and friends from the literary and courtly circles – among them, of course, William

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<sup>18</sup> The biographical sketch of Ben Jonson is based on the following sources: Boltz (2009); Drabble (2006); Engle & Rasmussen (2014); Greenblatt & Abrams (2006); Kay (2005); van den Berg (2000). For further and more extensive information, see the standard biography included in the first volume of the Herford and Simpson edition of Jonson's works (1927), or Kay (1995), Riggs (1989).

Shakespeare, for whose posthumously published *First Folio* of 1616 he famously wrote a laudatory preface. The 1616 Folio edition of Ben Jonson's own plays, which initiated a new appreciation of the art form and into whose meticulous editing Jonson put immense effort, is a further indicator of Ben Jonson's self-confidence as a playwright as well as of the prospering of his career after the ascension of James I. Yet, after having earned an honorary MA from the University of Oxford in the same year of 1616, Ben Jonson "abandoned the public stage for ten years" (s.v. "Jonson". Drabble 2006), and his later plays could not live up to his earlier successes. In 1628 Ben Jonson suffered a stroke, which, as is suspected, may have left him bedridden for the last nine years of his life until his death in August 1637, after which he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

## 2.4.2. The Plays

### 2.4.2.1. The Genre Classification of the Plays

The term 'genre', although generally "loosely [applicable] to the larger forms of literary convention" (s.v. "Genre". Frye et al. 1985), denotes a concept that gathers complexity at remarkable speed, when considered in its entirety of potential references, manifestations and subclasses. Genre classification of particular works or plays can, therefore, be undertaken on very different levels of specificity. Within the art form (or "genre"; cp. "Genre". Frye et al. 1985) of *drama*, a first differentiation is usually made between the tragedy and the comedy, with both concepts ultimately going back to Greek conceptualisations of dramatic genres. (cp. Pollard 2017:43) While along the lines of Aristoteles' *Poetics*, tragedies, on a most basic level, are definable as "serious fiction involving the downfall of a hero or heroine" (s.v. "Tragedy". Frye et al. 1985), prototypical comedies, in the Aristotelian understanding, are "designed to amuse and divert through [their] depiction of (traditionally) everyday characters and situations and [their] delivery of a happy resolution" (s.v. "Comedy". Cuddon 2013). As straightforward as these basic definitions may seem at first glance, however, "few Greek tragedies conform to [Aristoteles'] model" (s.v. "Tragedy". Childs & Fowler 2006) and deviations from genre-definitions are the rule rather than the exception – even more so, when it comes to the Elizabethan era, where the "re-emergence [of these classical models] was still new" (Pollard 2017:42).

Nevertheless, also Renaissance plays are commonly subjected to a classification into these traditional subgenres and, probably not least influenced by the consideration of Shakespeare's works and their subdivision in the *catalogue* of *The First Folio* of 1623,<sup>19</sup> this classical two-fold distinction is often extended by a third category – that of the history play (or simply 'history'), which "thrived in the second half of the sixteenth century" (Nowak 2010:41) and is often associated or even equated with the chronicle play as its Medieval predecessor. (cp. "Chronicle play". Cuddon 2013). This third (sub-)genre distinguishes itself from that of the tragedy primarily by the former being "based on recorded history" (s.v. "History play". Cuddon 2013) and "tell[ing] the story of state" (Pollard 2017:45) in a plot "genuinely political" (Tillyard 1964:321). Otherwise, however, the genre displays close proximity to the tragedy, which is illustrated by the rather inconsistent treatment of both the subgenre as such, and its representative plays, such as *Richard II* or *Edward II*, that are not uncommonly subsumed under the label of 'tragedies'. (cp., for instance, the respective entries for the plays in Drabble 2006).<sup>20</sup>

Even if – with the ultimate purpose of a genre classification of the plays included in the corpus in mind – one accepts this basic threefold distinction of drama into three main subgenres, comedy, history and tragedy, within literary studies, numerous further subclassifications within these individual subgenres have been developed. Hence, while the genre of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* is specifiable as "humor comedy" (Kay 2005:468; cp. also Pollard 2017:49), for instance, and his *Alchemist* as "trickster comedy" (Kay 2005:472), Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* can be regarded as standing in (or, at least, close to) the tradition of the 'revenge tragedy' (cp. "Revenge tragedy". Cuddon 2013; cp. further Nowak 2010:62f). Shakespeare's *Othello*, in turn, is commonly perceived as representing the subgenre of the 'domestic tragedy'. (cp. Nowak 2010:65) It is especially with regard to William Shakespeare's plays, however, that the relative unsuitability of classical genre-definitions has been noted most frequently in literary studies. Indeed, it has been claimed that "all of [Shakespeare's] plays bear the hallmark of generic mixing" (Pollard 2017:50), so that, for instance, *Othello* could also be argued to constitute an "alternative version of the Greek comedy with an unhappy ending" (Pollard 2017:47) – to name only one example. Eventually, thus, a clear-cut distinction between (sub-

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<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, the reference to Heminges and Condell's classification of Shakespeare's plays in the entry on *History Plays* in Frye et al. (1985).

<sup>20</sup> Whereas Tillyard in his seminal work on *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1964 [1944]) stresses the unique character of History Plays and emphasizes their "own right of existence [as a subgenre] apart from tragedy" (321), these inconsistencies in scholarly treatment certainly emphasize the reciprocal proximity between the two (sub-)genres. Of course, in the specific case of the two plays in question, this might be ascribed in part to Marlowe and Shakespeare "conflat[ing] the genre partially with tragedy" Pollard (2017:45), which, in turn, underlines the difficulties involved in attempting clear-cut genre-definitions and -classifications.

)genres and their respective traditions, features and characteristics appears impossible particularly for Shakespeare's works, as they tend to constitute mixtures of different genre-specific properties as well as elements from different lines of literary and dramatic tradition. (cp. Nowak 2010:39f; further Danson 2000, Pollard 2017)

The research interests of the present study, however, are primarily linguistic, of course, and it is needless to say that a meticulous and profound genre description and classification cannot be done merely on the basis of an investigation of the compounds in a play. On the other hand, a too fine-grained distinction and the consideration of too many aspects not directly observable on the linguistic level runs the risk of blurring observable trends in terms of compound frequency, quality and use common to certain groups of works, which can be connected to properties of 'genre', as long as the term is understood as a subsumption of certain prototypical and basic characteristics of plot, tone and subject matter of a play, expectable to be reflected in the linguistic features of a text. Hence, with respect to the intricacies and inconsistencies of genre-delimitations and -classifications briefly sketched above, and with the aims and setup of the present study in mind, the genre classification undertaken in the present study takes basic but graspable elements of subject matter and tone into account, initially in order to distinguish the comedies, *Every Man in His Humour*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Alchemist*, from a more homogenous group of tragedies and history plays: In all three comedies from the corpus, fundamental plot elements such as love and wooing, the playful interaction of disguised and mistaken identities and mischievous but innocuous cheating dominate the action, while grave and serious subjects such as death, war, violence and fatal (political or 'domestic') intrigue are omitted entirely. The tone of the comedies is predominantly light-hearted and entails various passages of fiery repartee between characters (between Petruchio and Kate in *The Taming of the Shrew*, for instance, or between Subtle and Face in *The Alchemist*), the use of creative invectives and nicknames with a humorous note, as well as fast-moving dialogues. Both tragedies and histories, behave contrarily in these regards, as they all deal with grave matters of war, violence, murder and malicious scheming. Accordingly, their style and tone is grave, and humorous elements are, except for occasional scenes of comic interlude (for example, when the Clown in scene 3.1 of *Othello* ridicules the musicians with puns), rare. Nicknames and expletives lack the frequency as well as the humorous undertones of the ones used in the comedies and the velocity of the plays is decelerated, with turn-taking in the dialogues being less frequent and monological passages occurring more often. The two



histories, *Edward II* and *Richard II*, share these basic properties<sup>21</sup> but have the additional common feature of being set in English history and featuring a political plot. Therefore, the two plays are frequently grouped together under the common label of the '(English) history play' (cp., e.g., Nowak 2010:41ff), whereas Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* presents an in-between case, as its setting, although historical as well, is that of Roman history. Some literary scholars have, therefore, classified the play as a "Roman play" (Kay 2005:471) or "Roman tragedy" (s.v. "Sejanus". Drabble 2006), distinct from the '(English) history plays' concerned with subject matter and characters from English history. Considering that *Sejanus*, however, can indeed be read as a "handbook of political intrigue" (Kay 2005:470) and, further, in its treatment of favouritism, political scheming, and the insinuation of homosexuality, exhibits striking similarities to the plot elements of *Richard II* and *Edward II*, the present study proceeds in accordance with Nowak (2010), who subsumes the "Roman Plays", i.e. "historical plays with a classical setting and a tragic plot" (45), as produced by both Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, under the umbrella term 'history plays' (Nowak 2010:45). Thus, *Sejanus* is grouped together with *Richard II* and *Edward II* into a class of histories that share essential elements of subject matter, which distinguish them from the tragedies in the corpus.

#### 2.4.2.2. The Comedies

As initially indicated, brief sketches of the very elementary plot elements of each of the works from the corpus will be provided in the following.<sup>22</sup>

Although, as pointed out above, they share certain basic themes typical for their genre, the three comedies included in the corpus differ considerably in their individual designs. The first of the two comedies by Ben Jonson, that have been included in the corpus, *Every Man in His Humours*, has already been mentioned as representing the subgenre of the 'comedy of humours'<sup>23</sup> and is designed by its creator as to "sport with human follies" (EM P 24). Hence, its characters are all held by certain particular humours, such as, for instance, excessive

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<sup>21</sup> Note, however, that Marlowe's history *Edward II* features considerably fewer soliloquies than Shakespeare's *Richard II*, which has also been observed by Bartels (2005), who interprets this fact as tying in with a generally less pronounced focus on the internal reflection of the self in Marlowe's plays.

<sup>22</sup> For details concerning the chronology of the plays, the years of their first performances and the early printed versions that served as the sources for the editions used in this study, please see ch. 2.3.

<sup>23</sup>This subgenre of comedy "present[s] humorous characters whose actions (in terms of the medieval and Renaissance theory of humours [...]) [are] ruled by a particular passion, trait, disposition, or humour." (s.v. "comedy of humours". Cuddon 2013)

jealousy, as in the case of the merchant Kitley, married to a younger wife, or an obsession with controlling his son's moral conduct, as is manifest in the character of the old gentleman Kno'well. The action of the play starts in Hogsden, a suburb of London, where an invitation to the city, meant for his son, falls into the hands of old Kno'well, who is concerned about his son's involvement with the group of reckless young men, that issued the invitation and decides to follow his son to London. Young Edward Kno'well gains knowledge of this plan through deceitful Brayne-worm, Kno'well's servant, but nevertheless leaves for London together with his cousin Stephen, a *countray Gull* (EM Pers.), and meets with Well-bred and the group of dissolute but harmless young men at Kitley's house, where the former resides. What follows is a series of entanglements, not least expedited by mischievous Brayne-worm, who makes several appearances in various disguises and thus undermines old Kno'wells plans, as well as by Kitley's jealousy and his suspicion of the young men, whom he believes to be involved alternatively with his wife or his sister Bridget. In the end Edward Kno'well is married to Bridget and all complications are resolved by the *old merry Magistrate* (EM Pers.) Clement, who clarifies all misunderstandings and uncovers the follies and 'humours' each of the characters possess.

Other than *Every Man in His Humour*, Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* does not feature the typical stock characters of the humour comedy, but creates a satirical picture of Jacobean London and its personage. Fleeing from the plague to the country, the gentleman Love-Wit leaves his London residence and puts his servant and *house-keeper* (A Pers) Face in charge, who, together with his fellow fraud Subtle and the prostitute Dol Common, sets up a flourishing fraudulent business *in casting figures, telling fortunes, newes, [s]elling of flyes [and] flat bawdry, with the stone* (EM *The Argvment* 10f). Subtle variantly posing as alchemist, astrologer and as match-maker, the trio fools their victims by promising them fulfilment of their respective wishes, while simultaneously quarrelling about the distribution of their gains. Among their customers, there is the lawyer's clerk Dapper, who is promised *a familiar [i.e. a spirit], [t]o rifle with, at horses, and winne cups* (A 192f) and the fanatic Puritan Pastor and Deacon Tribulation and Ananias, who share their desire to obtain the Philosopher's stone with the knight Sir Epicure Mammon, who is promised the transformation of all metals into gold with the help of the latter and, hence, immeasurable wealth. Against the advice of his companion Surely, who is sceptical of both alchemy and the trio of frauds, Mammon, just as the other victims, falls prey to Face and Subtle's deceptions and makes advances to Dol, who, he is told, is a noble woman gone mad. After several embroilments involving the trio's victims as well as the rich widow Dame Pliant, who both Face and Subtle aim to win, and the re-appearance of

42

Surely disguised as a Spanish courtier, Love-Wit, the master of the house returns unannounced and learns about the activities of his servant. While Subtle and Doll Common take flight, Face, in an attempt to appease his master, arranges the latter's marriage with Dame Pliant. He is forgiven and the characters disperse.

The main plot of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, as the last of the three comedies from the corpus and representing the subgenre of the 'comedy of errors', (cp. Pfister 2009:388) is framed by a subplot, the *induction*, that involves a joke played upon the drunkard Christopher Slie by a Lord and his fellow huntsmen, who conceive the idea of bringing Slie to the Lord's castle and convincing him that he was a nobleman, as soon as he would awake from the delirium they had found him in. The main plot of the comedy is then embedded in this framework plot as a play-within-the-play, which travelling actors present to the party. Its setting is Padua, Italy, where Baptista lives with his two daughters, Bianca and Katherine, the older of the two. While Bianca is suited by many, she is not allowed to marry before the shrewish and obstinate Kate has found a husband. When Petruchio hears about the latter's lavish dowry, he decides to woo her and simultaneously aid his friend Hortensio to win Bianca. While Hortensio and two further suitors of Bianca's, Lucentio and Gremio, compete for Bianca, making use of various tricks and disguises, Petruchio, in a scene of witty exchange, persuades Kate to marry him and thenceforward undertakes to 'tame' her. After embarrassing her at the wedding, Petruchio forces Kate to follow him to his home, where she is to be deprived of food, sleep and clothing, as Petruchio, being overly kind, refuses everything that is offered to her, as too menial for her. Employing variant psychological strategies to wear Kate down, Petruchio finally succeeds in 'taming' her and Kate is ready to agree with everything her husband says. When they return to Padua, Lucentio, after several complications involving a pedant impersonating his father Vincentio in order to confirm his wealth (and dowry), while the real Vincentio appears as well, eventually marries Bianca. Hortensio is married to a rich widow instead and in the final scene of the play, the three newlywed husbands quarrel about who has the most obedient wife. To the surprise of the other two gentlemen, it is only Kate, who, after all three women are called for by their husbands as a test of their obedience, immediately appears and rebukes the other two wives for their wilfulness.

### 2.4.2.3. The Tragedies

The tragedies included in the corpus comprise two works by Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta* and *Tamburlaine (Part 1)* and William Shakespeare's *Othello*.

Revenge is a central motive in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. As the title indicates, the tragedy is set in Malta, at the time of the island's occupation by the Turks. When the governor Ferenze decides to have the Jews in Malta pay tribute to the occupiers, Barabas, a rich Jew of the island, refuses to do so. As a consequence, all his possessions are seized, his house is turned into a convent and Barabas swears to avenge himself on the governor and the Christians. Having regained part of his money with the help of his daughter Abigail, Barabas sets the governor's son, Lodowick, against young Matthew, Abigail's lover, and both men die in a duel. Devastated and infuriated by her father's plot, Abigail converts to Christianity and joins the convent, while her father, by buying the Turkish slave Ithamore, wins an accomplice in his revenge campaign. With the aid of Ithamore, Barabas poisons the nuns and priests in the convent, among them his daughter Abigail, who, shortly before her death confesses her father's involvement in Lodowick and Matthew's death to Jacomo, a priest and Bernadine, a monk. The two clergymen confront the Jew, who, making use of another ploy, has Ithamore kill the monk and afterwards incriminates Jacomo. Eventually, however, Ithamore, persuaded by the prostitute Bellamira and her procurer, turns against Barabas, presses him for money and Bellamira discloses the Jew's deeds to Ferenze. The enraged Barabas kills the three conjurers, feigns his own death and aids the capturing of Malta by the Turks. After having been made governor in return, he, for a high amount of money, promises Ferenze to destroy the Turkish leader Calymath and evoke Malta's liberation. Ferenze, however, prevents Barabas from implementing his plan and the Jew dies in the same trap he had set up for the Turk.

Marlowe's second tragedy in the corpus, the first part of the blank verse drama *Tamburlaine*, centres on the *Scythian shepherd* (T Pers.) Tamburlaine and his advent to power, which he pursues with unparalleled ambition and ruthlessness. The play begins with Tamburlaine aligning himself with Cosroe against the latter's brother Mycetes, the King of Persia. After Mycetes' overthrow, Tamburlaine, goes on to defeat Cosroe and takes over the Persian throne, with Zenocrates, the daughter of the Egyptian King and his captive, at his side. Shifting his attention to the Turks, Tamburlaine wages war against the Turkish emperor, Bajazeth, and upon his victory, captivates both Bajazeth and his wife Zabina, whom he thenceforward keeps in a cage, tormenting and humiliating them until eventually both commit

suicide. Constantly expediting to expand his power, Tamburlaine conquers first Africa and then Damascus. At Zenocrate's urgent entreaty, he consents to spare her father's life and the first part of the tragedy ends with the marriage of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate, who is crowned *Queene of Persea* (T 5.1.508).

The action of the only Shakespearean tragedy in the corpus, *Othello*, begins in Venice, where Desdemona, the daughter of the Venetian senator Brabantio, has married the black general Othello without her father's knowledge. Having learnt about the marriage, Brabantio, in front of the Duke and the Senate, accuses Othello of having abducted his daughter. The couple, however, can invalidate these accusations and the general is entrusted with leading the Venetian forces against the Turks to defend Cyprus. While the Turkish fleet is destroyed in a storm, Othello, together with Desdemona, his friend and new lieutenant, Cassio, and the soldier Iago, arrive in Cyprus. Disappointed and resentful because of Cassio's promotion to lieutenant, which Iago feels to have been due to him, the soldier is eager for revenge and commences to plot against Othello. To that end, he fraternizes with Roderigo, a wealthy suitor of Desdemona, and makes use of his affection for her, in order to, by means of a first intrigue, cause Cassio to lose his rank and fall from Othello's favour. Feigning willingness to help Cassio, Iago then persuades him to seek Desdemona's help in regaining Othello's trust, while simultaneously insinuating to Othello that Cassio and Desdemona were involved in an affair. To complete the illusion of adultery between the two, Iago makes use of a handkerchief that the general had once given to his bride, which he, via his own wife Emilia, plants among Cassio's possessions, so that Othello is eventually convinced of Desdemona's infidelity. Driven by raging jealousy, he kills his wife in her bed. In the dramatic and final scenes of the play, Iago kills both Roderigo and his wife Emilia, who unknowingly contributed to her husband's scheme, but eventually unveils his guilt and proves Desdemona's innocence. Iago is arrested and Othello, realizing his fatal mistake, kills himself.

#### 2.4.2.4. The Histories

The group of history plays included in the corpus features one play by each of the three authors and comprises the plays *Edward II*, *Richard II* and one history with a Roman setting, *Sejanus*.

Marlowe's history, *Edward II*, dramatizes the life and reign of its historical model King Edward II and focusses on the King's close relationship to Piers Gaveston, his favourite, who

is greatly disliked by the Lords surrounding the monarch. After King Edward's I death, Edward II recalls Gaveston from exile, empowers him by making him *Lord high Chamberlaine* (EII 1.1.154) and intends to *live with Gaveston* (EII 1.1.138). Upon increased pressure by the nobles, however, the King is soon forced to banish his favourite to Ireland. Hoping to regain Edward's love and attention, his Queen, Isabella of France, campaigns for his return, but secretly plots his assassination and, indeed, shortly after his recall, Piers Gaveston is executed by the barons. The King, however, turns to young Spencer, as his new minion, whereupon Isabella, deeply aggrieved, first unsuccessfully seeks an alliance with France against the King, but then, supported by Sir John of Hainault, defeats the King, who is forced to flee to Neath Abbey. Young Spencer and his father are executed, and Mortimer, having gained power by his love affair with Queen Isabella executes Edward's brother Edmund against the wishes of King Edward's II son, Edward III. Edward II himself is captured and brought to Berkeley Castle, where he is killed by an assassin named Lightborn. The play ends with Edward III, the King's son, ascending the throne, after having detected his mother's and Mortimer's involvement in his father's death and commanding Mortimer to be killed and the Queen to be imprisoned.

Marlowe's *Edward II* has been claimed to have been "an important influence" (s.v. "Edward II". Drabble 2006) on the Shakespearean history included in the corpus, *Richard II*. As indicated by its title, the play takes up the historical figure of King Richard II as its topic, focussing particularly on the last years of his reign. The action sets in with King Richard's inept settlement of an argument between Harry Bullingbrooke and Thomas Mowbray by sentencing the former to ten years of exile, while banishing the latter for life. When Bullingbrooke's father, old John of Gaunt, dies and Richard seizes all his property to finance his war against Ireland, he alienates both Bullingbrooke and other nobles, who then secretly plot Bullingbrooke's return from exile and Richard's overthrow. When Richard II leaves for Ireland, Bullingbrooke wins over the Duke of York, takes Berkeley Castle and executes two favourites of the King, Bushie and Greene. Defeated, the King is forced to take refuge in Flint Castle, together with his cousin, the Duke of Aumerle, and eventually surrenders to Bullingbrooke. In a famous garden scene, Richard's Queen Isabel overhears the gardener discussing the deplorable state of the *sea-walled garden* (RII 3.4.1768), England, with his men and learns about Richard's defeat. Bullingbrooke ascends the throne as King Henry IV and imprisons Richard II first in the Tower of London and later in the Castle of Pomfret. After a plot by a group of nobles surrounding Aumerle to kill Bullingbrooke and reinstall Richard II as King is betrayed by Bullingbrooke's father, the Duke of York, all conjurers are killed, except for Aumerle, who is spared thanks to Bullingbrooke's mother, the Duchess of York, who pleads for his life. In Pomfret Castle, Richard hears of

Bullingbrooke's coronation and is eventually murdered by a nobleman, Sir Pierce Exton, who interprets an utterance of Henry IV as a request for Richard's assassination.

Ben Jonson's Roman history play, *Sejanus; His Fall*, in whose premiere in 1603 Shakespeare is recorded to have acted a part (Engle & Rasmussen 2014:192), tells another story of a minion, in this case Sejanus, who rises to power as favourite of the Roman emperor Tiberius. In the first scenes of the play, a group of Senators, among them Arruntius and Silius, supporters of a Roman republic, lament over Sejanus' undue powers and the corrupted state of Rome and praise the Republican historian Cremutius Cordus. Simultaneously, Sejanus attempts to use the physician Eudemus' ambitions to become tribune to gain access to Livia, the wife of Drusus, Tiberius' son. Sejanus succeeds in seducing Livia and, with her and Eudemus' assistance, poisons Drusus. Purposefully and successfully planting fears of conspiracy and plotting against him in Tiberius' thoughts, Sejanus, aims to have the emperor eliminate *Germanicus' three sons, [who] clog [his] way* (S 2.2.395f) for him and, indeed, Tiberius, driven by paranoid fear for his power, consents to the successive destruction of Germanicus' descendants as well as the Republican circle. After Senator Silius is accused of treason and subsequently commits suicide, Sejanus insinuates to Tiberius that *if a husband should be sought for Livia* (S 3.2.519), he wished to be considered and with only Tiberius himself left to stand in his way to absolute power, he persuades the emperor to retreat to Capri, to indulge in *those unnaturall pleasures which he could not so publickely practise* (S The Argument 27f), and leave him in charge of the state matters. Tiberius, however, has become suspicious of his minion's motives. He employs Macro to spy secretly on the latter during his absence and, eventually, reveals his knowledge about Sejanus' ambitious motives and orders his removal from all his offices in a letter read out loud in the Senate. The former favourite is executed and his body ripped into pieces by the people.

### 3. Previous Research on Compounding and the Language of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson

The following chapters are intended to provide the reader with an overview over relevant previous work that shares certain elements or aspects with the present study. Here, existing research on compounds in the language of the three playwrights, as well as on compounding in the EModE period but also in earlier and later stages of the language, will be under focus, while ch. 4 will then go on to discuss different theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of compounds in general and its delimitation, with a view to establishing a practicable definition of compounds for the present study.

#### 3.1. Accounts of the Language of the Three Playwrights and Their Use of Compounds

##### 3.1.1. Literature on Shakespeare's Language

I have insinuated in the very first chapter of the present work, that scholarly research on William Shakespeare and his language exists in abundance and indeed, the number of works that focus on aspects of Shakespeare's language use by far exceeds the limitations of the present chapter, so that selectiveness is imperative in the present overview.

Unsurprisingly, scholarly interest in Shakespeare's language extends over both major fields of English philology, literary studies and linguistics, with several works from (and for) the former field, mainly concentrating on the poetic and functional aspects of Shakespeare's literary language in the context of the interpretation and stylistic analysis of his works. Among this group, mention will only be made of the renowned literary critic Frank Kermode's (2000) relatively recent survey, that investigates the development of Shakespeare's language, its increasing subtlety and complexity over the course of the poet's life, on the basis of the linguistic properties of his plays and poems, but is entirely anchored in the approach and framework of literary criticism and therefore does not provide any systematic, descriptive account of Shakespeare's English.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Another rather classical study of *The Literary Language of Shakespeare* by Hussey (1982) has similar objectives, that also result in a treatment of Shakespeare's language aiming at interpretative insights rather than a systematic description of its linguistic features. Further, Vivian Salmon's paper on *Some Functions of Shakespearean Word-*



The broad range of linguistic research on Shakespeare's language covers several different forms of contributions, the first of which can be summarized under the heading 'glossaries and dictionaries of Shakespeare's words'. Among these, Charles Talbot Onions' early *Shakespeare Glossary* from 1911, available in a third enlarged and revised edition since 1986, is still regarded as seminal and is evoked appreciatively also in younger works from this field, which declare themselves as highly indebted to Onion's work, such as, for example, David and Ben Crystal's *Shakespeare's words: A glossary and language companion* (2002). The latter book represents an extensive reference work on Shakespeare's vocabulary, that provides explanations, as well as synonyms and example sentences, for its 13,626 entries, complemented by 45 synoptic glossary panels, treating issues that range from grammatical topics, such as the use of the past tense (cp. 319ff), over the compilation of different lexemes according to various important semantic fields (cp., e.g., *plants* on p. 330f) to aspects of pragmatics, such as the use of *you* and *thou*. (cp. 450f)<sup>25</sup> Besides these comprehensive works, other glossaries focus on specific areas of Shakespeare's English and have a smaller scale, for example, Blake's account of *Shakespeare's Non-Standard Language* (2004), that specifically treats colloquialisms, dialectal forms and instances of informality in Shakespeare's works, or Leisi's investigation of *Problemwörter und Problemstellen in Shakespeare's Dramen* (1997). In this book, Leisi provides explanations and possible German translations for 972 words, that he assumes pose problems of understanding. In all these glossaries, the inclusion of individual compounds, of course, depends on the respective focus of the book, as well as on the definitional criteria its editors apply in their process of lemmatization.<sup>26</sup>

A further field of linguistic research on Shakespeare is covered by works that treat Shakespeare's language comprehensively, outlining its properties along the common areas of linguistic description, such as orthography, morphology, word-formation, syntax, and lexis, and largely viewing it as representative for Elizabethan or Early Modern English as such. For the German-speaking area, Franz' *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, which appears in its second revised edition in 1909 and reappears in an essentially extended form in 1939 under a new title, presents an extensive survey of Shakespeare's English, which, although of course not meeting the

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*formation*, first published 1970 and reedited by Catherine Alexander in 2004, pursues a similar interest in the poetic side (e.g. their metrical function) of Shakespeare's compound new formations, although she provides a relatively thorough and systematic morphological classification of Shakespeare's compounds.

<sup>25</sup> A further example for a comprehensive glossary of Shakespeare's words is Shewmaker (2008; 2nd rev. ed. [1996]), which covers over 15,000 entries and proceeds very similarly to Crystal & Crystal (2002).

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the influence of lemmatization practices on the inclusion of compounds in the OED, see further ch. 10.1 of this thesis.

requirements of modern linguistic systematicity and theory in all respects, provides a thorough overview of Shakespeare's compounds under the heading 'Wortbildungslehre' [word-formation],<sup>27</sup> that is often accompanied by information on the diachronic development of certain types, the etymological background of the numerous illustrative examples and references to parallel forms in German.<sup>28</sup>

Quite expectably, however, 'grammars' of Shakespeare's language have not ceased to be written since then and, hence, the 1970s and 80s saw the publication of several comparable surveys both in Germany and in the English-speaking world, among which Blake (1983), Brook (1976) and Scheler (1982) shall be mentioned here. While Scheler (1982:115ff), in the course of his treatment of Shakespeare "als Wortschöpfer [as wordsmith]" (Scheler 1982:113) offers a relatively comprehensive account of the new formations among Shakespeare's compounds, classifying them morphologically according to Marchand's (1969) categories (cp. ch. 3.2.3) and providing useful information on the frequency of the different types, Brook (1976) spends only two pages of his chapter on word-formation on a brief treatment of "compound words" (137). Blake's (1983) work, in turn, deviates from the classic organization in his book and subsumes a selective discussion of compounds under a chapter termed 'The Nominal Group' (cp. 56ff), that comprisingly treats specific properties and complexities of Shakespeare's noun phrases.

This unconventional structure is maintained in Blake's more recent *Grammar of Shakespeare's Language* (2002), where compounds are mentioned only in passing in a chapter on 'The Noun Group', (cp. 52), in which also simple nouns and pronouns are discussed. Two further relatively recent contributions to the field, Crystal (2009) and Johnson (2013), return to the classic segmentation in their introductions to Shakespeare's language and, in an accessible and often humorous way, each provide an overview over the characteristics of the poet's language and time, which, in its extent and depth, however, does not go beyond the introductory level. The respective sections on Shakespeare's vocabulary in both works focus on the new formations among Shakespeare's compounds, examples of which they present in connection with their use in the context of his plays, but without any systematic classification.<sup>29</sup>

In the light of the plenitude of comprehensive surveys and grammars of Shakespeare's language, it is surprising that only very few publications explicitly examine the compounds in

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<sup>27</sup> Translations are my own unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>28</sup> Franz' earliest monography of 1905 deals with Shakespeare's orthography, phonology and word-formation and can be viewed as the precursor of his *Shakespeare-Grammatik*.

<sup>29</sup> Also Terttu Nevalainen's account compounds in her chapter on *Shakespeare's New Words* in Adamson (2001a) is restricted to a relatively concise treatment of the new formations among Shakespeare's compounds.

his works. In this respect, Kilian's (1953) and Voithl's (1954) studies, which investigate the stylistic value as well as quantitative aspects of the new formations among Shakespeare's compounds, constitute a rare exception. While both scholars classify their material morphologically, mainly according to the method used by Koziol (1972) (cp. ch. 3.2.3), Kilian (1953) exclusively discusses those compounds which he, on the basis of their documentation in an early version of the OED, or, as in the case of noun + noun compounds, based on somewhat obscure "stylistic criteria" (cp. 13ff), such as, e.g., their occurrence in contrastive contexts, assumes to be new formations. Voithl (1954), in turn, includes all Shakespearean compounds and systematically provides statistical information on the proportion of new formations for each compound type. Although the value of these quantitative sections is limited due to the fact that Voithl (1954) fails to provide general criteria for his classification of tokens as compounds and only somewhat randomly mentions classificatory problems and ambiguities, often, however, without clearly stating his methodological decisions, Voithl's (1954) work, by displaying a systematicity in the investigation and recording of the material that Kilian (1953) lacks, is still able to provide first insights into Shakespeare's creativity in the realm of compounding, as well as a valuable index of his compounds.

What should have become evident from this brief overview of research on William Shakespeare's language use in general and his compounds in particular, is, firstly, that the former aspect is dealt with much more frequently and extensively than the latter, and, secondly, that investigations of Shakespeare's compounds, if conducted to a certain depth, tend to concentrate exclusively on the new formations among them. A third point, however, namely the striking numerical superiority of linguistic analyses of Shakespeare's language and / or compounds, will become evident only in the direct comparison with the number of comparable contributions on Shakespeare's contemporary playwrights, Marlowe and Jonson.

### 3.1.2. Literature on the Language of Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson

It is remarkable in this context that, while numerous comprehensive treatments of EModE take Shakespeare's English as representative for the language of the period, comparable works that use Christopher Marlowe's or Ben Jonson's language as their basis for a description of the language as spoken around 1600, hardly exist. With regard to Christopher Marlowe, this absence is particularly striking, with the only study pursuing a rudimentarily similar objective

being Kurt Schau's dissertation on *Sprache und Grammatik der Dramen Marlowes*, published as early as 1901. Apart from its relative datedness, however, Schau's (1901) work entails only very limited relevance for the present study, since its author, whilst discussing 'Formenlehre [inflection]' and syntax in comparative detail, omits the topic of word-formation entirely. The situation is very similar with respect to Ben Jonson: While Astley C. Partridge in 1953 contributes two studies (1953a, 1953b) on the playwright's syntax and accidence, respectively, the larger, comprehensive work on Jonson's language, which his two surveys are originally intended to form parts of (cp. Partridge 1953a:viii) is never published. Since Partridge's studies, however, do not consider word-formation, their relevance for the present study is restricted, as well.

Furthermore, the field of glossaries and dictionaries on Marlowe's or Jonson's language is likewise largely undeveloped. The only study to be mentioned in this context is Louis Stagg's index of *The Figurative Language of the Tragedies of Shakespeare's Chief 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Contemporaries* (1984), which, among that of other writers of the period, such as Thomas Kyd or Robert Greene, treats Christopher Marlowe's lexical choices and lists lexemes and phrases pertaining in some way to the "images" (1984:xi) in Marlowe's language. Although providing a valuable compilation of lexemes in Marlowe's vocabulary and, hence, to a certain degree answering the same purposes as a classic glossary, Stagg's (1984) definition of 'figurativeness' and thus the criteria for the selection of the lexemes included in the index, are not explicitly stated and remain unclear. (cp. also Thomas' review of Stagg's book 1985:95f) Stagg's (1984) work can therefore only partly contribute to close this gap.

Finally, the only studies that entail investigations of the language of Marlowe and Jonson and are relevant for the present work in that they also cover the issue of compounding, are two dissertation projects by Esko Pennanen (1951) and Inna Koskenniemi (1962), conducted at the University of Turku.<sup>30</sup> Koskenniemi's (1962) *Studies in the Vocabulary of English Drama 1550-1600* focus on various products of word-formation, such as conversions, back-formations and adjective compounds. Further, Koskenniemi (1962) dedicates a separate chapter to invectives and terms of endearment in English drama of that period and, in her text corpus, also includes the three plays by Marlowe investigated in the present thesis. In her treatment of adjective

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<sup>30</sup> Although potentially relevant, due to its treatment of metaphor in plays by Marlowe and Shakespeare, Wilfried Malz' (1982) study on metaphorical language in Marlowe's *Edward II* and Shakespeare's *Richard II* follows a different track. Malz (1982) selectively analyses metaphorical imagery entailed in the plays and permeating whole passages and speeches. His interest lies more in the function of metaphorical language within the respective plot structure of the plays, metaphoricity of compounds does not play a significant part and his approach mainly serves the purposes of interpretation and literary criticism.

compounds, Koskenniemi (1962:18ff) classifies the tokens according to their morphological shape, separated into one group of morphologic types that contain a verbal element and another group that is purely nominal or adjectival. Koskenniemi's (1962) general focus is on the new formations from that period, without, however, providing any numerical information on either the proportional distribution of new and old compounds, or the number of compounds found within each of the morphologic types for different playwrights or genres. While illustrating her qualitative discussion of the use of compound adjectives in drama between 1550 and 1600 largely by examples from Marlowe's works, Koskenniemi's (1962) corpus does not include any plays by Shakespeare or Jonson. Occasional comparative statements with regard to Shakespeare's language are exclusively based on individually selected "related phenomena in Shakespeare's language" (10) as described, for example, by Franz (1909;1939), rather than on any systematic comparison with Shakespeare's texts. Nevertheless, the present study will occasionally refer to Koskenniemi's (1962) work by way of comparing her observations regarding Marlowe's use and formation of adjective compounds to the results obtained here.

Esko Pennanen's (1951) *Chapters on the Language in Ben Jonson's Dramatic Work* which appear eleven years earlier, display certain similarities to Koskenniemi's (1962) study in terms of structure and objectives, but contain a more extensive discussion of "composition as a means of word-making" (1951:47) in Ben Jonson's works. In this chapter, Pennanen discusses Ben Jonson's noun, adjective and verb compounds according to morphological and semantic criteria, connects the playwright's use and formation of compounds to factors of genre as well as personal "genius" (60) and detects patterns of recursivity (cp. 185) as well as an influence of analogy on Jonson's newly formed compounds. (cp. 58) In general, Pennanen's (1951) study is still noticeably anchored in the philological tradition and proceeds "selective[ly] rather than comprehensive[ly]" (8) in its evaluation of Jonson's use of compounds. Over the course of his discussion, the author at times offers rather subjective judgements, maintaining, for example, that Jonson was "one of those who describe without colouring the description with poetical feeling" (71), while the material, as E.G. Stanley in a review of Pennanen's work also notes, features expressions such as *frost-fearing myrtle*, *wolfe-turned men*, or *earth-fed mindes* (cp. Stanley 1954:369), that are arguably poetic in character but which Pennanen (1951) appears to neglect. In contrast to Koskenniemi (1962), however, Pennanen (1951), documents the numerical distribution of the compounds included in his corpus over the different plays (cp. table 17), different morphologic (cp. 54) and semantic types, (cp. 64) as well as over genres, or verse and prose texts. (cp. 63) Hence, an occasional comparison of his results with those

obtained in the present study is possible, although Pennanen fails to communicate clearly the definition of compounds that he bases his selection on.

### 3.2. Research on Compounds in Early Modern English, Earlier Periods of English and in Present-Day English

#### 3.2.1. Literature on Early Modern English Compounds in General

While I have shown in ch. 3.1.1 that studies with an explicit (and restricted) focus on Shakespeare's compounds are rarer than one might expect, the present section will demonstrate that, further, scholarly research on word-formation or compounding in the EModE period *in general*, only very rarely goes beyond concentrating on William Shakespeare's handling of these processes. In fact, general treatments of EModE compounds (or word-formation, for that matter) are found only as parts of larger, comprehensive accounts of either the language of the EModE period or the history of English as a whole.

The level of detail, however, with which the topic is covered in these works, varies considerably and extensive discussions about borrowing and foreign influences on the vocabulary in this period sometimes seem to take place at the expense of an equally elaborate treatment of the process and productivity of compounding. In Millward's *Biography of the English Language* (1989), for instance, word-formation and compounding do not figure at all in the respective chapter on Early Modern English (chapter 7) and also Jeremy Smith's account of the *Essentials of Early English* (2005) completely disregards the issue. Instead, compounding is mentioned in Smith's work exclusively in conjunction with Old English, while from Middle English onwards the treatment of lexical developments is restricted to a description of loan processes and donor languages. Other surveys of the history of English, including both works, that are intended to provide introductory information (e.g., Baugh & Cable 2013; Brinton 2017; Fischer 2003; Görlach 1997) and such, which consider themselves as more comprehensive accounts of the history of English (e.g., Mugglestone 2012; Strang 1970), proceed in a similar way and also in recent edited volumes with an explicit focus on *Historical English Word-*

*formation and Semantics*, such as Fisiak & Bator (2013), the issue of compounding in EModE is rarely touched upon,<sup>31</sup> let alone discussed in detail.<sup>32</sup>

Although the standard introductory works on Early Modern English, Barber (1997), Görlach (1994) and Nevalainen (2006) all mention an increase of the productivity of compounding in the sixteenth century, especially in connection with the *inkhorn debate*<sup>33</sup> and the efforts made by the so-called "purists" (Barber 1997:62; cp. also Görlach 1994:140) to replace foreign words by transparent complex words, making "use of the existing resources of the language" (Barber 1997:62), they each dedicate only few pages to the description of the existing types and forms of compounds in the EModE period and do not provide any systematic treatments thereof. Hence, after a brief survey of Sir Phillip Sidney's use and coinage of adjective compounds in his works and an equally concise discussion of foreign influences on word-formation (cp. Görlach 1994:139f), Görlach's book quickly dismisses the issue and goes on to a more exhaustive and systematic treatment of derivational patterns in the period. Barber's (1997) and Nevalainen's (2006) accounts of compounding in EModE are of a more general nature and the former introduction mentions at least some of the most prominent morphologic types and semantic fields EModE compounds can be assigned to. Based on the analysis of a sample of 1,911 EModE new formations taken from the first edition of the OED, which he, for the second edition of his introduction, complements by a smaller supplementary sample from the dictionary's second edition, Barber (1997), in chapter 6 of his book, provides basic insights into the different word-formation patterns that are productive in EModE, as well as into their relative frequency. In a brief section on compounding (cp. 236f), he then shares the observations that could be made on that basis, including the most common semantic spheres to which the lexemes are attributable, which range from farming over plant names to "[a] fairly large group of words for people" (Barber 1997:237). Furthermore, the strong preponderance of noun compounds compared to compounds from other word-classes is mentioned and a rough

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<sup>31</sup> ME compounds are briefly discussed in Sauer's (2013) contributions to this volume on the vocabulary used by the fifteenth century bishop Reginald Pecock, in which Sauer (2013) notes that in the bishop's ME texts "very few compounds occur" (100). In Sylwanowicz's (2013) survey of EModE names of medicines, some medical terms in compound form are mentioned, such as, e.g., *Sinamon water*, *Wormwood water* (468), but Sylwanowicz's (2013) focus is rather on the medical practitioner's treatment of Latin elements, than on word-formation patterns.

<sup>32</sup> An earlier monograph by Kaus Faiß (1992), with a similar focus on the historical development of English morphology and word-formation patterns contents itself with a very brief and eclectic mentioning of certain aspects of Shakespeare's use of compounds (cp. 84f) and does not address the topic any further.

<sup>33</sup> As already briefly mentioned in ch. 2.1, the Renaissance period faces an intense debate on the status of so-called inkhorn terms, i.e. newly coined and / or borrowed words, that opponents accused of lacking any practical value and having been introduced merely for reasons of pompousness. (cp. Barber 1997:56ff; Görlach 1994:131ff) Advocators of "linguistic purity and naturalness" (Barber 1997:62) aimed to go back to the OE model and promoted the idea of using compounding as a means of coining new, native equivalents, that were supposed to replace many of the borrowed lexemes. (cp. Barber 1997:62ff)

overview over the major morphologic types among his material is provided, together with indications of their respective frequencies (cp. 1997:237), so that a first outline of the most important aspects of the topic evolves. With its restriction on new formations and the brevity with which compounding is discussed, Barber's (1997) introduction is still far from an exhaustive account of compounds in EModE, however. Nevalainen's (2009) account of compounding in the period, although also intended to provide a general overview, is equally short and does not go beyond mentioning the typical morphologic types that exist in the period. (cp. 60f) Thus, although the information value of both these treatments of compounds in this period certainly exceeds that of other contributions,<sup>34</sup> neither of these introductions offers more than a comparatively compendious and cursory account of the phenomenon.

Hence, although compounding regained considerable productivity in the sixteenth century – not least in the hands of the Elizabethans who are noted by Esko Pennanen to have "made an abundant and bold use of compounds" (1951:48) – it still appears that for many scholars the undeniable numerical decline of the productivity of compounding after Old English (cp. Baugh & Cable 2013:148; Faiß 1992:74; Görlach 1997:79; Jespersen 1942:138f; Sauer 1992:7ff; Sauer 2013:100; Scheler 1977:108f) is taken as cause to dispose of an exhaustive coverage of both Middle and Early Modern English compounds more or less completely and, as a consequence, only few works exist that devote more attention to the phenomenon. Among these, mention must be made of Terttu Nevalainen's contribution to the *Cambridge History of The English Language on Early Modern English Lexis and Semantics* (2009), in which the "main types [of compounds] productive in Early Modern English" (409) are systematically presented and discussed, following a concise but well-informed overview of potential criteria for the delimitation of compounds and syntactic constructions (cp. 407-409), guided by the theoretical deliberations of structuralist approaches as represented by Marchand (1969), Kastovsky (1982) or Quirk et al. (2012). (cp. further chs. 3.1.3; 4) In her treatment of EModE compounds, Nevalainen complements the morphological classification of EModE compounds into morphologic types, according to word-class and morpheme status of their respective first and second constituents, by an individual description of the most frequent semantic relations that exist among the compounds of the respective types, as well as by additional information on the diachronic development and Early Modern English status of their productivity. (cp. 410-421) Her account of compounding in this period of English, therefore, represents a comparatively exhaustive overview of the process' productivity and the most frequent types of

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<sup>34</sup> Rydén's *Reader in Early Modern English* (1998), for example, ignores the topic of compounding completely.



compounds available in EModE that can be viewed as a first step towards closing a gap that has become evident even from this short account of existing research on EModE compounds.

### 3.2.2. Relevant Studies on Compounds in Old and Middle English

As a typical feature of its Germanic heritage and with the vocabulary of the language still largely unaffected by the massive influx of borrowings that later periods are to see, compounds are particularly frequent in Old English, where their productivity and "their number [are] substantial" (Kastovsky 2005b:362; cp. also Baugh & Cable 2013:60ff; Strang 1970:330ff) A useful general overview of the word-formation pattern from a structural perspective is provided in Kastovsky (2005b), which offers the same degree of systematicity and exhaustiveness found in Nevalainen's (2009) account of EModE compounding, with which it also shares its theoretical grounding in structuralism and its general approach to the compounds' description. Hence, after an extensive theoretical discussion of definitional and classificatory issues and ambiguities, mainly based on Marchand (1969), (cp. 362-365) Kastovsky (2005b) treats the most prominent morphologic types of Old English noun, adjective and verb compounds individually and provides detailed information on their morphology, accompanied by numerous examples. (cp. 365-376)

Although compounding in Old English is "of course not restricted to poetic language" (Kastovsky 2005b:362), compounds are an important and extraordinary frequent stylistic device in Old English alliterative poetry (cp. Sauer 1992:7). The poetic compounds of Old English have, therefore, received considerable scholarly attention, especially in the second half of the twentieth century (cp, e.g., Gardner 1968; Overholser 1971; Sauer 1985; Strauss 1980)<sup>35</sup> but are also focused on by more recent studies, such as Davis-Secord (2016), who parts with a systematic description of their linguistic structure but examines Old English compounds qualitatively in close connection to their different grammatical, stylistic and cultural contexts and functions. These range from "[t]ranslation [t]ools" (Davis-Secord 2016:37) that secure accurateness as well as the cultural and formal acceptability of translated texts, such as the OE *Boethius*, over rhetorical devices and "source[s] of emphasis" (72) in various different text types, to that of 'pace-makers', that slow down the narrative in poetic works such as *Beowulf*. (cp.140ff) Although predominantly intended as "a work of literary criticism" (26; footnote 103),

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<sup>35</sup> They are further treated in the preface to Carr (1939), as well as on pp. 412ff of the same book.

the survey attempts to work out the multifacetedness of compounds in Old English texts and presents them as essential features of Old English style, that range at the interface of "grammar, style, and culture" (29), fulfilling a variety of functions within this triangle and, hence, presenting "the best objects of study for evaluating Old English literature" (28). In its emphasis on the contextual embeddedness of compounds, Davis-Secord's (2016) work, hence, shares certain principles and objectives with the present study, although his research takes a superordinate perspective and focusses much less on the systematic investigation of the structural and linguistic aspects of the actual compounds in their (literary) contexts.<sup>36</sup>

With respect to the features of Old English literary language, however, it is particularly the phenomenon of the Old English *kennings* that may come to mind in the course of this work when confronted with several of the EModE metaphorical noun + noun compounds from the present corpus and their analysis (cp. chs. 5; 7.4.1.6). Originally a fundamental feature of Old Norse scaldic poetry (cp. Gardner 1969:117), *kennings* present stylistic devices, that, in Old English literature, commonly take the form of noun compounds (cp. Gardner 1969:115) and constitute poetical "paraphrases of [a] referent in question" (Kastovsky 2005b:353). In this capacity, *kennings*, such as the classical example of *merehengest*, used as a circumlocutory expression for 'ship' (cp. Davis-Secord 2016:19), have been in the focus of investigations of scaldic poetry (cp., e.g., Clunies Ross 2005; Meissner 1984) but also of Old English literature. (cp., e.g., Gardner 1969; Marquardt 1938; Springer 1983) More recently, also Pons-Sanz (2014) and Davis-Secord (2016) take up the topic, although their studies generally have a broader focus. As metaphor is an essential element of the Old English *kenning*, and the *kenning* itself an example of a purely literary form of compound use, the investigation of these expressions has certain parallels to the analysis of metaphorical compounds as pursued in the present study, which would, as will become evident in the theoretical explanations made in ch. 5.3, classify the example *merehengest* as a compound in which the second constituent is affected by metaphor. Nevertheless, the present thesis has, of course, an entirely different conceptualisation in terms of the period and form of literature analysed and aims at a systematic investigation of both metaphorical and non-metaphorical compounds, while its corpus involves forms of metaphor manifest in compounds, that are much more versatile than the relatively formulaic and uniform structure of the classical OE *kennings*.

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<sup>36</sup> A shorter overview of the compound use and the predominant functions compounds fulfil in English literature, starting from Beowulf and proceeding to Wulfstan, Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton can be found in Pons-Sanz (2014:80ff).

Whereas, occasionally, certain Early Middle English works still exhibit relatively high compound numbers in a continuance of Old English stylistic traditions,<sup>37</sup> later Middle English literature, as has already been noted above, displays significantly fewer compounds and, accordingly, scholarly attention to Middle English compounding is limited. (cp. Sauer 1992:5ff)<sup>38</sup> Yet, the process of compounding does not cease to be productive in Middle English (cp., e.g., Strang 1970:192ff)<sup>39</sup> and Sauer's (1992) extensive study of nominal compounds in Early Middle English offers a detailed overview of the various morphologic types of noun and adjective compounds existent in this period. For his work, Sauer (1992) collects roughly 2,400 different EME compounds from 85 texts, which he submits to an exhaustive analysis, taking their morphological shape and structure as the basis for their classification (ch. 3) and further complementing the morphological analysis of the items by a first outline of an analysis of their syntactic / semantic structure. (ch. 5) Both the morphological and the syntactic / semantic analysis of the EME compounds from Sauer's (1992) corpus are influenced by Marchand's (1969) structuralist approach to word-formation (cp. below), the detailed and critical examination of which, however, is an integral part of the introductory chapters of Sauer's (1992) book. The monograph further entails a thorough investigation of the definitional problems surrounding the concept of the compound as such, whose theoretical deliberations also influence the conceptualisation of the compound in the present study and will find a mention in ch. 4 of this book. Moreover, Sauer (1992) offers a comprehensive catalogue of the different aspects under which compounds can be described and analysed, including different morphological as well as pragmatic and semantic perspectives and, in addition, aspects of productivity, lexicalization and reference. (ch. 1.4) Hence, Sauer (1992) provides an account of the state of compounding in Early Middle English that, in its extent and level of detail, clearly surpasses other studies on historical compounding and the morphological analysis and classification of the compounds in this thesis, as will be pointed out in ch. 7.1, will largely follow Sauer's (1992) approach.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> In this context, Sauer (1992) shows that the poem *NamesHare* (written before 1300) presents an exception in this regard, with 47 different compounds featuring in only 64 verses. (cp. 9) With reference to countings conducted by Oakden (1935:113ff), Sauer further mentions Laȝamon's *Brut* (dated around 1200) as another ME text with a noticeably high number of compounds. (cp. 8f)

<sup>38</sup> Also the *Cambridge History's* treatment of compounds within David Burnley's section on ME *Lexis and Semantics* (1992:441–445) is considerably shorter and less detailed than the respective discussions of Old and Early Modern English compounds mentioned above.

<sup>39</sup> For an investigation of noun + noun compounds in Chaucer's texts, according to the semantic / syntactic method of analysis proposed by Lees (1968), see Smith (1982). For an index of ME nicknames, see Jönsjö (1979).

<sup>40</sup> In some respects, including, for example, the concept of the zero-morpheme, however, the present study of course deviates from both Marchand's (1969) and Sauer's (1992) theoretical approaches. These issues will be discussed in detail together with other theoretical deliberations in chs. 5 as well as 7.1.

### 3.2.3. Present-Day English Compounds and Approaches to Their Analysis and Classification

It is certainly fair to say that the vast majority of research both on English word-formation in general and on compounds in particular clearly has a predominantly synchronic focus. It is equally correct, however, that the number of works which deal with this range of subjects is far too extensive to be treated exhaustively – an assertion that proves true not only for the present book (let alone the present chapter), but has been made even by authors of much more extensive projects, such as, for instance, comprehensive accounts of the history of research on English word-formation (cp. Štekauer 2000:xi). This being the case, the present chapter will restrict itself to providing a sketch of only those contributions that are most relevant for the present study, in that they significantly shape either the conceptualisation of its research target – the compound – or its classification and analysis. The detailed analysis, discussion and, occasionally, contestation of the positions and approaches taken up by the respective researchers, however, will be undertaken as part of the theoretical chapters in this thesis, i.e. in chapter 4, which concerns the concept of the compound, in chapter 5, that treats the theoretical approaches to metaphor in compounds and in general, as well as in chapters 7.1 – 7.3 explaining the principles of the morphological and semantic analysis of the compounds.

Although Štekauer's (2000) research history starts with the structuralist innovations of the 1960s introduced by Hans Marchand, it seems more appropriate for the present overview to begin with what the latter has termed "the first book on English word-formation" (Marchand 1969:*Preface to the First Edition*), Herbert Koziol's *Handbuch der englischen Wortbildungslehre* (1972), whose first edition appears in 1937 and which may be considered as a synthesis of earlier research in the field. (cp. Marchand 1969:*Preface to the First Edition*) Koziol's (1972) conceptualisation of compounds is fundamentally informed by semantic considerations and the idea of a compound's "Begriffseinheit [semantic unity]", which will see a revival among cognitive linguists' approaches of recent years. (cp. below and, especially, ch. 4.4.6) Without adopting the traditional tripartite classification of compounds into endocentric, exocentric and copulative compounds, that is found (with minor variations) in early grammars, such as, e.g., Zandvoort (1967 [1957]),<sup>41</sup> Koziol (1972) chooses the morphological shape (i.e. word class and morpheme status of the constituents) as the basis for his classification of English

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<sup>41</sup> Carr (1939); Meid & Krahe (2011) proceed similarly and also Bauer (1983) takes up the traditional notions again, although he primarily classifies compounds according to morphological shape.

compounds and goes on to specify meaning relations between the constituents of these compounds, although without proceeding systematically or providing any exhaustive semantic typology. In this respect, later contributions, such as, e.g., Bauer (1978), Hansen (1990), or Warren (1978) pursue a similar goal but with higher aspirations, as they focus on the development of comprehensive classification models for PDE compounds on the basis of their semantic relations. (cp. further ch. 7.3.3)

It is Marchand's study of the *Categories and Types of English Word-formation*, first published in 1960 and republished in a revised and elaborated form in 1969, that for many marks the beginning of a modern theory of word-formation. (cp. Štekauer 2000:29) Indeed, Marchand's (1969) structuralist perspective on word-formation and compounding as well as his model for the classification of both suffixal derivations and compounds based on their syntactic deep-structure proves groundbreaking and his theoretical positions, although certainly not unanimously accepted by later researchers, are still influential, not only for the present study. (cp. chs. 5, 7.1) Whilst giving his work the subtitle *A synchronic-diachronic approach* Marchand's primary focus is the comprehensive description of PDE word-formation patterns, which he undertakes with unprecedented systematicity. For a "satisfactory description" (Marchand 1969:54) of compounds, Marchand (1969:53ff) postulates five levels of analysis: The basis is, similar to Koziol's (1972), Sauer's (1992) and most other comprehensive classifications, the (1) morphological shape of a compound, which is complemented by a description of its (2) morphological structure, for which Marchand introduces the terms 'determinant' and 'determinatum', that, in compounds, largely correspond to the traditional notions of 'modifier' and 'head', but are closely related to his specific conceptualisation of word-formation products as 'syntagmas' (cp. further ch. 4.3.1). Moreover, his analysis includes the level of the (3) syntactic deep-structure of a compound, which entails the identification of the syntactic relations present in a sentence assumed to underlie the compound, such as, e.g., 'Subject – Predicate' for the compound *sunshine*, on the basis of the sentence 'the sun shines'. (cp. Marchand 1969:55) In this way, Marchand (1969) further elaborates a classification method for compounds that, as a third option besides the morphological and semantic classification, has first been proposed by Robert B. Lees (1968) within a strictly transformationalist framework and has later been taken up in partially refined form by Kastovsky (1982), Quirk et al. (2012), Sauer (1992) or Smith (1982). (cp. further ch. 7.3) Closely related to the syntactic aspect, is the fourth level of description, a compound's (4) type of reference, which entails the specification of the syntactic function of the determinatum in the

underlying sentences.<sup>42</sup> Lastly, Marchand (1969) also includes the semantic structure of a compound, which he, somewhat misleadingly, labels the (5) "content at the morphological level" (Marchand 1969:57) and for which he sets up several rather basic types that hinge on the semantic content of the respective determinatum of a compound. Although, in his actual treatment of English compounds, not all of these five principles of description are applied in equal measures, Marchand (1969) nevertheless manages to address morphological, semantic and syntactic aspects in his compound analysis. Further innovations of Marchand's (1969) approach are contained in the extensive theoretical discussion of compounding as well as of potential criteria for the compound status of a lexeme, (cp. 20ff) that precedes his analysis and entails several redefinitions as well as a general restructuring of the field of word-formation into expansions, derivations and transpositions. (cp. Marchand 1969:11ff; further 1967) His theoretical positions, although they have not resonated with all later researchers, have been followed and partially elaborated by important scholars of word-formation such as Brekle (1968, 1977), Faiß (1978), Hansen (1968) and Kastovsky (1982), and ch. 4 will go on to discuss several aspects of his theoretical standpoints in detail.

Equally important for the theoretical background of this study are the numerous contributions to the theory of word-formation and compounding by Laurie Bauer, who, in his two major monographs of 1978 and 1983, as well as in numerous articles on the topic (e.g., Bauer 1998b, 2008a, 2011) establishes an understanding of compounds that is primarily product-oriented. (cp. further ch. 4.2) By aiming at a very basic definition of compounds based on their containment of two stems<sup>43</sup> (cp. Bauer 1983:28) and, not least, by returning to the traditional categories of endo- and exocentric compounds, (cp. Bauer 1983:202ff) Bauer's approach generally proves less controversial than Marchand's (1969) and is in many respects more compatible with the aims of the present work. (cp. ch. 4) While in his early study of *The Grammar of Nominal Compounding* (1978) Bauer develops a complex model for the semantic classification of compounds within a generative framework, his major work on *English Word-*

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<sup>42</sup> A sentence like 'we eat apples', for instance, can render several different compounds with different types of reference, such as, e.g., the subject type *apple eater*, the predication type *apple eating*, or the object type *eating apple*, according to Marchand (1969:32). The last remaining reference type from his taxonomy is the adverbial type, exemplified by the compound *freezing point* and the respective underlying sentence 'water freezes at this point'. (cp. 37)

<sup>43</sup> Trask's (1993) *Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics* defines a morphological 'stem' as follows: "a bound form of a lexical item which typically consists of a **root** to which one or more morphological **formatives** have been added and which serves as the immediate **base** for the formation of some further form or set of forms." (*stem*; emphasis in the original) The term 'root', in turn, is here used in the sense of "the simplest possible form of a lexical morpheme, upon which all other bound and free forms of that lexical morpheme are based." (*root*; Trask 1993) Note that this use of the term differs from the way it is often used in Indo-European Studies, where 'root' can also signify the oldest reconstructed form of a lexeme. (cp. *Wurzel*; Lewandowski 1990)

*formation* (1983) applies the morphological shape as the primary criterion for the classification of compounds, which is then selectively complemented by information on semantic structures of several morphological and semantic subgroups within these morphologic types, (cp. 202ff) while leaving aside any purely syntactic aspects. This mixture of classification methods, which is less systematic than, for example, Marchand's (1969) or Sauer's (1992), but nevertheless succeeds in providing a relatively insightful overview of the variety of English compounding, can be found in similar forms also in Jespersen's early grammar (1942), as well as in Valerie Adams' influential studies in this field (1973, 2001), to which ch. 4 will also make reference.

Finally, it is within the field of cognitive linguistics, that compounds and compounding has received much attention over the last decades. In its refocussing of the compound as a "psychological unit" (Schmid 2011:142) cognitive linguistics redirects its attention to aspects of the conceptual and semantic unity of these word-formation products (cp., e.g., Hamawand 2011:215f, cp. further ch. 4.4.6) that, as Schmid (2011) pointedly remarks, have, after their early recognition in Koziol (1972), been "rigorously swept under the carpet, not least by Marchand" (142). By putting new emphasis on the role of semantics, context and the interrelation between entrenchment, productivity and analogy (cp., e.g., Booij 2007; Heyvaert 2011; Lampert & Lampert 2010; Ungerer 2007), cognitive linguistics, hence, offers a new perspective on compounds that enriches the earlier structuralist approaches, while by no means rendering their systematic perspective superfluous. In accordance with its interest in the mental processes behind word-formation and the concept of linguistic and conceptual creativity, cognitive linguistics has produced a series of contributions on metaphor and metonymy in general (cp., e.g., Dirven & Pörings 2002; Gibbs 1994, 2008b; Kövecses 2010, 2017; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff & Turner 2001; Ortony 1979a; Panther & Radden 1999) as well as on their manifestation in compounds in particular (cp., e.g., Barcelona 2008; Benczes 2006, 2010; Geeraerts 2002), ideas of which shall be integrated into the discussion of the changing view on metaphor in literature as well as of the theoretical framework for the investigation of metaphoricity in (and of) the compounds, conducted in ch. 5.

Although, of course, an overview like the one presented in this chapter can rarely raise any claim to completeness, it should have become evident that the present study is capable of adding to the research landscape, as it hopes to contribute to filling a void that exists with respect to research on EModE compounds in general, with regard to literature on the language of Marlowe and Jonson (as well as specifically on compounds in Shakespeare's texts) and also with respect to an investigation of compounds from a literary corpus that systematically

considers all three aspects, their morphology, semantics and metaphoricity, and also takes context into account.



## 4. The Concept of the Compound

### 4.1. The Problems of Defining Compounds

In the light of the seemingly simple and intuitively evident definition of compounds as "words made up of two words" (Bauer 2008a:484), Ingo Plag's (2003) gloomy assertion that "[C]ompounding is a field of study where intricate problems abound, numerous issues remain unresolved, and convincing solutions are generally not so easy to find" (132) may appear as considerably overstating the case. And indeed, scholarly literature features several comparably basic definitions which revolve around the most essential characteristic of a compound being composed of two or more independent words, or "free forms" (Bloomfield 1933:227), with the purpose of forming a new lexical unit (cp. Adams 1973:30; Jespersen 1942:134; Koziol 1972:48; Sauer 1992:14). With the corpus featuring items such as *Night-gowne* (O 4.3.2695), *gold-smith* (A 1.3.32), *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9), or *horse-tail* (TS 4.1.1643), one is certainly intrigued to readily comply with this definition. It is not until encountering items such as *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618), *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891) or *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19), therefore, that we are confronted with the limits of this basic definition and begin to anticipate that, in the end, the concept of the compound is best described as a concept shaped by prototypicality, entailing numerous core members that can unanimously be assigned to the category, but also a plentitude of potential compounds that are to be relegated to various peripheral areas of the class: As *\*eyed*, *\*giver* or *\*keeper* can synchronically not be counted as independent English lexemes in the respective senses, and as, in addition to that, items like *\*to liegive* or *\*to housekeep* neither are existing words in English, the most basic definition, suitable for prototypical compounds, proves deficient. Cases like these obviously display characteristics of both compounds and derivations, because their second constituents are "derivatives" (Marchand 1969:15) which do not necessarily exist as independent lexemes, however, and they, therefore, apparently merge the two basic word-formation processes.<sup>44</sup> Thus, it is due to problematic cases such as these that scholars have eventually been forced to deem their most simple definitions as "provisional[ly]" (Jespersen 1942:134) and have set out to redefine their concepts of the word-formation type. As a result, various definitions have been supplied, which each take different features of compounds under focus. In an attempt to find a more inclusive definition of compounds which is compatible with the special features of some synthetic formations, Bauer (1983) further

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<sup>44</sup> For a detailed account of the problematic classification of synthetic compounds, see further ch. 4.3.2.

elaborates his definition by establishing a minimum condition for compounds that centres upon the status of their elements:

A compound lexeme (or simply a compound) can thus be defined as a lexeme containing two or more potential stems. Since each potential stem contains at least one root, a compound must contain at least two roots. (28)

Indeed, this elaborated definition which considers ‘potential stems’ instead of lexemes, makes it possible to award compound status to items such as *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891) whose second elements do not exist independently but otherwise certainly act as grammatical stems,<sup>45</sup> and with Lieber (2010) taking a very similar stance (cp. 43) in her *Introduction to Morphology*, the usefulness of this elaborated definition has been recognized.

Yet, the inventory of generally problematic cases such as the given examples can be augmented substantially by further taking into account formations such as *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795), *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), or *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86), which pose questions about their status as word-formation products as opposed to syntactic constructions on the grounds of their parallel morphological setup, and thereby open up another area of demarcation which is markedly fraught with problems. Bauer’s (1983) above definition does not, unfortunately, provide a tool for unambiguous statements about the exact nature of these constructions. In order to amend this deficiency, several other characteristic features of compounds have been adduced by various linguists attempting to shed light on the apparently fuzzy boundary between syntax and morphology, and the semantic or cognitive unity (cp., e.g., Franz 1909:140; Hamawand 2011:203; Koziol 1972:21; Schmid 2011:132) of a compound has been evoked as one of these characteristic features. Whereas compounds such as *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795) in the sense of "wild animals of the cat tribe" (s.v. "wild cat, n.1." *OED online*. 13 February 2015) and *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102) ("A mythical solid substance, supposed to change any metal into gold or silver and (according to some) to cure all wounds and diseases and prolong life indefinitely", (s.v. "philosophers’ stone n. 1." *OED online*. 13 February 2015)) can indeed be argued to express a certain unified idea different from the semantic content of their corresponding noun phrases, the definition runs into problems in view of items such as *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), and *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86). These constructions do not seem to lend themselves to a classification on the grounds of their semantic unity, as their semantic content appears fairly stable and unaltered for both readings.<sup>46</sup> It might have been similar observations,

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<sup>45</sup> For a definition of the notions ‘stem’ and ‘root’, please see the respective note in ch. 3.2.3.

<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, the overview and application of additional criteria in the following chapters will reveal that there are valid arguments to support their classification as compounds.

therefore, that have led other scholars, such as Hans Marchand, to refrain from grounding his definition on semantic bases and instead to suggest a structural definition for compounds that is based on the notion of headedness and the "inner form" (Marchand 1969:11) of a compound as a 'syntagma':

The coining of new words proceeds by way of combining linguistic elements on the basis of a determinant/determinatum relationship called syntagma. When two or more words are combined into a morphological unit on the basis just stated, we speak of a compound. (11)

Although leaving open the exact qualities of a 'morphological unit' at this stage in his seminal work on English morphology,<sup>47</sup> Marchand's (1969) structural definition appears more unambiguously graspable than the one based on semantic unity and the postulated determinant/determinatum relationship can certainly also be detected in items such as *mad-men* (A 1.1.5) and *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86), which can both be formularised by 'AB is a kind of B'. However, taking the asymmetric relation between the constituents and thereby the notion of headedness as the necessary prerequisite for compoundhood<sup>48</sup> does not yet provide a sufficient criterion, as the same characteristics can be observed in nominal phrases and, hence, further criteria are called for. Moreover, this definition deliberately excludes structures which do not exhibit an explicit head or determinatum. Marchand's (1969) denial of the compound status for the whole class of exocentric constructions, including examples of the Bahuvrihi type such as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66) or *Sweet heart* (EM 2.3.35), viewing them as 'pseudo-compounds' of derivational character and thereby again opening up the problematic issue of the demarcation of compounds from derivations, has, therefore, been deemed a "non-canonical view of compounds" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:4) by recent research (cp. further ch. 4.3.1). Consequently, unless one is content with this quite rigorous curtailment of the category of compounds, his definition does not seem to provide the desired effect either.

The diversity of approaches to find a clear-cut definition for the word-formation product of compounds, which I have sketched exemplarily in this introductory chapter, illustrates the inevitable emergence of certain demarcation issues which can be grouped according to which neighbouring area of compounding, derivation or syntactic phrase construction, is concerned. Moreover, the exemplary application of some of the suggested criteria to several items from the corpus indicates that compounds can be placed along a gradient from quite unambiguous and

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<sup>47</sup> Later in his work, Marchand (1969) connects morphological unity to fore-stress for compounds. The stress criterion will be subject of chapter 4.4.2.

<sup>48</sup> The term 'compoundhood' has evidently been coined by Lieber and Štekauer (2011) and denotes the state of an item being a compound. It will hereafter frequently be used in this sense for the sake of succinctness.

prototypical cases such as *gold-smith* (A 1.3.32) or *horse-tail* (TS 4.1.1643) to considerably more ambiguous, and, hence, less central cases such as *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86) and finally most problematic items such as *what-sha'-call-him doublet* (EM 1.3.15), or *sonne in-law* (S 5.595), which have not been mentioned so far. In the light of these observations, Plag's (2003) seemingly most pessimistic reference to the abundance of "intricate problems" (132) that arises when undertaking the endeavour to clearly define the category of compounds may appear more realistic, but with the following chapters setting out to give a detailed and structured overview over possible criteria for the definition that have been suggested in linguistic discourse, the number of "issues [that] remain unresolved" (Plag 2003:132) may at least be reduced.

## 4.2. Process- or Product-Orientation

Before entering into the account of demarcation issues and criteria, mention must be made of a fundamental difference of possible perspectives that can be taken on compounding, which essentially determine the admitted scope of the concept. As Adams (2001) rightly points out, there is a certain ambiguity in the understanding of the term 'word formation', depending on whether one applies a processual or a resultative reading: "[W]e can understand *word formation* as 'how people form new words.' In another context, a *formation* can be a *fait accompli*, the result of an act of forming" (1). Therefore, it is also necessary in a principled approach to compounding to explicitly separate these perspectives and "to distinguish in principle between the final result of the word-formation process and the process by which a particular form was coined" (Bauer 2008a:486). It is especially the disputed and problematic areas of compoundhood that are most seriously affected by this distinction, and when Adams (2001) maintains that "[s]ome verb compounds [...] are properly cases of transposition without change of form: *to machine-gun*" (16), she clearly takes a process-oriented stance to one of the fringe areas of compoundhood, verbal compounds.<sup>49</sup> This perspective consistently leads to an exclusion of a large group of verbal constructions which are the result of either conversion of compound nouns to verbs or backformation from previously existing complex constructions. To take two examples from the corpus, *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240) and *Fly-blow* (S 5.511), the first recorded verbal use of which is attributed to Ben Jonson by the OED, can, simultaneously to

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<sup>49</sup> The classification of several other disputed forms such as compounds with opaque elements (e.g. *husband* (JM 4.2.89)) or certain (synthetic) extended Bahuvrihi compounds (e.g. *green eyd* (O 3.3.1618)) is influenced by the respective perspective taken as well. The issue will, therefore, resurface in several of the following chapters.

Adams' (2001) example *to machine gun*, be assigned to the former group, whereas the latter formation process is exemplified by the classical example *to stage-manage*. A strictly product-oriented approach as suggested by Bauer's (1983) definition of a compound based on its containing of at least two roots (cp. above), would, in contrast to Adam's (2001) assertion, allow for an inclusion of these items into the category of compounds. (cp. further ch. 4.5.2)

The different classifications of verbal compounds that are found in scholarly literature, therefore, serve to illustrate demonstratively the impact of the respective understanding of compounding, although it is frequently not made explicit: Whereas Adams (2001:16), Hansen (1968:117), Koziol (1972:83), or Marchand (1969:100), exclude most verbal constructions from the category of compounds on the grounds of their preceding formation process, not all of them necessarily denying the existence of some genuine verbal compounds formed by composition, (cp., e.g., Koziol 1972:83) however, there are other linguists, such as Bauer (2008) who clearly question this approach and maintain that it "represents a failure to distinguish between process of formation and final form" (Bauer 2008a:497). Hamawand (2011:213), Jespersen (1942:166ff), and Zandvoort (1967:283), on the other hand, choose to focus less on the underlying word formation process in their classification and, while acknowledging the origin of the respective compounds as lying outside the compound formation process, they explicitly speak of 'compounds' when dealing with the respective constructions and, thus, take an approach that perceives the respective item and its composite structure – the word formation product – as primary. Hence, Hamawand (2011) includes verbal compound constructions such as *to baby-sit*, which in terms of their formation process may arguably be counted as back-formations, in his generally semantically motivated understanding of compounds. (cp. 203ff)

In recognition of these terminological ambiguities inherent in the term 'formation', it appears highly desirable to find a clearer terminological distinction between the process of forming a compound and the composite structure of a construction resulting from this, or, as a further differentiation, any other word-formation process. For German, which features a similar ambiguity in the term 'Zusammensetzung', Sauer (1992), suggests to distinguish between 'Komposition' as the formation process of composition in general and 'Kompositum' which denotes the result of the composition process. (cp. 14) Hamawand (2011) finds a very similar solution for the problem and states:

Compounding, also called composition, is the morphological process of forming a complex structure by combining two, or more, free morphemes, of same or different

word classes. The resulting form which serves to convey a new message is called a compound, a complex structure made up of more than one free morpheme." (11)<sup>50</sup>

Being sufficiently clear in their differentiation between the formation process composition/compounding and the products *resulting* from *this process*, a clear terminology which denotes the general compound structure of an item *irrespective* of the nature of the preceding formation process and thereby matches a strictly product-oriented approach, is still missing. For the present study, a terminological clarification is therefore made, which, in obvious agreement with Hamawand (2011) and Sauer (1992), distinguishes between ‘composition’ or ‘compounding’ as the *process of forming compound words* on the one hand, and ‘compound’ as the *result of this process* on the other hand. In addition to this distinction, however, the label ‘compound construction’ is introduced, which is to be understood as a neutral term for the *result of any word-formation process which exhibits a general compound structure*. As indicated in the previous paragraphs, the latter category is especially relevant when it comes to verbal items such as *Fly-blow* (S 5.511), which, as will be argued in detail in chapter 4.5.2, may be perceived as belonging to one of the fringe areas of compoundhood.<sup>51</sup>

### 4.3. Demarcation of Composition and Derivation

#### 4.3.1. Exocentric Structures

It has already been indicated in the introductory section to the present chapter that definitions of compounds which emphasise the notions of explicit headedness and the asymmetric,

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<sup>50</sup> As Hamawand (2011) speaks of compounds as the ‘resulting forms’ of the process of compounding, he is not quite consistent in his adherence to the definition when he includes items such as *baby-sit* into this category. (cp. 213) However, he seems to locate the primary condition for compoundhood in a compound’s semantic unity and ability to express a “new message” (11), which may have prompted this classification regardless of this specific item being most probably the result of a backformation process. A further terminological clarification, as promoted in this study, would have been useful here to distinguish between compounds as results of the composition process and other compound constructions which are the result of processes other than composition.

<sup>51</sup> Sauer (1992) and Lipka (1983), with respect to scholarly discourse on compounding in general, observe the existence of two parallel approaches to composition which, at a higher level, are closely related to the two perspectives on compounds described in this section. Sauer (1992) speaks about the ‘static-analytic’ and the ‘process-oriented/synthetic’ approach respectively and maintains that scholars adhering to the former focus on the product of the word-formation process, the compound, and its structure, whose analysis is conducted by segmentation, classification and frequently paraphrasing. The latter approach, however, concentrates on the process of word-formation, compounding, takes underlying (more complex) structures (e.g., sentences) as a starting point and tries to reconstruct the (trans-)formation process with the respective compound as its result. (cp. Sauer 1992:28 and further Lipka 1983:926) In many cases, the product- or process-oriented classification of certain constructions is likely to be connected to which one of these general stances on compounding is being taken.

modifying relation of the constituents in a strictly binary structure, if consistently applied, inevitably seem to exclude all exocentric compound constructions from the category. With his unprecedented approach to the organisation and interrelationship of the different subcategories of word-formation, which, as has already been announced in ch. 3.2.3, entails a restructured classification of word-formation products into ‘expansions’, ‘derivations’ and ‘transpositions’, Marchand (1969) is the first to consequently follow this path. Hence, the definition of ‘expansions’ that Marchand (1969) postulates cuts through the formerly unified category of compounds in that it raises the existence of a free lexical determinatum (i.e. head) to a necessary condition for expansions and, consistently, subsumes both endocentric compounds and prefixed formations under this heading:

An expansion will then be defined as a combination AB in which B is a free morpheme (word) and which is analysable on the basis of the formula  $AB=B$ . This means that AB belongs to the same word class and lexical class to which B belongs. Combinations of the kind illustrated by *steamboat* and *colorblind*, which contain free morphemes both for the determinant and the determinatum, will be termed compounds. Combinations of the type rewrite, where the determinatum is a free morpheme while the determinant is a bound morpheme, are prefixed words. (Marchand 1969:11)

Exocentric compound constructions, such as, *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160), *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), or the Bahuvrihi formations *thicklips* (O 1.1.66) and *sweet-hart* (JM 4.4.43), which, in Marchand’s (1969) view, are composed of a complex determinant and a suffixlike zero-determinatum that is not visible and lies outside the compound construction as realised phonetically are consequently reduced to the status of ‘pseudo-compounds’ and thus derivations: "Pseudo-compounds are combinations with a compound determinant and a *zero determinatum*. [...] Any combination that does not meet the conditions posited for an *expansion* [...] is a derivation." (Marchand 1969:13; emphasis added)

This unconventional conceptualisation of morphological categories and the resulting exclusion of exocentric formations from compound status, has, as Sauer (1992) remarks, met with only little response in academic discourse (cp. 16).<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, besides some earlier researchers such as Faiß (1978) and Kastovsky (1982), who follow Marchand (1969), also Hacken’s (1994) demarcation of compounding and derivation entails the assignment of exocentric formations to the latter category. His work presents an early approach in the computational linguistic field with the general aim to find logical and positive definitions to determine the boundaries between the areas of inflection, derivation and compounding. Reviewing existing literature on the topic and taking the criteria suggested there as a basis,

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<sup>52</sup> Cp. also Langendoen’s (1971) criticism of this approach in his review of Marchand (1969).

Hacken (1994) aims to present cross-linguistically valid definitions for each phenomenon, which are mutually exclusive and thus valid for all possible instances. In the course of this endeavour, he denies validity for almost all the criteria for compounding that have been proposed earlier (cp. 24ff) and suggests a definition for compounds that is primarily based on headedness, the semantic variability of the relation between the constituents and inseparability of the compound. (cp. 137) Thus, he excludes exocentric and copulative compound constructions from his definition and assigns the status of derived phrases to Bahuvrihi formations, arguing that semantic variability between the elements is not given, as they are only subject to a single (possessive) interpretation. Hacken (1994), similarly to Marchand (1969), therefore rejects the interpretation of Bahuvrihi nouns to feature an empty nominal head (which would allow for varying semantic interpretations of the compound construction) and posits a derivation process with empty affixes that convey the (fixed) notion of 'someone or something possessing X'. (cp. 118ff) The validity of this particular assumption will be the subject of discussion in the further course of this chapter.

Beforehand, however, with regard to the compound status of the class of exocentric formations, mention must be made of the fact that, even if one agrees with Marchand's (1969) or Hacken's (1994) definition of these formations as featuring a zero-suffix functioning as the determinatum, and hence ultimately being the result of a derivation process, neither imperative nor Bahuvrihi constructions can be classified as being of a purely derivative nature. In fact, Sauer (1992) rightly points out that the simultaneity of derivation and compounding in the formation process of these constructions warrants their inclusion into the category of compounds, even from a process-oriented view that takes the existence of a zero-morpheme as a fact:

Vom Prozeß der Bildung her gesehen sind sie [...] keine reinen Ableitungen, sondern stellen eine Verbindung aus Zusammensetzung und Ableitung dar, die beide gleichzeitig wirken: die Imperativkomposita (Typ *pickpocket*) und die meisten Bahuvrihitypen (*pale-face*, *five-finger*, *scatterbrain*) existieren im allgemeinen nicht zuerst als Kp. in einer (wörtlichen) Bedeutung und erhalten dann durch das Nullsuffix eine andere (übertragene) Bedeutung, sondern werden gewöhnlich sofort als Exozentrika gebildet. (Sauer 1992:16)

More importantly, though, Marchand (1969) and his followers' postulate of a suffixlike zero-determinatum is based on a certain presupposition, which, upon further investigation, appears questionable: In his approach, Marchand (1969) establishes the zero-determinatum in a bahuvrihi construction as a "semantic classifier, a transposer that puts a substantival construction (e.g., *birdbrain*) in a different semantic substantive class from that which the head



of the construction (*brain*) belongs to" (14) and thus declares this classifier to be a structural constituent of the formation which, *independent of the context* in which the item is used, is a fixed part of its morphological set-up that conveys a certain (fixed) semantic content. The zero-determinatum is, hence, understood to function equally as explicit suffixes such as *-er* in formations like *teenager*, *pigtailer*. (cp. 14) What Marchand (1969) ignores, however, is the fact that the specific meaning of a construction that renders it an 'exocentric' one, can well be argued to be realised *only* via its concrete use in a given context and with a certain *reference*. Whereas Marchand (1969) maintains that "[i]f a combination like *birdbrain* 'stupid person' is not explainable as 'B determined by A' but as 'person having a bird brain', grammatically = 'person denoting Ø-morpheme/determined by (13) *birdbrain*', then the combination is not a compound but a derivative." (13f), I would argue that, without any context, an 'endocentric' interpretation of the compound as 'the brain of a bird' is perfectly plausible. The mere fact that the non-literal metonymic meaning (PART FOR WHOLE) 'person having a bird brain, i.e. stupid person' has become institutionalized in the English speech community, does not impede this observation.<sup>53</sup> From this point of view, exocentricity of a given item becomes a variable feature that is grounded in the specific relation between the compound construction and its extra-linguistic referent in a given context and, hence, is not a structural element of the compound itself. The two instances of the compound *mother wit* in the corpus (TS 2.1.1066 and T P.1) aptly illustrate this fact: Whereas in Petruccio's answer to Kate's inquiry as to where he had studied his "goodly speech", *It is extempore, from my mother wit*, the compound is used in its endocentric and institutionalized sense, "a person's native or natural wit" (s.v. "mother wit, n.1" *OED online*. 07 May 2015), Marlowe, in the prologue to *Tamburlaine*, employs the compound in a metonymic, exocentric (and non-institutionalized) sense, i.e. as a Bahuvrihi formation, referring to 'persons who possess mother wit': *From jygging vaines of riming mother wits, / and such conceits as clownage keeps in pay, / Weele lead you to the stately tent of War.* (T P 1ff) Following Marchand (1969) and Hacken (1994), two different lexemes, the former a compound of the common noun + noun structure and the latter a derivation featuring a zero-determinatum (n / n + Ø) would have to be assumed for the respective instances. The crucial problem of such an analysis, however, is that there is no possible way to discern this alleged major structural difference between the two realisations of *mother wit* without the respective

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<sup>53</sup> Coseriu (1977) observes the same phenomenon for the German compound *Dickkopf*, which, as he argues belongs to the same structural type of compound as *Rotwein* ('red wine'), the exocentric interpretation of *Dickkopf* to denote a person having a strong/thick head, i.e. a stubborn person, being merely a matter of the reference of the compound which, in this case, has been institutionalized as its usual meaning. (cp. 50) Cp. further Bauer (1978:154) for a similar view.

contextual environment that provides the necessary hints as to which interpretation is intended. This obvious immense dependence on the context, in turn, strongly suggests that ‘exocentricity’ is a matter of a *specific use* of a certain lexeme with a *specific reference* (which, in the case of Bahuvrihi formations is metonymic, i.e. a characteristic part stands for the whole concept), and largely renders the concept of the zero-determinatum superfluous for analytical purposes,<sup>54</sup> since its existence can no earlier be reasonably presumed than when the *context* prompts an exocentric interpretation.<sup>55</sup>

While metonymy as the main and defining conceptual impulse initiating a specific use of a certain compound is quite evident in the case of Bahuvrihi formations, which indeed "represent the classical case of metonymy" (Schönefeld 2005:153), expressing a PART FOR WHOLE relation to their referent, compounds of the type *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160) or *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), traditionally termed ‘imperative compounds’, can be analysed quite similarly, although their metonymic bases may not be as obvious. In these constructions, it is not the relation of classical synecdoche (PART FOR WHOLE) that underlies their meaning when used as ‘exocentric’ formations. Instead, *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160) and *hang-by’s* (EM 3.1.60), adhere to the metonymic relation of ACTION FOR AGENT (‘one who makes peace’, ‘one who hangs by’), and *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45) expresses the relation of ACTION FOR OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION (‘the meal with which one breaks the night’s fast’). Kövecses & Radden (1998) list both relations as two of the twelve basic metonymic PART FOR PART relations within the ICM (idealized cognitive model) of an action (cp. 54f) and indeed, each of the nine instances of this type of compound that occur in the corpus can be shown to express one of these basic metonymic relations. Hence, metonymy can again be argued to be the essential characteristic and the conceptual background of their specific use as pointing at an ‘exocentric’ referent. The fact, that this exocentric meaning seems to be strongly institutionalized for most compounds of the types mentioned above, does not compromise this conclusion.<sup>56</sup>

Therefore, the present study, in accordance with Booij (2007), Coseriu (1977), and Pennanen (1971, 1982) refuses Marchand (1969) and his followers’ approach which perceives

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<sup>54</sup> The general question of zero-morphemes in morphological analysis is taken up again in ch. 7.1.2.

<sup>55</sup> Pennanen (1971:34f) argues in a very similar vein in his discussion of zero-morphemes with regard to the phenomenon of conversion, which will be subject of ch. 7.1.2.2.

<sup>56</sup> The obvious parallelism between compound constructions such as *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160) (‘one who makes peace’) and non-compound lexemes such as, e.g., *cheat* (n.) (‘one who cheats’) underlines the element of metonymy in conversion processes and suggests that conversion can, in turn, be understood as a conceptually or semantically triggered process as well. Cp. further ch. 7.1.2.2.

exocentricity as a structural feature of certain lexemes, embodied by an assumed derivational zero-morpheme, and maintains that, instead, exocentricity is grounded in the individual (metonymic) relation between a lexeme and its reference *in a certain context*, and, therefore, denies any derivational character of the respective items.<sup>57</sup> Instead, formations such as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), *sweet-hart* (JM 4.4.43), *mother wits* (T P.1), or *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160) and *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), are included in the analysis as compounds.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4.3.2. Synthetic Compounds

In the introductory section to the present chapter, the problematic nature of certain constructions which are traditionally termed ‘synthetic compounds’, has been shortly touched upon (cp. ch. 4.1), and indeed, the demarcation of items such as the aforementioned examples *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41), *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618), *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891) or *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19) from derivational formations, is even more ambiguous than I have indicated so far.

The examples from the corpus serve to illustrate a necessary general distinction between two groups of relevant items, which are determined by the morphological nature of their second constituents. The first group comprises constructions of the type of *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), or *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19) and can be complemented by further examples such as *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330), *swine-eating* (JM 2.3.7), or *eare-peircing* (O 3.3.1804), whose second elements all are "deverbal derivatives from verbs" (Marchand 1969:15).<sup>59</sup> The second group is exemplified by *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41), *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618), or *light-brainde* (EII 19.2), whose second elements consist of a noun (*beard*, *eye*) and a suffix *-ed* and which, on the grounds of their semantic similarity to Bahuvrihi adjectives, are frequently termed ‘extended Bahuvrihi adjectives’.

The first class of constructions, is excluded from compound status by Marchand (1969), based on their analysis as being the result of a derivational process that involves the

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<sup>57</sup> As to the question whether formations such as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), which are not isolated from syntactic phrases by their morphological shape, are in fact syntactic constructions, as has been suggested by, e.g., Pennanen (1982), I would argue that their stress patterns (cp. ch. 4.3.2) and especially their metonymic meaning (cp. semantic unity, ch. 4.3.6) can be counted as evidence to the contrary and that, therefore, such items constitute compounds. In this point, the present study, thus, agrees with Sauer (1992:16, see quote above), although no additional derivational process is being assumed.

<sup>58</sup> Note, that a strictly product-oriented approach would also allow the immediate inclusion of exocentric formations into the category of compound constructions, since they meet the minimum condition of containing two roots.

<sup>59</sup> The fact that for some items, as in the case of *fish-monger* (A 1.4.67), these verbal bases are synchronically lost or at least rarely used in a verbal function, is not of relevance here. Cp., however, the quotation of a form of *to mong* (v.) (‘monging fish’) in a 1998 edition of the Scotsman. (cp. "mong, v. 2." *OED online*. 18. February 2015.)

transformation of a syntagma such as ‘they make sail(s)’ or ‘they eat swine’ to either a "composite agent substantive" (16) like *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330) or a "predication substantive" (16) as *swine-eating* (JM 2.3.7):

Synthetic compounds are combinations whose second elements are deverbal derivatives from verbs which form a direct syntagma with the determinant (e.g., watch-mak-er, heart-break-ing). Traditionally called synthetic compounds (G Zusammenbildungen), they are in reality nothing but derivations from a verbal nexus. (Marchand 1969:15f)

Marchand (1969), by this approach that takes an assumed underlying syntactic structure (or verbal nexus) as a basis, categorically rules out an alternative analysis<sup>60</sup> of these formations as results of a composition process that combines two independent lexemes such as *swine* and *eating*, or *sail* and *maker*, the second of which is of derived nature. Thus, it is no surprise that for Marchand (1969) "the lexical independence of the second word is a matter of secondary importance" (17). However, especially for cases such as *swine-eating* (JM 2.3.7), *eare-peircing* (O 3.3.1804), or *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330), whose second elements are independently existing lexemes, this second analysis is certainly a valid possibility, for which Booij (2007), here solely referring to the type of *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330), unequivocally expresses his preference:

[I]t is a better option to analyse these words as regular compounds, with the special property that the argument structure of the verbal base is inherited by the derived noun with the suffix -er. Thus, the head noun can assign a semantic role such as Patient or Goal to the left constituent. (91)

As the prerequisite for this second analysis, which would allow an assignment of the constructions to the category of compounds, however, largely depends on the status of the second constituent as an independent lexeme, the classification of items such as *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), or *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19), whose second elements do not, or only rarely and with different senses, occur independently, is still problematic. One potential solution, that Bauer (1983) suggests for this problem, which has already been hinted at in ch. 4.1, lies in the general reformulation of the minimum condition for compounds and their respective constituents: While items such as these are bound to be denied compound status on the basis of any definition which entails the precondition of a compound to feature two *lexemes*, it is Bauer's (1983) definition of a compound to contain at least *two possible stems* that makes an inclusion of these constructions in the category of compounds possible. (cp. 38) Further support for this analysis is presented by Sauer (1992), who takes the synthetic compound *theatre-goer* as an example and maintains that it can indeed be analysed as the simple combination of two lexemes, *theatre* and

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<sup>60</sup> Concerning the general possibility of a 'double analysis' for synthetic compounds and a detailed account thereof cp. further Sauer (1992:32).

*goer*, the second of which, again, is a derived noun which does not exist as an independent lexeme. Sauer (1992) points out several justifications for the analysis of *theatre-goer* as a compound, the first of which lies in the obvious parallelism of such constructions to semantically similar compounds (agent nouns), on the one hand, whose second element is not further segmentable, e.g., *tea-merchant* or, correspondingly, *paper-pedlers* (EM 5.5.43),<sup>61</sup> and morphologically parallel compounds, such as *ship-owner*, on the other hand, which do display an independent lexeme as their second constituent and, thus, correspond to the example *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330) from the corpus. (cp. Sauer 1992:32) Moreover, Sauer (1992), in agreement with Kastovsky (1982:179) and Booij (2007:90f), emphasises the option to classify \**goer* as a ‘potential lexeme’ (cp. Sauer 1992:32), because it has been formed according to productive word-formation patterns. (cp. Sauer 1992:18) Finally, the morphological and semantic arguments seem numerous and substantial enough to also justify a classification of *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19) and similar formations as compounds. Hence, it is only for the sake of completeness to mention the fact that cognitive research into the processing of compounds strongly suggests that speakers frequently neither distinguish between synthetic compounds with and without independent lexemes as second constituents, nor between synthetic compounds and primary or non-synthetic ones in general:

From a conceptual point of view (as opposed to the morphological and semantic), there appears to be no doubt that synthetic compounds are processed in exactly the same way as formally comparable non-synthetic ones. It would often not occur to speakers of English that lexemes such as *law-breaker* and *watch-maker* cannot be divided into two valid lexemes, by analogy with *whip owner* and *bus driver*, because \**breaker* and \**maker* do not exist in their general vocabulary. (Schmid 2011:135)<sup>62</sup>

The special morphological shape and structure of the second class of constructions, extended Bahuvrihi adjectives, however, does not allow for a similarly clear assignment to the class of compounds straightaway. Their semantic content being the same as for regular (exocentric) Bahuvrihi adjectives such as *bare-foot* (TS 2.1.841), it is the suffix *-ed* in *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41), *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618), or *light-brainde* (EII 19.2), that explicitly denotes the notion of ‘possession’ and thereby renders the formations endocentric. With their second constituents being nominal elements, the structures differ essentially from the type of synthetic compounds discussed above, whose second elements are of verbal nature.

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<sup>61</sup> The etymological origin of EModE *pedler* (n.) is ME *pedlare* (n.) with several variants as ME *pedelare* (n.), not, as one might have expected, an agent noun suffix-formation from the verb *to peddle*. Instead, the latter is a younger backformation from the noun. (cp. ‘pedler, n.1’, ‘peddle, v.1’. *OED online*. 18 February 2015.)

<sup>62</sup> The OED, in fact, provides solid evidence for the independent existence of a noun *maker* (‘person who fashions, constructs, prepares for use, or manufactures something’; s.v. ‘maker, n.1.b’. *OED online*. 18 February 2015.). Schmid’s (2011) general point, however, remains unimpaired by this observation.

Marchand (1969), in obvious consistence with his approach to regular Bahuvrihi compounds, which, according to his view, feature a zero-determinatum (cp. ch. 4.3.1), also emphasises the "non-compound character" (Marchand 1969:19) of extended Bahuvrihi adjectives and perceives the main effect of the now overt determinatum *-ed* in changing the word-class of the formerly substantival base: "The combinations are derivatives where *-ed* is the categorizer that transposes the composite substantival bases into adjectives" (Marchand 1969:19). With this analysis Marchand (1969) clearly stresses the parallelism of this derivational process to other, regular suffix-formations.<sup>63</sup> The nature of the "composite substantival base" (Marchand 1969:19), however, demands further clarification, taking into account that, e.g., Scalise and Bisetto (2009) rightly state that extended Bahuvrihi adjectives cannot "be considered derivational compounds (*green eye + ed*) given that *green eye* is not a compound" (Scalise & Bisetto 2011:53). In this respect, they follow Bloomfield (1933) who also stresses the non-compound character of this base and declares "the natural starting-point" (231) for the analysis of constructions as *long-tailed* or *red-bearded* to be "rather a phrase like *long tail* or *red beard*, from which they differ by the presence of the suffix *-ed*" (Bloomfield 1933:231). Taking the base for the suffixation process to be a phrase as *green eye* or *smokie beard*, would, however, also allow for a classification of the respective items on a process-oriented basis that understands them as being the results of both a compounding *and* a derivation process which, for most of the cases, take place *simultaneously* (cp. Sauer 1992:16), as has been suggested for regular Bahuvrihi formations as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), *sweet-hart* (JM 4.4.43), or *bare-foot* (TS 2.1.841) under the assumption of a zero-derivation process taking place in these cases (cp. ch. 4.3.1). Whereas the existence of a zero-suffix has been doubted in the further course of the discussion of the latter examples, however, the case is different with extended Bahuvrihi adjectives which exhibit an overt suffix and thus do not pose any similar theoretical problems. A second possible analysis, however, exhibits analogy to the class of endocentric synthetic compound constructions with deverbal elements that has been illustrated above by examples as *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), or *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330), and is prompted by the fact that the second element of *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41), *bearded*, can actually occur as an independent lexeme. An analysis that assumes a simple compounding process of *smokie* and *bearded*, therefore, is plausible and, parallel to items such as *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), the classification of the second elements *\*eyed*, or *\*brained* in *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618) and *light-*

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<sup>63</sup> Adams (2001) takes a similar approach: "Some adjective compounds would be more accurately described as suffixed formations with complex bases, e.g. 'a space-suited alien'" (2001:16), and also Koziol (1972:185f) and Hacken (1994:140f) exclude extended Bahuvrihi adjectives from the class of compounds.

*brainde* (EII 19.2), as ‘potential words’ on the basis of their analogy to existing lexemes as *bearded*, is certainly conceivable. Therefore, an inclusion of extended bahuvrihi adjectives into the class of synthetic compounds (‘Zusammenbildungen’) seems legitimate.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.3.3. Diachronic Transitions

It is a special feature of certain derivational morphemes that their etymological origin lies in formerly independent lexical items. Being "a cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon, and an instance of **grammaticalization**, the historical process in which lexical morphemes become grammatical ones" (Booij 2007:85f; emphasis in the original), this fact, despite its common nature, brings further difficulty to the clear demarcation of compounding and derivation in general and is even more intricate a problem for a study which takes a diachronic perspective and investigates word-formation in an earlier stage of English. Especially when it comes to establishing a clear boundary between derivation and compounding, the circumstance that, e.g.,

[i]n English, most of the native suffixes building abstract nouns developed from free morphemes into derivational suffixes via a stage where these elements acted as heads in compounds (Trips 2009:2),

can be a considerable complication. For the EModE period, however, suffixes as *-dom*, *-hood*, and *-ship*, that Trips (2009) focuses on in her investigation of diachronic morphology, can be dismissed from the group of problematic items, as they have already ceased to exist as independent words with a comparable semantic content in the EModE period. (cp. "-dom, suffix."; "-hood, suffix"; "-ship, suffix". *OED online*. 20 February 2015; further Sauer 1985:282; 1992:229, 234). On the other hand, constructions such as *fearefull* (O 1.3 298), *god-like* (S 1.90), *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15), and *sword prooffe* (EII 2.8), each feature second constituents which, indeed, "appear to have a status somewhere between 'lexical' and 'grammatical'" (Adams 1973:30). Moreover, Bauer (1983) suggests the case of *-man* in constructions as *postman*, or *chairman* to be a candidate for the same process of gradual transition, and states that "it looks as if *-man* may be on the way to becoming a suffix". (Bauer

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<sup>64</sup> Previous researchers such as Bloomfield (1933), Booij (2007) and Scalise & Bisetto (2011) have reached similar conclusions.

1983:35f) This assumption would further rule out examples such as *coach-man* (A 3.3.73), or *Ferriman* (T 5.1.246), for compound status.<sup>65</sup>

There are several criteria which have been proposed in literature to determine the exact character of these elements which Sauer (1992:222), emphasizing their in-between status, terms ‘suffixoids’. These characteristic features are mainly based on defining properties of (‘real’) suffixes and include their semantic abstractness and semantic independence of the respective corresponding free morphemes, certain changes on the phonological level, e.g., weakening of formerly full vowels, and sometimes with respect to the spelling of the respective item; further the interchangeability with other ‘real’ suffixes, the possibility to form prefixed derivations from the constructions containing the respective elements, and the frequent occurrence of the element in many different combinations (i.e. serialization; Ger. ‘Reihenbildung’). (cp. Sauer 1992:223f and further Adams 1973:30, Bauer 1983:36, Trips 2009:7ff)

When applied to the respective examples from the corpus, the items break up into three groups which can be arranged along a gradient from constructions that feature a second constituent that is clearly closer to being an independent lexeme than a suffix, to items whose second elements fulfil several of the above criteria and can therefore be counted as suffixes already for the EModE period: *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15), and *sword prooffe* (EII 2.8) can quite unambiguously be located in the first group. Their constituents *-free*, and *-proof* show considerable semantic similarity when used in the compounds to their meaning as independent words, as the respective paraphrases prove: ‘free of scots’, ‘proof against destruction by a sword’. Furthermore, there are no detectable differences between their pronunciation or spelling which can be shown to depend on their respective usage, and there are no corresponding undisputed suffixes paralleling them in meaning or usage.<sup>66</sup> The corpus does not feature any prefixed combinations (*\*un-sword-proof*) with the elements in question and, also for PDE, the existence of such is to be doubted. Lastly, the fact that *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15), and *sword prooffe* (EII 2.8) are the only occurrences of the combinations with these elements in the corpus, prompts the conclusion that the frequently cited serialization (cp. Sauer 1992:224) is not to be

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<sup>65</sup> Ljung (2000) in his small study of compound adjective premodifiers in the press, suggests a similar development for the participial second elements *-based* and *-born*; the only possible evidence for this development that Ljung (2000) cites is the relative frequency of the respective formations in his corpus. However, he does not further elaborate this topic. For the present corpus, the total lack of examples for the former type suggests that the productivity of this pattern is rather a PDE phenomenon. Compounds in *-born*, however, do occur on six occasions, but are treated as compounds on the basis of their second elements not fulfilling any of the characteristics of suffixes to be presented in this chapter, except for a relatively weak form of serialization.

<sup>66</sup> Note that the status of *-less*, which could be argued to be parallel to *-free* to some degree, is disputed as well. (cp. Adams 2001:2)



taken as evidence for these cases, especially as several comparable formations that exist in PDE, e.g., *pollution-free*, *bullet-proof* are obviously later formations.<sup>67</sup>

The second group, which comprises items of the type *coach-man* (A 3.3.73) and *Ferriman* (T 5.1.246) seem to be ranging closer to the middle of the scale, as they exhibit some of the characteristics of suffixes. In terms of their semantic independence it must first be noted that ‘man who drives a coach’ and ‘man who steers a ferry’<sup>68</sup> are plausible paraphrases for constructions such as these and that usages such as *Madam chairman*, which Bauer (1986:36) instances as evidence for a weakening of the semantic concreteness of the component *man* in these formations, are certainly younger phenomena.<sup>69</sup> Especially in EModE times, it can certainly be assumed that for the vast majority of cases, combinations that contained *-man* in their morphology, as the given examples *coach-man* (A 3.3.73) and *Ferriman* (T 5.1.246) but also, e.g., *Alderman* (EM 5.5.39), as a matter of fact also entailed the definite meaning of ‘adult male person’ on the pragmatic level. Further, the weakening of the vowel in the second element of combinations with *-man*, which have been observed for PDE constructions as *postman* (cp. Adams 1973:30; Bauer 1986:36), can neither be proved to have already been in place for the period in question, nor can it be clearly demonstrated that they also occur in new formations with *-man* as second constituent (cp. Sauer 1985b:140; 1992:240). However, the parallelism of the ‘real’ suffix *-er* to *-man* has, for at least some of the respective constructions (e.g., *workman* – *worker* (cp. Sauer 1992:239), been noted as a sign for their in-between status, although, with respect to the material, exclusively *coach-man* (A 3.3.73) (cp. “coacher, n.” *OED online*. 26 March 2015) exhibits this form of replaceability, while none of the other constructions lends itself to replacement by *-er* (e.g., *horsemen* (T 1.2.11) – *\*horser*; *Ferriman* (T 5.1.246) – *\*ferrier*).<sup>70</sup> Moreover, prefixed combinations with the suffixoid in general seem rather rare and no such formation occurs in the corpus. Further support for the suffixal character of the morpheme, however, lies in its frequent occurrence in the corpus being used twelve times in different combinations, such as *coach-man* (A 3.3.73), *Tabacco-men* (A 5.1.5), *pen-man* (EM 4.8.51), or *horsmen* (T 1.2.111), and two instances of each *Sea-man* (T 3.2.76, JM 1.1.76) and

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<sup>67</sup> Bauer & Renouf (2001) observe an “extreme productivity” (111) of the pattern noun + *free* in their PDE corpus, but still classify the respective formations as compounds.

<sup>68</sup> The metaphoric meaning of *Ferriman* (T 5.1.246) to denote (personified) ‘death’ is not necessarily relevant here, it can be noted, though, that the semantic component of *man* as an ‘adult male person’ is probably still entailed in most common conceptualisations of death as a ferryman.

<sup>69</sup> Note furthermore the parallel formation *chairwoman* which has existed since the seventeenth century (cp. “chairwoman, n.” *OED online*. 23 February 2015), the coinage of which can be argued to further support the hypothesis that the semantic content of *-man* in *chairman* is still present and palpable.

<sup>70</sup> Note that *footer* with its institutionalized meaning ‘pedestrian’ (cp. “footer, n.1.” *OED Online*. 26 March 2015) cannot replace *footmen* (T 3.1.64, A 4.4.46) denoting a foot soldier (T), or an attendant (A), due to the semantic differences.

*footmen* (T 3.1.64, A 4.4.46). Eventually, the evidence suggests that *-man* indeed exhibits some characteristics that have to be attested to a certain ‘in-between status’ of the respective formations. Nevertheless, the relative semantic independence, and the largely unresolved validity of phonological weakening and replaceability with real suffixes for the EModE period, seem to allow the classification of the items as compounds, albeit always conscious of the fact that “[g]radiance can be considered a factor motivating change, and also as the outcome of changes in usage” (Brinton & Traugott 2006:16).

The situation proves differently for *fearefull* (O 1.3 298) and *god-like* (S 1.90), however, which constitute the third group of items that appear to range closest to ‘real’ suffix-formations.<sup>71</sup> Semantically, both elements in question, *-ful(l)* and *-like*, still show considerable independence and their meaning strongly resembles that inherent in the respective independent lexemes: ‘full of fear’, ‘like/in the manner of a god’. While *-like* does not exhibit any detectable changes in pronunciation or spelling in the respective formation, the phonological weakening of the vowel in combinations with *-ful* has been noted for PDE words like *dreadful* or *pitiful* (cp. Adams 1973:30; cp. further “fearful”, *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*<sup>72</sup>) and has been proved to have been in place in the EModE period already. (cp. Sauer 1992:303) Moreover, the inconsistencies of spelling versions which can be observed for items with *-ful(l)*, further illustrate the transition of the respective formations from former compounds to derivations, as can be exemplified by parallel examples such as *fearefull* (O 1.3.298), *powerfull* (O 2.1.761), *painefull* (JM 1.2.198), and *hatefull* (JM 1.2.339). In terms of their replaceability by undisputed suffixes, it is *-like*, however, which, with the parallel suffix *-ly* (e.g., *godlike* – *godly*, *gentlemanlike* – *gentlemanly*), shows a clear tendency towards the derivational end of the scale<sup>73</sup> and, although no such formations are attested in the corpus, the OED lists the word *ungentlemanlike* as having been used first by T. Nashe in 1592 (cp. “ungentlemanlike, adj and adv.” *OED online*. 23 February 2015). It is, therefore, evident that the EModE period saw further steps of the suffixoid *-like* towards becoming a derivational morpheme, and with

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<sup>71</sup> Discussed here are formations with the paraphrase ‘full of A’, that function as adjectives. Another similar substantival type which can be paraphrased as ‘a A full of something’, is illustrated by the two items *pipe-full* (A 5.5.141) and *handful* (T 2.3.17) and is assigned compound status, mainly due to their etymological origin in syntactic phrases (featuring the independent lexeme *full*) that have been combined into compounds, (cp. Sauer 1992:232) and the unweakened pronunciation of their second element. (cp. ‘handful’, ‘pipeful’; *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary*) The word *handful* (T 2.3.17) is existent since OE and thus forms one of the oldest constructions of this type (cp. Koziol 1972:192); *pipe-full* (A 5.5.141), however, in the sense of ‘the quantity of tobacco that fills a pipe’, is an EModE formation whose first use is dated 1602 by the OED. (cp. “pipeful, n.1.” *OED online*. 23 February 2015)

<sup>72</sup> Henceforth abbreviated *LPD*.

<sup>73</sup> Note, however, that the suffix *-ly* and the suffixoid *-like* do not stand in any etymological relation. (cp. ‘-like, suffix’. *OED online*. 23 February 2015).

*Othello* featuring formations such as *vnlawfull* (O 4.2.2497), or *vnskillfull* (O 1.3.314) paralleling highly frequent PDE words as *unhelpful*, which the OED incidentally lists as a Shakespearean coinage from *Henry VI Part 2* (cp. "unhelpful, adj. 1.", *OED online*. 23 February 2015), the suffix character of both morphemes is markedly underscored. Eventually, serialization is the last criterion to prompt this conclusion, and with *Othello* alone containing twelve different items with *-ful(l)* as second element, and an overall of seven different instances of *-like* in the corpus, including items such as *gentleman-like* (EM 1.3.130), *Prince-like* (S 1.395), *pupill-like* (RII 5.1.2186) and, on four different occasions, *Warrelike* (O 1.3.311, RII 3.3.1625, JM 1.1.134, T 1.1.72), the evidence clearly suggests that the respective constructions are more appropriately being counted as derivations than as compounds.

Besides the frequent development of formerly lexical words to derivational and bound morphemes, there is also evidence for the reverse process happening in language history, although with less frequency, and Bauer (1983), in this context, mentions the gradual development of the forms *ism* and *ology* towards becoming independent lexemes in PDE. (cp. 35) For the present study, however, the transition process of such forms towards independent (simplex) lexemes is not of as much interest as the comparable process of compound constructions which, due to lexicalization (cp. further ch. 4.5.1), gradually lose their analysability and develop towards either simplex lexemes from a synchronic, or opaque ('fused') compounds from a diachronic perspective (e.g., *lady*, *woman*), or, to compounds that feature bound elements which do not, or only very rarely, occur independently (e.g., *wensday* (A 1.3.51)) and have ceased to be productive. As these instances of diachronic transition are not so much an issue for the demarcation of compounding and derivation<sup>74</sup> as for the general synchronic distinction between compounds and simplex lexemes, however, the respective items from the corpus will be dealt with on an exemplary basis as special cases in the course of ch. 8.

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<sup>74</sup> Bauer (1983), with respect to his minimum condition for a compound to contain two roots, points at the difficulty of assigning root status to similar bound forms, such as *cran-* in *cranberry*, on the grounds of them not being able to take any derivational or inflectional suffixes. He, therefore, concludes that the respective formations "seem to be somewhere in between [compounds and derivatives]" (37). However, in the light of their diachronically undisputed status as compounds, as well as due to the fact that, as opposed to derivational morphemes, their bound elements are not productive, (cp. also Sauer 1992:340), the proximity to derivations appears clearly less significant than to synchronically simplex lexemes.

#### 4.3.4. Summary

The preceding section, with its focus on the delimitation of compounding and derivation, has attempted to illuminate the issues revolving around this first of two considerably blurred boundaries by discussing several of the previous approaches to the topic. Simultaneously, I have argued for an understanding of the concept of compounds that is both aware of the "intricate problems [and] numerous issues" (Plag 2003:132) it involves, which inevitably implicate the emergence of a gradient cline from prototypical to less prototypical members of this class, and that, despite or even precisely due to this insight, is of relatively inclusive nature.

It could be illustrated in this chapter that definitions for compounding which simply centre around them being made up of two or more words, are forced to stay superficial and fail to account for non-prototypical cases, such as synthetic compounds whose second element is no independently existing lexeme. Marchand's (1969) much more elaborated though "non-canonical view of compounds" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:4), which takes a more process-oriented stance and focuses on the relation between determinant and determinatum in what he terms a syntagma, leads to the total exclusion of exocentric and synthetic compounds from the category. The resulting massive curtailment of the class of compounds has been deemed undesirable, and I was able to demonstrate that alternative approaches which shift their focus on the headedness of exocentric structures from a grammatical perspective, as well as on the simultaneity of compounding and derivation processes taking place in the formation of synthetic and possibly also exocentric compounds, are equally convincing and yield more satisfying results. Laurie Bauer's (1983) product-oriented minimum condition for compounds to "contain at least two roots" (Bauer 1983:28) has further proved to provide an easily applicable criterion which, from a synchronic perspective, renders a straightforward inclusion of most of the non-prototypical cases possible. Nevertheless, the diachronic dimension, which, as motivated by the very nature of a natural language and its development, induces further gradation and, in turn, calls for decisions about the root status of certain elements, which can only be arrived at by testing the constituents' respective proximity to derivational morphemes.

There is, however, a second delimitation area that, as has already been indicated in the introductory section to this chapter, proves equally difficult, to say the least, and for which neither of the definitions of compounds discussed so far provides a suitable instrument. Instead, the demarcation of compounds and corresponding syntactic construction has been based on

various additional criteria of varying degrees of applicability, which will be the subject of the following chapter.

#### 4.4. Criteria for the Demarcation of Compounds and Syntactic Groups

It is indeed a disturbingly simple task to illustrate the problematic nature of the distinction between compounds and syntactic phrases by means of examples from the corpus: Items such as *good-wife* (EM 4.10.55), *mad-men* (A 1.1.5) and *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795) very aptly demonstrate that one cause of this problem is "the lack of inflectional morphemes in English that make surface forms of English compounds and free syntactic groups identical in terms of their morphological forms" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:5), and thereby renders noun phrases containing premodifying adjectives and corresponding compounds of the morphologic type adjective + noun indistinguishable on the basis of their morphological shape. This notion of formal identity, however, can be further extended to also include several compounds of the morphologic type noun + noun, which, especially when exhibiting certain semantic and prosodic features, have been argued to be, in fact, syntactic constructions, as the lack of inflectional morphemes allows their respective first elements to be classified as converted adjectives. (cp., e.g., Giegerich 201:184; Koziol 1972:48f; Marchand 1969:23) The list of problematic items can thus be supplemented with noun + noun constructions whose first elements denote the 'material' or the 'location/origin' of the second constituents, as illustrated by *yron armes* (RII 1.3.409), *silke stockings* (EM 4.9.49), *Pisa walls* (TS 2.1.1171), or *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86).

In addition to these parallels that are obviously "rooted in the analytical features of English" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:5), there are several other compound types which are not isolated by their mere morphological shape<sup>75</sup> and which, therefore, seem to linger between the realms of composition and syntax, their classification largely depending on the approach of the researcher. As morphological shape alone can evidently not provide a sufficient instrument to clearly distinguish certain compounds from syntactic phrases, a multitude of different additional criteria to account for these borderline cases have been proposed by researchers in

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<sup>75</sup> Examples for further morphologically non-isolated constructions include items of the types noun + -s + noun, verb + -ing + noun, and numeral + noun, such as *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *shooting starre* (RII 1.2.54), and *sixe-pence* (EM 1.4.89), all of which will be dealt with in the following chapter together with the respectively relevant criteria.

the field and, as for the different definitions dealt with in the previous chapter, the varying evaluation and application of the respective criteria leads to equally varying results and classifications.

In the course of the following chapter, the criteria that have been proposed in literature will be presented and discussed with respect to corresponding constructions from the corpus. They have been loosely grouped according to which area of language they operate with. As part of this endeavour, decisions about the compound status of problematic items from the corpus will be made, although acknowledging and accepting the given condition that

classification difficulties are not a symptom of the lack of available categories but the inevitable result of the fact that phenomena in living languages can rarely be compartmentalized into clearly definable and clearly distinguishable categories" (Schmid 2011:131).

In the light of this insight, it comes as no surprise that the criteria suggested frequently prove to be of limited value, as they fail to provide at the same time necessary and sufficient conditions for compoundhood and are, therefore, neither absolute nor unambiguously reliable.

#### 4.4.1. Orthography

The first criterion, which, as will be demonstrated, has to be dismissed rather promptly as impracticable and unsatisfactory, is the spelling of compounds. Already Jespersen (1942) remarks slightly resignedly that "[t]he difficulty attaching to compounds is in no way cleared up by PE orthography. Regarding this point prevailing usage is little short of chaotic" (136), and, indeed, the inadequacy of PDE orthography as a criterion for compoundhood has since been one of the rather few points in the area of compounding regarding which a relatively broad consensus has been achieved. (cp. Adams 1973:59; Bauer 1998b:69, 2008a:485; Durkin 2011:35f; Franz 1909:140; Lieber 2010:43; Lieber & Štekauer 2011:7; Marchand 1969:35f) What Jespersen (1942:136) bluntly terms 'chaos', is the obvious inconsistency and variation prevailing in the PDE practice of spelling English compounds: "Compounds may be written as one word, as two hyphenated words, or as two separate words" (Adams 1973:59) without any strict rules constraining this variability. Consequently, discrepancies between different spellings of compounds such as *girl-friend* have been noted by linguists as, for example, Bauer (1998), who observes that the spelling of the respective word differs considerably if compared in several well-renowned dictionaries. Moreover, other words such as *college degree*, whose compound status is largely agreed upon, are frequently listed as two separate words, (cp.

Bauer1998:69f) which eventually illustrates that reliable conclusions about the compound status of a construction cannot possibly be deduced from the respective spelling conventions. Operating with another example but arguing in a similar vein as Bauer (1998), Durkin (2011) also points out correctly that establishing a causal connection between the spelling of a construction and its respective morphological status is illogical:

We would have to resort to some very odd reasoning to argue that lunchbox is one word but lunch box is two: both have the same meaning and behave the same way syntactically, as does lunch-box, and in the spoken language the pronunciation is the same for all three. This leads to the fairly obvious conclusion that we are looking at three different spellings of precisely the same linguistic unit. (35f)

On a more theoretical level, it is the principled independence of language system<sup>76</sup> and orthographical system that is illustrated by Durkin's (2011) example, which does not allow any inferences to be made for the former (primary) system on the basis of the latter. In fact, "the language system [does not] change when a different writing system is adopted" (Hacken 1994:4) and, hence, changes on the orthographic level of a language following a spelling reform, for example, cannot reasonably be argued to change the general morphological status of a construction. This assumption, besides the practical fact that no consistency regarding the relevant category can be detected, renders the functionalization of spelling as a criterion for compoundhood not only "totally impracticable" (Bauer 2008a:485), but also theoretically impossible.

Whereas the latter observation is, of course, independent of diachronic changes in any of the two systems mentioned and thus universally valid for any period of a language, it still has to be added that in terms of orthographic inconsistencies, EModE texts are to be expected to exhibit an even higher degree of irregularity, since "there was no generally accepted [orthographic] system to which everyone could conform" (Baugh & Cable 2013:206; cp. also Crystal 2009:58) in this period. In fact, Görlach (1994) locates the basic fixation of spelling in its modern shape to have been concluded around 1660 (cp. 9) and, although Nevalainen (2006:32) assumes the same process to have been completed a decade earlier, it is evident that none of the three writers lived to see the fixed orthographic system of English ultimately

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<sup>76</sup> The language system is here, together with Hacken (1994), understood as the complex interaction of grammar and lexicon that constitutes a language, which is then *represented* in writing by a orthographical system based on convention. It is, hence, viewed as primary to the writing system, whose rules and conventions certainly attempt to reflect its fundamental conditions as adequately as possible, but which is neither a necessary prerequisite nor an unalterable or integral part of the language system.

installed.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, what has special relevance for Shakespeare's texts, as there are no surviving manuscripts of his writings, can be assumed to be of similar validity for his contemporary playwrights:

[A]n uncertain number of people stand between Shakespeare's original manuscript and the printed versions that have come down to us. When we encounter an unusual spelling, we need to establish whether the idiosyncrasy was due to the author, or to someone who copied the author's manuscript, or to the compositor who turned it into print. (Crystal 2009:39)

Indeed, accounts of the early printing practice (cp., e.g., Crystal 2009:27ff) show that what Bauer (1998) observes with regard to PDE spellings of compounds, that "depend[] so clearly on 'the taste and fancy of the speller' (as Samuel Weller would put it) or on house-style (as a publisher might put it)" (Bauer 1998b:69), is even more appropriate when it comes to EModE printed texts. In addition to not yet adhering to any fixed orthographic system, these are further subject to interferences by printers and compositors, who, besides frequently being of foreign background, quite freely aligned the spelling to their respective typographic needs, and "took advantage of the variability of English spelling to 'justify' a line, with as little scruple about optional letters as about extra spaces" (Baugh & Cable 2013:207; cp. further Crystal 2009:33; Franz 1939:43ff).

After all, it is, therefore, only to be expected that varying spellings of potential as well as certain compounds are frequent in the corpus, and indeed, opposing pairs for possible compounds such as *mad man* (T 5.1.2311) vs. *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), and also for certain compounds, which are clearly isolated by their morphological shape, such as *new-made* (S 5.661) vs. *new made* (RII 5.2.2302)<sup>78</sup> occur on several occasions in the scholarly editions taken as a basis for the study.<sup>79</sup> For the general point made in this chapter, as well as for the epistemological interest of the present study, it is of little relevance here whether every single one of the mentioned divergent spellings is, in fact, the result of a decision made by either the author himself, an early printer or compositor, or a modern editor. Actually, it could be shown, that neither form of distinction on the level of the writing system can create a conclusive basis

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<sup>77</sup> The respective early prints which the scholarly editions mainly used in the present investigation date 1633 the latest. Hence, the scholarly editions, which all are only minimally intrusive in their modernizations, reflect a considerable inconsistency of spelling, as well.

<sup>78</sup> In adjective phrases, such as *newly made*, the head is premodified by an adverb, not an adjective. Hence constructions such as *new made* can be counted as morphologically isolated from such phrases.

<sup>79</sup> Further examples include items such as *eye lids* (EII 5.39) vs. *eye-lids* (JM 2.1.59) and *footmen* (T 3.1.64) vs. *Foot-men* (A 4.4.46). On the other hand, hyphenated constructions such as *strangely-cruell* (S 5.851), are probably better classified as syntactic groups of an adverb modifying an adjective.



for a general distinction between compounds and syntactic groups on the level of the language system, and further that the respective inconsistencies prevail until PDE times in any case.

Therefore, the only conclusion that can be drawn in the light of the presented facts is that, when it comes to distinguishing compounds from syntactic phrases, orthography cannot be taken as a reliable criterion, because evidently "spelling is no help in solving the problem" (Marchand 1969:21). Hence, the only value attributable to spelling is that of a minor additional factor that, in some cases, may be perceived as further substantiating a classificatory decision that has otherwise been based on other criteria.

#### 4.4.2. Stress Pattern

A second possible criterion, which has received much more scholarly attention than orthography and regarding which the discussion is nowhere near reaching a comparable consensus, is stress pattern. From the general observation that the semantic difference between recognized compounds such as *`blackbird*, *`dancing girl* and corresponding noun phrases such as *black `bird*, *dancing `girl* is frequently accompanied by distinct intonation patterns, a rule has been deduced which generally ascribes fore-stress to compounds and end- or level- stress to syntactic constructions. Consequently, attempts have been made to functionalize this special prosodic characteristic of many compound constructions as a criterion for the distinction between compounds which are not isolated from syntactic constructions by their mere morphologic type and the respective parallel syntactic groups. However, especially when applied to the large group of noun + noun constructions, the stress criterion in many cases yields rather unsatisfying results, as a frequently cited observation by Lees (1968) illustrates, who notes that the strict application of the criterion would lead to the classification of obviously semantically congruent groups of constructions ending in *-street* and others ending in *-avenue* into two distinct grammatical categories. (cp. Lees 1968:120) It is mainly due to these and further comparable inconsistencies, therefore, that the assessments of the validity of fore-stress as a condition for compoundhood, differ considerably, and can be loosely placed along a cline starting from approaches that still take the stress criterion as the most significant and (in some cases) absolute criterion for the distinction of the respective constructions (cp., e.g., Bloomfield 1933; Booij 2007; Giegerich 2004; Kastovsky 1982; Lees 1968; Marchand 1969). Other scholars, in acknowledgement of obvious deviations from the basic rule, aim to refine the

criterion and systematize apparent exceptions along semantic/syntactic parameters (cp., e.g., Giegerich 2004; Plag 2003, 2005). At the opposite end of the scale, a substantial number of linguists are sceptical about or even clearly deny a direct correspondence between the respective stress patterns and distinctive grammatical categories and argue for their refusal on various grounds and with varying detailedness and vehemence (cp., e.g., Bauer 1983, 1998b; Durkin 2011; Jespersen 1942; Lieber & Štekauer 2011; Olsen 2000; Pennanen 1980; Sauer 1992).

Followers of Leonard Bloomfield's (1933) assertion that, "[i]n languages which use a single high stress on each word, this feature distinguishes compound words from phrases" (228), tend to ascribe absolute value to the stress criterion as a means of delimitating compounds from phrases in their studies. While Lees (1968) takes a merely practical stance on the topic and uses stress pattern as a relevant criterion in order to reduce the number of items to be analysed, he clearly expresses his reluctance towards this approach. (cp. 119f) Shortly after, however, Marchand (1969), although stating that "the criterion of stress, we shall see[,][...] holds for certain types only"(21), takes a more decided position and uses the stress pattern as the only criterion to exclude several disputable cases from compound status. Hence, he classifies the constructions *black`market*, *iron`curtain*, *king`emperor* and *college`president* as nominal phrases exclusively on the basis of their (supposed) syntactic stress patterns.<sup>80</sup> Further criteria, such as the frequently suggested inability of compound-members to be modified separately by adverbs such as *very*, or the general inseparability of compounds (cp. ch. 4.4.5) are mentioned in passing in his discussion of potential criteria, but are invariably regarded as clearly subordinate to the stress criterion, as they are subject to invalidation solely on the basis of the parallel syntactic behaviour of *black`market*. Eventually, Marchand (1969) postulates that

[f]or a combination to be a compound only one criterion has to be fulfilled: The compound must be morphologically isolated from a parallel syntactic group. However much the Holy Roman Catholic Church or the French Revolution may be semantic or psychological units, they are not morphologically isolated: they are stressed like syntactic groups, (22)

and, thereby, elevates stress pattern to the position of a necessary condition for compoundhood for all those constructions which, in terms of their morphological make-up, are paralleled by syntactic phrases. This leads to a further massive curtailment of the group of constructions, which Marchand (1969) accepts as compounds and this stringent application of the stress

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<sup>80</sup> Note, however, that Marchand (1969) acknowledges the compound status of other constructions with level stress, e.g., *`grass-`green*, which are isolated by their morphological shape, as there are no syntactic constructions paralleling them.

criterion has, therefore, frequently been deemed as "carrying the point too far" (Pennanen 1980:257).

More recently, Giegerich (2004) and Plag (2003, 2005), in their studies on the stress patterns of noun + noun constructions, also proceed from the general premise that the generation of these constructions can take place either on syntactical or on morphological grounds, i.e. in the lexicon, and that stress patterns reflect the respective provenance of a construction in a systematic way. Aiming to prove that stress "correlates rather well with the other structural and behavioural characteristics associated with the syntax and the lexicon respectively" (Giegerich 2004:2), Giegerich (2004) complements this generally intonation-based distinction with an argumentation based on certain distinctive semantic-syntactic characteristics of each of two groups of noun + noun constructions: According to Giegerich (2004), the morphological (compound-) type is, therefore, characterized by fore-stress as a sufficient condition due to the fact that "[f]ore-stress is only available in the lexicon" (11), and further by the syntactic structure of complement – head (e.g., *`watchmaker*, *`milk bottle*), which is not available in syntax either (cp. 9). Attribute – head constructions of the type *steel `bridge* (or *silke `stockings* (EM 4.9.49), *yron `armes* (RII 1.3.409)), which are end-stressed, however, constitute the opposite group and are categorised as belonging to syntax. Forced to provide an explanation for contradicting examples such as *or `orange juice* and *`orange `squash* which feature fore-stress and variable stress respectively in combination with an attribute – head structure, Giegerich (2004) suggests a gradual lexicalization process, which often (but not always) results in an eventual change of stress pattern, simultaneously allowing certain ('lexicalizing') attribute – head constructions featuring fore-, end- or level stress to appear in the lexicon and thus be classified as compounds.<sup>81</sup> However, the inherent practical difficulty of this assumption for the present purpose, is not only illustrated by Giegerich's (2004) own observation that there are items which still resist unequivocal assignment on the basis of his model (cp. 19; *Tory `leader*: complement – head structure but end-stress), but by the simple fact that, as soon as both stress patterns are generally deemed possible within the compound category at a given point in time, the criterion as such is not absolutely applicable to a corpus any longer.

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<sup>81</sup> Plag (2005), in turn, argues that it is rather analogy to existing constructions that prompts end-stress in certain compounds instead of syntactic-semantic factors or lexicalization and, thereby, provides a plausible explanation for the different stress patterns in groups of semantically congruent compounds such as *Madison `Avenue* and *`Madison Street*. The result remains largely the same, in that a consistent application of the stress criterion to the items from the corpus is rendered highly problematic, if not impossible, due to the fact that both stress patterns are accepted as occurring within the category.

Similar observations have, in turn, lead a number of scholars to reverse the argumentation and decouple stress pattern from compoundhood altogether, dismissing it as a possible criterion and arguing, equally logically, that "[t]he two types could just as easily be seen as prosodically distinguished sub-types of a single construction" (Bauer 1998:71). It is, therefore, exactly the apparent systematicity with which several groups of constructions deviate from compound stress, that Olsen (2000) takes as the basis for her contrary assertion that stress in compounds is generally and exclusively determined by semantic factors<sup>82</sup> and hence does not justify any separation into different grammatical categories.<sup>83</sup> Taking the diachronic development of stress pattern in compounds into account, further support for this thesis can be provided: Both Giegerich (2004) and Plag's (2003, 2005) models fail to acknowledge the general tendency of English compounds towards level stress, which has been noted by several scholars (cp. Jespersen 1909:135f; Olsen 2000:67; Pennanen 1980:252) and which is illustrated by compounds such as *`stone `wall* that exhibited fore-stress in OE, but synchronically (mostly) carry end or level stress. (cp. Sauer 1992:73) The strict separation of compounds and syntactic phrases on the grounds of their stress pattern would mean to classify OE *`stanweall* and PDE *`stone `wall* into different grammatical categories and would have to assume rather complex processes of reanalysis and analogy as underlying this change, all of which are unnecessary if a once unitary compound stress pattern is viewed as being in a state of flux<sup>84</sup> and "organizing itself in a systematic fashion into characteristic meaning groups" (Olsen 2000:67).

Further evidence against the absolute value of stress as a criterion is more practical in nature and revolves around the general variability of stress patterns,<sup>85</sup> which have proved to be far from stable for a given item. In fact, they have been argued to differ both speaker-dependently, (cp., e.g., Bauer 1998b:70; Jespersen 1942:135f) and depending on the regional variety that is spoken (cp., e.g., Durkin 2011:69), as well as on the usage of the respective item in the sentence. (cp. Bauer 1983:488) In line with these observations, Pennanen's (1980) results obtained in his survey of individual stress assignments for compounds featuring a sample of 84 items, reveal that the "degree of uniformity in the treatment of individual items" (156) is

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<sup>82</sup> Cp. also Plag et al. (2008), who identify both semantics and lexicalization as major factors influencing compound stress assignment.

<sup>83</sup> Cp. further Olsen (2000) for a detailed account of the semantic patterns that trigger either fore- or endstress and a complex compound model that integrates noun + noun constructions with fore- and endstress as well as noun + -s + noun constructions.

<sup>84</sup> Cp. Further Pennanen (1980:252ff) for a similar view that takes the synchronic view on an "essentially diachronic process" (257) of shifting compound stress as responsible for many of the observed inconsistencies.

<sup>85</sup> The general variability is already reflected in the different ways dictionaries note the stress pattern, cp., for example, the LPD which lists both possible intonation patterns for *stone wall*. (s.v. 'stonewall'. LPD; cp. further Bauer 1998:70)

remarkably low and that there is, in fact, "almost no rule-controlled uniformity in the disposition of stress" (257).

Besides the objections sketched so far, which, although having been largely obtained by synchronic analyses and investigations which, for the most part, considered the status quo in PDE as their sole object of study, are equally relevant for a diachronic study as the one undertaken in this book, there are further special obstacles to an application of the stress criterion to items from a historical corpus. Regarded diachronically, the dynamic dimension of word-formation becomes clearer and it is especially the notion of ever ongoing change that renders the endeavour to pin down the exact status of a certain phenomenon at a given point in time a delicate one: as compounds such as *mad-men* (A 1.1.5) or *nobleman* (A 4.5.82) have most certainly been formed on the basis of the corresponding syntactic groups that coalesced gradually over time (i.e. 'univerbation'; Ger. 'Zusammenrückung') (cp. Adams 1973:59f; Sauer 1992:72), a process which entailed a shift of stress from 'syntactic' level stress towards (predominant) fore-stress in PDE (cp. 'madman'; 'nobleman'. *LPD*), it is virtually impossible to make profound assertions about the status quo in EModE.<sup>86</sup> Resorting to the metrical features of the plays, however, is of only limited value in this respect. Whereas all of the nine plays contain blank verse to a certain measure, *Othello*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Every Man in his Humour* are increasingly interspersed with prose passages, which largely excludes them for any purposeful comprehensive analysis of compound stress patterns, as intonation patterns can usually not be determined in prose texts. (cp. also Sauer 1985:271)<sup>87</sup> The remaining six plays, which are written entirely in blank verse, have the advantage of being metrically bound and thus displaying more regularity. However, regarding the stress pattern of compounds, blank verse passages are only partly significant as well. On the one hand, it is a characteristic feature of blank verse to be subjectable to metrical modification and loosening of the strict iambic regularity to the degree of sheer identity with prose rhythm (cp. Smith 1970:102f; Hobsbaum 2007:10f) which, in turn, assimilates it to the more natural rhythm of everyday language and ultimately renders the stress assignment in many cases as indeterminable as in prose passages. On the other hand, if one assumes consistent adherence to the regular iambic pentameter pattern, the metre must be expected to repeatedly superimpose its stress pattern on the respective

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<sup>86</sup> The same applies, of course, to the aforementioned problem of the general diachronic tendency of compounds to develop level stress.

<sup>87</sup> Exceptions are compounds which have undergone changes in their morphological shape due to extreme weakening of their second element. (cp. Sauer 1992:70) However, these cases are isolated from syntactic groups by their morphological shape anyway (cp. ch. 4.4.3.5).

constructions and suppress the natural intonation pattern. (cp. Franz 1939:645ff for Shakespeare's plays; Sauer 1992:71ff with respect to ME texts)

Indeed, an analysis of (potential and certain) noun + noun compounds in Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine Pt.1*, reveals that the iambic metre leads to trisyllabic compounds at the end of a line exclusively carrying two stresses corresponding to the iambic pentameter pattern. With a clear majority of the compounds of this morphologic type being trisyllabic and as all items, with the exception of the three tokens *`Axel`tree* (T 4.2.50), *`marriage `bed* (T 5.1.83) and *`marriage `time* (T 5.1.505), which feature double stress in the plays, occur at the end of a line, the number of constructions displaying double stress clearly outweighs: Of 25 potential noun + noun compounds, 18 trisyllabic compounds feature two stresses corresponding to the metre, whereas only seven items, all of them bisyllabic, display single fore-stress: *`byrth-day* (T 1.1.13), *`horsmen* (T 1.2.111), *`footmen* (T 3.1.64), *`Sea-man* (T 3.2.76), *`bonfires* (T 3.3.238), *`foot-stoole* (T 4.2.1), *`Handmaids* (T4.2.69). Among the trisyllabic compounds, the second elements of recognized and indisputable compounds such as *´countrimen* (T 5.1.60) and *`Ferriman* (T 5.1.246) receive an additional stress on their second constituents due to the regularities of the iambic pentametre as well. It is only expectable, in the light of these insights, that constructions of the highly controversial type featuring a material-denoting first element, *`Ivorie `sled* (T 1.2.98), *`yron `chaines* (T 1.2.174) and *`Yvory `pen* (T 5.1.145), also display a double stress pattern and thus show the same behaviour as the uncontroversial items, due to the fact that all of them are trisyllabic and occur at the end of a line. The exemplary analysis, therefore, has indicated rather indisputably that it is the metre which exerts the strongest influence on intonation patterns in Marlowe's tragedy. This observation further minimizes the practicability of stress patterns as a criterion for compoundhood in the present study, which will, for the various reasons pointed out in this chapter, refrain from taking the assumed stress patterns of certain items into further consideration. An exclusion of compounds such as *`yron `armes* (RII 1.3.409) or *`silke `stockings* (EM 4.9.49) or other noun + noun compound constructions presumably level stressed from the corpus, on the basis of their assumed stress patterns, has, consequently, to be regarded as not sufficiently justified.

### 4.4.3. Morphological Shape

#### 4.4.3.1. Isolation by Type

As has already been indicated in the introductory section concerning the problems revolving around a clear-cut distinction between compounds and syntactic groups, the degree of difficulty inherent in this distinction varies considerably depending on the morphological make-up of the respective constructions. Hence, a substantial number of morphologic types obviates any discussion of their morphological nature, as they are differentiated from syntactic groups by the order and word class of their elements.<sup>88</sup> Among these are noun compounds of the types pronoun + noun (e.g., *selfe-loue* (EM 3.1.105)), verb + noun (e.g., *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9)), as well as most items in the class particle + noun (e.g., *after fleete* (O 1.3.322)), and synthetic compounds (e.g., *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19)); further, the majority of adjective compounds, except for certain items of the type adjective /adverb + adjective and adjective/adverb + verb + *ing*. With the exception of *vouchsafe* (S 1.495), displaying a verb + adjective structure, all of the few verbal compounds from the corpus can be viewed as isolated from syntactic groups.<sup>89</sup>

With regard to the largest group of English compounds, noun + noun, scholars have been divided and suggestions have been made that involved the categorization of certain noun + noun constructions as syntactic groups (cp. ch. 4.4.2), which, of course, entailed either the presupposition that nouns can modify nouns in a syntactic construction in English (which renders the morphologic type non-isolated), or the assumption of a different morphological shape of the first elements caused by conversion. As I have demonstrated in the course of the discussion of the criterial value of stress patterns (cp. ch. 4.4.2), noun + noun constructions with first elements denoting a material, such as *yron armes* (RII 1.3.409) and *silke stockings* (EM 4.9.49), have proved especially problematic in this respect. Regarding such constructions, Giegerich (2009) suggests that items like *steel bridge* are to be categorised as noun phrases with converted adjectives as first element, as "in some such cases, apparent nouns in the attribute position may in fact be adjectives" (Giegerich 2011:184). The same has been proposed by

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<sup>88</sup> As the status of their morphological isolation will be addressed once again in the description of the morphologic types in the course of ch. 7, the overview given at this point does not raise any claim of completeness, but is restricted to the most common types.

<sup>89</sup> Exocentric compounds can be viewed as morphologically isolated if assumed to carry a zero-morpheme (cp., e.g., Hacken 1994; Kastovsky 1982; Marchand 1969; Sauer 1992). In the present study, however, the semantic aspect of metonymic usage for exocentric formations is perceived as the main distinguishing characteristic of these compounds (cp. also Booij 2007; further chs. 4.3.1; 7.1.2.1). Hence, 'Bahuvrihi'-compounds are not viewed as belonging to a special *morphological* category but to a particular *semantic* one. The same applies to 'imperative' compounds (e.g., *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26)), which are viewed as being distinguished from morphologically congruent types (e.g., verb + noun: *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9)) on semantic grounds exclusively.

Giegerich (2009) for constructions such as *London college*, featuring a place name as first elements and corresponding to items such as *Pisa walls* (TS 2.1.1171), or *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86) in the corpus. Other scholars argue in a similar vein and, instead of assuming a conversion process, speak of nouns being used attributively and modifying another noun in a syntactic noun + noun construction. (cp. Kastovsky 1982:178; Koziol 1972:48f, Marchand 1969:23) The general exclusion of these constructions from compound status, independent of which exact word class is presupposed for the first constituent, however, has been justified by Marchand (1969), Kastovsky (1982) and Giegerich (2004, 2009) exclusively on the basis of their intonation pattern, which, in turn, I have shown to be both indeterminable and inapplicable as an absolute criterion. (cp. ch. 4.4.2) Having thus ruled out stress patterns as criterial for the present study, and thereby invalidated it as the most basic distinguishing factor between material and place name compounds and other types of noun + noun compounds, there is no convincing reason to presuppose that the respective constructions are anything other than certain types of noun + noun compounds in the first place. (cp. Bauer 1983:109 for a similar view)<sup>90</sup> Therefore, it appears most consistent to include material and place name compounds in the category of compounds, and, since the assumption of a parallel form of syntactic noun + noun groups is rendered obsolete by this approach, consequently to conclude that all noun + noun compounds are isolated by their morphological make-up.

Unfortunately for the present cause, however, there are several similarly frequent compound types which are paralleled by syntactic groups and can therefore not be counted as isolated on the basis of their morphologic type.<sup>91</sup> These include items of the types adjective/adverb + noun (e.g., *noblemen* (EM 1.5.124)), for the demarcation of which internal inflection, syntactic and semantic criteria have to be combined; further, the type verb + *ing* + noun (e.g., *Fasting dayes* (EM 3.4.1) which can, however, be demarcated from the respective syntactic construction by a distinction of the first constituents into gerunds for compounds and present participles for syntactic groups (cp. *\*the days are fasting* vs. *the days are for fasting, we are fasting on these days*). Additionally, neither noun compounds of the type noun + *s* + noun (e.g., *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102)) which are paralleled by genitive phrases, nor the

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<sup>90</sup>This is especially the case, since the adjective character of some of the respective constituents is certainly questionable, given that the grammaticality of sentences as *this bridge is steel* seems at least highly disputable, and even more so, as no corresponding sentence can be found for place name compounds (*\*this college is London, these walls are Pisa*). Moreover, for some material nouns parallel morphologically marked adjectives do in fact exist (e.g. *silken*).

<sup>91</sup> Cp. in this respect Bloomfield (1933) distinction between *asyntactic* and *syntactic* compounds. The former group equates compounds that are isolated by their morphological make-up, whereas the latter are paralleled by syntactic groups and, hence, non-isolated per se. (cp.233f)



type numeral + noun (e.g., *twelve-month* (A 4.4.34), *six-pence* (EM 1.4.89)) are isolated by their type.

Within the class of adjective compounds, additional criteria have to be adduced for the delimitation of the types adjective/adverb + adjective (e.g., *red hote* (EII 22.30)), adjective/adverb + verb + *ing* (e.g., *euer-burning* (O 3.3.1913)) and adjective/adverb + verb + *-ed* (e.g., *new made* (RII 5.2.2302)) from parallel syntactic groups featuring adverbs in modifying positions. In these cases, a clear distinction between adjectives and adverbs in the position of first constituent is difficult for EModE, since formal marking of adverbial derivatives from adjectives by *-ly* is not yet obligatory. (cp. Görlach 1994:67)

#### 4.4.3.2. Fixed Order of Elements

Closely related, and in many cases synonymous with a general isolation of a construction by its morphologic type, is the proposition that the order of the constituents in a compound is generally fixed. Indeed, well-known examples such as *birdcage* vs. *cage bird* prove that rearranging the elements of a compound cannot take place without simultaneously either radically changing its meaning or rendering it entirely nonsensical: e.g., *silke stockings* (EM 4.9.49) vs. *\*stockings silk*, *sea banke* (O 4.1.2258) vs. *\*bank sea* etc. The criterial value of this observation, although invoked by Adams (1973) as one of the "identifying characteristics of single words" (30) shared by compounds, however, has to be viewed as limited, since, as Bloomfield (1933) rightly states, "[t]his criterion is likely to break down, [...] because the order in a phrase, too, may be fixed" (229). Especially lexicalized idioms such as *bread and butter* ('slices of bread spread with butter'), seem to aptly demonstrate this fact, as their specific meaning depends on the set order of their elements and, therefore, contrasts with non-idiomatic uses of the constituents as in *she bought bread and butter*, *she bought butter and bread*. Against Bloomfield's (1933) conclusion, who reverses this argumentation and categorises *bread and butter* as a compound, (cp.229) its morphological make-up, which is perfectly congruent with a coordinated noun phrase and the clear lack of any compound-like internal structure (cp. Marchand 1969:123; further ch. 4.4.4), prompts a categorization of the phrase as an idiom. The fixed order of elements, may, therefore, be counted as a necessary condition for compoundhood, but certainly neither as a sufficient one, nor as an absolute criterion.

#### 4.4.3.3. Linking elements

A further indicative feature, which has been noted as cross-linguistically valid for a certain group of compounds for which it may serve as a distinguishing mark on the level of morphological shape, are linking elements. These formal markers are, although mostly derived from historical inflectional endings (cp. Booij 2007:89), "semantically empty" (Bauer 2011:346) from a synchronic perspective and can best be exemplified by German compounds such as *Liebe-s-lied*, *Hochzeit-s-marsch*, or *Geburt-s-urkunde*. No corresponding inflectional ending –s being available for any of the determinants, the s-elements can clearly be identified as being free of any semantic content or inflectional function in these cases. (cp. also Sauer 1992:81)

The situation in English, by contrast, proves notably more complex due to the circumstance of –s endings in items such as *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *winters tales* (JM 2.1.25), or *kinsmen* (S 1.113) offering, in fact, even two possible inflectional interpretations: While the common assumption is to view them as (former) markers of possessive case, Bauer (2008) remarks that "in some cases [they] could also be interpreted as plurals" (492). This identity with inflectional markers, moves the respective constructions towards syntactic groups and has, expectably, lead to dividedness in research concerning their classification.<sup>92</sup> As the morphological status of the s-elements is thereby rendered largely indeterminable and, hence, cannot contribute to a principled distinction of compounds and syntactic phrases, we are left with only very few examples of linking elements that are undisputed and can thus serve as criterial: in the corpus, only the –n in *Nightingales* (TS I2.171), which has been inserted into OE *nihtegale* for phonological reasons in the course of the ME period, can with certainty be identified as a linking element. (cp. "nightingale, n." *OED online*. 05 March 2015; further Sauer 1992:82f)

#### 4.4.3.4. Internal Inflection

With respect to potential linking elements, the problematic case of noun + -s + noun constructions has already been touched upon briefly in the previous chapter, and since the

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<sup>92</sup> Cp. ch. 4.4.3.4 for a further discussion of these formations.

absence of internal inflection has been proposed as a possible criterion for compoundhood in English (cp. Bauer 2011:346; Lieber & Štekauer 2011:13),<sup>93</sup> difficulties inherent in determining the exact nature of the ambiguous *s*-element in these constructions, have further implications when it comes to deciding about their compound status. If it is accepted as criterial that "the first elements in compounds, for example, *hop-picking* (= 'the picking of hops'), *tear gas* (= 'gas which causes tears'), *tooth decay* (= 'decay of teeth') are grammatically neutral" (Adams 1973:58f), then items such as *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *winters tales* (JM 2.1.25), or *kinsmen* (S 1.113) have to be excluded from the category of compounds, as soon as their *s*-elements are categorized as inflectional markers. This approach has been taken by Bauer (1986:240f) who generally classifies PDE constructions of the type *summer's day* as syntactic (genitive) phrases. With regard to the selection of the items from the corpus chosen to illustrate the problem under discussion, however, this categorical exclusion appears somewhat artificial, since, synchronically, the compound character of *kinsmen* (S 1.113) is largely undisputed.<sup>94</sup> While, diachronically, *kinsmen* (S 1.113) indeed has developed from the corresponding genitive phrase in Early Middle English (cp. "kinsman, n" *OED online*. 05 March 2015; further Sauer 1992:152), its syntactic character together with its genitive interpretation has arguably faded to a considerable degree.<sup>95</sup> In order to find a more differentiated solution that also acknowledges obvious differences between certain constructions of the morphologic type with regard to the reference of determiners, their syntactic behaviour, intonation patterns and semantic content, several scholars have based their classifications on the distinction between a *specifying genitive* with the "noun in the genitive referring to a particular person or thing" (Zandvoort 1967:107) and the *classifying genitive* with the noun in the genitive "denot[ing] the class or kind to which the person or thing denoted by the headword belongs" (Zandvoort 1967:107), as first established by Zandvoort (1967). (cp. Adams 2001:80; Hacken 1994:138; Sauer 1992:152f) Thus, constructions such as *kinsmen* (S 1.113), but also *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102) in its generic sense denoting the mythical substance (cp. "philosophers stone n. 1." *OED online*. 13 February 2015), and *winters tales* (JM 2.1.25) can, in accordance with the additional criteria mentioned above, be assigned compound status.

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<sup>93</sup> For a similar argumentation that takes the absence of internal inflection as a criterion for compound status with regard to French compounds, cp. Zwanenburg (1990) and Di Sciullo & Williams (1987).

<sup>94</sup> In fact, most of the criteria that have been suggested, clearly point to the compound status of *kinsmen*, e.g., spelling, stress pattern as noted in the LPD, syntactic behaviour, semantic unity.

<sup>95</sup> Sauer (1985) remarks that OE *cynnesman* occurs both as a compound and as a nominal group already in OE.

However, the admittance of generic genitive constructions into the category of compounds as such inevitably entails the relativization of the criterion under discussion and, hence, Marchand (1969), although equally discriminating two groups of constructions on the basis of their syntactic behaviour, prefers to claim that the respective compounds "are not genitives at all, they are compounds with /s,z/ for a linking element, and belong in the chapter 'word-formation' (27).<sup>96</sup> Also with regard to plural inflection, however, the conjecture that first constituents in compounds are mandatorily uninflected has proved untenable for several scholars, as "English appears to allow some plural in modifying position" (Bauer 2011:347), as exemplified in items such as *drugs courier* (cp. Bauer 1998b:72), or *women friends*. (cp. Lees 1968:127).<sup>97</sup> Further evidence for the unsuitability of the criterion, especially when it comes to nouns or participles as first constituents, are constructions such as *Fasting dayes* (EM 3.4.1), whose first elements show signs of inflection,<sup>98</sup> and which we nevertheless "should like to call compounds" (Adams 1973:59).

With regard to adjective inflection, the criterion proves more reliable, since compounds such as the classical *blackbird* or Shakespeare's *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795) certainly do not allow any comparison of their first elements without rendering them syntactic groups: *a blacker bird*, *a wilder cat*. Moreover, when Haspelmath (1996) argues that, due to the formation process being productive, regular and conforming to general rules, a categorization of *-ly* marking of adjectival adverbs as an inflectional phenomenon rather than a derivational one is possible, (cp. 50) the first elements of adjective/adverb + adjective compounds can be expected to show no formal *-ly* marking and the criterion can then be functionalized to rule out formations such as *strangely-cruell* (S 5.851)<sup>99</sup> for compound status. (cp. also Bauer & Renouf 2001:114)<sup>100</sup> However, any absolute value of the criterion is doubtful even for these morphologic types in

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<sup>96</sup> Marchand's (1969) claim is of strictly terminological matter with regard to the determination of compound status for the respective constructions, as in the end both possible analyses result in largely the same categorizations.

<sup>97</sup> Note that, as indicated in ch. 4.4.3.3, the exact provenance of the *-s* element (if not classified as a pure linking element) and its categorization as either plural or genitive marker in constructions as, e.g., *Sessions day* (JM 2.3.106) is not clearly determinable either.

<sup>98</sup> Note that the labels 'inflectional' and 'derivational' are used quite differently among scholars. For the present study an understanding of the categories as forming a continuum is taken as the basis for their use and the category of 'inflection' in general is understood in accordance with Haspelmath's (1996) definition: "Formations are inflectional to the extent that they are regular, general and productive" (46). Both the regular formation of participles from verbs as well as adverbs from adjectives can, hence, potentially be included in the category of inflection.

<sup>99</sup> Interestingly, the use of a hyphen here suggests a compound, while the morphological shape (adverb modifying an adjective) suggests a syntactic group. In the light of the explanations made in ch. 4.4.1, however, I have assessed the morphological shape of the construction as decisive.

<sup>100</sup> The fact that inflection as such usually does not result in changes of word class, however, certainly contradicts this argumentation and the ambiguous status of *-ly*-formations, hence, arguably underscores a conceptualisation of derivation and inflection as forming a continuum.

view of exceptions such as *high-priced* and *higher-priced*, which are mentioned as contradicting the general rule by Adams (1973:91).

#### 4.4.3.5. Opaque Elements

Further evidence for compoundhood on the level of morphological shape lies in certain compounds' special feature of having undergone modifications on the phonological and/or orthographic level, which differentiates the respective compound constituents from their syntactic counterparts. This diachronic gradual development has frequently been termed 'lexicalization' with regard to the phonological (and orthographic) level and in the majority of cases it is accompanied by, or a consequence of, a semantic specification of the compound. (cp. further ch. 4.5.1) In extreme cases, the modifications can result in total conflation of the elements and thus make the former compound's structure unrecognizable as such from a synchronic perspective, as is aptly exemplified by the classical examples of *lord* (OE *hláfweard*, 'ward of the loaf'; cp. "lord, n." *OED online*. 09 March 2015) and *lady* (OE *hlæfdige*, 'kneader or the loaf'; cp. "lady, n." *OED online*. 09 March 2015), which due to their extreme opacity have to be classified as simple lexemes from a synchronic standpoint. (cp. also Sauer 1992:85f) Transition in this respect is expectably gradual, however, and hence, items such as *Tuesday* (O 3.3.1511), *Wednesday* (O 3.3.1512) or *fortnight* (A 1.1.188) arguably "lie[] at the border between compound and simple word" (Bloomfield 1933:229), but still exhibit remnant proof for their compound structure, perceptible in one of the constituents being recognisable as a lexeme. Due to the morphological changes affecting their morphological shape, however, the items are clearly differentiable from potentially parallel syntactic groups.<sup>101</sup> As long as the development has not yet found reflection in spelling, minor phonological changes are hardly verifiable in a diachronic study, however, and thus, it is not definitely determinable whether, e.g., *forehead* (EM 4.4.5), which, synchronically exists with both a weakened and a full pronunciation, /'fɔɪd/ and /'fɔ:hed/, (cp. "forehead, n." *OED online*. 09. March 2015; further "forehead, n." *LPD*) can already be viewed as being phonologically changed in EModE.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> For further discussion and examples from the corpus see ch. 8.

<sup>102</sup> Note, however, that Faiß (1978:114) locates the loss of /h/ in the ME period already.

#### 4.4.4. Morphological Structure

The morphological structure of compounds has frequently been connected to the notion of explicit headedness and the property of compounds to display one grammatically and semantically dominant constituent has thus been used to define the category.<sup>103</sup> As to the successive order of modifier and head (or determinant/determinatum in Marchand's 1969 terminology), Williams (1981) postulates that "[i]n morphology, we define the head of a morphologically complex word to be the righthand member of that word" (248) and, further, that "the righthand member determines the category of the whole [compound]" (249). With regard to the majority of compounds from the corpus, this assertion doubtlessly pertains, and items such as *wind-mill* (EM 1.2.91), *noblemen* (EM 1.5.124), or *eye lids* (EII 5.39) certainly support the assumption that "[r]ight-headedness is, of course, the general case in Germanic compounds" (Lieber 2011b:366). Nevertheless, taking this regularity as a condition for compoundhood, appears notably less uncontroversial in the sight of constructions such as *Headborough* (TS II.10), *sonne in-law* (S 5.595), *iacke of the clocke* (O 5.5.1589), *traitour coward* (RII 1.1.102), or *master-prince* (S 2.165), all of which do not conform unconditionally to the righthand-head-rule (RHR) postulated.

*Headborough* (TS II.10) belongs to the class of compounds which Jespersen (1942:145f) terms 'initial-determinative' and which, due to their left-hand head ('AB is a kind of A', here: 'head, i.e. chief, of a borrow') constitute an exception to the regular Germanic pattern, corresponding instead to the frequent Romance type of *capo-stazione*. The felt irregularity of the construction may indeed have prompted a rearrangement of the constituents to form the synonymous *borrow-head* in EModE (cp. "headborough, n." *OED online*. 10 March 2015)<sup>104</sup>, but whereas Booij (2007) is sceptical about the compound status of this type in general and points out that the Italian *capo-stazione* displays internal pluralization and thus shows significant overlapping with the category of lexicalized phrases, (cp. 78)<sup>105</sup> there is actually no

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<sup>103</sup> Cp. further ch. 4.3.1 for a discussion of headedness as a precondition for compoundhood with regard to exocentric constructions and the demarcation of compounds and derivations.

<sup>104</sup> Historically, the noun *borrow* goes back to the OE compound *friðborh* ('pledge of peace') which was metonymically used to designate a "tithing, which in early England was an association of ten neighbouring householders who were jointly answerable before the law" (s.v. "borrow, n.3." *OED online*. 27 June 2017). The spelling of *Headborough* (TS II.10) in *The Taming of the Shrew* substantiates the assumption that after the first element of the original compound was dropped and "*borowe* appear[ed] as a synonym of 'tithing' or 'frankpledge', [...] many writers have confused it with *borough*, n." (s.v. "borrow, n.3." *OED online*. 27 June 2017).

<sup>105</sup> Cp. Di Sciullo & Williams (1987) for a similar view that also takes right-headedness as a defining property for compounds. However, it is probably more reasonable to conclude from the high number of left-headed constructions in foreign languages that the right hand rule does not hold from a cross-linguistic perspective. (cp., e.g., Di Sciullo 1990:62, Hacken 1994:42).

convincing argument with regard to either morphological shape or syntactic behaviour or spelling to view *Headborough* (TS II.10) as anything other than a compound displaying an irregular internal structure. In fact, after having concluded in ch. 4.4.3.1 that English noun + noun constructions can generally be viewed as compounds isolated by their morphologic type, and, more importantly, in the view of the only semantically congruent left-headed syntactic construction, ‘head of the borrow’, being clearly distinguished from the compound by morphological shape, the item must be assigned to the category of compounds by lack of any parallel syntactic construction. Hence, although right-headedness is certainly the rule for English compounds, as is also mirrored in the few examples from the corpus deviating from this internal structure, it cannot be attributed absolute value as a criterion, as this would lead to massive classification difficulties with regard to constructions such as *Headborough* (TS II.10) which otherwise behave clearly as compounds.

The case is similar for coordinative constructions such as *traitour coward* (RII 1.1.102), or *master-prince* (S 2.165), which have been denied compound status most frequently due to their level stress patterns. (cp., e.g., Marchand 1969:124) Additionally, since their morphological structure is congruent, i.e. neither of the two elements is dominant, they do not correspond to the prerequisite for compounds to be (single- and) right-headed and have, therefore, been excluded from the category by, e.g., Adams (2001):

Any expression which we can see as not right-headed will be distinctive or untypical in some way, or will have the character of a phrase. In coordinative expressions for example, such as [...] 'doctor-patient relationship', 'public-private partnership', [...] neither element is dominant: these are phrases, not complex words. (3)

Nevertheless, the example of *Headborough* (TS II.10) has proved that RHR has only relative value as a defining property for compounds and that exceptions which can unambiguously be isolated from syntactic phrases, do in fact exist. Moreover, as pointed out above, any absolute value of the stress criterion has been denied for the present study,<sup>106</sup> which has rendered a distinction between noun + noun syntactic constructions and noun + noun compounds obsolete (cp. 4.4.3.1) and, thus, leads to coordinative compounds such as *traitour coward* (RII 1.1.102) and *master-prince* (S 2.165) being classifiable as compounds on the basis of their morphologic type, as well.

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<sup>106</sup> Note that Marchand (1969:24) admits certain coordinative constructions to the class of compounds, due to their having developed fore-stress, e.g. *maidservant*, thereby, once again, the assumption of absolute value of the stress criterion leads to an undesirable cut through a class of compounds which otherwise behaves largely identically.

The only examples, for which the RHR rule, although not exclusively, seems to pertain as a (relative) criterion for compoundhood, are *sonne in-law* (S 5.595) and *iacke of the clocke* (O 5.5.1589). Both items lack a right-hand head and, therefore, deviate from the default internal structure of compounds. Consequently, compound status has been denied for this type of construction by several scholars. (cp. Adams 2001:3; Marchand 1969:122f) It is the clear retention of their phrasal character as visible in their morphological make-up featuring function words in combination with the syntactically correct word order, together with their phrase-like internal structure, however, that makes them completely indistinguishable from syntactic phrases. Other than with respect to *Headborough* (TS II.10) or *traitour coward* (RII 1.1.102), therefore, both the morphological structure and the morphological shape clearly correspond to that of syntactic groups. In the case of *sonne in-law* (S 5.595), the possibility of internal pluralization (*sons in law*) further supports phrasal status of the construction on the level of morphological shape. In the light of these features, the respective constructions indeed appear to be situated closer to idiomatic (lexicalized) syntactic phrases than to compounds. On these grounds, Plag (2003), suggests drawing a distinction between what he terms ‘multi-word words’ such as *Jack-in-the-box* and *good-for-nothing* and compounds with phrasal elements. Since the former exhibit the shape and structure of phrases, lacking a right-hand head and having a syntactic phrase "as [their] *right*-hand member, and not as its *left*-hand member, as required for compounds involving syntactic phrases as one member" (Plag 2003:136), he excludes them from compound status. Constructions with phrasal elements as non-heads, however, can, according to Plag (2003), be classified as compounds on the basis of their morphological structure, as they correspond to the RHR. In the present study, which generally promotes an inclusive approach to compoundhood, instances of both forms of phrasal compound constructions are treated as fringe types and discussed separately in ch. 8.

With regard to the criterial value of internal morphological structure and RHR, however, the examples of coordinate compounds such as *traitour coward* (RII 1.1.102) and initial-determinative compounds such as *Headborough* (TS II.10), for which I have argued that a classification as compounds is preferable, illustrate once again that attributing absolute value to a single one criterion would lead to effects that are both undesirable and, even more problematic, contradictory with regard to other criteria.



#### 4.4.5. Syntactic Behaviour

Linking compound status to the characteristics of simple lexemes and thus targeting the "syntactic impenetrability, inseparability, and unalterability" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:8) of compounds in syntactic operations, several tests have been proposed, designed to determine compound status with respect to syntactic behaviour.

##### 4.4.5.1. Premodification

Especially for adjective + noun and noun + noun constructions, the suggested tests revolve around the respective rules for premodification. The first general assumption being that the first element in adjective + noun compounds cannot be subject to independent premodification by an intensifying adverb such as *very*, the criterion is fairly stable, especially when it comes to lexicalized compounds that clearly belong to the core area of compoundhood: Indeed, a *very green house* loses its identity with *greenhouse* to the same degree as a *very black bird* is entirely different from a *blackbird*, (cp., e.g., Adams 1973:57; Bloomfield 1933:232; Sauer 1992:76; Schmid 2011:132) and hence the criterion also applies to numerous items from the corpus which have been identified as compounds, e.g., *Wildcats* (2.1.795) compared to *very wild cats* clearly entails a semantic difference, as does *very gentle men* compared to *Gentlemen* (JM 3.1.7). In many cases, these restrictions on premodification correspond to several further criteria such as (supposed) stress pattern, spelling or semantic unity and thereby serve as a considerably reliable test. When Marchand (1969), therefore, invalidates this criterion merely on the basis of the apparent counterexamples *\*a very black market* and *\*the very Black Sea*, his refusal of the test is solely based on his debatable absolutization of the stress criterion, disallowing him to classify the respective constructions as compounds and acknowledge the criterial value of their syntactic behaviour. (cp. 21) As already argued on various occasions above, however, the latter solution appears to be more reasonable.

Nevertheless, although ruling out any adjective + noun combinations premodifiable by *very* for compoundhood in a considerably systematic fashion, the converse conclusion that would grant compound status to all those constructions that cannot be subject to the very same form of premodification, is not possible. Countercurrent examples include items such as *Aspen leaf* (T 2.4.4) and *halfe brother* (EM 1.5.85), whose correspondence to the rule can well be

argued to be solely motivated by their first constituents being not modifiable at all (as they are not qualitative adjectives) and thus completely independent of their compound status. The general property of certain classes of adjectives to forbid this kind of premodification, (cp. also Giegerich 2011:183; Lieber & Štekauer 2011:12) therefore, restricts the test under discussion to being only a negative criterion, or, as Lieber & Štekauer (2011) quite aptly put it, to being not entirely "foolproof" (12).

The extension of the premodification test to noun + noun compounds involving the prediction that neither of the two constituents of a compound can be modified separately (cp., e.g., Adams 1973:57f), however, is substantially less promising. Due to the loss of any inflectional markers that would express grammatical concord between an attributive adjective and either one of the constituents of a potential compound, PDE examples, which are ambiguous in their interpretation, do exist, as the exact reference of the premodifying adjective cannot be determined in many cases. With regard to the two possible interpretations of *instant noodle salad* ([*instant* [*noodle salad*]] vs. [[*instant noodle*] *salad*]), Bauer (1998b), therefore, notes correctly that

[w]hile it may be the unmarked case to find the adjective modifying the collocation as a whole, such examples show that the interpretation where the adjective modifies the first element only is perfectly possible. It is therefore not at all clear whether the ban on adjectival modification of the first element in a compound can really be upheld as a definite fact in English grammar. (72f)

#### 4.4.5.2. Inseparability

The second criterion that has been suggested in order to test the postulated lexeme-like character of complex words is their inseparability as units. First mainly targeting the morphologically non-isolated group of adjective + noun combinations again, the prediction that "[c]ompounds do not accept the insertion of a word between their substructures, whereas syntactic phrases do" (Hamawand 2011:235), indeed, emerges as a considerably steady attribute, as, certainly, "we can say *black – I should say, bluish-black – birds*, but we do not use the compound word *blackbird* with a similar interruption" (Bloomfield 1933:232; cp. further Lieber 2010:43). Thus, the restrictions concerning premodification and the uninterruptability of compounds largely

coincide and form a reasonably adequate measure,<sup>107</sup> which again allows a considerable unambiguous distinction between *Wildcats* (2.1.795) and *wild little cats*, or *Gentlemen* (JM 3.1.7), and *gentle polite men* respectively.

In an attempt to extend the criterion of inseparability to the much debated class of noun + noun constructions, a similar test operation has been proposed, which focusses on the behaviour of compounds as opposed to syntactic groups with regard to coordination. The assumption being that coordination is not possible with compounds and therefore all those constructions which allow coordination must be excluded from compound status, the items *vineger reuenge* (A 3.6.50) and *mustard reuenge* (A 3.6.51), which occur in the coordinated form *vinegar and mustard reuenge* (A 3.6.50f) in the corpus, would have to be denied compound status. However, a stringent application of this test quickly proves to lead to results that are hardly maintainable. In view of undisputed compounds such as *wind- and watermills* evidently behaving contrary to the prediction, several other parameters have been identified, which emerge to be markedly more decisive of coordination behaviour than compoundhood: by demonstrating that, in German, the possibility to coordinate complex lexemes and delete identical elements clearly depends on the phonological word status of the remaining elements (eg. *mütter- und väterlich* vs. *\*winz- und riesig*), Giegerich (2011) argues for phonological criteria rather than syntactic ones to be decisive. (cp. Giegerich 2011:193) Bauer (1998b), in turn, emphasizes the correlations between the ability of coordination and the factors lexicalization and semantic relation between the constituents of a construction. (cp. 74ff) In cases where two coordinated items are in the same domain and the constituents share the same semantic relation, coordination is therefore possible, even across morphological word classes:

If it is not possible to co-ordinate an adjective with movie in movie star, it is because there is no adjective of the appropriate class that forms a fixed collocation with star and stands in the appropriate semantic relationship to it. Where such things are found, there is no problem: consider medical and life insurance, for instance (Bauer 1998b:76).

Returning to *vinegar and mustard reuenge* (A 3.6.50f), these observations prompt the conclusion that it is in fact the obvious congruity of both the domains of the constituents *vinegar* and *mustard* and their respective semantic relation to *revenge*, which allows for the coordination of the two compounds, even if the compounds are ad-hoc-formations and the exact nature of their intended meaning is difficult to determine. I have therefore decided to include the items

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<sup>107</sup> Marchand (1969), again, dismisses this criterion very quickly by use of the example *black market* which, in his eyes, generally proves the syntactic behaviour tests wrong. In this study, the alternative interpretation, however, which indicates that the insistence on the absolute value of one single criterion such as stress pattern is hardly justifiable, is preferred.

in the corpus, since the parameters determining coordination of noun + noun constructions have been demonstrated to again not justify any reasonable distinction between compounds and any other syntactic class of noun + noun constructions. As to the general validity of the suggested criterion, inseparability has accordingly only been able to convince as a fairly reliable test for adjective + noun compounds, while failing to provide any relevant information concerning compound status of noun + noun constructions.

#### 4.4.5.3. Anaphoric Reference

Certain restrictions concerning the anaphoric reference of pronouns and the pro-form *one* to compounds and their elements respectively have further been invoked as possible criteria for a distinction based on syntactic behaviour (cp., e.g., Adams 2001; Bauer 1998b; Hacken 1994). With relation to pronominal reference, Adams (2001) points out that in noun + noun compounds, the modifier, which is "typically generic" (80), can usually not be referred to by a pronoun. She illustrates this by the PDE example sentence *\*cat flaps allow them to go in and out as they wish* (cp. 80) and, indeed, the corpus provides similar evidence for several compounds: *\*The fish-wife (A 1.4.2) sells them in the morning*; *\*The Lance-knights (EM 2.4.21) use it to defeat their opponents*.<sup>108</sup> With reference to German examples such as *Die Kinder sind auf Eiersuche. Wenn sie welche gefunden haben, kommen sie zurück*, however, Kastovsky (1982:218) and Sauer (1992:79f) note that exceptions to this rule exist, and considering the at least debatable acceptability of an invented PDE sentence as *Hard eggshells (A 2.3.194) save them from breaking easily* arguably supports this point. Yet, no comparable construction could actually be detected in the corpus, and, thus, a possible gradual loosening of this restriction might be conceivable as a relatively recent phenomenon. Due to the lack of any analogous constructions in the corpus, however, the application of the test can only be based on invented PDE sentences. Since the acceptability of such test sentences for the items from the corpus, is inevitably subject to individual judgements based on subjective assessments and, when working with a EModE corpus, to some extent represents an achronical approach, the practicability of the test is limited.

A related proposition, that uses anaphoric replacement operations of compound members by the pro-form *one*, displays similar difficulties. Whereas compounds with identical

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<sup>108</sup> The sentences have been made-up to test the respective compounds and do not occur as such in the corpus.

heads and semantic relations, such as *Alewife* (TS I2.157) and *fish-wife* (A 1.4.2) cannot be strung together in a sequence as in *\*an Alewife* (TS I2.157) and *a fish one*, comparable operations such as *He wanted a riding horse, as neither of the carriage ones would suffice*, do seem acceptable today. (cp. Lieber & Štekauer 2011:11) With regard to further disputable examples, Bauer (1998) points out that, synchronically, the acceptability of replacement operations is unclear in many cases, due to the respective constructions currently being on their way to gain acceptance in PDE. (cp. Bauer 1998b:77f) Hence, with the general emergence of *one* as a replacement form for persons and countable objects, which both Jespersen (1914) and Görlach (1994) date as having commenced not before approximately 1500 (cp. Görlach 1994:82; Jespersen 1914:248), it is only expectable that replacement operations involving compound members do not occur in the corpus. Therefore, the compounds from the corpus can again only be subjected to replacement tests in an artificial PDE context, which drastically reduces the practicability of the criteria under discussion for the present purpose, especially so, as the restrictions concerning anaphoric reference seem to be in a state of flux in PDE.

#### 4.4.6. Semantic or Cognitive Unity

A slight sense of resignation is certainly palpable, when Otto Jespersen (1942), in his grammar of English, announces:

[a]s formal criteria thus fail us in English, we must fall back on semantics, and we may perhaps say that we have a compound if the meaning of the whole cannot be logically deduced from the meaning of the elements separately, see e.g. bedroom, -clothes, -post, -time. (137)

Indeed, the semantic criterion which postulates the semantic unity of a compound as its main condition and distinguishing feature, separating it from syntactic groups that, by implication, are understood to be less closely linked by any comparably united meaning, has been invoked time and again in classical literature on the topic.<sup>109</sup> Whereas Jespersen (1942:137) in his focus on the assumed non-compositionality of compounds attempts to provide reasonable concreteness and applicability with his definition, Koziol (1972), who mainly centres his definition of a compound around the "Begriffseinheit [die] ein Ganzes bildet" (48), i.e. the 'psychological unity' of a compound, without providing any more tangible measure, creates a

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<sup>109</sup> Cp. e.g., Franz 1909:140; for a comprehensive overview over several similar approaches, see, e.g., Marchand 1969:20ff.

criterion which, although conceivably appropriate, inevitably lacks practicability. (cp. also Sauer 1992:116) Even when operating with the more graspable category of non-compositionality, as it will be undertaken in the present study, however, the criterion of semantic unity has, due to its perceived impracticability, still been evaluated sceptically by other scholars, who maintain that

[i]t is a very common mistake to try to use this difference [i.e. compounds being semantically specialized] as a criterion. We cannot gauge meanings accurately enough; moreover, many a phrase is as specialized in meaning as any compound. (Bloomfield 1933:227; cp. further Sauer 1992:116ff)

Nevertheless, especially in the wake of modern cognitive approaches, the semantic aspects of compounds have regained ground. The special cognitive property of the word-formation process to unite independent concepts and merge them into a "new idea" (Hamawand 2011:203), or one "holistic and integrated conceptual unit" (Schmid 2008:8), has markedly recaptured scholarly attention:

The cognitive research agenda with respect to compounding thus far shows a strong bias towards the semantic analysis of compounds, as metaphorical or metonymical expressions, or as the integration of distinct mental spaces into one conceptual blend. (Heyvaert 2011:253)

As a matter of fact, it is certainly the case that semantic and cognitive unity, i.e. non-compositionality, are especially prominent and tangible in compounds which exhibit metaphorical and/or metonymical elements in their make-up, and examples such as *godfathers* (JM 4.1.112) ('a male sponsor considered in relation to his godchild', s.v. "godfather, n." *OED online*. 12 March 2015), or *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57) ('a male companion of a woman of ill-repute', s.v. "apple-squire, n." *OED online*. 12 March 2015) can certainly be claimed to express entirely unified concepts. However, taking a general non-compositionality in meaning as the only prerequisite for this kind of semantic unity, several non-metaphorical compounds can also quite unambiguously be demonstrated to fulfil the criterion: As already indicated in ch. 4.1 both the compounds *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102) and *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795), but also items such as *Counting-house* (1.1.R) ('a building or apartment appropriated to the keeping of accounts', s.v. "counting-house, n." *OED online*. 12 March 2015), *foot-boy* (A 2.2.80) ('a boy attendant', s.v. "footboy, n." *OED online*. 12 March 2015), or *fish-wife* (A 1.4.2) ('a woman who sells fish'; s.v. "fishwife, n." *OED online*. 12 March 2015) can adequately be described as non-compositional in their specific meaning and, thus, as semantically lexicalized.<sup>110</sup> In fact, as has

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<sup>110</sup> Cp. further ch. 4.5.1 on lexicalization.

also been observed by Handl (2011:88ff), non-compositionality appears to be a very frequent case for compounds, including newly formed ones, which, hence, arguably moves the category closer to the class of idioms. (cp. Kavka 2011:21)

Nevertheless, Bloomfield's (1933) scepticism concerning the generalizability and practicability of the semantic criterion as a means to distinguish compounds from syntactic groups, cannot be discounted quite so easily. While the above examples illustrate that non-compositionality (and, hence, semantic unity) is a property of many compounds, and in some cases even clearly contrasts with the respective parallel syntactic constructions (e.g., *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102) in its lexicalized mythical sense vs. *some philosopher's stone*), it should not be forgotten that "it is not always true that the total meaning of compounds can never be derived from the meanings of their constituents" (Kavka 2011:26–27). Actually, it can well be contended that the meaning of compounds such as *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), *chamber floore* (JM 1.2.296), *birth-day* (JM 1.2.192), or *lifetime* (JM 1.1.15) can be derived nearly completely from the semantic information of their respective elements.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, "competing linguistic units that also consist of several words and are stored as gestalts, namely fixed expressions and phraseological units" (Schmid 2011:132) further complicate the picture, and proper phrasal idioms such as *to bite the dust* or *to eat humble pie* (cp. Schmid 2011:132) are only two of many examples that illustrate that the criterion does not hold up to a systematic distinction (cp. also Bauer 1998b, 2008a)<sup>112</sup> and eventually render absolutizing semantic or cognitive unity as a distinguishing feature of compounds as opposed to syntactic groups impossible.

## 4.5. Further Related Topics

### 4.5.1. Lexicalization

The previous chapter 4.4.6 has discussed several scholarly attempts to connect compoundhood of certain items to their semantic unity, i.e. their non-compositionality, and has, thereby, already touched upon the concept of lexicalization, then understood accordingly as a semantic phenomenon. The remarkably high variety of definitions and understandings of lexicalization

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<sup>111</sup> Note, in this respect, that semantic lexicalization is a gradual process and that, therefore, the exact state of compositionality for a given item is indeterminable, especially as interpretations may vary speaker-dependently.

<sup>112</sup> Cp. Sauer (1985) for similar problems with regard to OE compounds and their representation in dictionaries.

in literature, however, deserves some further remarks on the concept and calls for terminological clarification.<sup>113</sup>

Hence, equating lexicalization to the process of a construction to acquire non-compositionality in meaning, as is illustrated in Lieber's (2010) definition, is only one possible perspective of the issue:

When derived words take on meanings that are not transparent – that cannot be made up of the sum of their parts – we say that the meaning of the word has become lexicalized. Meanings of complex words that are predictable as the sum of their parts are said to be compositional. Lexicalized words have meanings that are non-compositional. (63)<sup>114</sup>

Other scholars, in turn, have attempted to broaden the scope of the concept and expand the sphere of lexicalization from the semantic aspects to the phonological, morphological and (in some cases) graphemic capacities of an item, proposing an understanding of lexicalization to be potentially retraceable on each of these levels, surfacing as a (gradual) loss of analysability or transparency:

[Lexicalization] can refer to various ways in which complex words may in time become less analysable in terms of their parts. When words are no longer representative of the patterns on which they were formed, they must obviously be learned as wholes. (Adams 2001:10)

This broadened definition consequently allows for an independent account and analysis of the special semantic properties of compounds such as *fish-wife* (A 1.4.2), and of additional phonological, morphological and graphemic modifications in items such as *husband* (S 2.10), *vineyards* (JM 4.2.103), or *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), all under the concept of lexicalization. Apart from this acknowledgement of the interconnection between the gradual processes of semantic unification and phonological, morphological (and/or graphemic) modifications of a compound, the diachronic and gradual nature of the process has been taken into closer focus and further attempts have been made to identify certain stages in the development of a word to (for some cases) become completely lexicalized (i.e. opaque). Eventually, three steps in the 'career of a word' have been identified by Bauer (1983) (cp. further Lipka 1992, 2002; Lipka et al. 2004; Schmid 2011): Invariably starting out as *nonce formations*, "coined by a speaker/writer on the

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<sup>113</sup> In view of the variety of different definitions and the, therefore, "confusing terminology" (Lipka et al. 2004:2), Lipka et al. (2004) and Lipka (1992) emphasize the notational nature of the terms 'institutionalization' and 'lexicalization', as "they may be defined in different ways by different people" (Lipka et al. 2004:2).

<sup>114</sup> For similar definitions that connect lexicalization to the semantic level only cp., e.g., Bauer (2008:484), Sauer (1992:47).



spur of the moment to cover some immediate need" (Bauer 1983:45), all new compounds display a certain context-dependent semantic ambiguity (cp. Bauer 1983:45),<sup>115</sup> which is gradually lost as soon as the new term gains wider currency within a speech community, a process termed *institutionalization*:

As the word gradually becomes institutionalized, i.e. gains wider acceptance and becomes item-familiar to more and more speakers, form and meaning stabilize. Ambiguity and context-dependence are reduced and the lexeme tends to develop semantic autonomy and context-independence, so that speakers can effortlessly recognize and identify its meaning. (Schmid 2008:4)<sup>116</sup>

*Lexicalization* (or rather *lexicalizedness*, cp. Lipka 1992:108) of a compound can be attested, as soon as its meaning has become non-compositional and/or it exhibits certain changes on the phonological, morphological and/or graphemic level, which disguise its compound nature and gradually render it a simplex lexeme, synchronically. In the course of the present book, therefore, Lipka's (2002) definition, which additionally incorporates the notion of frequency of use as the main stimulus of lexicalization, will be adopted: "[lexicalization is] the phenomenon that complex lexical items, through frequent usage, may lose their syntagmatic nature and tend to become formal units with specific content" (Lipka 2002:113).

In view of this conceptualization, the diachronic and processual character of lexicalization becomes evident and, thus, the gradual nature of both the processes of institutionalization and lexicalization and their manifestations as synchronically visible in a certain item is inevitably entailed:

Lexicalization and institutionalization are not of an all-or-none kind, but of a more-or-less kind. Both processes result in degrees of 'lexicalizedness' and 'institutionalization' (as a state of lexical items) in synchrony. (Lipka 1992:108; cp. further Lipka et al. 2004:8)

With this definition, Lipka (1992) and Lipka et al. (2004) further decouple the two phenomena of institutionalization and lexicalization and, as opposed to Bauer (1983:48), describe them as "basically independent of each other" (Lipka et al. 2004:11). Both processes can, thus, surface independently in a given lexeme to varying degrees and indeed, the application of this conceptualization to the corpus, allows for an independent account of different manifestations of both phenomena as illustrated by the compounds *lifetime* (JM 1.1.15) and *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45). Although both can be viewed as solidly institutionalized in the senses 'duration of a

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<sup>115</sup> Terminology in this respect is far from uniform, for the present study, the term *nonce formations* will be used in the non-restrictive sense proposed by Bauer (1986).

<sup>116</sup> Cp. Lipka (1992;2002); Bauer (1983) for similar definitions of institutionalization.

person's (animal's, etc.) life' (s.v. "lifetime, n." *OED online*. 16 March 2015) and 'first meal of the day' (s.v. "breakfast, n." *OED online*. 16 March 2014) respectively, *lifetime* (JM 1.1.15) is hardly lexicalized since its meaning as such is fairly compositional and no phonological, morphological or graphemic changes can be attested. The compound *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), in turn, synchronically exhibits a considerable degree of lexicalization, or 'lexicalizedness', especially perceptible on the phonological level (/ˈbrɛkfəst/, s.v. "breakfast, n." *LPD*). In meaning, *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), as originally derived from 'to break (one's) fast' (cp. "breakfast, n." *OED online*. 16 March 2015), shows non-compositional facets, e.g., [+in the morning]. Additionally, the individual synchronic analysability of the compound as such, depends on the recognition of *fast*, as 'an act or instance of fasting' (cp. "fast, n." *OED online*. 16 March 2015), which cannot necessarily be assumed for every PDE speaker,<sup>117</sup> and, hence, obscures the morphological compound structure of the lexeme to a certain extent.<sup>118</sup> Completely opaque lexemes, such as *lord*, *lady* (cp. ch. 4.4.3.5) and arguably also *husband* (S 2.10), or the proper noun *Holly-Hoke* (JM 4.4.44), consequently range at the extreme end of the scale, as lexicalization processes have, to a certain extent, rendered them unanalysable as compounds. As pointed out above (ch. 4.4.3.5), completely "fused compounds" (Brinton & Traugott 2006:54), have to be analysed as simplex lexemes from a synchronic standpoint.

As already indicated with regard to the synchronic recognisability and interpretability of the second element of *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), individual analysability and lexicalization of a given item can hardly be globally determined for all speakers at a certain point in time. Instead, it is impossible to make generalizations concerning individual speakers' perception of the respective word, as "a word may well be transparent for some speakers when it is already opaque for others" (Durkin 2011:51), and, consequently, make valid assertions concerning the exact point in time when a compound became opaque, "because the relevant changes in word form and word meaning will not have occurred for all speakers at the same time" (Durkin 2011:51). With regard to the present study, the additional difficulty of investigating a corpus from an earlier stage of language, of course, potentiates these problems and makes the exact assessment of a precise and globally valid degree of lexicalization as manifest in a certain compound impossible: "if we are trying to assess whether people in the past perceived a word

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<sup>117</sup> The *OED* dates the last occurrence of the term in this sense 1857. (cp. "breakfast, n." *OED online*. 16 March 2015)

<sup>118</sup> This exemplary analysis aptly illustrates Lipka et al.'s (2004) correct observation that "any classification of lexicalized and institutionalized words is by necessity a so-called cross-classification, since the various aspects criss-cross and combine in individual words, and a neat hierarchic ordering is impossible to achieve" (8).

as a transparent compound, we will always be engaging in guesswork to some degree" (Durkin 2011:51f) In accordance with the main areas of investigation in this book, no systematic or overly detailed account of the various degrees of lexicalization for each compound will, therefore, be provided.<sup>119</sup> Extreme cases of lexicalization, or opacity, however, will be mentioned in chapter 8.

#### 4.5.2. The Question of Verbal Compounds

As has already been noted in chapter 4.2 in the context of a principled distinction between product-oriented and process-oriented understandings of compounds, or compounding, the question of verbal compounds is a particularly intricate one, which has been met with a considerable variety of approaches and responses.<sup>120</sup> In fact, it is certainly fair to say that the status of verbal compounds as such in English, is a "highly disputed" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:5) topic, which does not only raise one unified question as to their existence, but rather poses a multitude of questions, each intertwined and connected to different fundamental standpoints taken within the field.

In most contemporary contributions to the topic, though, it is Marchand's (1969) basic distinction between genuine 'verbal compounds' and 'verbal pseudo-compounds', that serves as an important common point of reference, although his particular classifications are not always adopted: Generally postulating the decisive condition for compounds to exhibit an endocentric morphological structure (cp. ch. 4.3.1), Marchand (1969) distinguishes between what he accepts as (genuine) 'verbal compounds' containing a locative particle as their determinant, such as *overdo* and *underestimate*, on the one hand, and 'verbal pseudo-compounds' which, in terms of their respective formation process are either backformations from nominal synthetic compounds (e.g., *stagemanage*) or conversions from noun or adjective compounds (e.g., *spotlight*) and, hence, are both "actually derivatives from nominal composites" (101), on the other hand. In line with his general analysis of the word-formation products

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<sup>119</sup> In the course of the morphological analyses of the compounds, lexicalization, especially when manifest on the phonological and or graphemic level, will be dealt with on an exemplary basis, though not systematically. For a detailed investigation with focus on English compounds displaying different degrees of lexicalization and opacity, cp. Faiß (1978).

<sup>120</sup> Note that the terms 'verbal compound' and 'compound verb' are used synonymously in the present study to designate a compound construction functioning as a verb in the corpus. The use of the terms is thus different from early generative approaches, which speak of verbal compounds with regard to deverbal or verbal-nexus combinations. (cp. Hacken 2011:76f)

resulting from the latter processes, which, similar to that of nominal exocentric compounds such as *paleface* or *pickpocket*, involves a zero-determinatum being attached to a complex determinant, verbal pseudo-compounds, consequently, do not comply with Marchand's (1969) condition for expansions, and are, therefore, not accepted as actual compounds. (cp. 100ff)

In accordance with these observations, Marchand (1969) remarks that, except for the preparticle compound verbs mentioned above, the productivity of (genuine) verbal compounding is highly restricted and further presumes that genuine verbal compounding does "not seem to have existed in Germanic at all" (100). Indeed, the non-productivity of genuine verbal compounding as a word-formation process in English is largely agreed on among scholars who take a process-oriented stance on this question and, commonly drawing upon quite uncontroversial examples of the types *stagemanage* or *spotlight*, maintain that "there will always be an intermediary nominal or adjectival expression from which an English compound verb is derived" (Adams 2001:100; cp. also Booij 2007<sup>121</sup>).<sup>122</sup>

However, in the case of preparticle verbal compounds featuring a locative adverb as their first elements that form the only class of genuine verbal compounds in Marchand's (1969) view,<sup>123</sup> consensus is considerably less prevalent. In fact, the observation that the first elements of constructions such as *vnderstand* (A T.t.R.12), *ouer-heard* (EM 2.3.37), or *ouertake* (TS 4.6.2253), display considerable differences, both compared to their semantic content when used as simple lexemes and to the regular grammatical properties of first elements in compounds, since they affect the valency of the verbal determinatum, is not a novel one, and has led to the equally frequent conclusion that such formations border very closely on the category of prefixations. (cp. Hansen 1968:117f; Lieber 2011b:366; Lieber & Štekauer 2011:6; Schmid 2011:129) Marchand (1969) himself admits to this proximity and concedes that the property of the respective particles to change in their semantics when entering a verbal compound, and the concomitant weakening of their locative meaning, "brings the locative particles nearer to prefixes with which they also share the stress pattern" (Marchand 1969:100). Moreover, viewed

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<sup>121</sup>See Lamberty (2014) for a detailed consideration of the question *why* genuine verbal compounding is unproductive in English. Her study combines a corpus analysis of verbal pseudo-compounds and a questionnaire study in order to provide a cognitively based answer to this question and finds that the acceptability of (invented) genuine verbal compounds is closely connected to the factors analogy, non-compositionality and newsworthiness. She further links the unproductivity of the word-formation process to a general predisposition of the speaker to conceptualize complex action situations as nominal, since "a nominal conceptualization facilitates the cognitive processing of complex bundles of information, and complex, thing-like entities are moreover easier to grasp and process" (246).

<sup>122</sup>Sauer (1985) provides several examples of OE verbal pseudo-compounds.

<sup>123</sup>Sauer (1985, 1988) maintains that "combinations with [locative particles] should be classed as compounds and not as prefix-formations" (1988:190), on the basis that particles have lexeme-status.

from a diachronic perspective, combinations of locative particles and verbs have undergone a special development, leading to the situation that, although particles "regularly precede substantives and adjectives, [...] [w]ith verbs, combinations are no longer freely possible." (Marchand 1969:108) Instead, while having the flexible status of "'separable prefixes', i.e. [...] particles which preceded certain and followed other verb forms" (Marchand 1969:108) in OE, the group of particle – verb combinations split up in two in Middle English, resulting in a class of preparticle verbs in which the particles had become "inseparable prefixes" (Marchand 1969:109) on the one hand, and another group in which the particles were regularly placed after the respective verbs, on the other hand, thus forming what Quirk et al. (2012:1152) term 'phrasal verbs'. Eventually, as Marchand (1969) himself declares, "[t]hose particles which by the 15<sup>th</sup> century had not acquired the character of inseparable prefixes with verbs could no longer precede verb forms, except the nominal ones (verbal substantive and participles)." (109) Given this diachronic development, it becomes evident that a class of preparticle verbs with indisputable compound status has never existed in English.

A look at the corpus, in fact, further substantiates serious doubts about the compound status of the respective formations: With 38 and 18 instances of verbal constructions respectively featuring *over-* and *under-* as first elements realising different meaning nuances which, in the majority of cases, retain only little if any locative sense, the frequency of occurrence prompts the conclusion that, besides these semantic discrepancies and the influence on transitivity and valence of the verbal determinatum, preparticle verbs display a conspicuous case of serialization. This fact, therefore, further underlines their prefixal character.<sup>124</sup>

In an attempt to refute Marchand's (1969) claim that, except for preparticle verbs, the English language does not allow for any genuine non-derived verbal compounds, since all other verbal compound constructions are pseudo-compounds arising from the processes of back-formation or conversion (cp. 100ff), a third possible way to form verbal compound constructions on the basis of analogy to existing (pseudo-) compounds has been proposed. With reference to examples such as *chain-drink*, presumably formed in analogy to *chain-smoke* (originally derived from *chain-smoker* via back-formation), several scholars such as Pennanen

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<sup>124</sup> The proximity to the class of prefixes is even more pronounced in the case of *out-* encoding the meaning of 'surpassing so. with regard to the activity denoted by B' or, with converted denominal second elements, 'exceeding with regard to B', which, in the overall 22 instances of the types *out liue* (O 5.2.3149) and *out tongue* (O1.2.206) does not retain any locative meaning in the complex (denominal) verb. Also for Marchand (1969), both the semantic and structural properties of this particle prompt a classification of the respective formations as (pseudo-)prefixations. (cp. 96f) Cp. further Adams (2001:4), who also classifies *out* + verb constructions as prefixations on the basis of them effecting a change of the transitivity of the verbal element.

(1966), Adams (1973) and Erdmann (1999) have, hence, argued for a "pattern of compounding which is not derivational" (Adams 1973:109) but produces genuine verbal compounds on the basis of analogy. As to the status of the resulting word-formation products, however, the actual genuineness of the respective verbal compound constructions has rightly been questioned, since, in fact, the formation process underlying these constructions is clearly different from that underlying nominal compounds, as is mirrored in the fact that the respective resulting verbal compound constructions, in terms of their semantic interpretations and mental processing, cannot be considered as totally independent from their analogical bases:

Strictly speaking, however, complex verbs whose meanings are assigned on the basis of an analogy to related words only should not be considered as genuine compounds, precisely because a productive schema does not seem to be involved. As illustrated with the examples to \*househop and to \*timecut above, these verbs cannot be said to be processed independently of their word-families because related lexemes are required to be active in the speaker's mind at the moment they receive their interpretation. (Lamberty & Schmid 2013:621)

In view of these observations, a process-oriented view on verbal compound constructions, accordingly, has to classify verbal compound constructions formed via analogy as pseudo-compounds as well, and, hence, as equal in their status to constructions derived from nominal compounds via backformation or conversion.<sup>125</sup>

There is, however, a second and fundamentally different possible perspective to take, which, being strictly product-oriented, consciously defocusses the underlying formation process presumably preceding a verbal compound construction and, instead, takes the synchronically final form of an item as decisive. It has already been noted in chapter 4.2 that such a purely product-oriented view, which takes the condition for compoundhood to lie in a construction's synchronic make-up of (at least) two roots as sufficient (cp. Bauer 1983:28) noticeably shifts the limits of the concept of verbal compounds and allows for the inclusion of constructions, which most probably are results of a backformation or conversion process, or have been formed via analogy, into a synchronic class of verbal compound constructions.<sup>126</sup> In fact, evidence suggests that especially native speakers are indeed likely to take the product-oriented perspective on items such as *air-condition* or *machine-wash*, which presumably are derived via back-formation rather than genuinely compounded. Simply categorised as compound verbs in many cases, etymology and historical origins of these constructions are not

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<sup>125</sup> Lamberty (2014) takes a similar stance in her study (cp. 35).

<sup>126</sup> A similarly inclusive stance is taken by, e.g., Jespersen (1942), Zandvoort (1967), Hamawand (2011) and Bauer (2008); cp. further ch. 4.2 for the basic distinction between process- and product-orientation.

necessarily taken into consideration by native speakers, which, in turn, certainly renders a purely product-oriented approach to their analysis legitimate. (cp. Lieber 2011b:361; further Ackema & Neeleman 2004) Whereas two verbal compound constructions from the corpus, *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) and *safegard* (RII 1.2.240) are pseudo-compounds in Marchand's (1969) view,<sup>127</sup> since they are derived via conversion from the respective nominal compounds *flyblow* ('egg deposited by a fly in the flesh of an animal, or the maggot proceeding therefrom'; s.v. "flyblow, n." *OED online*. 24 March 2015) and *safeguard* ('guarantee of safety or safe passage given by a person in authority'; s.v. "safeguard, n." *OED online*. 24 March 2015), they can be assigned compound status from a purely synchronic and product-oriented view.

The frequently occurring verbal compound construction *vouchsafe* (S 1.495, EM 1.5.22; in inflected form in T4.4.139, EII 2.18), as the last of an overall number of only three different instances of the respective word-formation type, eventually opens up a further problem area and illustrates that, besides backformation, conversion and analogy, a fourth potential origin of verbal compound constructions has to be considered. Similar to nominal compounds such as *noblemen* (EM 1.5.124), or *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), the verbal construction *vouchsafe* (S 1.495, EM 1.5.22) has its origin in the syntactic group *to vouch (sth.) safe* which, over time, gradually coalesced into a compound, parallel to the syntactic group in terms of its morphological shape. (cp. "vouchsafe, v." *OED online*. 24 March 2015) Its compound character, however, is rather indisputable and especially obvious in the inflected instantiations of the verb *vouchsaft* (T 4.4.139) and *vouchsafes* (EII 2.18), which, already in EModE, clearly differ from the potential respective syntactic construction *they vouched sth. safe* in that the inflectional ending is attached to the second (adjectival) element of the construction, thus markedly signaling the compound status of the construction. After all, it is *vouchsafe* (S 1.495, EM 1.5.22), therefore, which among the items in the corpus arguably exhibits the most 'genuine' example for a verbal compound, although still deviating from the prototypical compound by its left-headedness, its stress pattern and, in terms of its process of formation, its syntactic origin. Nevertheless, it should have become sufficiently clear in the course of this chapter that prototypicality is, in fact, a rare property among large classes of compound constructions and that, simultaneously,

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<sup>127</sup> Note that Marchand's (1969) exclusion of the respective formations from compound status does not only result from him considering their process of formation, but also from his general perception of all exocentric compounds to be 'pseudo' in terms of their morphological structure, which he maintains to be that of a derivation instead of an expansion. Verbal compound constructions such as *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) and *safegard* (RII 1.2.240) feature a zero-determinatum and a complex determinant according to Marchand's (1969) analysis and are, hence, derivations also from a synchronic, product-oriented perspective, as long as Marchand's (1969) definition of expansions (cp. 11ff) is taken as the basis for definition. His exclusion of exocentric compounds, however, is not adopted for the present study, as has been pointed out in ch. 4.3.1.

a prototype-concept of compounds and compounding is demonstrably the only concept that is able to do justice to the immense variety of the field which has, indeed, on many occasions presented itself as " a field of study where intricate problems abound, numerous issues remain unresolved, and convincing solutions are generally not so easy to find" (Plag 2003:132).

#### 4.6. Summary: The Concept of the Compound Revisited

Having started out from the most simple and intuitive definition of compounds to be "words made up of two words" (Bauer 2008a:484), the concept of the compound has gradually become more complicated throughout the previous chapter. In view of several non-prototypical types of compound constructions, this most basic definition has appeared to prove increasingly insufficient as a tool for the identification of the word-formation type, simultaneously opening up two problem areas of demarcation, each of which demanded modifications and re-evaluations of both the proposed (re-)definitions of compounds, whether they are comparably simple or considerably more complex, and the overall conceptualization of the category.

The demarcation of compounds and compounding from its neighbouring area in the morphological field, derivation, has involved the discussion of different approaches to exocentric and synthetic compounds, which have experienced varying classifications depending on which perspective has been taken. With the overall aim of this study in mind, and in view of the divisiveness among scholars, I have advocated an inclusive, product-oriented approach, which, in disagreement with several structural approaches (e.g., Hacken 1994; Kastovsky 1982; Marchand 1969), involves the inclusion of exocentric and synthetic compounds into the category of compound constructions on the basis of alternative analyses of the patterns. Additionally, I have identified the diachronic dimension in this area of demarcation as a further cause for gradience and non-prototypicality among compound constructions, since the two basic fields of morphology have proved to be mutually permeable in the sense that transitions from both compounds towards simple lexemes and, more problematically, from full-value compound members towards derivational suffixes (e.g., *-ful(l)*, *-like*) are a common phenomenon. It has to be noted in this respect that it is a logical consequence of the necessity for decisions in classifications that the inevitably gradient character of such developments and their results has to be ignored to a certain degree and an artificial line has to be drawn between phenomena that are probably better understood as blending into each other.



The second area of demarcation has emerged on the superordinate level of the interface between syntax and morphology, i.e. between compounds and syntactic phrases, and has proved to be of special importance with regard to the large class of compounds which are not isolated from syntactic groups by their mere morphologic type. In order to submit this distinction, the various criteria that have been suggested, have been discussed and evaluated in terms of their binding power on a theoretical level and their applicability to items from the corpus, prompting the general conclusion that absolute value cannot be attributed to any criterion. Instead, the proposals have exhibited varying degrees of theoretical usefulness and practicability, each with regard to only a limited number of morphologic types: While orthography had to be dismissed rather quickly on both theoretical and practical grounds, consequently being reduced to a minor factor of no more than supportive value in some cases, the stress criterion has experienced a more detailed discussion. Nevertheless, evidence that connects stress pattern to features other than the morphological status of a construction in combination with severe doubts concerning the universality of stress assignments and the practicability of the criterion with regard to the analysed plays, have eventually not justified any principled exclusion of items on the basis of their supposed stress patterns. With respect to the much-discussed group of (supposedly) level-stressed noun + noun compounds, these observations have led to the assumption of a unified class of noun + noun compounds which – hardly surprising in view of the general inconsistencies in the field, in fact – can exhibit different stress patterns. Hence, I agree with Bauer (1998b) in presuming that

the desire to analyse two sets of constructions here arises from what are largely irrelevant origins: the fact that English happens to write some noun + noun collocations as one word and others as two and the fact that English has – albeit variably – two available stress patterns for such collocations. (84)

The various criteria connected to morphological shape and structure have similarly each proved relatively distinctive for a certain class of compounds only, since counterexamples and contradictions to other criteria, have rendered any absolutization impossible. Once again, the discussion and evaluation of the respective suggestions led to the conclusion that only the individual combination of different criteria for each type and item can serve as a sufficiently justified basis for classifications, as exemplified by the treatment of multi-word words (or phrasal compound constructions) such as *iacke of the clocke* (RII 5.5.1589) and *sonne in-law* (S 5.595) as fringe types on the grounds of their morphological shape featuring function words and, in the latter case, the possibility of internal inflection, together with their phrase-like morphological structure. Expectably, several tests targeting the presumed "syntactic

impenetrability, inseparability, and unalterability" (Lieber & Štekauer 2011:8) of compounds in sentences, have hence turned out to exhibit comparable inherent difficulties, although displaying considerable reliability, i.e. high correlation to other criteria, for the morphologic type of adjective/adverb + noun compounds. Eventually, semantic or cognitive unity, after having been defined to equal the more palpable property of non-compositionality, has, indeed, evinced to be inherent as a characteristic feature in many prototypical compounds, but has forfeited any absolute value as a criterion in the sight of phrasal idioms, on the one hand, and morphologically isolated compounds with rather compositional meanings, on the other hand.

After all, the different spheres of the criteria proposed, together with their obvious lack of correlation and the impossibility to claim absolute value for any of them, leads to the inevitable emergence of a concept of compounds shaped by prototypicality:<sup>128</sup> There are certain core areas of compoundhood that comprise a sufficiently large number of constructions of different morphologic types whose compound status is suggested quite unambiguously by multiple criteria and which can be exemplified by items such as e.g., *gold-smith* (A 1.3.32), *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9), *godfathers* (JM 4.1.112), or *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795). Gradually diverging from this prototypical centre, areas of compoundhood become manifest that progressively deviate from prototypicality (cp., e.g., *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), *coach-man* (A 3.3.73), *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *silke stockings* (EM 4.9.49), *master-prince* (S 2.165)), in that the respective items combine only some or few of the proposed criteria. Eventually certain fringe areas arise, that closely border on other phenomena and, in some cases, exhibit only weak evidence for compound status (cp., e.g., *sonne in-law* (S 5.595)).<sup>129</sup>

Having thus demonstrated that no single, absolute criterion for compoundhood could successfully be postulated so far, it does not come as a surprise that a single all-comprising and uncontradictable definition of compounds is equally impossible to formulate. In the light of the insights gathered, however, the most basic definitions of compounds to, most fundamentally, be "words made up of two words" (Bauer 2008a:484), or, more refined, to "contain at least two roots" (Bauer 1983:28), gain new value. Without being exploitable as the sole instrument for

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<sup>128</sup> Cp. Sauer (1985) for a similar conclusion concerning delimitation problems for OE compounds.

<sup>129</sup> Besides phrasal compound constructions, such as *sonne in-law* (S 5.595), which, together with opaque compounds, multi-part compounds, reduplicative formations and borrowed compounds are treated in ch. 8 as fringe types of compoundhood, the following groups of items have been excluded from the present study: Constructions formed with an adjective and the suffixoids *-full*, or *-like*, verb + *-ing* + nouns in which the first element is clearly a present participle, noun + *-s* + noun constructions that clearly represent specifying genitives, adjective + noun constructions in which the first constituent is modifiable by *very*, adverb + *-ly* + adjective constructions and preparticle verbs.

the distinction in all cases, they formulate a minimum condition and in their superficiality and product-orientation allow for the necessary degree of freedom in adjusting and refining them by taking additional criteria into account, when actually deciding about the status of particular constructions, as I have attempted in the previous chapter. As to the general approach to the question of compoundhood in this particular study, a most inclusive definition that takes the applicability of only a small number of criteria as a sufficient condition for compoundhood (and in some cases even accepts a single criterion as satisfactory) turns out to be most apt for the purpose of the study, since it necessarily creates more data to investigate and compare and, thereby, promises to allow for more significant results and more exhaustive insights.

## 5. Metaphoricity

### 5.1. Metaphor: From a Rhetoric Device to a Cognitive Systematicity

As announced in the introductory chapters, the present study not only aims at combining quantitative and qualitative perspectives on the three Renaissance playwrights' compound use, but also takes three different vantage points on the compounds as part of the qualitative investigation. Besides an analysis of their morphological make-up and their semantic structure, the metaphoricity of the compounds represents a further focus of this study. The definition, conceptualisation and treatment of metaphor in large sections of contemporary linguistic research, however, has undergone some major restructuring during the last decades by which the individual appreciation of the relationship between metaphor and literary creativity naturally did not stay untouched. In order to provide the necessary theoretical basis for the analysis of metaphor in the compounds from the corpus, the following chapters will attempt to provide an overview of the key issues concerning the conceptualisation of metaphor (within and without the realms of literature) and the changes and redefinitions that have affected its conceptualisation in much of contemporary linguistics.<sup>130</sup>

#### 5.1.1. Aristotle and the Traditional View(s) on Metaphor

The first seminal and thus certainly still one of the both most widely known and most influential theories of metaphor is Aristotle's. His deliberations on the topic of metaphor may seem scattered and sparse in comparison with more contemporary contributions that easily fill volumes, but the cornerstones of Aristotle's approach, as presented in *The Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, still take up most of the basic assumptions that are fundamental to what has been labelled 'the traditional view on metaphor.'<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> The branches of linguistics that are meant here, are, of course, the different approaches that apply a cognitive / conceptual definition of metaphor and are (although to different extents) influenced by Conceptual Metaphor Theory as first formulated by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). Such cognitive approaches constitute the majority of contemporary linguistic metaphor research, however, this is not to say that other approaches that are premised on a more traditional rhetoric understanding of the phenomenon do not exist.

<sup>131</sup> Given this congruence of the very basic fundamentals of Aristotle's and the various contemporary approaches that can be subsumed under 'the traditional view(s)', I allow myself to focus on the former's basic assumptions. This is not to say that the elaborations and extensions that have been made in younger contributions are to be

Aristotle's most general (and most frequently confused) attitude to metaphor is to perceive it as a consciously applied rhetoric device, which "is most important both in poetry and in prose" (Aristoteles 1959:355)<sup>132</sup> as it gives "perspicuity, pleasure, and a foreign air" (Aristoteles 1959:355) to one's diction. This Aristotelian understanding of metaphor is restricted to the linguistic sphere and is basically a technique of substituting terms along four lines: "either transferred from the genus and applied to the species or from the species and applied to the genus, or from one species to another or else by analogy" (Aristoteles 1960:81), in a distinctly conscious manner. Hence, it is only logical, that perceiving metaphor as an instrument of rhetoric, Aristotle presents the skill of handling this tool as measurable along the lines of good or bad, or more specifically, appropriate and inappropriate. Thus, in the *Rhetoric* he offers instructions on how to choose one's metaphors "observing due proportion" (Aristoteles 1959:355) and with the aim of either ornamenting or depreciating the subject in mind (cp. Aristoteles 1959:355) and underlines both the nature of metaphor as having an ornamental stylistic and rhetoric function and as being subject to evaluation: "we must make use of metaphors and epithets that are appropriate" (Aristoteles 1959:355). In the same section, the reader is also reminded that "metaphors must not be far-fetched" (Aristoteles 1959:359), which brings another fundamental assumption of the Aristotelian understanding into focus: As the metaphorical term<sup>133</sup> must be derived "from what is akin and of the same kind, so that, as soon as it is uttered, it is clearly seen to be akin" (Aristoteles 1959:359), the implicit comparison that is being drawn is supposed to be between two things that share certain pre-existing similarities. It is this prerequisite of an appropriate metaphor that Aristotle already points at in *The Poetics*, attributing an "eye for resemblances" (Aristoteles 1960:91) to poets who master the art of using metaphor appropriately and by doing so manage successfully to accomplish "by far the greatest thing" (Aristoteles 1960:91).

This very high appreciation of metaphor as a rhetoric device, which Aristotle expresses on various occasions in his works, calls attention to a certain ambivalence in his approach to the proportion of an innate talent and practice, when it comes to the command of metaphor. In both of his books, Aristotle puts emphasis on the notion that the right use of metaphor "cannot

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neglected, but as due to the aim of the overall study a full account of the multitude of theoretical approaches to metaphor seems hardly expedient, I restrict myself to the basic assumptions that are relevant to my investigation.  
<sup>132</sup> Quotations from Aristotle's works are cited in their English translation, that is provided in the respective editions of the works from the Loeb Classical Library, which presents the Greek and English text parallelly. The text of Aristotle's *Poetics* is translated by W. Hamilton Fyfe and John Henry Freese has translated *The Art of Rhetoric*.

<sup>133</sup> In traditional terminology, the metaphorical term is often called the *vehicle* of a metaphor, while the entity that is being described by the metaphor on the basis of a *tertium comparationis* (*ground*) is termed *tenor*. This terminology originally goes back to Richards' *Philosophy of Rhetoric* from 1936.

be learnt from anyone else" (Aristoteles 1959:355; cp. further Aristoteles 1960:91), thus seemingly attributing the mastership of the device to an inherent and unique precondition, whose precise nature becomes clear when he calls the use of metaphor "the token of genius" (Aristoteles 1960:91). Still, the very fact that he devotes a considerable part of both of his works to the nature of metaphor and does not fail to include instructions and explanations as to how the rhetoric device is to be applied successfully and appropriately, is a noticeable contradiction to this view, as has also been pointed out correctly by James E. Mahon (1999): "Aristotle must believe that our ability to use metaphors can be learned and improved from reading works such as the *Rhetoric*, otherwise he would not write it in such a manual-like way." (77) What follows from that, therefore, is that while poets, according to Aristotle, can indeed exercise and improve their ability to use appropriate metaphors, there are still qualitative differences between certain instances of the stylistic device, which are accounted for by some poets' inherent talent for applying it.

These main assumptions made by Aristotle have (in various forms and interpretations and with a multitude of refinements and elaborations) governed a great part of the discussion about the nature of metaphors until the late 1970s, which saw the turn towards a cognitive approach to metaphor, which then set out to disprove what George Lakoff and Mark Johnson referred to as the "false views of metaphor [which] [i]n the Western tradition, [...] go back at least as far as Aristotle." (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:244).<sup>134</sup>

## 5.1.2. The Cognitive Approach to Metaphor

### 5.1.2.1. The 'Contemporary Theory of Metaphor'

The most fundamental and simultaneously most important change in the view on metaphor that gained wide popularity with Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) is the redefinition of metaphor as being "not simply an ornamental aspect of language, but a fundamental scheme by which people conceptualize the world and their own activities" (Gibbs 2008a:3). The cognitive linguistic approach has shifted the main sphere of metaphor from language to thought, relegating the linguistic metaphorical expressions to the status of mere manifestations of a deeper cognitive system. In accordance with the basic principle of cognitive

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<sup>134</sup> The fact that, to a certain degree, misinterpretation of and a reductive view on Aristotle's statements might have played a part in the constant criticism of his works by scholars advocating the cognitive view on metaphor will be the subject of ch. 5.1.3

linguistics, which perceives "communication [to be] based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:3) these linguistic manifestations of metaphor are being interpreted as "an important source of evidence for what this [cognitive] system is like" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:3). Thus, the cognitive perspective on metaphor unanimously ascribes primary status to the systematically structured concepts in the human mind as *conditio sine qua non* for metaphorical expressions in language: "Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:6).<sup>135</sup>

This approach to metaphor as a way of thinking rather than a way of speaking or writing, has become "the most influential and widely used theory of metaphor" (Kövecses 2010:vii) and revolves around one basic predication, which Lakoff and Johnson pronounce in their very first work on the subject and which has been quoted ever since by a multitude of scholars: "*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*" [emphasis in the original] (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:5). More specifically, this process of understanding is made possible by the structure of our minds, which operate with conceptual domains. These can become connected with each other via conceptual metaphor, which describes the experiencing of one target domain in terms of another domain, which is commonly termed the source domain (cp. Benczes 2006:48). Conceptual metaphor theory understands this cognitive process of a mapping between two (or potentially more) distinct domains as one of the most fundamental ones in human thought, and research conducted by various scholars has found a multitude of patterns in the English language that led them to set up a catalogue of conceptual metaphors (i.e. cognitive mappings between domains) which have been argued to underlie many conventional ways of speaking about certain things. The nature of the source domains of conceptual metaphors has been shown to be more closely connected to basic human experience and thus more concrete than the target domains, which serve their purpose of facilitating our understanding of abstract concepts like, e.g., love, life or arguments. (cp. Lakoff and Johnson 1980:118). Typical examples of common conceptual metaphors are therefore TIME IS MONEY or AN ARGUMENT IS WAR (cp. Lakoff & Turner 2001), that can be

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<sup>135</sup> The terms cognitive and conceptual are largely being used as synonyms in this study, because although over the last decades several branches of research have developed (cp. Kövecses 2010), the basic assumption of metaphor being basically a matter of human thought and only secondarily a linguistic phenomenon is common to all cognitive approaches. Therefore, although the term 'conceptual metaphor' was coined by Lakoff and Johnson, it still forms the basis for other cognitive approaches (cp., for example, conceptual blending theory as presented by Fauconnier & Turner 2003). The main distinction that will be made in this study is that between traditional approaches which basically share the Aristotelian view on metaphor and cognitive / conceptual ones that ground their theses on the existence of conceptual metaphors in the human mind.

traced in linguistic expressions such as ‘to waste time’ or ‘to attack a position’ (cp. Lakoff & Johnson 1980:4). In this regard, much emphasis has been put on the notion that correspondences (commonly termed ‘mappings’) between the respective domains (e.g., two opponents in an argument corresponding to warring factions) are *not* based on similarities observable in the real world, but only emerge by the mental application of one domain to the other in a conceptual metaphor. (cp. Kövecses 2010:9) Consequently, this is a further aspect of the cognitive approach that fundamentally differs from the Aristotelian view, which takes similarity as a main condition for a successful metaphor.

The cognitive redefinition of metaphor makes several terminological clarifications necessary, the first of which is the distinction between metaphor as a cognitive systematicity, the *conceptual metaphor*, which resides in the realms of the human mind and metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon, which has frequently been termed *linguistic metaphor* (cp. Kövecses 2010:4).<sup>136</sup> In his 1993 account of *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*<sup>137</sup> Lakoff chooses to use the alternative (and less clear) terms *metaphor* and *metaphorical expression*, but makes both the fundamental understanding of metaphor in conceptual metaphor theory and the cognitive view on the distinction between the two levels of metaphor very tangible:

[The term metaphor] has come to mean ‘a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system.’ The term ‘metaphorical expression’ refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping (this is what the word ‘metaphor’ referred to in the old theory). (Lakoff 1993:203)

This extension of the term metaphor to apply to both conceptual structures and to linguistic expressions that are perceived to be based on those structures, however, entails another shift of categories when it comes to linguistic metaphors that are *not* perceived as such by the speaker. As Lakoff argues, there is "a system of metaphor that structures our everyday conceptual system, including most abstract concepts" (Lakoff 1993:204) but the fact that this system "is mostly unconscious, automatic, and [...] used with no noticeable effort" (Lakoff 1993:245) leads to many of the resulting linguistic metaphors being hardly recognised as such, because "they are usually taken as self-evident, direct descriptions of mental phenomena. The fact that they are metaphorical never occurs to most of us" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:28).

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<sup>136</sup> In the present book, I will adhere to this terminology. The scope and nature of linguistic metaphor, however, varies depending on which theoretical stance is being taken and the understanding of linguistic metaphor as underlying the present study will be explained later in this chapter.

<sup>137</sup> The title, although markedly self-confident and deliberately downplaying critical voices and alternative approaches, has also been chosen for this subchapter, as Lakoff’s theory is still of widest influence and his basic assumptions have been accepted by many scholars of metaphor. My aim is to delineate these basic assumptions and not to give a comprehensive account of theories on metaphor.



Conceptual metaphor theory has identified metaphor as a feature of everyday thought *and* speech and in the course of this process has been able to show that a lot of linguistic expressions that would have been perceived as non-metaphorical traditionally, can in fact be connected to underlying conceptual metaphors, such as, for example, orientational metaphors like MORE IS UP in ‘inflation is rising’. (cp. Lakoff & Johnson 1980:23) As a consequence, George Lakoff argues, that the "traditional division between literal and figurative language, with metaphor as a kind of figurative language" (Lakoff 1993:204) has been shattered by conceptual metaphor theory and cannot be maintained.

As becomes obvious from this quote, in Lakoff’s (1993) understanding, the term ‘literal language’ is applied to language that is in fact (at least according to conceptual metaphor theory) metaphorical, as in the above example of ‘inflation is rising’. This may be considered to constitute a labelling that is actually incorrect, as long as a classical understanding of the word ‘literal’, as representing the opposite of ‘metaphorical or figurative’, is assumed.<sup>138</sup> Although, unfortunately no explicit definition of their understanding of the concept of literality is being given in their works, the way Lakoff and his colleagues use the term, indicates that it is a certain understanding of the term ‘literal’ that underlies their rejection of the distinction between ‘literal’ and ‘figurative’, which contains more than its traditional and basic sense of ‘non-metaphorical’. Lakoff’s understanding of the term seems in fact to be closely connected to what he terms the "[t]raditional false assumption[] [of] [...] everyday conventional language [being] literal, and none [being] metaphorical" (Lakoff 1993:204). When he designates obvious realisations of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS such as ‘He has constructed a theory’ as "literal expressions" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:53), he seems to partly equate the term ‘literal language’ with ‘everyday language’, or language that is metaphorical (just like ‘inflation is rising’), but commonly not perceived as such. As conceptual metaphor theory claims that metaphor is an integral part of everyday conversation, its rejection of the opposition between ‘literal’ (taken in the sense of ‘commonly not perceived as metaphorical’) and ‘figurative’ language becomes explicable, although it might be more adequate to claim that

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<sup>138</sup> As extensively discussed in Ariel (2002), the once assumed unity of the concept of ‘literal meaning’ as such has experienced a "demise" (Ariel 2002: *title of paper*) in the course of several cognitive and pragmatic redefinitions of the term. Among various other reinterpretations, these frequently included the abandoning of the original (or classical) conceptualisation of ‘literal’ as constituting the opposite of ‘figurative’, which can also be observed in Lakoff’s (1993) use of the term. In the present study, a less specified and more traditional understanding of ‘literal meaning’ as both ‘non-figurative’ and ‘context-independent’ will be applied, which partly overlaps with what Ariel (2002) terms "linguistic meaning" (392).

there is no such opposition between common everyday language and metaphorical language, as the latter constitutes an essential part of the former.

#### 5.1.2.2. The Cognitive View on Metaphor in Literature

The insight of metaphorical language (and thought) pervading everyday language has been claimed as one of the main innovations of conceptual metaphor theory and has often been expressed as one of the most fundamental differences in opposition to traditional understandings.<sup>139</sup> Thus, if, "it has become one of the main tenets of cognitive linguistic theory that metaphor is not a figure of speech but is a pervasive device both in thought and everyday speech" (Benczes 2006:47f), then this elimination of a basic difference between everyday language and metaphorical language is bound to have striking implications for the view of metaphor in literature. Whereas the traditional approaches see literary metaphor as primary and closely connected to poetic talent, the establishment of a set of conventional conceptual metaphors that is common to a culture and entrenched in every one of its members' thinking, denies the literary sphere a considerable part of the creative force that it is being granted by those approaches that "emphasize the discontinuity between metaphor in literature and metaphor elsewhere by focussing on highly creative, original, and often complex literary examples" (Semino & Steen 2008:235). In their 2003 afterword to their groundbreaking book *Metaphors We Live By* Lakoff and Johnson clearly phrase the cognitive stance towards metaphor in literature and thus pledge themselves to what has been labelled an "egalitarian" (Mahon 1999:80) view on metaphor:

Metaphorical thought is normal and ubiquitous in our mental life, both conscious and unconscious. The same mechanisms of metaphorical thought used throughout poetry are present in our most common concepts. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:244)

The emphasis on a common conceptual background of linguistic metaphor which is distinctly *not* a special gift of poets, however, naturally raises the question of what it is, that distinguishes what in the early stages of conceptual metaphor theory has been termed "literal expressions ('He has constructed a theory')" (meaning common everyday expressions) from "imaginative

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<sup>139</sup> For a closer analysis of Aristotle's view on the sphere of metaphor, see chapter 5.1.3. For the present purpose, the notion that conceptual metaphor theory has frequently accused the traditional view of seeing metaphor as a privilege of literature (cp., e.g., Lakoff & Turner 2001) shall suffice.

expressions ('His theory is covered with gargoyles')" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:53), which tend to be characteristic of literature.

The conceptual metaphor theorists' answer to this question mainly lies in "the masterful way in which poets extend, compose and compress" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:54) the underlying conceptual metaphors. Whereas "[t]he basic metaphors are not creations of poets" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:54), there are several ways for poets to exercise their individual creativity in exploiting the cognitive systematicity and, thus, "create novel unconventional language and images from the conventional materials of everyday language" (Kövesces 2010:53). One of these methods is the combination of several conceptual metaphors to an expression of intense metaphoricity, as it can be observed in Shakespeare's sonnet 73, in whose first two quatrains, according to Lakoff & Turner (2001), eight conceptual metaphors (including rather conventional ones such as PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and A LIFETIME IS A DAY) can be identified. (cp. 27ff). There are more possibilities for poets, however, than the mere combination of conceptual metaphors, as these can also be extended or elaborated by either adding new elements to the source domain, as has been exemplified in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which extends the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (cp. Kövesces 2010:53), or unconventionally expressing an already existing element in a modified form (cp. Kövesces 2010:53f). Moreover, although "poetic uses are often conscious extensions of the ordinary conventionalized metaphors" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:53f), they can still try to manipulate the cognitive system and

attempt to step outside the ordinary ways we think metaphorically and either offer new modes of metaphorical thought or to make use of our conventional basic metaphors less automatic by employing them in unusual ways, or otherwise to destabilize them and thus reveal their inadequacies for making sense of reality. (Lakoff & Turner 2001:51f)

Thus, notwithstanding their insisting on the idea that the creation of conceptual metaphors is rarely a job done by poets but that "[p]oetic metaphor is, for the most part, an extension of our everyday, conventional system of metaphorical thought" (Lakoff 1993:246), conceptual metaphor theorists do grant poets the general ability to either creatively employ the underlying systematicity or even (in some cases) create "a novel metaphor, that is a metaphor not used to structure part of our normal conceptual system but as a new way of thinking about something" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:53).

What results from this overview is that, even with conceptual metaphor theory strongly rejecting "the mistaken notion that metaphor is something that belongs only to poets" (Lakoff

& Turner 2001:215), there still is a certain space for poetic creativity in conceptual metaphor theory. The tendency of conceptual metaphor theorists not to focus on "what is unusual" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:15) about a certain poem but rather to emphasise the 'common ground' of metaphor in everyday language and literary metaphor, however, certainly occasionally blurs this notion.

### 5.1.3. A Step towards Reconciliation

Throughout this chapter, as well as throughout most of the recent research history on metaphor theory, the two basic approaches, which have been termed traditional and conceptual (and have to be understood as underlying principles of several theoretical elaborations) have been presented as irreconcilable and fundamentally different. This impression is considerably intensified by advocates of conceptual metaphor theory tending to stage the cornerstones of their theory as clear contradictions to "the traditional picture of metaphor" (Steen 2010:1), which they accuse of falsely perceiving metaphor "as deviant, erratic, ornamental, and spurious" (Steen 2010:1). Whereas these "false views of metaphor [which] [i]n the Western tradition, [that] go back at least as far as Aristotle." (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:244) were dominated by certain fallacies such as "[t]he first fallacy [...] that metaphor is a matter of words, not concepts" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:244) and the assumption that linguistic metaphor was "mutually exclusive with the realm of ordinary everyday language" (Lakoff 1993:202), it was the 'contemporary theorists' who deserved credit to have done away with these essential misunderstandings.<sup>140</sup>

By having a closer look at the texts of the one who is so often blamed for having laid the foundation for the "historical barriers to understanding the nature of metaphorical thought and its profundity" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:244) in early works on conceptual metaphor theory, however, it can indeed be argued that it was Aristotle who to a certain degree has become subject to misinterpretation and that in some points his view on metaphor does not differ so much from the 'contemporary theory'. The accusation of Aristotle seeing metaphor as restricted to the poetic and literary sphere only, for instance, can clearly be disproved by

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<sup>140</sup> Undoubtedly, however, much of the harshness and vigour that can be observed in the way early conceptual metaphor theorists refute the traditional understanding of the phenomenon has to be viewed in the context of their attempt to newly establish a view of metaphor that entailed several groundbreaking and radical changes of its conceptualisation.

consulting *Rhetoric*, where he explicitly presents metaphor as an important device especially for prose writings and speeches, since those, in contrast to poetry, were supposed to employ "ordinary language" (Aristoteles 1959:353):

Proper and appropriate words and metaphors are alone to be employed in the style of prose; this is shown by the fact that no one employs anything but these. For all use metaphor in conversation, as well as proper and appropriate words;  
(Aristoteles 1959:353)

This view as presented in *Rhetoric* is, in fact, rather contrary to what has been attributed to Aristotle: If metaphor is a device which is especially appropriate for prose, precisely *because* it is a normal and everyday phenomenon and "all use metaphor in conversation" (Aristoteles 1959:353), it is certainly not perceived as a privilege of poetic language. Without ever claiming, that Aristotle had taken anything into account which could be understood as a cognitive systematicity resembling the cognitive background of conceptual metaphors, for which the contemporary theory most successfully argues, one still has to acknowledge that he explicitly grants metaphor an important function both in literature and conversation. Aristotle's view is thus congruent with at least the second part of the commonly pronounced view that metaphor is "a pervasive device both in thought and everyday speech" (Benczes 2006:47f). Consequently, James E. Mahon (1999) is totally correct, when he observes that

Aristotle, it turns out, holds a position on the ubiquity of metaphor in conversation and writing which supports current views about the omnipresence of metaphor in everyday discourse and the print media. (69)

Moreover, even if metaphor for Aristotle is certainly "a matter of words" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:244) and a consciously applied means of rhetoric, the extension of metaphor to the non-linguistic sphere to become a cognitive, cultural and ubiquitous systematicity, as it has been undertaken by cognitive theorists, is at least adumbrated by Aristotle's enhancement of the general power of metaphor to "put[] the matter before the eyes" (Aristoteles 1959:359). As Mahon (1999) has been able to show convincingly, Aristotle

stresses the cognitive value of these metaphors, claiming that they are lucid and that they convey truths about the world. He also stresses their pedagogical value: metaphors tell us things about the world which we did not understand beforehand, and the 'learning process' is extremely enjoyable. (75)

This observation is indeed supported by Aristotle's advice to coin and employ metaphor in the creation of rhetorical speeches, as they, as long as they are "appropriate" (Aristoteles 1959:367), are an important means to "produce persuasion" (Aristoteles 1959:367) and thus are bound to have a cognitive effect on the audience. It is therefore not true that Aristotle is ignorant of any

connections between the realm of cognition and that of language, otherwise he would not have been able to acknowledge the learning effect of metaphors, which in astonishingly obvious similarity is adopted by Lakoff and Turner (2001) as an effect of poetry, which "through metaphor, exercises our minds so that we can extend our normal powers of comprehension beyond the range of the metaphors we are brought up to see the world through" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:214).

Notwithstanding the fact that conceptual metaphor theory has substantially elaborated and extended the Aristotelian view on metaphor and has also correctly rejected several of his opinions, on the basis of a theory that is founded in a cognitive approach to the phenomenon (e.g., the existence of objectively existent similarities between source and target domains), Aristotle can indeed be argued to have "foreshadowed" (Mahon 1999:79) some of the essential claims conceptual metaphor theory makes. In fact, his works are far from presenting metaphor as "deviant, erratic, ornamental, and spurious" (Steen 2010:1) and, with the acknowledgement of the learning effect that can be achieved by being aware of a certain (not further defined) cognitive value of metaphor in choosing "appropriate" (Aristoteles 1959:367) linguistic metaphors and thus "putting the matter before the eyes" (Aristoteles 1959:359), Aristotle can be argued to encourage his audience to make people "*understand[] and experienc[e] one kind of thing in terms of another.*" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:5).

#### 5.1.4. Terminological Clarifications: Metaphors Dead or Alive, Conventional or Institutionalized

As shown previously, the emergence of a cognitive approach to metaphor brought about some major shifts in the categories and terminology of metaphor theory and linguistics leading to traditional notions such as 'literal' being reinterpreted and redefined by contemporary scholars.<sup>141</sup> This has resulted in several ambiguities since, starting with the very basic meaning of 'metaphor' itself, in many cases traditional meanings and terms exist simultaneously to, and occasionally interfere with, their redefinitions. Thus, a clarification of terminology seems to be required.

The first term which, as it will turn out to be partially connected to the notion of poetic creativity, demands clarification is 'conventionality'. In their first comprehensive work on the

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<sup>141</sup> Cp. chapter 5.1.2.1.

subject, Lakoff and Johnson, use the label 'conventional metaphor' with reference to both levels of metaphor, the conceptual and the linguistic one without offering any further differentiation. With regard to the "conventional metaphor LIFE IS A STORY" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) two linguistic realisations are presented, of which 'Tell me the story of your life' is labelled as a "sentence[] with conventional metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) and 'Life's ... a tale told by an idiot' as the "nonconventional metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The ambiguity of both terms, *conventional* and *nonconventional*, seems to go unnoticed. It is only when a clearer distinction between the linguistic expressions of (conceptual) metaphors and these conceptual metaphors as such is undertaken in Lakoff & Turner (2001) that the concept of 'conventionalization' gains a clearer shape:

[Conventionalization] applies at both the conceptual and the linguistic levels. At the conceptual level, a metaphor is conventional to the extent that it is automatic, effortless, and generally established as a mode of thought among members of a linguistic community. For example, DEATH IS DEPARTURE is deeply conventionalized at the conceptual level; we probably all have it. [...] Conventionalization also applies to the connection between the conceptual and the linguistic levels. When, in this book, we speak of the degree to which a conceptual metaphor is conventionalized in the language, we mean the extent to which it underlies a range of everyday linguistic expressions. For example, DEATH IS DEPARTURE is not just conventionalized as a way of conceiving of death; it is also widely conventionalized in language, underlying a wide range of expressions such as 'pass away', be 'no longer with us', 'gone', 'among the dear departed,' and so on. (Lakoff & Turner 2001:55f)

A conventional conceptual metaphor is, thus, a prominent conceptual mapping, which is, as Lakoff (1993) puts it, "a fixed part of our conceptual system" (208). This results in the logical opposite to the conventional conceptual metaphor being a novel or unconventional conceptual metaphor, for which Lakoff and Johnson (2011) give the example LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART (139). Moreover, the above definition identifies a "conceptual metaphor [that] is *conventionalized in the language*" [emphasis added] (Lakoff & Turner 2001:55) as a *conceptual* metaphor, to which a "wide range of expressions" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:55f) can be assigned as its realizations. This results in the establishment of two labels, 'conventional (conceptual) metaphor' and 'conventionalized (conceptual) metaphor', which both apply to the cognitive level of metaphor. To set up a balanced and complementary terminology, however, it is also necessary to establish a term for linguistic metaphors that are 'conventional' in the word's most basic linguistic sense, i.e. that are *institutionalized* expressions with a metaphorical meaning, established in the common lexicon of English. This institutionalization of a metaphorical expression is to be understood as both independent of whichever conceptual background may be assigned to it and of whether the average speaker of

English is conscious of its metaphoricity or not. This definition of institutionalized linguistic metaphors is bound to include what Lakoff and Johnson denote as "literal expressions structured by metaphorical concepts" in the sense of unconsciously used parts of "normal everyday language appropriate to the situation" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:51),<sup>142</sup> but can also denote expressions that are more consciously used and more marked as metaphorical, although still being institutionalized with their metaphorical sense.

Applying the now clarified terminology to one of the compounds would thus mean that the compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), being used by Iago in contextual reference to Othello in a conversation with Desdemona's father, in which he insinuates that the latter will *haue [his] daughter couered with a Barbary horse* (O 1.1.113f), could be argued to be an elaborate manifestation of the conventional conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. This conventional conceptual metaphor is presumably also conventionalized in the language to a certain degree, taking into account the rather common use of expressions like 'pig' or 'lion' to refer to persons. In opposition to these particular realisations of the conceptual metaphor, however, which certainly can be seen to be institutionalized, *Barbary horse* is certainly not a common expression to denote a person and is thus not institutionalized with a metaphorical meaning, but gains this interpretation only within the special context of the play. Consequently, the use of the term *Barbary horse* in this context, although not expressing a novel or idiosyncratic conceptual metaphor, can be seen as being a novel and idiosyncratic linguistic metaphor.

The redefinition of terms and categories by Conceptual Metaphor Theory has affected another traditional perception, which is closely connected to institutionalization: the category of 'dead' metaphors. As the conceptual level of metaphor has not been part of the traditional approach, 'dead' metaphors are to be understood as applying to the linguistic level of metaphoricity only and, according to Kövecses, are traditionally defined as metaphorical expressions which

may have been alive and vigorous at some point but have become so conventional and commonplace with constant use that by now they have lost their vigor and have ceased to be metaphors at all (Kövecses 2010:xi).

The interpretation of this rather vague definition suggests that 'dead metaphors' can be equated with what Lakoff (1993) terms 'literal' expressions, i.e., expressions whose metaphorical sense

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<sup>142</sup> For a clarification of Lakoff's understanding of the term 'literal' see chapter 5.1.2.1.



is so deeply entrenched in the speakers' lexicon and which thus are used unconsciously of their metaphoricity. Consequently, they are, per definition, highly entrenched and institutionalized linguistic metaphors.

The traditional terminological pair of 'dead metaphors' in the sense of highly entrenched and institutionalized linguistic metaphors and its natural opposition – metaphors which are 'alive', i.e. not institutionalized but idiosyncratic expressions, has, however, been overturned by conceptual metaphor theorists. Consistent with their main concern with the conceptual level of metaphor, their main interest lies in the institutionalized linguistic expressions which are part of our everyday language and thus deeply entrenched and unconsciously used. With regard to their assumption that especially these linguistic metaphors, formerly declared 'dead', are the manifestation of the most conventional (and conventionalized) conceptual metaphors, they argue that

[t]hey are 'alive' in the most fundamental sense: they are metaphors we live by. The fact that they are conventionally fixed within the lexicon of English makes them no less alive (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:55).

The term 'alive' in its basic opposition to 'dead', is then again used to apply to both levels of metaphor and is often also applied with reference to conventional conceptual metaphors (cp. Kövecses 2012:xi). Given this ambiguity of the terms 'dead' and 'alive' with regard to metaphors, I choose to adhere to the clearer terminology of 'institutionalized and non-institutionalized' linguistic metaphors, as well as 'conventional or novel' conceptual metaphors.

#### 5.1.5. Metaphor and Metonymy

After the fundamental breakthrough that the cognitive take on metaphor meant for the study of this particular phenomenon in the aftermath of Lakoff and Johnson's groundbreaking publication in 1980 (cp. ch. 5.1.2), a second 'figure of speech', having long been understood as another instance of indirect reference involving the use of one linguistic term to stand for another, largely slipped scholarly attention for another two decades, although its cognitive

importance finds explicit mention in chapter 8 of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work.<sup>143</sup> Regardless of the latter's groundwork in that matter, it is no earlier than at the turn of the millennium that the "preponderance of metaphor over metonymy in scholarship" (Jakobson 2002:47 [orig. publ. 1956]; cp. further Barcelona 2002 [1998]:215) begins to be equilibrated by pioneering publications such as *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (1999) edited by Panther and Radden, and *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads*, edited by Barcelona in 2000, which promote the understanding of metonymy as a major and very elementary structuring force in human language and conceptualisation, and succeed in bringing the phenomenon into focus.

While in the 'traditional understanding', metonymy (just like metaphor) is figured as restricted to the linguistic realm, representing one of the classical rhetoric 'tropes' and based on a relation of contiguity between two entities and their respective names (cp., e.g., Ullmann 1983 [1962]:218ff; Waldron 1967:186ff), many of the contemporary studies on metonymy, that are conducted within the framework of cognitive linguistics (or cognitive semantics), operate with the notion of conceptual domains and, often in delimitation to metaphor, define metonymy as a cognitive mapping process that takes place *within one* conceptual domain, whereas metaphor, as outlined in ch. 5.1.2, is understood to represent a mapping *between two* (or more) distinct domains. (cp., e.g., Barcelona 2002 [1998]:211ff)<sup>144</sup> According to these domain-based approaches, conventional instances of metonymic mappings either entail the contiguous relations between a whole and its parts within a domain (or domain matrix) (as traditionally connected to the rhetorical figure of synecdoche), as well as that between different parts within one domain and underlie a variety of linguistic expressions, which realise conceptual relations such as, WHOLE THING FOR A PART OF THE THING (e.g., *America* for 'United States'), OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THAT OBJECT (as in *There was cat all over the road*), A MEMBER OF THE CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY (e.g., aspirin for 'any pain-relieving tablet'), or, as embodying the relations between different parts of an action domain, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g., to ski, to shampoo one's hair), AGENT FOR

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<sup>143</sup> It has been noted in recent discourse, however, that some of the key ideas of the conceptual view on metonymy, i.e. its relevance as a cognitive principle as well as the scalar nature of metaphor and metonymy, have at least been foreshadowed by Jakobson's essay on *The metaphoric and metonymic poles*, first published in 1956 and reissued in Dirven & Pörings (2002).

<sup>144</sup> Note that, since the simple "reliance on the notions of same or different conceptual domains" Barcelona (2002:220) has been shown to be somewhat imprecise, a refined understanding of metonymy to represent instances of 'domain highlighting' within the more complex structure of a domain matrix (cp. Croft 2002[1993]), or within a similarly conceived Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) (cp. Kövecses & Radden 1998) have been proposed, in order to further refine the definition of metonymy as well as the distinction between metonymy and metaphor. For the present purpose, however, immersing into the theoretical details of the different domain-based approaches is not necessary.

ACTION (e.g., *to butcher*), DESTINATION FOR MOTION (e.g., *to porch* the newspaper), and many more. (cp. Kövecses & Radden 1998:49ff) Thus, abandoning the idea that metonymy is "just a matter of language" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:37), metonymy is recognized by cognitivists as a comprehensive, cognitive mechanism that, although still comprehensible as based on a relation of contiguity within one domain (or domain matrix or ICM) (cp. Kövecses & Radden 1998:39), is essentially a "mental mechanism, not to be confused with [its] expression, linguistic and otherwise" (Barcelona 2002 [1998]:216). Hence, the cognitive view on metonymy also means an extended and broadened perspective on metonymy as encompassing much more than the substitution of terms along the lines of the classical rhetorical figures as synecdoche, for instance, and has, already in its early stages, advocated a conceptualisation of the phenomenon as the underlying principle of conceptual relations, not only between lexical units as such, but also within the pragmatic realms of speech acts (cp., e.g., Gibbs 1994), inferencing (cp. Panther & Thornburg 1998), and implicature (cp. Barcelona 2003). Furthermore, metonymy could be identified as the motivation underlying word-formation patterns such as affixation (cp. Janda 2011; 2014) and, as will be discussed further in ch. 7.1.2.2, conversion and nominalization.

As intriguingly clear-cut as the definitional delimitation of metaphor and metonymy within the domain-based approach given above may seem, however, the conceptualisation of metaphor and metonymy as two fundamentally different (and, hence, naturally distinct) processes (cp. Lakoff & Johnson 1980:36), has, faced with contrary evidence from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, gradually given way to an increasing awareness of the fact that such an unambiguous demarcation is impossible: On a diachronic level, the originally metonymic bases of many mappings that are synchronically interpreted as metaphoric (e.g., the originally metonymic basis of the idiom *to pay lip-service to someone*, which has been shown to have a biblical source domain by Goosens (2002 [1990]), as investigated in studies such as Goosens' (2002 [1990]) and, more recently, Radden's (2002 [2000]), have brought the notion back into focus, that metaphor and metonymy may, in fact, be inseparably connected. From a synchronic view, the intertwining of metaphor and metonymy (termed *metaphonymy* by Goosens 2002 [1990]), as observable, for instance, in numerous composite expressions and idioms (cp. Geeraerts 2002), provided further evidence in this regard, so that, eventually, the boundaries between the two phenomena have been acknowledged to be blurred in much of the scholarly literature (cp. Barcelona 2002 [1998]; Geeraerts 2002; Goosens 2002 [1990]; Lipka 1994; Radden 2002 [2000]). Instead of clearly distinguishable processes, metaphor and metonymy are, hence, best "to be seen as prototypical categories along a metonymy – metaphor

continuum" (Radden 2002 [2000]:431), as "points on a cline" (Allan 2008:13) of literalness, or figurativeness, respectively – an approach that is represented most lucidly in Dirven (2002), who, in a heavily revised version of a paper originally published in 1993, proposes a continuum of figurativity, with metaphor representing the figurative end, and different forms of metonymy, ‘literal metonymies’ (non-figurative, e.g., *parts of the country* for ‘people from those parts of the country’), ‘conjunctive metonymies’ (either non-figurative, as in *tea* for the ‘afternoon meal’, or figurative, e.g., *The Crown* for ‘the monarch’) and ‘inclusive metonymies’ (figurative, e.g., *having a good head* for ‘being intelligent’) representing certain points on the scale. Within his theoretical framework, Dirven (2002) accounts for the fact that metonymies can also display different degrees of figurativeness (defined as involving a "conceptual leap" (83) of a certain quantity and quality) – a property that has long been ascribed to metaphor only. Besides to the concepts of syntagmatism and paradigmaticism, as well as contiguity and similarity, Dirven (2002) connects the different degrees of figurativeness to conceptual closeness and distance and states that "[f]igurative meaning only arises – or at least is stimulated to arise – if the conceptual distance between the two (sub)domains or things referred to is large enough." (96) This conceptualisation of metaphor and metonymy encompasses an understanding of both phenomena as essentially gradual and interconnected, which is clearly corroborated by the instances of metaphor and metonymy in the present study.<sup>145</sup> (cp. further ch. 5.3.8)

## 5.2. Metaphor and Literary Genius

### 5.2.1. More than Concepts: The Importance of Linguistic Choices

#### 5.2.1.1. Semantic Compactness

With the rise of conceptual metaphor theory and its emphasis on the cognitive background of metaphor, the appreciation of the linguistic force of metaphor to serve as a highly efficient way of providing a considerable extent of information within one image has noticeably faded into the background. It was not until recently, therefore, that the semantic compactness of metaphorical expressions has been brought back into focus and cognitive linguists, such as Reka Benczes, have turned their attention to the linguistic power of metaphor "to express quite complex ideas in an economical manner" (Benczes 2010:221).

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<sup>145</sup> The notion of metaphoricity as a gradual phenomenon is also accepted by many scholars working outside of the framework of conceptual metaphor theory, e.g. Elzbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczevska (2013).

The notion of semantic compactness is especially prominent in compounds, as they unite two or more lexical units in one expression and thus, by their very nature, combine the semantic content of each constituent into a new lexical unit with its own meaning (depending on the semantic relation between its constituents).<sup>146</sup> As Benczes notes correctly, in metaphorically used compounds the semantic compactness of the word-formation product is further supplemented by the benefit of encoding additional information via metaphor. (cp. 2010:222) In that, metaphorical compounds exhibit an extraordinarily high efficiency of expression and can be perceived as "a linguistic short cut, which is able to achieve a maximum effect with a minimum of effort" (Benczes 2010:222).

With regard to literary metaphors (and the subject of this study), however, the appreciation of the linguistic force of metaphorical expressions is closely connected to the quality of individual linguistic choices (as opposed to common underlying conceptual schemes) and the evaluation of poetic talent. As the contextual meaning of a metaphorically used compound in a given text is realized in the interaction of the literal<sup>147</sup> meaning of the constituents of the compound, its literal meaning as a complex word-formation product and its contextual reference, the degree of semantic compactness and efficiency of metaphorical compounds depends strongly on the choice of the individual metaphorical expression, and the nature and quality of a "linguistic short cut" (Benczes 2010:222) is therefore bound to vary. This qualitative variation in terms of semantic compactness and with that, the evaluation of literary genius, however, is entirely independent of the conceptual background of the respective linguistic metaphor.

In order to prove this point, the example of the compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) will be taken up again. As noted earlier, the compound, in its contextual metaphorical use to derogatively refer to Othello, can be seen as a non-institutionalized linguistic manifestation of the quite conventional conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (cp. ch. 5.1.4). In its reference to Othello, however, the resulting image exhibits an extraordinary semantic compactness that makes it a sophisticated and multi-layered insult. The most basic degradation entailed in the head of the compound is the denial of the status of a human being for Othello, and the choice of a type of horse as vehicle further encodes the notions of being wild, uncivilized and limited to basic instincts. Moreover, with respect to these instincts, the vehicle clearly evokes sexual connotations, especially in its contextual combination with the verb

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<sup>146</sup> For adjective compounds as a means of 'text condensation' in the press, see, e.g., Ljung (2000).

<sup>147</sup> 'Literal' here being understood as 'non-metaphorical' and 'context-independent', as noted in ch. 5.1.2.1.

*covered: youle haue your daughter couered with a Barbary horse* (O 1.1.113-114). The term thus relegates Othello to a basic creature, limited to animalistic and primitive behaviour. It is also the modifier of the compound, however, that encodes a multitude of meanings and connotations and thus makes for an extremely cunning choice of the compound. On a very basic level, the modifier of the compound and its literal reading as a location in Northern Africa denotes the geographic origin of Barbary horses, i.e. stallions from Arabia. The expression, thereby, entails the notion of being foreign, and, in its reference to Othello, strongly underlines the general's foreign background, which both in the contextual setting as being used by Iago who clearly dislikes the idea of having to surrender the post as a general to a foreigner, and in the light of Renaissance culture, implies a negative quality. There are, however, much more subtle meanings encoded in the compound, the first of which can be detected when taking into account Shakespeare's metaphorical use of the term *Barbary cock-pigeon* in *As You Like It* to denote a "man who jealously safe-guards his wife" (s.v. 'barbary cock-pigeon'. Crystal & Crystal 2002). Ruling out the possibility of the correspondence being coincidental as very unlikely, Shakespeare seems to additionally capture an allusion to extreme jealousy in the compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114). Thus, as a derogative term for Othello, the compound can be argued to foreshadow the general's fate in connection with his decisive flaw of being overly jealous. The last semantic contribution compressed in the compound to be discussed here lies in its modifier's phonological structure. As *Barbary* contains a rather obvious phonological resemblance to *barbarian*, the compound, via this pun, both stresses the notion of foreignness once again and may also further ascribe first connotations of rudeness and savagery to Othello, as this meaning of the adjective was emerging around 1600 (cp. "barbarian, n. and adj. 3.a." *OED online*. 18 August 2014.). In its contextual meaning, *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) thus comprises an exceedingly high number of semantic meanings and connotations and shows an impressively dense semantic compactness, which is entirely unimpeded by the status of the (presumably) underlying conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS as being quite conventional. The example illustrates vividly that it is the individual linguistic choice that creates the semantic density of the linguistic metaphor – a density which could certainly not be achieved by many (if any) other realisations of the common conceptual metaphor. Moreover, the complexity and the elaborate structure of instances like *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), strongly suggest that the choice of the image is the result of a highly conscious evaluation of its effect taking into account the semantic structures of the compound's constituents, which indeed implies a very "conscious and deliberate use of words" (Kövecses 2010:IX).

Coming back to Benczes' remark about the semantic efficiency of metaphorical compounds quoted initially, it is therefore certainly true that a metaphorically used compound such as *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) "is able to achieve a maximum effect" (Benczes 2010:222), but the effort for the poet to create the metaphor may, in fact, often be more than minimal. The success of creating this maximized effect in terms of high semantic compactness depends on the linguistic choices that are being made rather than on the conceptual ones and with a sensitivity for connotations and meaning nuances of lexical items poets can create extremely dense images from highly conventional conceptual metaphors. There is no doubt that this ability can be seen as constituting an important component of literary creativity.

#### 5.2.1.2. Possible Leverages in the Use of Linguistic Metaphor

In the course of refocussing on the linguistic level of metaphor by several scholars, not only the notion of semantic compactness gained recognition again, but several other factors that seem to influence metaphor on the linguistic level likewise attracted attention. With respect to linguistic metaphor and its investigation with the help of corpus linguistics, Deignan (2008) thus stresses an important finding:

corpus linguistic research suggests that a mental mapping theory of metaphor is not in itself sufficient to account for the patterns found in language. Other factors seem to contribute to shape the linguistic data. (287)

For Deignan, these additional factors lie mainly in the field of context, genre and purpose of a text as well as linguistic convention and the speaker's (or writer's) intention. The corpus linguistic studies she refers to in her article are able to prove that, contrary to the suggestions made by conceptual metaphor theory which claims the mapping between domains to be the basic and only structuring force for linguistic manifestations of metaphor, linguistic conventions such as collocations and fixed expressions strongly constrain linguistic metaphoricity in an utterance. (cp. Deignan 2008:287f) Thus, several linguistic choices that are made frequently seem to determine others and thereby act as a structuring force for metaphor themselves.

Further, Deignan presents research conducted on corpora, which found evidence that genre and purpose of a text seem more relevant for the choice of linguistic metaphor than underlying conceptual structures. To prove the latter assumption, researchers compared two

different corpora with texts from similar genres but directed at different audiences and found that, although the corpora shared most conceptual source domains, the linguistic realisation differed considerably, due to the purpose of the respective texts in the corpora. Consequently they draw the conclusion that

the purpose of the text seems to be an important factor in determining the choice of [linguistic] metaphor. For instance, different metaphors are chosen to illustrate economic concepts to a lay reader than those that are used to model theory to a coresearcher. (Deignan 2008:289)

Also advocating an even more radical re-appreciation of contextual factors in the production (and comprehension) of metaphor and going beyond text purpose as an influential factor, Zoltan Kövecses, in his very recent contribution *Where Metaphors Come From: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor* (2017), promotes an acknowledgement of the influence of context, while extending the notion to include the physical, as well as the "linguistic, intertextual, cultural, social contexts" (2017:119). In an attempt to supplement Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its decided focus on the cognitivity of metaphor with the context-sensitivity it hitherto missed, Kövecses, substantiating his theory by examples from the realms of poetic metaphor, humour and the conceptualisation of happiness, in a very similar vein to Deignan (2008), aims to prove that

metaphorical meaning in language use (or other types of communication) does not simply arise from conceptual metaphors, the mappings that constitute them, and the metaphorical entailments they may imply [...] [but it] is heavily dependent on context (Kövecses 2017:1).

What eventually follows from this re-evaluation of contextual factors is that, whereas underlying conceptual structures may be (near-)universal, it is in the hands of a writer in many cases to choose their linguistic metaphors in accordance with the genre of a text, with respect to the requirements of their audience, or with the general linguistic or intertextual context in mind. Especially with regard to metaphor in literature (and considering examples such as *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), cp. above), it can be assumed that frequently this choice is indeed a conscious one. Hence, when Alice Deignan claims that "metaphor is a textual and social phenomenon as well as a cognitive one" (2008:280), one could add that it is also, and much more fundamentally than suggested by some theorists, a *linguistic* phenomenon that is variable and, in many cases, autonomous on the level of language (and text) to a certain degree.

With particular regard to compounds, similar observations have been made by Reka Benczes (2010). Focussing on the constraints on production and use of metaphorical and



metonymical compounds, Benczes (2010) also points out several language based influences, which seem to both motivate the formation of what she terms ‘creative compounds’ and provide certain tools for the successful creation of these compounds in the form of phonological factors and analogies in the field of semantic relations. (cp. 222f)

With respect to the latter factor, Benczes (2010), with reference to Ryder (1994), is able to show exemplarily that common semantic patterns (such as, e.g., the Purpose-Object relation in compounds like *watchdog* or *sheepdog*) influence the formation of metaphorical compounds such as *firedog* (‘either of a pair of (typically ornamental) metal stands used for supporting burning wood in a fireplace’, s.v. "fire, n. and int.C2.a." *OED online*. 22 June 2017), since both metaphorical and non-metaphorical compounds share the function of ‘guarding’ something and, as a result, "the modifying element is selected with this similarity in the background" (Benczes 2010:230). These semantic analogies, however, facilitate the comprehensibility of a novel metaphorical compound and are thus an important linguistic factor in forming them, since intelligibility is to be secured. Coming as a constraint on creativity in some cases, semantic analogies, however, can also be exploited successfully for the creation of metaphorical (but intelligible) compounds such as *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16), which is used in *Every Man in His Humour* with reference to a stack of poetry carried in one’s pocket (and used as an inspiration for spontaneous recitals). The compound displays the common semantic relation of ‘Location-Located’ and is interpreted and presumably also formed in analogy to other terms designating objects "intended to be carried in the pocket" (s.v. "pocket, n. and adj.B.1.a." *OED online*. 22 June 2017), such as, e.g., *pocket dag* that already exists at the time of Jonson’s formation of the compound. (cp. "pocket, n. and adj.B.1.a." *OED online*. 22 June 2017) The analogy to these lexemes prompts the immediate understanding of the novel compound as ‘some type of muse, which is intended to be carried in a pocket’ and thus facilitates its processing and comprehension.

On the phonological level, Benczes (2010) adduces the examples *belly button* and *knee-mail*, to illustrate that "creative compounds often exhibit alliteration (also called initial rhyme) or rhyme [and] that neither alliteration, nor rhyme is accidental in creative compounds" (225). In that she presents a further linguistic factor, which is taken into account when creating novel metaphorical compounds, and indeed, highly creative formations such as *custard coffin* (TS 4.3.1961) (‘pastry crust for a custard’, s.v. "custard-coffin, n." *OED online*. 09 April 2015) suggest that their special phonological characteristics are more than mere coincidence but the result of a conscious linguistic choice. Besides these variations that take place strictly on a

phonological basis, the example of *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114; cp. ch. 5.2.1.1) also shows that (although in this case the compound in its literal meaning is no new formation) puns and quibbles on the basis of phonological resemblances between words are part of the range of linguistic levers a poet can use. In puns such as this, phonological and semantic factors are exploited simultaneously to create extraordinarily dense linguistic metaphors.

The findings presented in these studies show that linguistic metaphor is subject to many more influences than conceptual bases alone and that acknowledging that conceptual metaphor exists as a most essential cognitive structure, does not rule out the possibility to ascribe linguistic metaphor a certain amount of independence from these conceptual structures. Doing that, however, implies conceding more freedom and independency to poets, whose talent can then be seen to creatively exploit and utilize this freedom on the linguistic level, which is their natural habitat as "gifted wordsmiths" (Mahon 1999:80).

#### 5.2.1.3. The Influence of Rhetoric

The idea of conceiving the production of literary works as craftsmanship to a certain degree as it is entailed in metaphorical names which picture poets as "wordsmiths" (Mahon 1999:80), is a substantial characteristic of both classical rhetoric and poetics. Prestige and influence of both disciplines, which, as could be shown in several recent studies, had coalesced to the degree of scarce distinguishability (cp. Müller 1993:225; further Plett 1993, 2004) in the Renaissance period, were so immense that Heinrich Plett (2004) identifies the period as the zenith of rhetoric:

Rhetoric regained an importance in the time span from about the middle of the fourteenth to about the middle of the seventeenth century, which it did not possess before or after. (14)

The influence of rhetoric, whose fundamental doctrines had gained the status of common knowledge among educated people in the Renaissance (cp. Sackton 1948:11ff), on the style and design of literary works has proved to be so intense that the conception of the poet as 'poeta-orator' has been identified as an essential feature of literature in the period. (cp. Plett 1993:10) The persuasive effect of language and, by implication, of poetic works is of such importance that contemporary poetics such as Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) elevate poetry and poetic language to the status of being primary to the discipline of rhetoric: "So as the Poets were also from the beginning the best perswaders and their eloquence the first Rhetoricke of

the world" (Puttenham 1589:6). Indeed, many of the characters in the Renaissance plays under study are of such eloquence that either their 'makers' or their roles themselves well deserve to be awarded the title of 'poeta-orator'.<sup>148</sup> The 'persuasion' that Iago, Tamburlaine or Sejanus produce by their eloquence is of immense, if sometimes fatal, effect and it is frequently conceived in a form that leaves no doubt about their indebtedness to classical rhetoric doctrines.<sup>149</sup>

The role of metaphor in the production of this rhetoric effect has already been acknowledged by Aristotle, who emphasises the power of metaphor to "put[] the matter before the eyes" (Aristoteles 1959:359) and thus "produce persuasion" (Aristoteles 1959:367). With his explicitly high evaluation of the rhetorical character of poetic works in mind, however, it does not come as a surprise that Puttenham, as well, perceives "figuratiue speaches" (1589:115) as an indispensable ingredient of good style and rather unambiguously stresses their importance in the summarizing heading of chapter 11 of his book: "How our writing and speaches publike ought to be figuratiue, and if they be not doe greatly disgrace the cause and purpose of the speaker and writer" (115). According to Puttenham, to speak "cunningly and eloquently [...]" can not be done without the use of figures"(116), therefore, and the "efficacy by sense" (119) to be aimed at is best achieved by those figures that "serve the conceit" (119) and "work[] a stirre to the mynde" (119).

Indeed, many of the instances of metaphor in the analysed works, even if restricted to the word form of compounds and thus negligent of supposedly the larger part of the overall metaphorical content of the plays, serve to exemplify their rhetoric purposefulness, being employed so as to subtly further a psychological effect. Thus, the degradation of Othello being called a *Barbary horse* by Iago, as well as the derogative metaphors Lucius Arruntius repeatedly uses to denounce his adversary Sejanus' supporters, whom he refers to as *Palace-rattes* (S. 1.426) or as *Sejanus' bloodhounds, whom he breeds // With human flesh, to bay at citizens* (S. 3.376f) are, eventually successfully, employed by the characters to "produce persuasion" (Aristoteles 1959:367). The purposefulness of language and thus of the employment of literary figures is clearly perceivable in these examples. Taking further into account that a copy of Puttenham's poetics could be identified as having belonged to Arruntius' maker, Ben Jonson, once more emphasizes the relevance of contemporary poetics for Renaissance works and

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<sup>148</sup> For a note on the problem whether the term applies to the characters or the poets cp. Müller 1993:229.

<sup>149</sup> Cp., for example, "das judiziale Genus der Rede [the judicial style of oration]" (Schabert 2009:282f) in *Othello*.

suggests that Puttenham's guidelines influenced at least Jonson's understanding and production of literature.

In the Renaissance, as an age in which rhetoric doctrines had become an essential part of an educated person's knowledge and rhetoric effect had made it to one of the cornerstones of literary creation, it is expectable that poetics such as Puttenham's stress the technicality of poetry. They aim to *teach* their readers the ability to persuade and, in doing that, they present poetry as a distinctively learnable skill and the power to reach rhetoric effects as a matter of wisely choosing one's words. This implies an understanding of the literary text as a conscious piece of "workmanship" (Puttenham 1589:115) and the poet as a hardworking "versesmith" (Plett 2004:189) in the very basic senses of the words. The possibility of learning and practising this craftsmanship of poetry is, thus, an unquestioned predication of Puttenham's work and, as a logical consequence, the production of literary texts and in that also the production and use of metaphor is perceived as a highly conscious process. Literary metaphor is produced with the desired effect of "efficacy by sense" (Puttenham 1589:119) in mind and therefore, at least with reference to Renaissance literature, it cannot entirely be denied its status as a very deliberately applied rhetoric device.

It is highly advisable, therefore, in an analysis and evaluation of linguistic literary metaphor, especially in rhetorically shaped works such as the nine plays in the corpus, to clearly keep apart the conceptual level of metaphor, for which any artistic purpose is denied (cp. Kövecses 2010:ix) and whose functioning may well be "mostly unconscious, automatic, and [...] with no noticeable effort" (Lakoff 1993:245), from the linguistic level of metaphor, which, as could be shown, can be immensely informed by conscious artistic and rhetoric efforts. Thus, what Kövecses (2010) bans as features of metaphor belonging to an (obsolete) traditional view, in my eyes, can still have high validity as long as referring to *linguistic* metaphor: "metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words" (Kövecses 2010:IX) and, in many cases, it is indeed "used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose, such as when Shakespeare writes 'all the world's a stage.'" (Kövecses 2010:IX).

### 5.2.2. Literary Metaphor as Common Good or 'Token of Genius'?

The account of the cornerstones of traditional metaphor theory and the conceptual approach to the phenomenon in chapter 5.1 has attempted to delineate both the main differences and some

common (if sometimes neglected) assumptions in the understanding of metaphor. In combination with the subsequent account of factors that seemingly strongly influence the particular linguistic instances of metaphor, some essential insights could be gained, the first of which lies in the importance of a strict and clear discrimination between the conceptual level of metaphor and the linguistic one. In failing to make this distinction, some of the earlier works on conceptual metaphor theory have deprived themselves of much of their clarity and structure (cp. ch. 5.1.4).

With regard to the conceptual system of metaphorical thought, contemporary scholars have repeatedly stressed its basic feature of being common to all members of a culture and, in some cases, even to all human beings. The evidence for this suggestion lies in a multitude of institutionalized linguistic metaphors whose metaphoricity largely goes unnoticed, since the expressions are deeply integrated in our everyday language. In transfer to instances of linguistic literary metaphor, this theory and its stance on the ubiquity of conceptual metaphor and institutionalized linguistic metaphors in everyday language, has led to a fundamentally "egalitarian account" (Mahon 1999:70) of metaphor, that puts special emphasis on both the notions that "metaphor isn't just for poets" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:52) and that poets "still use the same basic conceptual resources available to us all" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:26). As a matter of fact, Lakoff and Turner (2001) are entirely correct in stating that this approach to literary metaphor "tells us something important about the nature of creativity" (26).

With the focus on conceptual metaphor being common ground to all of us, poetic creativity is relativized to the extent of meaning mere elaboration or extension of conceptual metaphors, of simply "us[ing] nothing but [...] ordinary knowledge structure" (Lakoff 1993:237) to its advantage. Although these assumptions can certainly not be disproved easily and form a very intriguing insight in the nature of human thought, it could be shown that there is, in fact, more to literary metaphor than can be directly ascribed to conventional conceptual mapping patterns of the form 'A IS B'. Linguistic choices have proved to be of an importance, which tends to be downplayed by contemporary theorists, who, in obvious accordance with their research aims, distinctively focus on what literary linguistic metaphors have *in common* with non-literary ones, as they look for the common denominator between what they perceive as instantiations of the same, basically conceptual, phenomenon. (cp. Semino & Steen 2008:236) While the general notion that linguistic utterances can never entail anything which does not have its basis in human cognition is to be fully and unequivocally embraced in the present study, and while, hence, the notion of linguistic metaphors being ultimately grounded

in mapping processes between domains located on the conceptual level is accepted without reserve, the present study works under the assumption that the impact of a distinction between linguistic metaphors, which (possibly) are based on conventional conceptual metaphors, and others, which are based on novel or possibly none such conceptual metaphors, is of minor nature when it comes to analysing the playwrights' respective style. As "a mental mapping theory of metaphor is not in itself sufficient to account for the patterns found in language" (Deignan 2008:287), a non-biased analysis and evaluation of linguistic literary metaphors has to take into account the importance of choices on the linguistic level. That means, it has to acknowledge the fact that the use, composition and content of many literary linguistic metaphors are the result of a highly imaginative process undertaken by poets who not infrequently design their linguistic metaphors in a very conscious and craftsman-like manner. Although the scope of the present study does not allow for a qualitative analysis of each instance of metaphoricity encountered in the corpus with the same attention to detail that I have paid to the multiple facets of Iago's use of *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) in *Othello* in ch. 5.2.1.1, it does, therefore, still perceive instances of linguistic metaphor as an appropriate basis for the investigation of poetic creativity. In the end, if "poets must make the most of the linguistic and conceptual resources they are given" (Lakoff & Turner 2001:26) and we are bound, nonetheless, to admit that, with regard to conscious linguistic choices, "it is still the case that some individuals are better at coining good [linguistic metaphors] than the rest of us" (Mahon 1999:80), semantically dense and highly complex literary linguistic metaphors might indeed be a "token of genius" (Aristoteles 1960:91).

### 5.3. Metaphoricity in the Compounds under Study

#### 5.3.1. The Two-Fold Perspective on Metaphor in Compounds from a Literary Corpus

After the contextualisation and clarification of the understanding and evaluation of linguistic metaphoricity in general, which I have undertaken in the previous chapter, the present chapter, taking the points made above as its theoretical foundation, will focus on the different forms of metaphoricity in (and of) compounds in a literary context. As has already become evident in part in the course of the analysis of the compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) conducted in ch. 5.2.1.1, the systematic identification and analysis of linguistic metaphor in compounds from a literary corpus demands a two-fold perspective on the issue: While, if encountered out of context, the compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) would certainly not be considered a

‘metaphorical compound’, since it gains its metaphoricity only in the specific context of its use in Shakespeare’s *Othello*, in which it is applied not to a ‘horse from the Barbary’ but to Othello, the abovementioned example *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16) exhibits a form of metaphoricity that is less dependent on the contextual reference of the compound as a whole. Instead, it is already the microcontext of the compound as such in this case, that, triggered by the semantic incompatibility of the non-figurative senses of its two constituents, *pocket* and *muse*, demands a metaphorical interpretation of the second element in the construction. The morphological shape of compounds, as pertaining to the most basic definition of being lexemes that contain "at least two roots" (Bauer 1983:28), can therefore be argued to allow for different anchor points and manifestations of metaphor in a compound’s morphological set-up (e.g., metaphor of the first, second or both constituents, cp. further below),<sup>150</sup> while the embeddedness of the items in the context of a literary work makes for a second dimension in the analysis, that has to account for metaphoricity which, as in the case of *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), is initiated by the context-specific reference of the compound as a whole, now conceptualized as a naming-unit. It comes as a logical corollary that the metaphoricity of the given compound is highly situational and the degree of institutionalization of the metaphorical meaning can vary freely:

It may be conventionalized and attested, and will then be found in a general users' dictionary; but it may also be novel, specialized, or highly specific, in which case it cannot be found in a general users' dictionary. (Steen 2010:33)

On the cognitive level, the conceptual mapping, in the case of the latter example, takes place between the specific domain HORSE FROM THE BARBARY, named *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) on the linguistic level, and OTHELLO. In *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16), on the other hand, the mapping process is between the domains MUSE and SMALL STACK OF PAPER and, hence, involves only the second constituent of the compound, while its first element, *pocket*, retains its non-metaphorical meaning. In the light of these observations, the present study proceeds on two levels, proposing two major categories of metaphoricity in (and of) compounds, which are to be termed ‘morphological metaphoricity’ and ‘contextual metaphoricity’<sup>151</sup> respectively, in accordance with where the metaphoricity of the respective items is rooted.

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<sup>150</sup> Interestingly, similar observations about the different potential ‘locations’ of metaphor in compounds have been made rather early by researchers concerned with the semantics of compounds, e.g. Warren (1978:113f) and Levi (1978:9f), although none of them elaborated on these insights or pursues any systematic analysis of metaphor in compounds.

<sup>151</sup> The term ‘morphological metaphor’ is supposed to indicate that metaphoricity affects parts of the morphological shape of the respective compounds. The label ‘contextual metaphor’ in turn is chosen to highlight the indebtedness of the metaphoricity of these particular compounds to their respective reference in the context of the plays.

### 5.3.2. The MIP(VU) as a Systematic Method for Metaphor Identification

In consideration of the necessity of a two-fold approach to the issue of metaphoricity of compounds as outlined above, the analysis of metaphoricity in the compounds from the corpus aims at a systematic classification of all compounds that involve metaphor into specific categories of metaphoricity, that both reflect the respective rootedness of the item's metaphoricity (i.e. 'contextual' or 'morphological metaphor') and can, as will be set-out below, provide further information about the exact nature of the linguistic metaphor involved in the respective compounds. In order to reduce subjectivity and inconsistency in the identification and classification process of metaphorical compounds,<sup>152</sup> however, a clear methodological framework for the systematic identification of metaphorical compounds in the plays is doubtlessly desirable. Hence, the procedure for the identification of linguistic metaphoricity in (and of) the compounds from the corpus will be based on the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), as outlined in Pragglejaz Group (2007), and its elaboration MIPVU<sup>153</sup> as presented in Steen (2010).

Both methodological models, MIP as well as its successor MIPVU, aim at ensuring a "systematic and exhaustive" (Steen 2010:25) investigation of the metaphoricity of lexical items in texts. Their methodology sets out from the word-by-word examination of a given text and bases the identification of metaphorical lexemes on a discrepancy observable between a lexeme's "meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text" (Pragglejaz Group 2007:3) and its "basic meaning[]" (Pragglejaz Group 2007:3). The prototypical, non-metaphorical basic meaning is delineated by the Pragglejaz Group as being "more concrete; [i.e.] what [it] evoke[s] is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste" (2007:3), "related to bodily action" (2007:3), "more precise (as opposed to vague)" (2007:4), "historically older" (2007:4) and usually more salient in the contemporary speakers' mind (as often reflected in its listedness in Learner's Dictionaries) (cp. Steen 2010:16f). The contrast between these contextual and basic meanings of an item together with the possibility for the former to "be understood in comparison" (Steen 2010:6) with the latter, hence, serves as the prime condition for classifying a lexeme as metaphorical, as it is perceived

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<sup>152</sup> The label 'metaphorical compound' shall here and henceforth be understood to refer to morphologically and contextually metaphorical compounds alike.

<sup>153</sup> The letters VU stand for *Vrije Universiteit* of Amsterdam, where the research was conducted. (cp. Steen 2010:5)



as the ‘linguistic evidence’ for a conceptual mapping between domains taking place on the cognitive level.

Once again adducing the example of the compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), it is the obvious incongruity of the contextual meaning of the compound, the character Othello, and its non-metaphorical interpretation as ‘horse from the Barbary’, which qualifies as its basic meaning by clearly being more concrete, presumably historically older and more salient in a speaker’s mind, who would certainly not make any connection to the character Othello, if encountering it out of context, that is taken as the empirical basis for the classification of the compound as (contextually) metaphoric. Since its creators define the general field of application of the MIP(VU) as the identification of metaphoricity of *lexical units* in discourse and as the specific word-formation products of composition are defined by the researchers as "single lexical units consisting of two distinct parts" (Steen 2010:30), the MIP(VU)’s methodology is immediately applicable for the recognition of contextual metaphors as these, since it identifies compounds whose metaphoricity is grounded in their use as naming units that gather their metaphorical sense in the act of referring to a particular onomasiological entity.

As established above, however, a thorough investigation of metaphoricity in compounds from a literary corpus will have to account for both the metaphoricity of compounds realized in their contextual function as naming units, and metaphoricity manifested on different anchor points in the morphological shape of a compound, i.e. morphological metaphoricity. Although, the Praggeljaz Group and Steen explicitly exclude metaphoricity in word-formation from their research aims (cp. Steen 2010:17), the systematic identification of metaphor involved in the constituents of compounds can still be aided by the MIP(VU)’s guidelines, by separately applying the basic steps of the method to the *constituents* of a compound. The potential metaphoricity of each of the compounds’ elements then becomes evident by comparing the basic sense of the constituent to its sense as realised in the microcontext of the respective compound. The application of the procedure to compounds such as *custard coffin* (TS 4.3.1961), institutionalized with the meaning "pastry crust for a custard" (s.v. "custard, n. C2." *OED online*. 30 May 2017), for example, helps to identify its second constituent as metaphorical, since the basic sense of ‘coffin’ ("box or chest in which a corpse is enclosed for burial"; s.v. "coffin, n." *OED Online*. 12 September 2017) displays obvious incongruence with its sense in the compound in which it is used in reference to the crust of a dish. Thus, the basic steps of MIPVU, contrary to what its designers identified as its purpose, can be successfully applied to identify morphological figurativeness in compounds as well, the only modification

being the point of comparison for the basic meaning of the constituents, which, as in the case of *custard coffin* (TS 4.3.1961), lies in the microcontext of the compound rather than in the larger context of the play.

It will have been noted by now that the recognition and identification of metaphoricity in compounds according to the MIP(VU) as presented so far, exclusively relies on the linguistic level as the realm where metaphorical mappings between domains become evident and systematically graspable. The MIP(VU), therefore, is not only deliberately restricted to "identify[ing] the linguistic forms of metaphor, not its conceptual structures" (Steen 2010:8) but also does not take into account any indication of metaphoricity of a lexeme that is not explicitly traceable and evident in a discrepancy between its basic and contextual senses. Hence, this focus on the linguistic realizations of metaphorical mappings as the basis for empirical identification and investigation has the advantage of representing a more objective and tangible methodological model and it complies with the aims of the present study, which does not target a systematic conceptual / cognitive analysis of the metaphorical compounds from the corpus, fully agreeing, in that respect, with the MIP(VU)'s assertion that "[t]o determine which conceptual domains these [metaphorical] words belong to is neither simple nor necessary and constitutes a research question of its own" (Steen 2010:8). Besides that, adhering to the linguistic level for metaphor identification brings the substantial advantage of avoiding any confinements imposed by a specific conceptual understanding of metaphoricity. Therefore, Gerard Steen and colleagues indeed have a point when they note that it is

[a]nother happy corollary of the linguistic as opposed to conceptual approach to metaphor identification in discourse [...] that analysts focusing on the linguistic forms of metaphor do not have to choose between competing models for cross-domain mappings. (Steen 2010:8)

### 5.3.3. Metaphor and Simile

Notwithstanding the statements made above concerning the advantages of the linguistic approach to metaphor identification as opposed to any conceptual one, the most significant expansion of the MIP method undertaken by the MIPVU does in fact part with the strict concentration on the linguistic level to a certain extent by introducing a category of

metaphoricity which they term 'direct metaphors'.<sup>154</sup> While, as set out in the previous chapter, the MIP identifies metaphor on the basis of an incongruence of a lexeme's basic and contextual meanings, the MIPVU allows the inclusion of words, which, as will become clear in the course of this chapter, do not display such incongruity of meanings, but, whose "use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text" (Steen 2010:26), nevertheless. In their extension of the original model, the MIPVU identifies certain lexical markers that signal so called 'direct metaphoricity' and, hence, function like 'flags' in a text. Among these 'flags', units such as *like*, *seem as*, *if* figure most prominently, thus pointing at the obvious closeness of the concept of 'direct metaphors' to classical rhetorical figures such as simile or analogy.

Traditional approaches to metaphor have, in fact, largely perceived metaphor and simile as closely related and typologically equal. In this vein, "metaphor can be thought of as a simile with the comparison term (e.g., *like*) dropped" (Ritchie 2013:5) and in the definition Aristotle gives for the figure of the simile in his *Rhetoric*, this basic assumption seems easily recognizable:

The simile also is a metaphor; for there is very little difference. When the poet says of Achilles, 'he rushed like a lion', it is a simile; if he says, 'a lion, he rushed on', it is a metaphor; for because both are courageous, he transfers the sense and calls Achilles a lion. (Aristoteles 1959:367)

Similes, for Aristotle are thus indeed "metaphors of a kind" (Aristoteles 1959:415) and it is only in passing that he mentions a difference between the two figures that in retrospect proves most insightful:

For the simile, as we have said, is a metaphor differing only by the addition of a word, wherefore it is less pleasant because it is longer; it does not say that this is that, so that the mind does not even examine this. (Aristoteles 1959:397)

By mentioning the fact that the simile does not *equal* the tenor to the vehicle as the linguistic metaphor does, Aristotle takes up what can be identified as the main and decisive distinguishing characteristic between metaphors and similes on the linguistic level: The reference point of the respective vehicle. Resorting to the classical example, this difference proves evident: In the

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<sup>154</sup> As a second major extension in elaboration of the MIP, the MIPVU research team proposes the inclusion of instances of metaphorically used words being either substituted by, e.g., personal pronouns, or left-out in the surface structure via ellipsis. (cp. Steen 2010:39f) Since this form of hidden metaphoricity, as a matter of fact, hardly applies to compounds and thus misses both the aim to investigate metaphoricity of exactly these word-formation products and to lighten and compare *usage habits* of three particular Renaissance authors in terms of metaphorical compounds, this form of metaphoricity will consequently not be included in the present study.

metaphor ‘Achilles is a lion’, the contextual reference of ‘lion’ is ‘Achilles’, thus forming an obvious contrast between contextual reference and the basic (more concrete and more salient) institutionalized meaning of the vehicle as "a large powerful animal of the cat family, that hunts in groups and lives in parts of Africa and southern Asia" (s.v. ‘lion’, Hornby et al. 2003). This discrepancy between contextual reference and basic meaning, however, clearly disappears in the linguistic form of a simile such as ‘Achilles is like a lion’, in which the contextual reference point of the linguistic form ‘lion’ is equivalent to its basic institutionalized sense of a wild animal, to which Achilles is explicitly *likened*.

This distinction has obvious methodological implications for the identification of metaphorical meaning in linguistic items and thus also for the present study. While the MIP methodology is designed to only register what Steen later calls "indirect metaphors" (Steen 2010:15), i.e. instances of linguistic metaphor which exhibit an incongruity of contextual meaning and basic meaning (cp. Steen 2010:5ff and ch. 5.3.2), the extended model proposed by the MIPVU Group goes beyond that. By involving the inclusion of instances of ‘direct metaphor’, i.e. linguistic realisations of conceptual cross-domain mappings, which are *not* manifest in a contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning of a lexical unit, but which use language *directly* in that the basic reference of the lexical unit and the contextual one are congruent, instances of similes such as ‘Achilles is a lion’ are covered by the methodology. The justification of this expansion lies in the acknowledgment of the fact that, on the conceptual level, cross-domain mapping takes place in both classical linguistic metaphor and simile, this mapping being explicitly demanded from the reader (or listener) in the form of so called *flags* such as *like, seem as if, more...than, imagine, resemble* etc. in the case of the latter variant.

Evidently, this inclusion of instances of direct metaphor stands in recognisable contradiction to a purely linguistic approach on metaphor identification as I have promoted it so far and Gerard Steen readily admits this fact:

By taking on board directly expressed forms of metaphor, the boundary between linguistic and conceptual analysis becomes somewhat blurred, since lexical units involved in directly expressed metaphors do not exhibit the same clear contrast between basic and contextual senses. (Steen 2010:96)

The advantages of an inclusion of similes and similar realisations of direct metaphor for the present study, however, seem to outweigh the impact of the theoretical inconsistency regarding the linguistic approach to metaphor identification to which the study generally adheres. In the hope of being able to present a more detailed and differentiated picture of figurativeness and its

shape in the respective plays, instances of direct metaphoricity of compounds will be included in the investigation as a separate category. This approach promises both to include quantitatively more compounds which exhibit metaphoricity and to allow a further differentiation in terms of stylistic preferences of the respective playwrights. Thus, several powerful examples of similes such as Dame Kately's picturing of her brain resembling an *hour-glasse* (EM 3.3.49) can be accounted for, which in restriction to indirectly metaphorical compounds would have been lost:

My braine (me thinkes) is like an houre-glasse,  
Wherein, my' imaginations runne, like sands,  
Filling vp time ; but then are turn'd, and turn'd,  
So, that I know not what to stay vpon,  
And lesse, to put in act.

(EM 3.3. 49-53)

Whereas in directly metaphorical compounds, such as *hour-glasse* (EM 3.3.49), contextual meaning and basic meaning are congruent, the incongruity, as an important factor for the identification of directly expressed metaphoricity as well, lies in the conceptual domains. In the case of *hour-glasse* (EM 3.3.49) the domains of the HUMAN BRAIN and an HOUR-GLASS can easily be identified as incongruent. There are, however, linguistic expressions which, although similar in surface structure, do not entail this comparison between two incongruent domains and thus cannot be counted as metaphorical. Andrew Ortony notes this problem as early as 1979, when he operates with the terms *literal comparison* versus *nonliteral comparisons* for examples like 'Encyclopedias are like dictionaries' and 'Encyclopedias are like gold mines' respectively (Ortony 1979b:191) and, three decades later, Steen (2010) points out correctly that

[a]nother issue regarding the analysis of similes is the question whether we are in fact dealing with a metaphorical rather than a literal comparison, since the word like can also indicate literal similarity. [...] The underlying problem is whether the domains that are being compared are in fact distinct enough to allow for classification as a mapping between domains. (95f)

Steen (2010) further rightly states that a clear qualitative judgement of when exactly two domains are 'distinct enough' is often hard to make and eventually comes to the conclusion that, in accordance with previous works on the subject, "two distinct and 'incongruous domains', however weak, should be considered as expressing a cross-domain mapping" (Steen 2010:96). The present study will follow this approach.

#### 5.3.4. The Categories of Metaphor in the Compounds

Considering the statements and elaborations on metaphoricity within and of compounds presented so far, a large part of the agenda for the establishment of a classificatory scheme for metaphorical compounds is already set: The observations made in chs. 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 revealed that linguistic metaphoricity in a compound from a literary text either occurs on the level of its constituents, indicated by a semantic incompatibility of the non-figurative senses of its two elements and evident in the discrepancy between the respective basic meaning of a constituent and its meaning as manifest in the microcontext of the compound (exemplified by *custard coffen* (TS 4.3.1961) and *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16)), or on the contextual level, on which the compound is perceived as a lexical unit (i.e. a naming unit) that gains its metaphoricity only in the individual context of its use (as pointed out for the example of *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114)). This results in the emergence of two major categories of metaphoricity in and of compounds, which, as stated above, I will term ‘morphological metaphoricity’ and ‘contextual metaphoricity’ respectively

Furthermore, as pointed out in ch. 5.3.3, the present study accepts the MIPVU’s inclusion of ‘direct metaphors’ into the framework, so that the category of contextual metaphoricity is consequently subdivided into the subcategory of indirect metaphors as referred to above and, secondly, the category of direct metaphors as I have defined it in chapter 5.3.3. As I have outlined there, metaphoricity in ‘direct metaphors’ is not observable by any semantic incongruence between basic and contextual sense of a compound, but it emerges from a metaphorical comparison between domains that is being made *explicit* in the text. It is grounded in the nature of their strong dependency on the given context, in which the respective compounds are used, that both forms of metaphoricity in context are, to a great extent, in the hands of the author to be employed and shaped according to their ideas.

The special nature of compounds as being composite expressions formed of two independent lexical items, which, naturally, may be metaphorical themselves, has, however, been shown to enable the word-formation product to exhibit what was termed ‘morphological metaphoricity’ within its structure. The subcategories for morphological metaphoricity in this study are constructed to reflect which element of the given compound is affected by metaphoricity. While the examples adduced so far, *custard coffen* (TS 4.3.1961) and *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16), both exhibit metaphoricity of their second constituents, metaphor can also be located in the first or, in some rarer cases, even in both constituents of a compound: When

the host in the very first lines of *The Taming of The Shrew*, faced with drunk Christopher Slie being unwilling to pay for the damage he has caused, threatens to "go fetch the Headborough" (TS I1.9f), he uses the compound *Headborough* (TS I1.10), to refer to a parish officer, whose function has originally been undertaken by "the chief member of a tithing or borrow" (s.v. "headborough, n." *OED online*. 27 June 2017). The most natural interpretation of the compound, triggered by the semantic incongruity between the non-metaphorical meaning of the constituents *head* and *borrow* involves a mapping between the domain of *head* as UPPERMOST PART OF THE BODY and that of the HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF A SOCIETY, while the second constituent, *borrow*, that by the sixteenth century has been established "as a synonym of 'tithing' or 'frankpledge'" (s.v. "borrow, n.3." *OED online*. 27 June 2017), retains its non-metaphorical meaning. Thus, contrary to *custard coffen* (TS 4.3.1961), or *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16), the compound *Headborough* (TS I1.10) is classifiable as displaying (morphological) metaphoricity of its first constituent, recognisable according to the MIPVU methodology by a clear contrast between the concrete, human oriented and historically older basic sense of the noun *head*, "uppermost part of the body" (s.v. "head, n.1." 27 June 2017) and its meaning as realized in the microcontext of the compound.

The compound *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57), used as an insult uttered by the character Kately in *Every Man in His Humour* and addressed to his wife's presumed lover, represents one of the rare cases of compounds from the corpus that show metaphor affecting both their constituents. Most of these items also exhibit an obvious incongruity between the non-metaphorical readings of both elements involved in the composition (as observable for *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57)), but, most notably, the metaphoricity of the constituents becomes evident in a comparison of the compounds meaning on the one hand and the basic meanings of its constituents on the other hand. Indeed, the only institutionalized meaning of the compound, which the OED lists as denoting 'A male companion of a woman of ill-repute' (s.v. "apple-squire, n." *OED online*. Oxford University Press. 29 November 2016.), takes up neither the concrete basic sense of *apple* ("fruit [...] of any of various wild and cultivated trees of the genus *Malus*"; s.v. "apple, n.1." *OED online*. 27 June 2017) nor that of *squire*. Going back to OF *esquire*, the historically earliest meaning of *squire*, which is extensively documented in the OED with quotations extending to the nineteenth century and can be determined as its basic sense as understood by the MIPVU method, is 'a young man of good birth attendant upon a knight' (s.v. "squire, n." *OED online*. Oxford University Press. 29 November 2016.). Hence, the lexeme's meaning is clearly rooted in the military vocabulary of the Middle Ages and its use in the compound *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57) initiates a metaphorical mapping between the

domain of the MEDIEVAL SQUIRE and a completely different domain, which is that of PROSTITUTION. While in the case of the second constituent, the original *squire*'s task of attending somebody is likely to have motivated the metaphorical transfer, the motivation of the first constituent, *apple*, however, is less easily explainable. The most probable explanation appears to be the one hesitantly offered by the OED, which, however, adds that the exact semantic motivation otherwise remains largely "unclear" (s.v. "apple-squire, n." *OED online*. Oxford University Press. 29 November 2016.). Indeed, it seems likely that the compound involves an image metaphor, that relates the round form of the *apple* to the form of a woman's breasts – a metaphorical transfer which the simple lexeme *apple* can be shown to undergo occasionally. (cp. "apple, n.II.5" *OED online*. 27 June 2017)<sup>155</sup> Consequently, the compound *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57) is classified as an instance of metaphor affecting both elements of the compound.

The analysis of morphological metaphor in compounds based on the localisation of the metaphor involved in the compound expression, as described so far, arises as the most natural classification mode prompted by a compound's morphological shape and can therefore, with different degrees of systematicity (and with varying focuses), be identified as the underlying principle of several scholars' approaches, who deal with metaphor and / or metonymy involved in the morphological make-up of compounds. (cp., e.g., Barcelona 2008; Benczes 2006; Geeraerts 2002; Libben et al. 2003) However, in her cognitive analysis of a set of 78 compounds involving metaphor and / or metonymy collected from dictionaries, Benczes (2006) further calls attention to the fact that compounds such as *moon-fish*, which are traditionally classified as displaying a semantic relation of comparison in studies such as Downing (1977) or Warren (1978), in fact

bear a metaphorical relationship between the two constituents of the compound: the entity denoted by [the second constituent] is metaphorically understood through the entity denoted by [the first constituent]. (Benczes 2006:107)

Indeed, several compounds in the corpus, such as *hayle-shot* (EM 1.5.162) or *trunke sleeve* (TS 4.3.2018), can be argued to embody a metaphorical mapping between the two distinct domains to which each of their constituents belongs. Hence, in the case of *hayle-shot* (EM 1.5.162), the multitude of small bullets fired from a shotgun is understood via the meteorological

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<sup>155</sup> Although the interpretation given above appears more appropriate due to that image metaphor occurring with regard to the simplex lexeme *apple* as well, an alternative explanation of the motivation behind the use of the lexeme, however, may be attempted by resorting to the biblical role of the apple, which allows the fruit to serve as a metonymy for the original sin since OE times. (cp. "apple, n.3" *OED online*. Oxford University Press. 29 November 2016)



phenomenon of *hail* in the composite expression and, with regard to *trunke sleeve* (TS 4.3.2018), the form of a particular sort of *sleeve* is explicitly likened to the shape of a *trunk*. Thus, while both constituents of the respective compounds retain their non-metaphorical meanings in the compound, metaphoricity is manifest in the relation between them, which leads to the emergence of a fourth class of morphologically metaphorical compounds comprising instances similar to those just exemplified.<sup>156</sup>

Eventually, the theoretical and methodological deliberations that have been made in the course of this chapter, have led to the establishment of the following six categories for metaphoricity in the compounds:

<u>Metaphor in Word-Formation</u>				<u>Metaphor in Context</u>	
<b>First</b> constituent is metaphorical ( <i>Headborough</i> )	<b>Second</b> constituent is metaphorical ( <i>custard coffen</i> )	<b>First and second</b> constituents are metaphorical ( <i>apple-squire</i> )	<b>Metaphorical relation</b> between the constituents ( <i>hayle-shot</i> )	<b>Indirect</b> metaphor ( <i>Barbary horse</i> )	<b>Direct</b> metaphor ( <i>my brain is like an hour- glasse</i> )
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

Table 2: The categories of metaphoricity in the compounds

It remains to be noted in this context that, due to the individuality of the respective contextual reference of a compound in a literary work, co-occurrences of morphological and contextual metaphor within one and the same compound (in its particular use in the play) are, of course, possible. When, for instance, Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew*, in one of his attempts to demoralize his bride, scolds a tailor presenting a bonnet for Kate and refers to the garment as *a paltrie cap, / A custard coffen, a bauble, a silken pie* (TS 4.3.1960f), his use of the compound *custard coffen* (TS 4.3.1961), which could be shown to exhibit morphological metaphor affecting its second constituent above, entails a further dimension of metaphor, that is grounded in its particular use in the context of the comedy: Since Petruchio uses the compound in metaphorical reference to the bonnet the tailor has designed, which he thereby indicates to look like the "pastry crust for a custard" (s.v. "custard, n. C2." *OED online*. 30 May 2017), *custard*

<sup>156</sup> It is logical, of course, that this particular type of metaphoricity *between* the constituents of a compound is not indicated by any discrepancy between an element's basic sense as defined by the MIPVU and its realisation within the compound. Similar as with instances of 'direct metaphor' as explained in ch. 5.3.3, therefore, the understanding and identification of metaphoricity in these cases has to go beyond the purely linguistic level.

*coffen* (TS 4.3.1961), in the context of *The Taming of the Shrew*, displays both morphological and indirect contextual metaphoricity.

### 5.3.5. Beyond Endo- and Exocentricity

In its account and localisation of metaphoricity in (and of) compounds, the present approach means a systematic categorisation of compounds that involve metaphor at different points within their morphological and semantic structure, as well as in their contextual function as naming units. In this the present study clearly goes beyond the traditional dichotomy of endo- and exocentricity of compounds, with metaphorical compounds being traditionally connected to the latter group. By assigning items such as *hayle-shot* (EM 1.5.162), *trunke sleeve* (TS 4.3.2018), or *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) to certain subcategories of metaphorical compounds, the metaphoricity entailed in their structure and / or their contextual use is explicitly taken account of, whereas traditional approaches tend to overlook such instances of metaphoricity in the course of subsuming such cases under the supposedly ‘standard’ category of endocentric compounds displaying common semantic patterns. The categorisation as set up in the present study aims therefore at a separate and exhaustive assessment of the level of semantic relations and that of metaphoricity involved in a compound. In this regard, Reka Benczes’ (2006) assertion that "the semantic relations between the constituents of the [traditionally exocentric] compounds are the same as those that exist between the constituents of endocentric compounds" (4) is fully endorsed, and tokens from the corpus, such as *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16) and *custard coffen* (TS 4.3.1961), serve well to illustrate this fact: Both displaying metaphoricity of their second element and thus not adhering to the endocentric principle of denoting ‘a type of muse’ or ‘a type of coffin’, their semantic relations of ‘Location – Located’ and ‘Whole – Part’ respectively, are still the same as in common non-metaphorical compounds such as *gally-slaves* (JM 2.3.205) and *Cipres warres* (O 1.1.135), or *bulls-head* (A 2.6.13) and *Castle wall* (RII 3.2.1469). On the other hand, traditionally endocentric compounds such as *hayle-shot* (EM 1.5.162) or *trunke sleeve* (TS 4.3.2018), could be shown to actually involve metaphorical mappings and, furthermore, a token such as *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), which gains its metaphoricity exclusively via its individual application in the context of *Othello* and which would traditionally be classified as a purely endocentric compound, displays a common locative semantic relation, but is still highly metaphorical as soon as the contextual dimension of its use is incorporated in the analysis. Consequently, any binary division of the class of compounds

into endo- and exocentric compounds falls short of accounting for the different forms and manifestations of metaphor in compounds and, therefore, does not figure as a relevant categorisation model in the present study.

### 5.3.6. The Identification of Metaphor in Adjective Compounds

While the methodological specifications made in the previous chapters were dedicated to the explanation of the general method and principles of metaphor identification used in this study and have primarily been demonstrated on noun + noun compounds, as the largest morphological class among the material, the metaphorical analysis of the adjective compounds from the corpus generally proceeds according to the same principles. In practice, however, some minor adjustments to the strategy of taking semantic discrepancy between basic and contextual senses as indication of metaphoricity must be made, in order to make the method feasible for adjective compounds.

Parallel to noun compounds, direct contextual metaphoricity of an adjective compound is signalled by the occurrence of the respective token after a ‘flag’ as defined by the MIPVU (cp. above). After prepositional ‘flags’, such as *like* or *as*, the adjective compound usually functions as premodifier in a noun phrase and is, thus, counted as belonging to the explicit metaphorical comparison initiated by the context. The adjective compound *long parted* (RII 3.2.1311) that occurs in the sentence *As a long parted mother with her childe / Playes fondly with her teares [...] So weeping, smiling greete I [Richard] thee, my earth* (RII 3.2.1311f), for instance, is therefore classified as directly metaphorical, since a direct metaphorical comparison between King Richard and *a long-parted mother* is being drawn in these lines.

The identification of an adjective compound as indirect metaphor, in turn, is still based on a semantic discrepancy between basic and contextual senses of the compound taken as evidence for an underlying mapping across domains. This semantic discrepancy, however, is best visible in a semantic dissonance between the adjective compound’s non-metaphorical meaning and the respective entity in the context to which it stands in attributive (i.e. the head of the noun phrase) or predicative relation (the subject or object of the sentence the adjective characterizes). In noun phrases such as *maid-pale peace* (3.3.1614) or *swift-footed time* (JM 2.1.7), for example, this semantic dissonance is clearly perceptible, since *peace* cannot actually be *maid-pale* and neither can *time* literally ‘have swift feet’, so that this discrepancy can be

taken as an indicator for the adjective-compound being used metaphorically in the present context. In cases, where metaphor extends over the whole noun phrase, however, e.g., when Kate in *The Taming of the Shrew* is referred to as a *slow-wing´d Turtle* (TS 2.1.1015), or when Shakespeare in *Othello* famously describes jealousy as a *greene eyd monster* (O 3.3.1618), metaphor takes place on a superordinate level (i.e. that of the whole noun phrase), instead of affecting the adjective compound. Thus, on compound level, semantic discrepancy neither emerges between *slow-wing´d* (TS 2.1.1015) and *Turtle*, nor between *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618) and *monster*. While these noun phrases as a whole would certainly be counted as indirectly metaphorical, the adjective compounds as such, are not. Consequently, tokens such as *slow-wing´d* (TS 2.1.1015) and *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618) are not classified as contextual indirect metaphors, since the present analysis operates on compound level. (cp. further ch. 7.5.12)

Whereas semantic discrepancy between compound (as a whole) and referent (i.e. the entity the adjective compound characterizes) is the methodological basis for the detection of contextual indirect metaphoricity in adjective compounds, morphological metaphoricity of one or both elements is signalled by the semantic discrepancy between the basic meanings of the two constituents of an adjective compound. This is exemplified, for instance, by the two tokens *Wrath kindled* (RII 1.1.152) and *leane-witted* (2.1.730). While in *slow-wing´d* (TS 2.1.1015) and *greene eyd* (O 3.3.1618) no inherent dissonance can be detected, since *green eyes* and *slow wings* are plausible and common phenomena, *wrath* cannot actually *kindle* anything and neither does a person's *wit* have the capacity of being *lean*, i.e. "wanting in flesh" (s.v. "lean, adj. and n.2." *OED online*. 31 March 2017). The semantic dissonance between the basic senses of the constituents, hence, indicates that a metaphorical reading of one (or, occasionally both, e.g., in *high stomackt* (RII 1.1.18) cp. ch. 7.5.12) of them is in order and the identification of the metaphorical constituent is then aided by world knowledge as well as context.

### 5.3.7. Determining the Scope of Metaphoricity in (and of) Compounds

#### 5.3.7.1. The Extent of Direct Metaphors

As pointed out in ch. 5.3.3 and above, the present study, in accordance with the methodological framework of the MIPVU, includes instances of direct metaphor in its analysis. While the MIPVU bases the systematic recognition of such directly expressed cross-domain mappings on linguistic markers that initiate explicit comparison, such as the prepositions *like* and *as*, but also

verbal ‘flags’, such as *imagine*, *resemble*, *remind of*, *compare*, and, thereby, provides clearly recognizable indications of "where such directly expressed metaphors begin" (Dorst & Kaal 2012:58), it has been noted that the exact determination of the scope of direct metaphors still poses problems at times. Specifically, "it is not always clear where the simile ends and whether all words following the signal should be considered part of the simile." (Dorst & Kaal 2012:58) Hence, in an attempt to establish reliable criteria for a clear identification of all words belonging to the respective source domain entailed in the explicit comparison, Dorst & Kaal (2012), on the basis of examples taken from the BNC-Baby corpus,<sup>157</sup> propose to use "topical incongruity, which takes place when there is a move from one domain into another" (59) as well as syntactic correspondences and punctuation as indicators. Whereas the compounds *poulder-cornes* (A 1.1.31) and *artillerie-yard* (A 1.1.31) from the following passage of *The Alchemist* can be judged to belong to the same source domain rather unanimously, the example also serves to illustrate that the interpretation of "punctuation marks as possible information boundaries" (Dorst & Kaal 2012:59) in a diachronic corpus is not always administrable:

And your complexion, of the romane wash,  
 Stuck full of black, and melancholique wormes,  
 Like poulder-cornes, shot, at th’ artillerie-yard.  
 (A 1.1.29ff)

Although the topical incongruity between *artillerie-yard* (A 1.1.31) and *melancholique wormes* (A 1.1.29) is equally obvious on the linguistic / semantic level, as is the fact that both compounds in question, *poulder-cornes* (A 1.1.31) and *artillerie-yard* (A 1.1.31), can be assigned to the same source domain of WARFARE, the compound *artillerie-yard* (A 1.1.31) is separated from the flag *Like* by two commas, which would, in a strict application of the punctuation criterion, result in an exclusion of the compound from the scope of the simile. Furthermore, another case in point for the inapplicability of punctuation marks as a criterion in an EModE corpus, is the occurrence of the compound *puppit-play* (A 1.2.79) in the sentence *And [he will] blow vp gamster, after gamester [in gambling], // As they doe crackers, in a puppit-play* (A 1.2.78f), in which *puppit-play* (A 1.2.79), although explicitly expressing the source domain involved in the comparison, is separated from the flag *As* by a comma, which does not correspond to PDE (syntactically motivated) rules for punctuation. Besides the topical incongruity between the respective compounds and the lexemes expressing the target domains, *artillerie-yard* (A 1.1.31) and *wormes* (A 1.1.29), *puppit-play* (A 1.2.79) and *gamester* (A

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<sup>157</sup> The BNC-Baby corpus constitutes as smaller subset of the British National Corpus (BNC), comprising about 4 million words from contemporary spoken and written English.

1.2.78), which is observable in both examples, the general syntactic structures of the sentences in which they occur further substantiate the classification of the items as belonging to the direct metaphors: In both cases the compounds belong to noun phrases that function as adverbials within a superordinate structure, that adds content to the respective similes. Since, punctuation marks frequently drop out as an applicable criterion, due to the still irregular (and, especially in the case of Ben Jonson, idiosyncratic) practices in terms of spelling and punctuation in EModE texts, the determination of the scope of direct metaphors in the present EModE corpus must rely on conceptual / semantic correspondences and the general syntactic correspondences in such cases.

#### 5.3.7.2. The Extent of Indirect Metaphors

Besides its relevance with regard to direct metaphors, the issue of scope also plays a role when it comes to the classification of a compound as indirectly metaphorical. In this respect, it is a logical corollary of the present study, being an investigation of the three main Renaissance playwrights' use of *compounds*, that the analysis of metaphor in the analysed texts is exclusively restricted to accounting for metaphoricity, which is *directly manifest* in these particular compounds. The investigation of metaphoricity in this study, therefore, naturally operates on compound level only, with the MIPVU providing the systematic methodological background for metaphor identification on a word-by-word (or compound-by-compound) basis.

Metaphor, as such, however, has been very frequently shown to exceed the level of lexical units, phrases or even sentences and instead tends to pervade whole passages, texts or even discourses (cp., e.g., David Lodge's study of the different 'modes of writing' in *Modern Literature* 1977). In this respect, it has been noted, for example, that there is an overriding metaphorical comparison of the state of England (and its constitution) to a garden permeating Shakespeare's history play *Richard II*. (cp., e.g., the remarks on the 'garden-state' topic by Dawson and Yachnin in *Shakespeare* 2011:30ff) This 'garden-state theme' recurs repeatedly throughout the text in varying degrees of explicitness and it does so very prominently when, in the garden scene of Act III, a worker, in conversation with the gardener, vents his general discontentment:

Why should we in the compass of a pale,  
Keepe law and forme, and due proportion,  
Shewing as in a modle our firm estate,

When our sea-walled garden the whole land  
Is full of weedes, her fairest flowers choakt vp,  
Her fruit trees all vnpruned, her hedges ruinde,  
Her knots disordred, and her holsome hearbs  
Swarming with caterpillars.

(R II 3.4.1765ff)

While doubtlessly presenting intriguing instances of metaphoricity on the level of the play itself, such passages are problematic for the present study, whose analysis of metaphor operates on the level of the compounds, such as *fruit trees* (R II 3.4.1770), in the text and aims for a systematic and objective procedure of metaphor identification according to the MIPVU guidelines. Although part of a larger metaphorical construction, in which the chaotic state of the society and further unspecified societal deficiencies are conceptualised via the image of an overgrown garden, on the level of the compound itself, no clear discrepancy between the basic meaning of *fruit trees* (R II 3.4.1770) and its contextual reference can be attested: Within the large-scope metaphor of England pictured as a *sea-walled garden* (R II 3.4.1768), the compound *fruit trees* (R II 3.4.1770) is not *immediately* metaphorical, since its reference is congruent to its basic meaning, "tree[s] cultivated for [their] fruit" (s.v. "fruit, n.C2." *OED online*. 29 June 2017). It is only the connection of the compound with the adjective *vnpruned* as well as its interaction with the larger context of the play and this passage that renders the whole utterance in which the item occurs metaphorical on a superordinate level.

In recognition of the different levels on which metaphor can operate, the Polish stylistician Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczevska introduces the terms *microtrope* (or *small figure*), *macrotrope* (or *big figure*) and *metatrope* (or *large figure*) to account for the different extents of a group of stylistic devices in which she includes metaphor. While the notion of *metatropes*, defined as abstract modes of artistic (and other forms of) expression beyond the text level, is of no further relevance in the present context, it is the distinction between *microtropes*, as "indices of figurativeness operative within sentences" (Chrzanowska-Kluczevska 2004:66) and *macrotropes* that proves helpful for determining the scope of indirect metaphoricity in the present study. In Chrzanowska-Kluczevska's (2004) understanding, *macrotropes* are exemplified by

Extended similes, dubbed Homeric, or extended metaphors [,] [that] can extend from some to several sentences. At times, the range of their activity can be the entire literary text (as is the case with Emily Dickinson's six-stanza-long poem 712: 'Because I Could Not Stop For Death', where the metaphor of dying as journeying to the other side of life stretches [...] over the entire poem.(67)

According to Chrzanowska-Kluczevska's definition, *macro-metaphors*, other than *micro-metaphors*, are, therefore, not bound to be manifest in a particular lexeme within a particular text. In fact, "no micro-metaphors at all may appear within the macro-metaphorical mode [and, conversely,] there may exist literary texts which turn out to be macro-metaphors woven, as it were, entirely out of metonymies and synecdoches" (Chrzanowska-Kluczevska 2004:70). Thus, the garden metaphor in *Richard II* discussed above can, in accordance with Chrzanowska-Kluczevska's (2004) model, be identified as an instance of macro-metaphoricity, which, in the context of the present study and its focus on compounds (and, hence, the micro-metaphorical level), lies outside the scope of the investigation.

#### 5.3.7.3. The Extent of Conceptual Distance between Domains: Nicknames

A further issue concerning indirect contextual metaphoricity, first and foremost, pertains to the conceptual level and the determination of the extent of conceptual distance between domains, which is understood to become evident by a discrepancy between the basic and the contextual meaning of a compound. As has already become apparent in the discussion of metaphor and metonymy as basically representing different points on a scale, (cp. ch. 5.1.5) the notion of 'conceptual distance' is gradual in nature. Accordingly, the degree of discrepancy between the basic sense of a compound and its contextual reference on the linguistic level can equally vary. This circumstance is of particular significance for the present study, when it comes to the identification of indirect contextual metaphors that occur in the form of compound nicknames, invectives and insults, as they frequently appear in the comedies from the corpus.

Hence, whereas discrepancy and distance both on the conceptual and on the linguistic level (i.e. between basic and contextual meaning) are clearly pronounced in cases where human characters in plays are referred to by compounds unequivocally belonging to the animal sphere, such as, e.g., *dung-worme* (EM 3.5.127), *bloud-hounds* (S 3.376), *winter cricket* (TS 4.3.1988), or *Ginny Hen* (O 1.3.601), the discrepancy between the basic meaning of a compound, such as *inke-dabblers* (EM 5.5.44), in its most basic, concrete and non-metaphorical reading designating people who 'dabble with ink', and its contextual referents, the self-declared poets of questionable talent Knowell refers to in the context of *Every Man in his Humour*, is certainly less striking. An even less distinct discrepancy between basic sense and contextual referent, however, is observable for nicknames such as *Gray-beard* (TS 2.1.1142) and *thicklips* (O



1.1.66), for instance, which, by metonymy, designate persons ‘having a grey beard / thick lips’ and, thus, although doubtlessly used as derogative nicknames and intended as insults, may provide rather direct (and non-metaphorical) references to the respective characters (in these cases, old Gremio, and Othello), so that a classification of the respective compounds as indirect metaphor is neither warranted on the linguistic level by the MIPVU methodology nor by any sufficient evidence for a cross-domain mapping on the cognitive level. Eventually, the gradual nature of the extent of both forms of discrepancies (between domains and between contextual and basic senses) requires individual decisions about the degree of incongruity, and, hence, the metaphoricity of nicknames and insults, to be made separately for each case.

### 5.3.8. Metaphor and Metonymy in Compounds

The discussion of the relation between metaphor and metonymy, and their understanding as generally gradual phenomena potentially representing opposing points on a cline of figurativity in ch. 5.1.5 has left open the question of how exactly interaction of the two concepts figures in compounds. The present chapter, will, therefore, return to these issues and illustrate the gradual nature of figurativity as well as the blurredness of the boundary between metaphor and metonymy in compounds on the basis of examples from the corpus.

In terms of the degree of figurativity of and within compounds as a variable category, for instance, many Bahuvrihi-formations, such as, e.g., *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), *Gray-beard* (TS 2.1.1142) or *bare-foot* (S 2.141), are exclusively metonymy-based when used in their institutionalized basic senses, while other similar constructions such as, e.g., *Sweet heart* (A 2.3.35), can be determined to exhibit a higher degree of figurativity, since they involve a metaphorical extension of their first element from a gustatory perception to a generally pleasing quality. (cp. further ch. 7.4.3.6)<sup>158</sup> Moreover, studies focussing on the interplay between metaphor and metonymy, such as Geeraerts (2002), Barcelona (2008) and, partly, Barcelona (2002), have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the interpretation and analysis of metonymic and / or metaphoric expressions is not invariable and context-independent. Hence, while the verb in the utterance ‘he fell in the war’ may be metaphoric in a context where a soldier’s actual passing was caused by an infection and occurred in a military hospital, it is metonymic when

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<sup>158</sup> Cp. Geeraerts (2002); Benczes (2006); Barcelona (2008) for further examples of metonymy and metaphor interacting in Bahuvrihi-compounds (and other compound types).

applied to a person whose death occurred on the battlefield and indeed involved the act of falling down after having been shot. (cp. Barcelona 2002 [1998]:240) In a similar vein, it can be argued that the first constituent of a compound such as *neck-verse* (JM 4.2.20), institutionalized as denoting a "Latin verse printed in black letter [...] formerly set before a person claiming benefit of clergy [...], by reading which he might prove his clerical status and hence save his neck" (s.v. "neck-verse, n. 1." *OED online*. 22 August 2014), is only metonymic (taking the body part *neck* and its intactness to stand for general physical integrity), as long as the anticipated form of capital punishment involves any actual lethal wounding of the neck (e.g. hanging or decapitation). While this is likely to be the case in EModE times (hence, compare the analysis in ch. 7.4.1.5), a context in which another form of death (e.g., being shot) is anticipated, would demand either a metaphorical reading of *neck* (mapping the body part directly onto the abstract quality of 'being alive / saved') or the consecutive catenation of two metonymies (body part for whole body and integrity of the body for being alive / saved), with the choice of the respective interpretation process mainly lying with the interpreter. Observations such as these emphasise the artificiality of a strict and objective distinction between metaphor and metonymy, as well as the scalar nature of a notion such as 'figurativity of compounds'.

In an attempt to provide maximum systematicity and complying with Dirven's (2002) understanding of metaphor as displaying the highest degree of figurativity, the investigation of figurativity of the compounds in the present work focusses on the metaphoricity of the items. The classification of compounds involving metaphor (as presented above), attempts to locate metaphor in the morphological make-up of the tokens, but, due to the scope of the study, will neither provide an in-depth analysis of every single compound involving metaphor nor an exhaustive analysis of metonymy in the compounds. In this, the classification of metaphorical compounds as undertaken in this work necessarily ignores certain gradations of figurativity that may be perceived both within the realms of metaphor and, particularly, with regard to metonymical elements being involved in the compounds. Although the investigation of metonymy in the compounds is not done as exhaustively and systematically as for metaphor, particularly salient instances of metonymy, as well as instances of metaphor and metonymy intertwining, are frequently mentioned in the qualitative discussions of the compounds.

### 5.3.9. Metaphoricity and Semantic Change

Due to its feature of dealing with particular word-formation products from a diachronic corpus, the present study demands some special clarifications and predications to be made with regard to the problematic delimitation of metaphor from processes of semantic change.

Especially the cognitive scholars of metaphor have based many of their arguments and statements on a differentiation between conscious and unconscious use of linguistic metaphors (cp. the discussion of the term ‘literal’ in chapter 5.1.2.1) and, as could be shown in chapter 5.1.4, these notions can be connected to the idea of institutionalization. Taking into account, therefore, that a gradually deepening establishment of certain novel meanings for a lexical item within a speech community can be seen as the basic processual description of semantic change, metaphoricity becomes a dynamic category as soon as a diachronic perspective is taken. Naturally, this fact has not gone unnoticed in linguistic research and it could be proved that many cases of semantic change can be accounted for by metaphorical meanings being established, becoming entrenched and eventually gaining the status of the ‘basic sense’ of a lexical item, whose etymological metaphoricity largely escapes notice.<sup>159</sup> Developments such as these could, for instance, be shown for the semantic history of the modal verbs and the English sense-perception verbs in studies by Eve Sweetser (1990), who, operating along the lines of conceptual metaphor theory, identifies (conceptual) metaphor as "a major structuring force in semantic change" (1990:19).

From a diachronic perspective, the boundary between metaphoricity of a lexical item and semantic change, therefore, is blurred and, considering examples like the etymology of *salary* going back to Latin *sal* (‘salt’) (cp. Ritchie 2013:4), might more appropriately be termed a gradual transition rather than an abrupt limit. To serve the purpose of a study of metaphoricity of certain lexical items from a limited literary corpus, however, a synchronic view on metaphorical senses of the respective words must be taken, in order to establish the basis for comparison. Thus, in this respect, the present study will, once again, adhere to the principles of MIPVU, which explicitly exclude ‘historical metaphor’ from the definition of metaphoricity on the grounds of the contemporary user’s lexicon:

[H]istorical metaphor is not identified as metaphorical by MIP. [...] Hence expressions like ardent lover are not judged to be metaphorical when analyzed by MIP because there

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<sup>159</sup> Görlach (2000), for instance, lists both metaphor and metonymy among the main causes for semantic change and illustrates them with the semantic development of simplex lexemes such as OE *beam* (‘tree’) which has developed to PDE *beam* (‘ray’) via the notional similarity between the two concepts of being straight. (cp. 103)

is no contrast between the contextually appropriate emotion sense and the historically older and more basic temperature sense: the latter is simply not available to the typical contemporary language user anymore. (Steen 2010:6f)

The notion of the contemporary user, however, naturally demands modification, as the MIP(VU) procedures are mainly designed as tools to identify linguistic metaphors in PDE. For the identification of metaphorical meanings in the corpus, the frame of reference when it comes to available meanings, is, therefore, set to be the period of Early Modern English determined to cover the time span from 1500-1700<sup>160</sup> with the OED serving as the main source for the EModE meanings of a word. For a compound such as *Ginny Hen* (O 1.3.601), which, as being used by Iago to derogatively refer to Desdemona, is, in a general metaphorical sense, correctly identified to denote a prostitute or courtesan (cp. "guinea-hen, n. 2.b" *OED online*. 18 August 2014), the OED gives two further (and more basic) senses for the EModE period, 'guinea fowl' and 'turkey' (cp. "guinea-hen, n. 1 & 2.b" *OED online*. 18 August 2014), from which only the former is still existent in PDE. Whereas in this case, the discrepancy between this basic PDE meaning ('guinea-fowl') and the contextual sense would still have prompted a categorization of the compound as being used metaphorically, there are cases in which the oldest, non-figurative sense of an item has already ceased to be part of its semantic content in PDE, although still being available in EModE. The compound *Cannon shot* (T 2.4.3) presents such a case, since, although recorded to have been in use at least until 1611, the concrete, original and non-figurative meaning of *cannon*, signifying a "tube, [or] a cylindrical bore" (s.v. "cannon, n.1." *OED online*. 28 June 2017) vanishes after the seventeenth century, leaving the lexeme *canon* with its in that case, metonymic sense "gun or firearm of a size which requires it to be mounted for firing" (s.v. "cannon, n.1." *OED online*. 28 June 2017) as the only meaning eligible as its basic sense for PDE. As becomes evident from these examples, basic senses of lexemes, since they include the criterion of availability to the speaker of the respective period in their definition, are, of course, diachronically variable and, hence, the correct determination of the frame of reference is essential in the study of a corpus from an older period, in order to avoid overlooking instances of metaphoricity.

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<sup>160</sup> I am aware of the artificiality of such a periodization (and of periodization itself), but for the purpose of establishing a sensible frame of reference for the compounds, this simplified delimitation seems advisable.

### 5.3.10. Use vs. Creation of Metaphors and the Informative Value of the Categories

One of the special benefits of compounds as the subject of this investigation, which becomes obvious in the classification of figurative compounds into the six classes of metaphoricity described above, is the possibility to capture the different anchor points and manifestations of metaphor in compounds. The observations that can be made in this area shed light on the stylistic preferences of the three main Renaissance playwrights, Shakespeare, Marlowe and Jonson, and allow for several distinct conclusions to be drawn as regard the status of imaginativeness and figurativity in the poets' use of compounds:

Taking a very general perspective, the overall quantity of figurative compounds is certainly indicative of the general level of a playwright's stylistic imaginativeness. Without further qualifying the exact nature of figurativeness in the respective compounds, a high percentage of compounds that involve metaphoricity, either on the level of word-formation or via their contextual reference, suggests an imaginative use of language.

As soon as further qualifications are to be made, however, and metaphoricity is located in either the word-formation process or the contextual meaning of the compound as a lexical unit, an essential differentiation has to be made, in order to be able to make substantiated statements concerning stylistic *habits* as opposed to stylistic *creativity* of a poet. As metaphorical word-formation processes could have been shown by conceptual metaphor studies to be generally "not exceptional" (Benczes 2006:5), the logical conclusion is that there are a multitude of institutionalized compounds that involve metaphoricity in their formation. Thus, as far as figurativeness in word-formation is concerned, the *creativity* of a poet can only be assessed by taking into account the *novel* compounds from categories 1 to 4 (metaphor in word-formation), as in these cases metaphoricity is being created, whereas the use of institutionalized metaphorical compounds does not involve the act of creating metaphoricity and can thus only allow conclusions about the stylistic *habits* of a poet in terms of figurative language use. The context-dependency of metaphoricity in compounds from category 5 and 6 (contextual metaphor) as laid down in ch. 5.3.4, however, implies that in these cases, situational figurativeness is being *created* as well. Since their figurativeness can be highly specific and is generated *de novo* by the actual contextual reference with which they are being used, these

compounds bear evidence to a poet's creativity as well.<sup>161</sup> Whereas the evaluation of stylistic creativity, therefore, has to restrict itself to categories 5 and 6 in combination with the new formations from categories 1 to 4, the overall investigation of stylistic habits of the respective playwrights, which will also be the subject of ch. 9, will make use of both the general quantity of figurative compounds and their distribution among the categories. The poets, as well as the individual plays, can thereby be analysed along both parameters, the general *use* and the *creation* of metaphor, which promises detailed and fine-grained insights into the nature of metaphoricity in the compounds from the corpus.

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<sup>161</sup> The institutionalized metaphorical meaning of a given compound – if existing – is almost never completely congruent with the contextual sense that it acquires by application in the individual context of a play, since the contextual meaning will generally be more specific.

## 6. General Preferences for Compound Use: Frequency

### 6.1. Principles of Compound Registration and Counting

As pointed out in chapter 2, the present study intends to combine a qualitative analysis and classification of the EModE compounds from the corpus (cp. chs. 7, 8, 9) with purely quantitative observations regarding the frequency of compounds in the respective plays in order to gain insights into the general preferences of the three playwrights for employing compounds. Precedent to this quantitative analysis and a concomitant assessment of the potential influence which factors such as genre, subject matter, tone and style have on the numbers, I will address some methodological decisions that I made.

As this study aims to take a comparative perspective not only on differences regarding compound use between the three playwrights but also between the nine plays included in the corpus, as will become especially evident in the present chapter, the method of compound registration and counting that I have chosen can best be described as ‘types per play’. While multiple occurrences of one type, such as, e.g., *Gentleman* (RII 1.1.148), within one play do therefore not alter the compound numbers for this particular play, instances of the same type in the other plays are recorded individually for each work, with the same restriction to type frequency within the respective plays applying. Including all compound types per play, instead of restricting the registered material to compound types in general (i.e. registering each type only once for the whole corpus), secures the quantitative comparability of the nine plays in terms of compound (type) numbers. For all compounds, it is the first occurrence of the type in a play that is registered and listed.

Although a token-based approach would also have been possible and, notwithstanding the fact that both methods have certain advantages (as well as disadvantages), the analysis of one consistent data-set comprising types per play appears most profitable for the study. In general, I have felt compound type numbers, i.e. the question of how many *different* compounds are being used in one play, to bear more informative value within the quantitative analyses of the present study than token numbers, i.e. the question of how many instances of compounds have been used, including multiple instances of one compound type in one play. By focusing on compound types per play, the results are, therefore, unaffected by recurrences of tokens from a small group of compounds, mostly from highly frequent everyday vocabulary, such as, e.g., *Gentleman* (RII 1.1.148), that tend to be used repeatedly within a play. Moreover, the chosen

counting and registration method bears the advantage of significantly reducing redundancy within the qualitative analyses and classifications in the areas of morphology and semantics, as conducted in ch. 7, which would not profit in the least from listing (and analysing) every occurrence of each compound within one play, as morphological make-up as well as semantic structure naturally remain unchanged for each compound type. Further, the significance of quantitative statements about the morphological and semantic diversity, which are based on the number of morphologic / semantic types realised by the compounds from the plays by each playwright (cp. ch. 9), remains unimpaired by the chosen method and would not have been increased by conducting a token-based analysis. Eventually, with respect to the area of innovation and creativeness, the restriction to types per play aids the practicability of the analysis, since new formations (of any type, cp. ch. 10) are automatically registered and counted as such only once for each play.

It is exclusively the area of metaphoricity, in which the registration and counting of tokens instead of types per play would potentially have increased the accuracy of the investigation of contextual metaphor – however, not without simultaneously leading to unconstructive redundancy elsewhere: As pointed out in detail in the course of ch. 5, the two-fold perspective on metaphoricity of compounds taken in the present study, entails the inclusion both of compounds that display morphological metaphor and compounds that show forms of metaphor that have been summarized under the term ‘contextual metaphor’ (cp. ch. 5). Since morphological metaphoricity is context-independent, it remains unchanged for each occurrence of the respective compound. Hence, similar to the qualitative analysis in the areas of morphology and semantics, token registration would once more lead to unwanted redundancy within this realm. Contextual metaphor, on the other hand, has been shown to be context-dependent and, hence, the registration of only the first occurrence of each compound type within one play potentially involves the danger of those instances of contextually metaphorical compounds going unnoticed, which are employed with their literal meaning at their first occurrence, but reoccur with a metaphorical reference in context later in the same play. However, as the actual number of tokens to which this applies, is assumed to be very low (if existent at all), the impact of this negative effect of the type-based approach is of limited significance compared to its benefits, as outlined above. Hence, it justifies neither an alteration of the counting method for the study, nor the relinquishment of a unified and consistent dataset and registration method forming the basis for all analyses being conducted in this study.



## 6.2. Compound Frequency per Playwright

In the tables provided in the present and the next chapter, the frequency of compounds (types) in the analysed works of the three playwrights is presented first as divided by author, and secondly individually for each play. In order to account for the differences in the respective length of the nine plays, I have calculated ratios for the frequency of compounds per verse (or, in the case of prose passages, line). The numbers include all adjective and noun compounds which I have accepted as compounds, but do not include any formations that have been deemed ‘special cases’ or ‘fringe types’, such as, e.g., multi-part, phrasal or highly opaque compound constructions, as discussed in ch. 8. Further, I have excluded the six instances of verbal compound constructions in the corpus from the countings on the basis of their highly disputed morphological status (cp. ch. 4.5.2) and in an attempt to secure comparability of the results with statements about compound frequency made in earlier studies, such as, e.g., Scheler (1982), which are restricted to noun and adjective compounds as well. Both playwrights and plays are arranged as starting with the playwright / play exhibiting the highest compound frequency.

<b>playwright</b>	<b>no. of (adjective and noun) compounds</b>	<b>no. of verses / lines</b>	<b>compounds per verse / line</b>
<b>Ben Jonson</b>	415	9677	<b>0.0430</b>
<b>William Shakespeare</b>	316	8573	<b>0.0369</b>
<b>Christopher Marlowe</b>	232	7338	<b>0.0316</b>

*Table 3: Compound frequency per playwright*

Both in terms of absolute numbers as well as of compounds per verse / line, it is Ben Jonson, who, on overall average, employs compounds most frequently in his three works. With an average frequency of 0.0430 (different) compounds per verse / line, which corresponds to an average of 4.30 compounds being used in 100 verses / lines of text, he clearly surpasses both William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe in that respect, whose analysed texts show an overall average of compound use of 3.69 compounds per 100 verses / lines for Shakespeare’s and 3.16 compounds per 100 verses / lines for Marlowe’s plays in the corpus. Hence, taking only the overall average into account, the data suggests that the general preferences for using compounds in their plays vary among the EModE playwrights, with Ben Jonson apparently being generally more inclined to employ these particular word-formation products than his two contemporary authors. It is only when altering the focus and considering the frequency of compounds in each play that a more complex picture evolves, indicating that, for some

playwrights, the determinators of compound frequency are more likely to be found in the realms of genre conventions, tone and subject matter of individual works, than in any consistent personal or stylistic habit or preference (cp. below).

### 6.3. The Influence of Genre, Subject Matter and Tone on Compound Frequency

Whereas the comprising view on compound frequencies per playwright may suggest author-specific stylistic habits of a certain uniformity as the main influence on compound frequency, a closer investigation of compound frequency per play demands a refinement of this conclusion:

play	playwright	genre	no. of (adj. and n.) compounds	no. of verses / lines	compounds per verse / line
<i>The Alchemist</i>	Jonson	comedy	202	3125	<b>0.0646</b>
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	Shakespeare	comedy	124	2595	<b>0.0478</b>
<i>Every Man in His Humour</i>	Jonson	comedy	141	3186	<b>0.0443</b>
<i>Richard II</i>	Shakespeare	history	108	2699	<b>0.0400</b>
<i>The Jew of Malta</i>	Marlowe	tragedy	84	2380	<b>0.0353</b>
<i>Tamburlaine</i>	Marlowe	tragedy	72	2321	<b>0.0310</b>
<i>Edward II</i>	Marlowe	history	76	2637	<b>0.0288</b>
<i>Othello</i>	Shakespeare	tragedy	84	3279	<b>0.0256</b>
<i>Sejanus</i>	Jonson	history	72	3366	<b>0.0213</b>

Table 4: Compound frequency per play

While Ben Jonson's comedy *The Alchemist* undisputedly heads the table, with an average of 6.46 (different) compounds occurring within 100 verses / lines of text, it is equally notable that his history, *Sejanus*, at the same time exhibits the lowest compound frequency of all nine plays in the corpus, this play featuring a distinctly lower average of only 2.13 (different) compounds being used in 100 verses / lines of text. A similar observation can be made with regard to William Shakespeare's plays, of which the comedy in the corpus, *The Taming of the Shrew*, although featuring only 4.78 compounds per 100 verses / lines and thereby considerably fewer than Jonson's *The Alchemist*, shows the second highest compound frequency among the plays in the corpus. Simultaneously, it is noticeable that, while his history play, *Richard II*, ranges in the middle field with an average of 4.0 compounds being used in 100 verses / lines of text, compounds in Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello* are remarkably rare, with only 2.56 compounds

occurring within 100 verses / lines of text. In fact, it is only Christopher Marlowe, whose plays in the corpus display a relatively stable rate of compound frequency, which locates his three plays in the middle field of the table, their respective average compound frequencies ranging between 2.88 and 3.53 (different) compounds in 100 verses / lines of text.

These significant differences between the individual works, that can be observed for both Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare, in combination with the fact that *The Alchemist*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Every Man in His Humour*, as the three plays from the corpus with the highest average compound frequencies, all share the common feature of being comedies, suggest that, for these two playwrights, the genre of the comedy and the authors' stylistic adjustment to its peculiarities plays a very important role, when it comes to compound use. Indeed, a qualitative investigation of the actual compounds found in the respective texts and their particular nature, further substantiates this interpretation and illustrates that compounds contribute significantly to the comedies' stylistic character. In this context, the Ciceronian idea of a tripartite style, falling into a low, a middle and a high, or grand style level, with the latter being traditionally represented in the tragedy and the history, while the former two are primarily connected to comedy, satire and comic interludes (cp. Adamson 2001b:32; cp. further Gilbert 1979:6ff) comes into play. Cicero's three styles, although originally describing different functions of an orator's language, exert an appreciable influence on the conceptualisation of literary language in the Renaissance, (cp. Gilbert 1979:6f) visible from contemporary rhetoricians, such as Thomas Wilson, taking up the idea and promoting an adjustment of literary style to subject matter and plot along the lines of these three classical style levels. (Wilson 1909[1585]:169) Whereas the use of "great words" (Wilson 1909[1585]:196), a category under which Latinisms, archaisms as well as compounds fall, traditionally pertains to the level of the grand style, (cp. Adamson 2001b:169) the results of the present investigation show that compounds, in fact, figure in significantly higher numbers within the middle and low style passages of the comedies from the corpus, where they function as important style markers. Clearly, "the primary subject matter of a text controls its vocabulary" (Gilbert 1979:11) and in the case of the comedies from the corpus, both the personnel and the plot of the latter works is of a much more mundane and every-day nature than observable in the histories and tragedies. While several of the highly poetic new formations among the material, used as attributive epithets, as in *smoothe toongd scholler* (EII 16.66), *leane-lookt prophets* (S 2.4.1246) or *male-spirited dame* (RII 2.211), hence, provide suitable examples for the purposeful creation and employment of poetic adjective compounds to suit the elevated grand style, as well as the serious subject matter of the respective history plays, the

diction of the comedies is to a great degree marked by a considerably less orotund and far more colloquial register, that coincides with the less grave and more humorous tone and content of the plays. Among other effects, this involves more frequent references to phenomena of everyday life, such as, e.g., common occupations and objects of daily routine, which seem to frequently appear in the form of noun compounds and traditionally belong to the realms of the middle and low style levels, that are commonly used to focus on the "social aspects of man" (Gilbert 1979:12) and treat the basic and concrete circumstances of life, ranging from art and love to "the satisfaction of the crudest social and physical appetites" (Gilbert 1979:13). Indeed, although noun compounds outnumber adjective compounds in the plays from all three genres, the discrepancy between the number of noun and adjective compounds is most distinct in the comedies, which feature an overall of 408 noun compounds as opposed to only 59 adjective compounds. Among the former group, the three comedies in the corpus include a remarkably high portion of compounds referring to common occupations of the lower classes, e.g., *Cowherd* (A 1.1.107), *fish-wife* (A 1.4.2), *coach-man* (A 3.3.73), *tabacco-Boy* (A 3.4.16), *oyster-women* (A 5.1.4), *Tabacco-men* (A 5.1.5), *ale-wiues* (A 5.4.114 and, in singular, TS I2.157), *car-men* (EM 3.2.70), *Costar'-monger* (EM 1.3.61) *water-tankard* (EM 3.7.10), *Cardmaker* (TS I2.155), *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330) or *seruingman* (TS P. and, in plural, EM 1.2.27). Further, the comedies feature several instances of noun compounds referring to every-day objects such as, e.g., meals or dishes (cp. *ginger-bread* (A 3.5.66), *leeke-porridge* (EM 3.4.45), *breakefast* (EM 2.2.45) or *apple Tart* (TS 4.3.1968)) or common concrete objects belonging to the household sphere (cp., e.g., *hob-nailes* (EM 1.5.98), *bed-staffe* (EM 1.5.126), *pack-thred* (EM 4.6.40 and TS 3.2.1369), *back-dore* (EM 1.2.79), or *stone-Iugs* (TS I2.223)), which do not occur in the tragedies or histories from the corpus. Hence, what Esko Pennanen (1951) in his study on Ben Jonson's language claims, when he notices that "Jonson's substantive compounds serve a practical purpose, and the great majority are drawn from colloquial speech" (60), can be further substantiated by the results of the present study, although, however, with the important qualification that this observation proves true only for Jonson's two *comedies*.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, to a certain degree the same tendencies are visible in William Shakespeare's comedy

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<sup>162</sup> In his very early study on *Rhetoric as a Dramatic Language in Ben Jonson* (1948), which, however, is located in the field of literary criticism rather than linguistics, Alexander Sackton ascribes an "elevated character of language, in comedy as well as tragedy" (8) to Jonson, which does not correspond to the findings of the present study, that, in consistence with Pennanen (1951), rather suggest a deliberately colloquial style dominant in Jonson's comedies.

in the corpus, *The Taming of the Shrew*, which exhibits very similar characteristics in terms of compound use.

It is also the colloquial and humorous tone of the comedy that encompasses a further phenomenon, which, to this extent, is exclusively encountered in the three plays from this genre: the exhaustive use (and new formation) of swearwords, invectives and abusive expressions – traditional ingredients of the low style, reserved for "comic subjects, the satirical, the realistic and the obscene." (Gilbert 1979:7) From an overall of 93 compound expressions which can be considered insults, swearwords or invectives in the corpus, 50 (noun and adjective) compounds (i.e. 54%) occur in the three comedies, while the three tragedies feature only 25, and the three histories only 18 such formations. Indeed, when Petruchio, whilst famously 'taming' his newly married wife, calls his servant a *horson beetle-headed flap-ear'd knaue* (TS 4.1.1703) and when the compound *whorson* is encountered in every single one of the comedies from the corpus, this characteristic property of the genre's typical register and its influence on the frequency of compounds in the plays becomes fairly evident. Hence, compound swearwords like *cut-purse* (A 1.1.108), *punque-master* (A 4.6.24), *inke-dablers* (EM 5.5.44), *connie-catching raskall* (EM 3.1.181) or *whore-master* (A 4.6. 24) make up a considerable portion of the noun compounds from the comedies. In addition to that, especially Shakespeare's characters in *The Taming of the Shrew* habitually indulge in using abusive adjective compounds as attributive insults for their opponents and commonly use expressions like *logger-headed* (TS 4.1.1671), *mad-brain'd* (TS 3.3.1470), or *shrew'd [and] ill-fauour'd* (TS 1.2.585). It becomes quite obvious, thus, that invectives and insults as well as references to every-day objects and occupations, as part of the comedies' particular style and register, present an influential factor on compound frequency in these plays from the corpus. The variation in the numbers of compounds per play, that can be observed with both Shakespeare and Jonson in this study, may therefore point at these playwrights' precise adaptation of the language of the plays to the stylistic conventions and properties of their respective genre.

## 7. Qualitative Analysis and Comparison of the Compounds

After these observations in terms of general compound frequencies in the corpus and their connection to playwrights, plays and genres, the second area of investigation centres on the morphological, semantic and metaphorical properties of the compounds from the corpus and will, hence, leave the bird's-eye-perspective in order to focus more closely on the qualitative aspects of the items. Before the individual treatment of the morphologic types, however, some methodological clarifications are necessary.

### 7.1. Principles and Problems of the Morphological Classification

#### 7.1.1. The Morphologic Types

In accordance with Hans Marchand's structuralist approach and in unreserved agreement with his assertion that the establishment of types is essential for any structural analysis (cp. Marchand 1969:9), the approach taken in the present study attempts to provide a stricter separation of the three subfields of the qualitative analysis, morphology, semantics and metaphoricity, than has been practised in previous studies. Thus, the morphological classification of the compounds will be based exclusively and consistently on the morphologic shape (i.e. the description of the morphemic elements) of the compounds. In this respect, the study proceeds in full theoretical agreement with Marchand (1969). In the further procedure, however, the present study deviates from Marchand's (1969) and his structuralist followers' (e.g., Faiß 1978; Kastovsky 1982, 2005a) approaches, in that it does not postulate an endocentric morphologic structure (i.e.  $AB = B$ ) as the primary condition for compoundhood and, thus, does not operate with categories such as 'pseudo-compounds'.<sup>163</sup> In combination with a general rejection of the assumption that exocentric or metonymic meaning is encoded in the form of invisible and phonetically non-realized zero-morphemes, the reasons for which will be pointed out in detail in the next chapter, the semantics of a compound become more strictly separable from its morphological make-up, understood as its morphological shape. Hence, notions such as 'exocentric', 'bahuvrihi' or 'imperative compound' are perceived as exclusively

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<sup>163</sup> Marchand's (1969) approach and his treatment of exocentric compounds as pseudo-compounds are discussed in detail in chapter 4.3.1 and find repeated mention throughout ch. 4. To avoid redundancy Marchand's (1969) stance will not be reiterated at this point.

relevant for the semantic analysis of a given compound, neither influencing nor altering its morphologic shape, and thereby the morphologic type of the compound. Nevertheless, the morphological classification of a compound, in some cases, still has to take into account its meaning, as expressed in a paraphrase or classified in a semantic type, and, consequently, there are certain limits to the practicability of a strict separation between morphological and semantic analysis. Such unavoidable intertwining of morphology and semantics is observable in the influence of their semantics on the morphological classification of certain compound constituents which are particularly ambiguous in their word class, as will be the subject of ch. 7.1.3.

In the description of the morphologic shape of the compounds, the aim and set-up of the study calls for a comparatively high level of detail in order to do justice to the morphological diversity of the EModE compounds and to shed light on certain preferences and characteristic features of the three authors' use of compounds. Accordingly, the number of morphologic types per word-class, that I differentiate between is higher than in many earlier works on English compounds or word-formation types, such as, e.g., Adams (2001); Bauer (1983, 2011); Schmid (2011),<sup>164</sup> although, other than in equally detailed studies such as Marchand (1969) or Sauer (1992), I have not assumed any separate morphologic types for exocentric or bahuvrihi compounds. Nevertheless, as unavoidable with all classifications into types, certain concessions to practicability have to be made and a general trade-off between specificity and generalisation is inevitable. Hence, I have subsumed certain word classes such as locative (and temporal) prepositions and adverbs, which occur as first elements in compounds such as *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804) or *vnder-scribe* (A 1.2.49) under the category 'particle'. Further, the respective morphologic compound type particle + (deverbal) noun includes both primary nouns and deverbal nouns (i.e. gerunds) as second elements, since the token numbers are too low to justify a further differentiation. Special problematic aspects of determining word classes for compounds as well as for certain compound constituents will be addressed in ch. 7.1.3 and specific problematic compounds will be mentioned in the morphological description of the respective types.

In the morphological analysis of the EModE compounds the resurfacing of certain questions concerning synchrony and diachrony, as generally addressed in ch. 2.2 cannot be avoided. As already indicated in ch. 2.2, the present investigation, although being a 'diachronic'

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<sup>164</sup> Koziol's (1972) handbook is similarly detailed in its differentiation between different morphologic types but mixes morphologic and semantic aspects in its analyses. Early works such as Zandvoort (1967) or Jespersen (1942) present fewer types and tend to base their typology on logical / semantic grounds.

one in terms of its subject language, Early Modern English, takes a primarily synchronic perspective on the compounds, mainly focussing on the status quo of the language and its use by the three Renaissance authors investigated. Thus, the central aim of the morphological analysis conducted in this study is the morphological description of the compounds as they occur in the corpus, thereby providing insights into the general possibilities of composition in EModE and the morphological preferences and habits of the playwrights. This general focus notwithstanding, it has to be emphasized that the synchronic and diachronic analyses are intertwined to a certain degree and can only rarely be kept apart completely, a phenomenon which, for instance, becomes evident in the discussion of ambiguities of word-class (see ch. 7.1.3 and also Sauer 1992:55f). Therefore, certain diachronic information, especially in reference to specific tokens which show a particular morphology due to their etymology, for example in exhibiting opaque elements or remnants of older inflectional or derivational endings, will be given in the course of the morphological analysis. However, since, other than in previous studies concerned with earlier stages of the language, such as Sauer (1992), morphology in EModE has already reached a state in which "[t]he great changes that reduced the inflections of Old English to their modern proportions had already taken place" (Baugh & Cable 2013:233) and the word-formation patterns are very similar to PDE, a synchronic morphological description will frequently be adequate and sufficient.

Concerning the order of the morphologic types, the system applied in the present study is largely congruent to that chosen by Sauer (1992) and is based primarily on the word class of the second elements, starting, for the noun compounds, with primary nouns and continuing with derived ones, which, in the present study are, for example, denoted verb + *-er* or verb + *-ing*. Within the resulting arrangement, the word class of the first element serves as the second criterion with the succession of the word classes being noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun, particle, verb. The morphological analysis of each type starts with a short description of the morphological characteristics of the type and its prevalence both in the corpus and in the language itself. Furthermore, general problems and borderline cases in the assignment of the tokens are mentioned and discussed for each morphologic type, and the respective tokens from the corpus are listed, followed by specific remarks regarding particularities of either certain selected compounds or the authors' preferences. Compounds that have been classified as belonging to the fringe types of composition (e.g., opaque compounds, Latinisms, phrasal compounds) have been excluded from the general morphological analysis and are treated separately in ch. 8. In the following, questions concerning the acceptance of zero-morphemes, the notion of the verbal nexus and the, at times, ambiguous determination of word classes will



be addressed and the respective decisions, which I have made prior to the analysis, will be explained.

### 7.1.2. Zero-morphemes?

#### 7.1.2.1. Exocentric Compounds and Bahuvrihis

The special status of so called ‘exocentric’ compounds, i.e. compounds that, semantically, do not adhere to the formula ‘AB is a type of B’, but whose referent is a different entity that is not expressed in the compound, has already been mentioned in ch. 4.3.1 as having been the subject of much discussion. With regard to the compound status of such formations, I have stated that the arguments in favour of an inclusion of items such as *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160) and *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), or *thicklips* (O 1.1.66) and *sweet-hart* (JM 4.4.43), prevail, especially in the light of a perspective on these formations that views their ‘exocentricity’ as being exclusively grounded in their specific use and reference *in a certain context*, instead of being a fixed structural (derivational) part of the compound itself. It is this perspective that is mirrored in the classification practices of the compounds according to morphologic types in the present chapter, since no zero-affixes are being assumed for exocentric formations and the morphological shape of the respective compounds is the only basis for classification. This principle inevitably leads to the subsumption of exocentrically and endocentrically used compounds under the same morphologic type such as adjective + noun for items like *noblemen* (EM 1.5.124) and *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795), as well as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66) and *sweet-hart* (JM 4.4.43).

This practice has its justification in the rejection of the assumption that certain compounds, traditionally labelled ‘exocentric’, feature a zero-suffix that functions as their determinatum and is, thus, a part of their morphological shape (although phonetically not realized), as Marchand (1969) and his followers postulate. It has already been argued in ch. 4.3.1, with reference to the two different instances of the compound *mother wit* in the corpus, that the existence of such a zero-morpheme can only reasonably be assumed as soon as *the context* establishes a relation between the compound and its reference that allows for an exocentric interpretation of the respective lexeme. This obvious immense dependence on the context has in turn led to the conclusion that the postulate of the zero-morpheme results from a non-justified attempt to categorise a phenomenon as morphologically realized and graspable,

which, in fact, is exclusively a matter of language *in use* and hence primarily a semantic phenomenon. When Lipka (1994, 2002), therefore, rightly understands bahuvrihi compounds such as *blue helmet* and *redskin* as 'contextuals' and maintains correctly that these formations represent instances of semantic transfer (in these cases 'pars pro toto', i.e. metonymy) (cp. 1994:10f) which results in new 'lexical units' (i.e. novel correspondences between a lexeme and an extra-linguistic entity), but not in new lexemes, since these processes are of purely semantic nature, (cp. 2002:108f) his view is congruent to the approach in the present study. Consequently, the classical examples of exocentric formations, Bahuvrihi compounds as well as imperative compounds from the corpus, are perceived not as special morphologic types, but as a matter of semantics, precisely as instances of metonymic reference (cp. ch. 4.3.1 and also Barcelona 2008; Warren 1999), and, thus, are being dealt with in the course of the semantic analysis of the compounds.

With regard to metaphorical compounds, however, the approach of the present study as presented in ch. 5, aims at a consideration of metaphoricity in compounds that goes beyond the traditional dichotomy of endocentricity and exocentricity and, further, distinguishes between different forms and realizations of metaphor in compounds from a literary corpus, on the level of their morphology on the one hand, and on the level of their specific contextual reference on the other hand, then perceiving them as naming units. Both the impracticability and the theoretical pitfalls of assuming a zero-suffix for 'exocentric' compounds become even more evident in the light of this approach: Whereas the notion of the zero-morpheme is defined with explicit reference to parallel regular suffixes by Marchand (1969) and is postulated to have its primary condition in the existence of corresponding overt derivational markers,<sup>165</sup> e.g., *-er* as in *pigtailer* semantically corresponding to the assumed zero-suffix in Bahuvrihi compounds such as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), it is exactly this prerequisite that is lacking when it comes to compounds that involve contextual (indirect) metaphor (category 5). If "[w]e can speak of a zero-morpheme only when zero sometimes alternates with an overt sign in other cases" (Marchand 1969:360), then it is entirely unclear which corresponding overt suffix can be adduced, when highly specific, non-institutionalized and context-dependent metaphorical meanings are to be expressed: As soon as *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), however, is being used as an insulting (and semantically dense) reference to Othello by Iago, or the bonnet designed for Kate in *The Taming of The Shrew* is derogatively called a *custard coffin* (TS 4.3.1961) by her new-betrothed husband, then each of the lexemes do clearly not correspond to the 'AB is a

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<sup>165</sup> Similar conditions for zero-morphemes are formulated in Hansen (1990:124f) and Kastovsky (1982:172).

type of B' formula any longer and, consistently following Marchand's (1969) approach, a zero-suffix would indeed have to be assumed. Yet, the respective zero-suffix would fail the postulated condition of being paralleled by other potential suffixes that are designed to overtly mark a comparable metaphorical reference. Moreover, each of the zero-suffixes would have to be expected to convey a very distinctive meaning that is clearly different from the semantic (metonymic) content of a zero-determinatum in Bahuvrihi constructions or imperative compounds (cp. ch. 4.3.1). Following this procedure for all the different cases of metaphorical and metonymic reference, therefore, would truly result in "a complete 'arsenal' of homonymous word-formation zeroes" (Štekauer 1996:40) which, on the one hand, would all be semantically different,<sup>166</sup> and, on the other hand, would only rarely correspond to potential overt suffixes and could, thus, no longer be consistently distinguished from the mere absence of any derivational marker. (cp. also Pennanen 1971:55) Hence, both the theoretical foundation and the practicability of the concept of the zero-morpheme appear questionable and it is at least remarkable, that, as has already been noted by Sauer (1992:147), even Marchand's (1969) own analysis of certain compounds, such as *bishop's cap* and *parson's nose*, although "used only metaphorically, never in a literal sense" (68) and, hence, obviously institutionalized with a purely exocentric meaning, does not involve any zero-determinatum (cp. 65ff) and thereby undermines the consistency of his own approach. As has already been argued in ch. 4.3.1 with respect to Bahuvrihi and imperative compounds, the present study, with these problematic issues in mind, therefore, refrains from any assumption of a zero-determinatum in either metonymically or metaphorically used compounds and continues to understand the phenomenon of 'exocentricity' as a matter of a *specific use* of a compound with a *specific reference*, that is determined and interpreted via the *context* and is therefore not to be perceived as a fixed morphological element of any lexeme.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Schönefeld (2005:137) in her discussion of zero-derivation and functional change also notes that the semantic diversity of the zero-morpheme is one of the most important counter-arguments against the concept.

<sup>167</sup> In this respect, I follow Booij (2007), Lipka (1994) and Coseriu (1977), who explicitly reject the notion of a zero-morpheme for exocentric formations. Several other scholars, such as Pennanen (1971, 1982), Štekauer (1996) and Bauer (1983) concentrate on the discussion of zero-derivation in word-class change (conversion) and also argue against the general concept of the zero-morpheme. Since the conceptual process behind both the exocentric use of a compound and conversion can be shown to be very similar, their arguments are largely valid for both phenomena, cp. further the discussion of zero-morphemes in conversion processes in ch. 7.1.2.2.

### 7.1.2.2. Conversion or Zero-derivation

The second area in which zero-morphemes have been implemented in the analysis by several scholars is the phenomenon of unmarked change of word-class of certain lexemes as it has been noted for, e.g., the denominal verbal compounds *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) and *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240) from the corpus. (cp. ch. 4.5.2) The question, whether the process taking place in such cases is of a (zero-) derivational, i.e. morphological, nature and involves the attachment of a zero-suffix to a base that transposes it to a certain different word category, or whether the relevant characteristics of the process are rather to be located on the syntactic/functional or semantic/conceptual level and do not result in a changed morphological set-up of a lexeme, is reflected in the different terminology that has been applied: Whereas advocates of the former approach (e.g., Adams 1973, 2001; Kastovsky 1982; Marchand 1969; Sauer 1992) prefer the term ‘zero-derivation’ for such operations, other scholars, whose approaches, although noticeably diverse in their theoretical manifestations, share the common denominator of not assuming a zero-suffixation process for these cases, mainly use the term ‘conversion’ (e.g., Bauer 1983, 2005; Dirven 1999; Koziol 1972; Štekauer 1996; Tournier 1985, 1991), or attempt to find new terms that are unencumbered by any theoretical implications (cp., e.g., Schönefeld 2005, who settles for the term ‘unmarked change of word category’) In a similar effort to eliminate any anticipative implication of a certain theory for the present discussion, the phenomenon will neutrally be termed ‘unmarked change of word class’ in this chapter.<sup>168</sup>

Since the assumption of zero-morphemes in word-formation is, first and foremost, a general theoretical question, which has already been criticised in the previous discussion of exocentric formations, it is not surprising that several of the arguments brought up against zero-morphemes above will maintain their validity with respect to the conceptualisation of unmarked change of word class in terms of a derivational process, by means of such zero-morphemes. The reasons, however, that have prompted an analysis of this phenomenon in terms of zero-derivation, are considerably more evident than for exocentric formations and appear especially plausible when considering the morphological set-up of word pairs such as *heat* – *heat* - *er* and *cheat* – *cheat* -  $\emptyset$ , which can be conceived as strongly parallel and, hence, perfectly fulfil the condition of a presumed zero “alternat[ing] with an overt sign” (Marchand 1969:360). In fact,

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<sup>168</sup> As will be pointed out in the present chapter, this study refrains from an analysis of unmarked change of word class as a derivational phenomenon and will therefore not use the term *zero-derivation*. In the analysis chapters, the said phenomenon is therefore named either ‘unmarked change of word-class’ or, subsequent to the clarifications made in the present chapter, ‘conversion’.

the strictly binary structure of complex lexemes when understood as ‘syntagmas’, defined by Marchand (1969) as always "consisting of a determinant and a determinatum" (3), demands the zero-morpheme in lexemes such as *cheat* (n.) in order to secure the consistency of the system:

If we take the syntagma principle as axiomatic, [...], it automatically follows that formations such as oil v 'put oil on something', clean v, 'make clean', cheat n, 'someone who cheats', swim n, 'act of swimming', must necessarily also be treated as binary, and thus interpreted as derivatives containing a zero-morpheme instead of an overt suffix. If one does not make the syntagma principle axiomatic, other options would of course exist. (Kastovsky 2005a:34)

Yet it is exactly this necessity of the concept of zero for the inherent conclusiveness of Marchand’s (1969) postulate of every complex lexeme featuring a syntagmatic structure that has raised suspicion among critics of his theory. Hence, Pennanen (1982) objects to Marchand's (1969) focus on syntagmaticity in word-formation and submits that it is, in fact, his emphasis on the syntactic aspects of word-formation that literally force Marchand (1969) to postulate zero-morphemes and, eventually, "create syntagmas where there are none" (246). (cp. further Štekauer 1996:38) Instead, Pennanen (1982) argues that "although the 'nuclear' categories of WF are syntagma-oriented, it does not mean that all the other categories and types of WF too should be syntagma-based" (254) and his view is endorsed by Štekauer (1996), who aptly demonstrates the possibility to drive *zero* ad absurdum by the example of verbal inflection: As six functionally different zero-morphemes would have to be presumed (one for each person in the singular as well as in the plural), if one "strictly insisted on observing the principle of binary structure" (Štekauer 1996:34), he concludes that, if followed consistently, the method produces a "rather awkward system" (35). This observation, in turn, leads back to a general problem of the concept of zero-morphemes that has already been discussed with regard to exocentric formations above: If the principle of zero-suffixation is followed consistently, an infinite number of semantically (and functionally) different zeroes has to be assumed, which, after all, can hardly be argued to bring the benefit of a "a methodologically tidy analysis" (Pennanen 1971:55). In fact, with respect to unmarked change of word class, an exemplary analysis of the denominal verb *Fly-blow* (S 5.511)(v.) from the corpus, illustrates that the application of the zero-derivation theory in many cases results in a multitude of functionally different zeros even within only one compound word: Used in the sentence *is not he blest that [...] / Can claw his subtle elbow, or with a buzze / Fly-blow his eares* (S 5.507-511), the most obvious function of a zero-morpheme is the derivation of *flyblow* (n.) to *flyblow* (v.) (‘furnish something with

flyblow')<sup>169</sup> which would consequently render the structure of the compound  $[fly - blow] - \emptyset$  (v.). The base of the derivational process *flyblow* (n.), paraphrasable as "the egg deposited by a fly in the flesh of an animal" (s.v. "fly-blow, n." *OED online*. 21 May 2015), however, upon further investigation, must be analysed as containing further zero-morphemes within its structure. Since, synchronically, *fly* (n.) (i.e. the insect, that deposits the 'blow') most certainly has to be viewed as being zero-derived from *fly* (v.), the structure of the compound would consequently have to be described as  $[[fly - \emptyset] - blow] - \emptyset$  (v.). Furthermore, the second constituent *blow* (n.) that, according to the above paraphrase denotes the fly's egg(s) (cp. also the paraphrase given for "blow, n.2" in the OED: 'the oviposition of flesh-flies or other insects'. *OED online*. 21 May 2015), can hardly be viewed as primary and, hence, has to be analysed as a zero-derivation from the verb *blow* (v.) (cp. "blow, n.2". *OED Online*. 21 May 2015). Thus, the overall structure of the compound would eventually have to be denoted as

$$[[fly - \emptyset] - [blow - \emptyset]] - \emptyset (v.),$$

taking proper account of all the unmarked changes of word-class that have been acknowledged. If one, additionally, insisted on presuming zero-morphemes for exocentricity of lexemes, then, firstly, the second element of *flyblow* (n.) would have to undergo another zero-derivation in order to account for the metaphoricity of *blow* (n.) in the sense of 'the oviposition of flesh-flies or other insects' (cp. "blow, n.2". *OED Online*. 21 May 2015) and, secondly, the fact that the verb *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) is being used with a clearly metaphorical sense in the present context, i.e. as an indirect contextual metaphor (category 5), would demand a further zero-suffix that conveys this metaphorical reference of the verb. The resulting structure,

$$[[[fly - \emptyset] - [[blow - \emptyset] - \emptyset]] - \emptyset (v.)] - \emptyset,$$

although arguably an extreme case, should be sufficient proof for the impracticability of a consistent application of the theory in the establishment of morphologic types, especially of compounds.

In the light of the apparent deficiencies of the zero-derivational model, cognitive linguistics has attempted to propose an understanding of unmarked change of word class as a basically conceptual/semantic phenomenon, that involves the restructuring and re-hierarchization of semantic features of a concept. (cp. Dirven 1999; Schönefeld 2005; Štekauer

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<sup>169</sup> Note that the noun compound *fly-blow* n. appears earlier than the converted verbal compound, which is, in fact, introduced by Jonson (cp. "fly-blow, v." *OED online*. 21 October 2016).

1996) In obvious analogy to exocentric formations (cp. ch. 7.1.2.1), metonymy has been identified as the main structuring force behind the phenomenon and, indeed, Schönefeld (2005) shows convincingly that the conceptual relation between word pairs such as *cheat* (v.) – *cheat* (n.) can successfully be described in terms of the metonymic relation ACTION FOR AGENT, listed as one of the basic conceptual metonymies (part for part in an actionICM) by Kövecses & Radden (1998:54f; 1999:37). While Schönefeld (2005) further tests her claim for the different types of unmarked change of word class discussed in Hansen (1990) and eventually finds that in all cases presented there, "metonymic links can be shown to exist between the original and the new meanings of the respective forms" (Schönefeld 2005:149), it is, indeed, noticeable that for the two denominal verbal compounds taken as examples for the present discussion, *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) and *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240), the same claim can be made: Both compounds, denoting an action of 'applying fly-blow to something' and 'giving a safeguard to someone' respectively, arguably correspond to the metonymy that takes an OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION to stand FOR THE ACTION as in the generic example *to blanket the bed*, (cp. Kövecses & Radden 1998:54f) although the object in the case of *safeguard* is an abstract entity. The significant difference of the metonymic relations involved in unmarked change of word class to 'classical' referential metonymies, e.g., PART FOR WHOLE, as observed for Bahuvrihi - formations, however, lies in the respective metonymic transfers transcending the categorical boundaries between entities and actions and, hence, involving a recategorisation of, e.g., *things to actions* and vice versa, which consequently affects the word-class of the lexeme on the morphological level. Operating with Dirven's (1999) concept of 'event-schema-metonymy' that describes the respective conceptual process of metonymic recategorisation in these cases, Schönefeld (2005) defines the phenomenon of unmarked change of word-class as "a particular metonymic mapping, with the resultant expressions showing a syntactic behaviour which differs from that of the original expression to variable degrees" (153) and emphasizes that

the phenomenon should neither be understood as a derivational nor as a syntactic phenomenon, but first and foremost – as a phenomenon of semantic extension of a language's lexicon. (150)<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Stekauer (1996) understands the phenomenon very similarly and, without focussing on metonymy, proposes an onomasiological model of word-formation that is also centred around the notion of conceptual recategorisation of an extra-linguistic reality from one conceptual category (ACTION, STANCE, QUALITY, CONCOMITANT, CIRCUMSTANCE) into another, which results in changes in the conceptual structure and the hierarchy of logical predicates in this structure, determining, in turn, the conceptual category of the respective extra-linguistic object. Hence, in his model, "the conceptual reevaluation of the objective reality precedes linguistic processes proper" (47) and the approach, thereby, also takes the conceptual/semantic level as the starting point and main motivation of unmarked change of word class.

The present study follows this general understanding of unmarked change of word class as a primarily semantic/conceptual phenomenon and, for the reasons outlined above, refrains from including any zero-morphemes in the analysis of the compounds. Instead, the actual use and meaning of a compound in the context of the works is perceived as indicating the respective conceptualisation of the entity or action denoted by the lexeme and, hence, the compounds are classified morphologically according to their contextual use with a certain word class, as will be pointed out further in ch. 7.1.3.

### 7.1.3. Determining word-classes

The general question of word classes of compounds and, with regard to their constituents, *in* compounds, has been noted to be an intricate one, especially when diachronic deliberations influence the classification. (cp., e.g., Sauer 1985, 1992) Regardless of the difficulties pertaining, however, the morphological analysis of compounds demands a classification of both the compounds as unified lexemes and their respective constituents in terms of word classes (i.e. morphologic types). Whereas most scholars undertaking this task investigate and classify a certain number of compounds from a contextually independent perspective (cp., e.g., Adams 2001; Bauer 1983; Koziol 1972; Marchand 1969), I perceive the embeddedness of the compounds in a certain individual context to be a benefit of the present study, which demands to be acknowledged and can be utilized for the analysis. Thus, in order to do justice to the general evaluation of individual contexts and authorial choices that I have proclaimed for this investigation, the overall word class of each of the compounds is solely determined by its respective use in context. As a consequence, compounds that exhibit certain ambiguities concerning their word class with regard to their morphological shape, will be attributed to the word class which corresponds to their function in the text, since it is their actual use as member of a certain word class that is perceived to indicate the conceptual/semantic structure of the lexeme. Hence, *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) is categorized as a verbal compound construction, determined by its use as a verb in Arruntius' utterance (*is not he blest that [can] Fly-blow his eares* (S 5. 507-511)) and the attributive, adjectival use of *goose-turd* (A 4.4.50) in the context of the noun phrase *my-lords goose-turd bands* (A. 4.4.50) justifies the classification of the compound as an adjective.



Upon closer investigation of the abovementioned examples, however, it is detectable that, strictly speaking, they violate a basic principle of word class in compounds that was first postulated by Williams (1981) under the term "percolation of features through heads" (253) and which has frequently been readopted in scholarly discourse as the basic assumption that, in a compound AB, "AB belongs to the same word class [...] to which B belongs" (Marchand 1969:11). The contradiction to this claim obviously lies in the fact that both the abovementioned compounds display a noun + noun structure and hence, only taking their morphological shape into account, would have to be expected to be noun compounds. Yet, the use of the lexemes in their respective contexts clearly demands a different classification and where, in a context-free environment, this special property, and, thus, the different conceptual/semantic structure of the respective words as realized, necessarily goes unnoticed, the context in the present study provides the evidence for an unmarked change of word class of the compounds as unified lexemes: The only possible paraphrases for the compounds in the given context being 'put fly-blow in (his ears)' and '(bands) of a colour that resembles that of goose-turd', an analysis of the items as being made up of a verbal (*blow*) or adjectival (*turd*) determinatum that has undergone an unmarked change of word class (from noun to verb or adjective respectively) independently and either before or simultaneously with entering the compound, is highly improbable from a semantic viewpoint.<sup>171</sup> Consequently the morphological shape for the respective items has been noted as noun + noun (V) and noun + noun (Adj.).<sup>172</sup> When it comes to the question of which item has been subject to unmarked change of word class, either the determinatum, or the compound *as a whole*, the meaning of the compound as used in context therefore proves decisive, and cases such as those just quoted provide evidence that the abovementioned rule loses its absolute validity as soon as language in context is investigated.<sup>173</sup> A similar conclusion, although for different reasons, can be drawn considering the morphological shape of *vouchsafe* (S 1.495) which has been formed as a univerbation of the phrase *to vouch something safe* (cp. ch. 4.5.2) and contains an adjective as its second

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<sup>171</sup> Cp. also similar PDE formations such as *to bullshit* 'to talk bullshit, i.e. nonsense' (cp. "bullshit, n." *OED online*. 21 October 2016) or *to sidewalk* 'to provide sth. with a sidewalk or sidewalks' (cp. "sidewalk, v." *OED online*. 21 October 2016) for which the assumption of a second element having undergone unmarked change of word class from noun to verb (*to shit*, *to walk*) independently also does not appear convincing at all.

<sup>172</sup> By contrast, independent unmarked change of word class of the determinatum has been assumed for particle compounds with deverbal nouns as their second constituents, such as *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804) or *ouerflow* (RII 5.3.2436), since both their paraphrases, 'the act of falling down /of flowing over', and the reversed order of their constituents (as opposed to that of the corresponding phrasal verbs *to fall down*, *to flow over*), indicate that the verbal elements *to fall* and *to flow* enter the compounds in a nominalized form.

<sup>173</sup> Similar observations can be made with regard to Bahuvrihi-adjectives such as *bare-foot* (JM 2.3.25) as in *bare-foot Fryar* (JM 2.3.25), 'a friar having bare feet', which also have to be regarded as being made up of an adjectival determinant and a nominal determinatum, but function as adjectives.

constituent. With its semantic and grammatical head (*vouch*) taking the left-hand position in the compound construction, the lexeme exhibits both an unusual morphological shape and structure. Yet it is classified as a compound construction on the basis of morphological reasons (cp. ch. 4.5.2) and, thus, has to be treated as a special and presumably rare morphologic type of left-headed verbal compound in which the first constituent determines the word class of the construction.

There are, however, several compounds among the material, in which a converted, deverbal noun as determinatum can well be assumed. Whereas Kastovsky (1982), Marchand (1969), and Sauer (1992), consistent with their general approaches, understand this fact as being relevant in terms of the morphemic shape and structure, and, hence, the morphologic type, of the compounds, they establish a separate morphologic type of noun + [verb + Ø]. Since the present study rejects the notion of the zero-morpheme on the grounds presented above, the arguably converted nature of the second element in compounds such as *bloudshed* (EII 9.82), *eare-reach* (S 5.509) or *sunne-shine* (EM 3.1.7) is yet perceived as irrelevant to their morphological classification as noun + noun compounds from a synchronic and product-oriented perspective. Instead, the verbal element entailed in the determinatum of at least some of the respective compounds, is understood as a semantic phenomenon, which results in their assignment to semantic types involving ‘Action’, e.g., Agent – Action in the case of *eare-reach* (S 5.509) and *sunne-shine* (EM 3.1.7), and OBJ – Action in the case of *bloudshed* (EII 9.82). It has to be noted, however, that this semantic indication of a verbal nexus in the respective compounds does not necessarily prove the morphological / etymological status of the determinatum as derived from a verb and vice versa. Instead, the compound *horse-race* (A 1.1.75), for instance, which exhibits a noun borrowed from early Scandinavian in ME (cp. "race, n.1." *OED Online*. 24 October 2016) as its second element, from which the verb *to race* has been derived no earlier than in the seventeenth century, (cp. "race, v.3." *OED Online*. 13 September 2017), is classified as also belonging to the semantic type ‘Agent – Action’, that, in the majority of cases is reserved for compounds etymologically containing deverbal nouns. These examples illustrate that the etymological and the semantic analyses do not always correspond completely, a phenomenon which has been discussed by Sauer (1992), who similarly explains it by pointing out that actions in some cases are expressible not only by means of verbs, but also by means of nouns (cp. 134f, see further ch. 7.1.2.3). Since the present study takes a synchronic perspective on the morphological shape of the compounds, the compounds mentioned above as examples are all classified as noun + noun compounds.

With regard to the first constituents in compounds, however, further difficulties occasionally arise, exemplifying the observation made above that, although separable to a certain degree, morphological and semantic analysis cannot be perceived as completely discrete. Whereas, viewed synchronically, the nominal character of the first constituent in *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) is strongly suggested by the overall meaning of the compound and a verbal interpretation of *fly* can quickly be ruled out on semantic grounds, there are several cases in which the categorisation is considerably less straightforward. Besides the general ambiguity of the distinction between adjectives and adverbs in EModE, which has already been mentioned as problematic in ch. 4.4.3.1, it is, above all, the differentiation between verb (or verb stem) and noun as first constituent in compound constructions such as *whetstone* (EM 4.2.124) or *packthred* (TS 3.2.1369),<sup>174</sup> which proves difficult. Partly responsible for the ambiguities concerning the word class of the first constituent in such constructions is the historical background of the morphologic type of verb + noun compounds: As Sauer (1992) points out, several of the endocentric verb (stem) + noun compounds go back originally to OE noun + noun compounds, whose first element was a deverbal noun homonymous to the verb stem, resulting in the compounds often being subject to reinterpretation in the course of Middle English. Later on, of course, independent new formations of verb (stem) + noun compounds were possible, so that, since Middle English, noun + noun compounds, reinterpreted verb + noun compounds and actual verb + noun compounds exist alongside each other. (cp. Sauer 1992:185ff) Synchronically, a clear-cut distinction between verb stem and (deverbal) noun in cases such as *whet* or *pack* cannot be made solely on morphological grounds. Whereas for *whetstone* (EM 4.2.124) (or, also *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9)) the semantic analysis as ‘Action – Instrument’ (‘a stone used to whet / grind sth.’) and hence a classification as verb + noun appears most natural, the compound *packthred* (TS 3.2.1369) arguably allows two paraphrases of similar plausibility: on the one hand, understanding the determinant as a noun, the compound can be assigned to the semantic type of ‘Purpose – Entity’ (‘a thread for making packs’). On the other hand, an interpretation corresponding to *whetstone* (EM 4.2.124) and resulting in the paraphrase ‘a thread used to pack sth.’ appears at least similarly conceivable.<sup>175</sup> Since the paraphrases of tokens like the latter do not give a sufficiently clear indication as to which categorisation is to be preferred, the

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<sup>174</sup> Another example of a borderline case, for which both classifications are theoretically possible, is *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27; O 4.1.2359). (cp. ch. 7.4.7.3)

<sup>175</sup> Note that in some cases the ambiguity of the word class of a certain element can differ from compound to compound. In the present corpus *pack* also appears as first element in *pack-saddle* (EM 1.5. 95), for which the classification as ‘Purpose – Entity’ (‘a saddle for carrying packs’) is much more straightforward than in the case of *packthred* (TS 3.2.1369).

classification of these compounds necessarily has to stay ambiguous to a certain degree. (cp. also Sauer 1985, 1992).

Lastly, the distinction between nouns and adjectives as first elements in so-called material and place name compounds, such as *siluer Bason* (TS I.1.53), *silke-hose* (EM 1.3.47) *Venice gold* (TS 2.1.1158) or *Pisa walls* (2.1.1171), has been discussed controversially in research, mostly in connection with differing evaluations of the stress criterion. (cp. ch. 4.1.3) When restricting the validity of the stress criterion to that of an indication instead of a condition for compoundhood, there are no convincing reasons to assume any unmarked change of word class from (proper) nouns to adjectives affecting the first constituents of place name compounds, since their frequent pronunciation with double stress is the only feature differentiating them from other prototypical noun + noun compounds of the same semantic relation of 'Location – Located', such as *city-dames* (A 1.3.73) or *suburbe-humor* (EM 1.3.134). As outlined in ch. 4.4.2, the present study does not perceive fore stress as conditional for compoundhood and, hence, agrees with Laurie Bauer in regarding the respective tokens as belonging to a semantically specific subclass of noun + noun compounds. (cp. Bauer 1983:109 and ch. 4.4.2). In the case of material compounds, the situation proves to be slightly more complex, since derived adjectives denoting materials such as *silken* (OE *seolocen*), *silvern* (OE *seolfren*) or *golden* (OE *gylden*) still exist in Old English and are only gradually lost towards PDE. Their functions being increasingly replaced by their respective derivational bases, e.g., *silver*, *gold* and *silk*, in the course of the history of English (cp. Jespersen 1942:346ff, Sauer 1992:103) the word class of the first elements in the respective compounds is disputable and a classification as either noun or adjective is possible. With the derived adjectives, such as *silken*, *silvern* and *golden*, however, still existent in EModE (cp. "golden, adj.", "silvern, adj.", "silken, adj." *OED online*. 21 November 2016.) and the nouns *silk* and *silver* therefore being clearly distinguishable from the corresponding adjectives by the lack of any derivational ending, compounds such as *silke-hose* (1.3.47), *siluer shells* (A 4.1.158) or *siluer Bason* (TS I.1.53) are certainly better classified as noun + noun compounds. There are, however, lexemes such as *iron* or *salt*, occurring, for example, in the compounds *iron barre* (EM 2.3.29) and *salt teares* (O 4.3.2708), which are more ambiguous, because adjective and noun denoting the respective material have been homonymous already in Old English. (cp. Sauer 1992:104) As the double stress pattern of these combinations, however, has not been accepted as sufficient condition to exclude them from compound status (hence ruling out a classification of the tokens as syntactic groups made up of an adjective or noun premodifying a noun) and since the paraphrases 'bar made of iron' and 'tears containing salt' appear to be substantially more plausible and

grammatical than any adjectival interpretation, such as ‘bar being iron’ or ‘tears being salt’, I have assigned all material compounds to the morphologic type noun + noun. (cp. also ch. 4.4.3.1)

## 7.2. The Question of the Verbal Nexus

The notion of the ‘verbal nexus’ in compounds has already been mentioned above as being at the interface of morphology and semantics, depending on its exact definition, and has proved to be a category not entirely clear-cut, since its defining properties tend to vary in research. In his *Handbook*, Marchand (1969), applies primarily syntactic / semantic criteria and defines verbal nexus compounds as compounds which are derived from an underlying sentence in which the respective verbal element serves as predicate (cp. 15ff), but runs into difficulties when it comes to (according to his theoretical approach) zero-derived (or converted) second elements, such as *stand* in *news stand* or *print* in *footprint*, which are morphologically deverbal but, in fact, "cannot [...] be analysed [semantically] on the basis of a verbal nexus." (Marchand 1969:78) This illustrates the in-between status of the category ‘verbal nexus’, which can either be based on syntactic / semantic criteria, demanding the verbal element to act as the predicate in the paraphrase, or on morphological / etymological ones, postulating a (productive) relation of morphological derivation between verb and noun or adjective as its condition. Independent of which approach is preferred, however, the analyses will never completely correspond and occasional artificiality of certain distinctions cannot be avoided. On the one hand, a purely etymological definition and a strict separation of morphological verbal nexus and non-verbal nexus (or primary) compounds will inevitably result in a separation of semantically very similar compounds such as, for example, *eye-reach* (S 5.508), *Nightingales* (TS I2.171), or *eye-sight* (A 4.2.70), the two former of which contain a converted deverbal noun as determinatum, while *sight* cannot be classified synchronically as being morphologically derived by any productive rules of word-formation (cp. also Warren 1978:58f on a similar problem). All three compounds, however, can reasonably be assigned to the semantic type ‘Agent – Action’. On the other hand, Marchand’s (1969) exclusion of *news stand* and *footprint* from the class of ‘real’ verbal nexus compounds on semantic grounds, although, morphologically speaking, their second constituents are clearly deverbal, once more proves the observation made before that morphological and semantic analyses do not always correspond.

Whereas the verbal nexus has frequently been taken as the condition upon which either a whole class of compounds has been excluded from the analysis (e.g., Warren 1978) or a more or less strict separation of the two compound classes has been based (e.g., Marchand 1969), which then pervaded both the semantic and the morphological analysis, the label ‘verbal nexus’ has not been perceived to be of primary importance in the present study. Although verbal elements are generally visible in the morphological analysis whenever they form the basis for derivation, as they do in synthetic compound types such as, e.g., noun + verb + *-er* (*ballad-singer* (EM 4.2.120)), the rejection of the zero-morpheme as explained in ch. 7.1.2.2 renders the question of the verbal nexus for those compounds whose second elements are originally converted nouns, e.g., *eye-reach* (S 5.508) or *Nightingales* (TS I2.171), irrelevant from a strictly morphological perspective, that takes the morphological shape of the tokens as a condition for their morphological classification and does not assume the morphemic structure to be altered by the process of the determinatum being a converted deverbal noun (or adjective). As a consequence, converted nouns, that occur in noun + noun combinations do not receive any special treatment in the morphological analysis, independent of their potential (semantic) verbal nexus. Regarding the semantic realm, it can certainly not be denied that most compounds containing verbal elements indeed exhibit a particular semantic structure, which, in the majority of cases, can be described with the help of a paraphrase in which the respective verb acts as predicate. Thus, there are several semantic types, that exclusively contain verbal nexus compounds, e.g., the type ‘Action – OBJ’, which comprises compounds traditionally termed ‘imperative compounds’, such as *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26) or *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347), each paraphrasable respectively as ‘someone who picks purses’ and ‘someone who mounts banks’. These regularities notwithstanding, however, the present study does not intend to implement a strict division of compounds with and without a semantic verbal nexus within the semantic analysis either. Instead, in accordance with its aim of presenting a semantic classification of the compounds *across* morphologic types and word-classes (see further ch. 7.3), and in acknowledgement of the fact mentioned above that actions are sometimes describable not only by verbs but also by nouns and vice versa (cp. ch. 7.1.2.2, and Sauer 1992:134f), the verbal nexus is understood as a property of some compounds, that is not of absolute relevance for their semantic classification. Hence, several of the semantic types in the present study comprise both compounds with deverbal elements and primary compounds, e.g., the type ‘Direction – Entity/Action’, which comprises tokens such as *streete dore* (EM 1.3.24) as well as *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804) (see further ch. 7.3).

### 7.3. Principles and Problems of the Semantic Classification

#### 7.3.1. Aims and Scope of the Semantic Analysis in the Present Study

Although the general “futility of any attempt to enumerate an absolute and finite class of compounding relationships” (Downing 1977:828) has been acknowledged by most scholars by now, (cp. also Jackendoff 2011:122; Jespersen 1942:143; Koziol 1972:52; Warren 1999:126) recent works still draw on semantic relations as a means of classification. (cp., e.g., Schmid 2011:121ff) And indeed, it can hardly be denied that the semantic relation in a compound and particularly the wealth of possibilities that exists in this area, is highly intriguing and appears to be at the heart of the compounding process, understood as a most efficient method of encoding meaning by uniting two concepts into a new conceptual unit.<sup>176</sup> Hence, total capitulation in view of the presumably limitless diversity of potential compound relations seems not to do justice to a most essential aspect and function of these word-formation products. In practice, the “very considerable degree of overlap among the inventories of compounding relationships which have been proposed by various scholars” (Downing 1977:828) nourishes the hope that an inventory of semantic relations is at least conceivable, although always operating under the assumption that, as observed earlier, “phenomena in living languages can rarely be compartmentalized into clearly definable and clearly distinguishable categories” (Schmid 2011:131) and that, especially in semantics, overlaps, inaccuracies and a general trade-off between categorisation and detailed description of certain phenomena will be inevitable. However, as opposed to most other studies, which aim to provide an overall classification scheme for (Present Day) English compounds and consequently are faced with the abundance of material that is the outcome of the process’ limitless productivity, the present study focusses on assessing the semantic diversity in the EModE plays from the corpus and therefore shifts – and substantially narrows – the scope. This restriction brings the benefit of avoiding the pitfalls of dealing with a theoretically unlimited number of compounds and, hence, makes providing a basic set of semantic relations which covers the compounds from the corpus (and at the same time provides the necessary degree of generalization) sufficient for the purpose. Nevertheless, certain intricacies remain, some general ones of which will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

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<sup>176</sup> Exhaustive theories of word-formation (and compounding) as, for example, Lieber’s *Theory of Lexical Semantics* (Lieber 2004, 2011a, 2016) or Jackendoff’s *Conceptual Semantics* (Jackendoff 2011, 2016) target the cross-linguistic systematization and formulation of (generative) rules for the *production* of compounds, rather than a typology of compounds and are therefore not applicable as theoretical bases for the present study.

### 7.3.2. General Principles of Classification

First of all, it is crucial for any semantic description of compounds to clearly distinguish between the two possible perspectives on the meaning of a compound, which can either understand the compound as a naming unit and focus on the relation between the compound and its referent, or concentrate on the constituents of the compound and investigate the semantic relation between those elements. (cp. also Sauer 1992:42) Traditional semantic labels such as ‘exocentric compound’ or ‘Bahuvrihi-compound’, are based on the former of these perspectives. As outlined in ch. 7.1.2.1, notions such as ‘bahuvrihi’ or ‘exocentricity’ in the present study are understood as being rooted in the contextual use of the compounds,<sup>177</sup> which either establishes a metonymic relation between the compound and its referent, as it is, for example, the case with ‘Bahuvrihi – compounds’, (cp. ch. 7.1.2.1 and also Warren 1999) or a figurative / metaphoric one, as illustrated by the metaphoric use of *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) mentioned above. In the latter case, the respective compounds display indirect contextual metaphor and are assigned to the respective category as part of their metaphorical analysis. Compounds with metonymic reference, in turn, will find specific mention in the course of the semantic analysis. Neither of these exocentric compounds, however, are perceived as being morphologically particular. (cp. ch. 7.1.2.1) Further, since the intended separation of semantic and metaphorical analysis allows for an exhaustive analysis of all compounds with regard to both aspects and, as I explained in ch. 5.3.8, surpasses the traditional boundaries between endo- and exocentricity, as has been suggested by Benczes (2006), as well as, although more hesitantly, already by Warren (1978:113), the compounds in question could be assigned to the same set of semantic types that also comprise endocentric tokens. These semantic types, which are presented below in overview, however, exclusively concern the second of the two perspectives and describe the relation between the two constituents of the compounds.

The semantic analysis of compounds and its method chosen for this study is shaped by several parameters of its general set-up. The overall aims of the project, which not only aspires to provide insights into EModE compounds in general but also aims to assess semantic diversity of compounds in the plays from the three playwrights, suggest a classification of the tokens into semantic *types*, thereby rendering the semantic diversity of the works graspable and

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<sup>177</sup> Regarding the strict distinction between the two possible semantic perspectives, as well as the understanding of exocentricity as a matter of contextual use, see also Coseriu (1977:50f), who operates with the terms ‘Bezeichnung’ and ‘Bedeutung’, the former referring to the relation between compound and referent and the latter denoting the relation between the constituents.



comparable. Further, the scope of the study together with its comprehensive approach, which, apart from the semantic analysis also entails analyses of the compounds' morphology as well as metaphoricity, inevitably brings certain restrictions with regard to detailedness and theoretical sophistication of the semantic analysis. The trade-off between generalization and specification that necessarily had to be made, however, must neither be regarded as carelessness nor ignorance of the various intriguing and highly detailed theoretical approaches to the semantics of compounding that have been made, but solely lies in the nature of classifications as such and is justified by the intended aim and scope of the present study. In order to shed light on the development of the field and the different influences that have figured in the methodological decisions made in this area of investigation, a short overview of previous approaches to the semantic analysis of compounds will be given in the following chapter (although without raising any claim to completeness, which would again go beyond the constraints of this work).

### 7.3.3. Previous Approaches to the Semantic Analysis of Compounds

Whereas early researchers largely operate with the traditional distinction between endocentric, exocentric and copula compounds (cp., e.g., Carr 1939; Meid & Krahe 2011), which goes back to Bloomfield (1933) and is still prevalent, especially in German grammars (cp., e.g., Kunkel-Razum & Eisenberg 2009), but which in its general outline also reappears in later studies, such as, e.g., Bauer (1983), the semantics of compounds experienced renewed interest in the 1960s. In the wake of generative linguistics and influenced by Noam Chomsky's publication on *Syntactic Structures* in 1957 (cp. Chomsky 2002 [1957]), Robert B. Lees (1968) proposes a generative / transformational analysis of compounds based on the premiss that

English nominal compounds incorporate the grammatical forms of many different sentence types, and of many different internal grammatical relationships within sentences, such as subject-predicate, subject-verb, subject-object, verb-object etc. (Lees 1968:119)

In his work, Lees (1968) defines eight underlying grammatical relations for English compounds, which state the syntactic functions each constituent takes (including generalized verbs for non verbal nexus compounds) in an assumed underlying sentence and thereby demonstrates the diverse relations that can exist between a compound's surface structure and its underlying syntactic deep structure:

1. Subject – Predicate (*girlfriend, madman, redskin*); generalized Verb: BE
2. Subject – Middle Object (*doctor's office, bullseye*); generalized Verb: HAVE
3. Subject – Verb (*talking machine, payload, population growth*)
4. Subject – Object (*steamboat, car thief*) generalized Verbs: CAUSE, MAKE, YIELD, PRODUCE
5. Verb – Object: (*setscrew, pickpocket, eating apple*)
6. Subject – Prepositional Object (*gunpowder, garden party*)
7. Verb – Prepositional Object (*grindstone, washing machine, boat ride*)
8. Object – Prepositional Object (*bull-ring, station wagon*)

Lees' (1968) syntactic model has influenced several researchers in the field, the most prominent of which may be Hans Marchand,<sup>178</sup> who includes syntactic deep structure in the second edition of his *Handbook* (1969) as one of the five essential aspects for the description of compounds.<sup>179</sup> Further, his model has been used as a basis for both Kastovsky's (1982) and Quirk et al.'s (2012)<sup>180</sup> treatment of the semantics of compounds, and has, in an elaborated form and aligned with the framework of generative semantics, influenced Judith Levi's (1978) study of *Complex Nominals*. Although the high level of systematicity and generalization of such syntactic models, which allows compounds to be classified into a very limited number of syntactic types, is certainly appealing, critics of the transformationalist approach accuse the theory of oversimplifying the highly complex semantic structures of compounds, their attempts to provide a restricted number of generalized verbs that supposedly express the semantic relations between the constituents in a deep structure sentence being the central point of critique. In the notes to his essay *Remarks on Nominalization* (1970), in which Noam Chomsky advocates the lexicalist view on word-formation and argues against the transformationalist position as taken, among others, by Lees (1968), he explicitly stresses these semantic discrepancies between nominal constructions and the verbs suggested for the underlying sentences. Chomsky states that "[t]he scope of existing subregularities, I believe, has been considerably exaggerated in

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<sup>178</sup> It has to be noted, however, that, although incorporating syntactic deep structure into his work, Marchand does not comply with all of Lees' (1968) theses. For more detailed insights into his stance on the syntactic analysis of compounds, see Marchand (1974c) and Marchand (1974b). In the second edition of his handbook (1969), Marchand seems to use the underlying syntactic structure rather as a means of paraphrasing a compound's meaning than as the necessary basis from which the compounds have been transformed. (cp. Marchand 1969:60ff)

<sup>179</sup> As pointed out in ch. 3.2.3, Marchand (1969) postulates the morphological shape, the morphological structure, the content at the level of grammatical deep structure, the type of reference, and the content at the morphological level (equating the semantic structure) of a compound to be the five essential aspects of its analysis. (cp. Marchand 1969:54ff)

<sup>180</sup> See particularly Appendix I.

work that takes the transformationalist position." (217: footnote 11) and thereby expresses criticism that has been put forth in various forms by other researchers such as Downing (1977:828f), Faiß (1978:45ff), Hansen (1990:45f) or Sauer (1992:36f) as well.

Besides the classification of compounds according to assumed underlying sentences, and often in explicit disagreement with the transformationalist hypotheses, other scholars, such as Downing (1977), Hansen (1990) and Warren (1978) pursue the analysis of the semantic structure of compounds in a different manner and take Fillmore's case roles as proposed, discussed and elaborated in Fillmore (1987a, 1987b, 1987c) as a basis.<sup>181</sup> In her work on *English Lexicology* (1990), Barbara Hansen argues that a strictly syntactic analysis of compounds neglects the fact that a single assumed syntactic structure can possibly express several distinct semantic relations, e.g., Agent, Instrument or Patient, in a compound realizing the syntactic type 'Verb – Subject', such as *cry-baby*, *drift-ice* or *blowtorch*. Therefore, Hansen (1990) proposes a semantic description of compounds with the help of predicate types (statal, actional, processual) and case roles, which differentiates between the abovementioned examples of Verb – Subject compounds on the basis of their logical-semantic relations.<sup>182</sup> In the case of noun + noun compounds, generalized representatives of verbal classes are suggested, which specify the semantic relations and comprise pro-verbs such as <produce> or <exist> and, hence are added to the semantic descriptions of compounds. The result are representations of the semantic structure of compounds such as, e.g., *honeybee* as Factitive + <produce> + Agentive. As a third step in the semantic description, additional systematic semantic components such as <+HABITUAL> are specified. (cp. Hansen 1990:45ff) Although intriguing in its semantic detailedness, Hansen's (1990) approach is not suitable for the present study, since it targets a relatively detailed semantic description of individual compounds rather than a classification of a large number of compounds into semantic types, which counters one of the aims pursued here entailing a comparison of the overall semantic diversity of all compounds from the nine plays in the corpus and would further go beyond the scope of the present analysis which involves the semantic analysis as only one of several perspectives taken on the compounds from the corpus.

Although both Downing (1977) and Warren (1978) concede that ambiguities in typological classifications and a certain amount of subjectivity involved in the decisions are

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<sup>181</sup> Zandvoort's (1967) as well Koziol's (1972) handbooks each proceed similarly, but are less systematic in their semantic analyses of compounds.

<sup>182</sup> For the three Verb – Subject compounds mentioned, Hansen (1990) provides the following additional semantic descriptions: *crybaby* Actional + Agentive, *drift-ice* Processual + Procedent, *blowtorch* Actional + Instrumental. (cp. 45ff)

inevitable (cp. Downing 1977:829; Warren 1978:66), their proposed classification schemes indeed show a "considerable degree of overlap" (Downing 1977:828), thereby corroborating the assumption that an establishment of several most frequent and basic compound relations, although never exhaustive, is possible. In her work, Warren (1978) suggests a model containing six main semantic classes which are subdivided into semantic subtypes, specifying the semantic roles of the constituents of the compounds. The following table provides an overview of Warren's (1978) main types:<sup>183</sup>

1. CONSTITUTE	example	paraphrase
source – result	<i>clay bird</i>	A constitutes B / A is made of B
result – source	<i>success story</i>	B constitutes A
copula	<i>girl friend</i>	A is B
dvandva	<i>secretary-treasurer</i>	-
2. RESEMBLANCE		
comparant – compared	<i>club foot</i>	B is similar to A (in some respect)
3. BELONGING TO		
whole – part	<i>spoon handle</i>	B is part of A
part – whole	<i>armchair</i>	A is part of B
size – whole	<i>22-inch board</i>	A is the size / duration / magnitude / mass of B
4. LOCATION		
goal – OBJ	<i>moon rocket</i>	B is directed / leading to A
place – OBJ	<i>ghetto street</i>	B is positioned in / at / on A
time – OBJ	<i>Sunday paper</i>	B appears in/ at A
origin – OBJ	<i>Harlem boy</i>	A is the domicile or background of B
5. PURPOSE		
goal – instrument	<i>water bucket</i>	B is for verb-ing A
6. ACTIVITY		
Activity – actor	<i>room clerk</i>	B is habitually concerned with A

Table 5: Warren's (1978) semantic types

<sup>183</sup> Please note that Warren (1978) subdivides several of the types listed here into further subtypes. The table given is supposed to provide a generalized and reduced overview of her classification.

### 7.3.4. Methodology and Semantic Types of the Present Study

Unlike Hansen's (1990) approach, Warren's (1978) method proves more applicable in the present study, as it allows for a classification of the compounds into types. The scope of most studies on the semantic structure of compounds, including Warren's (1978) as well as Downing's (1977), however, being restricted to noun + noun compounds only, hence evading the challenges a comprehensive semantic analysis of compounds exhibiting a more diverse morphology brings, the present work broadens the perspective substantially and aims at providing a semantic classification, that covers both noun and adjective compounds from all morphological shapes existing in the corpus. Consequently, the morphological diversity of the material demands a wider range of semantic types which, besides including classical relations most frequently realized by noun + noun compounds, such as, for example, 'location – located' as in *Palace-rattes* (S 1.427), also specify the semantics of compounds including verbal elements, such as, e.g., *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45) or *eare-peircing* (O 3.3.1804). These and similar cases require a specification of the syntactic relations existing between their constituents, identifying one as the syntactic object of the other, thus each corresponding to the types 'Action – OBJ' and 'OBJ – Action', respectively. Hence, the specific interdependence of morphological shape and semantic type, that is illustratable by the fact that many compounds containing verbal elements demand a specification of the *syntactic* relation between their constituents, results in a semantic analysis of the compounds from the corpus that shows influences from both approaches. The proposed classification scheme can, therefore, not entirely avoid being 'untidy',<sup>184</sup> but appears to be the most promising solution to achieve an exhaustive classification of the compounds *across* word classes and different morphologic types. The following table is supposed to provide an overview of the semantic types established in the present study, including additional information on the respective conditions applied for each type and the nature of the members' constituents:

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<sup>184</sup> Cp. also Adams (1973:60ff), who makes similar observations and also proposes a classification scheme that, although less detailed than the one applied in this study, contains both types based on case roles and syntactic types.

Semantic Class	Semantic Type	Generalized Paraphrase	Examples
LOCATION	Location – Located  location as ‘primary’ relation	‘B is located in/at A’  A can be participle: B can be action: borderline cases to Origin – Entity:	<i>Palace-rattes</i> (S 1.427) <i>north-part</i> (A 1.3.66) <i>after fleete</i> (O 1.3.322) <i>home-bred</i> (RII 1.3.460) <i>city-dames</i> (A 1.3.73)
	Located – Location  B is location	‘A is located in/at B’  borderline to PURPOSE:	<i>artillerie-yard</i> (A 1.1.31) <i>Tribunes place</i> (S 1.182) <i>tyring-house</i> (EM P.12)
	Origin – Entity	‘B comes from/has its origin in A’ A can be adjective: A can be placename:	<i>Guiny-bird</i> (A 4.1.38) <i>English man</i> (O 2.3.1080) <i>Venice gold</i> (TS 2.1.1158)
	Direction – Entity/Action	B leads/moves in the direction of A’ B can be (nominalized) action:	<i>streete dore</i> (EM 1.3.24) <i>downefall</i> (RII 3.4.1804) <i>vplifted</i> (RII 2.2.966)
BELONGING TO	Whole – Part  B is concrete	‘B is part of A’  A can be pronoun: borderline cases to Origin – Entity:	<i>ostrich stomach</i> (EM 3.1.183) <i>selfe-bloud</i> (S 3.71) <i>channel water</i> (EII 20.27)
	Part – Whole  trad. exocentric compounds	‘A is part of B’  often univerbation of genitive phrase:	<i>midnight</i> (JM 1.3.9) <i>mid-way</i> (EM 2.4.16) <i>rasher-bacon</i> (EM 1.4.28) <i>Headborough</i> (TS II.10)
COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	‘B is consists of A / has A as main or distinctive ingredient’  incl. two extended Bahuvrihi-adj.: abstract understanding of ‘material:	<i>pomander-bracelets</i> (A 1.4.21) <i>ginger-bread</i> (A 3.5.66) <i>salt-Water</i> (RII 4.1.2067) <i>tin-foild</i> (EM 1.3.114) <i>eare-rent</i> (A 1.1.169)
PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	‘B is designed for A / has A (or an action related to A) as its main purpose’ A can be gerund:	<i>key-hole</i> (JM 2.3.264) <i>dogs-meate</i> (A 1.2.45) <i>hawking languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)
	Occupation – (human) Entity  B is human + non-verbal	‘(human) B is concerned with A (or an action related to A) as part of their occupation’ A can be verb: A can be an activity similar to an occupation:	<i>Cow-herd</i> (A 1.1.107) <i>Huntsman</i> (TS I.1.13) <i>waiting maid</i> (T 3.3.177) <i>hangman</i> (EII 11.274) <i>schoole boy</i> (11.30)
	User – Used  A is human	‘(human) A uses B habitually/professionally’  B can be instrument:	<i>varlets sute</i> (EM 4.9.76) <i>copataine hat</i> (TS 5.1.2320) <i>Tinkers pans</i> (JM 4.1.3)
PRODUCT	Product – Producer  B is animate	‘(animate) B produces A’  B can be animate in a wider sense:	<i>milch-kine</i> (TS 2.1.1161) <i>fire-drake</i> (A 2.1.26) <i>fruit trees</i> (RII 3.4.1770)
	Producer – Product  A is animate	‘(animate) A produces B’ A can be animate in a wider sense:	<i>dolphins milke</i> (A 4.1.160) <i>party verdict</i> (RII 1.3.506)
	Cause – Effect  A is inanimate	‘B is caused by (inanimate) A’ Including adjectives: B can be deverbal:	<i>Moonelight</i> (TS 4.6.2182) <i>love-sick</i> (EII 4.86) <i>time bewasted</i> (RII 1.3.493)

	Effect – Cause A and B are inanimate	‘(inanimate) A is caused by / results from (inanimate) B’ B can be action:	<i>greene-sickness</i> (A 4.6.52) <i>red hote</i> (EII 22.30) <i>cleane-Swept</i> (EM 2.5.61)
TIME	Time/Duration – Timed  A is ‘time’	‘B occurs at / is used at / lasts A-time’  A can be temporal adjective / adverb:  Borderline to PURPOSE:	<i>day-Owles</i> (A 5.5.12) <i>night brawler</i> (O 2.3.1195) <i>euer-burning</i> (O 3.3.1913) <i>long expected</i> (T 2.3.44) <i>new elected</i> (EII 18.78) <i>wedding sheetes</i> (O 4.2.2519)
	Timed – Time B is ‘time’	‘A occurs at / is done at B-time’ B can be (unspecified) <i>time</i> :	<i>ember-weekes</i> (EM 3.4.4) <i>birth-day</i> (JM 1.2.192) <i>dinner time</i> (TS 4.3.2065)
POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	‘A has /possesses B / B belongs to A’ Including extended notion of possession: Abstract possession with inanimate elements:	<i>witchcraft</i> (O 1.3.350) <i>Bridegroom</i> (EM 5.4.15) <i>citizens-wiues</i> (A 1.4.21) <i>penn’orth</i> (A 2.5.55) <i>voyce potentiall</i> (O 1.2.199)
COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	‘B resembles / is like A’  B can be action: Borderline to BELONGING TO / POSSESSION: Including extended Bahuvrihi Adjectives:	<i>hayle-shot</i> (EM 1.5.162) <i>grasse-greene</i> (JM 1.1.26) <i>wire-drawne</i> (A 3.2.88) <i>heire-breadth</i> (O 1.3.421)  <i>flap-ear’d</i> (TS 4.1.1703)
COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym exclusively noun + noun	‘A is a kind / subcategory of B’	<i>hobby horse</i> (O 4.1.2278) <i>Cedar trees</i> (T 4.2.24) <i>Giant-race</i> (4.270)
	Copula including appositional compounds and Dvandva compounds <sup>185</sup> A and B of same word-class	‘A and B at the same time’  Borderline to QUALITY:	<i>Lieutenant-Coronell</i> (EM 3.5.22) <i>Northeast</i> (RII 1.4.557) <i>companion Peeres</i> (RII 1.3.372)
QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)  Mostly adjective + noun	‘B is characterized by the quality A’ Syntactic paraphrase: “B(Subject) is A (Subject Complement)” A can be sex: Incl. extended Bahuvrihi-adj.:	<i>black-birds</i> (A 3.3.46) <i>Gentleman</i> (TS 1.2.696) <i>Sweet heart</i> (EM 2.3.35)  <i>Shee Asses</i> (JM 1.2.185) <i>proud minded</i> (TS 2.1.939)
	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)  exclusively adjectives	‘A is characterized by the quality B’ Syntactic paraphrase: “A (Subject) is B (Subject Complement)” Semantically ‘reversed’ extended Bahuvrihi-adj. with metonymic reference:	<i>hide-bound</i> (A 5.5.144) <i>brainsicke</i> (EII 1.125)  <i>plume-pluckt</i> (RII 4.1.1931)
	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity  A is concrete, visible / hearable	B is characterized by the concrete feature A’  Borderline cases with less concreteness of A: 1 extended Bahuvrihi Adjective:	<i>spur-ryall</i> (A 3.5.33) <i>Elizabeth goat</i> (A 3.4.144) <i>Edwards shillings</i> (A 3.4.142) <i>Twiggen-bottle</i> (O 2.3.1148) <i>blood-raw</i> (T 4.4.12) <i>almesmans</i> (RII 3.3.1665) <i>rugheaded</i> (RII 2.1.771)

	Restriction – Entity / Quality B is nonverbal	‘B is restricted to / concerns A’ Syntactic paraphrase (Adjectives): “B with regard to A”	<i>stock-affaires</i> (A 5.4.93) <i>house affaires</i> (1.3.432) <i>civill warre</i> (T 1.1.148)
	Distinctive Quality – State / Action  exclusively adjectives no tense / voice distinctions <sup>186</sup>	‘B is performed in an A-manner’  B can be copular Verb: Special group: Referent = Subject in synt. Paraphrase (instead of object):	<i>better fashion’d</i> (TS 4.3.1980) <i>strong built</i> (JM P 22) <i>ill seeming</i> (TS 5.2.2549)  <i>well-spoken man</i> (S 3.223)
INSTRUMENT	Instrument – Action / State no tense / voice distinctions	‘A is used for B / B is performed by using A’ A can be operator (extended notion of ‘Instrument’):	<i>needle worke</i> (TS 2.1.1158) <i>wind-mill</i> (1.2.91) <i>care tunde</i> (3.2.1391)
	Action – Instrument exclusively nouns B is concrete and Instrument no tense / voice distinctions	‘B is used for A / A is performed by using B’ Borderline cases to PURPOSE – Entity (but: concrete B):	<i>Looking-Glasse</i> (RII 4.1.2090) <i>shooing-horne</i> (A 2.4.13) <i>whetstone</i> (EM 4.2.124)
AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	‘B performs / experiences A’ B can be inanimate: 1 extended Bahuvrihi Adjective:	<i>flutter-mouse</i> (EM 5.4.89) <i>whirlwinds</i> (TS 5.2.2546) <i>swag-bellied</i> (O 2.3.1078)
	Agent – Action  also without <b>morph.</b> verbal nexus no tense / voice distinctions	‘A performs / experiences B’ A can be inanimate:  incl. adjectives: Borderline to POSSESSION:	<i>Lyon radge</i> (RII 2.1.788) <i>eye-sight</i> (A 4.2.70) <i>sun-shine</i> (EII 11.51) <i>lust-staind</i> (O 5.1.2803) <i>beggar-feare</i> (RII 1.1.189)
	Instrument – Agent	‘B uses A’ Only 1 instance:	<i>Counter-caster</i> (O 1.1.30)
	Object – Agent all occupations exc. <i>Lie-giver</i> B is human + deverbal + Agent of Action	‘B-Action is performed to A by B’	<i>costar-monger</i> (A 4.1.57) <i>tabacco-traders</i> (EM 3.5.96) <i>Saile-maker</i> (5.1.2330)
OBJECT	Action – Object trad. imperative compounds	‘A-Action is performed to B / Ref. As B’	<i>passe-time</i> (TS 1.2.8) <i>breakfast</i> (EM 2.2.45)
	Object– Action B is action also without <b>morph.</b> verbal nexus	‘B-Action is performed to A’  B can be morph. non-verbal:	<i>selfe-loue</i> (EM 3.1.105) <i>eare-peircing</i> (O 3.3.1804) <i>selfe-charity</i> (O 2.3.1201)
DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	‘A denotes degree / intensity / portion / number of B’ A can be number: Borderline cases with <i>-ful</i> : A can be intensifying <i>well-</i> :	<i>parcell-broker</i> (A 4.6.33) <i>halfe brother</i> (EM 1.5.85) <i>seuen-night</i> (EM 3.5.72) <i>pipe-full</i> (A 5.5.141) <i>well reclaimd</i> (EII 13.57)

Table 6: Semantic classes and types established for the present study

It has to be kept in mind that any semantic classification of compounds is bound to be influenced by certain subjective decisions and insecurities, (cp. also Downing 1977:829;

<sup>186</sup> Note that in the semantic classification of adjective compounds with deverbal second elements in general neither tense / aspect nor voice distinctions have been made. Hence, compounds such as, e.g., *glad-suruiuing* (S 3.57) are understood to display the same semantic relation of ‘Distinctive Quality – State/Action’ as *strong built* (JM P 22) or *base born* (T 2.2.65).



Warren 1978:66) since the semantic interpretation of compounds is both speaker- and context-dependent and in many cases displays a considerable degree of ambiguity, which necessarily makes its classification into one semantic type a simplification. Neither are the semantic types proposed in the present study (as well as in previous ones) to be understood as mutually exclusive classes, nor can they be expected to do absolute justice to the semantic complexity of the lexemes as such, and Valerie Adams (2001) emphasizes correctly that "[e]ntities have more than one aspect" (Adams 2001:84). In addition, the meaning of a compound is never entailed in the compound itself, but is always subject to interpretation by the speaker / listener, drawing from their world knowledge as well as the information provided by the context in which it is being used. (cp. Booij 2007:75f; Coseriu 1977:50f; Downing 1977:834; Hamawand 2011:235; Hansen 1990:46f) Hence, the semantic interpretation especially of non-institutionalized compounds can differ from speaker to speaker and it is the benefit of the present study to investigate compounds in context, which can frequently be used to disambiguate the exact meaning of certain tokens. Without any context, the meaning of the compound *pocket-muse* (EM 5.5.16), not listed in the OED, for example, allows for a considerably broad range of interpretations, ranging from qualitative ones such as ‘a muse characterized by wearing / having pockets’, over agentive ones as exemplified in the paraphrase ‘a muse who pockets things’, to locative ones as in ‘a muse carried in the pocket’. It is the context of *Every Man in His Humour* (in combination with world knowledge, as well as, potentially, the influence of analogy to registered formations such as *pocket dag* (cp. "pocket, n. and adj. B.1a." *OED Online*. 17 November 2016; further ch. 5.2.1.2), however, which provides the necessary clues to the locative interpretation being the most appropriate one. Carrying a "whole [...] common-wealth of paper" (EM 5.5.21) with rhymes in his pocket, Ed. Knowell, is declared to be a poet "not for *extempore* [...] [but] all for the *pocket-muse*" (EM 5.5.15f), the use of the compound in the context of the play thereby disambiguating its semantic structure. Similarly the context of the play sheds light on the complex semantic structure of the adjective compound *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), a quality being ascribed to Tiberius in Jonson's *Sejanus*, which, without context, could either be interpreted as realizing the semantic type ‘Point of Comparison – Compared Entity’, referring, for example, to ‘(having) eyes as black as night’, or as belonging to the PURPOSE class and exhibiting the relation ‘Purpose – Entity’, hence ‘(having) eyes designed for seeing at night’, as the OED proposes for the nineteenth and twentieth century uses of the lexeme, used to refer to the capability of some insects to see at night. (cp. "night, n. and int. C.4" *OED Online*. 17 November 2016.). In the context of the dialogue, in which Arruntius uses the compound, however, a different interpretation seems most convincing. Embedded in the utterance *I dare*

*tell you (whom I dare better trust) / That our night-ey'd Tiberius doth not see / His minions drift* (S 4.363ff), being *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), as first used by Ben Jonson and then resumed (or more likely re-coined) with a different meaning (and in reference to insects with night time vision) over 200 years later (cp. "night, n. and int. C.4" *OED Online*. 17 November 2016.), is clearly contrasted with being able to see and realize certain activities. Hence, effectively having a similar meaning as the word *blind* in the context of the play, the compound *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), as used in the present context, can be paraphrased as 'having eyes that are capable of seeing exclusively at night' and "at the expense of daylight vision" (s.v. "night, n. and int. C.4" *OED Online*. 30 March 2017). Consequently, it is assigned to the semantic type 'Time – Timed'. Besides illustrating the importance of the context for the semantic interpretation and analysis, the adjective compound *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), therefore, also serves as an example for the simplification, that is inevitably entailed in assigning compounds to semantic types, since the notion of exclusiveness (*only* at night) remains, of course, unspecified by the semantic type 'Time – Timed'.

Although context can give an indication of the intended meaning of a compound, there are certain ambiguities of semantic structures which remain and cannot be resolved completely, as it is unalterable that "some compounds contain more than one meaning relation" (Adams 1973:60). This phenomenon is especially observable with regard to the very frequent semantic classes LOCATION and PURPOSE, which Valerie Adams rightly mentions as belonging to the 'favoured' semantic relations in compounds (cp. 2001:86), in which overlaps and ambiguities tend to accumulate. Hence, it is not entirely clear whether the locative interpretation of *tyring-house* (EM P.12) or *slaughter-house* (S 4.388) as 'the house where the tiring (i.e. dressing) / slaughter of animals is performed' is indubitably to be preferred over an interpretation that perceives PURPOSE to be the prevalent semantic relation in these compounds, leading to the paraphrases 'a house designed for tiring / performing slaughter of animals'. Similar ambiguities can arguably be found with regard to further compounds classified as realizing the semantic type 'Located – Location', such as *Market-place* (TS 5.1.2267) or *ware-house* (EM 2.1.4), while in other cases, such as, e.g., *death-bed* (O 5.2.2952), a relation of PURPOSE is highly implausible for reasons of world knowledge. Whereas for the abovementioned tokens I have judged the locative interpretation to be the prevalent one, although in full awareness of the ambiguities entailed, other compounds, such as, e.g., *house-wives* (EM 1.3.114) have been assigned to the type 'Occupation – Human Entity' as 'wives concerned with the house as part of their occupation', hence preferring the semantic class of PURPOSE over the locative interpretation, which would result in an at least comparably

sensible paraphrase such as ‘wives (mainly) located in the house’.<sup>187</sup> Debatable cases such as these, are not exclusively restricted to the semantic classes of LOCATION and PURPOSE, however. Overlaps between other classes, as well as among semantic subtypes, occasionally occur and, thus, it is not ultimately decidable whether a compound such as *channel water* (EII 20.27) is best classified as realizing the relation of ‘Whole – Part’ (‘the water which is part of the Channel’), ‘Origin – Entity’ (‘the water coming from the Channel’) or possibly also ‘Location – Located’ (‘the water located in the Channel’). Eventually, although controversial cases remain and a certain degree of subjectivity in deciding which relation is the primary one is inevitable for some compounds, it must not be forgotten that the majority of tokens still displays a rather clear and unambiguous semantic structure. In the chapters on the semantics of each morphologic type, particularly difficult cases will be mentioned and discussed.

## 7.4. Compound Nouns

### 7.4.1. Noun + Noun

#### 7.4.1.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type noun + noun comprises compounds that are made up of two free morphemes, both assignable to the word class *noun*. The majority of the compounds of this type consists of two primary nouns, although occasional cases occur, in which one element is arguably converted, with the basis being a verb or an adjective (cp. chs. 7.1.3, 7.2). Since the phenomenon of unmarked change of word class is understood as first and foremost being of a conceptual / semantic nature (cp. ch. 7.1.2.2), their morphological shape is perceived as being equivalent to compounds made up of primary nouns only.

As pointed out in the course of the discussion of potential criteria for compoundhood (cp. ch. 4), the morphological isolation of noun + noun compounds has been controversial in research, for some scholars leading to the rigorous exclusion of several subgroups of the category, such as, most frequently, material and place name compounds, as exemplified by *silke stockings* (EM 4.9.49) and *brasse-bullets* (JM 3.5.24) or *Pisa walls* (TS 2.1.1171) and *Venice gold* (TS 2.1.1158) (cp. ch. 4.4.3.1), as well as other constructions, which exhibit stress patterns deviating from the fore stress pattern that has been assumed as conditional for compounds by

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<sup>187</sup> The general semantic ambiguities mentioned here have been observed by several other scholars as well, compare, for example, Adams (1973, 2001), Jackendoff (2011), Warren (1978).

some researchers (cp. ch. 4.4.2 for a detailed discussion of the stress criterion). Upon analysing the respective approaches and argumentations, however, sufficient reason has neither been found for subdividing the type and excluding specific members, nor for denying morphological isolation for noun + noun compounds in general. (cp. chs. 4.4.2, 4.4.3.1)

Yet, the intricacies entailed in the controversial status of material and place name compounds further affect the classification of their first constituents in terms of word class. Hence, even if acknowledging their compound status, the first constituent of the respective compounds is attributed to the word class of adjectives by some scholars. For reasons outlined in ch. 7.1.3 (and ch. 4.4.3.1), however, place name compounds, as well as material compounds, are generally perceived as noun + noun combinations in the present study.

Further word class ambiguities with regard to the first constituents of compounds occur in noun + noun compounds such as *pack-saddle* (EM 1.5. 95), for which the classification as nouns is not entirely without alternative, since no morphological distinction between verb (stem) and noun can be adduced. (cp. ch. 7.1.3)

In PDE, the morphologic type of noun + noun compounds constitutes "the largest subgrouping of compounds" (Bauer 1983:102). Not only do combinations made up of two (primary) nouns exist in "practically unlimited number" (Marchand 1969:60), but also is their formation process extremely productive. While Carr's (1939a:162) study provides countings of Germanic and West Germanic compounds and suggests that noun + noun compounds are the largest morphologic type already in these early stages, Koziol (1972:51) also mentions the type as dominating in Old English, together with adjective + noun combinations.<sup>188</sup> Throughout the history of English, these relative distributions appear to remain stable, as Sauer (1992:151) confirms the group of noun + noun compounds to be the most extensive morphologic type in his corpus of Early Middle English. With an overall number of 436 noun + noun compounds, the respective combinations of two nouns make up 45 % of the overall number of (noun and adjective) compounds<sup>189</sup> in the corpus and clearly outnumber the other morphologic types in all the nine works analysed in the present study. The percentages of noun + noun compounds in relation to the overall number of compounds per author, however, vary considerably, with Jonson's 206 noun + noun compounds constituting 50% of his overall number of 415

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<sup>188</sup> Of course, the various problems concerning the definition of compounds as addressed in detail in ch. 4, and the necessarily resulting differences in the individual acknowledgment of specific tokens as compounds, inevitably diminish the universal validity of such countings. Besides, different morphological classifications (e.g. including combinations of noun and nomina agentis into the noun + noun type) also influence the results.

<sup>189</sup> As has been pointed out in ch. 6, the compound numbers given include the noun and adjective compounds from the corpus, but exclude the six instances of verbal compound constructions for reasons of comparability.

compounds, Marlowe's 106 tokens of this type accounting for 46 % of his 232 compounds and Shakespeare's 124 noun + noun compounds representing only a portion of 39% of the overall number of 316 compounds he uses in his three plays. Estimations made by Faiß (1992:84) and Scheler (1982:116), according to which 50% of the compounds used by William Shakespeare belong to the morphologic type of noun + noun, can therefore not be affirmed by the present study,<sup>190</sup> the estimated percentage much rather applying to his contemporary playwrights than to Shakespeare himself.

#### 7.4.1.2. The Noun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Due to the high number of noun + noun compounds in the corpus, a complete list of the tokens including information on their semantic classification can be found in the appendix (app.1).

#### 7.4.1.3. Morphological Particularities

Among the wealth of material of this morphologic type, the majority of compounds is morphologically regular and does not show any abnormalities. Some instances, however, exhibit morphological particularities of varying markedness and will therefore be mentioned in the following.<sup>191</sup>

Whereas I have excluded extreme cases of opacity from the general analysis and will deal with these separately in chapter 8.1, there are some tokens among the noun + noun compounds discussed here, which show a certain degree of lexicalization. In that regard, lexicalization on the phonological level can be attested for the PDE English pronunciation of *Christ-masse* (A 3.2.43). In Old English, *Christmas* occurs as the genitive construction *Cristes mæsse* (cp. "Christmas, n." *OED online*. 23 November 2016.), with the syntactic phrase becoming a compound via univerbation and the first constituent losing the genitive ending in this process towards the Middle English period.<sup>192</sup> Although any exact dating of the beginning

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<sup>190</sup> Again, it has to be kept in mind, however, that estimations as these are closely connected to the individual definitions of compoundhood as well as of the respective morphologic type noun + noun.

<sup>191</sup> The remarks concerning specific compounds made here are only selected ones and do not raise any claim to completeness.

<sup>192</sup> The EME material analysed in Sauer (1992) already contains the compound in its 'modern form', i.e. without the genitive ending.

of its phonological lexicalization process is difficult, occasional Middle English spellings of the compound drop the *-t* of *Christ* and may hence be interpreted as representing an already lexicalized pronunciation of the word. (cp. "Christmas, n." *OED online*. 23 November 2016.) In comparison, the degree of lexicalization of the compound *nostrill* (S T.t.R. 26), whose constituents go back to *nose* and *thirl* ('hole') which appears as *nosþyrl* in Old English (cp. "nostril, n." *OED online*. 23 November 2016.), is considerably more pronounced and is manifest not only in the pronunciation but also very clearly in the spelling of the lexeme, which neither shows the *-e* of the first element, nor the original *th-* of the second, hence obscuring the compound nature of the lexeme.<sup>193</sup> Another case in point for partially obscure noun + noun compounds is the token *chapman* (A 3.3.57). Going back to OE *céapmann*, the compound is originally formed with the OE noun *céap*, signifying "trade, buying and selling" (s.v. "†cheap, n.1." *OED online*. 3 February 2017). Due to its position in the compound (preceding two consonants), however, the vowel of the first constituent is shortened towards Middle English, hence leading to the phonological dissociation of the determinant in the compound and the simplex noun OE *céap*.<sup>194</sup>

Besides the abovementioned token *Christ-masse* (A 3.2.43), the corpus further features *Christ-tide* (A 3.2.43), *Hollowmas* (5.1.2235) and *ember-weekes* (EM 3.4.4) as names for Christian holidays, which are analysable as noun + noun compounds.<sup>195</sup> While the morphology of *Christ-tide* (A 3.2.43), as an alternative name for Christmas, occurring only rarely in a brief period around 1600 (cp. "Christ-tide, n." *OED online*. 23 November 2016.), results from a regular composition process, *Hollowmas* (5.1.2235) is the result of a shortening of *All-Hallow-mass*. The etymology of *ember*, denoting "the English name of the four periods of fasting and prayer (Latin *quatuor tempora*)" (s.v. "ember, n." *OED online*. 23 November 2016.), however, is ultimately unclear, since the exact origin of OE *ymbren* is not unequivocally determinable.<sup>196</sup>

Examples for compounds deviating from the regular morphological structure (with the determinant preceding the determinatum, i.e. right-hand head rule cp. ch. 4.4.4) among the material are the tokens *Headborough* (TS II.10) and *rasher-bacon* (EM 1.4.28) which both

<sup>193</sup> The positional alternation of the r in *thirl* (or *thrill*) is caused by metathesis.

<sup>194</sup> The development of OE noun *céap* corresponds to the regular phonological development of the OE diphthong and the ME long vowel and can be retrieved in the PDE adjective *cheap*.

<sup>195</sup> The names for days of the week, which occur in the corpus, are all dealt with in ch. 8.1, since this allows for a comprehensive discussion of their special morphology, although the token *sonday* (TS 2.1.1101) could synchronically also be classified as a noun + noun compound.

<sup>196</sup> The OED suggests two possible etymologies, one involving a corruption of OE *ymbryne* ('period of time'), the other indicating a folk etymological reworking of the Latin term *quatuor tempora*, an assumption that gains plausibility in the light of the respective German expression being *Quatember*.

exhibit a left-hand head structure and are semantically equivalent to the noun phrases ‘head of the borrow’ and ‘rasher of bacon’. While the former compound goes back to ME *hedborwe* (cp. "headborough, n." *OED online*. 23 November 2016.), with the uncommon lefthand structure already existent in the ME lexeme,<sup>197</sup> the latter is an idiosyncratic formation not recorded by the OED and intended as a pun on the proper name Roger Bacon, a British philosopher of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, whom Cob in *Every Man in His Humour* playfully alludes to in the context of his dialogue with Master Matthew about Cob’s allegedly "princely" (EM 1.4.8) ancestry of herrings, whose ghosts he declares to be smelling:

MAT. How know'st thou that?  
 COB. How know I? why, I smell his ghost, euer and anon.  
 MAT. Smell a ghost? ô unsauoury iest ! and the ghost of a herring Cob!  
 COB. I sir, with fauour of your worships nose, Mr Matthew, why not the ghost of a herring-cob, as well as the ghost of rasher-bacon?  
(EM 1.4.21ff)

Moreover, the morphology and etymology of Desdemona’s fateful *handkercher* (3.3.1758) in *Othello*, as well as the less momentous *neckercher* (EM 3.6.55) and *handkerchiefs* (A 3.5.22) which occur in Jonson’s comedies, is noteworthy not only for the foreign origin of its second constituent *kercher* (or *kerchief*), which goes back to Old French *couvrechief*, but also for its morphological make-up. Having been formed as an imperative compound from *couvrir* (‘cover’) and *chief* (‘head’) in Old French, the lexeme enters the English language as the compound loan word *curchef*<sup>198</sup> in the Middle English period. (cp. "kerchief, n." *OED online*. 24 November 2016; see further the respective entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. Onions (1966))<sup>199</sup> and is then premodified mainly by the respective body parts for which it is designed in compounds, such as the ones encountered in the corpus. Since their determinatum, although etymologically bipartite, is borrowed in Middle English and then presumably interpreted as a simple lexeme (as the Middle English spellings indicate), however, a classification of the respective compounds as noun + noun compounds is justified.

Influence from Old French is also visible in the compound *chest-nut* (A 1.3.46), or *Chesse-nut* (TS 1.2.734), as it occurs in Shakespeare’s work. Its first constituent stems from Old French *chastaigne*, going back to Latin *castanea*, which ultimately has its roots in a Greek

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<sup>197</sup> Note that the semantically equivalent compound *borrow-head*, which complies with the expected, unmarked morphological structure, is formed in the sixteenth century but does not become firmly established in the long term. (cp. "borrow-head, n1." *OED online*. 24 November 2016.)

<sup>198</sup> ME spellings vary considerably. (cp. "kerchief, n." *OED online*. 24 November 2016.)

<sup>199</sup> Henceforth abbreviated ODEE.

etymon. The forms *chest* and *chesse* represent clipped versions of the Middle English word *chesteine* or (later) *chesten*, which ceased to exist as independent lexemes after the seventeenth century. (cp. "† chesteine | chesten, n." *OED online*. 24 November 2016.) Synchronically, the compounds are, therefore, partly opaque. Nevertheless, since the full forms of the determinant still exist in the Early Modern period, the lexemes are dealt with in the present chapter as lexicalized noun + noun compounds.

Lastly, the material features two examples for compounds which exhibit additional elements within their morphemic structure, whose respective function and etymology, however, seem to differ. Whereas in *Nightingales* (TS I2.171), the intrusive *-in-* constitutes a linking element connecting the two constituents of the older compound *nightgale*, thereby easing its pronunciation by separating the two plosives [t] and [g] (cp. "nightingale, n.1." *OED online*. 24 November 2016; and ch. 4.4.3), the *-(e)n* in *Twiggen-bottle* (O 2.3.114) is more likely to represent internal plural inflection rather than a semantically empty linking element. Denoting a "bottle cased in wickerwork" (s.v. "twiggen-bottle". Crystal & Crystal 2002), the compound's first element goes back to OE *twigge*. Despite the Old English plural of the word *twigge* being *twiggo* (cp. "twig, n.1." *OED online*. 24 November 2016.), the semantics of the compound suggest that the first constituent *twiggen* is a plural form. While the paradigm for plural inflection is radically reduced from OE to ME, with the *-s*-plural morpheme eventually becoming the default option, the plural marker *-(e)n*, as originally used for the weak nouns of OE, survives until the thirteenth century, "enjoy[ing] great favour in the South [and] being often added to nouns which had not belonged to the weak declension in Old English" (Baugh & Cable 2013:155). Thus, the plural interpretation of the *-(e)n* element in *Twiggen-bottle* (O 2.3.114), as supported by the meaning of the compound, appears most plausible.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> The OED, in an entry not yet revised, notes *twiggen* as an adjective, which would suggest an alternative interpretation of the first constituent of the compound as parallel to *wooden* or *golden*. In their etymological analysis, however, the OED identifies the *-en* element in *twiggen* with the nominal diminutive ending (as it occurs in *chicken*, *kitten*), (cp. "twiggen, adj."; "-en, suffix1." *OED Online*. 19 September 2017) which is inconsistent with their classification of the lexeme as an adjective and does not convince semantically. Assuming the suffix to have an adjective forming function instead, as realised in *wooden*, however, is semantically problematic since this ending commonly forms adjectives that "indicate the material of which a thing is composed" (s.v. "-en, suffix4." *OED Online*. 19 September 2017), whereas the compound *Twiggen-bottle* (O 2.3.114) does not denote a 'bottle made of twigs' but rather a 'bottle cased in twigs'. The morphological analysis presented above, has, therefore, been felt to be most convincing on semantic and morphological grounds.



#### 7.4.1.4. Innovation among the Noun + Noun Compounds

To provide insights into the degree of innovation among the EModE noun + noun compounds from the corpus, I have taken the documentation as recorded in the OED as a basis for the classification of the tokens as

- 1) registered new formations (RNF), for compounds whose use in the corpus is the first quotation in the OED
- 2) antedatings (AD), for compounds whose use in the corpus antedates the first quotation in the OED
- 3) hapax legomena (HL), for compounds for which the only quotation given in the OED occurs in the corpus
- 4) non-registered compounds (NR), which are not recorded in the OED
- 5) earlier formations, for which quotations predating the one from the corpus are provided in the OED.<sup>201</sup>

The distribution of the different groups of compounds among the overall number of noun + noun compounds is visualized in the following pie chart.

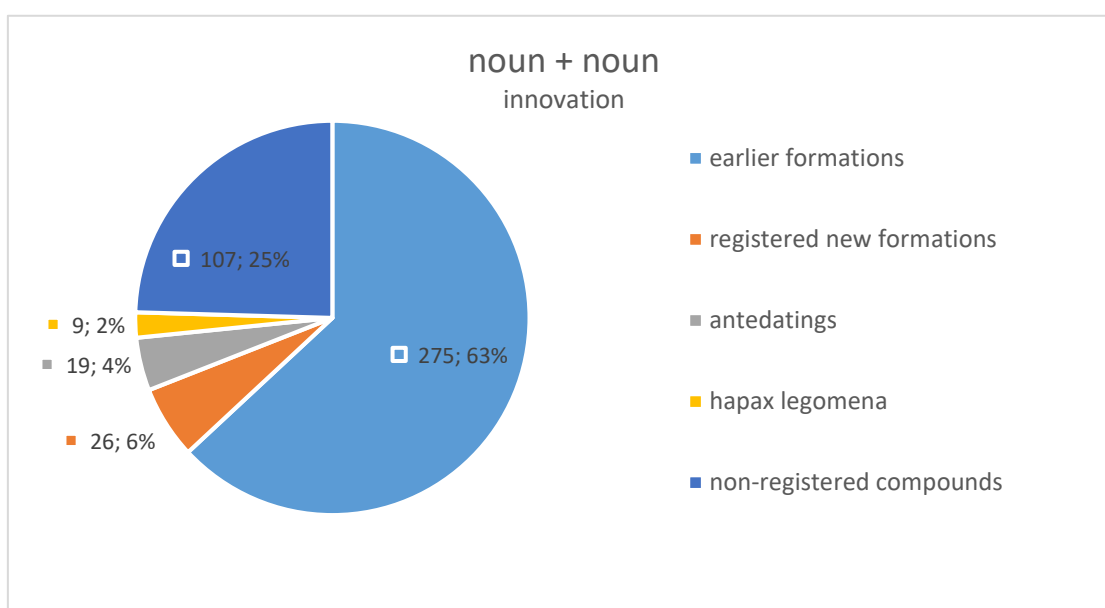


Figure 2: Innovation among the noun + noun compounds

<sup>201</sup> For a discussion of the reliability of the documentation in the OED, its potential fallacies as well as a detailed, comparative analysis of the creativity of the playwrights, please consult ch. 10.

Registered new formations, as well as antedatings and hapax legomena among the noun + noun compounds from the corpus are relatively rare and make up 12% of the compounds from this class, with the clear majority of items from this morphologic type (63%) having been in use before their respective occurrence in the corpus. One quarter of all noun + noun compounds in the corpus is not documented in the OED.

#### 7.4.1.5. Semantic Description

The extraordinarily high semantic diversity of noun + noun compounds is a peculiarity of this morphologic type that has proved thoroughly challenging for their semantic analysis, but at the same time illustrates concretely the great extent of semantic possibilities the word-formation type offers. The sheer limitlessness of the possible ways in which two primary nouns can combine semantically has been mentioned repeatedly by generations of scholars occupied with this area of research. (cp., e.g., Downing 1977:828; Jespersen 1942:138; Koziol 1972:52)

As is to be expected in the light of what earlier studies have found, the noun + noun compounds from the corpus used in this study also exhibit the most diverse semantics of all morphologic types. Noun + noun compounds are found in all of the 14 semantic classes that have been set up, with the class PURPOSE being the most frequent one, containing 94 noun + noun compounds, which equates 22% of compounds of this morphologic type, followed by LOCATION, comprising 71 noun + noun compounds. Whereas PURPOSE is the most frequent semantic class to be found among both Jonson's and Marlowe's noun + noun compounds, William Shakespeare's tokens of this type are most frequently assignable to the semantic class LOCATION featuring 20 of his noun + noun compounds (as opposed to 18 tokens of the class PURPOSE).

Of the overall inventory of 34 semantic types which I have used in the present study, 25 types occur among the noun + noun compounds. The following chart provides an overview over the numbers of noun + noun compound for each of these semantic types, itemized by author.

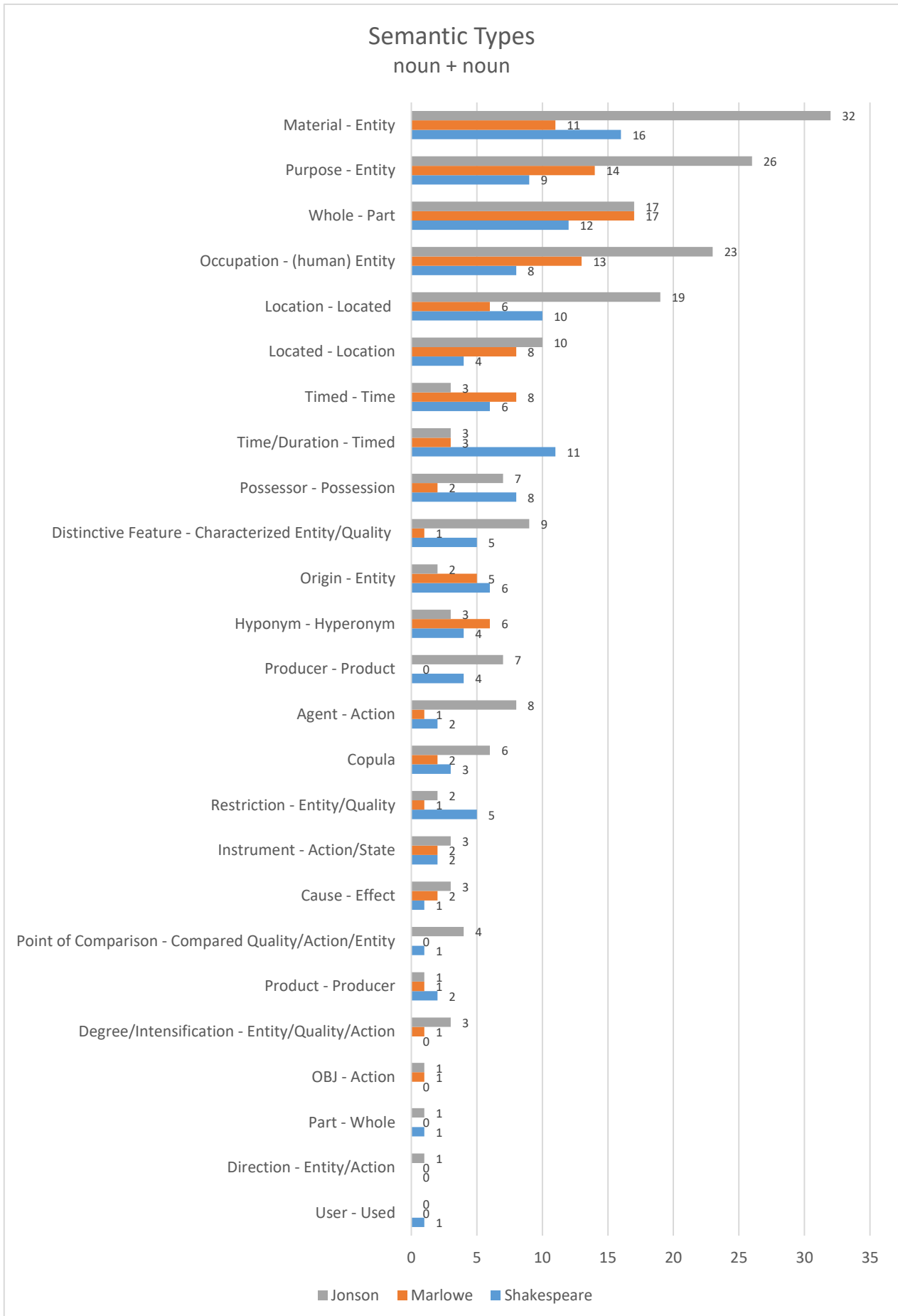


Figure 3: Semantic types of the noun + noun compounds

In terms of semantic types, the most frequent type among both Jonson's and Shakespeare's noun + noun compounds is 'Material + Entity', comprising lexemes such as *maple block* (A 1.3.30), *silke-hose* (EM 1.3.47), *stone-Iugs* (TS I2.223) and *Marble stones* (RII 2.3.210), whose compound status has been the matter of much discussion (cp. chs. 7.4.1.1., 4.4.3.1) and which are characterized by first constituents that signify the material, out of which the referent of the compound is made. Furthermore, tokens in which the first element denotes the main or most distinctive ingredient of the referenced object, instead of its sole material, thus broadening the scope of the type, are also included in this category and are illustratable by examples such as *apple Tart* (TS 4.3.1968), *Rose-water* (TS II.54) and *leeke-porridge* (EM 3.4.45). Christopher Marlowe's noun + noun compounds, in turn, are most frequently assignable to the semantic type 'Whole – Part', among them lexemes such as *Goate feet* (EII 1.60), *eye-lids* (JM 2.1.59) (with a metaphorical 2<sup>nd</sup> element), or *mountain top* (T 1.2.133). In general, the preferences and habits of the three playwrights in the area of semantic types can be shown to be notably diverse for the morphologic type noun + noun, with certain types being considerably more prevalent among the compounds from the works of one of the three. With eleven compounds of the type, 'Time / Duration – Timed' is a particularly frequent semantic type among Shakespeare's noun + noun compounds, that clearly has special prominence in his works compared to those of his contemporary playwrights. Using lexemes such as *summer flies* (O 4.2.2479), *morning Roses* (TS 2.1.981), *December snow* (RII 1.3.540) or also the nickname *winter cricket* (TS 4.3.1988), Shakespeare's plays appear to be exceptionally rich in these constructions. The portion of Ben Jonson's noun + noun compounds, besides their being generally numerous and therefore strongly represented in many of the frequent types such as, e.g., 'Material – Entity', 'Purpose – Entity' or 'Occupation – Entity', is unexpectedly high among the semantic type 'Agent – Action', to which eight of his lexemes can be assigned. Among these are the semantically very similar new formations *eare-reach* (S 5.509) and *eye-reach* (S 5.508), as well as *tongue-reach* (S 5.509) but also the compounds *hackney pace* (EM 3.5.15) and *horse-race* (A 1.1.75)<sup>202</sup> from different semantic spheres. Christopher Marlowe's works, in turn, although featuring the fewest compounds of the type, contain relatively high numbers of noun + noun compounds classifiable as 'Timed – Time', as well as 'Hyponym – Hyperonym', the former type including compounds such as *birth-day* (JM 1.2.192), *harvest time* (T 1.1.31) or *coronation day* (EII 21.70), the latter exemplified by *pibble-stones* (JM 1.1.23), *Cedar trees* (T 4.2.24) and *bondman* (JM 5.1.40)

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<sup>202</sup> The compounds of this semantic type can be understood to feature a semantic verbal nexus (but not necessarily a morphological one). See further ch. 7.2.

Besides that, the two instances of *bondman* (JM 5.1.40 and S 1.147), which occur in the corpus, are representative of a specifically diachronic development, that involves semantic change and reinterpretation of a lexeme over time. The compound being an Early Middle English formation, its meaning is equivalent to the meaning of its first element *bond*, which develops from denoting the ‘householder and master of the house’ in Old English to referring to a ‘peasant’ and, slightly later, a ‘villain, servant or slave’ in Middle English. (cp. "bond, n.2 and adj." *OED online*. 10 January 2017) It is therefore classified as an instance of COPULA, ‘Hyponym – Hyperonym’. Whereas the semantic pejoration of both the simplex lexeme and thereby simultaneously the compound is connected to a restructuring of the social hierarchy after the Norman Conquest, rendering peasants dependent and in service to a lord, (cp. "bond, n.2 and adj." *OED online*. 10 January 2017), the later association of the lexemes with *bonds* as a means of binding somebody, is an example of folk etymological reinterpretation. (cp. "bond, n.2 and adj." and "bondman, n." *OED online*. 10 January 2017) Since this reinterpretation of the compound’s first element, although semantically suitable, does not bear any etymological reality, however, the compound’s classification as an instance of the semantic class COPULA (instead of taking the reinterpreted meaning as a basis, as QUALITY, ‘Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity’) remains untouched.<sup>203</sup>

With only the two tokens *houshold* (A 3.3.59) and *bloudshed* (EII 9.82) being assigned to this class, the semantic class OBJECT, which is particularly strong among classic verbal nexus types such as noun + verb *-ing* and among the so-called ‘imperative compounds’ (cp. ch. 7.4.7), has an unsurprisingly low number of members from this morphologic type. The classification of the aforementioned tokens as OBJECT compounds is explainable by the converted nature of their second constituents, rendering them paraphrasable as ‘the holding of the house’ and ‘the shedding of blood’ (cp. ch. 7.1.3). Since the basic meaning of the second element of *houshold* (A 3.3.59), *hold*, is paraphrased by the OED as "[t]he action or fact of holding" (s.v. "hold, n.1." *OED online*. 5 December 2016), the reference of the compound in context, used in combination with the verb *furnish* (*against he ha' the widow, / To furnish household* (A 3.3.58f)) can be interpreted as metonymic, denoting the entity that is subject to the action of ‘householding’, i.e. the "property held" (s.v. "hold, n.1.II" *OED online*. 6 December 2016).

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<sup>203</sup> The corpus features three further compounds with *bond-* as their first constituents, *Bondslauches* (O 1.2.286 and RII 2.1.729) and *bondmaide* (TS 2.1.810), which, for reasons that will be pointed out in ch. 7.4.3.1, have been counted as adjective + noun compounds and are therefore discussed under the respective morphologic type.

It is noteworthy that, besides *houshold* (A 3.3.59), the noun + noun compounds from the corpus comprise only one further lexeme that is used with a metonymic reference, which in this case takes a possession / characteristic feature to stand for the possessor of that feature and, hence, represents a classic bahuvrihi noun. When the prologue of Tamburlaine introduces the tragic hero of the play,

From jygging vaines of riming mother wits,  
And such conceits as clownage keepes in pay,  
Weele lead you to the stately tent of War:  
Where you shall heare the Scythian Tamburlaine,  
(T P 1ff)

the *riming mother wits* (T P.1), that are mentioned at the very beginning, are very clearly persons, whom the possession of *mother wit* (i.e. "native or natural wit" (s.v. "mother wit, n." *OED online*. 6 December) is attested. With this use of the compound as a bahuvrihi noun, which has already been mentioned in ch. 4.3.1 to illustrate the problems involved in assuming zero-morphemes for such constructions, Marlowe proves particularly creative, as he is the first, and based on the documentation in the OED, the only one to impart a metonymic meaning to the lexeme and use it as possessive (Bahuvrihi) compound. Indeed, the second instance of *mother wit* (TS 2.1.1066) in the corpus, occurring in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, does not exhibit the same complexity, since in the comedy, the compound is used endocentrically and without the metonymic reference:

KATHERINE  
Where did you study all this goodly speech?  
PETRUCHIO  
It is extempore, from my mother wit.  
(TS 2.1.1065f)

With regard to individual compound constituents, I have refrained from a systematic analysis of metonymic elements (which could take a similar form as the analysis of metaphoricity) in this study for reasons of scope. Some of the noun + noun compounds which contain metonymic constituents, however, shall find mention in the following for their semantically interesting make-up. In the majority of cases, the determinatum is the constituent exhibiting metonymic meaning, as applies, for example to the compounds *court-hand* (A 1.2.24), *mother-tongue* (A 3.3.70), and *anchor hold* (EII 13.77). [*C*]ourt-hand (A 1.2.24), denoting a special style of handwriting practised at the English law courts (cp. "court-hand, n." *OED online*. 6 December 2016), and *mother-tongue* (A 3.3.70), institutionalized as a person's "native language" (s.v. "mother tongue, n. and adj." *OED online*. 6 December 2016.), both entail

the metonymic use of a body part, hand and tongue, to refer to the action this part of the body is primarily involved in performing: hand writing and producing language. The third example, *anchor hold* (EII 13.77), makes use of a different kind of metonymy which allows for the second constituent *hold*, in its basic meaning, as explained above, denoting "[t]he action or fact of holding" (s.v. "hold, n.1." *OED online*. 5 December 2016), to stand for the 'entity or object which holds or supports sth.', in this case, an anchor. (cp. "hold, n.1.II" *OED online*. 6 December 2016). Conversely, it is the first constituent of the compound *neck-verse* (JM 4.2.20), denoting a "Latin verse printed in black letter [...] formerly set before a person claiming benefit of clergy [...], by reading which he might prove his clerical status and hence save his neck" (s.v. "neck-verse, n. 1." *OED online*. 22 August 2014), which is affected by metonymy, allowing a person's neck to stand for the general physical integrity of the whole body.<sup>204</sup> Lastly, the city of Damascus metonymically stands for the product that is famously produced there, damask silk, in the compound *damaske suite* (A 2.6.72), which Ben Jonson uses in *The Alchemist*.

With the semantic relations being extremely manifold and the complexity of a semantic analysis of noun + noun compounds largely lying in their lack of verbal elements to determine the meaning of the compound, leading to the sometimes highly intricate task for the analyser to be compelled to interpret the compound, by providing the respective verbal elements, guided only by context and world knowledge, it is only moderately surprising that this morphologic type entails the highest number of tokens, whose semantics had to be deemed UNCLEAR. Among the 18 tokens whose semantic relations have not been sufficiently determinable, a strikingly high number of eleven compounds occurs in Ben Jonson's comedy *The Alchemist*. First worth mentioning in this regard is the hapax legomenon *trencher-rascall* (A 1.1.103), whose semantic type is not fully determinable. Although clearly being employed as an insulting nickname (and displaying indirect metaphor), neither the context of the compound *trencher-rascall* (A 1.1.103) and its use in the play, nor the meaning of the second constituent provides any clues to the exact meaning of its first element, whose institutionalized concrete senses are either "knife" (s.v. "trencher, n.1.I" *OED online*. 7 December 2016), or, as also existent from Old English times onwards, "plate or platter of wood" (s.v. "trencher, n.1.II" *OED online*. 7 December 2016), hence leaving various possibilities for semantic interpretation of the compound. In addition to interpretations based on different concrete meanings of the first constituents (e.g., 'Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity': 'a rascal carrying a knife'),

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<sup>204</sup> Cp. ch. 5.3.8 for a discussion of possible alternative interpretations of the metonymies / metaphors involved in the interpretation of this compound in a different context.

however, possible readings include interpretations which assume a metonymic or metaphorical meaning of the first constituent, potentially motivated by several proverbial phrases such as ‘trim as a trencher’, or ‘to lick the trencher’, which are common in the sixteenth century (cp. "trencher, n.1.II" *OED online*. 7 December 2016) and cannot be ruled out to be relevant here. The ambiguous semantics of the first constituent, which the contextual environment is not able to resolve, therefore, made it appear most advisable to refrain from a classification of the token to any particular semantic type. Moreover, the fourth act of Jonson’s comedy contains a passage, in which several semantically (and, for some cases also morphologically) unclear compounds occur in immediate succession, when Dol Common, at the beginning of scene 5, acting the role of a mad noble woman, has a fit of talking and utters confused and promiscuous sentences, involving the arcane compounds *Gog-north* (A 4.5.5), *Egypt-south* (A 4.5.5), *Gog-dust* (A 4.5.9) and *Egypt-dust* (A 4.5.9), whose reference and meaning remain obscure. The last compound among the unclear tokens, which shall find specific mention, however, is William Shakespeare’s creation *rope trickes* (TS 1.2.637), that occurs in *The Taming of The Shrew* and, in its context as well as with regard to the date of its formation, clearly defies any interpretation as a "circus trick or conjuring trick involving a rope", which would be the institutionalized meaning for the (most likely re coined) compound from 1800 onwards. (s.v. "rope trick, n." *OED online*. 7 December 2016) Instead, the lexeme is especially interesting for its semantic obscurity, with its use in the play leaving the intended reference mainly open, when Grumio, referring to Kate and his master, tells Hortensio:

Shee may perhaps call him halfe a score knaues, or so: Why that’s nothing; and he begin once, hee’l raile in his rope trickes.

(TS 1.2.634ff)

It is only by closer examination the context of the compound and by taking into consideration Grumio’s complete utterance, that the phonetic similarity of the compound to the word ‘rhetorics’ may not be a coincidental one. When Grumio, thus, goes on by saying:

Ile tell you what sir, and she stand him but a litle, he wil throw a figure in her face , and so disfigure hir with it, that shee shal haue no more eies to see withall then a Cat:

(TS 1.2.637ff)

the rhetoric capabilities of his master unmistakably become the subject of his utterance, thereby making the interpretation of the compound as a "punning or illiterate distortion of ‘rhetoric’" (s.v. "rope trick, n." *OED online*. 7 December 2016), which also the OED tentatively suggests, highly plausible. Since the compound as such is, therefore, to be understood semantically as a



simple lexeme, a semantic relation between the elements can, of course, not sensibly be provided.

Eventually, it remains to be noted that, among the noun + noun compounds, ambiguities and overlaps of semantic classifications, as mentioned in ch. 7.3.4, are relatively frequent, since many tokens exhibit more than one possible semantic relation and the exact determination of which of the plausible types is the prevalent one, can be difficult at times. Borderline cases from all morphologic types are partly exemplified in the overview provided in ch. 7.3.4. and, among the noun + noun compounds, for example include ambiguities between the classification of compounds such as *beggar-feare* (RII 1.1.189), *Lyon radge* (RII 2.1.788) and *witchcraft* (O 1.3.350) to either the type ‘Possessor – Possession’ or ‘Agent – Action’. In the first two cases, an assignment to the semantic type ‘Agent – Action’ appears to be more adequate, because of the temporary nature of the feelings, which the respective referent of the compounds’ first constituent experiences, whereas, in the latter case, the classification as ‘Possessor – Possession’ is justified by the fact that a witch’s craft is their permanent attribute and, hence, possibly a permanent, although abstract, possession. Further, the compounds *citie pounds* (EM 2.1.77) and *citie-magistrate* (EM 3.5.52) once more illustrate the common ambiguities between the semantic classes POSSESSION and LOCATION or PURPOSE, respectively. Both the *pounds* as well as the *magistrate* are inseparably connected to one particular city, which they are operated or paid by and in which they fulfil their respective function. Therefore, the city arguably acts as the abstract possessor of these entities, thus justifying an assignment of the compounds to the type ‘Possessor – Possession’. Nevertheless, alternative and equally thinkable interpretations exist, which might view the locative element to be prevalent in *citie pounds* (EM 2.1.77) (‘the pounds are located in the city’) or which may favour an understanding of a *magistrate* to be composed of humans pursuing an occupation in the administration of the respective city and hence subsume the compound under the type ‘Occupation – (human) Entity’. As an incontrovertible solution for problematic cases such as the ones exemplified here is most likely impossible to find, the decisions that I have made in the course of the semantic analysis, therefore, cannot possibly be completely exempt from subjectivity. They have been motivated by an attempt to arrive at the most appropriate interpretation of the compounds, as well as the intention to find a systematic classification that is sensitive of analogies between lexemes, although not denying the demand for generalization and therefore sometimes crossing classic boundaries, e.g., between abstract and concrete, agent and experiencer, or, for that matter, between word-classes.

#### 7.4.1.6. Metaphoricity

Of the 436 noun + noun compounds in the corpus, 121 compounds involve metaphor, this equates a portion of 28%. For reasons of space, a complete list of the metaphorical noun + noun compounds, containing all relevant information on context and the respective category of metaphoricity can be found in the appendix (app.2).

The distribution of the noun + noun compounds containing (some kind of) metaphor per author and per play are displayed in the following charts:

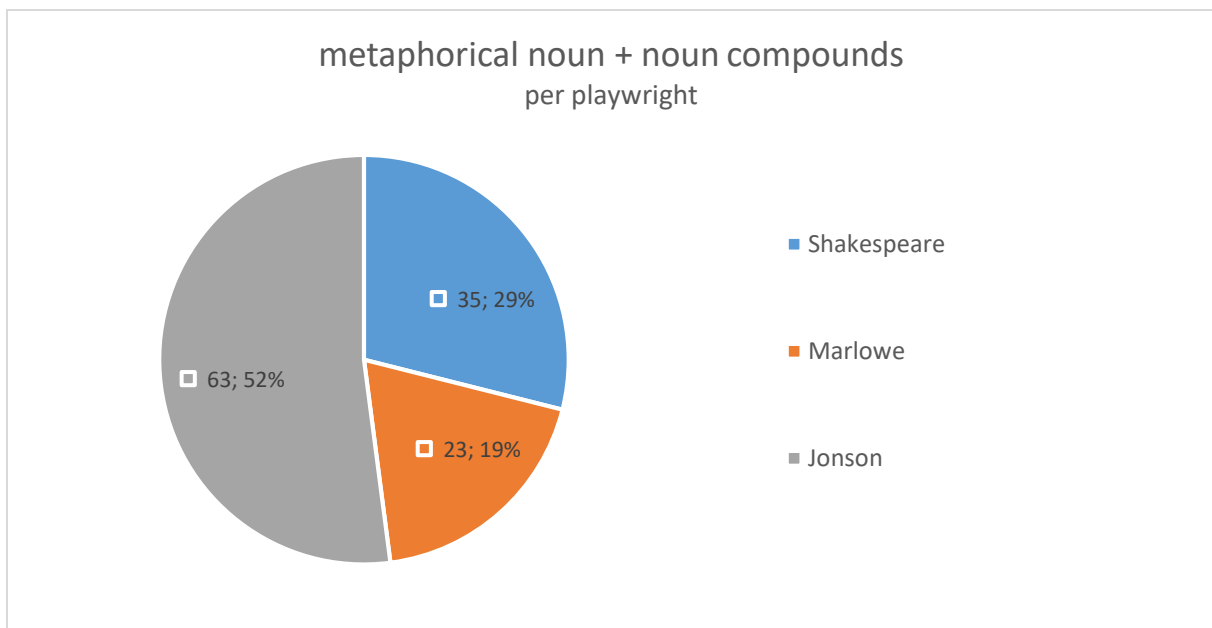


Figure 4: Metaphorical noun + noun compounds per playwright

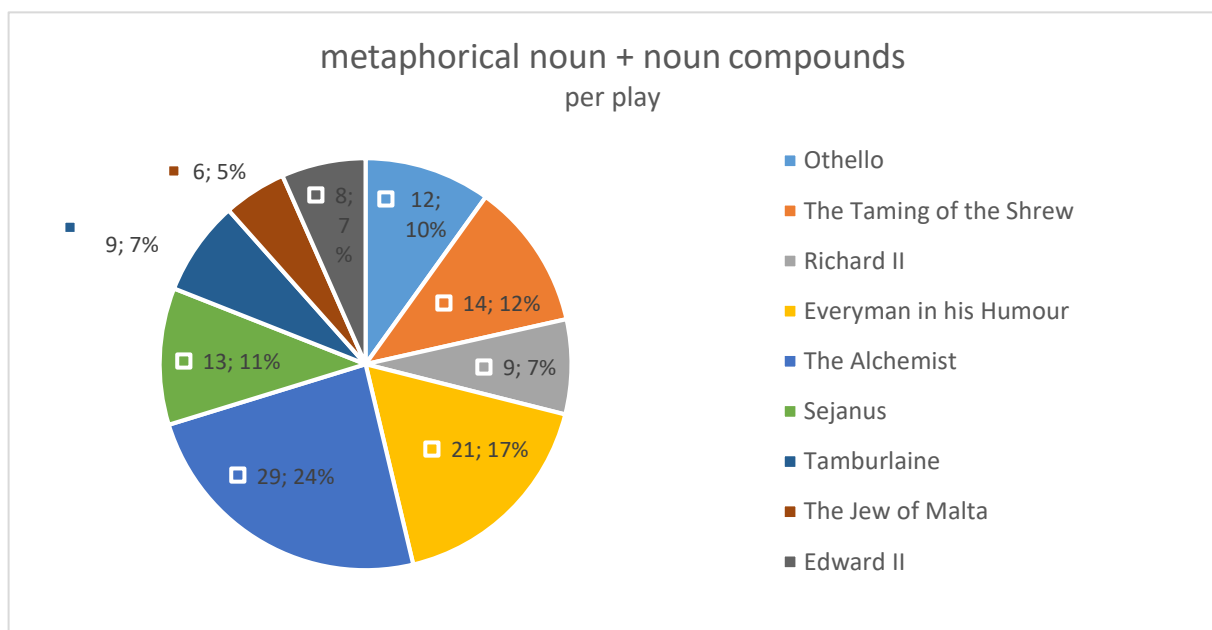


Figure 5: Metaphorical noun + noun compounds per play

Among the metaphorical noun + noun compounds, the majority of tokens can be attributed to Ben Jonson, whose plays generally display the highest number of compounds of the morphologic type noun + noun (206 tokens). The overall comparison of the plays shows that the three comedies from the corpus contain particularly many metaphorical tokens of this type, with *The Alchemist* and *Every Man in His Humour* leading the field, followed by Shakespeare's comedy *The Taming of The Shrew*. Obviously, Ben Jonson makes especially frequent use of metaphor in his comedies, *The Alchemist* comprising a remarkable portion of almost a quarter of all the metaphorical noun + noun compounds from the corpus. Partly, this high ratio of metaphorical tokens is certainly due to Jonson's general inclination, especially in this play, to use a high number of compounds in general (cp. the findings discussed in ch. 6), and many noun + noun compounds in particular.<sup>205</sup> With an overall number of 114 noun + noun compounds from the corpus found in *The Alchemist*, a high portion of metaphorical compounds of this morphologic type in this particular play is certainly expectable. Nevertheless, the extraordinarily frequent use of nicknames and abusive names in the comedy doubtlessly also influences the results.<sup>206</sup> Hence, it is noticeable that 25 out of 29 metaphorical noun + noun compounds from *The Alchemist* display contextual and indirect metaphor, among these featuring many tokens which serve as derogative names for the characters in the play, such as, e.g., *Cow-herd* (A 1.1.107), *dog-bolt* (A 1.1.121), *dog-leach* (A 1.1.103)<sup>207</sup>, *partie-bawd* (A 3.3.11), *puck-fist* (A 1.2.63), *punque-master* (A 4.3.56), *trencher-rascall* (A 1.1.103), *whore-master* (A 4.6.24), occasionally complemented by terms of endearment such as *Guiny-bird* (A 4.1.38) or the rather inventive pet name *smock-rampant* (A 5.4.126), addressed at Dol Common.

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<sup>205</sup> When considering the relative portion of metaphorical noun + noun compounds in relation to the overall number of compounds of this type per author, the discrepancies between the three playwrights decrease, the general tendency, however, persists: Ben Jonson's metaphorical compounds represent a portion of 30% of the noun + noun compounds from his three plays. In comparison, Shakespeare's and Marlowe's metaphorical lexemes of this type make up only 28% and 22% of their overall noun + noun compounds respectively.

<sup>206</sup> Although the degree of discrepancy between the basic senses of a nickname or pet name and its referent in context varies and may be described as gradual (cp. ch. 5), the present study takes an approach that understands nick- and pet names as metaphorical as long as some kind of discrepancy can be assumed to exist between the very basic meaning and the reference in context. Thus, compounds such as *sweet-hart* (JM 4.4.43), *partie-bawd* (A 3.3.11) or also *inke-dabblers* (EM 5.5.44), although the latter being directed to self-declared poets of questionable talent and hence not completely unfitting, are counted as metaphorical. There are only very few exceptions, such as, e.g., *lie-giuer* (O 4.1.1891) from *Othello*, referring to a person, who has, in fact just lied, or *lacke boy* (TS 4.1.1595) from *The Taming of the Shrew*, which is used in reference to an actual servant boy, where derogative terms are regarded as non-metaphorical.

<sup>207</sup> Interestingly, the compound *dog-leach* (A 1.1.103) is documented in the OED as having first been coined as an insulting term for an underqualified doctor and appears to have been used in its non-metaphorical interpretation ('a doctor who treats dogs') only 100 years later. (cp. "†dogleech, n." *OED online*. 1 December 2016) This would imply an inversion of the much more common development in which the non-metaphorical sense of a lexeme is the first one in use and is then taken as a basis for metaphorical transfers.

In general, 76% of all metaphorical noun + noun compounds display forms of contextual metaphor, with the majority (i.e. 63%) of these contextually figurative noun + noun compounds exhibiting indirect metaphor. Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is the only play from the corpus which does not feature any morphological metaphors within the segment of noun + noun compounds. The abovementioned nick- and pet names, however, do not only occur very frequently in Jonson's *Alchemist*, but also figure in the other plays, especially the comedies, where characters, present or absent, are repeatedly being called names of varying explicitness such as *Woodcocke* (TS 1.2.684), *paper-pedlers* (EM 5.5.43), *dung-worme* (EM 3.5.127), *winter cricket* (TS 4.3.1988), *puck-fist* (A 1.2.63) or *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57), the latter of these insults belonging to a small group of six tokens which show metaphoricity in both context and word-formation<sup>208</sup> (cp. ch. 5.3.4 for a detailed analysis of *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57)). Among the various instances of insults, the case of *puck-fist* (A 1.2.63), however, is particularly interesting, since no non-metaphorical sense of the compound appears to be institutionalized. While the basic meanings of the compound's constituents, "evil, malicious, or mischievous spirit or demon" (s.v. "puck, n.1.1a." *OED online*. 4 July 2017) and "breaking wind" (s.v. "fist, n.2." *OED online*. 4 July 2017) are easily compatible, resulting in a compound that could, in its non-metaphorical reading, plausibly denote a demon's flatus, the compound is exclusively listed in the OED as either a name for a puffball fungus or for a braggart, (cp. "puckfist, n. I and II" *OED online*. 4 July 2017) which is the meaning that comes closest to the contextual use of the lexeme in *The Alchemist*. Although, chronologically, the use of the compound as a (metaphorical) plant name clearly precedes its establishment as an insult for boasters, it is not entirely determinable whether the two institutionalized senses constitute different independent metaphorical applications of the lexeme, evoking two different mappings between the non-metaphorical reading 'demon's flatus' and, respectively, the plant and a braggart, or whether *puck-fist* (A 1.2.63) as a metaphor for a braggart, is, in fact, rather used with the image of the puffball fungus than of the demon's flatus in mind.

Besides the numerous, often humorous metaphorical compounds from the comedies, however, the corpus also features several poetical metaphors from the histories and tragedies, which have generally been shown to contain fewer compounds (cp. ch. 6), whilst, however, often displaying a relatively high degree of metaphoricity (cp. further ch. 9). While the gloomy and often cynical character Arruntius in *Sejanus* finds vivid contextual metaphors for Sejanus'

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<sup>208</sup> Besides *apple-squire* (EM 4.10.57), both forms of metaphoricity are entailed in the noun + noun compounds *straw-berries* (4.4.33), *lady-Tom* (5.5.127), *heart strings* (3.3.1713), *custard coffen* (4.3.1961), and *eye-lids* (2.1.59).

political circles, referring to them as *Seianus bloud-hounds, whom he breeds with human flesh* (S 3.376f), *horse-leeches* (S 4.356) or *Palace-rattes* (S 1.427), the three compounds *eare-reach* (5.509), *eye-reach* (5.508) and *tongue-reach* (5.509) serve as examples for the rarer form of morphological metaphor, each containing a metaphorical determinatum.<sup>209</sup> All three tokens most probably countable as new formations by Ben Jonson,<sup>210</sup> their second element, in its basic meaning, denotes the action of "extend[ing] or stretch[ing] out (a limb, hand, foot, etc.) from the body" (s.v. "reach, v." *OED online*. 1 December 2016) and is, thus, clearly semantically connected to the human extremities. In the compounds from *Sejanus*, however, this concrete physical movement is transferred to *eyes*, *tongue* and *ears*, body parts usually not capable of 'reaching' in its original sense and, thus, metaphorical compounds are being formed which capture the action of being able to 'reach', i.e. hear, see or speak to somebody, in a poetical and most graphic way.

In *Richard II*, William Shakespeare also draws on the human body for his metaphorical compounds, when Richard's Queen refers to the prison inside the Tower as its *flint bosome* (5.1.2158), thereby incorporating a classic body metaphor in the compound, which is located in the determinatum of the lexeme. When Richard himself, however, refers to his body and its shell as its *Castle wall* (RII 3.2.1469), Shakespeare employs a contextual metaphor, that inverts the (more common) direction of the body metaphor and transfers a part of the body into the part of a building.

Besides the contextually metaphorical compound *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), whose remarkable multifacetedness has already been discussed above (cp. ch. 5.2.1.1), Shakespeare's *Othello* features the compound *heart strings* (O 3.3.1713), which is worth some closer investigation, not only since the body – or a part of the body – is once again instrumentalized to create a metaphorical expression. When *Othello*, alone with his thoughts already infiltrated by *Iago*'s intrigue, who has successfully induced gnawing doubts about *Desdemona*'s faithfulness in him, gloomily muses about the situation, resorting to imagery from falconry, he makes use of a direct metaphorical comparison between *Desdemona*'s *Iesses* (O 3.3.1713), that would attach her to him and his own precious *heart strings* (O 3.3.1713): *if I doe prooue her haggard, / Tho that her Iesses were my deare heart strings, / I'de whistle her off, and let her*

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<sup>209</sup> Besides several further examples from plays not included in the corpus, Pennanen (1951) cites these three compounds as evidence for his thesis that "the fundamental formative principle in Jonson's method of forming compound words is analogy" (58).

<sup>210</sup> The OED lists only the former two tokens as new formation but has no record of the latter one, although *eare-reach* (S 5.509) and *tongue-reach* (S 5.509) occur in direct juxtaposition as "eare, or tongue-reach" (S 5.5.509) in the play. Please see ch. 10 for a detailed discussion of the reliability of the documentation in the OED.

*downe the wind, / To prey at fortune.* (O3.3.1712ff) In its concrete and basic sense, the lexeme *heart strings* (O 3.3.1713) has, since the fifteenth century, designated "[a]ny cord-like structure attached to or believed to support the heart; esp. (in pl.) the aorta and pulmonary artery and their large branches". (s.v. "heartstring, n." *OED online*. 2 December 2016) Although a further metaphorical sense of the compound referring to the "source of a person's most intense feelings or emotions" (s.v. "heartstring, n." *OED online*. 2 December 2016) becomes institutionalized in the sixteenth century (cp. also Leisi 1997:89), the immediate context of the compound's use in *Othello* initiates a direct comparison between *jesses* and *heart strings*, clearly playing with the concrete image of both the items mentioned being particular kinds of *strings*. Therefore, with the contextual meaning of the token being congruent with the basic one, the context of the play does not suggest any use of the compound as an indirect metaphor. Instead, Shakespeare skilfully employs a direct metaphor, embedding the image of the *heart strings* (O 3.3.1713) in the larger frame of the metaphorical imagery of falconry. Moreover, independent of its context, the compound exhibits morphological metaphor of the second element, with *strings* being a metaphorical expression for veins and arteries that is most probably based on visual similarity.

Within the wealth of material, there are, of course, cases for which the metaphoricity or the exact meaning of a compound or its constituents remains obscure to a certain degree. In the case of the noun + noun compounds, this especially applies to the combinations *Iacke boy* (TS 4.1.1595), *tom-boyes* (A 5.5.80) and *lady-Tom* (A 5.5.127), which involve proper names, whose 'basic sense' is obviously hard to determine. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Grumio addresses his fellow servant Curtis with the compound *Iacke boy* (TS 4.1.1595), institutionalized as denoting a "boy employed in menial work" (s.v. "†jack-boy, n." *OED online*. 2 December 2016), or, more specifically, a stable boy, which can indeed be assumed to be Curtis' actual profession. Since contextual metaphor can therefore be excluded, the only form of metaphoricity of this token is rooted in its morphological make-up with the first element being a generic proper name, frequently used to refer to any common man and often incorporating some hint at lower social rank or bad manners of the addressee. (cp. "Jack, n.1." *OED online*. 2 December 2016) This additional connotation of lower social standing can be assumed to surface in the compound as well and is interpretable as a metaphorical extension of the proper name's basic function to *neutrally* refer to a person, thus suggesting a classification of the first constituent in *Iacke boy* (TS 4.1.1595) as metaphorical. Similarly, the proper name *Tom*, which occurs in *lady-Tom* (A 5.5.127) and *tom-boyes* (A 5.5.80) in the corpus, soon develops the same function to refer generically to common men. When Kastriel in *The Alchemist* scolds his sister, Dame Pliant, and rants: *Did not I say, I would neuer ha' you tupt / But by a dub'd boy, to make*

*you a lady-Tom?* (EM 5.5. 126f), the compound can be interpreted to denote ‘a (formerly) common person having reached ladyship by marriage’. Hence, the extended generic meaning of *Tom* signifying common people (in that case further extended to be applicable to both sexes) can be assumed to be realized in the compound *lady-Tom* (A 5.5.127), rendering the second constituent of the compound classifiable as displaying metaphor. The last of these examples, *tom-boyes* (A 5.5.80), however, proves particularly difficult, since in the sixteenth century the compound can refer to either "rude, boisterous, or forward boy[s]" or "bold or immodest wom[e]n" (s.v. "tomboy, n." *OED online*. 2 December 2016). While the first meaning is attested slightly earlier and can be assumed to constitute the basic sense, the second one equates an institutionalized contextual metaphor with the compound being used as a metaphorical naming unit referring to women, who behave like ill-mannered boys, i.e. ‘tom-boys’. In the context of the play, however, the referent of the token is not clear, as either male or female tom-boys could be on Face’s mind when he ironically fantasizes about the good deeds, which Sir Mammon would have done, had he obtained the long-desired philosopher’s stone:

I, he would ha’ built / The citie new; and made a ditch about it / Of siluer, should haue  
runne with creame from Hogsden : / That, euery sunday in More-fields, the younkers, /  
And tits, and tom-boyes should haue fed on, gratis.

(A 5.5.76ff)

Whereas the first constituent of the compound can, in analogy to the second element of *lady-Tom* (A 5.5.127), again be classified as displaying metaphor, as it most likely involves a similar extension of the neutral basic sense of the proper noun to generically signify a common person of lower rank, a potential contextually metaphorical meaning of the compound remains speculative, since the reference of the token in context is not precisely determinable.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> In addition, it has to be noted that among the noun + noun compounds from the corpus, several tokens, which have been classified as non-metaphorical, could potentially be considered to be part of large-scale (or macro-) metaphors such as the garden metaphor in *Richard II*, (see ch. 5. 3.7.2) but have, in their immediate contextual use not sufficiently qualified for a classification as contextual metaphors, since a clear discrepancy between basic sense and contextual meaning was not provable. Among the critical cases were the compounds *fruit trees* (RII 3.4.1770) and *summer corne* (RII 3.3.1678) from *Richard II*, as well as *thunderclaps* (T 3.2.80) from *Tamburlaine*, which serves to illustrate problems of scope with respect to direct metaphors (cp. ch. 5.3.7.1) and has been considered to be too far removed from the flag-word in order to be classified as direct metaphor.

## 7.4.2. Noun + -s + Noun

### 7.4.2.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic type noun + -s + noun consist of two primary nouns, of which the first shows an -s-ending, which is identical with the regular inflectional ending of the possessive case and, in most cases, can correctly be described as such, although, diachronically, certain transitions and analogical formations occur (cp. below) and some scholars prefer a classification of the -s-element as a linking element for certain tokens (cp. Marchand 1969:27) in an attempt to justify their compound status.

As an obvious consequence of their morphological shape, the compounds of this morphologic type are not morphologically isolated, since parallel syntactic groups comprising a noun in the possessive case (mostly in the singular) followed by another noun (e.g. *my father's eyes*), exist at all times. It is syntactic genitive groups as these, in which many of the compounds of this type have their origin, having fused gradually over time, simultaneously forfeiting both their phrasal character and their semantic interpretation as (specifying) genitives.<sup>212</sup> Examples from the corpus to which this most certainly applies include *kins-man* (O 5.4.34) and *craftsmen* (RII 1.4.578), which are both documented to have existed as rather unambiguous syntactic phrases in Old or Middle English, such as in the Old English construction *heora agenes cynnes mannum* from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, (cp. "kinsman, n." *OED online*. 12 December 2016; see further Sauer 1992:152) or the Middle English phrase *Alle kunnes craftus men* occurring in *Piers Plowman*. (cp. "craftsman, n." *OED online*. 12 December 2016.) Viewed from an exclusively synchronic perspective, a description of the -s- element as a linking element may be justified for such clear cases, especially since the compound status of the respective tokens is emphasized by both their syntactic behaviour, which would not allow any independent modification of the first element any longer, and their semantic unity, the possessive meaning of the compounds having arguably faded and a generic (or classifying) interpretation of the lexemes appearing as the most natural one.<sup>213</sup> Nevertheless, compounds of this type, such as *townes-man* (A 2.6.12), also seem to occur as direct new formations without any documented predecessors, that are clearly of syntactic nature. (cp. "townsman, n." *OED online*. 12 December

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<sup>212</sup> Please be referred to ch. 4.4.3.4 for a detailed discussion of the morphological status of the respective tokens, as well as for a synopsis of the different stances that have been taken in that matter and a justification of the approach taken in the present study. In order to avoid undue redundancy, the deliberations considering the morphological status of these compounds will not be repeated in detail in this chapter.

<sup>213</sup> For the distinction between specifying and classifying genitive, going back to Zandvoort (1967), as well as its application for determining compoundhood, see again ch. 4.4.3.4.



2016.) Furthermore, transitions between the type noun + noun and noun + -s + noun are possible, with some of the noun + noun compounds from the corpus surfacing earlier as noun + -s + noun compounds, among them, for example, the compound *mother wit* (TS 2.1.1066), whose genitive version *mother's wit* is documented slightly earlier than the noun + noun compound. (cp. "mother's wit, n." *OED online*. 12 December 2016) Vice versa, Sauer (1992:152) as well as Koziol (1972:60) remark that for some noun + noun compounds later formations exist, which have at some point acquired an internal -s. The corpus features the compound *beadsmen* (RII 3.2.1415), for which several Early Middle English occurrences without the -s- element are documented that may indeed represent the original form of the compound. (cp. "beadsmen, n." *OED online*. 12 December 2016). Finally, it has to be noted that not in all instances of noun + -s + noun compounds the exact function of the -s- element is unambiguously determinable. Besides potentially representing a genitive singular ending, compounds such as *Sessions day* (JM 2.3.106) could be argued to contain a plural determinatum ('the day on which several sessions take place'), or, possibly even genitive plural inflection (cp. also ch. 4.4.3.4). Besides that, the compound *Paulesman* (EM Pers.) represents a special case, as its -s- element has not entered the compound in the process of composition, but has its origin in the full name of the compound's first constituent, *St. Paul's Cathedral*. Other than for lexemes such as *almesmans* (RII 3.3.1665), however, in which the -s belongs to the first constituent's stem (cp. Sauer (1992:156) and "alms, n." *OED online*. 13 December 2016), a classification of *Paulesman* (EM Pers.) as a noun + -s + noun compound is justified, since the -s- element still represents an inflectional ending and therefore a morpheme.

While, as pointed out in ch. 4.4.3.4, I perceive only classifying genitives to qualify as compounds of this particular type, a strict distinction between specifying and classifying genitive is sometimes hard to make and several constructions allow both interpretations. (cp. below) In general, the widely differing stances on this morphologic type and its acceptance as a product of word-formation (rather than syntax) (cp. ch. 4.4.3.4), lead to a blurred picture of its history and, apart from some constructions with *-man* as determinatum, Sauer (1992) lists place names, plant names and names for the days of the week as the only instances of the morphologic type, whose compound status is largely agreed upon for the Old and Middle English periods. (cp. 1992:159, also 1985:275) With 71 noun + -s + noun compounds that I have accepted as such in the present study, the morphologic type is also comparatively rare in the EModE corpus, which certainly has to be viewed as connected to the lack of morphological isolation and the consequential classificatory difficulties. In the present study, however, several tokens have been included, whose compound status is disputable. With 37 noun + -s + noun

compounds occurring in Ben Jonson's works, his plays contribute an extraordinarily high portion of 52% to the overall number of 71 compounds of this type, whereas his contemporary playwrights' works, with 15 and 19 lexemes for Marlowe and Shakespeare respectively, exhibit considerably lower numbers. In relation to the overall number of noun compounds per playwright, noun + -s + noun compounds make up 9% of each Shakespeare's and Marlowe's compounds from this word class and 10% of Jonson's noun compounds. Especially *The Alchemist* contains a remarkably high number of 23 noun + -s + noun compounds, which frequently stem from the lexical fields of alchemy and chemistry (cp. further below).

#### 7.4.2.2. The Noun + -s + Noun compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>babies cap</i> (TS 4.3.1947)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	User – Used	NR
<i>barbers shoppe</i> (TS 4.3.1970)	Shakespeare	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>beadsmen</i> (RII 3.2.1415)	Shakespeare	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>beeues fat</i> (S 5.74)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>birds-skins</i> (A 2.2.93)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>bolts-head</i> (A 2.2.9)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>bulls-head</i> (A 2.6.13)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>camels heeles</i> (A 2.2.75)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>Captaines beard</i> (A 4.7.130)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>childes whistle</i> (EM 3.2.25)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	User – Used	NR
<i>citizens-wiues</i> (A 1.4.21)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>cocks-combe</i> (A 1.1.115)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>cocks-combe</i> (EM 1.1.54)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Codshead</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Coxcombe</i> (TS 2.1.1031)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Coxcombe</i> (O 5.2.3137)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>craftsmen</i> (RII 1.4.578)	Shakespeare	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>crowes-head</i> (A 2.3.68)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>diuels dam</i> (TS 1.1.379)	Shakespeare	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>dogs-meate</i> (A 1.2.45)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>dolphins milke</i> (A 4.1.160)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	NR
<i>Edwards shillings</i> (A 3.4.142)	Jonson	Comedy	'Name' + s + Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>Falcons flight</i> (RII 1.3.340)	Shakespeare	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	NR

<i>Gods-guift</i> (A 3.3.49)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>Gripes egge</i> (A 2.3.40)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>Harry's soueraigne</i> (A 3.4.143)	Jonson	Comedy	'Name' + s + Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>hogs cheek</i> (JM 2.3.42)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>hogs-flesh</i> (EM 1.2.75)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>horses hooffes</i> (T 3.3.150)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>Huntsman</i> (TS I.1.13)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>kinsman</i> (RII 1.1.59)	Shakespeare	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>kinsman</i> (EM 1.1.66)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>kins-man</i> (A 5.4.34)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Kinsmans</i> (T 3.3.75)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Kinsmen</i> (O 1.1.69)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>kinsmen</i> (S 1.113)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>kniues point</i> (A 2.1.59)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>lances pointes</i> (T 3.3.91)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>Neats foote</i> (TS 4.3.1896)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>needles eie</i> (RII 5.5.2546)	Shakespeare	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>needles point</i> (EII 21.33)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>Paulesman</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Comedy	'Name' + s + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	RNF
<i>phesants egges</i> (A 4.1.157)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	NR
<i>philosophers stone</i> (A 1.1.102)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>Philosophers stone</i> (JM 2.3.112)	Marlowe	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>philosophers vinegar</i> (A 2.3.100)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	HL
<i>Philosophers wheele</i> (A 2.3.44)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	User – Used	HL
<i>pins heads</i> (EII 5.48)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>rats-bane</i> (EM 3.5.115)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>Ravens wing</i> (JM 4.2.33)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>S. Maries bath</i> (A 2.3.61)	Jonson	Comedy	'Name' + s + Noun	UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>Sailors wiues</i> (A 5.1.4)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>Salmons taile</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>Serpents curse</i> (O 4.2.2428)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	NR
<i>Sessions day</i> (JM 2.3.106)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>sheepes leather</i> (TS 3.2.1363)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Shepherds weed</i> (T 1.2.199)	Marlowe	Tragedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>states-man</i> (S 3.722)	Jonson	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Statesmen</i> (O 1.2.286)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Tigers milke</i> (EII 18.71)	Marlowe	History		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	AD
<i>Tinkers pans</i> (JM 4.1.3)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	User – Used	NR

<i>townes-man</i> (A 2.6.12)	Jonson	Comedy	LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>Tribunes place</i> (S 1.182)	Jonson	History	LOCATION	Located – Location	NR
<i>trumpets clangue</i> (TS 1.2.731)	Shakespeare	Comedy	INSTRUMENT	Instrument – Action/State	NR
<i>trumpets sound</i> (T 1.1.133)	Marlowe	Tragedy	INSTRUMENT	Instrument – Action/State	NR
<i>varlets gowne</i> (EM 5.3.107)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	User – Used	NR
<i>varlets sute</i> (EM 4.9.76)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	User – Used	NR
<i>vipers tooth</i> (S 3.385)	Jonson	History	BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>weapons pointes</i> (T 3.3.157)	Marlowe	Tragedy	BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>winters tales</i> (JM 2.1.25)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	AD
<i>wolves iaws</i> (S 4.298)	Jonson	History	BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR

Table 7: The noun + -s + noun compounds from the corpus

### 7.4.2.3. Morphological Particularities

As mentioned above, as well as in ch. 4.4.3.4, the basic criterion for the acceptance of a noun + -s + noun construction as a compound in the present study is of semantic nature and entails its interpretability as a classifying (i.e. generic) genitive. Moreover, I have granted compound status to lexemes which are used as indirect metaphors in the respective plays, since their semantic unity is secured by their function as metaphoric naming units. This applies, for example, to the compounds *Gods-guift* (A 3.3.49) in *The Alchemist* and *cocks-combe* (EM 1.1.54) from *Every Man in His Humour*, both of which are used in reference to characters from the plays and, hence, function as metaphorical nick- or pet names. There are, however, several non-metaphoric borderline cases among the material for which both interpretations, a specific and a generic one, appear possible. Among these are, for example, the tokens *Serpents curse* (O 4.2.2428) or *trumpets clangue* (TS 1.2.731), which generally allow interpretations that imply a specific referent for the first constituent, i.e. a curse uttered by one specific serpent or the sound of a particular trumpet, or a generic one, leading to paraphrases such as ‘curse uttered/caused by a serpent / serpents’ or ‘clang that trumpets make’. The contexts in which the respective compounds occur, however, suggest that a generic understanding is at least possible, as when Emillia in *Othello* beseeches him to trust his wife against false accusations,

If any wretch ha put this in your head,  
 Let heauen requite it with the Serpents curse,  
 For if she be not honest, chaste and true,  
 There’s no man happy

(O 4.2.22427ff)

and refers to the *Serpents curse* (O 4.2.2428) as a punishment induced by heaven. Although a specific reference to the biblical serpent from the Old Testament is thinkable in this context, an interpretation of the compound as denoting a particular *kind of curse*, that is uttered by (potentially several) serpents, rather than a curse by a *particular serpent* appears more plausible. Similarly, a generic reference is conceivable for the compound *trumpets clangue* (TS 1.2.731), when Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew* refers to his experiences in battle: *Haue I not in a pitched battell heard / Loud larums, neighing steeds, & trumpets clangue?* (TS 1.2.730f) Here, the generic reference to the general sound of trumpets in battle has been assumed as the intended one and has consequently been favoured over the interpretation of the construction as a specific genitive, denoting the clang of the specific trumpets in the battle Petruchio is referring to. Although borderline cases, such as the one exemplified by *Serpents curse* (O 4.2.2428) and *trumpets clangue* (TS 1.2.731), are not uncommon among the compounds of this type, the aim of the study has generally prompted an inclusive approach, that involved granting compound status to several ambiguous constructions.

Nevertheless, the abovementioned criteria lead to the exclusion of some non-metaphoric constructions for which any generic interpretation seems highly unlikely. Among these are phrases such as *windowes tops* (RII 5.2.2263), or *clients breath* (S 5.710), as occurring in the sentence *Where rude misgouerned hands from windows tops, / threw dust* (O5.2.2263), and in the passage

He, that this morne rose proudly , as the sunne?  
 And, breaking through a mist of clients breath  
 Came on as gaz'd at, and admir'd as he  
 [...] That had our seruile nobles waiting him /As common groomes.  
 (S 5.709)

Moreover, I have excluded all constructions that contain a proper name as a first constituent, and thereby strongly suggest a specific reference, such as *Iason's fleece* (A 2.1.89), *Pythagora's thigh* (A 2.1.92), *Pandora's tub* (A 2.1.92), *Medeas charmes* (A 2.1.93) and *Fortunes wheel* (T 1.2.175). The only exception that I have made in this regard concerns the tokens *S. Maries bath* (A 2.3.61), *Edwards shillings* (A 3.4.142) and *Harry's soueraigne* (A 3.4.143), which semantically do not exhibit any possessive relation, but in which the proper names serve to identify the reference of the compound as a particular kind of bath, i.e. a water-bath, going back to Lat. *balneum mariae* (cp. Jonson 2009:390, footnote 61; cp. also below), or a particular kind of coin, issued under the reigns of Kings Edward VI and Henry VII (or VIII) respectively, and,

therefore, featuring the Kings' faces. (cp. "sovereign, n. and adj., 4." *OED online*. 13 December 2016)

#### 7.4.2.4. Innovation among the Noun + -s + Noun Compounds

The distribution of the noun + -s + noun compounds from the corpus over the five categories outlined in ch. 7.4.1.4 is represented as an overview in the following pie chart:

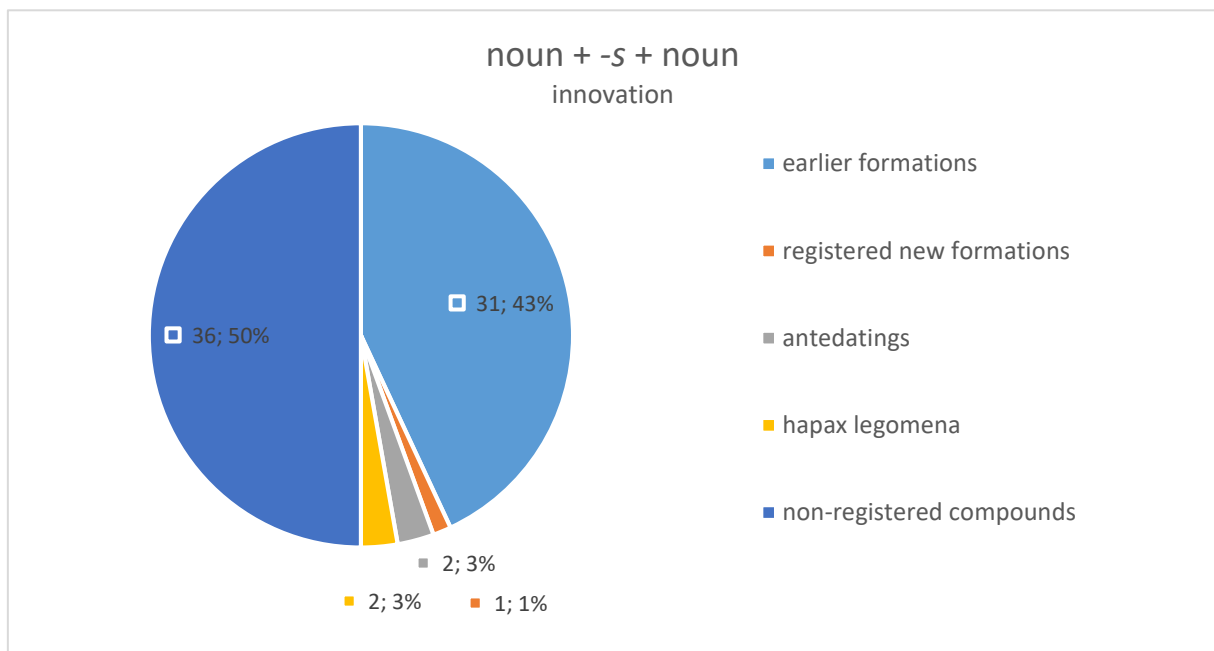


Figure 6: Innovation among the noun + -s + noun compounds

As is clearly visible in the chart, the proportional distribution of the noun + -s + noun compounds from the corpus over the different groups specifying the tokens' respective status with regard to innovation as documented in the OED, differs considerably from what could be observed in ch. 7.4.1.4 for the morphologic type noun + noun. Considering the definitional problems of this morphologic type and the varying acceptance of noun + -s + noun constructions as compounds in scholarly literature, and consequently also in the OED, this result is rather unsurprising, however, and the conclusion that the high numbers of non-registered formations have their origin in the OED's registration policy, which is reluctant to accept such constructions as compounds, is obvious. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the only registered new formation of this type, *Paulesman* (EM Pers.), as well as the two hapax legomena *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44) and *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100) stem from Ben Jonson's works, thus in this particular case opposing a tendency ascribed to the OED in earlier studies

(cp., e.g., Schäfer 1980), to favour William Shakespeare when it comes to the registration of lexemes. A detailed discussion of these and other issues related to the topic of innovation as well as the OED's policies will take place in chapter 10.

#### 7.4.2.5. Semantic Description

Due to the distinctly lower number of compounds assigned to the morphologic type noun + -s + noun, as well as the morphological origin of many of the tokens in genitive phrases, the semantic diversity of the compounds of this type is clearly less pronounced than that of the noun + noun compounds from the corpus. Within the group of 71 noun + -s + noun compounds, only 13 semantic types from 9 different semantic classes are realized, with the most frequent semantic class and type being BELONGING TO, Whole – Part, comprising an overall of 33 lexemes, which constitutes a percentage of 46% of all compounds of this morphologic type. None of the noun + -s + noun compounds exhibit metonymic reference. The Whole – Part relation is the most frequent one for all three authors, which is expectable considering the high numbers of compounds among the material, which generically refer to body parts of animals, such as, e.g., *bulls-head* (A 2.6.13), *hogs-flesh* (EM 1.2.75), *cocks-combe* (EM 1.1.54), *vipers tooth* (S 3.385), *Salmons taile* (O 2.1.840), *Codshead* (O 2.1.840), *Neats foote* (TS 4.3.1896), *hogs cheek* (JM 2.3.42) or *Ravens wing* (JM 4.2.33). Nevertheless, several other semantic classifications exist, an overview of which is provided in the following table:

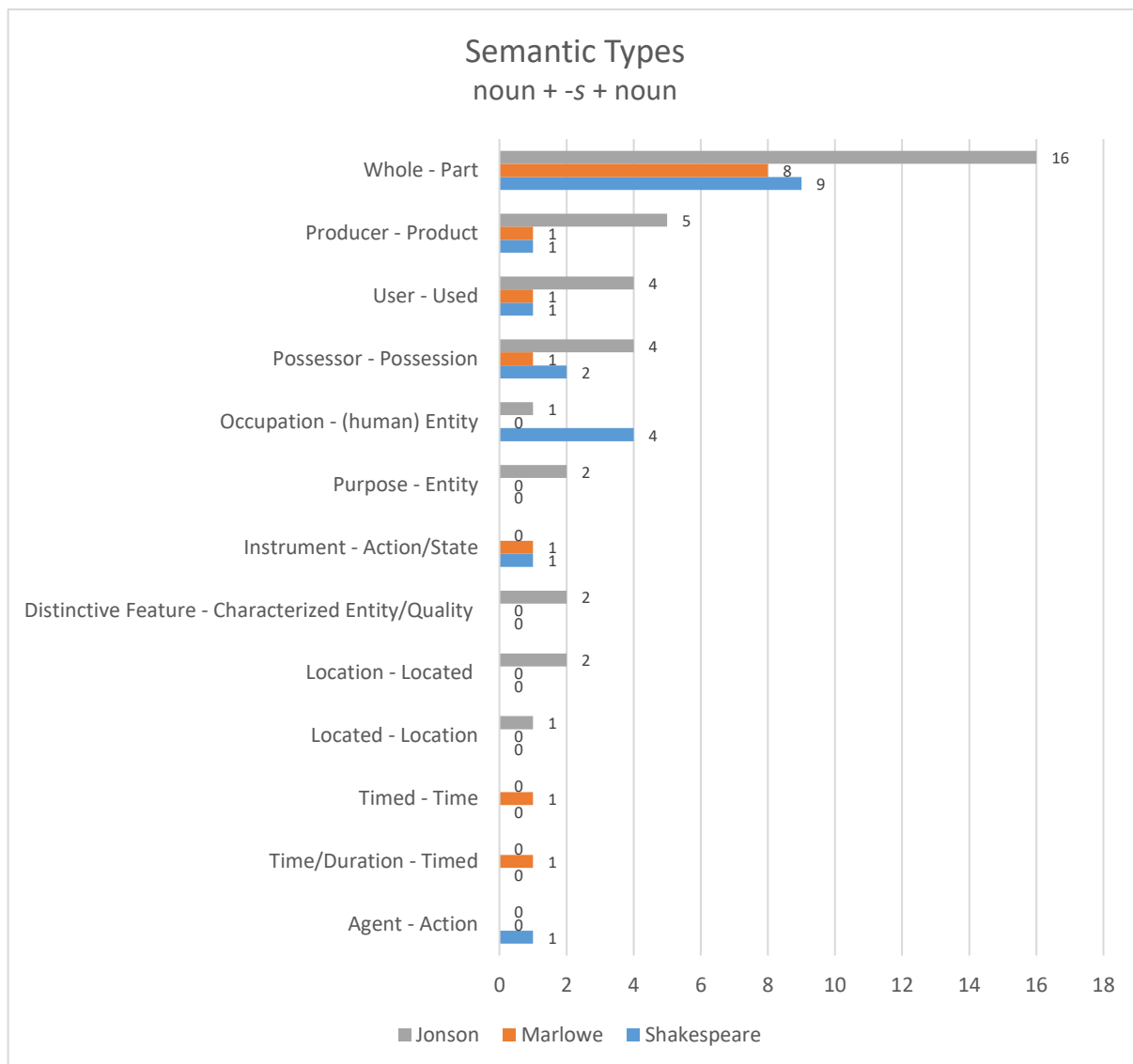


Figure 7: Semantic types of the noun + -s + noun compounds

Similarly to the noun + noun compounds, the semantic relations among the compounds of the morphologic type noun + -s + noun also show certain differences between the three playwrights and there are several semantic types, which occur exclusively among the compounds of one of the authors. Whereas ‘Whole – Part’ remains the strongest type for all three playwrights, Shakespeare’s plays feature the compounds *Statesmen* (O 1.2.286), *Huntsman* (TS I.1.13), *craftsmen* (RII 1.4.578) and *beadsmen* (RII 3.2.1415) and thereby notably more tokens assignable to the type ‘Occupation – (human) Entity’, than his contemporaries’ works. Analogically, Ben Jonson’s compounds of the type Producer – Product, e.g., *Gripes egge* (A 2.3.40), *dolphins milke* (A 4.1.160) and *Gods-guift* (A 3.3.49), clearly outnumber the only instances of this type from Marlowe’s and Shakespeare’s plays, *Tigers milke* (EII 18.71) and *Serpents curse* (O 4.2.2428).



Furthermore, Shakespeare's history *Richard II* contains the only instance of the semantic type Agent – Action with the compound *Falcons flight* (RII 1.3.340). The semantic types 'Purpose – Entity', as exemplified by *rats-bane* (EM 3.5.115), 'Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity', as in *Edwards shillings* (A 3.4.142), as well as the two locative types 'Location – Located' and 'Located – Location', as realized in *Paulesman* (EM Pers.) and *Tribunes place* (S 1.182) respectively, however, surface exclusively in Ben Jonson's plays. The compounds *winters tales* (JM 2.1.25) and *Sessions day* (JM 2.3.106) from Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, in turn, are the only lexemes of this morphologic type assignable to the semantic class TIME (i.e. to the types 'Time / Duration – Timed' and 'Timed – Time' respectively).

Since noun + -s + noun compounds, as noun + noun compounds, usually contain two primary nouns and no indication of the verbal element that is to be added in an adequate paraphrase, the semantic classification of several of the tokens is similarly intricate as for the latter type. Among the material from the corpus, the group of lexemes featuring *philosophers*<sup>214</sup> as their first constituent, *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44) and *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100 and JM 2.3.112), which cumulate in Jonson's *Alchemist*, proves particularly delicate in this regard, since both the exact meaning of the compounds as well as, consequently, their respective semantic relations are not immediately obvious to the modern reader of the play. Other than for the present sense of the word, the potential referent class of the lexeme *philosopher* in Middle and Early Modern English times is not restricted to scholars from the fields of ethics, moral, or classic philosophy, but originally includes "expert[s] in or student[s] of any branch of knowledge, including the physical and natural sciences" (s.v. "philosopher, n." *OED online*. 15 December 2016), among them alchemy as the branch of science Jonson's comedy takes up as its topic. The three compounds from the corpus have to be interpreted against this background, which, in combination with the context of the play, helps to locate the compounds in the lexical field of alchemy and eventually suggests an identification of the meaning of the compounds as something that is either owned, used (or potentially also made) by alchemists. To obtain the *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102) or the *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100), the former being described by the OED as "[a] mythical solid substance, supposed to change any metal into gold or silver and (according to some) to

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<sup>214</sup> The Latin phrases *acetum philosophorum* and *lapis philosophorum*, on the basis of which the compounds *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100) as well as *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), as the most common and oldest of the three constructions, have been modelled, as well as the generic reference to alchemists in general, clearly suggest that the -s- element in these cases represents the genitive plural.

cure all wounds and diseases and prolong life indefinitely" (s.v. "philosophers' stone, n." *OED online*. 15 December 2016) and the latter, although remaining a hapax legomenon, being ascribed a very similar function (cp. "philosopher, n. C.3." *OED online*. 15 December 2016) has long been the "supreme object of alchemy"(s.v. "philosophers' stone, n." *OED online*. 15 December 2016). Even though the actual possession of the subject has, of course, remained a phantasy, the meaning of the compounds justifies a possessive interpretation, understanding the lexemes to denote a 'stone / vinegar obtained and owned by philosophers'. As the actual possession of the substances is doubtlessly impossible, alternative interpretations present themselves, the most plausible one presumably being a classification of the compounds belonging to the semantic type 'Producer – Product'. However, the mythical nature of both the 'vinegar' and the 'stone', which makes a man-made origin appear highly unlikely, suggests that each substance had to be *found and obtained* rather than *made* by alchemists, thereby suggesting the type 'Possessor – Possession' as more adequate, although with the qualification that the possession as such is a wish rather than a fact. The third of the three tokens, *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44), denoting "a series of alchemical processes by which one element was supposed to be transmuted into another" (s.v. "philosopher, n. C.3." *OED online*. 15 December 2016) deviates in its sense from the other two compounds, since the determinatum is a metaphorical name for certain processes, instead of a concrete obtainable substance, hence indicating a different semantic relation between the constituents. With the philosopher / alchemist initiating these processes, a 'Product – Producer' relation might be conceivable as well in this case, but as chemical processes as such cannot be *produced* in its actual sense and, besides that, the transformation of a substance into another *by means of* these processes is perceived to be foregrounded in the meaning of the compound in its context, a classification of *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44) as belonging to the type 'User – Used' seems more appropriate.

Further critical cases among the material entail compounds with *wife* as their second constituent, such as *citizens-wiues* (A 1.4.21) and *Sailors wiues* (A 5.1.4), which I have attributed to the semantic type 'Possessor – Possession', basing the classification on a notion of 'possession' that is doubtlessly of an abstract nature. Similarly, the 'Whole – Part' relation perceived as the basic semantic relation in the compound *kinsman* (RII 1.1.59), is, of course, more abstract than the one realized in very concretely partitive lexemes such as *Neats foote* (TS 4.3.1896) or *hogs cheek* (JM 2.3.42). For the sake of a reasonable classification that involves a manageable number of semantic types, however, the respective semantic types had to be opened to include items that transgress the boundaries of abstract and concrete in terms of their

possessive interpretation, as well as such lexemes in which the first element denotes a group rather than a concrete whole.

The only two tokens among the noun + -s + noun compounds, whose semantics have not been sufficiently clear to warrant any semantic classification, are the compounds *S. Maries bath* (A 2.3.61) and *Shepherds weed* (T 1.2.199). The former of these lexemes is a loan translation originally based on Lat. *balneum mariae*, in the nineteenth century also existent as the French loan word *bain-marie*, and denotes a water bath (cp. "bain-marie, n." *OED online*. 20 December 2016). Although the OED, in reference to Littré, insinuates a potential metaphoric meaning of *marie* in Fr. *bain-marie*, presumably indicating "the gentleness of this method of heating" (s.v. "bain-marie, n." *OED online*. 20 December 2016), the exact motivation of the first constituent of the compound remains unclear. The latter of the two tokens, *Shepherds weed* (T 1.2.199), belongs to a relatively large group of plant names which correspond to the noun + -s + noun pattern. Plant names of this morphologic type already occur in Old and Middle English (cp. Krischke 2013:119ff; Sauer 1985:275, 1992:159f) and are surprisingly rare in the corpus, containing *Shepherds weed* (T 1.2.199) as the only instance of the type. The semantic motivation of the plant name is unclear.

#### 7.4.2.6. Metaphoricity

Among the 71 noun + -s + noun compounds from the corpus, the 25 lexemes listed in the following table involve metaphor. This equates a portion of 35% of all compounds of this morphologic type.

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>babies cap</i> (TS 4.3.1947)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>Why 'tis [the hat] a cockle or a walnut-shell, A knacke, a toy, a tricke, a babies cap</i>	Indirect	-	NR
<i>barbers shoppe</i> (TS 4.3.1970)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>Heers snip, and nip, and cut, and slish and slash, Like to a Cizor in a barbers shoppe.</i>	Direct	-	NR
<i>bolts-head</i> (A 2.2.9)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Blushes the bolts-head?</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>childes whistle</i> (EM 3.2.25)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>I can compare him to nothing more happily, than a drumme; for euery one may play vpon him. No, no, a childes whistle were far the fitter.</i>	Direct	-	NR

<i>cocks-combe</i> (A 1.1.115)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>You'll bring your head within a cocks-combe, will you?</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>cocks-combe</i> (EM 1.1.54)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>You are a prodigall absurd cocks-combe.</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>Codshead</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>She that in wisdom, neuer was so fraile, To change the Codshead [male sexual organ] for the Salmons taile.</i>	Indirect	-	
<i>Coxcombe</i> (TS 2.1.1031)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Second constituent	
<i>Coxcombe</i> (O 5.2.3137)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>O murderous Coxcombe! What should such a foole Doe with so good wife?</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>Falcons flight</i> (RII 1.3.340)	Shakespeare	History	<i>As confident as is the Falcon's flight Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.</i>	Direct	-	NR
<i>Gods-guift</i> (A 3.3.49)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>and so hiue him I'the swan skin couerlid, and cambrick sheets, till he worke honey, and waxe, my little God's guift.</i>	Indirect	-	
<i>Gripes egge</i> (A 2.3.40)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>And let the water in Glasse E. be feltred, And put into the Gripes egge.</i>	Indirect	-	
<i>hogs cheek</i> (JM 2.3.42)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>the slave looks like a hogs cheek, new sindg'd</i>	Direct	-	
<i>hogs-flesh</i> (EM 1.2.75)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Doe not conceiue that antipathy betweene vs, and Hogs-den; as was betweene Iewes, and hogs-flesh.</i>	Direct	-	
<i>needles eie</i> (RII 5.5.2546)	Shakespeare	History	<i>It is as hard to come, as for a Camell To thread the posterne of a small needles eie</i>	Direct	Second constituent	NR
<i>philosophers stone</i> (A 1.1.102)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>I will haue A booke, but barely reckoning thy impostures, Shall proue a true philosophers stone, to printers.</i>	Indirect	-	
<i>philosophers vinegar</i> (A 2.3.100)	Jonson	Comedy		-	Second constituent	HL
<i>Philosophers wheele</i> (A 2.3.44)	Jonson	Comedy		-	Second constituent	HL
<i>pins heads</i> (EII 5.48)	Marlowe	History	<i>Mine old lord whilst he livde was so precise, That he would take exceptions at my buttons, And being like pins heads, blame me for the bigness</i>	Direct	Second constituent	NR
<i>rats-bane</i> (EM 3.5.115)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>it's [tobacco] little better than rats-bane, or rosaker.</i>	Direct	-	NR
<i>Ravens wing</i> (JM 4.2.33)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>a fellow met me with a muschatoes like a Ravens wing</i>	Direct	-	NR
<i>Salmons taile</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>She that in wisdom, neuer was so fraile, To change the Codshead for the Salmons taile. [female sexual organ]</i>	Indirect	-	NR
<i>Tinkers pans</i> (JM 4.1.3)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>How sweet the Bels ring now the Nuns are dead That sound at other times like Tinkers pans?</i>	Direct	-	NR
<i>vipers tooth</i> (S 3.385)	Jonson	History	<i>thou bit'st The present age, And with a viper's tooth</i>	Indirect	-	NR
<i>wolves iaws</i> (S 4.298)	Jonson	History	<i>liue at home, With my owne thoughts, and innocence about me, Not tempting the wolves iaws</i>	Indirect	-	NR

Table 8: The metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds

The distribution of the noun + -s + noun compounds containing (some kind of) metaphor per author and per play are displayed in the following charts:

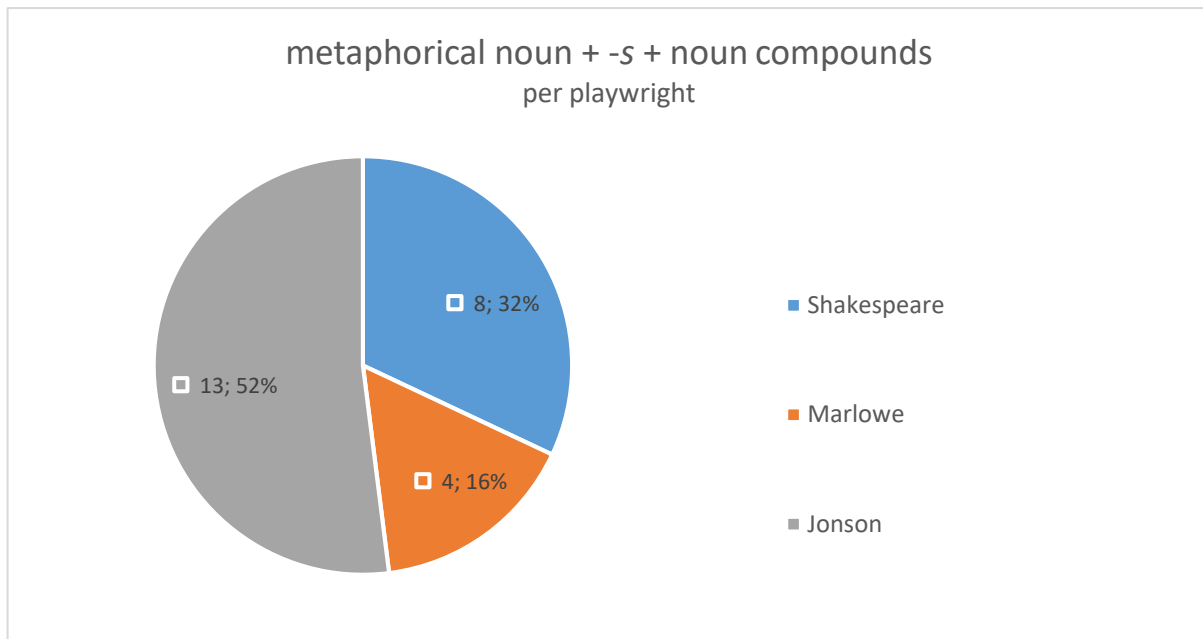


Figure 8: Metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds per playwright

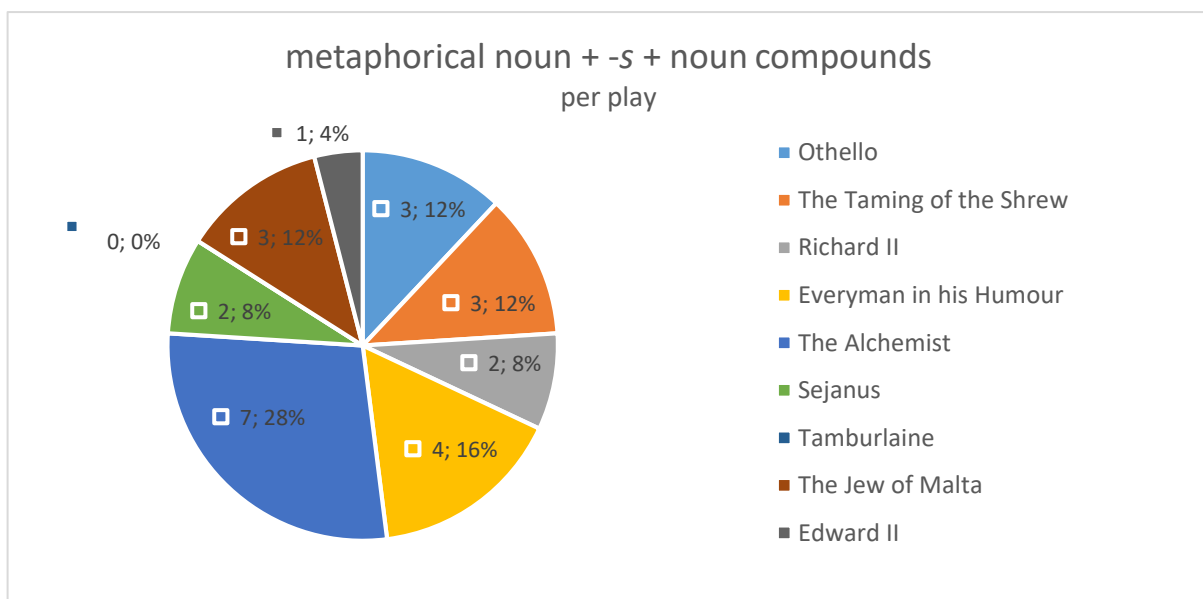


Figure 9: Metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds per play

The proportional distribution of metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds over the nine works by the three playwrights shows similarities to the morphologic type of noun + noun in that it is again Ben Jonson, whose compounds exhibit the highest rate of metaphoricity among the morphologic type, with his comedy *The Alchemist* proving particularly strong in this area. Again, however, these results cannot be viewed as completely independent of the general distribution of the compounds of this morphologic type and the fact that Jonson's plays, with

an overall of 37 tokens feature the highest number of noun + -s + noun compounds in the corpus, the majority of these (23 compounds) occurring in his comedy *The Alchemist*. In the case of the noun + -s + noun compounds, however, the relative portions of metaphorical compounds in relation to the overall numbers of compounds of this type per author, give a slightly different picture, with Ben Jonson's plays coming down to 35% of metaphorical compounds among his noun + -s + noun compounds, whereas William Shakespeare's works display a metaphoricity rate of 42% within this group. Christopher Marlowe's four metaphorical compounds of this type, however, make up only 27% of his noun + -s + noun compounds.

With *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44), *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100), as well as the compounds *bolts-head* (A 2.2.9) and *Gripes egge* (A 2.3.40), both metaphorically referring to specifically formed vessels used for chemical processes (cp. "bolt-head | bolt's-head, n." and "†gripe's egg, n." *OED online*. 21 December 2016), the metaphorical tokens from *The Alchemist* chiefly stem from the areas of chemistry and alchemy. Whereas in *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44) and *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100) the second elements show metaphoricity,<sup>215</sup> the compound *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), in its basic sense, has a referent that, although non-existent, is indeed believed to be a "solid substance" (s.v. "philosopher's stone, n." *OED online*. 21 December 2016) and is, hence, directly describable as a 'stone'. In *The Alchemist*, the first occurrence of the compound, however, exhibits metaphoricity, which is not rooted in the item's morphology but, instead, in the contextual use of the compound. When Face, contending with his accomplice, Subtle, at the beginning of the play, threatens to disclose the latter's trickeries and rants: *I will haue // A book, but barely reckoning thy impostures, // Shall proue a true philosopher's stone, to printers* (A 1.1.100ff), he applies the compound as an indirect metaphor for the value of the book he threatens to write, and, thus, uses it in a way significantly more established among modern readers than the original, literal meaning of the word.

Whereas indirect metaphors such as these constitute at least half of the metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds in both Ben Jonson's and William Shakespeare's plays,<sup>216</sup> it is noteworthy that the only four metaphorical compounds of this type found in Christopher Marlowe's plays, *hogs cheek* (JM 2.3.42), *Tinkers pans* (JM 4.1.3), *Ravens wing* (JM 4.2.33), and *pins heads* (EII 5.48), clearly deviate from this tendency, being exclusively used as direct

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<sup>215</sup> For a discussion of the meaning and semantic type of these lexemes, which shall not be reiterated here in order to avoid redundancy, see ch. 7.4.2.5.

<sup>216</sup> Eight out of the overall number of 13 and four out of eight metaphorical tokens of the type in Jonson's and Shakespeare's plays respectively display indirect metaphor.

metaphors. Contrary to his contemporaries' works, Marlowe's plays do not feature any indirect metaphors within the group of noun + -s + noun compounds. Moreover, with regard to the superordinate categories of contextual vs. morphological metaphoricity, the prevalence of contextual metaphors within this morphologic type is even more pronounced than has been observed with respect to the noun + noun compounds, as among the noun + -s + noun compounds 88% (i.e. 22 out of 25) of the metaphorical lexemes show contextual metaphor. Again, it is Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, that is notable in this category, being the only play from the corpus without any metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds. As far as morphological metaphoricity is concerned, however, the structural similarity of the relevant compounds is striking, since metaphor in word-formation is manifest exclusively in the second constituents of the noun + -s + noun compounds from the corpus, in this form affecting the four instances of *cocks-combe* (A 1.1.115, EM 1.1.54 and, spelled 'Coxcombe', O 5.2.3137 and TS 2.1.1031), the compounds *bolts-head* (A 2.2.9), *pins heads* (EII 5.48) and *needles eie* (RII 5.5.2546), as well as the abovementioned tokens *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44) and *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100).

While the three items *bolts-head* (A 2.2.9), *pins heads* (EII 5.48) and *needles eie* (RII 5.5.2546) in their basic senses each make use of human body parts as second elements, employed to stand for specific parts of the respective instruments referred to by the first constituents of the compounds, and, thus, display very similar forms of morphological metaphor, the first of the three tokens, *bolts-head* (A 2.2.9) further represents an indirect metaphor in its contextual use. As the token is used in reference to a particular kind of flask, when, in the midst of their efforts to find the *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), Sir Epicure Mammon in *The Alchemist* asks Face, whether the *bolts-head* (A 2.2.9) had already changed its colour, the compound is used in an image metaphor, which, documented as being used for the first time in Jonson's play, survives as such until the nineteenth century. (cp. "bolt-head | bolt's-head, n.2." *OED online*. 22 December 2016) Similarly, also three of the four instances of *cocks-combe* (e.g., A 1.1.115) in the corpus, show contextual indirect metaphor in addition to the metaphoricity of their second element, which in its basic sense denotes "[a] strip of wood, bone, horn, metal, etc., with indentations forming a series of teeth, [...] used for disentangling, cleaning, and arranging the hair" (s.v. "comb, n." *OED online*. 22 December 2016) and has entered the compound as another image metaphor signifying the fowl's crest, which resembles the instrument due to its indented form. (cp. "comb, n.4." *OED online*. 22 December 2016) In the context of the tragedy *Othello*, however, Shakespeare uses the compound *Coxcombe* (O 5.2.3137) as a derogative name for Othello exclaimed by Emillia after his tragic deed, O

*murderous Coxcombe!* (O 5.2.3137) and, thereby, employs it as an indirect contextual metaphor. In Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, the compound *cocks-combe* (EM 1.1.54) is used in a very similar vein, serving as an insult addressed to Mr. Stephen: *You are a prodigall absurd cocks-combe* (EM 1.1.54). Another metaphorical meaning of the word, which has not been mentioned so far, however, is picked up in Jonson's *The Alchemist*, when Dol Common, exasperated by her futile attempts to accommodate a quarrel between Subtle and Face, asks the latter: *You'll bring your head within a cocks-combe, will you?* (A 1.1.115) In this context, the compound metaphorically signifies a particular kind of "cap[,] worn by a professional fool" (s.v. "cock's-comb | cockscomb, n.2." *OED online*. 22 December 2016) and resembling an actual cock's comb "in shape and colour" (s.v. "cock's-comb | cockscomb, n.2." *OED online*. 22 December 2016). Hence, this metaphorical meaning of the compound is again based on visual resemblances and is documented as institutionalized and in use from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. (cp. "cock's-comb | cockscomb, n.2." *OED online*. 22 December 2016). Eventually, the only instance of the compound potentially being used in its non-figurative basic meaning, denoting a cock's crest, is found in the well-known dialogue between Kate and Petruchio in the second act of *The Taming of the Shrew*, when Katherine strikes Petruchio and initiates a witty crossfire of puns:

PETRUCHIO  
 I swear Ile cuffe you, if you strike againe.  
 KATHERINE  
 So may you loose your armes,  
 If you strike me, you are no Gentleman,  
     And if no Gentleman, why then no armes.  
 PETRUCHIO  
     A Herald Kate? Oh put me in thy books.  
 KATHERINE  
     What is your Crest, a Coxcombe?  
(TS 2.1.1026ff)

Taking up the topic of heraldry, Katherine mocks her suitor by insinuating that his heraldic crest, i.e. "a figure or device (originally borne by a knight on his helmet) placed on a wreath, coronet, or chapeau, and borne above the shield and helmet in a coat of arms" (s.v. "crest, n.3." *OED online*. 22 December 2016) was likely to be a very unprestigious *Coxcombe* (TS 2.1.1031). Although it is possible, that the compound in this context is used in reference to an artificial replication of the animal's crest (then constituting metonymy), or, alternatively, to the fool's cap that Dol Common mentions in *The Alchemist*, it appears most likely that Kate, in her intention to ridicule Petruchio, refers to the actual body part of the animal, which she imagines



being placed on Petruccio's chapeau and, thus, uses the compound in its non-metaphoric meaning.<sup>217</sup>

### 7.4.3. Adjective + Noun

#### 7.4.3.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic type adjective + noun consist of a (in most cases) primary adjective and a primary noun. The type has its origin in syntactic phrases of the same make-up, is already existent in Germanic (cp. Carr 1939:162; Meid & Krahe 2011:27) and lives on throughout the history of English. (cp. Koziol 1972:62f; Marchand 1969:63f; Sauer 1992:166) As a consequence of its origin as univerbations of syntactic phrases, the type is not morphologically isolated from syntactic groups and, hence, several borderline cases and ambiguous classifications exist. Commonly, stress pattern is used as the main criterion for the classification of adjective + noun combinations as compounds. In ch. 4.4.2, however, I have shown both the applicability and the reliability of stress as an absolute criterion to be doubtful. As it is the case that formations belonging to this morphologic type are prone to semantic lexicalization (of varying degrees), (cp. Adams 2001:81, Hansen 1990:55) the semantic unity of the constructions can be used as further indication of their compound status, although, again, ch. 4.4.6 has shown that the value of this criterion is restricted as well. Thus, although compounds such as *commonwealth* (RII 2.3.1230), when used with metonymic reference to "[t]he whole body of people constituting a nation or state, the body politic" (s.v. "commonwealth, n." *OED online*. 9 January 2017), can be classified as compounds on the basis of their semantic unity<sup>218</sup> and lexicalization rather unambiguously, it is not entirely clear whether, for example, the construction *long-sword* (EM 5.3.34), which can be interpreted to either denote a particular type of sword (characterized by more specific features than merely its length) or simply a 'sword that is of considerable length', displays the necessary degree of semantic unity to be unambiguously classified as a compound.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Instead, the simplex lexeme *crest* as it is employed in the dialogue is used with a metaphorical meaning, establishing a mapping between the domains of ANIMALS AND THEIR BODY PARTS and that of HERALDRY.

<sup>218</sup> Further examples for lexicalized adjective + noun compounds among the material are the constructions featuring *holy* as their first constituent, e.g. plant name *Holly-Hoke* (JM 4.4.44), as well as the compound *holy-day* (A 5.3.9), which synchronically has largely lost its religious connotation.

<sup>219</sup> In conformity with the general approach to compoundhood taken in this book, borderline cases such as these have mainly been included in the analysis.

Apart from these general classificatory difficulties of this morphologic type, that are mainly rooted in its lack of morphological isolation, further ambiguities concern the morphological nature of the first constituents of some of the tokens. In general, I have allowed for the class of adjective + noun compounds to include several tokens whose morphological shape does not completely correspond to the default pattern featuring a primary adjective and a noun. Obviously being too rare in number to be considered an independent morphologic type, constructions such as *ioyn 'd stoole* (TS 2.1.1005), which exhibit forestress (cp. "joint-stool, n." *OED online*. 9 January 2017) and can potentially be assigned compound status,<sup>220</sup> have been included in this group,<sup>221</sup> although their first elements are, strictly speaking, past participles (or, at least, derived adjectives going back to the respective participle).<sup>222</sup> Furthermore, I have assigned the compound *cunning-man* (A 1.2.8), which occurs in Jonson's *Alchemist* as well as in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, to this class, although diachronically the morphology of the first element suggests a classification of the compound under the morphologic type verb + *-ing* + noun with the first constituent originating in the present participle of the verb *can*. (cp. "cunning, adj." *OED online*. 9 January 2017) However, since the formation of present participles for modal auxiliary verbs is no longer productive in EModE, (cp. Barber 1997:178) the lexeme is better classified as an adjective, hence warranting an inclusion of the compound in this morphologic type. Moreover, as shown in ch. 4.3.3 with regard to diachronic transitions of adjectives such as *full* which gradually gain suffix-status in specific combinations, the boundary between adjectives and prefixes is similarly nebulous at times. Hence, although still existent as an independent adjective when used with distinct lexical meanings equivalent to 'chief, main' or 'of high importance or value', (cp. "grand, adj., n., and adv." *OED online*. 11 January 2017) *grand-* in genealogical combinations, such as *grandfather* (TS 3.1.1267) or *grandsire* (TS 4.6.2230) has forfeited its lexical meaning and must therefore, in accordance with Marchand (1969:64), be excluded from this analysis as a prefix.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> The second example from the corpus is *bleard-eyes* (A 2.2.24), which has been included into the analysis as a borderline case since, other than for *ioyn 'd stoole* (TS 2.1.1005), the stress pattern of this construction is not clearly determinable. The OED only lists the extended Bahuvrihi-adjective *blear-eyed* (cp. "blear-eyed, adj." *OED online*. 12 January 2017), the noun compound in the corpus, however, is not used metonymically.

<sup>221</sup> None of the major works on word-formation (e.g. Adams 2001; Bauer 1983; Jespersen 1942; Koziol 1972; Marchand 1969) lists any compound type exclusively comprising formations of this type.

<sup>222</sup> Marchand (1969), with reference to Carr (1939), who points out that the clear majority of the OE past participle + noun combinations are bahuvrihi adjectives, remarks that "the type *freedman* did exist in OE, but only in poetry it seems" (64).

<sup>223</sup> Although the OED suggests the same prefixal character for *half-* and the borrowed equivalent *demi-*, the fact that the semantic content of both adjectives when used as such, 'half, half-sized, diminutive', (s.v. "demi, adj. (and adv.) and n." *OED online*. 11 January 2017) is exactly the same as that realized when entering compounds as first constituents (cp. . "demi-, prefix." *OED online*. 11 January 2017), the respective formations have been accepted as compounds, although arguably being borderline cases.

Eventually, it has been noted that in some combinations of this group, the word class of the first constituents is ambiguous and the respective lexemes could potentially also be identified as nouns (cp. Sauer 1992:107ff, 1985:278f). With regard to the corpus, this concerns lexemes featuring *mid* as their first element, e.g., *mid-way* (EM 2.4.16) or *midnight* (O 4.1.2334), as well as the compounds *bondslaue* (RII 2.1.729) and *bondmaide* (TS 2.1.810), and, lastly, combinations with cardinal directions such as *east-side* (A 1.3.64) and *north-part* (A 1.3.66).<sup>224</sup>  
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Considering the fact that since Old English the number of occurrences of the lexeme *mid* in adjectival use very clearly outweighs its usages as a noun (cp. "mid, adj., n.1, and adv.2." *OED online*. 11 January 2017), the indications for a classification of the first group of these borderline cases as adjective + noun compounds overweigh and, correspondingly, combinations with *mid-* are treated as adjective + noun compounds in most major dictionaries and grammars. (cp. "midnight, n. and adj." *OED online*. 11 January 2017; "mid, adj. & pref." *Middle English Dictionary Online*. 11 January 2017<sup>226</sup>; Jespersen 1942:146, Koziol 1972:76)<sup>227</sup>

The case is more complex with regard to the second group, *bondslaue* (RII 2.1.729) and *bondmaide* (TS 2.1.810), however, since, as pointed out in ch. 7.4.1, *bond-* is originally a noun and has been classified as such in the compound *bondman* (JM 5.1.40). As explained above (ch. 7.4.1.5), however, *bondman* (JM 5.1.40) is an Early Middle English formation, which occurs earlier than the first independent use of *bond-* as an adjective ('not free, in bondage to', s.v. "bond, n.2 and adj." *OED online*. 11 January 2017), whereas the tokens *bondslaue* (RII 2.1.729) and *bondmaide* (TS 2.1.810) are both coined in the sixteenth century. (cp. "bondmaid | bondmaiden, n." and "bondslave, n." *OED online*. 11 January 2017) This chronological distance between the different formations makes it possible that the latter pair feature the now converted

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<sup>224</sup> The classification of lexemes denoting materials such as *gold-*, *silver-* is controversial as well and has been discussed in detail in chs. 4.4.2, 4.4.3.1 and 7.4.1.1.

<sup>225</sup> The compounds *bawdy-house* (A 2.3.225) and *plaguy-houses* (A 1.4.19) can be argued to show a similar ambiguity which is, however, mainly based on their particular semantic structure, which will be discussed in the course of ch. 7.4.3.5. Although a classification as noun + noun compounds with a converted first element is thinkable (cp. Sauer 1992:432; Marchand 1969:65), they have been classified as adjective + noun compounds from a morphological standpoint in the present study, since their first elements are morphologically marked as denominal adjectives, derived from *bawd* and *plague*, respectively (cp. "plaguey, adj. and adv." and "bawdy, adj.2." *OED online*. 16 January 2017.), and as, other than in the case of *poor* or *green* in *poorhouse* or *greenhouse*, the converted nominal forms of *bawdy* and *plaguey* are not institutionalized. (for a more detailed discussion of different forms of nominalized adjectives see Hansen (1990:125).

<sup>226</sup> Henceforth abbreviated *MED online*.

<sup>227</sup> Semantically, however, compounds such as *mid-way* (EM 2.4.16) or *mid-night* (EM 3.3.137) are best classified as BELONGING TO, 'Part – Whole', which shows that in their semantic structure they are closer to noun + noun compounds than to prototypical adjective + noun compounds and thereby serves as another example for morphological and semantic analysis not always corresponding. (cp. further ch. 7.4.3.5)

adjective as their first constituent. In fact, as the tendency of the simplex lexeme's diachronic development is for the substantival use of *bond* to gradually blend with the adjectival one from the sixteenth century onwards and since, after the early seventeenth century, the latter use of the word seems to be the only one to survive into the nineteenth century (cp. "bond, B. adj." *OED online*. 11 January 2017), a classification of *bondslaue* (RII 2.1.729) and *bondmaide* (TS 2.1.810) as adjective + noun compounds appears more appropriate. (cp. also the respective classifications in the OED, as well as the entry "bond, 2" in the ODEE)

Eventually, it is the word class of the cardinal directions as occurring in *east-side* (A 1.3.64) and *north-part* (A 1.3.66), which is hardest to determine, as it exhibits the most complex history. First occurring in Early Old English, the cardinal directions are originally adverbs, for which soon an adjectival use, "recoded earliest (in Old English) in compounds of the uninflected (originally adverb) stem" (s.v. "east, adv., adj. and n.1." *OED online*. 11 January 2017) develops. The use of the respective lexemes as adjectives with various meaning nuances becomes institutionalized quickly and is still common in PDE. Since the Middle English period, however, an additional use of the respective words as nouns is possible (cp. "east, adv., adj. and n.1. C1." *OED online*. 11 January 2017), the diachronic development hence theoretically allowing for three possibilities with respect to the word class of the first constituent in the EModE compounds under discussion. The fact that combinations of adverb + primary noun are not usually found as a type of compound in English (cp. Bauer 1983:206, Sauer 1992:106),<sup>228</sup> however, rules out this possibility and leaves either adjective or noun as potential word classes for the cardinal directions in these compounds. Considering the semantics of both the constructions *east-side* (A 1.3.64) and *north-part* (A 1.3.66), it becomes evident that the meaning of their respective first element as realized in the compounds, corresponding in meaning to the derived adjectives *eastern* and *northern*, strongly indicates an adjectival interpretation. Thus, grouping the compounds in the morphologic type adjective + noun, as it is also being done by the OED (cp. "east side, n." *OED online*. 11 January 2017) as well as Sauer (1992:106f) appears most convincing.

The morphologic type of adjective + noun compounds is, with 118 tokens classifiable as belonging in this group, the second largest type among the EModE material. It is self-evident that numerical data such as this, is to be understood as an approximation much rather than an

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<sup>228</sup> An exception are certain adverbs of time and place, which can occur as parts of phrasal verbs and are in some grammars termed 'adverbial particles' (cp., e.g., Biber et al. 2011) Compounds containing these kinds of adverbs as well as constructions with prepositions as their first constituent are subsumed under the morphologic type particle + noun.

exact counting, since the classificatory difficulties and the fuzzy boundary of the compound type to syntactic groups of the same shape, make an exact account of how many compounds of this type exist among the material impossible. The numbers doubtlessly being highly dependent on the criteria for compoundhood that are applied, as well as on their respective valuation, it is still the case that these findings correspond to what has been noted by Koziol (1972:51), who mentions the type as belonging to the most frequent ones in English, surpassed only by noun + noun compounds. Indeed, the morphologic type shows productivity in all stages of the history of English. (cp. Koziol 1972:62, Sauer 1992:166) Among all the noun compounds of the three playwrights, adjective + noun compounds make up a percentage of 16% for Shakespeare, 17% for Marlowe and 15% for Jonson, the morphologic type thereby being the second most frequent one in the works by each of the authors.

#### 7.4.3.2. The Adjective + Noun compounds from the Corpus

Due to the large number of tokens, a complete list of the 118 adjective + noun compounds from the corpus including all relevant information can be found in the appendix (app. 3).

#### 7.4.3.3. Morphological Particularities

It is noticeable that among the compounds of this morphologic type, the corpus contains a number of formations that occur in several of the analysed works and can, therefore, be assumed to be highly institutionalized constructions that belong to the core vocabulary of the field of EModE literature. First and foremost, this concerns the compound *Gentleman* (RII 1.1.148, TS 1.2.696, O 1.3.593, EII 4.29, S A. 1, in plural T 1.1.140, A 1.1.2, EM 1.2.1, JM 3.1.7), which is found, either in the singular or the plural form, in all of the nine plays. Correspondingly, its female equivalent, *Gentlewoman* (O 3.1.1411, JM 4.2.50, TS II.83, in plural A 5.1.3), can be found in at least four of the works, therewith exhibiting the same frequency in the material as the lexeme *noble man* (EII 4.277, A 4.5.82, in plural T 1.1.22, EM 1.5.124), which stems from the same lexical field of social condition.<sup>229</sup> Moreover, the compound *mad man* (TS 5.1.2311, in plural RII 5.5.2591, A 1.1.5, S 4.315) appears four times in the material and, although not

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<sup>229</sup> Marchand (1969:64) notes that in general the majority of the adjective + noun compounds that refer to humans designate social rank or condition.

signifying a social condition in the stricter sense, also belongs to the generally strongly represented class of terms that signify people or groups of people. Further members of this class are the compounds *Frenchman* (EII 2.7, JM 4.4.35) and *English man* (O 2.3.1080, RII 1.1.66), each occurring twice among the material, as well as the lexeme *Welchman* (RII 2.4.1240). These items represent what Marchand (1969) calls the "ethnic type" (1969:63) of adjective + noun compounds, with the latter two compounds, *English man* (O 2.3.1080) and *Welchman* (RII 2.4.1240), already existing since Old English. (cp. Marchand 1969:63 and "Englishman, n."; "Welshman, n.", *OED online*. 12 January 2017) Lastly, the compound *commonwealth* (RII 2.3.1230, EII 20.63, S 3.29, EM 3.4.33, A 5.5.76) occurs five times in the corpus, in various orthographic forms, and, thus, also belongs to the highly frequent adjective + noun compounds, which are firmly established in EModE literature, and, presumably, also in EmodE society and thinking.

Besides these highly institutionalized compounds, the morphologic type adjective + noun further comprises a special group of constructions with particular kinds of nonpredicating adjectives as their first constituents. The adjectival first elements of compounds such as, e.g., *Bridall chamber* (TS 4.1.1724) are neither gradable nor modifiable by intensifiers such as, e.g., *very* and *have*, hence, been noted to be comparable to nouns in their semantic and morphological character (cp. Bolinger 1967:31 and, in more detail, Levi 1978:ch.2). Consequently, compounds featuring these particular kinds of adjectives, which have been termed "nominal nonpredicating adjectives" (Levi 1978:17) or alternatively "[n]on-gradable denominal adjectives" (Adams 2001:81), are semantically closer to noun + noun compounds than to prototypical adjective + noun compounds (see further below). Morphologically, however, they are clearly marked as denominal adjectives by derivational endings, being derived either from foreign bases (as exemplified in *nuptiall bed* (EII 18.31)) or from native ones, as in the abovementioned case of *Bridall chamber* (TS 4.1.1724), as well as in the compounds *bridale night* (EM 5.5.68) and *bridall dinner* (TS 3.3.1525). The former group, featuring nominal adjectives with foreign bases, is represented in the corpus by the tokens *ciuill warre* (S 2.370), which occurs four times among the material, *capitall offence* (S 4. 137) and *Capitall treason* (RII 4.1.1974), *marshall lawe* (EII 21.89), with *marshall* most likely going back to *martial*, and the aforementioned *nuptiall bed* (EII 18.31).

Opacity is rare among the compounds in the corpus and lexicalization of the lexemes appears to be limited to the semantic level in most cases. Hence, the only compound displaying

morphological lexicalization is *Bony-bell* (A 4.2.5)<sup>230</sup>, a formation of the sixteenth century, more frequently appearing as *bonnibel*, this spelling obscuring the compound nature of the word almost completely. (cp. "bonnibel, n." *OED online*. 13 January 2017) Used as an appellation for an attractive woman, the exact etymology of the compound is undetermined, as is the origin of the adjective *bonny*, which potentially represents the first constituent of the compound, if interpreting it as a combination of *bonny* and a converted deadjectival noun of French origin, *belle*, which is recorded as having been in use to denote a "handsome woman" (s.v. "belle, adj. and n." *OED online*. 13 January 2017) since the seventeenth century. The chronology of the occurrences of the compound and the nominalized use of *belle*, with the former preceding the latter, however, may indicate a different etymology of the compound and makes the OED's alternative suggestion, assuming a potential origin of the compound lexeme in a univerbation of the French phrase *bonne et belle*, possibly seem more plausible. Since the chronological discrepancies of the recorded uses can hardly be viewed as sufficient evidence and as the compound is recorded neither in the MED nor the ODEE, and does also not appear in Koziol (1972) or Sauer (1992), however, its classification as an adjective + noun compound is based on the OED's primary etymological indication.

As an expectable consequence of the abovementioned demarcation problems of this morphologic type from parallel syntactic groups, several borderline cases occur among the material. These include compounds that show only weak semantic lexicalization, such as, for example, the various instances of *mad man* (TS 5.1.2311), the two occurrences of *Wildcats* (O 2.1.795 and TS 1.2.721),<sup>231</sup> as well as tokens such as *wise men* (JM 4.1.125 and RII 3.2.1477) or *good-man* (TS I2.239). While the ironic use of *wise men* (JM 4.1.125) in *The Jew of Malta*, unmistakably identifying the referents as fools, rather than men that possess any kind of wisdom, as well as the mild lexicalization of *good-man* (TS I2.239), which in the context of the comedy, signifies a husband, hence adding the 'married state' as an additional semantic feature to the denotation of the compound, may serve as a basis to argue for their compound status,<sup>232</sup> compoundhood is most disputable in the case of *wisemen* (RII 3.2.1477) as it is used in *Richard II*. When the Bishop of Carleil, attempting to offer Richard advise, uses the construction in the

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<sup>230</sup> From a PDE perspective the plant name *Holly-Hoke* (JM 4.4.44) displays opacity as well, since the second constituent *hock* as a "general name for various malvaceous plants" (s.v. "†hock, n.1." *OED online*. 13 January 2017) has disappeared after the seventeenth century. For the EModE period, however, the compound can still be assumed to be largely transparent.

<sup>231</sup> Since both compounds have been discussed repeatedly in ch. 4, a further discussion of these examples in this chapter would be redundant and is therefore avoided.

<sup>232</sup> The fact that semantic unity or lexicalization as such have been noted to be no absolute criteria for compoundhood (cp. 4.4.6), remains, of course, uncontested, the constructions in questions, therefore, being explicitly classified as borderline cases.

sentence *My lord, wisemen nere waile theyr present woes, / but presently preuent the ways to waile* (RII 3.2.1477f), the meaning of the construction in this context displays almost complete compositionality and has, therefore, certainly to be counted as an extreme borderline case, even if being recorded as a compound in the OED with both the compositional and the ironic meaning. (cp. "wise man, n." *OED online*. 13 January 2017)

#### 7.4.3.4. Innovation among the Adjective + Noun compounds

As for the previous types, the following chart displays the distribution of the adjective + noun compounds from the corpus, according to their status as either registered new formations (RNF), antedatings (AD), hapax legomena (HL), non-registered formations (NR) and earlier formations.

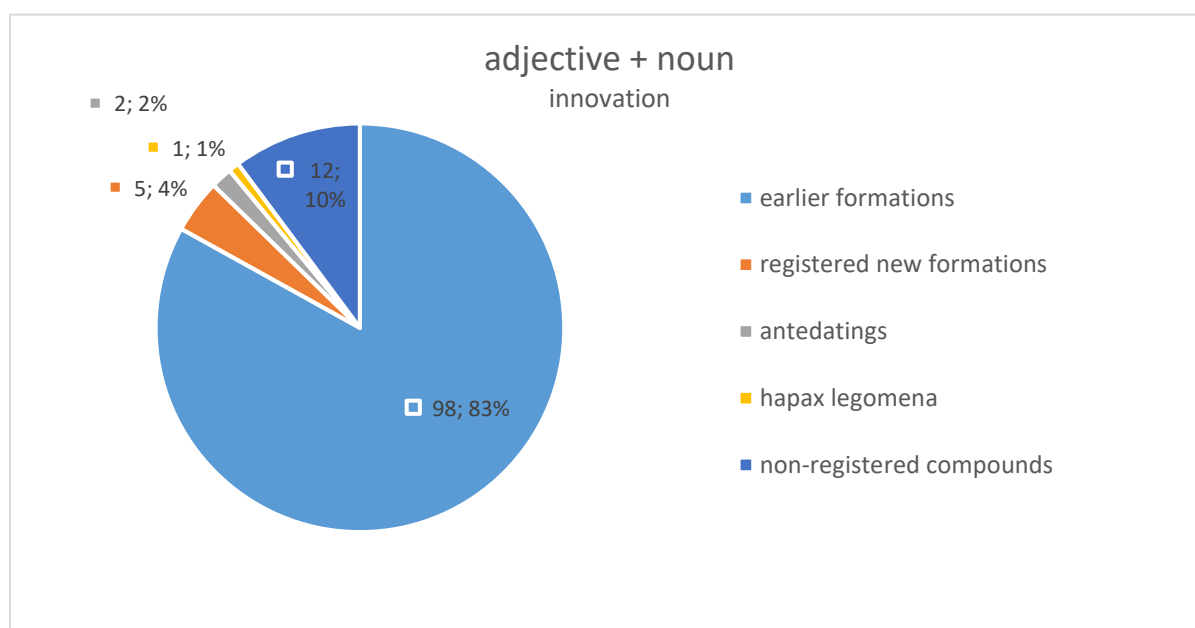


Figure 10: Innovation among the adjective + noun compounds

It is noteworthy that the number of compounds, which are older formations and have been recorded before their occurrence in the respective plays, is particularly high for the present morphologic type. This observation is somewhat counterintuitive, when considering the demarcation difficulties of the type, addressed above, which would usually rather indicate a high number of constructions not recorded as compounds in the dictionary, as has, for example, been the case with the noun + -s + noun compounds from the corpus. (cp. ch. 7.4.2.4) The very



high productivity of adjective + noun compounds, however, which is characteristic for the type since Old English at the latest (cp. 7.4.3.1), as well as the fact that a high portion of the compounds of this type belong to lexical fields that are either firmly established in literature (cp. 7.4.3.3) or are part of everyday vocabulary (such as, e.g., *black-birds* (A 3.3.46), *greyhound* (EM 1.2.126), *mid-night* (EM 3.3.137) *Sweet heart* (EM 2.3.35), *petticoate* (TS 2.1.813) or *meane time* (EII 1.202)), may explain these results.

#### 7.4.3.5. Semantic Description

The majority of adjective + noun compounds in English are of attributive nature and incorporate a relation between their constituents which is resolvable in a paraphrase containing the copular *be*, as in ‘the men are mad’ for the compound *mad-men* (A 1.1.5), (cp. Jespersen 1942:157f; Sauer 1992:423) and, hence, corresponds to the sentence type Subject – copula – Subject Complement.<sup>233</sup> A specification of the relation between Subject Complement and Subject on purely semantic grounds, which goes beyond the general labels of ‘Distinctive Quality’ and ‘Characterized Entity’, is in most of these cases unrewarding and impossible to generalize, so that the syntactic classification of the respective compounds appears as the most practicable solution. Nevertheless, where possible, I have assigned certain groups of compounds with similar semantic structures to specific semantic classes, such as, e.g. DEGREE or LOCATION, although they simultaneously exhibit the same syntactic structure in most cases. Expectably after what I have stated above, the most frequent semantic class / type among the 118 adjective + noun compounds from the corpus is QUALITY, ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’, with an overall number of 76 tokens. The numerical distribution of the compounds in terms of semantic types by author is illustrated in the following table.

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<sup>233</sup> The terminology used here is that established in Quirk et al. (2012).

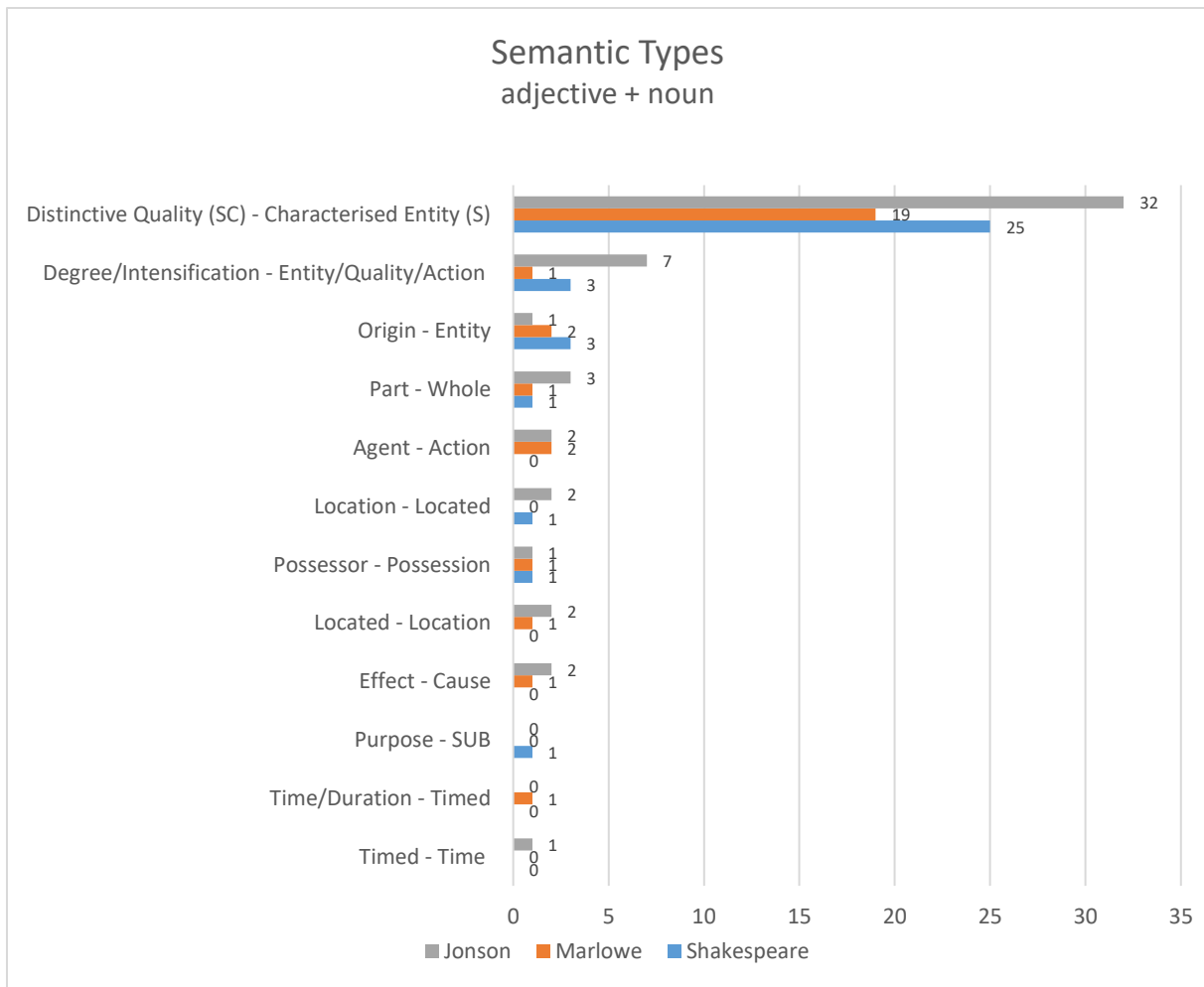


Figure 11: Semantic types of the adjective + noun compounds

In addition to the majority of adjective + noun compounds only sensibly classifiable as incorporating the relation of ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’, as pointed out above, the semantic class of DEGREE as represented in his works by *parcell-broker* (A 4.6.33), *whole-bawd* (A 4.6.33), *halfe-circle* (A 3.4.34), *halfe-crowne* (A 3.5.43), *halfe brother* (EM 1.5.85), *halfe-peny* (EM 2.1.80), and *halfe-dozen* (EM 3.5.13), is relatively frequent, especially among Jonson’s compounds. Furthermore, for all tokens that indicate a person’s (or, in the case of *french beans* (A 1.3.29), a product’s) country or region of provenance, which have been subsumed under the label "ethnic type" (1969:63) by Marchand (1969), and are exemplified by *English man* (O 2.3.1080), or *French-man* (JM 4.4.35), I have perceived a classification as belonging to the purely semantic type ‘Origin – Entity’ to be more appropriate than a subsumption under the semantically less specific type ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’.

Two groups of adjective + noun compounds, however, both of which have been mentioned in ch. 7.4.3.1 and 7.4.3.3 as morphologically particular, clearly deviate from the

default attributive pattern with regard to their semantic structure. As it is not the *house* but the people (or, in the second case, potentially the actions) within it, that are identified as *plaguey* or *bawdy* in a compound such as *plaguey-houses* (A 1.4.19) or *bawdy-house* (A 2.3.225), these lexemes correspond to a subtype of adjective + noun compounds, which appears to be younger than the type usually exemplified by *black-birds* (A 3.3.46). (cp. Sauer 1992:423; Marchand 1969:65) These particular constructions, which are analogous to PDE examples such as *greenhouse*, *poorhouse*, or *madhouse*, can either be regarded as noun + noun compounds with converted first elements, or, as in the present study, as adjective + noun compounds on morphological grounds (cp. ch. 7.4.3.1), in which the first element represents a noun phrase such as *plaguey [people]*, *bawdy [actions]*. (cp. Sauer 1992:423, footnote 55) As a result, the semantic structure of these compounds, as indicated by the paraphrases ‘*plaguey [people] are living in the house*’ and ‘*bawdy [actions] take place in the house*’, is more typical of noun + noun compounds than of classical adjective + noun compounds and, in these cases, is identifiable as ‘Located – Location’. Similarly, the lexemes featuring *mid-* as their first element, whose morphology I have shown to be ambiguous as well (cp. 7.4.3.1) are best classified semantically as belonging to the type ‘Part – Whole’, since the correct paraphrase for compounds such as *mid-way* (EM 2.4.16) or *mid-night* (S 5.296) is not ‘\*the night / way is mid’. Instead, these compounds exhibit a left-hand head structure and correspond to *of*-phrases such as ‘the mid [part] of the night / way’, as compounds of this semantic type commonly do. (see the discussion of *Headborough* (TS II.10) and *rasher-bacon* (EM 1.4.28) in ch. 7.4.1.3)

The second group of adjective + noun compounds which displays semantic particularities are combinations with nonpredicating nominal adjectives as their first constituents. As has already been pointed out in ch. 7.4.3.3, constructions such as *Bridall chamber* (TS 4.1.1724) present morphological borderline cases, as their first constituents, although morphologically marked as adjectives, behave noun-like in several respects. On the semantic level, their semantic structure likewise frequently deviates from the default pattern for attributive adjective + noun compounds and, in most cases, proves closer to constructions featuring two substantives. Hence, the instances of the compound *civil war* (A 1.1.83), which is directly connected semantically to Latin *bellum civile* ‘war occurring between citizens’ (cp. "civil, adj., n., and adv." *OED online*. 18 January 2017), are classified as instances of the semantic type ‘Agent – Action’ and are thus parallel in their semantics to noun + noun compounds such as *horse-race* (A 1.1.75) or *Lyon radge* (RII 2.1.788). In the cases of *civill townes* (EII 11.214) and *ciuill cause* (S 3.451), however, the nominal adjective has the more general meaning "[o]f or relating to citizens or people who live together in a community;

relating or belonging to members of a body politic" (s.v. "civil, adj., n., and adv. A.I.3.a." *OED online*. 18 January 2017), which prompts a classification of the respective compounds as belonging to the semantic type 'Possessor – Possession', as exemplified by the noun + noun compounds *witchcraft* (O 1.3.350) or the noun + -s + noun compound *philosophers stone* (A 1.1.102), and analogous to the nominal adjective + noun construction *Bridall chamber* (TS 4.1.1724). Similarly, the only instance of the semantic type 'Purpose – Entity' contained in this morphologic type is represented by the construction *bridall dinner* (TS 3.3.1525), which is paraphrasable as 'dinner set up for celebrating a wedding'. The compound *nuptiall bed* (EII 18.31), however, although its first constituent being semantically very similar to *bridal*, is better classified as embodying a locative relation as expressed in the paraphrase 'a bed where the marriage is (or has been) consummated'. In the compounds *bridale night* (EM 5.5.68) and *marshall lawe* (EII 21.89), in turn, the respective temporal relation between the constituents appears to be most prominent, leaving only the two formations *capitall offence* (S 4. 137) and *Capitall treason* (RII 4.1.1974), which prove particularly difficult in their semantic classification, as variant interpretations are possible. Depending on whether the nominal adjective *capital* in these formations is understood as capturing its etymological relation to Latin *caput* 'head' more concretely, then metonymically realizing the sense 'involving or causing the loss of one's life' (cp. "capital, adj. and n.2." *OED online*. 18 January 2017), or as exhibiting a metaphorical extension of the original sense, more generally indicating 'high significance and importance', a different semantic classification is called for. Considering the nature of the second elements of both compounds, however, which both belong to the lexical field 'crime', as well as the fact that punishment by death is still the method of choice for many offences, most certainly, however, for severe cases of treason, in EModE times, the former interpretation appears more appropriate, eventually rendering both compounds classifiable as belonging to the semantic class / type PRODUCT, 'Effect – Cause'.

Among the adjective + noun compounds from the corpus, we find three instances of classical bahuvrihi nouns, of which two are derogative in meaning, although of varying severeness: When Tranio in *The Taming of the Shrew* addresses Gremio as *Gray-beard* (TS 2.1.1142), he viciously alludes to the latter's advanced age, but is considerably less offensive, at least from a modern perspective, than Roderigo, who, in the opening scene of the tragedy, refers to Othello as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66). The third instance of Bahuvrihi, which occurs three times in the material, however, is of a kinder nature: The compound *Sweet heart* (EM 2.3.35 and, in variant spellings, JM 4.4.43 and EII 13.27), used as a term of endearment in all three plays, is paralleled by extended bahuvrihi adjectives such as *tender-hearted* (RII 3.3.1676) and

can be paraphrased as ‘person having a sweet heart’, with *sweet* metaphorically capturing notions such as ‘mild’ or ‘kind’. (cp. further below) Existing since the thirteenth century, this compound continues to be used as a term of endearment in PDE. (cp. "sweetheart, n." *OED online*. 18 January 2017)

Besides these bahuvrihi nouns, the morphologic type of adjective + noun compounds comprises two further instances of metonymic reference. Firstly, unlike the use of the lexeme in *The Alchemist*, where *common-wealth* (A 5.5.76) is applied in its original non-metonymic sense "public welfare; general good or advantage", which is obsolete today (s.v. "commonwealth, n.1." *OED online*. 18 January 2017),<sup>234</sup> the remaining four occurrences (including one instance of *commonweale* (EII 20.63), which is semantically equivalent) of the compound exhibit metonymy: In its more modern reference to a "body of people constituting a nation or state" (s.v. "commonwealth, n.2." *OED online*. 18 January 2017), the compound, as used in these contexts, designates the people who are supposed to be the legitimate profiteers (and, later also largely the generators) of the ‘public welfare’, originally denoted by the lexeme. The two senses of the compound can, therefore, be interpreted as standing in the metonymic relation of possessor and possession. Secondly, the compound *wildefire* (T 5.1.312) is another case in point, which, in its contextual use in the sentence *give me the sworde with a ball of wildefire upon it* (T 5.1.311f), displays metonymic reference, since it is not a "furious or destructive fire" (s.v. "wild-fire | wildfire, n.1." *OED online*. 18 January 2017) that is being referred to, but rather a "composition of highly inflammable substances, readily ignited and very difficult to extinguish, used in warfare" (s.v. "wild-fire | wildfire, n.3." *OED online*. 18 January 2017). Hence, the compound in this context takes the intended result to stand metonymically for the substance or material that is used to obtain it.

Metonymy is also involved in the compound *Roman-catholike* (EM 3.3.89), which designates a "member or adherent of the Roman Catholic church" (s.v. "Roman Catholic, n. and adj." *OED online*. 19 January 2017) and has been classified as corresponding to the semantic type ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’ on the basis of an analysis that assumes the first element of the compound to be metonymic. Originally, the lexeme *Roman-catholike* (EM 3.3.89), which is institutionalized both as an adjective and as a noun, is used to distinguish catholics loyal to the pope from English protestants, who in the sixteenth century understood themselves as the true catholics. (cp. "Roman Catholic, n. and adj." *OED online*. 19

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<sup>234</sup> In this non-metonymic and only very mildly lexicalized sense, the construction is, of course, closer to a syntactic phrase and therefore presents a morphological borderline case.

January 2017) The first constituent of the compound, *Roman*, therefore, clearly does not indicate the origin of the catholic as such (\*‘the catholic is from Rome’) but refers to the groups’ loyalty ‘to Rome’, i.e. to the Pope in Rome. With the metonymic use of *Rome* in reference to the Pope and its authority being institutionalized since Old English (cp. "Rome, n.2.a." *OED online*. 19 January 2017), the same metonymic usage can be assumed to be realized by the adjective in the compound *Roman-catholike* (EM 3.3.89).

Eventually, the compound *high-Dutch* (A 2.1.83) is the only adjective + noun compound in the material, for which no adequate semantic classification could be found. The compound is the result of a complex history of loan translations and is equivalent in meaning to *High German*, originally a name for the southern forms of the German language and modelled after German *hochdeutsch* in the sixteenth century. (cp. "High Dutch, n. and adj." *OED online*. 19 January 2017) Its first element, *high*, does not directly describe the language’s quality, however, (as in \*‘the Dutch is high’) but points at the region of Southern Germany in which this variety of German was originally spoken. The area is geographically marked by highlands and has been termed *High Germany* after the Middle Low German lexeme *Hochdiutschland*, (cp. "High German, n. and adj." *OED online*. 19 January 2017) in contrast to the northern parts of Germany, which are lower in altitude (hence, the term *Low German*).<sup>235</sup> Although a locative element is therefore certainly entailed in the compound, an assignment to the semantic type ‘Location – Located’ would imply that the first constituent specified the location of the second. In the present case, however, it is not the location of the *language* that is being specified as *high*. Instead, the compound can be viewed as a clipped version of the multipart construction *High Dutch language*, which conforms to the semantic type ‘Location – Located’ only in its full form.

#### 7.4.3.6. Metaphoricity

The 118 adjective + noun compounds from the corpus comprise 23 lexemes which display some kind of metaphor. Although the absolute number of metaphorical compounds of this morphologic type is similar to that of metaphorical noun + -s – noun compounds (25 lexemes; cp. ch. 7.4.2.6), metaphorical adjective + noun compounds only constitute a portion of 19% of

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<sup>235</sup> The etymological history of the German term (*hoch*)*deutsch* and the related form PDE *dutch* is more complex than insinuated here, for further information see, for example, Kluge & Seebold (2011: s.v. *deutsch*),

all compounds of this morphologic type. The percentage of metaphorical tokens among the adjective + noun compounds is therefore considerably lower than that of metaphorical noun + -s – noun compounds among the lexemes of the latter morphologic type. The following table provides an overview of all metaphorical adjective + noun compounds in the corpus.

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>Aspen leaf</i> (T 2.4.4)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>How those wer hit by pelting Cannon shot, Stand staggering like a quivering Aspen leaf</i>	Direct		NR
<i>bawdy-house</i> (A 2.3.225)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Hart, this is a bawdy-house!</i>	Indirect		
<i>black-birds</i> (A 3.3.46)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>till he be tame As the poore black-birds were i' the great frost</i>	Direct		
<i>bondslaue</i> (RII 2.1.729)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Thy state of lawe is bondslave to the lawe</i>	Indirect		
<i>ciuill warre</i> (S 2.370)	Jonson	History	<i>Our citi's now Deuided as in time o'th'ciuill warre</i>	Direct		
<i>civil war</i> (A 1.1.83)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Will you vndoe your selues, with ciuill warre?</i>	Indirect		
<i>demy diuell</i> (O 5.2.3202)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>Will you i Pray, demand that demy diuell, Why he hath thus insnar'd my soule and body?</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>french beans</i> (A 1.3.29)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>But keeps it [tobacco] in fine lilly-pots, that open'd, Smell like conserue of roses, or french beanes.</i>	Direct		
<i>grey-hound</i> (EM 1.2.126)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>for that, Restrain'd, grows more impatient; and, in kind, Like to the eager, but the generous grey-hound</i>	Direct		
<i>high way</i> (RII 1.4.555)	Shakespeare	History			First constituent	
<i>high-waies</i> (A 1.3.24)	Jonson	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>parcell-broker</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Where's your Captaine FACE? That parcell-broker, and whole-bawd, all raskall?</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>quick-sand</i> (EM 3.3.29)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>You must be then kept vp, close and well-watch'd, For, giue you oportunitie, no quick-sand Deuoures, or swallows swifter!</i>	Direct	First constituent	
<i>quick-silver</i> (A 2.3.153)	Jonson	Comedy			Both constituents	
<i>quick silver</i> (EII 21.36)	Marlowe	History			Both constituents	
<i>sweet hart</i> (EII 13.27)	Marlowe	History	<i>Oh my sweet hart, how I mone thy wrongs</i>	Indirect	First constituent	
<i>sweet-hart</i> (JM 4.4.43)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Like thy breath, sweet-hart, no violet like'em</i>	Indirect	First constituent	
<i>Sweet heart</i> (EM 2.3.35)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Sweet heart, will you come in, to breakfast?</i>	Indirect	First constituent	
<i>whole-bawd</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Where's your Captaine FACE? That parcell-broker, and whole-bawd, all raskall?</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>Wildcats</i> (O 2.1.795)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>you are Pictures of our doore, Bells in your Parlors: Wildcats in your kitchins</i>	Indirect		
<i>Wilde-cat</i> (TS 1.2.721)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>But will you woo this Wilde-cat [Kate]?</i>	Indirect		

<i>wild-fowle</i> (A 5.3.79)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>What's your med'cine, To draw so many seuerall sorts of wild-fowle?</i>	Indirect
<i>wise men</i> (JM 4.1.125)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>But are not both these wise men to suppose that I will leave my house</i>	Indirect

Table 9: The metaphorical adjective + noun compounds

An itemization of the metaphorical adjective + noun compounds by author and by play yields the following results:

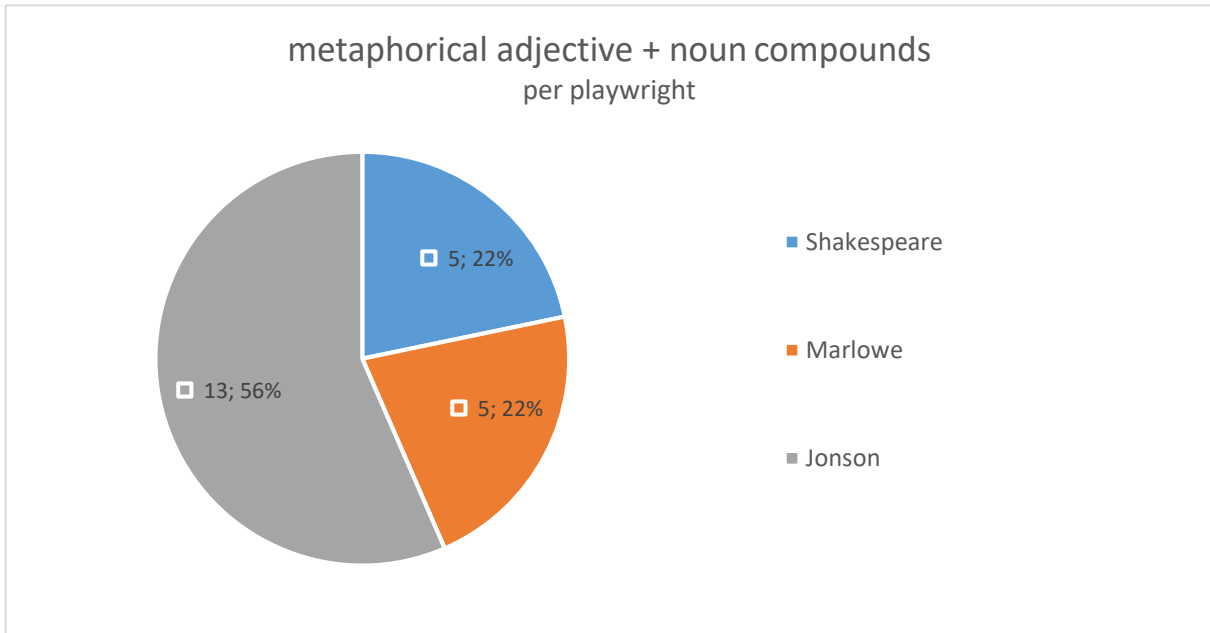


Figure 12: Metaphorical adjective + noun compounds per playwright

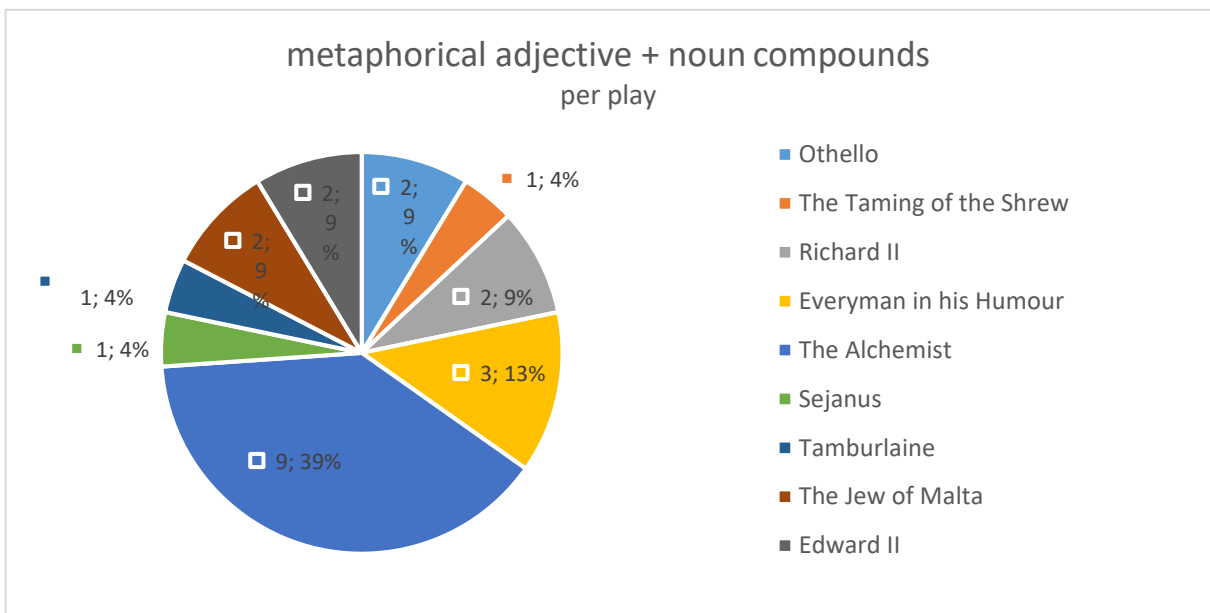


Figure 13: Metaphorical adjective + noun compounds per play



The distribution of metaphorical tokens among the adjective + noun compounds shows some similarity to that of the metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds. Nevertheless, when considering the percental portion of metaphorical compounds in relation to the overall numbers of compounds of this type per author, the results for the present morphologic type differ significantly from the previous one. Not only are the percentages of metaphorical compounds among the adjective + noun compounds of all three authors generally lower, the individual degree of metaphoricity among the three playwrights' compounds of this type also proves different from a comparative perspective. Whereas the analysis of the previous type yielded portions of 42%, 35% and 27% of metaphorical noun + -s + noun compounds among the compounds of this type for Shakespeare, Jonson and Marlowe respectively, it is now Ben Jonson, whose adjective + noun compounds exhibit the highest rate of metaphoricity with 24% of metaphorical tokens among his adjective + noun compounds. With 18% and 14% of metaphorical adjective + noun compounds among the tokens of the respective type contained in Marlowe's and Shakespeare's works, respectively, the latter playwrights' preference for using adjective + noun compounds involving metaphor of some kind, is significantly less pronounced. The proportional distribution of the metaphorical tokens over the nine plays, however, closely conforms to that observed for the previous morphologic type and is connected to the general numbers of adjective + noun compounds, which, with 9 lexemes, is again highest in Jonson's *Alchemist*.

With 19 instances of contextual metaphor, as opposed to only eight occurrences of metaphor in word-formation, metaphoricity in context again predominates among the compounds of this morphologic type. Whereas in this respect Ben Jonson's compounds are distributed almost evenly, with six of his contextually metaphoric compounds displaying indirect metaphor and five items involving direct metaphor, Christopher Marlowe uses more indirect metaphors (3 tokens) than direct ones (1 token) and William Shakespeare's contextual metaphors are exclusively indirect. Among these, we find the abovementioned insult, *demy diuell* (O 5.2.3202), addressed to Iago in the dramatic last scene of *Othello*. Further, Shakespeare makes use of an institutionalized metaphorical meaning of *Wilde-cat* (TS 1.2.721 and, in different spelling, O 2.1.795), applied to "a savage, ill-tempered, or spiteful person, esp. a woman" (s.v. "wild cat, n." *OED online*. 20 January 2017), in two of his analysed plays. Derogative terms such as these, are, however, generally rarer among the adjective + noun compounds than among the types discussed previously, with the only remaining instances of insults being Jonson's new formations *parcell-broker* (A 4.6.33) and *whole-bawd* (A.6.33), and

the ironic use of *wise men* (JM 4.1.125) in *The Jew of Malta*, bestowing the otherwise positive compound a deceptive meaning via sarcasm.

Instead, the endearing term *Sweet heart* (EM 2.3.35 and, in different spelling, JM 4.4.43 and EII 13.27) occurs three times in the corpus and presents an interesting mix of metonymic and metaphoric elements. As I have pointed out in the course of ch. 7.4.3.5, the compound can be interpreted as a bahuvrihi noun, metonymically denoting a ‘person having a sweet heart’. Since the basic sense of *sweet*, however, is clearly connected to the perceptual sense of taste, its meaning in the compound constitutes an extended, figurative use of the lexeme, now metaphorically denoting a sensation that is no longer perceptible by the tongue, but has evolved from denoting something that is “[p]leasing to the sense of taste”, to mean “pleasing (in general)” (s.v. “sweet, adj. and adv.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017).<sup>236</sup> Hence, the compound, beside its metonymic meaning, displays morphological metaphor. Eventually, the lexeme’s use in the individual context of the respective plays as a pet name with reference to very specific characters, adds the dimension of contextual metaphor, hence producing a rather complex intertwining of metonymy and different forms of metaphor.

With the two occurrences of *quick-silver* (A 2.3.153 and EII 21.36), the corpus further features an adjective + noun compound in which both elements are metaphorical. The adjective *quick*, originally denoting the quality of being ‘alive’ (cp. also German *quicklebendig*, *quickfidel*), soon acquires an institutionalized metaphoric meaning, and is applied to things “having a specific quality characteristic or suggestive of a living thing.” (s.v. “quick, adj., n.1, and adv.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017). It is this figurative meaning of *quick* which is realized in the compound *quick-silver* (A 2.3.153 and EII 21.36) (as well as in *quick-sand* (EM 3.3.29)), metaphorically pointing at the distinctive quality of *quick-silver* (A 2.3.153 and EII 21.36) to be liquid. Besides that, however, the compound does not denote a liquid form of silver, but instead refers to the “liquid metal mercury” (s.v. “quicksilver, n.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017), thus making use of an image metaphor in the second constituent, which takes up the optical similarity of the two substances.

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<sup>236</sup> The noun *heart*, although in modern times first and foremost denoting the bodily organ, has, since the earliest stages of the history of English, been considered as the “seat of feeling, understanding, and thought” (s.v. “heart, n., int., and adv. II.5.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017) and is also to be understood in this sense in the compound *Sweet heart* (EM 2.3.35). Although a classification of this sense of *heart* as metaphorical is certainly thinkable from a modern perspective, its high degree of institutionalization in the Renaissance as well as the fact that scientification has not yet proceeded too far in EModE times, allow for accepting this sense of *heart* as a basic sense in EModE.

Finally, the compound *high way* (RII 1.4.555 and, in plural, A 1.3.24) is interpretable as exhibiting metaphor in its first constituent, as the adjective *high* is very unlikely to denote an actual locative quality (not all *highways* are located topographically ‘high’), which would conform to the lexeme’s basic meaning. Instead, it is rather conceivable that the first element of the compound refers to these particular streets’ property of being “under royal protection” (s.v. “highway, n.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017), thereby metaphorically capturing a notion of ‘increased value or quality’. (cp. “high, adj. S.1.b.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017)<sup>237</sup>

Moreover, as *french beans* (A 1.3.29) do not actually come from France (at least not necessarily so), but are called that way in the sixteenth century “in order to distinguish them from the broad bean then more typically eaten in Britain” (s.v. “French bean, n.” *OED online*. 20 January 2017), the first constituent of the compound makes use of a metonymy that allows the determinant *french* to stand for the bean’s general foreignness. Apart from that, the compound is applied in a creative direct metaphorical comparison between the smell of opened tobacco jars and that of *conserues of roses, or french beans* (A 1.3.29).

#### 7.4.4. Numeral + Noun

##### 7.4.4.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type of numeral + noun comprises compounds with a numeral as their first and a primary noun as their second element. Being largely parallel to adjective + noun compounds in terms of their morphological shape, compounds of this morphologic type are not morphologically isolated per se and are, in most cases, the results of univerbations of former syntactic phrases (cp. the discussion of adjective + noun compounds in ch. 7.4.3.1). For the majority of lexemes in the EModE corpus, however, compound status of the respective formations is indicated by an advanced degree of lexicalization (cp. ch. 7.4.4.3) and by the metonymic reference of many of the compounds (e.g., the coin names), which allows for the inclusion of these compounds on the basis of their semantic unity. Nevertheless, scholarly literature frequently neglects this morphologic type, which may partly be due to definitional difficulties entailed in the compounds’ lack of morphological isolation, which potentially leads to their exclusion or to an either explicit or implicit subsumption of the type under adjective +

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<sup>237</sup> The identification of the first element of the compound with OE *heah* (‘high’) in the earliest sources is, however, not absolutely verified, so that this analysis of the compound is potentially disputable from a diachronic, etymological perspective.

noun compounds,<sup>238</sup> and partly to the generally low frequency of the type. Hence, numeral + noun compounds are not listed as separate types by either Marchand (1969), or by Adams (2001), Bauer (1983), Hansen (1990) or Jespersen (1942), and are found as an independent morphologic type solely in Koziol (1972:63f) and Sauer (1992:171ff). Since most grammars accept numerals as independent word classes, (cp. Biber et al. 2012:57; Huddleston & Pullum 2010:1715; Quirk et al. 2012:67 ) and as numeral + noun compounds prove semantically uniform (cp. ch. 7.4.4.5), both their morphology and semantics warrant their treatment as an independent morphologic type.

Numeral + noun compounds are already attested for Germanic (cp. Carr 1939:58, who lists ON *einviġi* ‘single combat, duel’) and have, although apparently generally low in number, continued to exist in Old English in this form. (cp. Carr 1939:58) In addition to noun compounds of this type, however, Old English features constructions with numerals as first constituents, that go back to Early Germanic and, as the example of OE *twelf - wintre* ‘twelve years of age’, function as bahuvrihi adjectives. (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:33) In fact, the compounds OE *annihte* ‘one night old’ (cp. Carr 1939:65) as well as, according to Sauer (1992:172) also OE *seofon nihte* ‘seven nights old’, which reappears as the noun compound *seuen-night* (EM 3.5.72) and, in a more lexicalized form, as *sennights* (O 2.1.760) in the corpus,<sup>239</sup> is attested exclusively as a bahuvrihi adjective compound for Old English. After the Old English period, however, bahuvrihi adjectives of this type cease to be productive (cp. Sauer 1992:172) and later formations of the type, including the examples *seuen-night* (EM 3.5.72) and *sennights* (O 2.1.760) (cp. "sennight, n." *OED online*. 23 January 2017), are noun compounds, resulting from univerbation of parallel syntactic groups.

With only eight numeral + noun compounds, the number of lexemes of this morphologic type is expectably low among the material.<sup>240</sup> The majority of the constructions (6 tokens) in this group is found in Jonson’s two comedies, complemented only by two lexemes from Shakespeare’s *Othello*.

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<sup>238</sup> Jespersen (1942:158) subsumes numeral + noun compound under the type pronoun + noun.

<sup>239</sup> The OED gives one single instance of the compound used as a noun in OE, which, however, appears as *VII nihta*. (cp. "sennight, n." *OED online*. 23 January 2017)

<sup>240</sup> This is, of course, due not least to the generally limited number of numerals in English.

#### 7.4.4.2. The Numeral + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>fortnight</i> (A 1.1.188)	Jonson	<i>Comedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>sennights</i> (O 2.1.760)	Shakespeare	<i>Tragedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>seuen-night</i> (EM 3.5.72)	Jonson	<i>Comedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>sixe-pence</i> (EM 1.4.89)	Jonson	<i>Comedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>sixpence</i> (O 2.3.1090)	Shakespeare	<i>Tragedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>Three-farthings</i> (EM 2.1.70)	Jonson	<i>Comedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>twelue-moneth</i> (EM 3.7.30)	Jonson	<i>Comedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>twelue-month</i> (A 4.4.34)	Jonson	<i>Comedy</i>	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	

Table 10: The numeral + noun compounds from the corpus

#### 7.4.4.3. Morphological Particularities

To be counted as morphologically particular in this group are primarily those numeral + noun compounds which show an advanced degree of morphological lexicalization and opacity, *fortnight* (A 1.1.188) and *sennights* (O 2.1.760), the latter of the two also occurring in its non-lexicalized form *seuen-night* (EM 3.5.72) in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*. Both compounds refer to time spans ('fourteen nights / days' and 'seven nights / days' respectively) and are complemented in that respect by the two occurrences of *twelue-month* (A 4.4.34 and EM 3.7.30). As I have pointed out above, these numeral + noun compounds go back to syntactic phrases, such as OE *féowertýne niht*, *seofon nihta* or *twelfmónað*. In most cases, however, their compound status becomes evident in their singular use, as, for example, in *The Alchemist: Though we break vp a fortnight, 'tis no matter* (A 1.1.188), in *Every Man in His Humour: an' I die, within a twelue-month and a day, I may sweare, by the law of the land, that he kill'd me.* (EM 3.4.30f) as well as in *Othello*, where *sennights* (O 2.1.760) appears in the genitive singular: *the bold Iago, whose footing here anticipates our thoughts a sennights speede.* (O 2.1.758ff) The only numeral + noun compounds, which morphologically occur in a plural form are the coin names *sixpence* (O 2.3.1090) and *Three-farthings* (EM 2.1.70), which in fact, however, represent metonymic names for silver coins with the respective value of six pence (or 'six pennies') and three farthings. These lexemes can, therefore, morphologically only appear in

plural form, even if used with singular reference as in the example from Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*: *He values me, at a crackt Three-farthings, for ought I see.* (EM 2.1.70)

#### 7.4.4.4. Innovation among the Numeral + Noun Compounds

All the eight compounds of this morphologic type, which occur in the corpus, are attested in earlier sources, mainly dating back to Early Middle English. The only exception is the compound *Three-farthings* (EM 2.1.70), which, as a name for a coin "issued by Queen Elizabeth" (s.v. "'three-'farthings, n." *OED online*. 23 January 2017), is a formation of the sixteenth century.

#### 7.4.4.5. Semantic Description

Semantically, all eight numeral + noun compounds in the corpus correspond to the semantic class / type DEGREE, 'Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action'. As I have insinuated above, the compounds further fall into two categories in terms of their reference, on the one hand that of compounds denoting particular time spans and, on the other hand, that of names for coins, with the first constituent of the compounds each specifying either the duration of the time period or the value of the respective coin. For both subgroups, metonymy can be assumed to be involved, since the compounds from the first group metonymically refer to a time span by giving its extent and, hence, have to be paraphrased as 'period comprising twelve months / seven nights etc.' In the compounds from the second group, *six-pence* (EM 1.4.89 and O 2.3.1090) and *Three-farthings* (EM 2.1.70), the value of the piece of money metonymically refers to the concrete coin.

#### 7.4.4.6. Metaphoricity

Out of the eight numeral + noun compounds in the corpus, only one, which occurs in *Every Man in His Humour*, is used metaphorically:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>Three-farthings</i> (EM 2.1.70)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>He values me, at a crackt Three-farthings, for ought I see</i>	Direct		

Table 11: The metaphorical numeral + noun compounds

The metaphoricity of *Three-farthings* (EM 2.1.70) is based on the contextual use of the token in a direct metaphor (quoted above), in which the speaker, Downright, compares the generally low value of the coin to the valuation of his own person by his half-brother Well-bred, which he feels to be similarly low. Metaphoricity in word-formation does not occur among the compounds of this morphologic type.

#### 7.4.5. Pronoun + Noun

##### 7.4.5.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic type pronoun + noun contain a pronoun as determinant and a primary or deverbal noun as their determinatum. In the present corpus, the pronominal first constituent of the respective compounds is *self(e)-*, the only exception being the token *Shee Asses* (JM 1.2.185), which is formed with a singular personal pronoun as first element. Since pronouns cannot take modifying position in a syntactic phrase, the respective constructions are morphologically isolated from such phrases. The classification of the pronouns itself, however, varies, with the OED identifying the pronoun *self* in combinations such as *selfe-loue* (EM 3.1.105) as a prefix. (cp. "self- 'love, n." *OED online*. 24 January 2017) In this respect, the present study follows Koziol (1972:64f), Marchand (1969:74f), and Sauer (1992:174f), who accept constructions with *self-* (as well as other pronouns) as compounds.

Whereas several constructions with *self-* as determinant already exist in Old English (cp. Koziol 1972:64), the examples from the corpus are mainly formations of the sixteenth century (cp. ch. 7.4.5.4), complemented by the token *Shee Asses* (JM 1.2.185) as the oldest compound of this type among the material, representing the "sex-denoting compounds" (Marchand 1969:75) of this morphological shape, originally applied to animals and dating back to the fourteenth century. (cp. "she, pron.1, n., and adj. C1.a (b)" *OED online*. 24 January 2017) Although combinations with the pronoun *all-* and a noun occur in Germanic, Old English (cp.

Carr 1939:354f),<sup>241</sup> occasionally in Early Middle English (cp. Sauer 1992:175f) and also in Modern English (cp. Koziol 1972:64), the EModE corpus does not feature any such constructions. In general, the morphologic type of pronoun + noun compounds, with only six lexemes, is one of the rarest types among the noun compounds in the corpus.

#### 7.4.5.2. The Pronoun + Noun compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>selfe-bloud</i> (S 3.71)	Jonson	History	BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	HL
<i>selfe-bounty</i> (O 3.3.1652)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	NR
<i>selfe-charity</i> (O 2.3.1201)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	HL
<i>selfe-loue</i> (S 1.130)	Jonson	History	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>selfe-loue</i> (EM 3.1.105)	Jonson	Comedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>Shee Asses</i> (JM 1.2.185)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	

Table 12: The pronoun + noun compounds from the corpus

#### 7.4.5.3. Morphological Particularities among the Pronoun + Noun compounds

The pronoun + noun compounds from the corpus neither exhibit any increased levels of lexicalization nor other morphological particularities.

#### 7.4.5.4. Innovation among the Pronoun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

As I have pointed out above (cp. ch. 7.4.5.1), the majority of the compounds of this morphologic type in the corpus enter the language in the sixteenth century. Among them are the two instances of *selfe-loue* (S 1.130 and EM3.1.105), which are recorded in the OED slightly earlier than their respective use in Jonson's plays (cp. "self-'love, n." *OED online*. 24 January 2017), as well as the two hapax legomena *selfe-bloud* (S 3.71) and *selfe-charity* (O 2.3.1201), which are innovations by Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare, that have not been recorded in any other

<sup>241</sup> Carr (1939:354f), who classifies *all* as an adjective, points out that, in Germanic as well as in OE, combinations of *all* with adjectives as second constituents are much more frequent than those with nouns. According to Carr (1939:346), the former option is the only one to survive in Modern English, which is, however, disproved by several examples for Modern English formations with *all-* given in Koziol (1972:64).



source. In the light of the fact that the OED documents both these hapax legomena, the reason why *selfe-bounty* (O 3.3.1652) remains unrecorded by the OED, although morphologically and semantically very similar to the latter two tokens, remains unclear and is more likely to be due to an oversight than to methodological or definitional deliberations.

#### 7.4.5.5. Semantic Description

In terms of semantic structure, most of the pronoun + noun compounds comply with the semantic class / type OBJECT; ‘OBJ – Action’, since the pronominal first elements of *selfe-loue* (S 1.130 and EM3.1.105), *selfe-charity* (O 2.3.1201) and *selfe-bounty* (O 3.3.1652) all refer to the recipient of the action entailed in the second constituents of the compounds.<sup>242</sup> The only compound with *self(e)-* as determinant, that does not correspond to this pattern, is the hapax legomenon *selfe-bloud* (S 3.71), which, as becomes evident in Tiberius’ utterance in *Sejanus, though h’had proper issue of his owne, He would no lesse bring vp, and foster these, Then that selfe-bloud* (S 3.69ff), denotes one’s ‘own blood’, an institutionalized metaphor for blood relatives (cp. below). In its literal meaning, the compound *selfe-bloud* (S 3.71) is therefore assignable to the semantic type ‘Whole – Part’, understanding *blood* as part of the body, i.e. the *self*.

Although many handbooks set-up a separate subtype for the "sex-denoting compounds" (Marchand 1969:75) respresented by *Shee Asses* (JM 1.2.185) in the present corpus (cp., e.g., Koziol 1972:64f; Marchand 1969:75), the fact that the material features only this single instance of this semantic subtype, makes a subsumption of the compound under the semantic type ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’, as corresponding to the paraphrase ‘the ass is (a) she’, appear more practical.

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<sup>242</sup> With the exception of *selfe-bloud* (S 3.71), these compounds thus correspond to Marchand’s (1969) type *self-determination*, which represents verbal nexus compounds with *self-* as determinant in which "*self* is always the object of the nexus", although "[i]n a few cases [...] the substantive is not formally derived from an English verb" (Marchand 1969:78). (cp. also the discussion of morphological vs. semantic verbal nexus in ch. 7.2)

#### 7.4.5.6. Metaphoricity

There is only one instance of metaphor among the pronoun + noun compounds in the corpus:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>selfe-bloud</i> (S 3.71)	Jonson	History	<i>though h'had proper issue of his owne, He would no lesse bring vp, and foster these, Then that selfe-bloud</i>	Indirect		HL

Table 13: The metaphorical pronoun + noun compounds

As has already been implied above, the compound *selfe-bloud* (S 3.71) is used in Jonson's *Sejanus* not with reference to actual blood, but to 'relatives of one's own' (cp. "†self-blood, n." *OED online*. 25 January 2017), hence representing the only instance of contextual metaphor within this morphologic type. In PDE (as well as in German) similar metaphorical expressions, conceptualising one's relatives as 'one's own flesh and blood' are also rather common.

#### 7.4.6. Particle + (Deverbal) Noun

##### 7.4.6.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type particle + (deverbal) noun comprises combinations of a particle, i.e. a preposition or a locative (or, less frequently, temporal) adverb,<sup>243</sup> and a noun. Both compounds with primary and with deverbal nouns, as exemplified in *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804),<sup>244</sup> as second constituents have been subsumed under this type.

The morphological status of preparticle compounds is generally disputed, since particles have frequently been shown to exhibit prefixal character (cp. Adams 1973:32; Koziol 1972:89ff; Marchand 1969:100, 112; and also ch. 4.5.2) and generally belong to the closed class of function words (as opposed to nouns, adjectives and verbs, which are members of the open class of lexical words). Therefore, their characteristics tend to differ from those of the more usual substantival, adjectival or verbal compound constituents in some respects, (cp. Marchand 1969:100, Sauer 1992:129) which include, for example, their semantic content, that has been

<sup>243</sup> This definition corresponds to Quirk et al. (2012:1150).

<sup>244</sup> The corpus does not feature any particle compounds with morphologically marked deverbal nouns as second constituents corresponding to the types of *onlooker* or *oncoming*. All potential candidates for these subtypes, such as e.g. *Vnderstander* (A T.t.R. 1), or *vndertaking* (S 2.19), have been excluded as derivations of complex verbs.

argued to be weaker than that of lexical words, and, further, to be frequently subject to change when entering compounds. (cp. Marchand 1969:100) Indeed, I have classified combinations of particles and verbs as prefixations and, hence, they have been excluded from the present study on the basis of various deliberations, some of which, however, pertain to preparticle verbs exclusively. The special characteristics of particles, as well as the diachronic development of preparticle verbs are discussed in detail in ch. 4.5.2. Most particle + (deverbal) noun constructions, such as *after-noone* (A 1.3.2), *midwiues* (A 4.6.50) or *ouer-leather* (TS I2.148), in turn, can be accepted as compounds (although borderline cases), formed by a composition process of a particle, i.e. a preposition or a spatial adverb (arguably having the status of an independent lexeme at the time of the compound's formation), and a noun. Although particle + noun compounds are morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases, there are several disputable cases among the material, which, potentially, could also be understood as either prefixations, or derivations from complex, prefixed verbs. (see further ch. 7.4.6.3 and, concerning the general problem, Sauer 1992:141ff) Examples for excluded formations on the basis of the latter are, e.g., *Vnderstander* (A T.t.R. 1), *vndertaking* (S 2.19), and *crosbiting* (JM 4.3.13), as well as the converted form of the prefixed verb *to overthrow*, *overthrow* (JM 5.5.82, T 2.2.50 and EII 4.262).

The formation of particle + noun compounds has been common in Old English (cp. (Koziol 1972:91f) and is still productive in PDE. (cp. Bauer 1983:206) In terms of frequency, combinations of particles and primary nouns are in the majority among this morphologic type, as has also been observed for Early Middle English (cp. Sauer 1992:177), where, however, combinations of particles and converted verbs corresponding to the pattern of *downfall* (T 2.7.6, EII 4.18 and RII 3.4.1804) are considerably more frequent than in the EModE corpus. (cp. Sauer 1992:184)

In terms of their proportional distribution, the 29 particle + (deverbal) noun compounds<sup>245</sup>, 14, i.e. 48% of the particle + noun compounds occur in Jonson's plays, and 9 (i.e. 31%) and six (i.e. 20 %) items respectively appear in Shakespeare's and Marlowe's works. This morphologic type makes up 3.8 % of Jonson's, 3.5 % from Marlowe's and 4% from Shakespeare's noun compounds.

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<sup>245</sup> Again, the exact number of compounds that is assigned to this morphologic type is dependent on definitional decisions. As has been done for the previous types, a rather inclusive approach has been chosen for the present study, which means that the compound status of several of the constructions listed here is certainly disputable.

### 7.4.6.2. The Particle + (Deverbal) Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>after fleete</i> (O 1.3.322)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>after loue</i> (RII 5.3.2408)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>afternoone</i> (TS 1.2.802)	Shakespeare	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>after-noone</i> (A 1.3.2)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>after-noone</i> (EM 1.4.75)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>back return</i> (T 5.1.465)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>back-dore</i> (EM 1.2.79)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>backe lanes</i> (JM 3.1.17)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>back-side</i> (A 5.4.133)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>counter-point</i> (S 3.127)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>downefall</i> (RII 3.4.1804)	Shakespeare	History	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>downfall</i> (T 2.7.6)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>downfall</i> (EII 4.18)	Marlowe	History	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>fore-fathers</i> (S 1.481)	Jonson	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>fore-finger</i> (A 1.3.53)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>forehead</i> (EM 4.4.5)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Part – Whole	
<i>home returne</i> (RII 1.3.535)	Shakespeare	History	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>midwife</i> (S 1.421)	Jonson	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>midwife</i> (RII 2.2.978)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>midwiues</i> (A 4.6.50)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>neighbour</i> (TS 2.1.848)	Shakespeare	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>no-buttocks</i> (A 1.1.37)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>not-haile</i> (S 5.463)	Jonson	History		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>off-spring</i> (JM 2.1.14)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>ouer-leather</i> (TS I2.148)	Shakespeare	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>ouer-sight</i> (A 5.5.54)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>out-cast</i> (TS 1.1.307)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Deverbal 2 <sup>nd</sup> element	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>out-house</i> (JM 5.2.79)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>vnder-scribe</i> (A 1.2.49)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	HL

Table 14: The particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus

### 7.4.6.3. Morphological Particularities

As has already been indicated above, the compounds of this morphologic type feature several borderline cases, in which the status of the first constituent, and, hence, frequently also the compoundhood of the construction, is questionable. The two rather unconventional constructions *no-buttocks* (A 1.1.37) and *not-haile* (S 5.463) are a first case in point, in which the classification of the first elements *no* and *not* as particles means a slight extension of the category and which are noteworthy for their uncommon morphological shape. Whereas the negation marker *not* can be interpreted as a special kind of particle, although certainly not a spatial one, *no* is usually classified as a central determiner. (cp. Quirk et al. 2012:255) The use of both forms in the respective constructions, however, clearly differs from their usual function and position. In the noun phrase *your no-buttocks* (A1.1.37), for instance, in which the latter lexeme appears in *The Alchemist*, the co-occurrence of the possessive determiner *your*, directly followed by *no*, rules out any interpretation of the latter word as central determiner in this context, since the central determinative slot is already filled by *your*. The construction *no-buttocks* (A 1.1.37) can therefore not be of syntactic nature in this context. Instead, it appears to be an instance of a very rare type of compound, which semantically denotes the negation of its own determinatum by means of a negation marker, interpretable in this function as a negative particle. The case is similar for the second example of this specific type of compound, *not-haile* (S 5.463), which occurs in Jonson's *Sejanus*: In Arruntius' utterance, *We shall be markt anon, for our not-haile* (S. 5.463), *hail* is used as a noun, signifying "[a]n exclamation of 'hail!'" (s.v. "hail, n.3." *OED online*. 26 January 2017) and forming a compound with a negative particle, that denotes the omittance of the said salutation. Both compounds are therefore morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases and are best subsumed under the morphologic type particle + (deverbal) noun, notwithstanding the fact that their first constituents exhibit certain idiosyncratic characteristics that distinguish them from the spatial adverbs and prepositions usually comprised in this class.

Moreover, there are some particles functioning as determinants in compounds of this morphologic type, which do not exist as independent lexemes in PDE anymore. Among them are the first elements of *midwife* (S 1.421, RII 2.2.978, and, in plural, A 4.6.50), and of *fore-fathers* (S 1.481), as well as, featuring *fore* in a locative sense, *fore-finger* (A 1.3.53) and *forehead* (EM 4.4.5). The particle *mid* in *midwife* (e.g., S 1.421) is etymologically unrelated to the adjective *mid* that appears in compounds such as *mid-way* (EM 2.4.16) or *mid-night* (S

5.296). Instead it is related to the German preposition *mit* and occurs throughout the English history until the sixteenth century as a preposition "[d]enoting association, connection, accompaniment, proximity, addition, conjunction, communication" (s.v. "†mid, prep.1 and adv.1." *OED online*. 26 January 2017),<sup>246</sup> when it was then replaced by the PDE preposition *with*. A *midwife* (e.g., S 1.421) is therefore originally paraphrasable as a 'woman who is with the mother / present during childbirth' (cp. "midwife, n." *OED online*. 26 January 2017) and today the compound has to be counted either as a prefixation or as a morphologically highly lexicalized compound, whose first element is no longer used independently. (cp. also Sauer 1992:178) For the EModE period, however, the construction may still legitimately be classified as one of the borderline cases of particle + (deverbal) noun compounds, since the last occurrences of *mid* in independent use are documented for the sixteenth century. (cp. "†mid, prep.1 and adv.1." *OED online*. 26 January 2017) The case of the particle *fore-* is rather similar, with *fore* as an adverb and preposition denoting either temporal (i.e. anteriority) or locative notions (i.e. front position). As such, the lexeme is in use until the beginning of the seventeenth century, where it still appears independently in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* as well as *The Winter's Tale*. (cp. "fore, adv. and prep." *OED online*. 26 January 2017) Hence, the compounds *fore-finger* (A 1.3.53) and *forehead* (EM 4.4.5), each realising the locative meaning of the particle (although in different fashion, cp. ch. 7.4.6.5), and the lexeme *fore-fathers* (S 1.481), with the particle being used with a temporal meaning, represent compounds, which qualify as such in EModE, but whose compound status has to be reevaluated when it comes to PDE instances of the lexemes.

Other than in the tokens just discussed, the adverb *nigh*, which surfaces as first constituent in *neighbour* (TS 2.1.848), continues to be in use (although with somewhat archaic connotations) in PDE. The compound itself, however, still exhibits both morphological and phonological lexicalization and can thus be viewed as opaque from a PDE perspective. While in the OED entry of the compound, the word class of its first element is stated as 'adjective', (cp. "neighbour | neighbor, n. and adj." *OED online*. 27 January 2017) the etymological history of the compound, which goes back to OE *neahgebur*, containing as second constituent a deverbal noun meaning 'dweller' (cp. "boor, n." *OED online*. 27 January 2017), suggests that at the time of its formation OE *neah* is employed as an adverb to form a compound paraphrasable as 'someone, who lives near'. In the light of this etymological background of the compound, as well as the fact that, as the entry for 'nigh' in the ODEE asserts, the lexeme *neah*

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<sup>246</sup> The use of *mid* as an adverb in the sense of 'present, therewith' is documented in the OED until the fifteenth century. (cp. "†mid, prep.1 and adv.1." *OED online*. 26 January 2017)

is chiefly used as an adverb in Old English, indicate that *neighbour* (TS 2.1.848) is best classified as a lexicalized particle + (deverbal) noun compound.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the particles in compounds such as *downefall* (e.g., RII 3.4.1804) and *back-dore* (EM 1.2.79) "are not originally locative particles" (Marchand 1969:109) but have their origin in the OE noun phrases *of dūne* 'off the hill or height' (s.v. "down, adv." *OED online*. 27 January 2017) and *on bæc* 'into or in the rear' (s.v. "back, adv." *OED online*. 27 January 2017). Compounds with the respective particles have been existent since Middle English, but appear to have gained currency in EModE (cp. Koziol 1972:95).<sup>247</sup>

#### 7.4.6.4. Innovation among the Particle +(Deverbal) Noun Compounds

With 86 % of the tokens already existent in the language before their occurrence in the respective plays, innovation among the particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus is lower than that among the larger class of adjective + noun compounds.

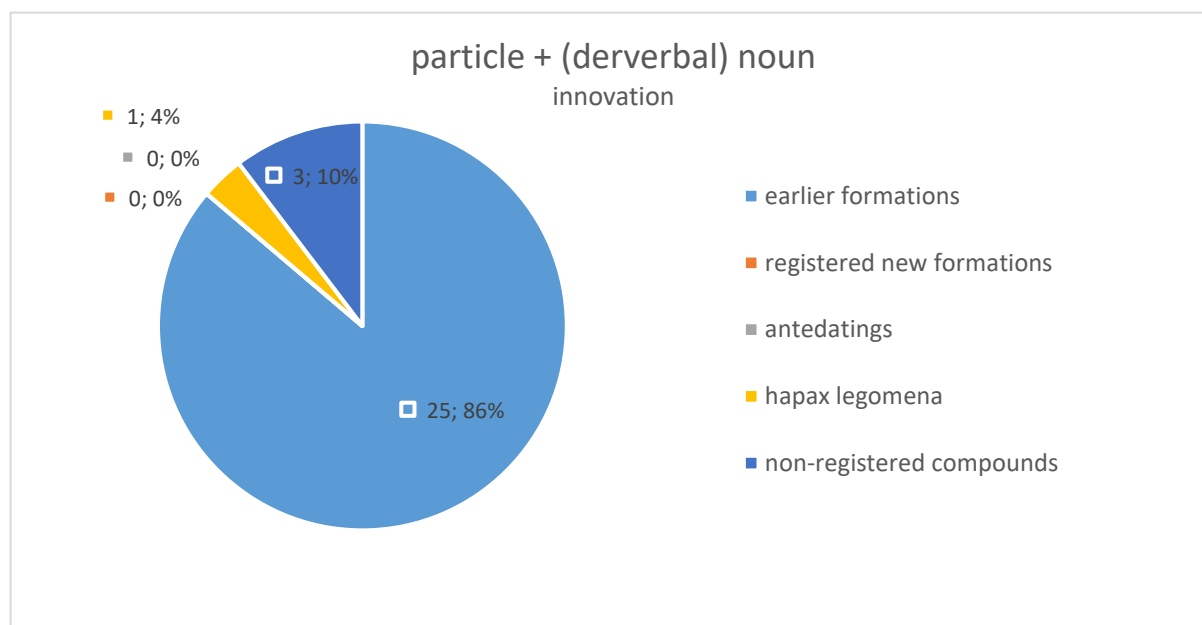


Figure 14: Innovation among the particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus

<sup>247</sup> In his EME material, Sauer (1992:179) finds two constructions with *down* but none with *back* as first element, as the compounds *bac-bitere* and *bac-bitung* are interpreted as noun + verb + *-er* (213) and noun + verb + *-ing* (219) respectively.

#### 7.4.6.5. Semantic Description

In terms of their semantic structure, the majority of particle + (deverbal) noun compounds fall into the category of LOCATION, exhibiting either relations of ‘Location – Located’, being the most frequent semantic type among Jonson’s compounds of this morphologic type, or ‘Direction – Entity/Action, the dominant semantic type among Marlowe’s particle + (deverbal) noun compounds.<sup>248</sup> This is, of course, expectable in the light of what I have stated above (cp. ch. 7.4.6.1) about the semantic content of the respective particles. There are, however, some exceptions to that tendency, which surface in the following overview and will be discussed in the course of the present chapter.

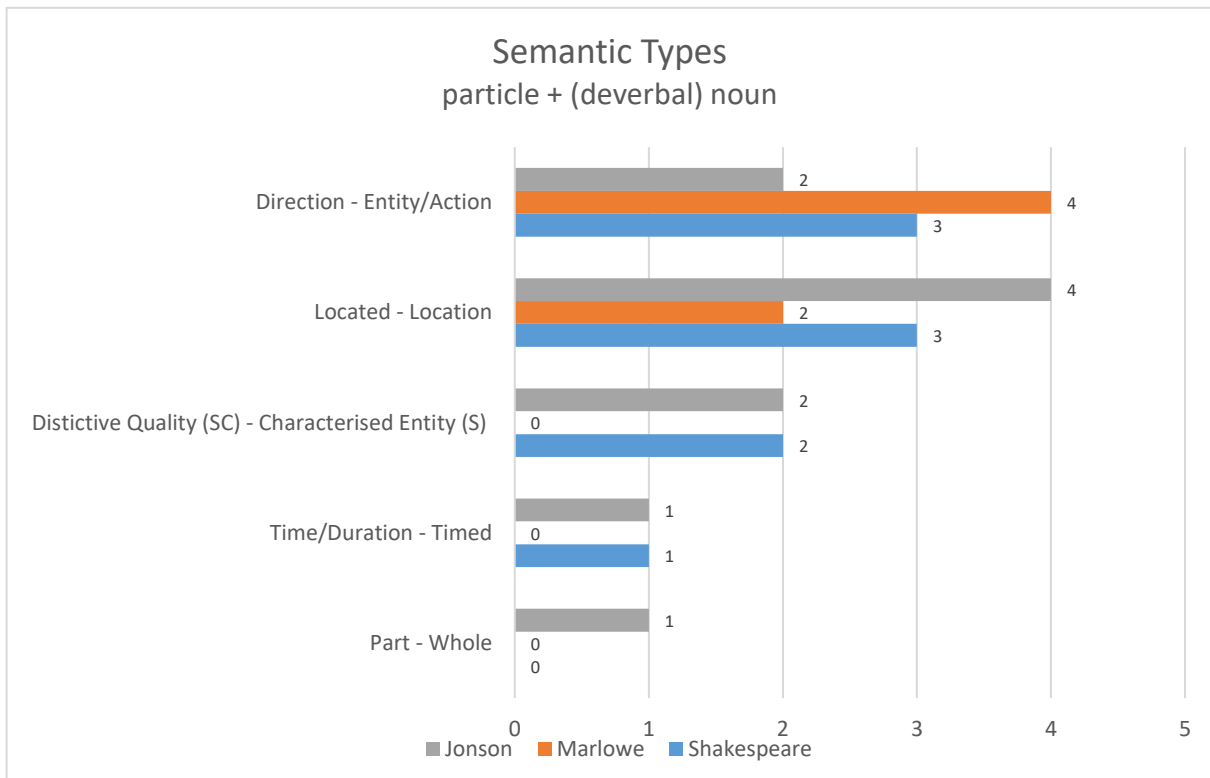


Figure 15: Semantic types of the particle + (deverbal) noun compounds

As visible in the overview, it is again Ben Jonson, who leads in the field of particle + (deverbal) noun compounds in terms of semantic diversity, as ten of his tokens are distributed over five

<sup>248</sup> Shakespeare’s particle + (deverbal) noun compounds that belong to the semantic class LOCATION are distributed evenly over the two semantic types.



different semantic types, with additional four particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from his works displaying an indeterminable semantic structure. (see further below)

It has been noted in literature before, (cp. Sauer 1992:451, Marchand 1969:109ff) that the compounds of this morphologic type fall into two groups when considering their semantics, one of them comprising formations with a classically endocentric structure, such as *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804), or, without a verbal nexus, *back-side* (A 5.4.133), all corresponding to the formula ‘AB is a type of B’. The second group, however, includes constructions of prepositions and primary nouns, which do not comply with this pattern. Hence, the compound *afternoone* (TS 1.2.802, A 1.3.2 and EM 1.4.75) does not signify a ‘type of noon’, but ‘the time after noon’, and neither is *forehead* (EM 4.4.5) institutionalized with the sense ‘a specific type of head’, but much rather as signifying ‘the forepart of the head’. While the former compound *afternoone* (TS 1.2.802, A 1.3.2 and EM 1.4.75) originates in a univerbation of the prepositional phrase *after noon*, as is also clearly visible from the first documented use of the construction, (cp. "afternoon, n., adv., and int.A.1." *OED online*. 27 January 2017)<sup>249</sup> *forehead* (EM 4.4.5) proves a more complicated case, since it is not paraphrasable as ‘something before (the) head’ and can, thus, not be traced back to a prepositional phrase. For the case of *forehead* (EM 4.4.5),<sup>250</sup> different solutions have, therefore, been proposed, one of which entails the classification of the element *fore-* as a prefix (cp. Marchand 1969:166; Quirk et al. 2012:1543f), an approach that is certainly valid from a strictly synchronic, i.e. PDE, perspective, as PDE does not feature any independent temporal / locative adverb or preposition *fore* anymore. (cp. "fore, adv. and prep." *OED online*. 30 January 2017) With an EModE corpus, however, the situation is different, given the fact that several of the youngest documented uses of *fore* as an independent lexeme with locative / temporal meaning appear in Shakespeare’s works. (cp. "fore, adv. and prep." *OED online*. 30 January 2017) Hence, the categorical dismissal of *fore* as an independent lexeme in constructions such as *forehead* (EM 4.4.5) cannot be upheld for the EModE period. Instead, the compound can be interpreted as having a partitive sense, with the second constituent, *head*, denoting ‘Whole’ and the first element, *fore*, standing metonymically for ‘the front part / forepart’ of the head. This analysis retains the compound status of the lexeme and makes it

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<sup>249</sup> The OED gives a quotation from *King Horn*, which reads "Go nu.& send him after none" (s.v. "afternoon, n., adv., and int.A.1." *OED online*. 27 January 2017) and thus illustrates the compounds origin in a prepositional phrase.

<sup>250</sup> Besides *forehead*, several similar constructions, that exhibit the same intricate semantic structure, exist, e.g. *foreship*. (cp. Faiß 1978:113)

classifiable semantically as BELONGING TO; ‘Whole – Part’.<sup>251</sup> (cp. Faiß 1978:113 for a similar suggestion) In that respect, *forehead* (EM 4.4.5), thereby, proves less problematic than the three instances of *afternoone* (TS 1.2.802, A 1.3.2 and EM 1.4.75), whose specific semantic structure, due to their origin in a prepositional phrase, does not match any of the semantic classes / types set up for the present study, and has therefore to be categorised as UNCLEAR.

Endocentric formations, such as the second group among the particle + noun compounds, are, however, in the majority, most of them semantically corresponding to the semantic class LOCATION. Those combinations whose second elements have verbal origins, such as *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804) or *out-cast* (TS 1.1.307),<sup>252</sup> exhibit directional meaning and are hence classifiable as ‘Direction – Entity / Action’, while most of the compounds with primary nouns, such as *backe lanes* (JM 3.1.17) or *fore-finger* (A 1.3.53), entail a static, locative relation, corresponding to the semantic type ‘Location – Located’. Exceptions from this tendency among the endocentric compounds include the tokens *counter-point* (S 3.127), with *counter* entailing the notion of ‘opposing direction’, as well as *after loue* (RII 5.3.2408) and *fore-fathers* (S 1.481), which show a temporal semantic structure of the type ‘Time / Duration – Timed’.<sup>253</sup> The semantic structure of the compound *midwife* (S 1.421, RII 2.2.978, and, in plural, A 4.6.50), further deviates from the default pattern for this morphologic type, since it is neither clearly locative nor temporal. Although a locative reading of the compound, understanding *mid* as specifying the midwife’s location at a woman’s side during childbirth, (cp. also ch. 7.4.6.5) is arguable, I have judged the classification of the token as QUALITY; ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’ more appropriate on the basis of *mid* being interpreted as having an adverbial meaning equivalent to ‘present’, hence resulting in the paraphrase ‘woman (wife) present during childbirth’, embodying the syntactic structure of the PDE sentence ‘the woman is present’.

Ben Jonson’s two very special constructions *no-buttocks* (A 1.1.37) and *not-haile* (S 5.463) eventually defy semantic classification both on the level of exo- or endocentricity and

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<sup>251</sup> It has to be noted, that on the basis of this semantic analysis, a classification of *fore-* as a converted adjective is conceivable. (cp. also Faiß 1978:113) Since all constructions with *fore-*, however, have traditionally been listed either among the particle compound or among the prefixations, the compound has been retained in this morphologic type for the sake of clarity.

<sup>252</sup> The compound *ouer-sight* (A 5.5.54), although not featuring a second element derived from a verb by any productive rules of word-formation in English (cp. ch. 7.2), has, as a derivation from Germanic, retained its semantic verbal nexus and thus also shows a directional semantic structure.

<sup>253</sup> The case of *after fleete* (O 1.3.322) is somewhat ambiguous in this respect, since both a locative and a temporal reading are possible, i.e. ‘fleet which follows after (temp.) another one’ vs. ‘fleet which follows after (/behind; loc.) another one’.

of semantic types or classes, as their semantic structure entails the negation of the determinatum. Neither is the question whether *no-buttocks* (A 1.1.37) are particular kinds of buttocks, or, whether a *not-haile* (S 5.463) is a kind of hail, successfully resolvable, nor is there any commonly accepted semantic type suitable to include these very rare types of construction. In fact, compounds semantically involving their own negation, do not normally occur at all in English.

#### 7.4.6.6. Metaphoricity

The particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus exhibit metaphoricity of some kind in the following nine tokens:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>counter-point</i> (S 3.127)	Jonson	History	<i>My ambition is the counter-point</i>	Indirect		
<i>downefall</i> (RII 3.4.1804)	Shakespeare	History	<i>What dost thou say King Richard is desposde? Darst thou thou little better thing than earth Diuine his downefall?</i>	Indirect		
<i>downfall</i> (T 2.7.6)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Barbarous and bloody Tamburlaine [...] To worke my downfall and untimely end</i>	Indirect		
<i>downfall</i> (EII 4.18)	Marlowe	History	<i>Their downfall is at hand, their forces downe</i>	Indirect		
<i>midwife</i> (S 1.421)	Jonson	History	<i>Flattery is midwife vnto prices rage</i>	Indirect		
<i>midwife</i> (RII 2.2.978)	Shakespeare	History	<i>So Greene, thou art the midwife to my woe</i>	Indirect		
<i>off-spring</i> (JM 2.1.14)	Marlowe	Tragedy			Second constituent	
<i>out-cast</i> (TS 1.1.307)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>So deuote to Aristotles checkes As Ouid be an outcast quite abiur'd</i>	Direct	Second constituent	
<i>vnder-scribe</i> (A 1.2.49)	Jonson	Comedy			First constituent	HL

Table 15: The metaphorical particle + (deverbal) noun compounds

With nine out of 29 particle + (deverbal) noun compounds displaying metaphoricity, the morphologic type contains a relatively high portion of 31% of metaphorical tokens. It is noticeable, however, that metaphoricity occurs recurrently in a few compounds of this type, such as, e.g., *midwife* (S 1.421) and *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804, T 2.7.6 and EII 4.18), the latter of which is exclusively used in its metaphoric sense in the corpus, always signifying a ruler's (or

a ruling class') descent instead of any concrete "act of falling down" (s.v. "downfall, n." *OED online*. 31 January 2017).<sup>254</sup>

Although the nine metaphorical compounds are distributed evenly among the playwrights, the three metaphorical particle + (deverbal) noun compounds in Jonson's works make up only 21% of his compounds of this morphologic type, whereas among Shakespeare's and Marlowe's particle + (deverbal) noun compounds 33% and 50% are metaphorical respectively. For all three authors, contextual indirect metaphor is the most frequently applied form of metaphoricity, only one single instance of morphological metaphor occurring in the works by each of the three.

The only compound that is used in a direct contextual metaphor is *out-cast* (TS 1.1.307), which is therefore classifiable as displaying both contextual and morphological metaphor. Morphologically, the noun compound goes back to the phrasal verb *to cast out*, whose past participle is the basis for both the adjective and the noun compound *outcast*, which have existed since Middle English.<sup>255</sup> (cp. "outcast, n.1." and "outcast, adj." *OED online*. 31 January 2017) The basic sense of *cast*, however, involves a concrete action of throwing something "with a force of the nature of a jerk, from the hand, the arms, a vessel, or the like" (cp. "cast, v." *OED online*. 31 January 2017). In the compound *out-cast* (TS 1.1.307), institutionalized as denoting a 'person who has been excluded from society', (cp. "outcast, n.1." *OED online*. 31 January 2017) the nominalized past participle *cast* has forfeited its original, concrete meaning and is now used in a transferred sense appropriated to the social context. A similar metaphorical extension of meaning can be observed with the compound *off-spring* (JM 2.1.14), whose second constituent is a deverbal noun, that originates in the motion verb *to spring*, denoting in its basic sense the action of "mov[ing]with a sudden jerk or bound", which it has signified since early Old English (s.v. "spring, v.1." *OED online*. 31 January 2017) The metaphorically transferred meaning of the verb *to spring* itself, "to originate by birth or generation", has only been institutionalized since Middle English (s.v. "spring, v.1." *OED online*. 31 January 2017), the nominalized and metonymical form *spring*, however, denoting 'that which is sprung', surfaces in the compound *off-spring* (JM 2.1.14) already in Old English. (cp. "offspring, n." *OED online*. 31 January 2017)

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<sup>254</sup> The compound *midwife* (S 1.421, RII 2.2.978, and, in plural, A 4.6.50), is used metaphorically in both *Sejanus* and *Richard II*, the only non-metaphoric use of the lexeme occurring in Jonson's *Alchemist*, where the character Surly refers to actual *bawdes And midwiues of three shires* (A 4.6.49f).

<sup>255</sup> The OED assumes the adjective compound to have preceded the noun compound, which it then classifies as a conversion on the basis of the former. (cp. "outcast, n.1." and "outcast, adj." *OED online*. 31 January 2017)

The contextual metaphoricity of *counter-point* (S 3.127) in Jonson's *Sejanus* is particularly interesting for its origin in music, if one assumes it to be a metaphorical use of the loan translation *counterpoint* going back to medieval Lat. *contrapunctum* and originally signifying "[t]he melody added as accompaniment to a given melody" or, more literally, "music pointed-against" (s.v. "counterpoint, n.1." *OED online*. 31 January 2017). Since the first recorded uses of the compound in its musical sense clearly precede those, where it is used with a more general and more literal meaning as "the opposite point" (s.v. "counterpoint, n.1." *OED online*. 31 January 2017), the assumption of the later uses being in fact metaphorical applications of an originally musical term, instead of separate new formations, is conceivable.<sup>256</sup> Thus, also Jonson's use of the compound in the sentence *My ambition is the counter-point* (S 3.127) can be regarded as a metaphorical use of the musical term, although, of course, a recoinage of the compound out of any musical context and with the more literal meaning of 'opposite point' cannot be ruled out completely.<sup>257</sup>

Eventually, the hapax legomenon *vnder-scribe* (A 1.2.49), used in the phrase *any melancholike vnder-scribe* (A 1.2.49), presents the only instance of a partical + (deverbal) noun compound, in which it is the particle that is used in a metaphorical sense. A *scribe* commonly denoting a secretary or clerk, the compound is interpretable as derogatively referring to persons of a profession that is situated below (or *under*) that of a scribe in terms of social rank. The particle *under* is therefore not to be understood in its basic, concretely locative meaning, 'beneath or under something else', but as transferred to the complex of social hierarchy, metaphorically denoting "a subordinate or inferior position" (s.v. "under, adv. 3.b." *OED online*. 30 January 2017) within this image. The complex image of social rank pictured metaphorically as a vertical construct in space (cp. also *social ladder* as a very common metaphor) hence appears as such twice in the tokens of this morphologic type, once in the contextual metaphoricity of the compound *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804) (see above) and once again in the morphological metaphoricity of the particle in *vnder-scribe* (A 1.2.49).

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<sup>256</sup> Cp. also the respective entry in the ODEE, which only lists the musical meaning of the compound.

<sup>257</sup> Whereas in such a case, the second element, *point*, would have to be counted as metaphorical (standing for an argument or an abstract standpoint), the musical term does not involve any such morphological metaphor, since here, the use of *point* is due to the fact that "the accompaniment [was] originally noted by points" (s.v. "counter-, prefix." ODEE).

## 7.4.7. Verb + Noun

### 7.4.7.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic type verb + noun comprise a verb as their first, and a primary noun as their second constituent. A more precise analysis of the first element, however, has to specify its morphologic status either as a verb stem, as in the case of, e.g., *whetstone* (EM 4.2.124),<sup>258</sup> which goes back to OE *hwetstán* (cp. "whetstone, n." *OED online*. 1 February 2017) and can serve as an example lexeme for the first of two major semantically different groups within this type, or as a morphologically ambiguous verbal element for which an alternative interpretation as an imperative form is possible.

The latter applies to lexemes from the second major group of compounds comprised in this morphologic type, which is exemplified by the token *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26). Whereas the first of these two semantic groups subsumes those verb + noun compounds which exhibit an endocentric semantic structure, the second group entails lexemes that have traditionally been classified as exocentric formations and have often been termed 'imperative compounds' (cp., e.g., Koziol 1972:66; Sauer 1992:246). Whether all of these exocentric formations, however, do indeed contain an imperative as their first element, is questionable. In fact, many of the respective tokens also allow for an interpretation as containing a simple verb stem as their first constituent, considering that their paraphrase does not feature any imperative constructions. Hence, a *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26) is paraphrasable as 'someone, who picks purses / He picks purses'. (cp. also Sauer 1992:247) The classification of the verbal element in these constructions is, therefore, controversial, with proponents of the imperative, such as e.g., Koziol (1972:66), invoking the French origin of the composition type,<sup>259</sup> where they perceive compounds such as OF *coupe-bourse* to be combinations of an imperative verb and its semantic object,<sup>260</sup> and others vindicating the view that the verbal element, although commonly interpreted as an imperative, in fact originally goes back to the simple verb stem. (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:31) Eventually, whereas there are certain formations in English, in which the imperative structure is obvious, e.g., the EModE formation *forget-me-not* (cp. "for'get-me- ,not,

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<sup>258</sup> The ambiguities concerning the word class of the first element in endocentric formations of the type verb + noun (or noun + noun) have been discussed in detail in ch. 7.1.3 and will, therefore, not be repeated here.

<sup>259</sup> It has to be noted, however, that the verbal element is morphologically ambiguous in French as well and can, as also Sauer (1992:247) notes, be interpreted as either an imperative, or a verb stem or the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form of the verb.

<sup>260</sup> For an alternative view and an interpretation of the first element in French formations of the type as backformations see Coseriu (1977:58ff).

n." *OED online*. 1 February 2017; and also Sauer 1992:248), others may actually have been formed with a simple verb stem and semantically parallel to a declarative sentence,<sup>261</sup> or on the basis of analogy to already existing formations without any further consideration of the nature of the verbal element. (cp. Sauer 1992:248)

As pointed out in detail in ch. 7.3.2, endo- and exocentricity are understood as solely semantic categories and are hence not perceived as interfering with morphology in the present study. Thus, both groups of verb + noun compounds are subsumed under a single morphologic type and the morphological make-up of the members of either group is perceived as congruent. (see Bauer 1983:204f for a similar approach) Since the respective combination of a noun directly following a verb is not possible in the realms of syntax, all verb + noun compounds are morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases. The special characteristics of so-called 'imperative compounds' are of semantic nature and will, therefore, find expression in the course of the semantic analysis of the tokens.

Since, historically, neither exocentric nor endocentric formations of this morphologic type existed in Germanic, verb + noun compounds in general belong to the younger morphologic types. (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:28,31) While the formation of endocentric constructions of this morphological shape can possibly be traced back to West Germanic (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:28) and is assumed to have its actual origin in (deverbal) noun + noun constructions (cp. Sauer 1992:188 and ch. 7.1.3), the first documented instances of endocentric verb + noun compounds occur, although rarely, in Old English (cp. Faiß 1978:179, Meid & Krahe 2011:28, Sauer 1992:188) First occurrences of 'imperative compounds', on the other hand, are attested slightly later and appear to have emerged in the eleventh century, initially functioning as surnames. In Middle English, their number then increases and 'imperative compounds' gradually enter the common vocabulary of the language. (cp. Sauer 1992:249) As mentioned above, most scholars take the origin of the formation pattern of 'imperative compounds' to be Old French, which exhibits these particular constructions before they appear in English (or German). (cp. Marchand 1969:380f, Sauer 1992:249)<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> For example, both Faiß (1978:101) and Sauer (1992:248) consider this the most likely formation process for the compound *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), since the respective phrase *to break one's fast* occurs earlier than the compound.

<sup>262</sup> Carr (1939:170ff) suggests an earlier emergence of the pattern in English, which he assumes to have then been strengthened by Old French influence

In the EModE corpus, 26 instances of verb + noun compounds are attested,<sup>263</sup> which divide into the two classes of 17 endocentric formations and nine ‘imperative compounds’. The majority of verb + noun compounds (14 tokens), once again occurs in Jonson’s works, this morphologic type making up 3.8% of his noun compounds. Among the noun compounds occurring in Shakespeare’s plays, the eight verb + noun compounds in his works equate a similar portion of 3.6%, whereas Marlowe’s preference for verb + noun compounds in his works, with four tokens of this type making up 2.4% of his noun compounds, being considerably weaker.

#### 7.4.7.2. The Verb + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>breakfast</i> (EM 2.2.45)	Jonson	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ	
<i>Brimstone</i> (A 3.1.27)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	
<i>Brimstone</i> (O 4.1.2359)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	
<i>copes-mate</i> (EM 4.10.15)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	
<i>crackhempe</i> (TS 5.1.2300)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ	HL
<i>Cut-purse</i> (A 1.1.108)	Jonson	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ	
<i>dab-chick</i> (A 4.2.60)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	
<i>flutter-mouse</i> (A 5.4.89)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	
<i>grind-stone</i> (JM 4.3.9)	Marlowe	Tragedy		INSTRUMENT	Action – Instrument	
<i>hangman</i> (O 1.1.33)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>hang-man</i> (EM 1.4.92)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>hangman</i> (EII 11.274)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Hangman</i> (JM 4.2.23)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>hang-men</i> (S 2.416)	Jonson	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>leystalls</i> (EM 2.5.64)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>make-peace</i> (RII 1.1.160)	Shakespeare	History	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ	
<i>meat-yard</i> (TS 4.3.2029)	Shakespeare	Comedy		INSTRUMENT	Action – Instrument	
<i>mountebanks</i> (O 1.3.347)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ	

<sup>263</sup> Of course, the numbers depend on the classificatory decisions that have been made with regard to the word class of the first elements in the respective compounds. Borderline cases, in which a classification as either verb or noun were possible, have occurred, see ch. 7.1.3.



<i>passe-time</i> (A 1.2.8)	Jonson	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ
<i>pastime</i> (TS II.65)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ
<i>pick-purse</i> (A 4.6.26)	Jonson	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ
<i>rake-hells</i> (EM 4.3.13)	Jonson	Comedy	Imperative Compound	OBJECT	Action – OBJ
<i>whetstone</i> (EM 4.2.124)	Jonson	Comedy		INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument
<i>whirle winde</i> (EII 16.68)	Marlowe	History		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent
<i>whirle-wind</i> (S 4.353)	Jonson	History		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent
<i>whirlwinds</i> (TS 5.2.2546)	Shakespeare	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Action – Agent

Table 16: The verb + noun compounds from the corpus

### 7.4.7.3. Morphological Particularities

The verb + noun compounds from the corpus feature several tokens with certain morphological particularities, manifest either in peculiarities of the morphologic shape of the determinant, or in a high degree of lexicalization affecting the compound as a whole. The former is the case with the compounds *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347), *passe-time* (A 1.2.8), and *whirle winde* (EII 16.68, S 4.353 and, in plural, TS 5.2.2546), whose first constituents all exhibit an additional *-e*-ending. For these compounds, Carr's (1939) observation that Old English formations of this type featuring weak verbs as first elements frequently display a "composition vowel *-e*" (Carr 1939:191), which may be identified as a remnant of the original stem vowel *i, j*, does not serve as a satisfactory explanation, since all four lexemes are younger formations and did not exist before Middle English. Possible alternative explanations, however, include a potential origin of the *-e* in the Middle English infinitive ending *-e(n)*, or its interpretation as a simple linking element without any further morphological function (cp. Sauer 1992:187). Moreover, with regard to *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347) or *passe-time* (A 1.2.8), an identification of the *-e* as a relic of the ME imperative ending is also conceivable.<sup>264</sup> Whereas the motivation of the *-e*-endings in these lexemes thus remains ambiguous to some extent, the unetymological *-s* in the compound *cofes-mate* (EM 4.10.15) is likely to be explainable by analogy: The compound having originally been formed as ME

<sup>264</sup> As the *-e* is highly multifunctional since ME, it is also extremely ambiguous. Beside the potential functions listed here (and the fact that some of the instances may be due to simple spelling irregularities), it, for example, also occurs as a marker for vowel length in the preceding syllable. In PDE English, therefore, instances of 'silent *-e*' are frequent in lexemes that had a long vowel in ME (and were then subject to the Great Vowel Shift). The first constituent of *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160), for example, features an *-e*-ending explainable as a former marker for vowel length. For a detailed discussion of the various functions and origins of *-e* in compounds see Sauer (1992:86ff).

*copemate*, "the change to *copesmate* was probably through association with *copesman*, or with other words in which the first element is a noun in the genitive, as *craftsman*, *tradesman*" (s.v. "†'copemate | copesmate, n." *OED online*. 2 February 2017).

Besides, several compounds in this class are affected by lexicalization, which occurs on different levels and in varying degrees in the lexemes of this morphologic type. Firstly, the 'imperative compound' *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45) displays lexicalization on the phonological level only, affecting the pronunciation of the vowels in both constituents. The PDE pronunciation of the compound is due to a regular shortening of ME /ɛ:/ to EModE /e/ in the first syllable of multisyllabic words, (cp. Faiß 1978:102) as well as to the general weakening of full vowels to become /ə/ in unstressed syllables, and is, as Faiß (1978:102) points out, already attested in its lexicalized form for the EModE period. In comparison, the compound *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27; O 4.1.2359) is affected by a more severe form of lexicalization, which is not restricted to the token's phonology but extends to its morphological make-up as reflected in its spelling and, thus, reduces its transparency from a synchronic perspective. As a result, meaning, origin and word class of the first constituent of *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27; O 4.1.2359) are unclear from a PDE point of view, since no independent lexeme \**brim* exists. The form goes back to the Middle English stem of the verb *burn*, which occurs in the variants *bern-*, *brinn-* (with metathesis).<sup>265</sup> The variant *brim-*, which surfaces in the compound from the corpus, may be the result of dissimilation of the two nasals in the compound, as the ODEE suggests (s.v. "brimstone, n."), or of an association with the adjective *brim*, *breme*, meaning 'fierce' (cp. "brimstone, n." *OED online*. 2 February 2017), the two explanations, however, not necessarily being mutually exclusive. Given the fact that in Old and Middle English a deverbial noun *byrne* exists, the compound *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27; O 4.1.2359) could also be understood as a combination of that deverbial noun and the primary noun *stone*, which would then prompt a classification of the lexeme as a noun + noun compound. However, in accordance with Sauer (1992:189) and in consideration of the compound's semantic structure, which corresponds to the type 'Action – Agent' and is best paraphrased as 'a stone that burns' (instead of, e.g., 'a stone for burning'), it is included in the group of verb + noun compounds as an ambiguous case.

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<sup>265</sup> In ME, the compound itself occurs in several variants, such as *brynstan*, *byrn-stan*, *bren-ston*, *brun-ston*. (cp. "brimstone, n." *OED online*. 2 February 2017; and Sauer 1992:189) The verb *burn* itself also exhibits a rather complex etymology (see further s.v. "burn, v.1." *OED online*. 2 February 2017), which may lead to these instabilities.

#### 7.4.7.4. Innovation among the Verb + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

The verb + noun compounds from the corpus have all been formed prior to their respective use in the plays, the only exception being the hapax legomenon *crackhempe* (TS 5.1.2300), which occurs in Shakespeare's comedy *The Taming of the Shrew*. In the context of the play, the 'imperative compound' *crackhempe* (TS 5.1.2300) is used as a nickname for the minor character Bionello and is likely to represent a creative variation of the morphologically parallel noun compound *crack-halter*, documented to have been in use around 1600, signifying "[o]ne likely to crack or strain a halter, i.e. to die by the gallows" (s.v. "†'crack-halter, n." *OED online*. 7 February 2017). Given the particularly high number of creative nicknames and abusive expressions among the noun + noun compounds from the corpus (cp. ch. 7.4.1), the lack of any further new formations among the 'imperative compounds', which most frequently serve the function of nicknames, (cp. Sauer 1992:249 and below) is noticeable.

#### 7.4.7.5. Semantic Description

The 26 tokens from the corpus are distributed over five semantic classes and five semantic types. With 'imperative compounds' making up 35% (9 tokens) of the verb + noun compounds, the most frequent semantic class / type within this morphologic type is OBJECT; 'Action – OBJ', to which all 'imperative compounds' consistently correspond, while the endocentric constructions among the material exhibit a broader range of semantic structures. Once again, the following table gives an overview over the semantic types found among the verb + noun compounds from the works of each playwright:

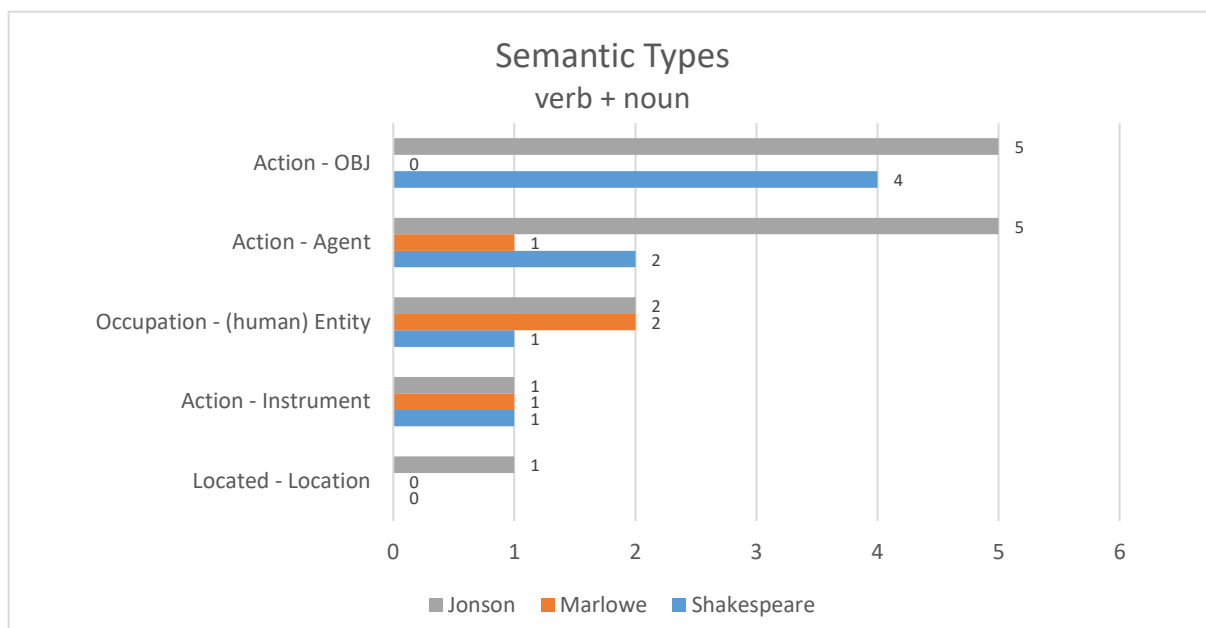


Figure 16: Semantic types of the verb + noun compounds

It is noteworthy that ‘imperative compounds’ and, thereby, the semantic type ‘Action – OBJ’, exclusively occur among Jonson’s and Shakespeare’s tokens, whereas Marlowe’s three plays only feature endocentric formations of this morphologic shape. As has also been observed for several of the previous morphologic types, Jonson’s compounds, being highest in number, exhibit the broadest range of semantic types, with *leystalls* (EM 2.5.64) standing out as being the only token with a locative semantic structure. With the locative element being most distinct in the paraphrase of *leystalls* (EM 2.5.64), denoting a ‘place where something (often refuse) is laid’ and, hence, syntactically corresponding to the sentence ‘we lay something on the stall(s)’, the classification as ‘Located – Location’ is justified, although the semantic type is generally uncommon among the noun compounds with verbal determinants in the corpus.<sup>266</sup>

Among the remaining endocentric verb + noun compounds from the corpus, the semantic type ‘Action – Agent’, comprising the lexemes *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27 and O 4.1.2359), *dab-chick* (A 4.2.60), *flutter-mouse* (A 5.4.89), *whirle winde* (EII 16.68, S 4.353 and, in plural, TS 5.2.2546) and *copes-mate* (EM 4.10.15), is most frequent.<sup>267</sup> Within this group, the last

<sup>266</sup> In Marchand’s (1969) semantic classification of PDE verb + noun compounds, which comprises twelve types exemplified by head words, the compound *leystalls* (EM 2.5.64) corresponds to the type of *bakehouse*, with ‘B denoting a place designed for the action denoted by A’. (cp. Marchand 1969:73)

<sup>267</sup> As has been remarked earlier (cp., e.g., 7.4.1.5), the classical notion of ‘agent’ has been extended in some of these cases to also include inanimate second constituents, which do not correspond to a narrow definition of agency (e.g. *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27 and O 4.1.2359)). Although certainly entailing a decrease of specificity, this approach has appeared as the most viable one in a study that aims at a comprehensive semantic classification.

example, *copest-mate* (EM 4.10.15), displays a certain degree of ambiguity, as it, theoretically, allows for more than one paraphrase and may, in fact, best be described as ‘a mate one copes / contends with’. With this interpretation, however, it differs from the classical ‘Action – Agent’ compounds such as *flutter-mouse* (A 5.4.89), in that its determinatum has the syntactic function of an object instead of that of a subject (as, e.g., in ‘the mouse flutters’). (cp. the distinction between Subject type and Object type in Marchand 1969:73) Since, however, other than in corresponding PDE examples such as *call girl* (‘a girl one calls’) (cp. Marchand 1969:72f), the verb *to cope* can still be used intransitively in EModE and, moreover, the action expressed by the verb, “[t]o strike; to come to blows, encounter, join battle” (s.v. “cope, v.2.” *OED online*. 7 February 2017) can be read as a reciprocal one, ‘a mate one copes’ can simultaneously be understood as ‘a mate that copes’. Consequently, a classification of the compound as belonging to the semantic type ‘Action – Agent’ is possible.

Besides that, the token *dab-chick* (A 4.2.60), in its literal sense denoting the Little Grebe, a small water bird, (cp. “dabchick, n.” *OED online*. 7 February 2017) is another interesting case. Similar to *Brimstone* (A 3.1.27; O 4.1.2359) (cp. ch. 7.4.7.4) the lexeme occurs in various forms over its history, some earlier variants, such as, e.g., *dap-chick*, *dop-chick*, or *dip-chick*, (cp. “dabchick, n.” *OED online*. 7 February 2017) suggesting its determinant to be connected by ablaut to the verb *to dip* (‘sink, let down into liquid’; s.v. “dip.” *ODEE*). The OED, however, assumes its later, Early Modern versions, featuring *dob-* or *dab-* as first element, “to be associated with some senses of [the verb] *dab*” (s.v. “dabchick, n.” *OED online*. 7 February 2017), which, since around 1300 has signified the action of ‘striking or pecking’ (cp. “*dab*, v.1.” *OED online*. 7 February 2017). The compound itself is therefore ambiguous in both its etymology and its exact semantic interpretation, although both possible etymological origins of the first constituent warrant a classification of the compound as verb + noun morphologically, and AGENTIVE; ‘Action – Agent’, semantically.

Although being rather frequent in terms of token number, the semantic type ‘Occupation – (human) Entity’ is represented solely by the compound *hangman* (O 1.1.33 and, in various spellings, EM 1.4.92, EII 11.274, JM 4.2.23 and S 2.416), which occurs in five of the nine works from the corpus. Lexemes, such as *whetstone* (EM 4.2.124), in turn, which realizes an instrumental relation (‘a stone used to whet’) and has been used as the generalized head word for the category of (endocentric) verb + noun compounds by Marchand (1969:72), are relatively rare, with *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9), *meat-yard* (TS 4.3.2029) and the abovementioned *whetstone*

(EM 4.2.124) being the only representatives of the semantic class / type INSTRUMENT; ‘Action – Instrument’.

While the majority of the nine ‘imperative compounds’ from the corpus, in accordance with their original purpose as surnames in Middle English and, slightly later, as (for the most part derogative) nicknames, (cp. Sauer 1992:249) has human referents, there are two constructions among the material, *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45) and *passe-time* (A 1.2.8; in different spelling S II.65) which refer to inanimate objects instead, signifying ‘something with which one passes time / breaks the fast’, respectively. In these two cases, metonymic transfer, which is generally involved in all ‘imperative compounds’, takes an ACTION, i.e. ‘to break one’s fast / to pass one’s time’, to stand for the OBJECT with which the action is performed (e.g., "the first meal of the day"; s.v. "breakfast, n." *OED online*. 7 February 2017). On the other hand, in those ‘imperative compounds’ which refer to persons, the respective action expressed is usually a metonymy for a person who is denoted by the compound and is indicated to (often habitually) perform the said action. Hence, this form of metonymic reference is, for example, involved in the compounds *crackhempe* (TS 5.1.2300), *Cut-purse* (A 1.1.108), *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160), *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347) and *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26). The only token which, upon closer investigation, deviates from this pattern, is the compound *rake-hells* (EM 4.3.13). Institutionalized since around 1550 as denoting an "immoral or dissolute person" (s.v. "rakehell, adj. and n. B.2." *OED online*. 7 February 2017), the compound is not sensibly paraphrasable as ‘someone who (habitually) rakes hell’, which would be the default paraphrase for conventional ‘imperative compounds’. Instead, its actual sense is captured in the first documented use of the phrase *to rake (out) hell* as *Suche a feloe as a manne should rake helle for*. (s.v. "rake, v.2.P1." *OED online*. 7 February 2017; and ODEE) Thus, the lexeme, although still exhibiting exocentricity and hence subsumable under the subclass of so-called ‘imperative compounds’,<sup>268</sup> shows a very particular semantic structure with the semantic relation between its constituents being that of ‘Action – OBJ’, but the referent of *rake-hells* (EM 4.3.13) not being the subject of the implied paraphrase ‘someone rakes hell’, but instead surfacing as a prepositional complement in an adverbial phrase ‘for them’.

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<sup>268</sup> For the questionable appropriateness of the label ‘imperative compound’ from a morphological standpoint, see ch. 7.4.7.1.

#### 7.4.7.6. Metaphoricity

From the 26 verb + noun compounds in the corpus, the following 13 tokens exhibit metaphoricity:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>breakfast</i> (EM 2.2.45)	Jonson	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>copest-mate</i> (EM 4.10.15)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Oh, this is the female copest-mate of my sonne</i>	Indirect		
<i>crackhempe</i> (TS 5.1.2300)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>Come hither crackhempe</i>	Indirect		HL
<i>Cut-purse</i> (A 1.1.108)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Cut-purse. [Subtle to Face]</i>	Indirect		
<i>dab-chick</i> (A 4.2.60)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Shee is a delicate dab-chick</i>	Indirect		
<i>flutter-mouse</i> (A 5.4.89)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>My fine flutter-mouse</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>grind-stone</i> (JM 4.3.9)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Whose face has bin a grindstone for mens swords</i>	Indirect		
<i>hangman</i> (O 1.1.33)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>I rather would haue bin his hangman</i>	Direct		
<i>hang-men</i> (S 2.416)	Jonson	History	<i>Would I haue my flesh Torn by the publique hooke, these qualified hangmen Should be my company</i>	Indirect		
<i>pick-purse</i> (A 4.6.26)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Will you, Don bawd, and pick-purse?</i>	Indirect	First constituent	
<i>rake-hells</i> (EM 4.3.13)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>A sort of lewd rake-hells, that care neither for god, nor the deuill</i>	Indirect		
<i>whirle-wind</i> (S 4.353)	Jonson	History	<i>Wild Seianus breath hath like a whirle-wind, scatter'd that poore dust</i>	Direct		
<i>whirlewinds</i> (TS 5.2.2546)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>[It] Confounds thy fame, as whirlewinds shake faire budds</i>	Direct		

Table 17: The metaphorical verb + noun compounds

The thirteen metaphorical compounds of this morphologic type make up 50% of all verb + noun compounds in the corpus. Therefore, this type generally shows a high degree of metaphoricity, with Ben Jonson displaying a particularly pronounced preference for metaphorical verb + noun compounds. With an overall number of nine of the fourteen tokens (i.e. 64%) from his works in this group involving some kind of metaphor, it is especially in his comedies (and pre-eminently in *The Alchemist*) where contextual metaphoricity is most frequent. Here it is, once again, typically manifest in nicknames and comical terms of endearment, such as *Cut-purse* (A 1.1.108) and *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26),<sup>269</sup> or *dab-chick* (A 4.2.60), *flutter-mouse* (A 5.4.89) and

<sup>269</sup> In the context of the play *The Alchemist*, it is admittedly the case that the conceptual distance and the general discrepancy between the institutionalized and basic meanings of compounds such as *Cut-purse* (A 1.1.108) or *pick-purse* (A 4.6.26) and the contextual sense of the words is less pronounced than in other contexts, since Face and Subtle's activities are certainly morally questionable and do indeed involve stealing money from their deceived customers, however not by cutting or picking purses. Hence, as has been done in the majority of such cases (cp. ch. 7.4.1.6), these nicknames have been classified as contextually metaphoric.

*copes-mate* (EM 4.10.15), the latter being used in the sense of ‘paramour’, a metaphorical meaning of *copes-mate* (EM 4.10.15), which was weakly institutionalized around 1600. (cp. "†'copemate | copesmate, n." *OED online*. 9 February 2017) In comparison, the three metaphorical tokens from Shakespeare’s works make up only 38% of the verb + noun compounds from his works and, with one single metaphorical verb + noun compound, the metaphorically used *grind-stone* (JM 4.3.9), Christopher Marlowe’s work exhibits the lowest rate of metaphoricity (25%) within this morphologic type

Whereas in general, indirect contextual metaphor is again the most frequently applied form of metaphor among the verb + noun compounds, two of Shakespeare’s metaphorical compounds of this type exhibit direct metaphoricity: When Roderigo and Iago at the beginning of *Othello* discuss Cassio’s appointment as Lieutenant, Roderigo announces that, rather than being *his Morships Ancient* (O 1.1.32), he *would haue bin his hangman* (O 1.1.33). Whereas the basic sense of *hangman* is retained in this context, Shakespeare creates a direct comparison between the character Roderigo and a *hangman*, with the conjunctive phrase *rather would haue bin* (O 1.1.33) acting as the ‘flag’ in this context.<sup>270</sup> The second instance of direct metaphor among Shakespeare’s verb + noun compounds occurs in *The Taming of the Shrew*, where the compound *whirlewinds* (TS 5.2.2546) is used in a metaphorical context that directly compares the *threatning vnkinde brow* (TS 5.2.2542) on a woman’s face to the disruptive force of *whirlewinds shak[ing] faire budds* (TS 5.2.2546). This notion of destructiveness connected to a *whirle-wind* (S 4.353) reoccurs in Ben Jonson’s history play, where the compound is used in a similar directly metaphorical context, now referring to the force of *Wild Seianus breath* (S 4.352), that, *like whirle-wind, scatter’d that poore dust* (S 4.353), i.e. the people’s resistance.

Morphological metaphor is generally rare among the verb + noun compounds from the corpus and appears solely in the tokens *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45), *rake-hells* (EM 4.3.13) and *flutter-mouse* (A 5.4.89), affecting the first constituents of the former two items and the second constituent in the latter of the three compounds. Whereas the metaphoricity of the element *mouse* in *flutter-mouse* (A 5.4.89) is clearly based on a visual similarity between a bat and an actual mouse, the metaphoricity of *break* in *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45) originates in a discrepancy between the concrete and the abstract meaning of the verb *to break*, its original and basic sense being the concrete action of "sever[ing something] into distinct parts by sudden application of force", that has existed since Old English (s.v "break, v.I.1.a." *OED online*. 9 February 2017). The transfer of this meaning to denote an act of "interrupt[ing] the continuance of (an action)"

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<sup>270</sup> For a definition of ‘flags’ indicating direct metaphoricity as used in the present study, see ch. 5.3.3.



(s.v. "break, v.V.28.a." *OED online*. 9 February 2017) is a metaphorical one, institutionalized since around 1400 and taking the concrete action of physically breaking something to now refer to a significantly more abstract act. It is this younger, metaphorical meaning which surfaces in the 'imperative compound' *breakfast* (EM 2.2.45).<sup>271</sup> The use of the compound *rake-hells* (EM 4.3.13), whose complex semantic structure has already been mentioned in ch. 7.4.7.6, in *Every Man in His Humour*, combines morphological and contextual metaphor as well as metonymical elements. Based on the interpretation of the item as an imperative compound with an unusual semantic structure, commonly denoting *Suche [...] feloe[s] as a manne should rake helle for* (s.v. "rake, v.2.P1." *OED online*. 7 February 2017), the ACTION *rake hell* is understood to metonymically stand for its TARGET (other than its AGENT, as would be the case for conventional imperative compounds). Within the structure of the compound, however, *rake* figures in a metaphorically extended sense, designating the process of very closely "search[ing] or examin[ing] [something] as if with a rake" (s.v. "rake, v.2.3C." *OED online*. 4 July 2017), but not actually *using a rake*.<sup>272</sup> Eventually, the expression as a whole, in its use as a term of abuse directed at Bobadill and Well-Bred in *Every Man in His Humour*, can be counted as indirect metaphor, understanding *feloe[s] as a manne should rake helle for* (s.v. "rake, v.2.P1." *OED online*. 7 February 2017) to be a metaphor for the very incitive, immoral and troublesome persons as which Downe-right aims to describe these characters.

#### 7.4.8. Verb + *-ing* + Noun

##### 7.4.8.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic type verb + *-ing* + noun contain a complex first element, consisting of a verb and the suffix *-ing*, and a noun. Although, in the majority of cases, the complex first constituent is clearly classifiable as a deverbal noun (or gerund) on the basis of the semantic structure and paraphrase of the compound (e.g., 'the days designated for fasting' instead of \*'the days are fasting', cp. ch. 4.4.3.1), the coincidence of the formerly distinct endings for deverbal nouns and present participle since Middle English in *-ing*, leads to

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<sup>271</sup> Although a similar shift from concrete to abstract could possibly be assumed with regard to the first constituent of the compound *passee-time* (A 1.2.8 and, in different spelling, TS II.65), the fact that several abstract senses of *to pass*, among them the meaning "to go by" in the context of 'time', are existent since the earliest documented uses of the lexeme (cp. "pass, v." *OED online*. 9 February 2017), militates against the classification of the compound as morphologically metaphorical.

<sup>272</sup> Compare the idiomatic phrase *to rake hell with a fine-toothed comb*, which appears in the nineteenth century. (cp. "rake, v.2.P1." *OED online*. 4 July 2017)

morphological ambiguity for the EModE constructions. (cp. Sauer 1992:131) Whereas combinations of a deverbal noun (or a gerund) and a noun are morphologically isolated by their shape, constructions featuring a present participle and a noun are mostly of syntactic nature, as reflected in their phrasal stress pattern as well as a semantic structure of AGENTIVE; ‘Action – Agent’. In agreement with Marchand (1969) and Sauer (1992), such constructions, as exemplified by *working tooles* (T 3.2.93), used in the agentive sense of ‘toolles that are working (functioning)’, as well as the Shakespearean coinage *shooting starre* (RII 2.4.1254), which also displays phrasal stress (s.v. "shooting". *Cambridge English Pronouncing Dictionary*<sup>273</sup>) and has an agentive semantic structure, have been excluded from the analysis.

These restrictions notwithstanding, there is a certain group of constructions, whose first element may well be interpreted as a present participle, but which, nevertheless, qualify as compounds, since they display forestress as well as semantic lexicalization (and, hence, semantic unity). This group comprises occupational titles such as *seruing boy* (S 1.212), *seruingman* (EM 1.2.27, RII 2.2.R and, in plural, TS P.) or *waiting maid* (T 3.3.177 and, in different spelling, A 4.6.51), whose semantic description invariably features the additional semantic feature of [+habitually]. While Sauer (1992:131) perceives the first constituents in these constructions as deverbal nouns, Koziol (1972:63) as well as Hansen (1990:55), understand these constructions as compounds of the morphologic shape present participle + noun (probably resulting from univerbation), which, in turn, illustrates the fact that an unequivocal classification of the first elements in these constructions is not always possible (cp. below for further borderline cases).

As expectable from what has been stated so far, the EModE (and PDE) compound type verb + *-ing* + noun goes back to two distinct origins. On the one hand, compounds with deverbal nouns as first elements have appeared since Old English, the first constituents in Old and Early Middle English frequently displaying the older suffix *-ung*. (cp. Koziol 1972:60; Sauer 1992:196) Constructions with present participles as first elements, on the other hand, have been documented since the Middle English period, according to Koziol (1972:63).

In the EModE corpus 34 tokens classifiable as verb + *-ing* + noun compounds occur. Among Shakespeare’s noun compounds, the 13 tokens of this morphological shape make a portion of 5.9 %, while Jonson’s and Marlowe’s noun compounds only contain 4,1% and 3.6% verb + *-ing* + noun compounds, respectively. Thus, the morphologic type is significantly

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<sup>273</sup> Henceforth abbreviated *CEPD*.

more frequent among the EModE material than the semantically comparable verb + noun compounds discussed above. The numbers thereby confirm Marchand's (1969:72) and Jespersen's (1942:159) observation that the former type has been the predominant type of the two since Old English, while potentially compromising Scheler's (1982:116) assertion that verb + *-ing* + noun compounds are only weakly represented among Shakespeare's compounds.<sup>274</sup>

#### 7.4.8.2. The Verb + *-ing* + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New-formation
<i>Counting-house</i> (JM 1.1.R)	Marlowe	Tragedy	LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>drinking-schole</i> (EM 4.2.109)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>dripping-pans</i> (A 2.3.120)	Jonson	Comedy	INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument	
<i>dying day</i> (EM 2.5.144)	Jonson	Comedy	TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>Fasting dayes</i> (EM 3.4.1)	Jonson	Comedy	TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>hawking languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>hunting-languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>hunting-match</i> (EM 2.4.10)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	AD
<i>Looking-Glasse</i> (RII 4.1.2090)	Shakespeare	History	INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument	
<i>masking stufte</i> (TS 4.3.1966)	Shakespeare	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>offering-Bason</i> (JM 2.3.28)	Marlowe	Tragedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>parting teares</i> (RII 1.4.556)	Shakespeare	History	PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	NR
<i>seruing boy</i> (S 1.212)	Jonson	History	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	NR
<i>seruingman</i> (EM 1.2.27)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>seruingman</i> (RII 2.2.R)	Shakespeare	History	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>seruingmen</i> (TS P.)	Shakespeare	Comedy	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>shooing-horne</i> (A 2.4.13)	Jonson	Comedy	INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument	
<i>starting holes</i> (EII 11.127)	Marlowe	History	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>taming schoole</i> (TS 4.2.1812)	Shakespeare	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>tumbling tricke</i> (TS I2.270)	Shakespeare	Comedy	COPULA	Copula	RNF
<i>tyring-house</i> (EM P.12)	Jonson	Comedy	LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>waiting maid</i> (T 3.3.177)	Marlowe	Tragedy	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>waiting-maide</i> (A 4.6.51)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>walking mates</i> (EM 2.2.29)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>walking staffe</i> (RII 3.3.1668)	Shakespeare	History	INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument	
<i>warming-pan</i> (JM 4.2.34)	Marlowe	Tragedy	INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument	
<i>warning-peece</i> (JM 5.5.39)	Marlowe	Tragedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>watring pots</i> (A 1.1.67)	Jonson	Comedy	INSTRUMENT	Action Instrument	
<i>wedding cheere</i> (TS 3.3.1493)	Shakespeare	Comedy	PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	RNF

<sup>274</sup> It has to be kept in mind, however, that statements as these are always relative and that all such countings are strongly dependent on definitional considerations. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that, although not belonging to the extremely frequent types, verb + *-ing* + noun compounds make up a significant part of the compounds from the corpus in general and particularly of the compounds found in the three plays by Shakespeare included in the corpus.

<i>wedding day</i> (TS 2.1.841)	Shakespeare	Comedy	TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>wedding garment</i> (TS 4.1.1602)	Shakespeare	Comedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>wedding sheetes</i> (O 4.2.2519)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	RNF
<i>woing dance</i> (TS 1.2.593)	Shakespeare	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	HL
<i>writing fellow</i> (S 2.304)	Jonson	History	PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	NR

Table 18: The verb + -ing + noun compounds from the corpus

#### 7.4.8.3. Morphological Particularities

While I have mentioned semantic lexicalization, particularly of occupational titles, as a potential criterion for compoundhood with regard to the present participle + noun constructions among the material, the verb + -ing + noun compounds from the corpus do not show any morphological or phonetic lexicalization and morphological particularities are generally rare within this type. Nevertheless, some remarks must be made regarding the first constituents of some of the tokens, especially of *shooing-horne* (A 2.4.13) and *tumbling tricke* (TS I2.270).

Whereas for the majority of the tokens in this group, the base for the suffixation in the first constituent is unmistakably verbal, the compound *shooing-horne* (A 2.4.13), at first glance, appears to entail a denominal suffixation as first element. The semantic paraphrase of the compound, ‘horn for putting shoes on’, however, suggests that rather than representing a denominal suffixation of the noun *shoe*, the first constituent *shooing*, goes back to the verb *to shoe*, denoting the action of "put[ting] shoes on" (s.v. "shoe, v." *OED online*. 10 February 2017). This verb has its origin in G \**skōhōjan* from \**skōho-* ‘shoe, n.’ and has existed since the beginning of the history of English, (cp. "shoe, v." *OED online*. 10 February 2017) while the corresponding verbal noun *shoeing*, is formed in Middle English. (cp. "shoeing, n." *OED online*. 10 February 2017) Besides *shooing-horne* (A 2.4.13), the compound *watring pots* (A 1.1.67) is a similar case in point, featuring a deverbal suffixation of the verb *to water*, "[t]o provide with water to sustain life or growth" (s.v. "water, v." *OED online*. 10 February 2017), which also belongs to the Old English vocabulary inherited from Germanic. (cp. "water, v." *OED online*. 10 February 2017) Eventually, the converted verb *to hawk*, which goes back to the name of the bird *hawk* and appears in suffixed form in the compound *hawking languages* (EM 1.1.42), is a younger lexeme, that has been formed to denote the practice of "chas[ing] or hunt[ing] game with a trained hawk" via conversion in Middle English (s.v. "hawk, v.1." *OED online*. 10 February 2017), almost simultaneously with the corresponding verbal noun *hawking*. (cp. "hawking, n.1." *OED online*. 10 February 2017) The chronology, as well as the meaning

of the compound, ‘languages used in / for hawking’, again clearly indicate that its first constituent is this verbal noun formed on the basis of *to hawk*.

The first constituent of the compound *tumbling tricke* (TS I2.270), in turn, is remarkable first and foremost because of its classification in the OED as a mere combining form, (cp. "tumbling-, comb. form." *OED online*. 10 February 2017) although the verb *to tumble* has existed since Middle English with the meaning ‘to dance, leap, perform as an acrobat’. (cp. "tumble, v." *OED online*. 10 February 2017) In fact, this meaning of the word resurfaces in the compound *tumbling tricke* (TS I2.270) rather obviously, when considering its use in the context of *The Taming of the Shrew: Marrie I will let them play it, [it] is not a Comontie, a Christmas gambold, or a tumbling tricke?* (TS I2.269f). Rather than representing a semantically weak combining form, the first constituent *tumbling* is therefore here better classified as a regular verbal noun, formed on the basis of *to tumble* and forming a compound with *trick*, n., then, as a compound lexeme denoting an "acrobatic feast" (s.v. "tumbling-trick, n." Crystal & Crystal 2002).

#### 7.4.8.4. Innovation among the Verb + *-ing* + Noun Compounds

Other than among the verb + noun compounds, the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds from the corpus feature several tokens that are either registered new formations, antedatings, or non-registered compounds, which generally indicates that this type is more productive in EModE than that of verb + noun compounds. With a portion of only 59 % of verb + *-ing* + noun compounds that have been formed earlier in the history of English, this type shows a relatively high innovation rate, surpassing that of the noun + noun compounds by 4 % (cp. ch. 7.4.1.3).<sup>275</sup>

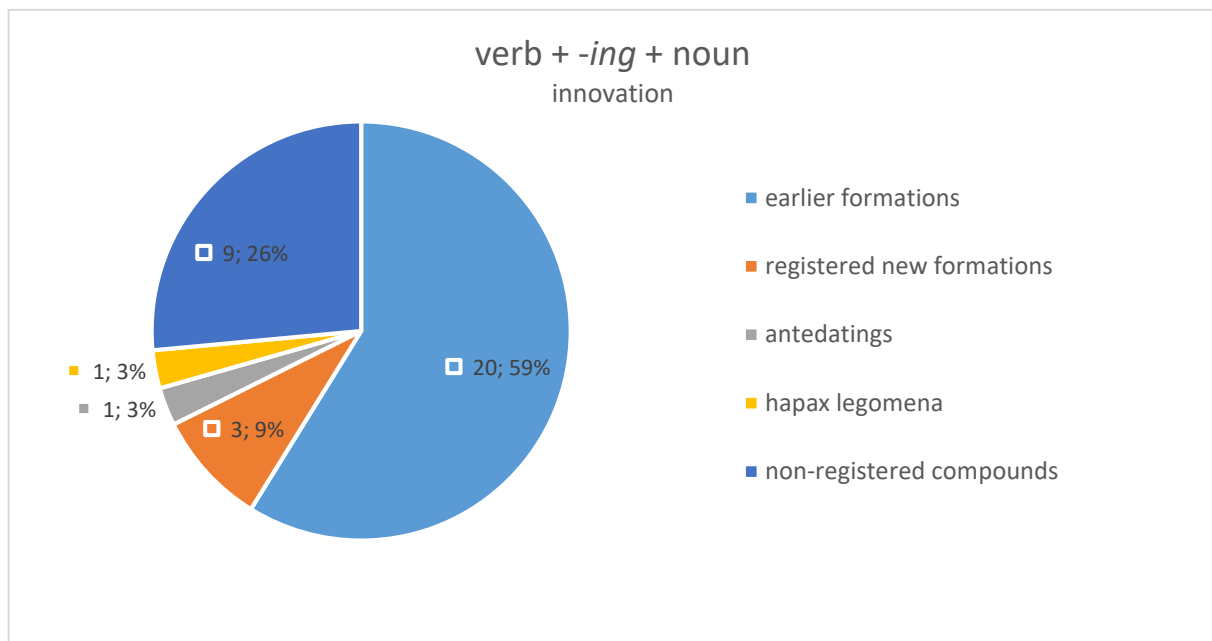
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<sup>275</sup> In general, the results of the analysis with focus on innovation among the material for verb + *-ing* + noun compounds exhibit significant similarities to that for the noun + noun compounds from the corpus. (cp. ch. 7.4.1.4) This corresponds to the morphological parallelism of the two types, with verb + *-ing* + noun compounds for the most part also featuring nouns (although verbal ones) as their first constituents.

The following pie chart provides an overview of the distribution of the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds over the different types regarding innovation:

Figure 17: Innovation among the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds

It is noteworthy with regard to the non-registered compounds of this type that, with the only exceptions of *writing fellow* (S 2.304) and *seruing boy* (S 1.212), all those formations from the



corpus, for which a present participle + noun shape can be assumed, are registered as compounds in the OED. Hence, definitional considerations that involve the rejection of such constructions as compounds are unlikely to be the cause of the lack of documentation.

#### 7.4.8.5. Semantic Description

Partly contrary to what has been observed by Marchand (1969:72) and Sauer (1992:425), who state that the semantic structures of verb + *-ing* + noun compounds are largely parallel to those of verb + noun compounds, the respective groups in the present corpus show noticeable semantic differences. Instead, when subjected to a semantic analysis based on the semantic types established in this study, verb + *-ing* + noun compounds exhibit more similarities to noun + noun compounds, which is explainable by their morphologic shape, mostly featuring deverbal nouns as first elements and frequently being paraphrasable like noun + noun compounds without an explicit verbal nexus (cp., for example the semantic parallels between *woing dance* (TS 1.2.593), ‘dance designed for / used for wooing somebody’ and the noun + noun compound

*candle-cases* (TS 3.2.1351), ‘cases designed for / used for (keeping) candles’). Whereas among the endocentric verb + noun compounds the semantic class AGENTIVE was prominent (cp. 7.4.7.4), the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds from the corpus mainly tend to display semantic structures that capture adverbial relations such as ‘Purpose – Entity’ or ‘Action – Instrument’. Both semantic types occur only rarely (‘Action – Instrument’) or not at all (‘Purpose – Entity’) among the verb + noun compounds from this study.<sup>276</sup>

The overall distribution of the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in the corpus over the respective semantic types is presented in the following table:

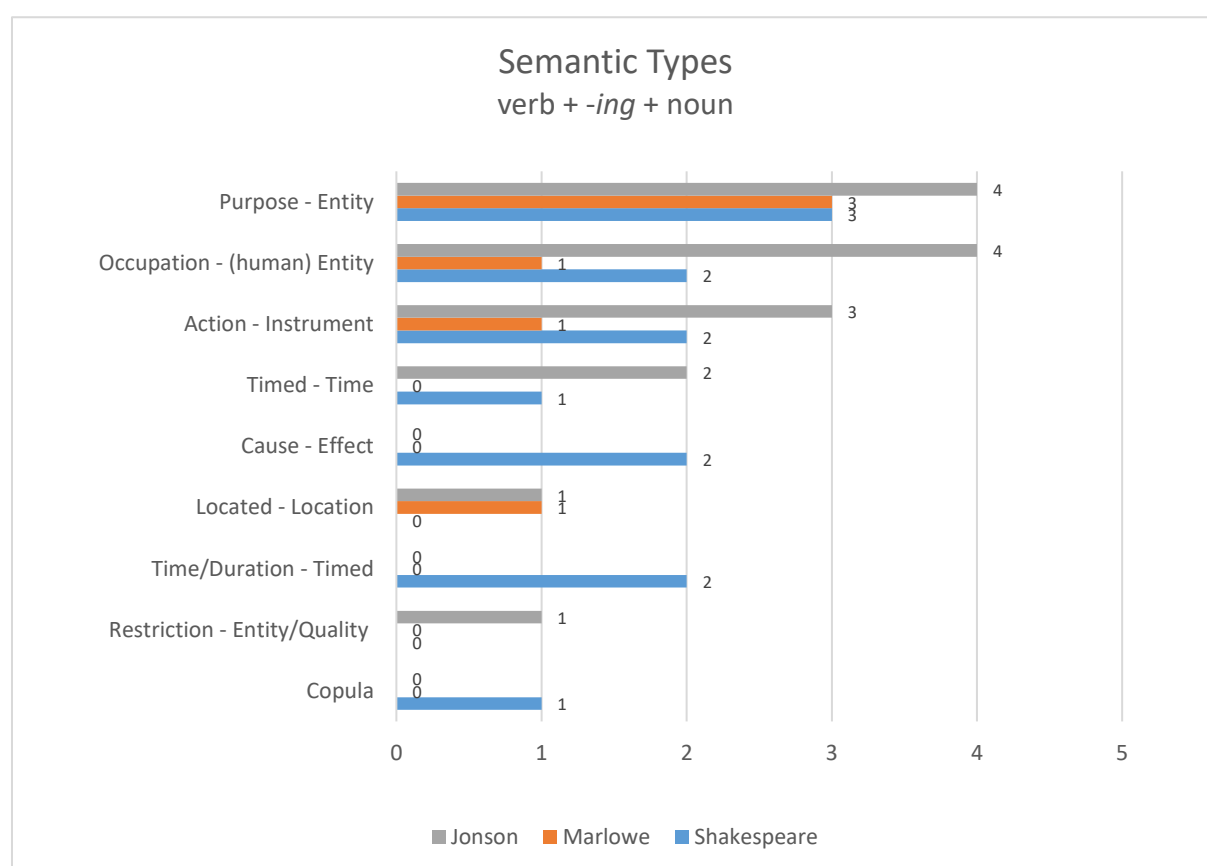


Figure 18: Semantic types of the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds

In general, the 34 tokens from the corpus are distributed over six semantic classes and nine semantic types, thereby being semantically more diverse than the verb + noun compounds. Whereas for most of the previously discussed morphologic types, Ben Jonson’s compounds

<sup>276</sup> In Marchand’s (1969) syntactic / semantic typology, the types ‘Purpose – Entity’ or ‘Action – Instrument’, among others such as, e.g. ‘Location – Located, or ‘Time – Timed’ are subsumed, on the basis of the syntactic structure of their assumed underlying sentences, under the so-called Adverbial Complement type, which Marchand (1969:70ff) observes to be most frequent among both morphologic types, verb + noun and verb + *-ing* + noun. In the present corpus, however, this can only be confirmed with regard to the latter type.

exhibited the broadest range of semantic types, it is Shakespeare, whose verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in the corpus display the highest degree of semantic diversity. With the tokens *parting teares* (RII 1.4.556) and *wedding cheere* (TS 3.3.1493) assignable to the semantic class / type PRODUCT; ‘Cause – Effect’, and the compounds *tumbling tricke* (TS I2.270), *wedding garment* (TS 4.1.1602) and *wedding sheetes* (O 4.2.2519) classifiable as ‘Copula’ and ‘Time / Duration – Timed’, respectively, his works feature several tokens with semantic structures that are singular among the compounds of this type.

Among these tokens, the compound *tumbling tricke* (TS I2.270), whose morphology I have discussed in ch. 7.4.8.3, is classified as a copula compound, based on the paraphrase ‘the trick consist in / is tumbling’ and is therefore semantically parallel to the Early Middle English compound *falling-torn* (‘the trick [turn] consists in falling’), found in Sauer’s (1992) material. As has been observed by Sauer (1992:427) for the ME token, the compound *tumbling tricke* (TS I2.270) represents one of the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in the corpus, that are only sensibly analysable as noun + noun compounds without any semantic verbal nexus. (cp. above)

Besides the aforementioned *wedding cheere* (TS 3.3.1493), *wedding sheetes* (O 4.2.2519) and *wedding garment* (TS 4.1.1602), classified as ‘Cause – Effect’ (‘cheer caused by a wedding’) and ‘Time / Duration – Timed’ (‘sheets used in the wedding night’; ‘garment worn at the wedding’), respectively, the corpus features *wedding day* (TS 2.1.841) as a further compound with the deverbal noun *wedding* as its determinant, classifiable as belonging to the semantic type ‘Timed – Time’ on the basis of the paraphrase ‘day on which a wedding takes place’. The deverbal noun *wedding* is thereby the most commonly used determinant among the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in the corpus, with all four instances of compounds featuring this verbal noun occurring exclusively in Shakespeare’s plays.

As has already been indicated above, the semantic type ‘Purpose – Entity’ is most frequent among the material and it is the dominant type among the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds used by each of the three authors. Although relatively clear cases, such as, e.g., *masking stufte* (TS 4.3.1966), prevail, there are several compounds which show certain ambiguities between the semantic classes PURPOSE or INSTRUMENT and the class AGENTIVE, or between the classes PURPOSE and LOCATION. Ambiguities of the latter form have already been observed with regard to certain noun + noun compounds (cp. ch. 7.4.1.4) and are a rather common phenomenon. Among the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds from the corpus, potential double analyses are exemplified by the tokens *Counting-house* (JM 1.1.R), *offering-Bason* (JM 2.3.28) and *starting holes* (EII 11.127), for which both locative and



purposive interpretations are conceivable ('a house / bason / hole designed / used for counting / offering / starting' or 'a house / bason / hole where (in which) the counting / offering / starting takes place'). Considering the exact meanings of each of the lexemes, I have felt the locative sense to be more prominent in the compound *Counting-house* (JM 1.1.R) ('house where the counting / book keeping takes place'; thus parallel to *tyring-house* (EM P.12)), whereas I have assigned the tokens *offering-Bason* (JM 2.3.28) ('bason designed to collect the offering') and *starting holes* (EII 11.127) ('holes used by animals / fugitives to start [escape, elude]') to the semantic type 'Purpose – Entity'. In turn, the parallel existence of an agentive and a purposive or instrumentative interpretation does not commonly occur among noun + noun compounds, but is particular to some verb + *-ing* + noun compounds, such as, e.g., *walking mates* (EM 2.2.29), *warming-pan* (JM 4.2.34) and *warning-peece* (JM 5.5.39). For all three tokens, an agentive interpretation ('the mate is walking', 'the pan is warming something', 'the piece [signal gun] is warning someone') is possible, although simultaneously raising questions concerning the compound status of the respective constructions, then interpreted as present participle + noun formations. These constructions are semantically ambiguous. In the present study, however, I have judged alternative paraphrases, namely 'mate for walking (with them)' ('Purpose – Entity'), 'piece [signal gun] shot of to warn someone' ('Purpose – Entity') and 'pan used to warm something' ('Action – Instrument') as more suitable to capture the individual meanings of the compounds.

It is further remarkable that with *hunting-match* (EM 2.4.10), the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds from the corpus feature one single instance of the semantic class / type QUALITY; 'Restriction – Entity', in which the determinant specifies the distinctive sphere of the determinatum's referent. The compound *hunting-match* (EM 2.4.10) is thus semantically parallel to noun + noun compounds such as *house affaires* (O 1.3.432), or *State matters* (O 3.4.2082).

Whereas none of the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in the corpus show any metonymic reference as a whole, the second constituents of two of the tokens of this morphologic type, *Looking-Glasse* (RII 4.1.2090) and *shooing-horne* (A 2.4.13), entail metonymy. In both compounds, the second elements name the material or substance of which the respective referents, a mirror (cp. "looking-glass, n." *OED online*. 13 February 2017) and a "curved instrument [...] used to facilitate the slipping of one's heel into a shoe" (s.v. "shoe-horn, n." *OED online*. 13 February 2017) are most typically made. In the compounds, these materials

stand metonymically for the respective instruments, which can, but, as the respective entries in the OED confirm, do not necessarily have to be made of either glass or horn entirely.

#### 7.4.8.6. Metaphoricity

The 34 verb + *-ing* + noun compounds from the corpus comprise the following five tokens, which display metaphoricity either in their contextual use or in their morphology:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>hunting-match</i> (EM 2.4.10)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>knowing of this hunting-match, or rather conspiracy</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>starting holes</i> (EII 11.127)	Marlowe	History	<i>Upon these Barons, harten up your men, [...] and marche to fire them from their starting holes</i>	Indirect		
<i>warming-pan</i> (JM 4.2.34)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>a Dagger with a hilt like a warmin-pan</i>	Direct		
<i>warning-peece</i> (JM 5.5.39)	Marlowe	Tragedy			Second constituent	
<i>woing dance</i> (TS 1.2.593)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>wealth is burthen of my woing dance</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	HL

Table 19: The metaphorical verb + *-ing* + noun compounds

Metaphoricity is rare among the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds from the corpus, with the five metaphorical lexemes making up only 18% of all tokens of this morphologic type. Different from what could be observed for most of the other morphologic types so far, it is among Christopher Marlowe's works where the majority of metaphorical verb + *-ing* + noun compounds is found. With three out of six verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in his works, metaphoricity is involved in 50% of his compounds of this type.

Although indirect contextual metaphor is once again the most frequent form of metaphor among the verb + *-ing* + noun compounds, Marlowe applies the compound *warming-pan* (JM 4.2.34) in a direct metaphor. In *The Jew of Malta*, he further uses the compound *warning-peece* (JM 5.5.39), institutionalized as a "signal-gun discharged to give notification of arrival, danger, time, etc." (s.v. "warning-piece, n." *OED online*. 14 February 2017) and displaying morphological metaphor of the second element. Whereas ME *pece*, in its basic sense, refers to 'a part, portion or segment of a quantity, substance or body' (cp. "piece, n.1." *OED online*. 14 February 2017; "pece, n." *MED online*. 14 February 2017) and can, from the fourteenth century

onwards, also stand in for the phrase *piece of armour* (cp. "piece, n.11." *OED online*. 14 February 2017), the noun has been institutionalized with the meaning "a portable firearm; a handgun" (s.v. "piece, n.15.b." *OED online*. 14 February 2017) since the sixteenth century. As no trace of the original partitive meaning is involved in this particular sense of the word, the use of *piece* with reference to a gun, as in *warning-peece* (JM 5.5.39), is classifiable as metaphorical.

The only metaphorical verb + *-ing* + noun compound among Shakespeare's tokens is the hapax legomenon *woing dance* (TS 1.2.593), which is noteworthy for its double metaphoricity, rooted in both its contextual use as an indirect metaphor and in its morphological make-up. When Petruchio in *The Taming of Shrew* frankly admits to Hortensio that the only prerequisite of his future wife is her prosperity, [*a*]s wealth is burthen of [*his*] *woing dance* (TS 1.2.593), he is not actually referring to any kind of the "rhythmical skipping and stepping, with regular turnings and movements of the limbs and body, usually to the accompaniment of music" (s.v. "dance, n." *OED online*. 14 February 2017) that the noun *dance* denotes in its basic sense. Instead, it is most likely that, in combination with *woing*, the simplex lexeme is supposed to be understood metaphorically, making use of the same zoological image metaphor that occurs in the semantically equivalent compounds *mating dance* or Ger. *Paarungstanz*, in which the noun *dance* metaphorically refers to the specific movements animals make in order to attract sexual partners. Hence, Shakespeare employs a new formation in his comedy which displays metaphor of its second constituent and, in addition to that, is used metaphorically in the context of the play, as it is transferred from the area of animalistic mating rituals to the human sphere, now denoting the overall endeavours entailed in trying to win a lady.

Lastly, the two compounds *hunting-match* (EM 2.4.10) and *starting holes* (EII 11.127) are both used as indirect metaphors, the former referring to old Kno'well's plans to secretly follow his son to London in *Every Man in His Humour*, and the latter being used in an appeal by Spencer to King Edward II in Marlowe's history of the same name, urging him to take military actions against the disloyal barons and *fire them from their starting holes* (EII 11.127). While the said *starting holes* (EII 11.127) are institutionalized as "place[s] of refuge for a hunted animal, fleeing criminal, fugitive" (s.v. "† starting-hole, n." *OED online*. 14 February 2017) the context of the play does not indicate any situation of the barons hiding. Instead the compound is used metaphorically to underline the military superiority of King Edward II's party and the assumed recreance and inferiority of the barons, who, as Spencer imagines, are bound to seek shelter like animals or criminals do in *starting holes* (EII 11.127).

#### 7.4.9. Noun + Verb + *-er*

##### 7.4.9.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic shape noun + verb + *-er* contain a (primary) noun as their determinant and a deverbal agent noun as their determinatum. The latter is formed by suffixation of a verb. Consequently, noun + verb + *-er* compounds belong to the group of so-called ‘synthetic compounds’, which are generally isolated from syntactic groups by their morphological shape.<sup>277</sup>

Although I have shown the status of the determinatum as an independently existing lexeme in ch. 4.3.2 to be no necessary condition for the compound status of noun + verb + *-er* compounds, the majority of the EModE compounds contain agent nouns as their second constituents which are documented rather extensively in independent use, as in the case of, e.g., *Bell-founders* (A 3.1.23), *fish-monger* (EM 1.4.67), *tabacco-traders* (EM 3.5.96), *comick-writers* (A P.11) or *Cardmaker* (TS I2.155). The sole potential exceptions, which are only very rarely attested independently, and whose status as independent lexemes, with the meaning that is realized in the respective compounds, is questionable at least from a PDE perspective, are the second elements of the compounds *lie-giuer* (O 4.1.1891), *inke-dablers* (EM 5.5.44) and possibly also *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19).

Compounds of the type noun + verb + *-er* have existed since the ninth century, albeit, as Sauer (1992:212) remarks, occurring exclusively in OE prose. They have increasingly been formed since Late Middle English, eventually becoming one of the most productive compound types in PDE. (cp. Sauer 1992:212) With the deverbal suffix *-er* explicitly marking the agent noun in such formations, the morphologic type, in the course of the Middle English period, almost completely replaces the older Germanic type of semantically parallel compounds, featuring an unmarked deverbal noun as second constituent, which functions as an agent noun in formations such as, e.g., *Nightingales* (TS I2.171).<sup>278</sup> (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:26; Sauer 1992:212)<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> For a detailed discussion of the morphological status of noun + verb + *-er* compounds, see ch. 4.3.2.

<sup>278</sup> As has been explained in chs. 7.1., 7.2., 7.4.1, compounds with converted deverbal nouns as second constituents, which are rather few in numbers, have been treated among the noun + noun compounds in the present study.

<sup>279</sup> Some compounds, among them the token *Grashoppers* (JM 4.4.68 and, in different spelling, A 5.5.15) exist in OE as formations of this earlier type noun + converted deverbal agent noun, e.g., OE *gærs-hoppe*, (cp. Marchand 1969:79) and can, therefore, be counted as "suffixal extension[s]" (Marchand 1969:79) of the earlier forms. The majority of the EModE compounds discussed in this study, however, are new formations of the Middle and Early Modern English period.

With 23 noun + verb + *-er* compounds, the morphologic type makes up a relatively small portion of only 3% of all EModE noun compounds in the corpus and also belongs to the smaller types among the material. Noun + verb + *-er* compounds are especially rare in Marlowe's works, which, with *Grashoppers* (JM 4.4.68) and *partaker* (T 1.2.230), feature only two compounds of this type. While being comparably infrequent in Shakespeare's works, Ben Jonson's plays show a higher share of noun + verb + *-er* compounds, with 16 of the 23 tokens of this type occurring in his works. This amounts to a percentage of 4.4% of his overall number of noun compounds and, hence, Jonson appears to display a significantly stronger preference for using compounds of this morphologic type than his contemporary playwrights, which, given the fact that the majority of his noun + verb + *-er* compounds occur in his two comedies, is likely to be connected to the frequent application of nicknames of this morphologic shape. (cp. below)

#### 7.4.9.2. The Noun + Verb + *-er* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>ballad-singer</i> (EM 4.2.120)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>Bell-founders</i> (A 3.1.23)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>Cardmaker</i> (TS I2.155)	Shakespeare	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>comick-writers</i> (A P.11)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity / Quality	NR
<i>Costar'-monger</i> (EM 1.3.61)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>costar-monger</i> (A 4.1.57)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>Counter-caster</i> (O 1.1.30)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	AGENTIVE	Instrument – Agent	HL
<i>cuckold-maker</i> (EM 4.10.57)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>cup-bearer</i> (S 2.14)	Jonson	History	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>fish-monger</i> (EM 1.4.67)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>Grashoppers</i> (JM 4.4.68)	Marlowe	Tragedy	LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>Grasse-hoppers</i> (A 5.5.15)	Jonson	Comedy	LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>house-keeper</i> (A 5.3.19)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>inke-dablers</i> (EM 5.5.44)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	HL
<i>lie-giuer</i> (RII 4.1.1891)	Shakespeare	History	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	NR
<i>night brawler</i> (O 2.3.1195)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	RNF
<i>partaker</i> (T 1.2.230)	Marlowe	Tragedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	
<i>pot-hangers</i> (A 2.3.120)	Jonson	Comedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>Saile-maker</i> (TS 5.1.2330)	Shakespeare	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	RNF
<i>tabacco-traders</i> (EM 3.5.96)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	AD
<i>tankard-bearer</i> (EM 1.3.110)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	

<i>Tragick writer</i> (S T.t.R. 21)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity / Quality	NR
<i>Water-bearer</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	OBJ – Agent	

Table 20: The noun + verb + -er compounds from the corpus

### 7.4.9.3. Morphological Particularities

The majority of the EModE noun + verb + -er compounds in the corpus are morphologically regular and do not exhibit any peculiarities regarding their morphological shape. From a PDE perspective, the two instances of *Costar'-monger* (EM 1.3.61 and, in slightly different spelling, A 4.1.57) may appear archaic to some degree, with the compound displaying a moderate form of lexicalization, as its first constituent shows an elision of the final consonant -d, which becomes established towards the PDE standard form of the lexeme *costermonger* (cp. "costermonger, n." *OED online*. 17 February 2017) The process, however, is not progressed enough to attest actual opacity.

A similar status can be observed for the compound *partaker* (T 1.2.230), which, after its first appearances in documents of the early fifteenth century, soon forfeits the final -t of its first element, and later, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, appears in the slightly lexicalized form that also occurs in the corpus. (cp. "partaker, n." *OED Online*. 17 February 2017) Other than the previously cited example of *Costar'-monger* (EM 1.3.61, A 4.1.57), however, the compound *partaker* (T 1.2.230) is still in regular use in PDE.

The morphological status of the first constituents is unambiguously that of a primary noun in the majority of cases, the only tokens for which a classification of the first elements as adjectives is possible being the compounds *comick-writers* (A P.11) and *Tragick writer* (S T.t.R. 21). The first elements in these constructions go back to the adjectives Latin *comicus* and French *tragique*, respectively, which are both originally used to describe something or someone as 'pertaining or belonging to the respective genre of comedy or tragedy'. (cp. "comic, n. and adj." and "tragic, adj. and n." *OED online*. 17 February 2017) However, as the two lexemes exist in English with both word classes, adjective and noun, the determination of the word class realised in the compounds is problematic. Since EModE, the lexemes *comic* and *tragic* are also documented in substantival use, in the sense of 'writer of tragedies / comedies' and 'the tragic / comic genre', making an interpretation of the constituents as nouns possible as well. (cp. "comic, n. and adj." and "tragic, adj. and n." *OED online*. 17 February 2017) The etymological background, however, in combination with the fact that, semantically, an adjectival first element with the meaning outlined above consorts well with the meaning of the respective

compounds as used in the contexts of the two plays, rather prompts a classification of the compounds as exhibiting the morphological shape adjective + noun + *-er*. Nevertheless, due to their morphological ambiguity, as well as their singularity among the compounds from the corpus, I have subsumed the discussion of the tokens *comick-writers* (A P.11) and *Tragick writer* (S T.t.R. 21) under the general treatment of the morphologic type noun + verb + *-er*.<sup>280</sup>

#### 7.4.9.4. Innovation among the Noun + Verb + *-er* Compounds

As the following pie chart illustrates, noun + verb + *-er* compounds that have been formed prior to their respective occurrence in the corpus clearly outweigh the new formations of this morphologic type among the material. However, with the exceptions of *Cardmaker* (TS I2.155), *cup-bearer* (S 2.14), *fish-monger* (EM 1.4.67), *house-keeper* (A 5.3.19) and *Grashoppers* (JM 4.4.68 and, in different spelling, A 5.5.15), which are all formations of the fifteenth century, as well as the compound *Water-bearer* (EM Pers.), which has existed since early Old English, all earlier formations attested in the corpus emerged in the sixteenth century.

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<sup>280</sup> It has to be noted that constructions of the type adjective + noun + *-er* are not morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases. In fact, the two tokens from the corpus are borderline cases, which, as they only show very weak semantic lexicalization do not have any determinable fore-stress pattern, could arguably be denied compound status (cp., e.g. the OED entry for "comic, n. and adj.", which quotes Jonson's use of *comick-writers* (A P.11) as an example for *comic* being used as an attributive adjective). In accordance with the general approach of this study, however, they have been included as disputable cases.

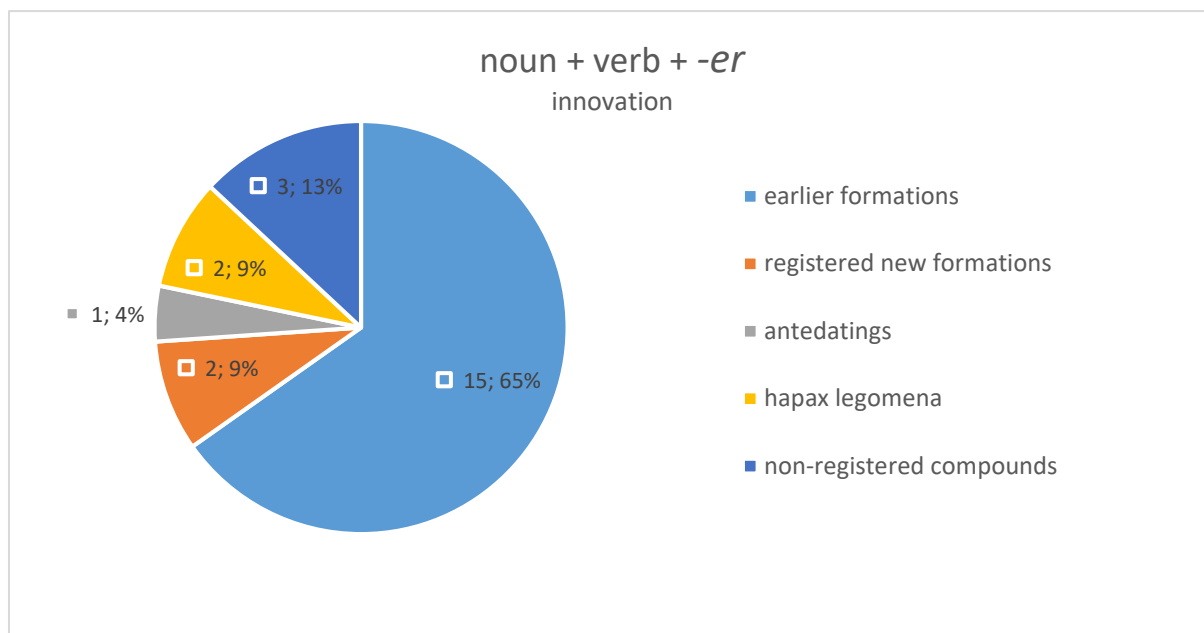


Figure 19: Innovation among the noun + verb + *-er* compounds

#### 7.4.9.5. Semantic Description

As expectable from the morphologic shape of the compounds of this type, featuring agent nouns as their determinatum, the most frequent semantic class / type among the noun + verb + *-er* compounds is that of AGENTIVE; ‘Object – Agent’. With the exception of Christopher Marlowe, whose two tokens, *Grashoppers* (JM 4.4.68) and *partaker* (T 1.2.230) are classified as ‘Location – Located’ and ‘Object – Agent’ respectively, this pertains to all three playwrights, with the general token numbers for this morphologic type, however, strongly varying. (cp. above) The overall distribution of the noun + verb + *-er* compounds is presented in the following table:



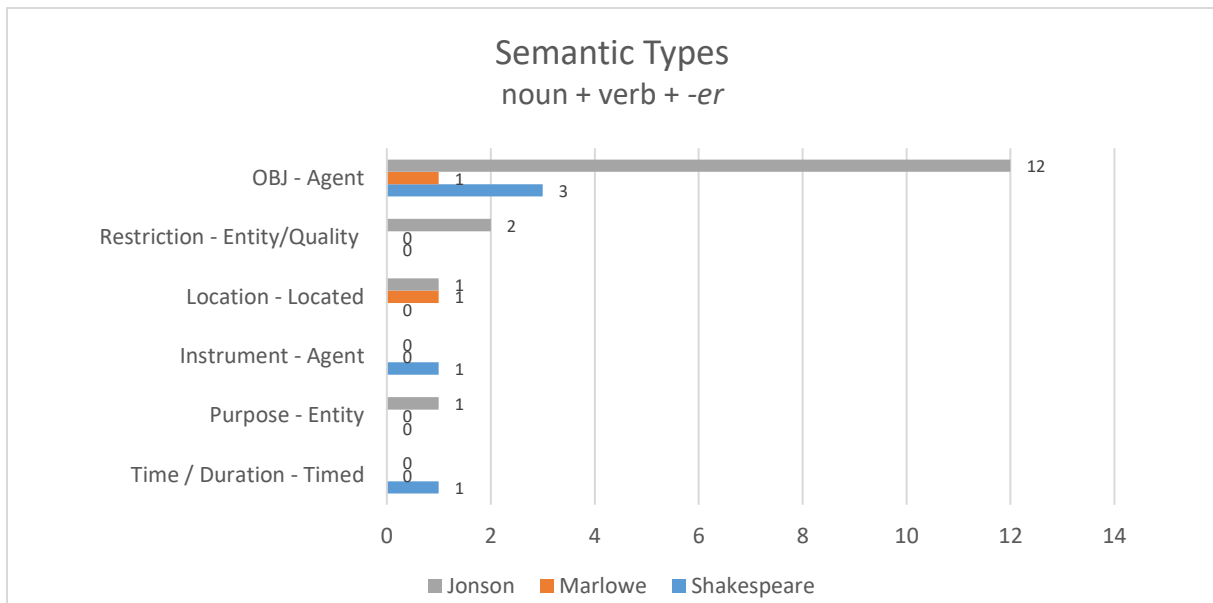


Figure 20: Semantic types of the noun + verb + -er compounds

As has already been indicated above, a substantial part of the relatively high number of noun + verb + -er compounds in Ben Jonson's works, including the tokens *Costar'-monger* (EM 1.3.61), *cuckold-maker* (EM 4.10.57), *fish-monger* (EM 1.4.67), *tankard-bearer* (EM 1.3.110), or *inke-dabblers* (EM 5.5.44), are used as nicknames or in similes of mostly derogative nature. (cp. further ch. 7.4.9.6) In the case of these and other noun + verb + -er compounds, overlaps between the semantic type 'Object – Agent' and the type 'Occupation – (human) Entity', as pre-eminently occurring among the noun + noun compounds, are observable. With the only exception of *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891), all 'Object – Agent' compounds in this class also potentially comply with the paraphrase '(human) B is concerned with A (or an action related to A) as part of their occupation', as established for the semantic type 'Occupation – (human) Entity'. (cp. ch. 7.3.4) Moreover, for certain compounds of this morphologic type, such as, e.g., *Cardmaker* (TS I2.155) or *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330), an additional classification as 'Product – Producer', is also conceivable, thus uncovering a further point of intersection between semantic types and classes. Consistency of classification in these cases has been achieved by establishing the morphologic shape of the determinatum as the criterion for the distinction, classifying all combinations featuring agent nouns as their second elements as 'Object – Agent', whereas I have subsumed other, semantically similar constructions, such as, e.g., *Cow-herd* (A 1.1.107), *gold-smith* (1.3.32) or *seruingman* (RII 2.2.R), under the type 'Occupation – (human) Entity'.<sup>281</sup>

<sup>281</sup> The semantic class / type PRODUCT; 'Product – Producer', in turn, exclusively comprises compounds with non-human second elements, such as, e.g. *fire-drake* (A 2.1.26) and *milch-kine* (TS 2.1.1161).

Unsurprisingly from what has been stated until now, the clear majority of noun + verb + *-er* compounds display some kind of human reference. The only instances, which deviate from this pattern, are the tokens *Grashoppers* (JM 4.4.68 and, in different spelling, A 5.5.15) and *pot-hangers* (A 2.3.120), with the former referring to an animal and exhibiting a locative semantic structure. The latter compound, *pot-hangers* (A 2.3.120), in turn, does usually not refer to ‘someone who (habitually) hangs pots’ but instead commonly denotes a device found in kitchens and installed to hang pots from. (cp. "pot hanger, n." *OED online*. 20 February 2017) The compound is, therefore, the only noun + verb + *-er* compound among the material whose referent is an inanimate object and is classifiable as belonging to the semantic class / type PURPOSE; ‘Purpose – Entity’.

Finally, Shakespeare’s hapax legomenon *Counter-caster* (O 1.1.30) is noteworthy for its semantic structure, which is unique among the compounds from the corpus. Its second constituent being a morphologically regular agent noun denoting ‘someone who casts’, there are two possible interpretations of the compound, mainly depending on the extent of literality ascribed to the verb *to cast* in this context. While the noun *counter* was established in Middle English as denoting ‘an instrument used for counting or calculating’, (cp. "counter, n.3." *OED online*. 20 February 2017), the verb *to cast*, starting from its original meaning ‘to throw’, has branched into a plurality of different senses, many of which are metaphorical transfers of the original physical action. (cp. "cast, v." *OED online*. 20 February 2017) Among these, we also find the meaning "[t]o reckon, calculate" (s.v. "cast, v. 37." *OED online*. 20 February 2017) – a sense of the verb which, as the OED assumes, is originally motivated by the physical action of manipulating the counters which were commonly used for reckoning. (cp. "cast, v. 37." *OED online*. 20 February 2017). The case of *Counter-caster* (O 1.1.30), hence, allows for two different interpretation of its deverbal second element (and, with that, of the compound as a whole): Understanding the agent noun *caster* as denoting someone who physically manipulates the *counter* (i.e. ‘someone who casts [manipulates] counters’), the second constituent is assumed to have a meaning that is closer to its basic physical sense, resulting in a classification of the compound as ‘OBJ – Agent’. If, however, the second constituent is determined to represent the metaphorically further extended form of *to cast*, meaning ‘to reckon’, the compound has to be assigned to a semantic type specifying its semantic structure as ‘Instrument – Agent’, as it then corresponds to the paraphrase ‘someone who casts [reckons] with the help of counters’. Considering the context of its use in *Othello*, both interpretations appear appropriate. As Iago uses the compound as an insult for Cassio, the *bookish Theorique* (O 1.1.23), whose promotion to Lieutenant infuriates him, who had held out hope for the position

himself, the lexeme is clearly intended to belittle the rival's former occupation. Both interpretations, however, have derogative connotations, either aiming at the fact that 'casting counters' is a rather trifling activity in itself or implying that a *Counter-caster* (O 1.1.30) is unable to pursue their occupation without the help of the said counter. It is that latter variant of interpretation, 'someone who casts [reckons] with the help of counters', which surfaces in the respective entries for the Shakespearean formation in both the OED and Crystal & Crystal (2002). Thus, the present semantic classification of the compound as the only instance of the semantic type 'Instrument – Agent' in the corpus, also reflects the instrumentative interpretation, albeit explicitly pointing out the semantic ambiguity of the construction.

#### 7.4.9.6. Metaphoricity

The following eight tokens of the 23 noun + verb + *-er* compounds occurring in the corpus involve metaphoricity of some kind:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>ballad-singer</i> (EM 4.2.120)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Sirrah, you, ballad-singer, and slops, your fellow there, get you out</i>	Indirect		
<i>Costar'-monger</i> (EM 1.3.61)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Hee cannot but thinke most vertuously, both of me, and the sender, sure; that make the careful costar'-monger of him</i>	Indirect		
<i>Counter-caster</i> (O 1.1.30)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>This Counter-caster, He in good time, must his Leutenant be</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	HL
<i>cuckold-maker</i> (EM 4.10.57)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>And you young apple-squire, and old cuckold-maker, Ile ha' you euery one before a Iustice</i>	Indirect		
<i>Grasse-hoppers</i> (A 5.5.15)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>[They are] Worse then the Grasse-hoppers, or the Lice of Egypt</i>	Direct		
<i>inke-dabblers</i> (EM 5.5.44)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>But, these paper-pedlers! These inke-dabblers!</i>	Indirect		HL
<i>tabacco-traders</i> (EM 3.5.96)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>This speech would ha' done decently in a tabacco-traders mouth</i>	Direct		AD
<i>tankard-bearer</i> (EM 1.3.110)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>A gentlemen of your sort [...] to talke [...] like a tankard-bearer</i>	Direct		

Table 21: Metaphorical noun + verb + *-er* compounds

The noun + verb + *-er* compounds in the corpus exhibit a metaphoricity rate of 35 %, with six of the overall number of eight metaphorical tokens occurring in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, one in *The Alchemist* and only one in Shakespeare's *Othello*. 45% of Ben Jonson's compounds of this morphologic shape are, therefore, metaphorical and his comedy *Every Man in His Humour* displays a portion of even 75% of metaphorical lexemes among its noun + verb

+ *-er* compounds. As I indicated above, this high rate of metaphorical compounds is attributable to the frequent application of nicknames of this morphological shape in the comedy, occurring both in the form of indirect metaphors, as in the case of *ballad-singer* (EM 4.2.120) and *inkedabblers* (EM 5.5.44),<sup>282</sup> and as direct metaphors, as observable for *tabacco-traders* (EM 3.5.96) and *tankard-bearer* (EM 1.3.110).

While contextual metaphoricity can be attested for all eight metaphorical lexemes, the only token exhibiting additional morphological metaphoricity is Shakespeare's *Counter-caster* (O 1.1.30), whose semantic structure, as I pointed out above, is interpreted as corresponding to the paraphrase 'someone who casts [reckons] with the help of counters'. Even if the OED is correct in their assumption that the development of the meaning 'to reckon' for the verb *to cast*, originates in the activity of manually manipulating, or *casting*, counters, (cp. "cast, v. 37." *OED online*. 20 February 2017), which would indicate a metonymic rather than a metaphoric relation between 'to cast a counter' and 'to cast [reckon] in general', the second constituent of the compound still has to be classified as metaphorical considering that the basic sense of *to cast* is 'to throw' – a basic meaning which cannot sensibly be assumed to appear either in the compound or in the phrase 'to cast a counter'.

Contrary to what may be expected given the etymology of the first element in the compound *cuckold-maker* (EM 4.10.57), no metaphorical process is involved in its word formation. First documented in the Middle English poem *The Owl and the Nightingale* (cp. "cuckold, n.1." *OED online*. 20 February 2017), the term *cuckold* has ever since been applied derisively to "the husband of an unfaithful wife" (s.v. "cuckold, n.1." *OED online*. 20 February 2017) and has never served as a name for the bird *cuckoo* in English, which the noun *cuckold* is etymologically related to. (cp. "cuckold, n.1." *OED online*. 20 February 2017) Instead, the metaphorical transfer from the name of the bird to the meaning of 'betrayed husband', presumably based on the habit of the female *cuckoo* to be unfaithful to its mate (cp. "cokewold, n." *MED online*. 20 February 2017), has taken place prior to the borrowing of the lexeme from

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<sup>282</sup> As has been pointed out earlier on several occasions, notably in chs. 7.4.1.6 and 7.4.7.6, the individual discrepancies between the institutionalized meanings of those nicknames and the referents in the respective plays are of varying degrees. In general, however, nicknames and abusive terms for characters from the plays have been counted as indirect metaphors with very few exceptions. Within the morphologic type noun + verb + *-er*, the compounds *lie-giuer* (RII 4.1.1891) and *night brawler* (O 2.3.1195) constitute such exceptions, as they, although also being used as terms of abuse, either refer to a person who has, in fact, just been caught in a lie, as in the case of the former token, or to a person unknown to the speaker, who has been heard brawling the previous night, in the case of *night brawler* (O 2.3.1195).

Old French. Thus, the first constituent of the EModE compound *cuckold-maker* (EM 4.10.57) has not been classified as metaphorical.

#### 7.4.10. Noun + Verb + *-ing*

##### 7.4.10.1. Morphological Description

Noun + verb + *-ing* compounds consist of a noun as their first constituent and a deverbal noun formed from a verb and the suffix *-ing*. Hence, compounds of this shape contain a morphological verbal nexus and belong to the class of ‘synthetic compounds’. Other than in Middle English, where freedom of word order allowed for an object to precede a verbal noun (now gerund) in a syntactic construction (cp. Sauer 1992:216), noun + verb + *-ing* compounds have been morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases since EModE. While issues concerning the demarcation from syntactic groups are thereby eliminated, the morphological shape of noun + verb + *-ing* compounds potentially prompts the delimitation from derivations of complex verbs.

Whereas concerning the tokens *conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597) and *house-keeping* (TS 2.1.1160), an origin in compound verbs can quickly be dismissed as an option due to the chronological evidence given in the OED, which lists both complex verbs *to conicatch* and *to housekeep* later than the respective noun + verb + *-ing* compounds, (cp. "coney-catch, v.", "housekeep, v." *OED online*. 21 February 2017), the case of *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96) proves slightly more complicated in this regard. While the documentation in the OED appears to suggest the verb *to caterwaul* to have preceded the noun + verb + *-ing* compound as ME *caterwrawl*, *-wawle*, or *-waul* (cp. "caterwaul, v." *OED online*. 21 February 2017) and, hence, indicates a derivational origin of the noun compound, a closer analysis of the OED’s quotations reveals that the earliest use of the word occurs in Chaucer’s *Wife of Bath’s Tale* of 1386 in the phrase *a goon a caterwrawet*. (s.v. "caterwaul, v." *OED online*. 21 February 2017) The subsequent documented usage of the lexeme from a work of 1530, however, appears in the morphologic shape noun + verb + *-ing* in the phrase *the caterwawying of cattes* and is clearly of the same nominal nature as the instance of the word attested in the corpus. Here, the construction may, thus, very well be deemed a synthetic noun compound. (cp. "caterwaul, v." *OED online*. 21 February 2017) The verbal character of the lexeme in the quotation from *The Wife of Bath’s Tale*, however, is highly disputable in itself, since, as the OED concedes, the phrase *goon a caterwrawet* could, in fact, be argued to contain a verbal noun *caterwrawet* of

the Old English type *on huntað*, ‘a-hunting’. (cp. "caterwaul, v." *OED online*. 21 February 2017 and further "caterwaul, v." ODEE). Hence, as the first uses of the compound construction in question are both arguably of nominal nature, before the formation eventually occurs as a verb in 1610, only very shortly before its occurrence in the corpus, the evidence for the derivational nature of the construction *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96) is too sparse to justify an exclusion of the construction.

The morphologic type of noun + verb + *-ing* compounds is one of the old types, with first formations occurring in West Germanic (cp. Carr 1939:98) and an increased productivity since Old English. (cp. Koziol 1972:59; Sauer 1992:218) In the Middle English period the productivity of the noun + verb + *-ing* pattern continues and Sauer (1992:218) finds a remarkably high number of Middle English new formations in his material. Although the type maintains its high productivity throughout the history of English, (cp. Marchand 1969:75) noun + verb + *-ing* compounds are noticeably rare in the EModE corpus, with only three tokens corresponding to this morphologic type.

#### 7.4.10.2. The Noun + Verb + *-ing* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>catter-waling</i> (EM 4.2.96)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>conicatching</i> (TS 4.1.1597)	Shakespeare	Comedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>house-keeping</i> (TS 2.1.1160)	Shakespeare	Comedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	

Table 22: The noun + verb + *-ing* compounds from the corpus

#### 7.4.10.3. Morphological Particularities

Besides the demarcation issues that have already been addressed above, two of the three noun + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus exhibit certain particularities of their morphological form, affecting the first constituents of *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96) and *conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597). In the latter compound, the first element may appear unfamiliar due to its unconventional spelling, appearing in PDE as *coney* and denoting the ‘skin or fur of a rabbit’ or the ‘rabbit’ itself, as "hunted, bred, sold, or prepared for food" (s.v. "coney, n.1." *OED online*. 21 February 2017). In the case of the former compound, *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96), however, the morphological particularity of the determinant goes beyond EModE spelling peculiarities,

as its etymological origin is unresolved except for the obvious connection to the animal *cat*. As possible explanations for the additional *-er* – element, the OED as well as the ODEE propose an interpretation as a mere linking element, without any significant semantic function on the one hand, and a potential relation of *cater-* to German and Dutch *Kater* (‘male cat’) on the other hand. (cp. "caterwaul, v." *OED online*. 21 February 2017 and further "caterwaul, v." ODEE) Since no further documented uses of the form *cater-* are available, however, the exact etymological origin remains unclear.

#### 7.4.10.4. Innovation among the Noun + Verb + *-ing* Compounds

Contrary to what may be expected from the fact that the morphologic type noun + verb + *-ing* is a very productive one throughout the English history (cp. ch. 7.4.10.1), none of the very infrequent instances of noun + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus are new formations. Yet, except for *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96), which, as I pointed out above, arguably already occurs in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, although in a slightly different morphological shape, (cp. ch. 7.4.10.1) the noun + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus are formations from the EModE period and are documented in the OED as having emerged in the sixteenth century. (cp. "coney-catching, n." and "housekeeping, n." *OED online*. 21 February 2017)

#### 7.4.10.5. Semantic Description

In terms of their semantics, the three noun + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus differ in so far as both Shakespearean compounds *conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597) and *house-keeping* (TS 2.1.1160) comply to the generally most common semantic pattern among this morphologic type, OBJECT; ‘OBJ – Action’. (cp. Koziol 1972:59; Marchand 1969:75) The compound *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96), in contrast, displays a more extraordinary semantic structure, pertaining to the semantic class / type AGENTIVE; ‘Agent – Action’, which is very rare among constructions of this type and only occurs in very few PDE noun + verb + *-ing* compounds, e.g., *cock-fighting*, *nose-bleeding*, and in the OE lexeme *feax-feallung* (‘loss of hair’). (cp. Koziol 1972:59f; Marchand 1969:76)

#### 7.4.10.6. Metaphoricity

Of the three noun + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus, two tokens display indirect contextual metaphor:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>catter-waling</i> (EM 4.2.96)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>why, you munkies you? What a catter-waling doe you keepe?</i>	Indirect		
<i>conicatching</i> (TS 4.1.1597)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>Come, you are so full of conicatching</i>	Indirect		

Table 23: The metaphorical noun + verb + *-ing* compounds

While in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, the metaphoricity of the noun *catter-waling* (EM 4.2.96) is rooted in its immediate context and becomes obvious by the fact that the character Well-bred addresses his exclamation, *What a catter-waling doe you keepe?* (EM 4.2.96), to other (human) personae of the play, the expression *conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597) had already been established as a term for 'swindling, trickery' – the sense in which it is also used in Shakespeare's comedy – by Robert Greene in 1591. (cp. "coney-catching, n." *OED online*. 22 February 2017) Interestingly, the non-metaphorical meaning of the compound, derived from the literal meanings of its two constituents, 'the action of catching / hunting coney [rabbits]', is not documented in the OED and it is not until looking at the entry of the related compound *coney-catcher* that some reference is found to the fact that the latter formation is, in its metaphorical sense, a term "*..borrowed..from those that vse to robbe Warrens and Conie grounds, vsing all meanes, sleights, and cunning to deceiue them*" (s.v. "coney-catcher, n." *OED online*. 22 February 2017). Although this etymological explanation is listed as a quotation from John Misheu's *Ductor in Linguas* of the year 1617 for the agent noun *coney-catcher*, it appears safe to assume that a similar etymological background exists for *conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597). As the compound, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, is clearly used in its (institutionalized) metaphorical sense by Curtis, who accuses his fellow servant Grumio to be *full of conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597), it is classified as an indirect contextual metaphor.



## 7.5. Compound Adjectives

### 7.5.1. Noun + Adjective

#### 7.5.1.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type of adjective compounds commonly discussed first (cp. Koziol 1972; Marchand 1969; Sauer 1992) consists of a noun and an adjective. It has been isolated from syntactic groups due to its morphological shape since Middle English, when the loss of inflectional endings rendered Old English syntactic constructions combining genitive or dative nouns and adjectives impossible. (cp. Sauer 1992:264f)

The demarcation of compounds of this morphologic type from derivations formed by the help of suffixes (or ‘suffixoids’ as they are termed by Sauer 1992), however, is problematic due to the diachronically fluctuant nature of elements such as *-ful(l)*, *-like* or *-free* as they appear in constructions such as, e.g., *fearefull* (O 1.3 298), *god-like* (S 1.90), or *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15). Since, in the respective formations, these elements have arguably already lost their morphological and semantic status as independent words in EModE, the compound status of the complex lexemes in question is disputable. As pointed out in detail in ch. 4.3.3., I have excluded constructions of the pattern of *fearefull* (O 1.3 298) and *god-like* (S 1.90) from the study, while I have accepted *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15) as a compound.

Both Lipka (1966:16ff) and Sauer (1992:265f) find, among their material from PDE and Early Middle English respectively, noun + adjective compounds, which, from a process-oriented view, are (either potentially or rather certainly) to be classified as back-formations from corresponding noun compounds, e.g., PDE *airsick* from *airsickness*. (cp. Lipka 1966:16) In the EModE corpus, few noun + adjective compounds occur, for which corresponding noun compounds exist. In fact, the only examples that are paired by the respective noun formations are the tokens *brain-sicke* (T 4.2.49, in different spelling EII 1.125) and *love-sick* (4.86). In both cases, however, the chronology of the occurrences of adjective and noun compounds as documented in the OED, (cp. "lovesickness, n."; "brainsickness, n."; "lovesick, adj.", "brainsick, adj." *OED online*. 23 February 2017) clearly eliminates any possibility of backformation being the underlying formation process of the adjective compounds.

Compounds of the morphologic type noun + adjective are frequent and productive in all stages of the history of English (cp. Koziol 1972:73; Marchand 1969:87; Sauer 1992:267). Whereas Carr (1939:162) lists the morphologic type as second to noun + noun compounds in

terms of frequency in Germanic,<sup>283</sup> and Marchand (1969) observes a "peak of productivity between 1580 and 1620" (87), the number of noun + adjective compounds in the EModE corpus is lower than expected.

With 21 tokens of this shape, the morphologic type noun + adjective constitutes a portion of only 10% of all 209 adjective compounds among the material. It is the third largest type among the adjective compounds in the corpus, clearly surpassed by the types adjective/adverb + noun + *-ed* and adjective/adverb + verb + *-ed*. (cp. below) Itemized by playwright, the percental shares of noun + adjective compounds differ considerably, however, illustrating diverging preferences among the three authors for using adjective compounds of this type. While noun + adjective compounds make-up a rather low percentage of 6% and 8% among Shakespeare's and Jonson's adjective compounds, respectively, the compounds of this type in Marlowe's works equate 17% of his overall number of adjective compounds. The eleven noun + adjective compounds in his works represent 52% of all noun + adjective compounds in the corpus and clearly outnumber the corresponding six and four formations in Shakespeare's and Jonson's plays. The relative frequency of compounds of this type in Marlowe's works has already been noted by Koskenniemi (1962), who observes that the playwright shows a special preference for colour-adjectives of the form *cole-blacke* (T 3.1.25). (cp. 26) In his three plays, four such colour-terms occur.

#### 7.5.1.2. The Noun + Adjective Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>blood-raw</i> (T 4.4.12)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	RNF
<i>brainsicke</i> (EII 1.125)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	
<i>brain-sicke</i> (T 4.2.49)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	
<i>brimfull</i> (O 2.3.1213)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>cole-blacke</i> (RII 5.1.2204)	Shakespeare	History	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>cole-blacke</i> (T 3.1.25)	Marlowe	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>dogge-wearie</i> (TS 4.2.1817)	Shakespeare	Comedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	RNF

<sup>283</sup> Carr (1939) seems to include compounds featuring participles as second constituents in these numbers, however.

<i>grasse-greene</i> (JM 1.1.26)	Marlowe	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>head-strong</i> (EII 6.262)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	
<i>headstrong</i> (TS 4.1.1755)	Shakespeare	Comedy	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	
<i>lip-good</i> (S 1.410)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	HL
<i>love-sick</i> (EII 4.86)	Marlowe	History	PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	
<i>maid-pale</i> (RII 3.3.1614)	Shakespeare	History	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	HL
<i>milke-white</i> (T 1.1.77)	Marlowe	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>Olympushigh</i> (O 2.1.870)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	NR
<i>rime-giuen</i> (EM 4.2.14)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	NR
<i>scot-free</i> (EM 3.7.15)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	
<i>stedfast</i> (EII 22.77)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	
<i>Sun-bright</i> (T 2.3.22)	Marlowe	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>sword prooffe</i> (EII 2.8)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	RNF
<i>thred-bare</i> (EM 3.7.65)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	

Table 24: The noun + adjective compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.1.3. Morphological Particularities

While, as pointed out in ch. 4.3.3. as well as above (ch. 7.5.1.1), constructions such as *fearefull* (O 1.3.298) or PDE *careful*, *helpful* have been denied compound status on the grounds of their second constituents' proximity to suffixes, I have included the token *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213) as a noun + adjective compound. What may appear inconsistent at first sight, is justified by a difference in the semantic structure of *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213), which is not paraphrasable as '\*full of brims', parallel to *fearefull* (O 1.3.298), but, instead describes something as 'full to the brim'. Thus, the token does not answer to serializable cases as exemplified by *fearefull* (O 1.3.298), which is further substantiated by the fact that, while *-ful* as a suffix has generally forfeited its second <l> in PDE spelling, the second constituent of the compound *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213) still appears in its unaltered form. (cp. "brim-full | brimful, adj." *OED online*. 23 February 2017)

Moreover, I have analysed the compound *rime-giuen* (EM 4.2.14) as a noun + adjective compound as well, although its second element *given* may also be classified as the past participle of the verb *to give*, which would involve a categorisation of the compound as belonging to the morphologic type noun + verb + *-ed* instead. The lexeme *given* has existed in

adjectival use with increasing semantic independency since Middle English, however, (cp. "given, adj. and n." *OED online*. 23 February 2017) and, semantically, the non-registered formation *rime-giuen* (EM 4.2.14) is, in fact, most likely to contain the lexeme in its adjectival sense of "[i]nclined, disposed, addicted, prone" (s.v. "given, adj. and n. A.2." *OED online*. 23 February 2017). Used in the position of a predicative adjective, this sense of *given* is most frequent in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (cp. "given, adj. and n. A.2." *OED online*. 23 February 2017) and clearly suits the most appropriate paraphrase of the compound as describing someone who is 'given [addicted, prone] to rhymes'. Therefore, a classification of the adjective compound as featuring an adjective as its second constituent appears as the more appropriate choice.

Apart from occasional idiosyncrasies of EModE spelling, the noun + adjective compounds in the corpus are largely transparent from a PDE perspective and do not display any marked forms of lexicalization. The only token, whose morphological make-up may seem unfamiliar to PDE speakers is *stedfast* (EII 22.77). Going back to OE *stędefæst*, the first constituent of the compound, *stead* ('place, position') is largely obsolete in PDE, (cp. "stead, n." *OED online*. 23 February 2017) with its most frequent relic surfacing in the univerbation *instead*. (cp. "instead, adv." *OED online*. 23 February 2017) The compound's second element *fast*, on the other hand, is common in PDE in the sense of 'quick', but its original meaning, 'fixed, stable', which appears in the compound in question, has also been lost almost completely. (cp. "fast, adj." *OED online*. 23 February 2017) Hence, with knowledge of the original denotations of the constituents of *stedfast* (EII 22.77), referring to something as 'fixed with regard to its place', the compound is eventually fairly transparent and does not display any significant degree of semantic or morphological lexicalization.

#### 7.5.1.4. Innovation among the Noun + Adjective Compounds from the Corpus

From the 21 noun + adjective compounds in the corpus, five tokens, equating 23% are registered as first documented uses (i.e. registered new formations and hapax legomena) in the OED. The clear majority of the compounds occurring in the material, however, are earlier formations, resulting in a rather moderate innovation rate for the noun + adjective compounds from the corpus. Although Marchand (1969:87) indicates that the productivity of the type peaks around 1600 (cp. above), the numbers from the corpus give a different picture. Besides the five attested

new formations in the corpus and the two tokens *Olympushigh* (O 2.1.870) and *rime-giuen* (EM 4.2.14), which do not appear in the OED, only the two compounds *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213) and *Sun-bright* (T 2.3.22) are of EModE origin, whereas all other tokens have existed since Middle or, as in the case of *brainsicke* (EII 1.125), *grasse-greene* (JM 1.1.26), *milke-white* (T 1.1.77) and *stedfast* (EII 22.77), Old English.

As for the noun compounds, an overview of the distribution of the noun + adjective compounds in terms of innovation is presented in the following pie chart.

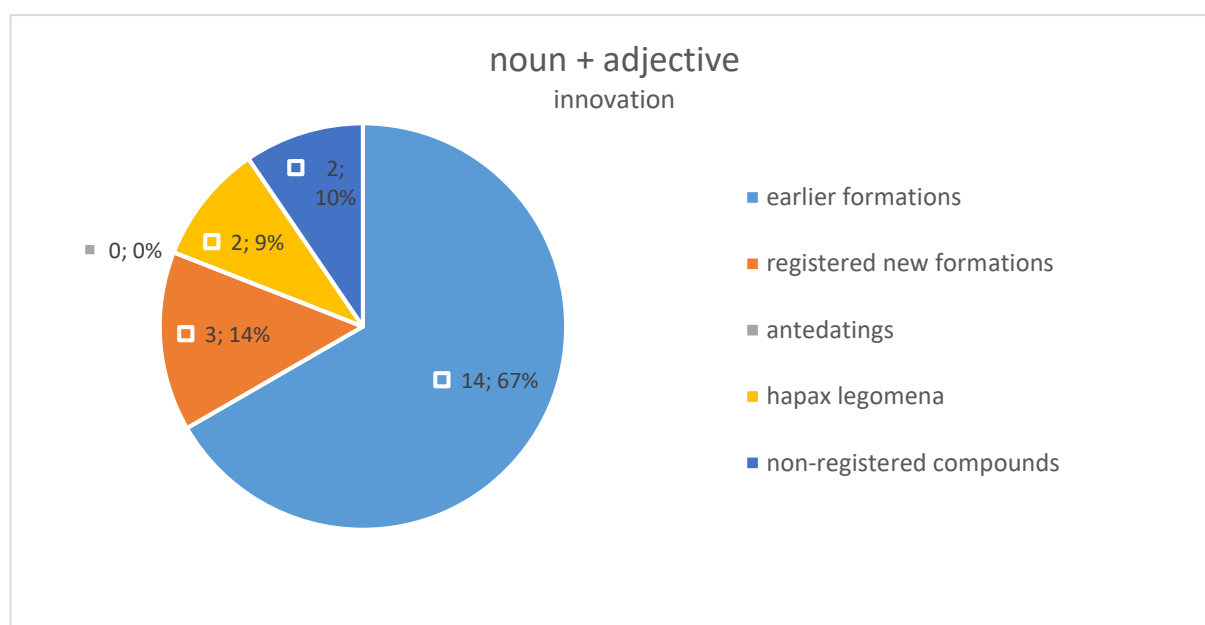


Figure 21: Innovation among the noun + adjective compounds

#### 7.5.1.5. Semantic Description

Viewed from a semantic perspective, the noun + adjective compounds in the corpus reveal noticeable differences between the three authors. Whereas the semantic class / type COMPARISON; ‘Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity’ is generally most frequent in this group, none of Jonson’s four tokens exhibit such a comparative semantic relation. Instead, three of the noun + adjective compounds in his plays, *lip-good* (S 1.410), *rime-giuen* (EM 4.2.14) and *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15), show a semantic structure corresponding to the class / type ‘QUALITY’; ‘Restriction – Entity/Quality’, which, in turn, does not occur at all among William Shakespeare’s tokens of this morphologic type. Moreover, it is Christopher Marlowe, whose noun + adjective compounds, being relatively frequent among the material, also prove semantically most diverse, displaying five different semantic types, including the

only instances of the classes / types ‘PRODUCT’; ‘Cause – Effect’ as well as ‘QUALITY’; ‘Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality’, as represented by the compounds *love-sick* (EII 4.86) and *blood-raw* (T 4.4.12) respectively. The distribution of the noun + adjective compounds over the different semantic types and authors is presented in the following chart.

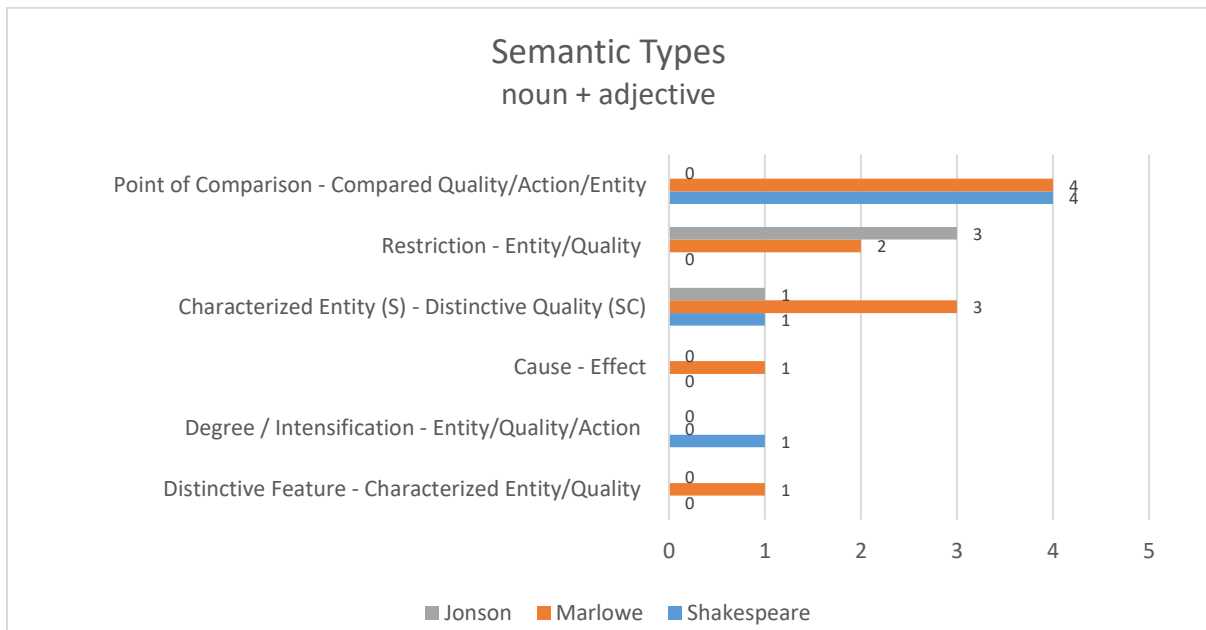


Figure 22: Semantic types of the noun + adjective compounds

Besides the relatively large groups of comparative compounds of the pattern of, e.g., *maid-pale* (RII 3.3.1614) and *milke-white* (T 1.1.77), and compounds such as *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15) or *rime-giuen* (EM 4.2.14), which are analysable as belonging to the semantic type ‘Restriction – Entity / Quality’ (i.e., e.g., ‘free with regard to scots’), the morphologic type noun + adjective features compounds of a semantic structure that exhibit a possessive / metonymic relation to the referent they are attributed to. In the corpus, this applies to the tokens *brainsicke* (EII 1.125 and, in different spelling, T 4.2.49), *head-strong* (EII 6.262 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 4.1.1755) and *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65), which comply to the semantic type ‘Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)’, since they are paraphrasable with a copulative sentence of the pattern ‘A is B’, e.g., ‘the brain is sick, the thread is bare, the head is strong’. This semantic subgroup of noun + adjective compounds is exemplified in Marchand (1969:86) by the compound *colorfast* (‘cloth whose colours are fast’), (cp. also Marchand 1967:14) which corresponds closely to the token *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65) (‘cloth whose threads are bare’) found in the present material. While, as long as the entity to which these respective qualities are attributed is in fact a piece of cloth, the possessive relation between adjective compound and

referent is obvious in the paraphrases of the respective noun phrases ('the cloth has bare threads / fast colours'), the use of the compound *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65) as an attribute of a person, a *thred-bare rascall* (EM 3.7.65), adds another level of metonymy to the semantic structure of the phrase. As both the context as well as the explanation provided in the OED suggest, the compound *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65), when used with reference to a person, designates someone who is "wearing threadbare clothes" (s.v. "threadbare, adj.3." *OED online*. 27 February 2017). Hence there is another metonymic relation attestable between the human referent and the adjective compound, since it is not the 'rascall whose threads are bare', but instead 'the rascall is wearing something whose threads are bare'. A similar observation can arguably be made with regard to the occurrence of *headstrong* (TS 4.1.1755) in the noun phrase *her headstrong humour* (TS 4.1.1755) in *The Taming of The Shrew*. As the referent in this context is not a 'person whose head is strong', as it is the case in the phrase [*t*]he *head-strong Barons* (EII 6.262) from *Edward II*, but the 'humour of a person whose head is strong', an additional metonymic relation between referent and adjective compound is introduced, which does not exist in constructions such as, e.g., *head-strong Barons* (EII 6.262) or *brainsicke king* (EII 1.125).<sup>284</sup>

As has already been pointed out in ch. 7.5.1.3, it is the semantic structure of the compound *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213), paraphrasable as 'full to the brim', which justifies its classification as a compound containing the adjective *full* in its very concrete meaning. Its semantic structure, hence representing the semantic class / type 'DEGREE', 'Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action', clearly distinguishes it from constructions featuring *-ful(l)* in the function of a suffix, such as, e.g., *fearefull* (O 1.3.298). The token *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213) from Shakespeare's *Othello*, is the only instance of the semantic type 'Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action' within this class.

#### 7.5.1.6. Metaphoricity

Metaphoricity is moderately frequent among the noun + adjective compounds from the corpus, with ten of the 21 compounds of this morphologic type displaying some kind of metaphor which

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<sup>284</sup> Note that for the tokens *brainsicke* (EII 1.125 and, in different spelling, T 4.2.49) and *head-strong* (EII 6.262 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 4.1.1755) a different interpretation is conceivable that would entail a paraphrase of the pattern 'sick with regard to the brain / strong with regard to the head' and, hence, would eliminate the possessive / metonymic relation between compound and (human) referent. (cp. also Marchand 1969:86) However, such an interpretation appears considerably forced with respect to the third token of this type, *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65) ('bare with regard to its threads?'), and, as the interpretation presented above has generally been felt to reflect the actual semantic structures of the compounds more appropriately, the tokens have been uniformly classified as 'Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)' in this study.

results in a comparatively high metaphoricity rate of 48 %. Although I could show the morphologic type noun + adjective to be particularly prone to comparative semantic structures (cp. ch. 7.5.1.5), comparison that involves a metaphorical mapping between distinct domains is only observable for three of the items in this group.<sup>285</sup> Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, while among Ben Jonson's and among Christopher Marlowe's noun + adjective compounds only 50% (2 tokens) and 45% (3 tokens) respectively display metaphoricity, Shakespeare's six tokens of this type contain five (i.e. 83%) that involve metaphor.

The following table lists all metaphorical noun + adjective compounds from the corpus.

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>brain-sicke</i> (T 4.2.49)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>As was the fame of Clymens brain-sicke sonne, [...] So shall our swords [...] Fill all the aire with fiery meteors</i>	Direct		
<i>brimfull</i> (O 2.3.1213)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>the peoples hearts brimfull of feare</i>	Indirect		
<i>dogge-wearie</i> (TS 4.2.1817)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Relation	RNF
<i>head-strong</i> (EII 6.262)	Marlowe	History			Second constituent	
<i>headstrong</i> (TS 4.1.1755)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Second constituent	
<i>love-sick</i> (EII 4.86)	Marlowe	History	<i>The king is love-sick for his minion</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>maid-pale</i> (RII 3.3.1614)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Change the complexion of her [England's] maid-pale peace</i>	Indirect	Relation	HL
<i>Olympushigh</i> (O 2.1.870)	Shakespeare	Tragedy			Relation	NR
<i>scot-free</i> (EM 3.7.15)	Jonson	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>thred-bare</i> (EM 3.7.65)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	

Table 25: The metaphorical noun + adjective compounds

Contrary to most other morphologic types, instances of morphological metaphor clearly outweigh those of contextual metaphor within this group. The three compounds with a metaphorical relation between their constituents, *dogge-wearie* (TS 4.2.1817), *maid-pale* (RII 3.3.1614) and *Olympushigh* (O 2.1.870) are supplemented by the tokens *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15), *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65), *love-sick* (EII 4.86), and the two instances of *head-strong* (EII 6.262 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 4.1.1755), whose morphological metaphoricity takes

<sup>285</sup> The remaining compounds with a comparative semantic structure, *cole-blacke* (RII 5.1.2204 and T 3.1.25), *grasse-greene* (JM 1.1.26), *milke-white* (T 1.1.77) and *Sun-bright* (T 2.3.22) are better counted as literal comparisons in which a colour is described by evoking the prototypical entity associated with that colour. Hence no mapping between distinct domains is initiated.



different shapes, affecting respectively either the compounds' first or second elements. Coined in the sixteenth century, the compound *scot-free* (EM 3.7.15) originally denotes the state of not being required to pay *scot*, a form of tax or tribute. (cp. "scot, n.2." and "scotfree, adj.2." *OED online*. 27 February 2017) It is only by a metaphorical interpretation of the meaning of *scot* that the compound gains the additional sense of 'going without punishment, free from injury or harm' (cp. "scotfree, adj.1." *OED online*. 27 February 2017) In *Every Man in His Humour* Jonson artfully utilizes this double meaning of the compound in a pun, taking up first the basic sense of the word *scot* and then the metaphorical one in the compound:

COB: I dwell, sir, as the signe of the water-tankard, hard by the green lattice: I haue paid scot, and a lot there, any time this eighteene yeeres.  
 CLEM: To the green lattice?<sup>286</sup>  
 COB: No, sir, to the parish: mary, I haue seldome scap't scot-free, at the lattice.  
 (EM 3.7.10ff)

While here the difference between the literal (i.e. non-metaphorical) meaning and the metaphorical reading of *scot* is made very explicit by means of the crank, the discrepancies between the basic senses of the constituents and their meaning as realized in the respective compounds are arguably less pronounced in the case of *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65) and *head-strong* (EII 6.262 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 4.1.1755). Nevertheless, the meaning of the adjective *bare*, used in reference to *threads* in the compound *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65), can well be read as metaphorically transferred from the earliest and basic meaning of the word. Existing since OE *bær*, the adjective originally means 'naked', its denotation being clearly connected to "the body or its parts". (s.v. "bare, adj., adv., and n.1." *OED online*. 28 February 2017). It is only in later uses of the lexeme that this relatedness to the body is abandoned and the word gains the meaning 'uncovered, open to view', which is realized in *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65). Thus, the chronology and the direction of this semantic change from a body-centred meaning to a more general and abstract one, allow for a classification of the former sense as the basic meaning and the latter sense as the metaphorical one. Moreover, I have interpreted the two occurrences of *head-strong* (EII 6.262 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 4.1.1755) as entailing instances of both metonymy and metaphor in their morphological make-up. As, since Middle English, being *headstrong* has denoted the character trait of being "self-willed; wilful, obstinate [or] impulsive" (s.v. "headstrong, adj.1." *OED online*. 27 February 2017), its institutionalized denotation has neither a primary connection to the literal meaning of *head* as the "uppermost part of the body" (s.v. "head, n.1." *OED online*. 27 February 2017), nor to the

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<sup>286</sup> *Green Lattice* is the name of an inn in the play.

person or their *head* being "physically powerful", as the basic sense of *strong* would imply (s.v. "strong, adj." *OED online*. 27 February 2017). Instead, both constituents of the compound have to be read non-literally in order to arrive at the institutionalized sense. However, it is metonymy that is at play, when the first element of the compound *head* as a whole stands for the 'seat and source of will-power', which is actually located in parts of the brain. The adjective *strong*, as it is employed in the compound has, in turn, lost the physical component of its basic sense and is understood as 'forceful or powerful' in an abstract sense not connected to muscular force any longer. Hence, as a discrepancy between the basic physical sense of *strong* and the meaning realized in the compound is attestable, the determinatum of *head-strong* (EII 6.262 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 4.1.1755) can be argued to display metaphor, making the compound classifiable as displaying metaphor of the second constituent. Similarly, the basic physical sense of the adjective *sick*, "[s]uffering from illness of any kind" (s.v. "sick, adj. and n." *OED online*. 4 July 2017) is in semantic dissonance with the first constituent of the compound *love-sick* (EII 4.86), since love does not actually lead to physical sickness. Instead, a metaphorical reading of the second element in the compound is necessary to arrive at the intended meaning of the compound, which describes the emotional state of feeling desolate and unhappy because of unrequited or unfulfilled love. (cp. "lovesick, adj." *OED online*. 4 July 2017) When, in the context of *Edward II*, King Edward is sardonically noted to be veritably *love-sick for his minion* (EII 4.86) Gaveston, after the latter has been exiled, the contextual use of the compound, by its ironic and hyperbolic application to Edward II's unhappiness about his minion's banishment, additionally involves an indirect metaphor.

The only further occurrences of contextual metaphor among the compounds of this morphologic type, appear in the contextual use of the compounds *brimfull* (O 2.3.1213) and *maid-pale* (RII 3.3.1614), which are employed as poetic epithets in the phrases *the complexion of her [England's] maid-pale peace* (RII 3.3.1614) and *the peoples hearts brimfull of feare* (O 2.3.1213).

## 7.5.2. Adjective / Adverb + Adjective

### 7.5.2.1. Morphological Description

The determinant in compounds of the morphologic type adjective / adverb + adjective is usually an adjective. In some cases, that are, however, rare among the material, it could also be

classified as an unmarked adverb, since, as has already been pointed out in ch. 4.4.3.1, EModE rules of word-formation still allow for the derivation of adverbs from adjectives without any kind of derivational endings.<sup>287</sup> The determinatum in adjective / adverb + adjective compounds is a primary adjective.

The morphological isolation of adjective / adverb + adjective compounds depends on the status of the first constituent. While combinations of two adjectives are morphologically isolated from syntactic groups, constructions featuring a (potential) adverb and an adjective are not. As EModE, in many cases, does not allow for a clear distinction between adverbs and adjectives by their morphological shape, the word-class of the first constituent – and thereby the morphological isolation of the compound – is ambiguous as long as the semantic relation between the two elements of the compound is not unambiguously copulative. In fact, the semantic paraphrases of determinative combinations of the type tend to feature the determinant in adverb function. Hence, the morphologic type of adjective / adverb + adjective compounds contains several examples of the unavoidable intertwining of morphological classification and semantic analysis, with the result of the latter influencing the former. (see further ch. 7.5.2.5)

Assumptions about the origin and first occurrence of adjective / adverb + adjective compounds differ in literature. Whereas Marchand (1969:90) dates the emergence of both copulative and determinative adjective / adverb + adjective compounds, corresponding to the patterns of *bitter-sweet* and *icy-cold* respectively, to the late fourteenth century, Sauer (1992:273ff) finds several determinative adjective / adverb + adjective compounds among his Early Middle English material and additionally lists four tokens, which arguably already exhibit a copulative semantic structure.<sup>288</sup> While Koziol (1972:73ff), who separates copulative adjective + adjective compounds from determinative formations, which he then classifies as adverb + adjective, states that both types already existed in Old English, Meid & Krahe (2011:28) even assume a Germanic origin for the determinative subgroup, and Carr (1939:62ff) dates their emergence to West Germanic.

Although both Koziol (1972:74; Anm.1) and Marchand (1969:88) explicitly name William Shakespeare as having a preference for using and coining copulative adjective / adverb

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<sup>287</sup> Combinations of marked derived adverbs with adjectives have been excluded from the analysis as syntactic groups, even in cases where orthography suggested otherwise, e.g. *strangely-cruell* (S 5.851). (cp. also ch. 4.4.3.4)

<sup>288</sup> These four formations are further complemented by those copulative compounds that designate the cardinal directions, such as, e.g. *north-east*, which, as Sauer (1992:273) confirms, have existed since OE and belong to the morphologic type in question, although they are mostly used in the function of adverbs or nouns in his corpus. The adjectives denoting cardinal directions in the present corpus, however, are used attributively in the phrases *Northeast winde* (RII 1.4.557) and *north-west wall* (EM 1.2.77).

+ adjective compounds, his three plays included in the present corpus contain only two tokens of this morphologic type. In general, adjective / adverb + adjective compounds are rare among the material, the corpus featuring only eight such formations. With five of these, however, found in Ben Jonson's plays, the latter playwright is the only one of the three poets, who can be ascribed a however mild preference for using compounds of this morphological shape, especially when considering that, due to the generally low number of adjective compounds in Jonson's plays, his five adjective / adverb + adjective compounds make up 10% of the total of adjective compounds in his three plays.

### 7.5.2.2. The Adjective / Adverb + Adjective compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>Northeast</i> (RII 1.4.557)	Shakespeare	History	COPULA	Copula	
<i>north-west</i> (EM 1.2.77)	Jonson	Comedy	COPULA	Copula	
<i>red hote</i> (EII 22.30)	Marlowe	History	PRODUCT	Effect – Cause	
<i>selfe-same</i> (EM 1.1.16)	Jonson	Comedy	COPULA	Copula	
<i>selfesame</i> (TS 5.2.2406)	Shakespeare	Comedy	COPULA	Copula	
<i>sordid-base</i> (EM 2.5.96)	Jonson	Comedy	COPULA	Copula	
<i>sordide-base</i> (S 3.188)	Jonson	History	COPULA	Copula	AD
<i>spruce-honest</i> (A 1.3.32)	Jonson	Comedy	COPULA	Copula	NR

Table 26: The adjective / adverb + adjective compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.2.3. Morphological Particularities

While the majority of the adjective / adverb + adjective compounds is morphologically regular,<sup>289</sup> the formation *selfe-same* (EM 1.1.16, and in slightly different spelling TS 5.2.2406) is noteworthy for its semantic and morphological make-up. Whereas combinations of *self-* in the function of a pronoun and adjectives of the pattern of, e.g., *self-conscious*, or *self-destructive* have been frequent since EModE (cp. Koziol 1972:75), the determinant of *selfe-same* (EM 1.1.16, and in slightly different spelling TS 5.2.2406), does not exhibit the same pronominal character. Instead, the first element of the compound is a pronominal adjective with the meaning 'the (very) same,' comparable to Latin *ipse* and German *der/die/dasselbe* (cp. "self, pron., adj., and n. 1.B." *OED online*. 1 March 2017; and "self, pron, adj." ODEE). Thus, the compound is

<sup>289</sup> Cases, for which the classification as copulative compounds and thereby the word class of the first constituent is disputable, will be discussed in ch. 7.5.2.5.

better classified as belonging to the morphologic type adjective / adverb + adjective than to the type pronoun + (deverbal) adjective.

Besides that, the word class of the English cardinal directions, as they appear in *Northeast* (RII 1.4.557) and *north-west* (EM 1.2.77), is potentially ambiguous due to their complex history. As this problem has already been dealt with in the course of ch. 7.4.3.1 with regard to adjective + noun constructions such as *east-side* (A 1.3.64) and *north-part* (A 1.3.66), however, this discussion will not be reiterated here.

#### 7.5.2.4. Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Adjective Compounds

With the only exceptions of *spruce-honest* (A 1.3.32) and the occurrence of *sordide-base* (S 3.188) in Jonson's *Sejanus*, all of the adjective / adverb + adjective compounds in the corpus are earlier formations, which have emerged either in Old English, as applies to the cardinal directions *Northeast* (RII 1.4.557) and *north-west* (EM 1.2.77), or in Late Middle English.

Interestingly, the compound *spruce-honest* (A 1.3.32) is not documented in the OED and neither are the Shakespearean formations of the type from plays not included in this study, *fortunate-unhappy*, *heavy-thick* or *pale-dull*, which are quoted in Koziol (1972:74; Anm.1) and Marchand (1969:88). Although this usually indicates a reluctance of the OED editors to accept such formations as compounds, the lack of documentation in these cases is surprising, since most of these tokens display a clearly copulative semantic structure and are, therefore, morphologically isolated from syntactic groups.<sup>290</sup>

The compound *sordide-base* (S 3.188 and, in slightly different spelling, EM 2.5.96) is the only EModE formation among the material, with the OED listing the token as a new formation from Jonson's Folio version of *Every Man in His Humour*. Since this Folio version, which, I regard as an independent work in this study, (cp. ch. 2.3) appears later than Jonson's history play *Sejanus*, I have classified the item as an antedating from the latter work.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the OED's documentation practices see ch. 10.

<sup>291</sup> Ch. 10.3.1 provides an explanation of the different methodological decisions made with regard to the evaluation of antedatings, first documented uses etc. and also makes reference to the status of the Folio edition of *Every Man In His Humour*.

#### 7.5.2.5. Semantic Description

The semantic type, to which seven out of the eight adjective / adverb + adjective compounds in the corpus can be assigned, is that of ‘copula’, from the eponymous semantic class ‘COPULA’. In their paraphrases of the form ‘A and B at the same time’, the additive relation between both qualities expressed by the first and second constituent and the equivalent morphological status of both elements as adjectives is reflected. For the compounds *Northeast* (RII 1.4.557), *north-west* (EM 1.2.77) and *selfe-same* (EM 1.1.16, and in slightly different spelling TS 5.2.2406), the classification as copulative compounds is clearly the most appropriate one, while the tokens *sordide-base* (S 3.188 and, in slightly different spelling, EM 2.5.96) and *spruce-honest* (A 1.3.32) arguably also allow for a determinative interpretation of the pattern ‘B in an A way’ (e.g., ‘base in a sordid way’). Both their semantic structure and their morphological status are therefore ambiguous, as the latter paraphrase entails an adverbial use of the first constituent and would thus imply a morphological classification of the respective complex lexemes as adverb + adjective compounds. (cp. ch. 7.5.2.1) I have deemed a copulative interpretation of both compounds as ‘sordid and base at the same time’ and ‘spruce and honest at the same time’ more appropriate, but by their ambiguity the compounds clearly illustrate that a strict separation of adjective + adjective and adverb + adjective compounds is not expedient.

The only compound in this group displaying a clearly determinative semantic structure is *red hote* (EII 22.30), which I have interpreted as corresponding to the paraphrase ‘so hot as to glow red’ and which I have therefore assigned to the semantic class / type ‘PRODUCT’, ‘Effect – Cause’. Although neither in EModE nor in PDE terms for colours distinguish formally between adverb and adjective function, the compound *red hote* (EII 22.30) can, on the basis of its paraphrase, be classified as the only unambiguous adverb + adjective compound from the corpus.

#### 7.5.2.6. Metaphoricity

There is only one compound (occurring twice in two different plays by Jonson) among the adjective / adverb + adjective compounds in the corpus, which displays metaphoricity:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>sordid-base</i> (EM 2.5.96)	Jonson	Comedy			Both constituents	
<i>sordide-base</i> (S 3.188)	Jonson	History			Both constituents	AD

Table 27: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + adjective compounds

The two elements of the compound *sordide-base* (S 3.188 and, in slightly different spelling, EM 2.5.96) have the basic and most concrete senses ‘dirty, foul, ulcerous’ and ‘low in height, short’. (cp. "sordid, adj. and n." and "base, adj. and n.6." *OED online*. 1 March 2017). Considering their occurrence in the context of the two plays, however, it is evident that these basic meanings are neither sensibly compatible with each other, nor with the meaning and reference of the compound in context. While in *Sejanus*, the compound appears in the phrase *sordide-base desire* (S 3.188), *Knowell* in *Every Man In His Humour* uses it with reference to the inner constitution of *Brain-worme*:

Beleeue me, I am taken with some wonder,  
To thinke, a fellow of thy outward presence  
Should (in the frame, and fashion of his mind)  
Be so degenerate, and sordid-base.  
(EM 2.5.93ff)

On both occasions, the lexemes *sordid* and *base* are transferred from denoting concrete qualities and physical attributes to the abstract sphere of moral, where they each stand metaphorically for the quality of being morally corrupt, mean and degenerate, which is ascribed to a person in *Every Man In His Humour* and to a sentiment in *Sejanus*.

### 7.5.3. Numeral + (Deverbal) Adjective

#### 7.5.3.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type of numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds comprises the few instances of compounds in the corpus, whose determinant is a numeral (primary or ordinal) and whose second constituent is either a primary adjective or a past participle.<sup>292</sup> Further included in this group are formations featuring the adverbs *thrice-* and *triple-* as their first elements, which are etymologically related to the numeral *three*. (cp. also Koziol 1972:75) Other than

<sup>292</sup> As has already been explained with regard to other morphologic types, the subsumption of formations with primary adjectives and deverbal adjectives as second constituents under one morphologic type is justified by the low token numbers of the respective constructions in the corpus.

combinations of primary or ordinal numerals and (deverbal) adjectives, constructions with the adverb *thrice-* and a past participle, however, are not necessarily isolated from syntactic phrases in EModE, since word order is still flexible enough to allow for a premodification of a past participle by *thrice* in the sense of ‘three times’, where PDE would demand postposition of the adverb. Hence, I have excluded instances of *thrice* preceding a past participle and exclusively denoting a triple repetition of the action, such as, e.g., *a paire of old breeches thrice turn’d* (TS 3.2.1350), from the analysis as syntactic constructions, whereas I have accepted combinations with *thrice-* capturing the intensifying sense of ‘very much’, and a primary adjective, as in, e.g., *thrice noble Lord* (TS I2.251) and *thrice renowned man at armes* (T 2.5.6), as compounds.

Concerning the treatment of the type in scholarly literature, as well as its limitations due to the restricted number of English numerals, much of what has been stated in ch. 7.4.4 is equally valid here. Thus, the morphologic type of numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds appears to have been rare throughout the history of English, although scattered examples, such as *anboren*, or *Pridælic* already occur in Old English. (cp. Koziol 1972:73; Sauer 1992:276) In his Early Middle English material, Sauer (1992) finds only three instances of numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds,<sup>293</sup> and, although several occurrences of *thrice-noble* (TS I2.251, RII 3.3.1619 and T1.2.249) seem to confirm Koziol’s remark that constructions with *thrice-* are frequent (only) in the literary and poetic spheres of Modern English, (cp. 73) the morphologic type of numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds is one of the very weak compound types in the corpus. While Jonson’s three plays do not feature any compounds of this type and Shakespeare only uses *thrice-noble* (TS I2.251, RII 3.3.1619) in two of his works, it is Christopher Marlowe in whose plays four of the six instances of numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds are found.

### 7.5.3.2. The Numeral + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>first betrothed</i> (T 5.1.389)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>thrice noble</i> (T 1.2.249)	Marlowe	Tragedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>thrice noble</i> (TS I2.251)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR

<sup>293</sup> This is even more significant as Sauer (1992) includes formations with *half-* as their first elements in this type, which, in the present study, have been perceived as adjective/adverb – (deverbal) adjective compounds.



<i>thrice noble</i> (RII 3.3.1619)	Shakespeare	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>thrice renowned</i> (T 2.5.6)	Marlowe	Tragedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>triple worthy</i> (T 3.2.112)	Marlowe	Tragedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR

Table 28: The numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.3.3. Morphological Particularities

Apart from what has been discussed above with regard to the compound status of formations featuring *thrice* as their first constituent, the morphological shape of the tokens from the corpus is regular.<sup>294</sup>

### 7.5.3.4. Innovation among the Numeral + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds

None of the numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds in the corpus are documented in the OED, independent of their morphological isolation. This neglect of the lexemes in the dictionary may be due to the general rarity of the morphologic type, which, as pointed out in ch. 7.4.4, also appears to have caused its omission in several scholarly works on word-formation.

### 7.5.3.5. Semantic Description

Except for Marlowe's unregistered formation *first betrothed* (T 5.1.389), in which the ordinal number has a temporal meaning, hence allocating the compound in the semantic class / type 'TIME'; 'Time – Timed', all numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus belong to the semantic class / type 'DEGREE'; 'Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action'. As has been mentioned in ch. 7.5.10.1, *thrice* and *triple* in the constructions *thrice-noble* (TS I2.251, RII 3.3.1619 and T1.2.249) and *triple worthy* (T 3.2.112) have forfeited some of their explicit semantic relation to the numeral *three* and are interpreted instead as embodying a more general intensifying meaning paraphrasable as 'very (much)'.

<sup>294</sup> For details concerning the etymology of the second element of *first betrothed* (T 5.1.389), see the discussion of *time bewasted* (RII 1.3.493) in ch. 7.5.9.3 and the remarks concerning the prefix *be-* in ch. 7.5.10.3.

#### 7.5.3.6. Metaphoricity

Among the numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds in the corpus no metaphorical tokens occur.<sup>295</sup>

#### 7.5.4. Adjective + Noun (Adj. / Adv.)

##### 7.5.4.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of this morphologic type contain an adjective as their first and a noun as their second constituent. Since their function in context, however, is that of an adjective (or, in some cases of an adverb, cp. below), many scholars, among them Hansen (1990), Kastovsky (1982), Marchand (1969), and Sauer (1992), perceive them as zero-derived formations featuring a complex determinant. In correspondence to the deliberations discussed in chs. 7.1.2.1 and 7.1.2.2, the present study refrains from such an analysis, however. Instead, the respective constructions are understood as former noun phrases which have undergone a unification to become adjective / adverb compounds, triggered by their use in context. (cp. below) Traditionally termed bahuvrihi adjectives,<sup>296</sup> the compounds of this group are classical exocentric formations, which are semantically marked by a specific metonymic reference, designating the quality of ‘having AB’. In that respect, they are parallel to bahuvrihi nouns such as *thicklips* (O 1.1.66), which, by a metonymic relation between compound and referent (POSSESSION FOR POSSESSOR), denote a ‘person having AB’. (cp. ch. 7.4.3.5)

Exclusively considering their morphological make-up, adjective + noun (Adj. / Adv.) compounds are equally non-isolated from parallel syntactic phrases as noun compounds of the same shape. (cp. ch. 7.4.3.1) Their compound status, however, is underscored both by their function as adjectives and their specifically metonymic reference, which lends them semantic unity: In English grammar, a noun phrase such as, e.g., (*a*) *bare foot* cannot be converted to a syntactic adjective phrase with the two separate constituents *bare* and *foot*. Instead the construction gains adjectival function in the context of usages such as *any bare-foot Fryar* (JM

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<sup>295</sup> The semantic discrepancy between the basic meanings of *thrice* and *triple* and the weakened meaning of ‘very’, which they embody in the compounds from the corpus, although arguably being a borderline case, has not been perceived as pronounced enough to justify a classification of the respective first constituents as metaphorical.

<sup>296</sup> For the sake of convenience, the present study maintains this term. It shall, however, be understood to also include bahuvrihi adverbs.

2.3.25) by its unification in an adjective compound, which involves the establishment of a metonymic relation between the compound and its reference, simultaneously awarding the construction semantic unity.<sup>297</sup>

As has already been noted by Koziol (1972:85) and Sauer (1992:310), some constructions commonly termed bahuvrihi adjectives frequently tend to appear in the function of adverbs. In the present corpus, this is the case on two occasions, where *barefoot* (O 4.3.2699 and, in slightly different spelling, TS 2.1.841) is used as an adverb in the contexts *I know a Lady in Venice would haue walk'd barefoot to Palestine* (O 4.3.2698f) and *I must dance bare-foot on my wedding-day* (TS 2.1.841). Although the present study generally excludes adverb compounds, I have made an exception with regard to bahuvrihi adverbs, on the basis of their semantic and morphological similarity to the classical bahuvrihi adjectives under which they are subsumed also in other studies. (cp., e.g., Sauer 1992:310)

The history of Bahuvrihi compounds of all word-classes goes back to Indo-European times, when the distinction between adjectives and nouns was still in a state of development. (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:32) The class of bahuvrihi adjectives (and nouns) is, hence, one of the oldest types of compound formation. In the history of English, however, the frequency of bahuvrihi adjectives is steadily declining. Starting from relatively high numbers of adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds existing in Old English, the type experiences a severe decrease of its productivity in Middle English, which continues throughout the EModE period and results in the type being nearly extinct in PDE. (cp. Koziol 1972:76; Sauer 1992:311) The massive decline of the productivity of adjective + noun (adj. / adv) compounds towards PDE is reinforced and accelerated by the increasing productivity of adjective + noun + *-ed* compounds, frequently called extended bahuvrihi adjectives<sup>298</sup>, which gradually replace the bahuvrihi

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<sup>297</sup> An alternative interpretation, as is proposed, for example, by Pennanen (1971:245f) with regard to bahuvrihi nouns, understands bahuvrihi nouns (such as, e.g. the nickname *Blue Eyes* for Frank Sinatra) as being, in fact, metonymic uses of noun phrases. Transferred to bahuvrihi adjectives, this would imply that we are dealing with a complex metonymic noun phrase such as *bare foot*, premodifying the noun phrase *Fryar*. The problems with this approach, however, are that, firstly, it is disputed whether noun phrases can actually attributively premodify other noun phrases in English. (cp. ch. 4.4.2) Especially when it comes to complex noun phrases with two constituents, premodifying function appears highly uncommon. Secondly, the fact that Bahuvrihi adjectives can also be used predicatively as in *she was bare-foot*, clearly underscores their adjectival character, since noun phrases functioning as subject complements in constructions such as this, generally require a determiner, as long as the head is a countable noun. Considering these grammatical arguments together with the fact that metonymic reference can be argued to bestow semantic unity to a construction, which in turn moves it closer to the realm of compounds, the interpretation chosen in the present study has been deemed more appropriate.

<sup>298</sup> Adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds constitute the major morphologic type of extended Bahuvrihi-adjective compounds, there are also other morphological shapes such formations can take, e.g. numeral + noun + *-ed*, noun + noun + *-ed* (cp. chs. 7.5.11, 7.5.13)

adjectives over time, with their first occurrences dating back to Old English. (cp. Koziol 1972:76; Jespersen 1942:150 and further ch. 7.5.11, 7.5.13, 7.5.14)

This general trend is reflected in the findings from the present study, as compounds of this type are very rare among the material and are restricted to four occurrences of *barefoot* (O 4.3.2699, in slightly different spelling S 2.141, TS 2.1.841, JM 2.3.25) and one appearance of *mad-braine* (TS 3.2.1316). Although Scheler (1982:117) notes that Shakespeare’s works still feature at least occasional occurrences of bahuvrihi adjectives in general, the numbers of adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds in the corpus (especially in terms of different lexemes) are too low to be indicative of usage preferences for any of the three playwrights. With five tokens classifiable as belonging to the morphologic type adjective + noun (adj. / adv.), bahuvrihi adjectives make up 2.4% of the overall number of adjective compounds from the corpus.

#### 7.5.4.2. The Adjective + Noun (Adj. / Adv.) Compounds from the Corpus

Table 29: The adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds from the corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>bare-foot</i> (S 2.141)	Jonson	History	Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bare-foot</i> (TS 2.1.841)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>barefoot</i> (O 4.3.2699)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bare-foot</i> (JM 2.3.25)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>mad-braine</i> (TS 3.2.1316)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	

#### 7.5.4.3. Morphological Particularities

Apart from the compound *barefoot* (O 4.3.2699, in slightly different spelling S 2.141, TS 2.1.841, JM 2.3.25) being used as an adverb on two occasions in the corpus, which has already been pointed out above, the adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds in the corpus do not exhibit any morphological particularities.

#### 7.5.4.4. Innovation among the Adjective + Noun (Adj. / Adv.) Compounds

Both lexemes classified as adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds have been used prior to their respective occurrences in works from the corpus. While in PDE bahuvrihi adjectives are generally rare (cp. above), the compound *barefoot* (O 4.3.2699, in slightly different spelling S 2.141, TS 2.1.841, JM 2.3.25) is one of the few lexemes of this type that have survived from Old English (cp. "barefoot, adj. and adv." *OED online*. 2 March 2017) and is still in use today. The compound *mad-braine* (TS 3.2.1316), in turn, is a formation of the sixteenth century, but is documented in several, mostly literary works, before its appearance in Shakespeare's comedy. (cp. "madbrain, adj. and n." *OED online*. 2 March 2017)

#### 7.5.4.5. Semantic Description

In terms of their semantic structure, the bahuvrihi adjectives from the corpus are uniformly assignable to the semantic class / type 'QUALITY', 'Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)', as the relation between their constituents is paraphrasable as 'B is A', e.g., 'the foot is bare', 'the brain is mad'. Furthermore, they are all metonymic in their reference, ascribing a quality of 'having AB' to the person (or, in the case of bahuvrihi adverbs, to the action) they describe.

#### 7.5.4.6. Metaphoricity

Only one of the five occurrences of adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds in the corpus displays contextual metaphor:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>bare-foot</i> (JM 2.3.25)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>I learned [...] how to kisse my hand [...] And ducke as low as any a bare-foot Fryar, Hoping to see them starve upon a stall</i>	Direct		

Table 30: The metaphorical adjective + noun (adj. / adv.) compounds

In *The Jew of Malta*, Christopher Marlowe employs the compound *bare-foot* (JM 2.3.25) within a direct metaphor, which is clearly marked by prepositional ‘flags’. All other instances of the lexeme, however, are non-metaphorical and also Shakespeare’s use of *mad-braine* (TS 3.2.1316) represents a case of indirect contextual metaphoricity appearing on the level of the noun phrase and not on compound level. Hence, in the phrase *mad-braine rudesby* (TS 3.2.1316) no particular dissonance between the Bahuvrihi-compound’s basic meaning ‘having a mad brain’ and the head of the noun phrase, *rudesby*, is detectable. Yet, in the larger context of Kate’s utterance in the comedy, the phrase *mad-braine rudesby* (TS 3.2.1316) is used as a derogative characterization of Petruchio, whom Kate is to marry, and is therefore metaphorical as a whole. Nevertheless, according to the method of the present study with regard to the identification of metaphor in adjective compounds, (cp. ch. 5.3.6) the adjective compound itself is not classifiable as indirectly metaphorical, since metaphoricity only affects the noun phrase as a whole and is not attestable at compound level.

#### 7.5.5. Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective

##### 7.5.5.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type pronoun + (deverbal) adjective subsumes several smaller subtypes, all comprising adjective compounds with a pronoun as their first constituent. As second elements, the tokens from the corpus feature different kinds of deverbal adjectives, i.e. present or past participles. Primary adjectives can function as second constituents in pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds as well, albeit such formations not occurring among the material.

The pronouns that occur as first constituents in the tokens from the corpus are *self-* and *all-*, whose status as independent lexemes is partly disputable as visible from the OED’s classification of *self-* as a prefix in constructions as *selfe affrighted* (RII 3.2.1351).<sup>299</sup> In this regard, the statements made in ch. 7.4.5 concerning pronoun + noun compounds are equally valid here. With respect to *all-*, ambiguity exists between its potential functions as a pronoun and as an intensifying adverb, meaning ‘completely’. (cp. "all, adj., pron., and n., adv., and conj. C." *OED online*. 3 March 2017 and Sauer 1992:276) Consequently, only those compounds in which *all-* functions as a pronoun, can, along with constructions featuring the pronoun *self-* as

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<sup>299</sup> Note that *self-* can, of course, also occur in other functions, e.g. as an adjective. (cp. ch. 7.5.2, as well as Sauer 1992:277)

first constituent, be considered morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases. As becomes evident below, however, an absolutely unambiguous distinction between adverb and pronoun in the case of *all-*, is not always possible.

While combinations of *all-* with a (primary) adjective, as has already been mentioned in ch. 7.4.5, are frequent in both Germanic as well as Old English (cp. Carr 1939:354f), constructions with *all-* and deverbal adjectives are equally rare in Old English as compounds featuring *self-* as their first constituents. None of the latter formations appear to have existed in Germanic. (cp. Koziol 1972:79; Sauer 1992:277) Among the Early Middle English material analysed in Sauer (1992), pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds are only sparsely represented as well and, although constructions with *all-* and *self-* are considerably productive in PDE (cp. Koziol 1972:79f; Marchand 1969:91ff), the EModE material only features three occurrences of pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds. It is noteworthy, however, that all three of them appear in Shakespeare’s history play *Richard II*.

#### 7.5.5.2. The Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>al-hating</i> (RII 5.5.2595)	Shakespeare	History	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	NR
<i>selfe affrighted</i> (RII 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	History	PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	HL
<i>selfeborne</i> (RII 2.3.1145)	Shakespeare	History	AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	

Table 31: The pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus

#### 7.5.5.3. Morphological Particularities

The three pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds in the corpus split up into the two tokens *selfe affrighted* (RII 3.2.1351) and *selfeborne* (RII 2.3.1145), assignable to the subtype *self-* + past participle and the compound *al-hating* (RII 5.5.2595) featuring a present participle as its second constituent. I have classified the first element of the latter token as a pronoun, interpreting the compound to display an ‘OBJ – Action relation’, i.e. ‘hating everything / everybody’. As I have indicated above, however, an alternative understanding of *all-* as an intensifying adverb is conceivable, the morphological classification largely depending on the semantic interpretation of the compound and hence, providing a further example for the intertwining of morphological and semantic analysis. Used in the sentence *loue to Richard, Is*

*a strange thing in this al-hating world* (RII 5.5.2595), the context of the compound theoretically allows for both interpretations, mainly depending on the prominence attributed to the verbal nexus in the construction: Clearly, the transitivity of *hating*, if understood as a present participle directly connected to the verb *to hate*, rather prompts the inclusion of a pronominal object in the compound than that of an intensifying adverb. If, however, the second constituent is interpreted as a deverbal adjective, with its original verbal meaning having faded to a certain degree, *all-* could be understood as an adverb with intensifying function. Eventually, although the present study prefers the former interpretation, the semantic (and, thereby, also morphological) ambiguity cannot be eradicated completely.

#### 7.5.5.4. Innovation among the Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds

With the token *selfe affrighted* (RII 3.2.1351), Shakespeare's *Richard II* contains one hapax legomenon among the three pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds from this work. The compound *al-hating* (RII 5.5.2595), in turn, is undocumented in the OED, although a great number of parallel formations (both with *all-* functioning as an adverb and as a pronoun) are listed as compounds under the respective entry. (cp. "all, adj., pron., and n., adv., and conj." *OED online*. 3 March 2017) The only token that has emerged slightly before Shakespeare's use of the lexeme, is *selfe borne* (RII 2.3.1145). (cp. "*self-born*, adj." *OED online*. 3 March 2017)

The pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds in the corpus, thereby, exhibit a relatively high innovation rate, the token numbers, however, generally being extremely low. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that in *Richard II* Shakespeare uses and even coins compounds of this particular morphologic type, while no other work from the present corpus contains any tokens of this morphological shape.

#### 7.5.5.5. Semantic Description

The semantic structures of the pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds in the corpus are remarkably diverse, with all three tokens displaying different semantic relations between their constituents. While the hapax legomenon *selfe affrighted* (RII 3.2.1351) is paraphrasable as 'affrighted of oneself' and is therefore classified as belonging to the semantic type 'Cause –



Effect’, the token *selfborne* (RII 2.3.1145) belongs to the type ‘Agent – Action’, which is extremely rare in compounds with *self-* as their first constituent, before the emergence of technical terms such as, e.g., *self-charging*, in the nineteenth century and later. (cp. Koziol 1972:79; Marchand 1969:92) In accordance with the explanation provided in Crystal & Crystal (2002), but contrary to what is noted in the respective entry in the OED, I understand *selfborne* (RII 2.3.1145) as meaning ‘born [carried] by oneself’, given the contextual use of the lexeme, where Barkly confronts Bullingbrooke, who has returned from exile early and in arms, with the indignant question:

[W]hat prickes you on, To take aduantage of the absent time, And fright our natiue peace with selfborne armes?

(RII 2.3.1143ff)

The OED, in turn, remarks that the meaning of *selfborne* (RII 2.3.1145) in this context has been read by some editors as ‘indigenous’ – an interpretation possibly motivated by the co-occurrence of the compound and the lexeme *native* in this quotation, but not sufficiently convincing in the context of the utterance.

#### 7.5.5.6. Metaphoricity

The only metaphorically used token among the pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds is the compound *al-hating* (RII 5.5.2595), which Shakespeare employs as a premodifier of the noun *world*:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>al-hating</i> (RII5.5.2595)	Shakespeare	History	<i>loue to Richard, Is a strange thing in this al-hating world</i>	Indirect		NR

Table 32: The metaphorical pronoun + (deverbal) adjective compounds

Since to be *al-hating* (RII5.5.2595) is an attribute that primarily pertains to humans, the noun phrase *al-hating world* (RII 5.5.2595) entails a dissonance between the semantic content of the adjective compound and the non-human referent, to which the quality described by it is attributed. Hence, the compound displays indirect contextual metaphoricity.<sup>300</sup>

<sup>300</sup> There is, however, an alternative interpretation, which understands *world* as metonymically standing for the people in this world and which would then render the adjective compound non-metaphoric.

## 7.5.6. Particle + (Deverbal) Adjective

### 7.5.6.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type particle + (deverbal) adjective is largely parallel to the noun compound type particle + (deverbal) noun (cp. ch. 7.4.6). It comprises combinations of a particle, i.e. a preposition or a locative (or, less frequently, temporal) adverb, and an adjective. For reasons of practicability and consistent with the treatment of the particle + (deverbal) noun compounds from the corpus, I have subsumed both adjective compounds with primary and deverbal adjectives as their second constituents under this type.

The disputable status of preparticle compounds has already been discussed in chs. 7.6.2 as well as 7.4.6 and will, therefore, not be reiterated here. The preparticle adjective compounds that I have accepted as such in the present study, exclusively contain the locative particles *up-* and *down-* as their first elements. Combinations with other locative or temporal particles would have been possible, but have not occurred among the material. Constructions featuring *over-* in the non-locative intensifying sense of ‘too much, very much, exceedingly’, such as, e.g., *ore-high* (2.2.38), *ouer-merrie* (TS II.135) or *over strong* (EII 16.1) have been classified as prefixations on the basis of the fact that *over-*, with an intensifying meaning, does not exist as an independent lexeme. Furthermore, I have excluded several constructions, such as, e.g., *overwatchde* (EII 22.91), *overweighing* (T 5.1.45) or *ore-powr'd* (RII 5.1.2186), as derivations from preparticle verbs.

Similar to particle + (deverbal) noun compounds, the morphologic type particle + (deverbal) adjective has existed since Old English (cp. Sauer 1992:279) In the Early Middle English material analysed by Sauer (1992), constructions featuring *over-* as their first constituent are the most frequent form of particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds (cp. Sauer 1992:280), most of them, however representing formations with *over-* in an intensifying meaning, which I have interpreted as prefixations in the present study. (cp. above and ch. 7.6.2)

The EModE material features eight tokens assignable to the category of particle + (deverbal) adjective, several of which, however, occur more than once in the corpus. While Shakespeare and Jonson use four and three particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds respectively in their works, Christopher Marlowe’s three plays feature only one single instance of a compound of this particular type.

### 7.5.6.2. The Particle + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>downe right</i> (O 1.3.535)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>vplicated</i> (RII 2.2.966)	Shakespeare	History	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>vpriht</i> (S 5.244)	Jonson	History	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>vpriht</i> (RII 1.1.121)	Shakespeare	History	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>upstart</i> (EII 4.41)	Marlowe	History	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>vpstart</i> (S 5.1.465)	Jonson	History	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>vpstart</i> (RII 2.3.1185)	Shakespeare	History	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>vpstart</i> (A 1.1.127)	Jonson	Comedy	LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	

Table 33: The particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.6.3. Morphological Particularities

While the three particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds *downe right* (O 1.3.535), *vpriht* (S 5.244 and RII 1.1.121) and *vplicated* (RII 2.2.966) are morphologically regular, the case of *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41), as the most frequently used particle + (deverbal) adjective compound in the corpus, is more complex, since its second constituent occurs neither as an independent adjective nor as a past participle in PDE.

Partly depending on the weighting of this fact, there are two potential morphological shapes that can be assumed for the token. Considering that EModE verbal inflection is still volatile and that *-ed* marking of regular past participles can occasionally be dropped, especially with verbal stems ending in plosives (cp. Barber 1997:176), the second constituent of *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41) may still be understood as an unmarked past participle, which would then render the morphological shape of the compound parallel to that of the adjective compound *outcast*. Instead, however, the compound can also be interpreted as a converted form of the preparticle noun compound *upstart*, institutionalized slightly earlier than the adjective compound, as denoting someone "who has newly or suddenly risen in position or importance" (s.v. "upstart, n. and adj." *OED online*. 7 March 2017). In that case, the compound morphologically corresponds to the pattern of *offspring* (JM 2.1.14) (cp. ch. 7.4.6.2) and has undergone unmarked change of word class. Finally, as will be pointed out in ch. 7.5.6.5, a closer look at the individual semantics and context of the respective occurrences indicates, that, in fact, the four tokens may split up evenly into two occurrences for which the latter method of formation is more likely (in *The Alchemist* and

*Richard II*) and two which may instead have been formed by the former formation process (in *Sejanus* and *Edward II*). As the token is invariably used as an adjective in the contexts of the plays, all occurrences of *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41) are classified as the particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds in the present study.<sup>301</sup>

#### 7.5.6.4. Innovation among the Particle + (Deverbal) Adjective Compounds

None of the particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds from the corpus are countable as new formations from any of the nine plays, both the noun compound *upstart* and the converted adjective compound as exemplified by *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41), however, are EModE formations. (cp. "upstart, n. and adj." *OED online*. 7 March 2017) The compounds *downe right* (O 1.3.535) and *vplifted* (RII 2.2.966), in turn, have emerged in Middle English (cp. "up'lifted, adj." and "downright, adv., adj. and n." *OED online*. 7 March 2017) and *vpriht* (S 5.244 and RII 1.1.121), as the oldest lexeme from this group, has already existed since Old English. (cp. "upright, adj. and n." *OED online*. 7 March 2017)

#### 7.5.6.5. Semantic Description

In terms of their semantic structure, the particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds are uniformly assignable to the semantic class / type LOCATION; 'Direction – Entity/Action', as they exclusively feature particles with directional meanings as their first constituents.

As has already been indicated in ch. 7.5.6.3, the semantics, as well as the context of the different instances of the compound *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41), suggest that the formation processes may not be identical for all four occurrences of the compound. In the two usages of the adjective compound in the noun phrases *vpstart Greatnesse* (S 5.1.465) and *upstart pride* (EII 4.41) the compound is applied in the sense 'as upstarts usually have it / characteristic of upstarts' (cp. "upstart, n. and adj. B.1.b." *OED*

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<sup>301</sup> Technically, however, as follows from what has been pointed out concerning the potential formation process of this lexeme, some of the occurrences may actually represent a distinct morphologic type of particle + (deverbal) noun (Adj.) compounds. Nevertheless, since this is the only example of an adjectival usage of a preparticle noun compound, a subsumption of the tokens under the present type has appeared more efficient.

*online*. 7 March 2017). The paraphrase illustrates that in these cases a conversion of the noun compound *upstart* is the most likely formation process of the adjective compound, the nominal base of the unmarked change of word class still being strongly present in the meaning of the converted adjective compound. Similar to the parallel pattern of *off-spring* (JM 2.1.14), the noun compound *upstart*, being the basis for the converted adjective compound *vpstart* (S 5.1.465 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41), as it occurs in the corpus, can be argued to contain a metonymical second element, which takes the action denoted by the deverbal noun *start* to stand for the agent, i.e. ‘that who starts’. In the conversion process from noun to adjective, a second level of metonymy is introduced, taking the possessor of an attribute, *the upstart*, to denote the attribute itself.

The usages of the compound in *The Alchemist* and in *Richard II*, by contrast, differ from the former ones in the way that, here, the lexeme is applied with reference to human beings, to the *vpstart* [...] *captayne* (A 1.1.127) and to *vpstart vnthrifts* (RII 2.3.1185), and, hence, can be interpreted as having the clearly adjectival meaning “[I]ately or suddenly risen to prominence or dignity” (cp. “upstart, n. and adj. B.2.” *OED online*. 7 March 2017). In this context, an alternative formation process, which combines an unmarked past participle *start* with the particle *up-*, resulting in a pattern morphologically parallel to the adjective compound *outcast*, is conceivable. Given the chronological proximity of the appearances of the noun compound and the respective adjective compounds with their different senses, it is indeed possible to assume two different formation processes underlying the individual occurrences of *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41) in the corpus. (cp. “upstart, n. and adj.” *OED online*. 7 March 2017)

#### 7.5.6.6. Metaphoricity

Partly due to the frequency of the adjective compound *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41) in the corpus, whose institutionalized meaning is indirectly metaphorical (cp. below), the general metaphoricity of the particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds is high, with six out of eight tokens (i.e. 75%) classifiable as indirect contextual metaphors. Apart from indirect contextual metaphoricity, however, no other form of metaphor occurs among the material.

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>downe right</i> (O 1.3.535)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>My downe right violence, and storme of Fortunes, May trumpet to the world</i>	Indirect		
<i>upstart</i> (EII 4.41)	Marlowe	History	<i>Think you that we can brooke this vpstart pride?</i>	Indirect		
<i>vpstart</i> (S 5.1.465)	Jonson	History	<i>It is a note Of vpstart Greatnesse, to [...] watch For these poore trifles</i>	Indirect		
<i>vpstart</i> (RII 2.3.1185)	Shakespeare	History	<i>my rights and royalties [...] giuen away to vpstart vnthrifits</i>	Indirect		
<i>vpstart</i> (A 1.1.127)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>A whore-somme, vpstart, apocryphall captayne</i>	Indirect		
<i>vpriht</i> (RII 1.1.121)	Shakespeare	History	<i>The vnstooping firmenesse of my vpriht soule</i>	Indirect		

Table 34: The metaphorical particle + (deverbal) adjective compounds

Both the adjective compounds *vpriht* (RII 1.1.121) and *downe right* (O 1.3.535) originally exist in a basic, concrete sense, describing the directedness of any object as ‘vertically erect’ or ‘straight downwards’, respectively. (cp. "upright, adj. and n." and "downright, adv., adj. and n." *OED online*. 8 March 2017) In the case of the former compound, the corpus provides two instances of the lexeme, one occurring as part of a metaphorical noun phrase (and hence not metaphorical itself) and one for which contextual indirect metaphor can be attested for the adjective compound. When, in Jonson’s *Sejanus*, mention is made of Drusus as *that vpriht Elme* (S 5.244), the metaphoricity of the noun phrase becomes unmistakably clear from its context. Hence, *vpriht* (S 5.244), as part of the metaphorical noun phrase, on the first level describes a tree as literally ‘vertically erect’. It is only on the level of the noun phrase as a whole that metaphor occurs, likening Drusus, the actual referent of the noun phrase, to such a vertically erect tree. In this context, therefore, the concrete basic meaning of the adjective compound is retained on compound level. In the case of the second appearance of the token in Shakespeare’s *Richard II*, however, where King Richard speaks about *[t]he vnstooping firmenesse of [his] vpriht soule*. (RII 1.1.121), a metaphorical interpretation of the lexeme as ‘unbending’ or ‘proud’, is more appropriate. In this context, the adjective compound is used in a contextual metaphor, indicated by the semantic discrepancy between the basic sense of the adjective compound *vpriht* (RII 1.1.121) and the head of the noun phrase, *soul* – an entity that cannot actually have the capacity of being ‘vertically erect’.

For the compound *vpstart* (S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185, A 1.1.127 and, in different spelling, EII 4.41), on the other hand, the most basic and concrete meaning that is deducible from the basic, concrete meanings of its elements ‘(having) started [jumped] upwards’ is undocumented in the OED (independent of its use as a noun or an adjective). Instead, the compound appears to have been institutionalized with a social rather than a concrete meaning, describing someone

as "(having) suddenly risen to prominence or power". (s.v. "upstart, n. and adj." *OED online*. 7 March 2017). This transfer of the concrete (in this case upward) movement of an object to the social sphere is a form of indirect metaphor, that is encountered not uncommonly and appears, for example, also when the compound *downefall* (RII 3.4.1804), in fact refers to a social descent rather than a concrete fall. (cp. ch. 7.4.6.6)

### 7.5.7. Noun + Verb + *-ing* (Adj.)

#### 7.5.7.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) comprises compounds with primary nouns as their first elements and present participles as their second constituents. Adjective compounds of this type belong to the class of ‘synthetic compounds’ and are morphologically isolated, as no parallel syntactic constructions exist in English.

Potential delimitation issues of noun + verb + *-ing* compounds (adj.) from derived verbal compounds are in the majority of cases quickly eliminated by the fact that, for the noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds in the corpus, no corresponding verbal formations exist. The only exception is the token *connie-catching* (EM 3.1.181), for which the verbal compound *to coney-catch* is documented in the OED as having emerged two years prior to the adjective compound. Since *coney-catch*, *coney-catcher* and *coney-catching* (noun and adjective) appear almost simultaneously in the last decade of the sixteenth century, however, and as both the verb and the adjectival use of the lexeme seem to go back to Robert Greene’s initial introduction of the action and agent nouns in 1591, (cp. "coney-catching, adj.", "coney-catcher, n." and "coney-catching, n." *OED online*. 8 March 2017; see also ch. 7.4.10.1) the evidence for either of the two formation processes, compounding or derivation, is not conclusive enough to exclude the token *connie-catching* (EM 3.1.181) from the analysis.

The morphologic type noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) belongs to the word-formation patterns already existent in Germanic (cp. Sauer 1992:289; Meid & Krahe 2011:27) and is productive throughout the history of English, although most Old English constructions of the type have not survived until Modern English. (cp. Marchand 1969:91; Sauer 1992:289) Among the EME material analysed by Sauer (1992), noun + verb + *-ing* compounds (adj.) are, however, rather infrequent, and, although Koziol (1972:78) mentions a particularly high productivity of the type in the EModE period and especially in the works of William Shakespeare, noun + verb + *-ing*

(adj.) compounds do not belong to the most frequent types of adjective compounds in the corpus. Nevertheless, examples for the morphologic type comprise several new formations that are of clearly poetical nature. (cp. below)

Of the eight noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds in the corpus, which make up 3.8 % of all adjective compounds among the material, 50% are found in William Shakespeare's works, hence suggesting that a certain preference of Shakespeare for this particular type of formation may, indeed, be detected, especially in the tragedy *Othello*. The remaining four tokens are equally distributed over the works by his contemporary playwrights, with each author contributing two formations to this class.

#### 7.5.7.2. The Noun + Verb + *-ing* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>connie-catching</i> (EM 3.1.181)	Jonson	Comedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>eare-peircing</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	RNF
<i>heart breaking</i> (EII 20.21)	Marlowe	History	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>knee-crooking</i> (O 1.1.45)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	HL
<i>life-harming</i> (RII 2.2.919)	Shakespeare	History	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	NR
<i>spirit-stirring</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	RNF
<i>swine-eating</i> (JM 2.3.7)	Marlowe	Tragedy	OBJECT	OBJ – Action	HL
<i>turtle-billing</i> (EM 1.5.68)	Jonson	Comedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	HL

Table 35: The noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds from the corpus

#### 7.5.7.3. Morphological Particularities

The noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds in the corpus are morphologically regular and do not exhibit any particularities of their morphological shape. While Koskenniemi (1962) observes that, in drama between 1550 and 1600, the "poetic character [of these adjective compounds is often] emphasized by alliteration" (19), the present corpus only features *connie-catching* (EM 3.1.181), which is used (but not formed) by Jonson, and Shakespeare's new formation *spirit-stirring* (O 3.3.1804), that show this particular shape.



#### 7.5.7.4. Innovation among the Noun + Verb + *-ing* Compounds

With the tokens *connie-catching* (EM 3.1.181) and *heart breaking* (EII 20.21) being the only noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds from the corpus that are documented before their respective uses in the plays, the innovation rate among the compounds of this type is remarkably high. The two registered new formations and the three hapax legomena found in the corpus make-up 63%<sup>302</sup> of the noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds, which are, however, generally rather low in numbers. The following pie chart provides an overview of the distribution of the different types of new formations (and earlier formations) among the material:

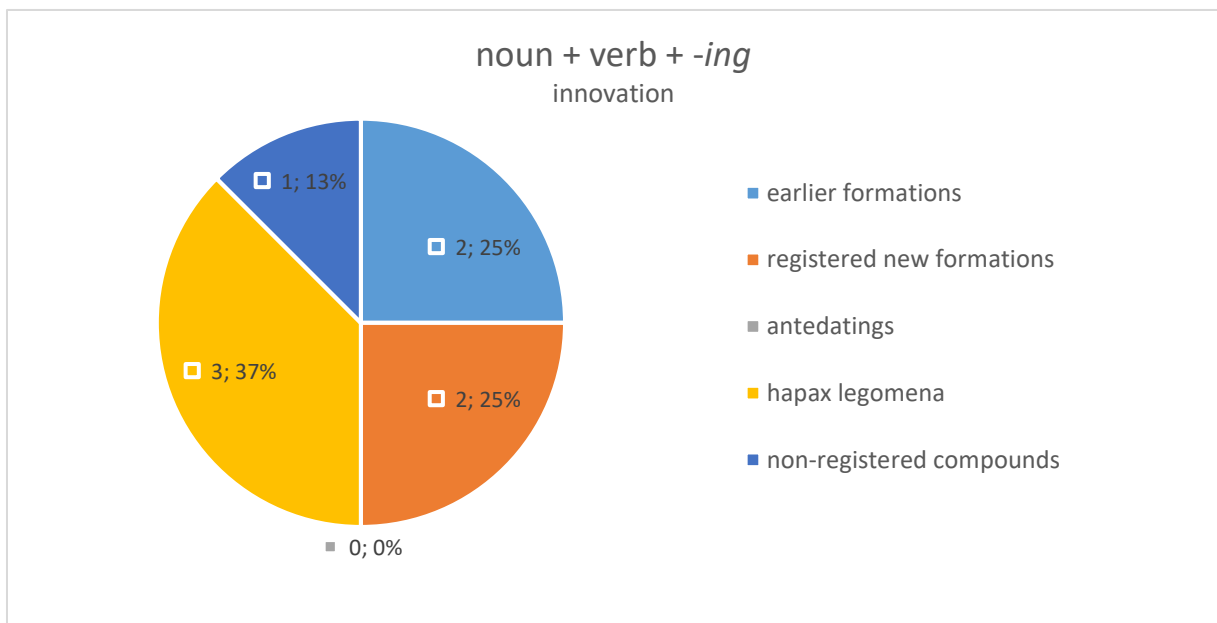


Figure 23: Innovation among the noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds

Apart from the two hapax legomena *swine-eating* (JM 2.3.7) and *turtle-billing* (EM 1.5.68), the three remaining registered new formations and hapax legomena, *eare-peircing* (O 3.3.1804), *knee-crooking* (O 1.1.45) and *spirit-stirring* (O 3.3.1804) occur in Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello*, which is therefore comparably rich in poetic and creative noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds. Assuming that the only non-registered formation of the type, *life-harming* (RII 2.2.919) is, in fact, also a new formation, then all four noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds from the three works by William Shakespeare are countable as linguistically innovative, which

<sup>302</sup> If one assumes the compound *life-harming* (RII 2.2.919), which is not documented in the OED, to be a new formation as well, the percentage increases to 75%. Since the token is morphologically regular, semantically parallel to the other recorded compounds of this type and does not display any particular feature that would question its compound status, it is likely that the respective formation has been overlooked by the OED editors.

may indeed suggest a particular inclination of Shakespeare to make productive use of this word-formation pattern.

#### 7.5.7.5. Semantic Description

In terms of their semantic structures, the noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds are almost exclusively classifiable as belonging to the semantic class / type OBJECT; ‘OBJ – Action’, which coincides with what Marchand (1969:91) and Koziol (1972:77) observe with regard to the most prominent semantic types among the English noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds in general.

Jonson’s hapax legomenon *turtle-billing* (EM 1.5.68), used in the noun phrase *turtle-billing louers* (EM 1.5.68), therefore, constitutes a rare exception, since the relation between the two elements of the compound is comparative, with the formation itself being paraphrasable as ‘billing like turtles’. This semantic structure is very uncommon for noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds, which usually display either an OBJ – Action relation as exemplified by the other compounds in this group, or a locative (or sometimes temporal) relation, illustrated in Marchand (1969:91) by the compound *ocean-going*. The token *turtle-billing* (EM 1.5.68) is therefore also noteworthy for a particularly high degree of linguistic creativity.

#### 7.5.7.6. Metaphoricity

From the eight noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds in the corpus, five tokens (i.e. 63%) display some kind of metaphoricity.

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>connie-catching</i> (EM 3.1.181)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>connie-catching raskall!</i>	Indirect		
<i>eare-peircing</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>Farewell the neighing Steede, [...] the eare-peircing Fife</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>heart breaking</i> (EII 20.21)	Marlowe	History			Second constituent	
<i>spirit-stirring</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	Tragedy			Second constituent	RNF
<i>turtle-billing</i> (EM 1.5.68)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>The happy state of turtle-billing louers</i>	Indirect		HL

Table 36: The metaphorical noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds

There are three instances of contextual indirect metaphor among the noun + verb + *-ing* (adj.) compounds, affecting the compounds *connie-catching* (EM 3.1.181), *eare-peircing* (O 3.3.1804) and *turtle-billing* (EM 1.5.68), the first of which is, in terms of its semantics and metaphoricity, parallel to the action noun *conicatching* (TS 4.1.1597), which has already been discussed in ch. 7.4.10.6. In the case of *eare-peircing* (O 3.3.1804), the discrepancy between the adjective compound and the head of the noun phrase *eare-peircing Fife* (O 3.3.1804), which it premodifies, clearly prompts a classification of the compound as indirectly metaphorical, since a fife can usually only have the ability of ‘piercing an ear’ in a figurative sense. Jonson’s creative new formation *turtle-billing* (EM 1.5.68), in turn, is a further example for a compound involving contextual metaphor: the use of the lexeme in the phrase *[t]he happy state of turtle-billing louers* (EM 1.5.68) reveals a discrepancy between the basic meaning of the compound and the *louers* it describes, as *louers* do not actually *bill*. Thus, *turtle-billing* (EM 1.5.68) constitutes an indirect metaphor, as it figuratively refers to the exchange of caresses between lovers.

The meaning dissonances found in the compounds *heart breaking* (EII 20.21) and *spirit-stirring* (O 3.3.1804), on the other hand, are compound-internal, since a *heart* cannot be *broken*, when assuming the second constituent to appear in its basic, concrete sense of "sever[ing] into distinct parts by sudden application of force" (s.v. "break, v." *OED online*. 9 March 2017). Similarly, a *spirit* cannot actually be *stirred* (‘set in motion’). Instead, the second constituents of both adjective compounds demand a metaphorical interpretation to eliminate the dissonance between the basic meanings of their constituents.

#### 7.5.8. Adjective / Adverb + Verb + *-ing*

##### 7.5.8.1. Morphological Description

The first constituent of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* is either an adjective or an (unmarked) adverb, which, in the compound construction, is combined with a present participle. Concerning the morphological status of the first element, as well as the morphological isolation of the compounds of this type from parallel syntactic groups, the points discussed in ch. 7.5.2.1 with regard to adjective / adverb + adjective compounds are equally valid here.

Borderline cases, for which an analysis of the first constituent as an adverb is strongly indicated, are considerably more frequent among the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing*

compounds, since the premodification of verbs by adverbs is a very common syntactic procedure. Especially constructions with temporal semantic relations, such as *euer-burning* (O 3.3.1913), which feature temporal adverbs such as *ever* or *never* as their first constituents, are clearly non-isolated by their morphological shape and arguably border on syntactic phrases. Yet, as occasional instances of such formations, e.g., *everlasting* (JM 1.2.166) or *everliving* (T 5.1.290) are accepted as compounds by the OED and since the boundaries between adjective and adverb as first elements in compounds are generally blurry, (cp. ch. 7.5.2.1)<sup>303</sup> the material has been subjected to an inclusive approach, which incorporates these and other ambiguous tokens in the analysis.

Whereas no evidence exists for the existence of this morphologic type in Germanic,<sup>304</sup> formations of this morphological shape have been documented since Old English. Statements about its productivity at that time, however, vary, with Marchand (1969:92) assuming only "a few poetic combinations" of this form in Old English, while Koziol (1972:78) lists a considerable number Old English adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* constructions. In Sauer's (1992:291) Middle English material, however, the morphologic type is very rare, so that Marchand's (1969:92) assertion that the type "grows common in Modern English only" appears accurate. The comparatively high number of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds in the EModE corpus further substantiates this assessment.

With 16 tokens of the type, adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds making up 8% of all adjective compounds in the corpus and, while not belonging to the largest groups among the adjective compounds, the morphologic type is in fourth place (together with the noun + verb + *-(e)d* compounds) in terms of frequency. Interestingly, the preferences for using tokens of this type among the three playwrights strongly diverge, with Ben Jonson contributing only one single token of the type, and the majority of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds (nine tokens) occurring in Christopher Marlowe's works. In Marlowe's plays, this morphologic type thereby comprises a remarkably high portion of 14% of his overall number of adjective compounds in the corpus. This observation corresponds to Koskenniemi's (1962) findings regarding Marlowe's adjective compounds, which also show that combinations with *ever-* and *never-* are "especially characteristic of Marlowe's style" (21), as they, as Koskenniemi (1962) states, "serve his hyperbolic diction" (21).

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<sup>303</sup> With regard to *ill*, *well* and *far*, for example, Marchand (1969:92) holds the view that these lexemes "have at all times been both adjectives and adverbs".

<sup>304</sup> Neither Carr (1939) nor Meid & Krahe (2011) treat this morphologic type.

### 7.5.8.2. The Adjective / Adverb + Verb + *-ing* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>euer-burning</i> (O 3.3.1913)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>ever drisling</i> (T 4.1.31)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>ever howling</i> (T 5.1.245)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>everlasting</i> (T 1.2.166)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>everliving</i> (JM 5.1.290)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>ever shining</i> (T 4.2.9)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>glad-suruiuing</i> (S 3.57)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	HL
<i>ill seeming</i> (TS 5.2.2549)	Shakespeare	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	HL
<i>neuer quenching</i> (RII 5.5.2637)	Shakespeare	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	RNF
<i>never fading</i> (T 5.1.296)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>Proud-daring</i> (JM 2.1.53)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>still-breeding</i> (RII 5.5.2537)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>totter´d staring</i> (JM 4.3.6)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>well deserving</i> (RII 2.1.809)	Shakespeare	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>well meaning</i> (RII 2.1.743)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>wide gasping</i> (T 5.1.460)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR

Table 37: The adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.8.3. Morphological Particularities

As issues concerning the word class ambiguities of the first elements in adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds (as well as, in connection to that, the morphological isolation of this morphologic type) have already been discussed above, the only token displaying a morphological shape that deviates from the norm to a certain degree is the compound *totter´d staring* (JM 4.3.6).

Whereas the morphological shape of the first constituent of *totter´d staring* (JM 4.3.6), at first glance implies a combination of a past participle and a present participle corresponding to the pattern of PDE *tired-looking* (cp. Koziol 1972:79), *totter´d*, in the sense in which it is most likely to appear in the compound, in fact represents an alternative form of the adjective *tattered*. The adjective *tattered*, in turn, is originally formed in Middle English as an extended bahuvrihi adjective on the basis of the noun *tatter*, which denotes an "irregularly torn piece, strip, shred, or scrap of cloth [...] hanging loose from the main body, esp. of a garment" (s.v. "tatter, n.1." OED Online. 9 March 2017; cp. also "†tottered, adj.", "tattered, adj." and "tatter,

n.1." *OED online*. 9 March 2017). In the EModE period the lexeme *tattered*, then sometimes appearing as *tottered*, occasionally forfeits its possessive sense and is used with the meaning "torn or rent so as to hang in tatters; ragged" (s.v. "tattered, adj." *OED online*. 9 March 2017). It is this latter sense of the word, which is most likely to be realized in the compound *totter'd staring* (JM 4.3.6), although, as will be pointed out below, a metaphorical reading of the first constituent is indicated.

#### 7.5.8.4. Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Verb + *-ing* Compounds

In terms of innovation, the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds from the corpus are particularly interesting for the relatively high number of non-registered formations among them. Furthermore, with only five of the 16 tokens (i.e. 31 %) of this type being documented as having been in use before their respective occurrence in the corpus, the innovation rate of this morphologic type is comparatively high, especially when considering the non-recorded constructions as potential new formations. The distribution of the different types of new formations and earlier formations is presented in the pie chart below:

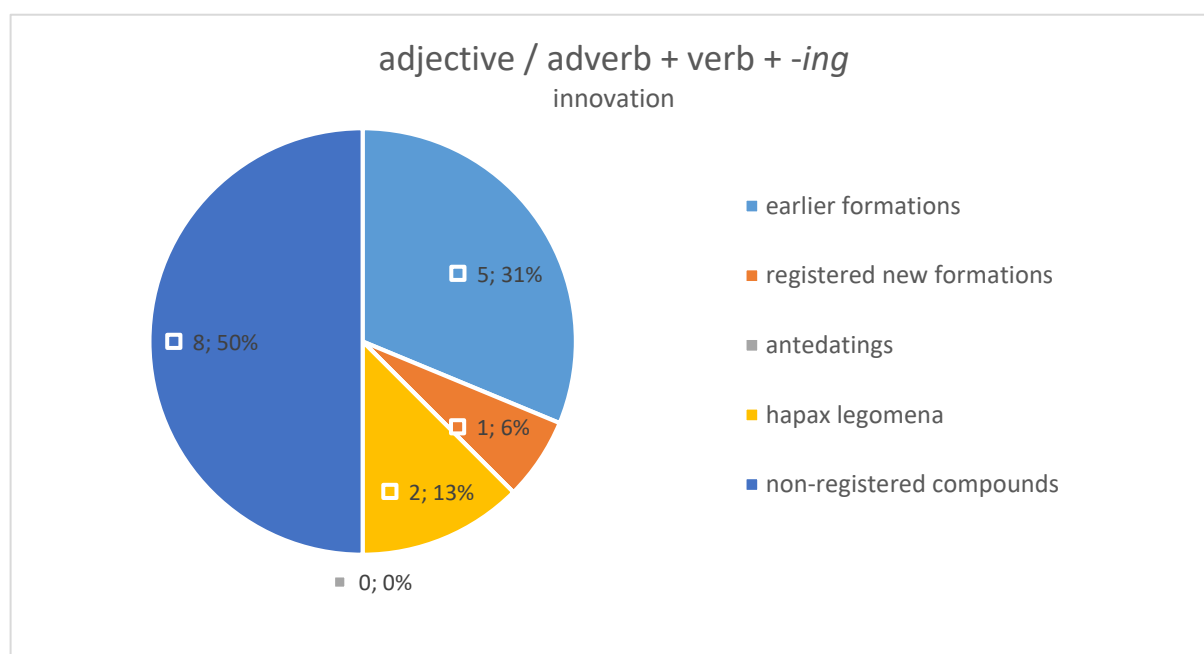


Figure 24: Innovation among the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds

As has already been insinuated in ch. 7.5.7.1, the documentation practice of the OED displays some inconsistency with respect to those adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds

that feature temporal adverbs as their first elements. Whereas the tokens *everlasting* (T 1.2.166), *everliving* (JM 5.1.290) as well as *neuer quenching* (RII 5.5.2637) and *never fading* (T 5.1.296) are registered in the dictionary, no documentation is provided for *euer-burning* (O 3.3.1913), *ever drisling* (T 4.1.31), *ever howling* (T 5.1.245) and *ever shining* (T 4.2.9). The reason for this omittance may be the degree of institutionalization of the formations, which might be perceived as lower in the latter cases. It appears likely, however, that at least some of these non-registered formations are, in fact, countable as new formations of the respective playwrights.

While the compounds *well deserving* (RII 2.1.809), *never fading* (T 5.1.296) and *everliving* (JM 5.1.290) are Early Modern formations of the sixteenth century, the token *well meaning* (RII 2.1.743) already appears around 1500 and the compound *everlasting* (T 1.2.166), as the oldest formation in this group, has been documented since the fourteenth century.

#### 7.5.8.5. Semantic Description

The semantic class / type TIME; ‘Time/Duration – Timed’ is the most frequent semantic structure among the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds, with 50% of the tokens being analysable as pertaining to this pattern. The following table provides an overview of the semantic structures realized in this group, as well as of the respective attribution of the compounds to the playwrights:

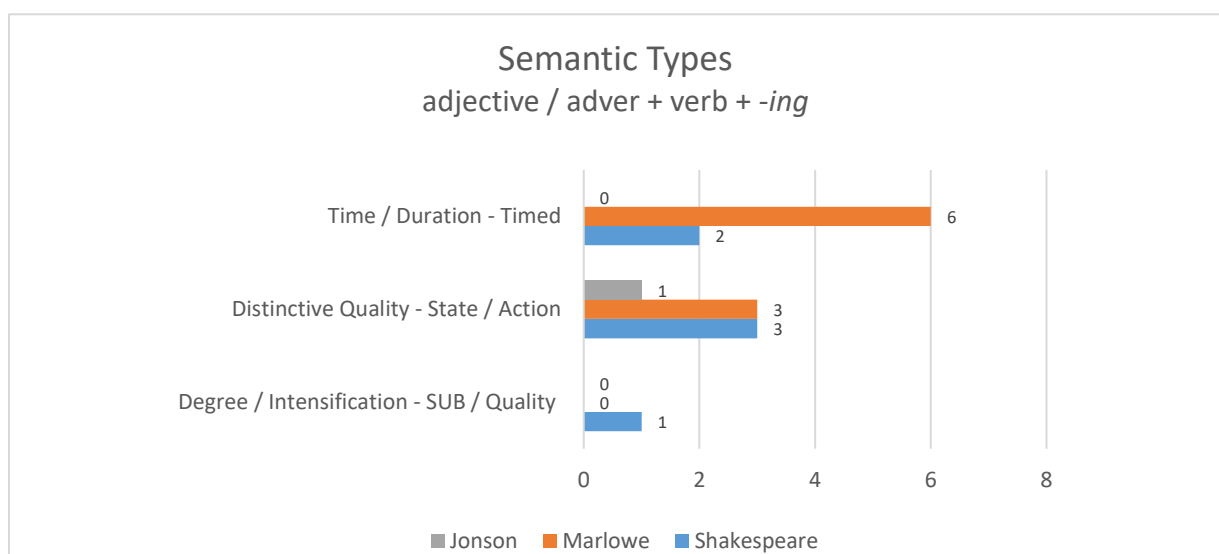


Figure 25: Semantic types of the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds

As visible from the table, the majority of the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus are assignable to one of the two semantic classes ‘TIME’ and ‘QUALITY’. Especially Christopher Marlowe’s compounds of this type display a relatively high degree of both morphological and semantic uniformity, with five of his compounds featuring the temporal adverbial *ever* as their first constituent and thus exhibiting the semantic relation of ‘Time/Duration – Timed’.

Among the remaining compounds with a temporal semantic structure, we find the token *neuer quenching* (RII 5.5.2637), noteworthy for the passive meaning of its second constituent, which, while originally being institutionalized with a transitive meaning, "[t]o put out or extinguish the fire or flame" (s.v. "quench, v." *OED online*. 13 March 2017), begins to be used with the intransitive, passive sense "to be extinguished" (s.v. "quench, v." *OED online*. 13 March 2017) in Middle English. In the construction *neuer quenching fire* (RII 5.5.2637), the latter sense of the verb is the one realized.

The second largest semantic group among the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds in the corpus comprises compounds in which the first element specifies the quality or manner of the action denoted by the second element, as in, e.g., *glad-suruiuing* (S 3.57) or *wide gasping* (T 5.1.460). In this group, the compound *ill seeming* (TS 5.2.2549) stands out from a syntactic perspective because of its relation of Subject Complement – Copula Verb. It is, hence, assignable to the subgroup of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds, which is frequently exemplified by the compound *good-looking*. (cp. Marchand 1969:92)

Furthermore, only one of the two formations in this class featuring *well* as their first constituent, *well deserving* (RII 2.1.809) and *well meaning* (RII 2.1.743), is assignable to the semantic type ‘Distinctive Quality – Action/State’. Although morphologically uniform, I read the meaning of *well* in *well deserving* (RII 2.1.809), used in the interrogative sentence *Is not his heire a well-deseruing sonne?* (RII 2.1.809) as entailing an intensification of the attribute ‘deserving’, rather than a specification.<sup>305</sup> Thus, it differs semantically from *well meaning* (RII 2.1.743), which is formed on the basis of the phrase *to mean well* (cp. "well-meaning, adj." *OED online*. March 2017) and in which the original meaning of the adjective *good*, that corresponds to the first constituent in the compound, is much more prominent.

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<sup>305</sup> Besides a potential alternative reading of the lexeme as meaning ‘deserving in a good manner’ (i.e. ‘Distinctive Quality – Action/State’), an interpretation of the first constituent of the compound as a converted noun, denoting ‘something good’, is also conceivable. The latter interpretation would, of course, influence the morphological classification of the token and, further, demand a semantic analysis as ‘OBJ – Action’. The reading outlined above, however, has been felt to be most convincing, given the context of the token.



### 7.5.8.6. Metaphoricity

With seven out of 16 tokens displaying (some kind of) metaphor, the metaphoricity rate among the tokens of this type is 44%.

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>ever drisling</i> (T 4.1.31)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>could their numbers countervail [...] ever drisling drops of Aprill showers</i>	Direct		NR
<i>ever howling</i> (T 5.1.245)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>as hopeless and as full of feare As are the blasted banks of Erebus: Where shaking ghosts with ever-howling grones, Hover</i>	Direct		NR
<i>glad-suruiuing</i> (S 3.57)	Jonson	History	<i>And [those] are our only glad-suruiuing hopes</i>	Indirect		HL
<i>ill seeming</i> (TS 5.2.2549)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>A woman mou'd, is like a fountain troubled, Muddie, ill seeming, thicke</i>	Direct		HL
<i>still-breeding</i> (RII 5.5.2537)	Shakespeare	History	<i>these two beget A generation of still-breeding thoughts</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>totter'd staring</i> (JM 4.3.6)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First Constituent	NR
<i>wide gasping</i> (T 5.1.460)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Here [...] have swelling cloudes drawn from wide-gasping wounds</i>	Indirect		NR

Table 38: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + verb + -ing compounds

The majority of the metaphorical adjective / adverb + verb + -ing compounds exhibit contextual metaphor. In the case of *glad-suruiuing* (S 3.57), *still-breeding* (RII 5.5.2537) and *wide gasping* (T 5.1.460), the adjective compounds metaphorically ascribe certain attributes or actions to referents that are not capable of literally performing the respective actions. Hence, a semantic dissonance between the literal meaning of the compound and its referent emerges, as illustratable in the phrase *wide gasping wounds* (T 5.1.460). As *wounds* are incapable of performing an action as *gasping* in the literal sense of "inhal[ing] or exhale[ing] convulsively with an open mouth" (s.v "gasp, v." *OED online*. 13 March 2017), the compound is classifiable as an indirect contextual metaphor. Similarly, it is the contextual use of the respective adjective compounds in the noun phrases *glad-suruiuing hopes* (S 3.57) and *still-breeding thoughts* (RII 5.5.2537) that clearly prompts a metaphorical interpretation of the tokens.

The only instance of morphological metaphor in this group occurs in the token *totter'd staring* (JM 4.3.6), where semantic dissonance exists between the two constituents, motivating a metaphorical reading of the first one, as the action of *staring* cannot sensibly be performed in a *tottered* ('ragged', cp. above) way.

## 7.5.9. Noun + Verb + *-ed*

### 7.5.9.1. Morphological Description

Compounds of the morphologic type noun + verb + *-ed* comprise a noun as their determinant and a past participle as their determinatum. The delimitation of the respective formations from syntactic constructions is warranted by their morphological isolation, since no syntactic phrases of this structure exist in English. Concerning a potential origin of the adjective compounds in complex verbs, derivation as the formation process can unequivocally be ruled out for the tokens in the corpus, since no parallel verbal compounds are documented for any of the lexemes. All the respective formations among the material, can, therefore, be classified as (synthetic) compounds.

The morphologic type noun + verb + *-ed* is already existent in Germanic, (cp. Meid & Krahe 2011:27f) although instances of compounds of this type are rare at this stage, with their number increasing in Old English, but the type still remaining moderately productive in the early stages of the English language. (cp. Marchand 1969:92; Sauer 1992:293) With regard to the (Early) Middle English period, Sauer (1992:293) notes a clear predominance of this type compared to constructions featuring a noun and a present participle (cp. ch. 7.5.6) in his material – a tendency that is reflected almost par for par in the present corpus, in which noun + verb + *-ed* occur twice as frequently as noun + verb + *-ing* compounds. Since neither of the two types, however, belongs to the larger types among the adjective compounds in the corpus, Marchand's (1969) assertion that the productivity of this type "has been most in evidence since the Modern English period" (92) cannot be refuted.

Noun + verb + *-ed* compounds have generally been noted to cumulate in the sphere of poetic language (cp., e.g., Koziol 1972:78), with William Shakespeare being particularly renowned for forming and applying creative lexemes of this type. (cp. Scheler 1982:118) It is indeed the case that, with nine out of 16 compounds, the majority of the tokens of this type occur in Shakespeare's works, compounds of this type making up 9 % of his overall number of adjective compounds in the present corpus. Moreover, most of the noun + verb + *-ed* compounds from the corpus are markedly poetic in their register and style, which is consistent with the tendency observable from the data that noun + verb + *-ed* compounds are particularly frequent in the history plays from the corpus, especially so, however, in Shakespeare's *Richard II*.

### 7.5.9.2. The Noun + Verb + *-ed* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>care tunde</i> (RII 3.2.1391)	Shakespeare	History	INSTRUMENT	Instrument – Action/State	RNF
<i>Crest-fallen</i> (RII 1.1.188)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	
<i>hide-bound</i> (A 5.5.144)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	
<i>lust-staind</i> (O 5.1.2803)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	HL
<i>night growne</i> (EII 4.284)	Marlowe	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	RNF
<i>oile-dried</i> (RII 1.3.493)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	HL
<i>plume-pluckt</i> (RII 4.1.1931)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	RNF
<i>shoulder-shotten</i> (TS 3.2.1361)	Shakespeare	Comedy	QUALITY	Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)	RNF
<i>stele-bard</i> (JM 1.1.14)	Marlowe	Tragedy	INSTRUMENT	Instrument – Action/State	AD
<i>time bewasted</i> (RII 1.3.493)	Shakespeare	History	PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	RNF
<i>time honourd</i> (RII 1.1.1)	Shakespeare	History	AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	RNF
<i>wire-drawne</i> (A 3.2.88)	Jonson	Comedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared	
<i>wolfe-turn'd</i> (S 3.251)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Quality/Action/Entity Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>worlds-renown'd</i> (S 4.121)	Jonson	History	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>worme-eaten</i> (EM 3.5.11)	Jonson	Comedy	AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>Wrath kindled</i> (RII 1.1.152)	Shakespeare	History	INSTRUMENT	Instrument – Action/State	RNF

Table 39: The noun + verb + *-ed* compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.9.3. Morphological Particularities

Except for several instances of EModE spelling idiosyncrasies (e.g., occasional spellings of the *-ed* - morpheme as *-t*, or *-d*), the noun + verb + *-ed* compounds in the corpus are mostly regular from a morphological perspective. The only tokens that deviate from the default pattern are the formations *worlds-renown'd* (S 4.121) and *time bewasted* (RII 1.3.493), due to the particular morphological shape of their first and second constituent respectively.

Although internal inflection has been taken as an exclusion criterion for the compound status of a lexeme by some scholars (cp. ch. 4.4.3.4), the construction *worlds-renown'd* (S 4.121), as used in the noun phrase *worlds-renown'd Germanicus* (S 4.121), whose first constituent shows plural inflection, can still be counted as a morphologically isolated compound, as long as the first element is not assumed to constitute a genitive noun. The

meaning of the compound in context, however, rather suggests a locative interpretation of the token, paraphrasable as ‘renowned in (all) worlds’.

The token *time bewasted* (RII 1.3.493), in turn, exhibits the additional prefix *be-* being attached to its second element. In the compound, this prefix, inherited from Old English and still existing in PDE with various semantic functions,<sup>306</sup> is here interpreted (in accordance with the OED) as having an intensifying function that reinforces the meaning of the second element to now denote ‘(thoroughly) wasted away’. (cp. "be-, prefix." *OED online*. 14 March 2017)

#### 7.5.9.4. Innovation among the Noun + Verb + *-ed* Compounds

As visible in the chart below, innovation among the noun + verb + *-ed* compounds is extraordinarily frequent:

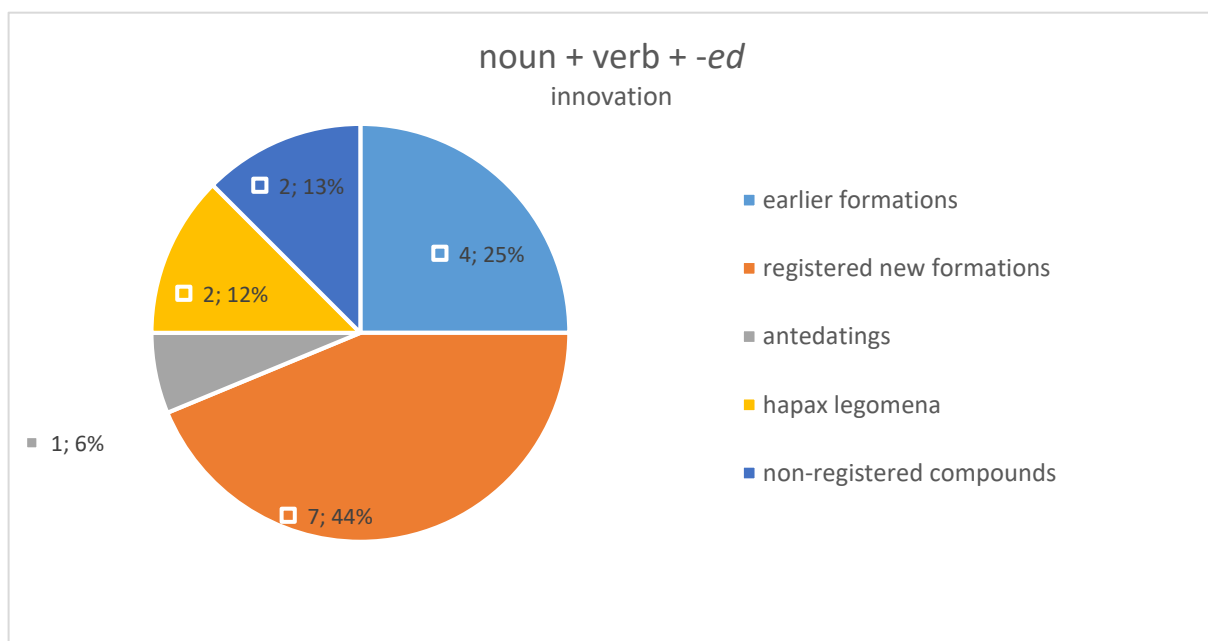


Figure 26: Innovation among the noun + verb + *-ed* compounds

With seven registered new formations, two hapax legomena and one antedating among the tokens, this morphologic type is one of the most innovative ones in the corpus with an innovation rate of 62%. Both the numbers of unregistered compounds as well as those of earlier

<sup>306</sup> The prefix goes back to the OE particle *bī*, originally denoting ‘about’. In PDE, it appears in prepositions or adverbs such as *behind*, *below* and in verbs such as *begin*, *befall*, where it has developed different semantic functions. Especially in intensifying function or as changing a verb’s transitivity, the prefix *be-* can still productively be added to some PDE verbs. (cp. "be-, prefix." *OED online*. 14 March 2017)

formations are comparatively low among the compounds of this type. Interestingly, however, the only two non-registered formations, *wolfe-turn'd* (S 3.251) and *worlds-renown'd* (S 4.121) occur in Ben Jonson's plays, while all registered new formations, as well as the two hapax legomena, *lust-staind* (O 5.1.2803) and *oile-dried* (RII 1.3.493), are from William Shakespeare's plays. The occurrence of the compound *steele-bard* (JM 1.1.14) in Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, on the other hand, antedates its documentation in the OED by over 300 years. (cp. "steel, n.1.C7." *OED online*. 13 March 2017) Hence, although Shakespearean constructions such as *care tunde* (RII 3.2.1391), *lust-staind* (O 5.1.2803) or *Wrath kindled* (RII 1.1.152) are undeniably poetic and creative, the morphologic type of noun + verb + *-ed* is still indicative of the documentation practices of the OED influencing the results when it comes to new formations. (cp. further ch. 10)

Moreover, the increased productivity of the word-formation type with the onset of the Modern English period is reflected in the EModE corpus, as three of the four tokens which existed in the language before their occurrence in the corpus, *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188), *hide-bound* (A 5.5.144) and *wire-drawne* (A 3.2.88), emerged around 1600. The only compound coined in Middle English at the end of the fourteenth century is the token *worme-eaten* (EM 3.5.11).

#### 7.5.9.5. Semantic Description

The morphologic type noun + verb + *-ed* proves comparatively diverse in terms of the compounds' semantic structures, which are assignable to eight different semantic types. Differences between the three playwrights, however, are marked, with William Shakespeare's tokens predominantly exhibiting a 'Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)' structure (cp. further below), while Ben Jonson's five compounds of this morphologic type are distributed over five distinct semantic types, for three of which Jonson's tokens are the only members within this morphologic type:

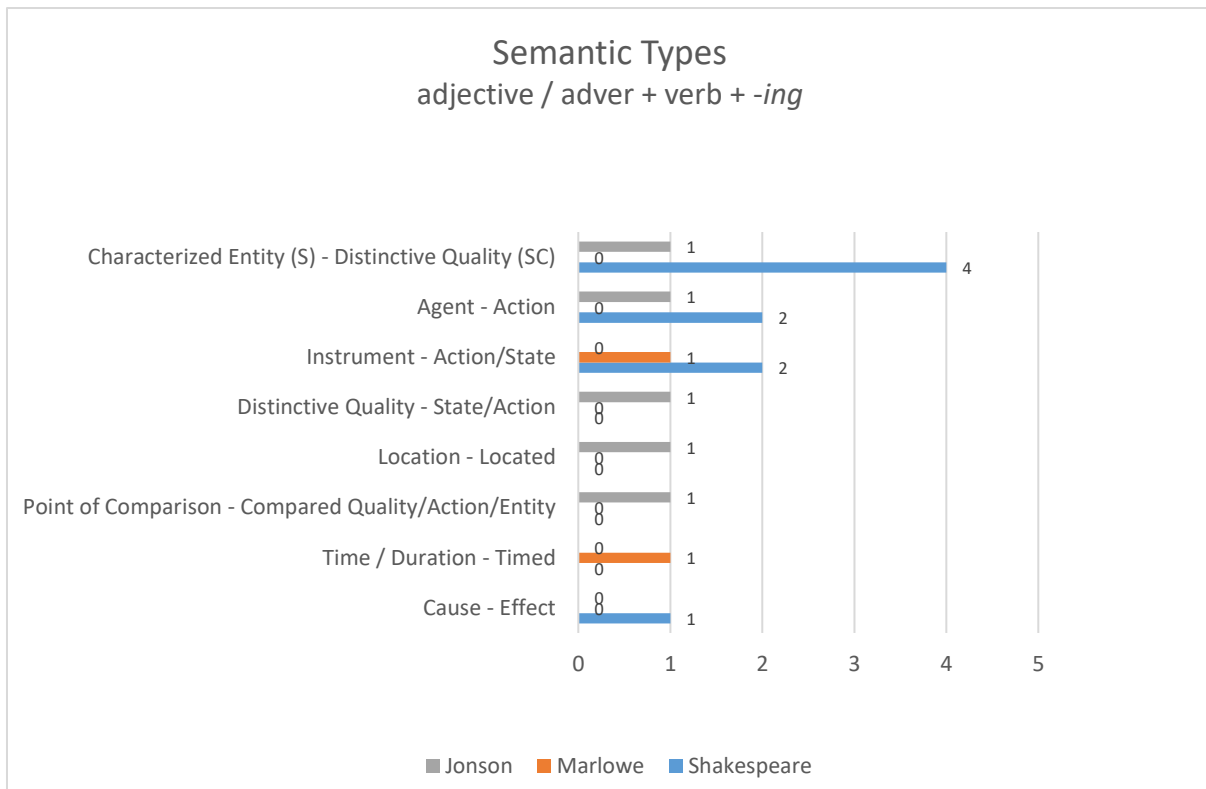


Figure 27: Semantic types of the noun + verb + -ed compounds

In general, the noun + verb + -ed compounds fall into two groups, depending on the relation between the adjective compound and the referent they describe. Whereas the majority of noun + verb + -ed compounds exhibit a classically endocentric structure (pertaining, as pointed out above, to various semantic classes / types), the compounds *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188), *hide-bound* (A 5.5.144), *oile-dried* (RII 1.3.493), *shoulder-shotten* (TS 3.2.1361) and *plume-pluckt* (RII 4.1.1931) are semantically special, in that their first constituents function as the subject in the respective paraphrases of the adjective compounds (e.g., ‘the crest has fallen’) and the relation to their actual referent is metonymic. In this respect, they are similar to tokens such as *thred-bare* (EM 3.7.65), which have been discussed in ch. 7.5.1.5. As a *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188) person is not actually *fallen* but instead is someone, who (metaphorically) ‘has a fallen crest’, the metonymic relation between compound and referent is of possessive nature and is evocative of bahuvrihi adjectives such as, e.g., *barefoot* (O 4.3.2699, in slightly different spelling S 2.141, TS 2.1.841, JM 2.3.25), with the only restriction that the sequence of Subject and Subject Complement in the paraphrase is reversed in the case of noun + verb + -ed compounds such as *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188) and the other compounds of this subgroup.

While the semantic type ‘Characterized Entity (S) – Distinctive Quality (SC)’ just discussed is the most frequent type among the material, which is largely due to Shakespeare’s preference for using (and creating) compounds of this semantic structure, compounds

displaying an ‘Agent – Action’ structure are the second most frequent noun + verb + *-ed* compounds. In the cases of *lust-staind* (O 5.1.2803) and *time honourd* (RII 1.1.1), the notion of ‘agent’, has, as has already been pointed out elsewhere (cp. eg. ch. 7.4.7.5), deliberately been extended to include inanimate first constituents. However, the border between ‘agent’ and ‘instrument’, becomes indistinct to a certain degree with respect to *lust-staind* (O 5.1.2803) and *time honourd* (RII 1.1.1) on the one hand, and *care tunde* (RII 3.2.1391) and *Wrath kindled* (RII 1.1.152) on the other. Whereas I have classified the former tokens as belonging to the semantic class AGENTIVE on the basis of their respective paraphrases ‘time has honoured sth. / lust has stained sth.’, the semantics of the verbal elements *kindle* and *tune* have ultimately prompted a classification of *care tunde* (RII 3.2.1391) and *Wrath kindled* (RII 1.1.152) as ‘Instrument – Action / State’. Other than in the case of *stain* and *honour*, the actions described by *kindle* and *tune* have been felt to allow for an instrument ‘with the help of which’ they are performed. It is partly due to the high degree of poeticity of compounds as these that the semantic classification is not always straightforward and several instances occur in which a certain ambiguity cannot be eliminated completely.

Eventually, the token *wolfe-turn’d* (S 3.251) represents a subclass of the ‘Distinctive Quality – State/Action’ compounds in which the second constituent is a copula verb. Thereby, it is semantically similar to the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compound *ill seeming* (TS 5.2.2549), whose particular structure has already been discussed in ch. 7.5.8.5.

#### 7.5.9.6. Metaphoricity

Consistent with the high degree of poeticity in the compounds of this morphologic type, the metaphoricity rate in this group is relatively high as well, with nine out of the 16 tokens (i.e. 56%) displaying metaphor of some kind. While none of Christopher Marlowe’s noun + verb + *-ed* compounds exhibits metaphor, 80% (4 tokens) of Ben Jonson’s tokens, and 56 % (5 tokens) of William Shakespeare’s compounds of this type are metaphorical. In the following, the metaphorical tokens from the compounds are listed:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>care tunde</i> (RII 3.2.1391)	Shakespeare	History	<i>More health and happines betide my liege, Then can my care-tunde tongue deliuer him</i>		Second Constituent	RNF
<i>Crest-fallen</i> (RII 1.1.188)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Shall I seem Crest-fallen in my fathers sight?</i>	Indirect		
<i>hide-bound</i> (A 5.5.144)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Slight, thou art not hide-bound</i>	Indirect		
<i>lust-staind</i> (O 5.1.2803)	Shakespeare	Tragedy			Second Constituent	HL
<i>plume-pluckt</i> (RII 4.1.1931)	Shakespeare	History	<i>I come to thee, From plume-pluckt Richard</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>shoulder-shotten</i> (TS 3.2.1361)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>His horse hip'd [...] and shoulder-shotten</i>		Second Constituent	RNF
<i>wire-drawne</i> (A 3.2.88)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>shorten so your eares, against the hearing Of the next wire-drawne grace</i>	Indirect		
<i>worlds-renown'd</i> (S 4.121)	Jonson	History	<i>You are iust, And worthy such a princely patrones loue, As was the worlds-renown'd Germanicus</i>	Direct		NR
<i>worme-eaten</i> (EM 3.5.11)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>your poore Infanterie, your decay'd, ruinous, worme-eaten gentlemen of the round</i>	Indirect		
<i>Wrath kindled</i> (RII 1.1.152)	Shakespeare	History			Second Constituent	RNF

Table 40: The metaphorical noun + verb + -ed compounds

Once again, the majority of the metaphorical tokens from this group show contextual indirect metaphor. While in the noun phrases *care tuned tongue* (RII 3.2.1391), *plume-pluckt Richard* (RII 4.1.1931), *wire-drawne grace* (A 3.2.88) and *worme-eaten gentlemen* (EM 3.5.11), the contextual discrepancy between the basic meaning of the adjective compounds and their respective referents is obvious, the compounds *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188) and *hide-bound* (A 5.5.144) are used predicatively in the plays. Their contextual metaphoricity arises from the broader context in which they are used, in which a metaphorical interpretation of their meaning is prompted. In fact, both adjective compounds *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188) and *hide-bound* (A 5.5.144), when applied to human beings, are already institutionalized with the respective metaphorical senses at the time of their occurrence in the corpus, with *Crest-fallen* (RII 1.1.188) commonly meaning "cast down in confidence" (s.v. "crest-fallen, adj." *OED online*. 15 March 2017) and *hide-bound* (A 5.5.144) denoting the human quality of being 'cramped', or "[r]estricted in view or scope" (s.v. "hidebound, adj. and n." *OED online*. 15 March 2017).

In addition, three of William Shakespeare's metaphorical noun + verb + -ed compounds exhibit morphological metaphor of the second constituent, which makes Shakespeare the only one of the three playwrights analysed, who also applies metaphor in word-formation within this morphologic type and thus creates highly poetic new formations such as *care tunde* (RII 3.2.1391), *lust-staind* (O 5.1.2803) and *Wrath kindled* (RII 1.1.152). Since we cannot actually



‘tune something with the help of care’ and neither can ‘lust’ actually ‘stain’ or ‘wrath’ ‘kindle’ something, the second constituent in these tokens has to undergo metaphorical interpretation in order to avoid the semantic dissonance that would arise from a non-metaphorical understanding of both elements.

#### 7.5.10. Adjective / Adverb + Verb + *-ed*

##### 7.5.10.1. Morphological Description

This morphologic type comprises compounds featuring an adjective or adverb as their first and a past participle as their second constituent. Given the morphologic parallelism of the constituents of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds and adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* compounds on the one hand, and noun + verb + *-ed* compounds on the other, issues concerning the word-class of the respective first constituents, as well as the potential classification of some tokens as derivations from complex verbs (cp. chs. 7.5.2.1, 7.5.7.1, 7.5.9.1), pertain to the present type as well and will not be reiterated in detail.

Adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds are equally non-isolated from syntactic groups as the respective parallel formations, featuring a present participle as their second element. Also in this group several borderline cases exist, which I have included in the analysis, in accordance with the inclusive approach chosen for the present study and the equally inclusive practice observable with regard to these adjective compounds in dictionaries such as the OED. Particularly critical cases among the material include those formations which contain *well-* as their first constituent, such as e.g., *well beloved* (TS 5.1.2283) or *well furnisht* (RII 2.1.901). Although surprisingly many of these constructions (including the two examples presented above), find mention as compounds in the OED (cp. "well-tuned, adj.", "well-furnished, adj." *OED online*. 15 March 2017), their compound status is highly disputable due to *well* being clearly marked as an adverb and used in a position that is prototypical for adverbs in syntactic constructions.

Furthermore, the morphological status of the second constituent in adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds is ambiguous in some (rare) cases where the derivational basis for the *-ed* suffix could either be a verb or the corresponding noun. (cp. also Sauer 1992:296) It is, for example, not entirely clear, whether tokens such as *ill placed* (S 5.892) are, in fact, to be understood as adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds. This alternative classification, which

would render the compound an extended bahuvrihi adjective, is semantically possible in the case of *ill placed* (S 5.892), since the paraphrase 'having an ill place' is conceivable as a sensible description of the compound's meaning. Other morphologically ambiguous cases, such as *well tun'd* (O 2.1.881), *well pend* (EM 1.5.48), *well perfum'd* (TS 1.2.675), *well furnisht* (2.1.901) or *well-gract* (5.2.2281), however, do not allow for corresponding paraphrases, due to the adverbial nature of their first constituents (e.g., *well tun'd* (O 2.1.881) \*'having a well tune').

Adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds "appear in all the Germanic languages" (Carr 1939:205) and exist throughout the history of English, (cp. Koziol 1972:79f; Sauer 1992:296) although the Old English compounds of this type have not survived until PDE, most of them already disappearing towards Middle English. (cp. Koziol 1972:79; Marchand 1969:94) The productivity of the type remains moderate in Middle English (cp. Sauer 1992:296) and, hence, it indeed seems to be the case that the "formative power of the word-formation type does not really start before the second half of the sixteenth century" (Marchand 1969:94). The high number of EModE constructions of this type in the present corpus, however, additionally suggests a considerably speedy increase in productivity of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds around (or shortly before) 1600.

Comprising 52 tokens, the morphologic type adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* is the largest morphologic type among the adjective compounds in the corpus. This group makes up 25% of all adjective compounds and is the adjective type most frequently used by all three playwrights, followed only by adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds, that are similarly frequent in Shakespeare's and Marlowe's works, but occur less frequently in Ben Jonson's plays. In relation to the numbers of adjective compounds used by each author, adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds make up 32% of Jonson's, 24% of Shakespeare's and 22% of Marlowe's adjective compounds, thus indicating that Ben Jonson has a particular preference for the type. A further tendency observable from the data is that the history plays, and especially *Richard II*, appear to be particularly rich in adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* formations. 25 of the tokens of this type occur in one of the three history plays in the corpus and, among them, twelve adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds stem from Shakespeare's *Richard II*.

7.5.10.2. The Adjective / Adverb + Verb + *-ed* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>base born</i> (JM 2.3.282)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>base born</i> (T 2.2.65)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>base-bred</i> (T 4.3.12)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>best-practis 'd</i> (EM 1.5.143)	Jonson	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>better fashion 'd</i> (TS 4.3.1980)	Shakespeare	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>blindfold</i> (RII 1.3.496)	Shakespeare	History	PRODUCT	Effect – Cause	
<i>cleane-Swept</i> (EM 2.5.61)	Jonson	Comedy	PRODUCT	Effect – Cause	AD
<i>dead drunke</i> (O 2.3.1081)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Entity / Quality / Action	
<i>full gorg 'd</i> (TS 4.1.1737)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	RNF
<i>full stuft</i> (S 3.435)	Jonson	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	AD
<i>halfe-chekt</i> (TS 3.2.1362)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	HL
<i>high wrought</i> (O 2.1.684)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>home-bred</i> (RII 1.3.460)	Shakespeare	History	LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>ill erected</i> (RII 5.1.2157)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>ill placed</i> (S 5.892)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	AD
<i>long expected</i> (T 2.3.44)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>long parted</i> (RII 3.2.1311)	Shakespeare	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	RNF
<i>Most-lou 'd</i> (S 3.531)	Jonson	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>never staid</i> (T 5.1.88)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new betroth 'd</i> (JM 2.3.327)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new come</i> (EII 1.11)	Marlowe	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>new come</i> (RII 5.2.2304)	Shakespeare	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>new-commented</i> (S 4.400)	Jonson	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new deliuerd</i> (RII 2.2.981)	Shakespeare	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new elected</i> (EII 18.78)	Marlowe	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new made</i> (RII 5.2.2302)	Shakespeare	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>new made</i> (JM 1.2.302)	Marlowe	Tragedy	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>new-commented</i> (S 4.400)	Jonson	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new-inspirde</i> (RII 2.1.645)	Shakespeare	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>new-made</i> (S 5. 661)	Jonson	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>noble born</i> (EII 4.80)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>rude-spun</i> (A 2.1.16)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	RNF
<i>scarce-seene</i> (S 2.43)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	NR
<i>seildsene</i> (JM 1.1.28)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>strong built</i> (JM P 22)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	RNF
<i>true-born</i> (A 4.7.2)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>welbeloved</i> (EII 16.33)	Marlowe	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>well approu'd</i> (TS 1.1.281)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	

<i>well assur'd</i> (RII 2.4.1252)	Shakespeare	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>well beloued</i> (TS 5.1.2283)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>well disposed</i> (RII 2.1.821)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>well furnisht</i> (RII 2.1.901)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>well painted</i> (O 4.1.2386)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>well pend</i> (EM 1.5.48)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>well perfum'd</i> (TS 1.2.675)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>well read</i> (TS 1.2.168)	Shakespeare	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>well reclaim'd</i> (EII 13.57)	Marlowe	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>well tun'd</i> (O 2.1.881)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>well-experienc'd</i> (EM 1.5.138)	Jonson	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>Well-gract</i> (RII 5.2.2281)	Shakespeare	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>well-spoken</i> (S 3.223)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality – State/Action	
<i>well-watch'd</i> (EM 3.3.28)	Jonson	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>wel-read</i> (S 3.694)	Jonson	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	

Table 41: The adjective / adverb + verb + -ed compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.10.3. Morphological Particularities

Except for the word-class ambiguities that affect both the first and the second elements of several of the adjective / adverb + verb + -ed compounds, which have been discussed in ch. 7.5.9.1, the majority of the tokens from the corpus are morphologically regular.

From a PDE perspective, however, the second constituents of the two compounds *blindfold* (RII 1.3.496) and *high wrought* (O 2.1.684) may appear unfamiliar, since they are no longer (or only rarely) used as independent past participles. Firstly, the former, irregular past participle of the verb *to work*, *wrought* has largely been substituted by the regular form *worked* today. The etymology of *blindfold* (RII 1.3.496), in turn, proves somewhat obscure. As has already been insinuated in ch. 7.5.10.1, the compound probably originates in the Middle English verb *blindfellen*, with the second element *fellen* meaning ‘to strike’. Combinations of the verb *fellen* with the adjective *blind*, denote the action of either literally ‘striking someone blind’, or of ‘covering one’s eyes’ and have occurred since Middle English. (cp. "blindfold, v." *OED online*. 15 March 2017) The documented uses of the complex verb in the OED, however, almost exclusively attest to constructions featuring *blind* and the past participle of the verb *fellen*, which until the sixteenth century is mainly attested in the forms *felled*, *feld*, *felt*, *falled*, *fald*,

*falt, i-fallen* (cp. "fellen, v." *MED online*. 15 March 2017) and apparently does not occur as *fold* before the sixteenth century. This, in turn may be indicative of a potentially independent formation process of *blindfold* (RII 1.3.496) as an adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compound, the second constituent of which, although morphologically going back to *fellen*, is erroneously associated with the action of ‘folding something around someone’s eyes’ by some speakers in the sixteenth century and later. (cp. "blindfold,v." *OED online*. 15 March 2017)

Moreover, Shakespeare’s hapax legomenon *halfe-chekt* (TS 3.2.1362), which he uses in *The Taming of the Shrew* with reference to Petruchio’s horse and its *halfe-chekt Bitte* (TS 3.2.1362), is a rather dubious case both semantically and morphologically, since meaning and etymology of its second element are not entirely clear. While the OED lists the formation under the entry of the participial adjective *checked*, meaning "stopped in progress, repressed; restrained" (s.v. "checked, adj.1." *OED online*. 16 March 2017), but does not further elaborate on its meaning, Crystal & Crystal (2002) identify the token as a perverted spelling of *half-cheeked*<sup>307</sup> and offer two possible interpretations of its meaning, both specifying attributes of a horse’s *bit*: "with broken side-rings [cheeks] or: halfway up the cheeks" (s.v. "half-cheeked, adj." Crystal & Crystal 2002). Although an exact determination of the token’s intended meaning (and, as linked to that, its etymology) is hardly possible, both readings of the compound appear more appropriate in the given context than any connection of the second constituent with the lexeme *checked*, so that the etymological insecurities are most certainly attributable to a momentous case of EModE spelling idiosyncrasies. Eventually, the decision to prefer the second reading, ‘halfway up the cheeks’, over the first in the present study (cp. ch. 7.5.9.5) has been made on the basis of the choice of the determinant *half*, which is only rarely used in the sense of *broken*, but which I perceive to be much rather eligible to transport the sense of ‘incomplete(ly), not entirely’. As a matter of course, this judgement is in great part based on subjective notions.

Lastly, the compounds *new betroth’d* (JM 2.3.327) and *well beloued* (TS 5.1.2283) feature prefixed verbs as their second elements that entail the prefix *be-*, which has already been encountered in ch. 7.5.9.3. In the two adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds, the function of the prefix is the formation of the derived verbs *betroth* on the basis of the Middle English noun *treuðe* (‘truth’), and *belove* on the basis of Middle English *luven* (‘to love’).

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<sup>307</sup> The OED entry also indicates a certain insecurity about the etymological origin of the second constituent by noting the alternative spelling *half-cheeked* in brackets with a question mark, without, however, giving further details.

#### 7.5.10.4. Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Verb + *-ed* Compounds

With 30 of the adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds in the corpus having entered the language before their respective use in the plays, the innovation rate of this morphologic type remains moderate:

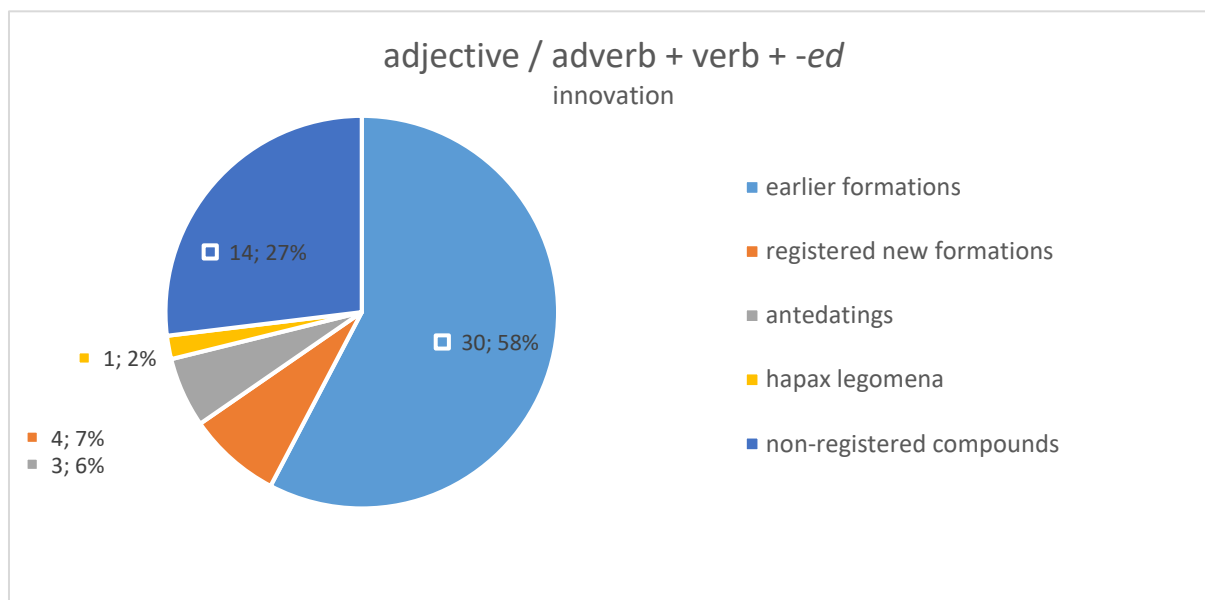


Figure 28: Innovation among the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds

Nevertheless, the majority of the earlier formations from the corpus are formations of the sixteenth century and largely from its second half. The data thus confirms what I have insinuated in ch. 7.5.10.1 concerning the increase of productivity of this morphologic type in the EModE period. Apart from the two Old English formations *new come* (EII 1.11, RII 5.2.2304) and *seildsene* (JM 1.1.28), the only compounds that have already emerged in the Middle English period are *blindfold* (RII 1.3.496), *new made* (RII 5.2.2302, JM 1.2.302), *welbeloved* (EII 16.33), *well absurd* (RII 2.4.1252), *well disposed* (RII 2.1.821), *well furnisht* (RII 2.1.901) and *well-spoken* (S 3.223).

#### 7.5.10.5. Semantic Description

Given the high token number of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds in the corpus, the semantic structures of the respective lexemes prove comparatively uniform, with the three semantic classes / types ‘QUALITY’; ‘Distinctive Quality – State/Action’, ‘DEGREE’;

‘Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action’ and ‘TIME’; ‘Time/Duration – Timed’ comprising the clear majority of the tokens:

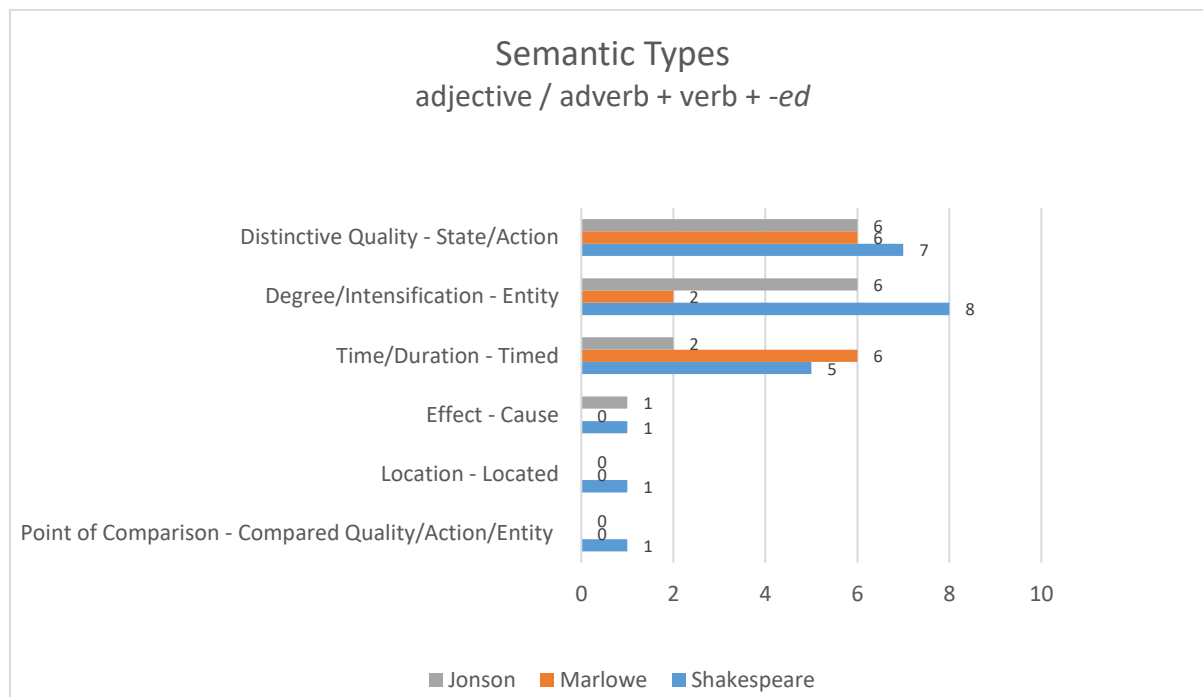


Figure 29: Semantic types of the adjective / adverb + verb + -ed compounds

As has already been observed with regard to the adjective / adverb + verb + -ing compounds *well deserving* (RII 2.1.809) and *well meaning* (RII 2.1.743), compounds featuring *well-* as their first constituent tend to fall into two semantic categories, splitting up into formations in which *well-* has an intensifying function, such as, e.g., *welbeloved* (EII 16.33), *well approu'd* (TS 1.1.281), or *well assur'd* (RII 2.4.1252), and compounds where *well-* specifies the quality of the action entailed in the second element, as illustrated by *well furnisht* (RII 2.1.901), *well painted* (O 4.1.2386) or *well pend* (EM 1.5.48).

The compound *well-spoken* (S 3.223), as used in the phrase *well-spoken man* (S 3.223) and equally assignable to the latter group of ‘QUALITY’ compounds, represents a special case in terms of its semantics, since its paraphrase is in the active voice (‘someone speaks well’), whereas the usual paraphrases for compounds of this morphologic type are in the passive voice (e.g., ‘something is painted / furnished / penned well’). (cp. also Marchand 1969:94f) Further tokens from the corpus which exhibit this particular semantic structure are the adjective compounds *well read* (TS 1.2.168 and, in different spelling, S 3.694), *never staid* (T 5.1.88), *new come* (RII 5.2.2304) and *new deliuerd [mother]* (RII 2.2.981). All of these formations are paraphrased by an active sentence in which the referent (i.e. the head of the noun phrase, if in

attributive use) takes the agent role, e.g., ‘the mother has newly delivered’, ‘the arme [army] has never stayed’.

As can already be observed from the examples just quoted, such as, e.g., *new deliuerd* (RII 2.2.981) or *new come* (EII 1.11, RII 5.2.2304), the adjective / adverb *new* is usually interpreted as having a predominantly temporal meaning in the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds from the corpus and, hence, as semantically corresponding to the adverb *newly* (i.e. ‘recently, lately’). For some items, however, a certain ambiguity in this regard can be detected. First and foremost, this applies to the tokens *new made* (RII 5.2.2302, JM 1.2.302 and, in slightly different spelling S 5. 661), *new-commented* (S 4.400) and *new-inspirde* (RII 2.1.645), since in these cases the qualitative meaning of *new*, characterizing something as “brought into existence for the first time” (cp. “new, adj. and n.” *OED online*. 16 March 2017) may be involved as well.

Similar ambiguity potentially occurs with *scarce-seene* (S 2.43) and *seildsene* (JM 1.1.28), in which the semantic relation between the constituent can either be understood as an essentially temporal one, interpreting their respective first elements as denoting infrequency over a period of time, which would render the meaning of the compounds circumscribable as ‘not often seen’, or as a qualitative one, that would then specify the manner (*how?*) of the action rather than its frequency in time (*when?*).

As has already been pointed out in ch. 7.5.9.3, the compound *halfe-chekt* (TS 3.2.1362), used in reference to a horse’s bit or mouthpiece, is understood as meaning ‘halfway up the cheeks’. Hence it is classified as an instance of the semantic class / type DEGREE; ‘Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action’, with the second constituent *cheeked*, constituting the past participle form of a converted verb *to cheek*, which metonymically denotes the act of ‘putting something over the cheeks’. The fact that this sense is not institutionalized for the verb *to cheek*, does not necessarily influence the interpretation of the compound and is indicative of the high degree of creativity involved in the formation of the hapax legomenon.

Eventually, it is noteworthy that Shakespeare’s adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds display the highest degree of semantic diversity, with his plays featuring several tokens that exhibit semantic relations uncommon for compounds of this morphologic type. While the compound *blindfold* (RII 1.3.496) is one of only two tokens in this group (together with *cleane-Swept* (EM 2.5.61)) which pertain to the semantic type ‘Effect – Cause’, the compounds *dead drunke* (O 2.3.1081) and *home-bred* (RII 1.3.460) are singular among the



tokens of this type for their respective comparative and locative semantic structure. As a qualification, however, it has to be remarked that none of these semantically extraordinary tokens are Shakespearean formations.

#### 7.5.10.6. Metaphoricity

Among the 52 adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds in the corpus, 15 instances of metaphor occur, over one third of these in Shakespeare's *Richard II*. The overall portion of 29% of metaphorical tokens within this morphologic type, however, is comparatively small. The table below lists all adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds that display (some kind of) metaphor:

Table 42: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>base born</i> (JM 2.3.282)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First constituent	
<i>base born</i> (T 2.2.65)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First constituent	
<i>base-bred</i> (T 4.3.12)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First constituent	
<i>blindfold</i> (RII 1.3.496)	Shakespeare	History	<i>And blindfold Death [will] not let me see my sonne</i>	Indirect		
<i>dead drunke</i> (O 2.3.1081)	Shakespeare	Tragedy			Relation	
<i>full stuft</i> (S 3.435)	Jonson	History	<i>The Epigram's of Bibaculus, and Catullus, Are read, full stuft with spight of both the Ceasars</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>home-bred</i> (RII 1.3.460)	Shakespeare	History	<i>This lowring tempest of your home-bred hate</i>	Indirect		
<i>ill placed</i> (RII 5.892)	Jonson	History	<i>To make amends, for thy ill placed fauours</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>long parted</i> (RII 3.2.1311)	Shakespeare	History	<i>As a long parted mother with her childe / Playes fondly with her teares [...] So weeping, smiling greete I thee</i>	Direct		RNF
<i>new come</i> (EII 1.11)	Marlowe	History	<i>The sight of London to my exiled eyes, Is as Elizium to a new come soule</i>	Direct		
<i>new-inspirde</i> (RII 2.1.645)	Shakespeare	History	<i>I am a prophet new-inspired</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>strong built</i> (JM P 22)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First constituent	RNF
<i>Well-gract</i> (RII 5.2.2281)	Shakespeare	History	<i>As in a Theatre the eies of men, after a well-gract Actor leaues the stage</i>	Direct		
<i>well painted</i> (O 4.1.2386)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>O well painted passion</i>	Indirect		
<i>well tun'd</i> (O 2.1.881)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>O, you are well tun'd now</i>	Indirect		

The majority of the metaphorical compounds of this type in the corpus display contextual metaphor, divided into three instances of direct metaphor, on the one hand, all clearly marked

by the flag *as*, and seven tokens that represent indirect metaphors, on the other hand. Here, metaphoricity is indicated by a discrepancy between the adjective compounds' literal meaning and the referent to which they are attributed. The degree of discrepancy, of course, may vary and can in some cases emerge from the simple opposition between concrete and abstract meaning of adjective compound and referent respectively. This is illustrated by the compounds *well painted* (O 4.1.2386), *full stuf* (S 3.435) and *ill placed* (RII 5.892), for instance, which, with *to paint*, *to stuff* and *to place*, all entail actions primarily connected to concrete objects, but which in the contexts of the plays are used in reference to abstract emotions: *well painted passion* (O 4.1.2386), *full stuf with spight* (S 3.435) and *ill placed fauours* (RII 5.892). An even more pronounced discrepancy between adjective compound and referent is observable in the cases of *home-bred hate* (RII 1.3.460) and *well tun'd [you, i.e. Othello]* (O 2.1.881), as both compounds could only be understood literally when describing a person as "born or reared in one's home" (s.v. "home-bred, adj and n." *OED online*. 17 March 2017) or an instrument as "properly tuned". (cp. "well-tuned, adj." *OED online*. 17 March 2017)

With the compounds *base born* (JM 2.3.282, T 2.2.65) (occurring twice) and *base-bred* (T 4.3.12), the corpus further comprises three tokens of morphological and semantic similarity, all of which exhibit metaphoricity in word-formation, since their first constituent *base* demands a metaphorical interpretation within the respective constructions. The literal and concrete sense of the adjective characterizing something as 'being low to the ground', the meaning of the lexeme *base* is metaphorically transferred to the social sphere in both compounds, where the adjective now describes a 'low position on the social scale' and hence forms a considerably more sensible semantic unit with the second constituents of *base born* (JM 2.3.282, T 2.2.65) and *base-bred* (T 4.3.12), than the literal meaning would. (cp. "base, adj. and n.6." *OED online*. 17 March 2017) Additionally, the material contains one instance of metaphorical comparison between the constituents: the token *dead drunke* (O 2.3.1081) is the only adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compound from Shakespeare's works that displays morphological metaphor, while all other instances of metaphor in word-formation within this group occur in Christopher Marlowe's plays.

## 7.5.11. Numeral + Noun + *-ed*

### 7.5.11.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type numeral + noun + *-ed* is the first type discussed in this study that comprises extended bahuvrihi adjectives. As described in ch. 4.3.2, the compounds attributable to this superordinate class are formed as synthetic compounds. Extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds of the present morphologic type comprise as constituents a numeral (including primary and ordinal numbers as well as the adverb *triple*, cp. ch. 7.5.10), a noun and the suffix *-ed*. Semantically, all extended bahuvrihi adjectives are marked by their metonymic reference and are, thus, parallel to simple bahuvrihi adjectives, such as *barefoot* (O 4.3.2699, in slightly different spelling S 2.141, TS 2.1.841, JM 2.3.25), which also establish a possessive relation with the referent they describe.

Other than extended bahuvrihi adjectives of the morphologic shape adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* (cp. ch. 7.5.12), which, since combinations of adverbs and simplex bahuvrihi adjectives of the form noun + *-ed* (e.g., *bearded*, *headed*) are possible syntactic constructions, are not necessarily morphologically isolated, (cp. ch. 7.5.12) numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds are usually isolated from syntactic phrases by their morphological shape. The only potential exception in the corpus is the compound *triple headed* (T 1.2.161), as *headed* can theoretically be regarded as an independent lexeme and the first constituent, *triple*, can occur as an adverb in the sense of ‘three times’ (cp. "triple, adj. and adv.B." *OED online*. 20 March 2017). Semantically, however, the paraphrase ‘having triple (three) heads’ appears to capture the meaning of the compound considerably more appropriately than the paraphrase ‘headed three times’. Hence, the status of the construction as a bahuvrihi compound is substantiated by its semantic structure.

Historically, extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds have originally been derived from simple bahuvrihi adjective compounds via suffixation and have then, already from Old English onwards, gradually replaced the former formations as a new morphologic type. (cp. Marchand 1969:265 and ch. 7.5.3). This ultimate origin of some extended bahuvrihi adjectives in simple bahuvrihi adjectives has been taken by some scholars (e.g., Hansen 1990; Koziol 1972; Marchand 1969) as a cause for the exclusion of extended Bahuvrihi-compounds from the class of compounds. As has already been pointed out in ch. 4.3.2, however, the present study perceives them as synthetic compounds – a view that is also corroborated from a diachronic perspective, given the fact that, after the establishment of the type, extended bahuvrihi adjective

compounds have been and are being formed independently, on the basis of syntactic phrases. (cp. Bloomfield 1933:231; Marchand 1969:265; Sauer 1992:316, as well as ch. 4.3.2) Whereas a few of the extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds of the shape adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* in the corpus indeed go back to simple Bahuvrihi-compounds (cp. ch. 7.5.12), the constructions featuring a numeral as their first constituent, which are discussed here, are clearly more likely to have been formed independently as synthetic compounds on the basis of syntactic phrases, such as, e.g., *fifty heads*, *three legs*.<sup>308</sup> By EModE, this formation process has become the general standard for extended bahuvrihi adjectives of all morphologic shapes. In fact, the majority of the extended Bahuvrihi-compounds in Sauer's (1992) Early Middle English corpus are already independent new formations from the Middle English period, which do not go back to simple Bahuvrihis from Old English. (cp. 318) The tendency of extended bahuvrihi adjectives being formed anew and the respective morphologic types replacing the older simple Bahuvrihis continues towards PDE, with the result that, already in the Early Modern English corpus, extended Bahuvrihis (in their different morphological shapes) clearly outnumber the rare remnants of the older type. (cp. ch. 7.5.4) Nevertheless, the four numeral + noun + *-ed* constructions only make up a small portion of the overall class of extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds among the material (and in general, cp. also Sauer 1992:320f).

#### 7.5.11.2. The Numeral + Noun + *-ed* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>fiftie headed</i> (T 1.2.103)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>three-legg'd</i> (TS 1.1.338)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	RNF
<i>three-pild</i> (EM 3.3.38)	Jonson	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>triple headed</i> (T 1.2.161)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	

Table 43: The numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds from the corpus

<sup>308</sup> The compound *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38) represents the only exception from this generalisation, as will be pointed out in ch. 7.5.11.5.

### 7.5.11.3. Morphological Particularities

As pointed out in ch. 4.3.2, the formation process of synthetic compounds (and extended bahuvrihi adjectives) can generally be viewed from two distinct perspectives, one focussing on the simultaneity of the compounding and the suffixation process based on a syntactic phrase (e.g., *three legs*), and the other emphasizing their parallelism to constructions featuring past participles as their second elements and perceiving them as combinations of a numeral (or adjective, or noun) and a suffixed noun, such, as e.g., *bearded*. (cp. also Sauer 1992:316) The latter analysis, however, appears to lend itself exclusively to such extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds, which contain second constituents that can actually occur as independent lexemes. In general, it is often the case that either one of the morphological analyses appears more appropriate, based on the semantic paraphrase of the respective compound. As has been shown above with regard to *triple headed* (T 1.2.161), numeral + noun + *-ed* formations tend to correspond to the former way of analysis. This applies to the compounds *fiftie headed* (T 1.2.103) and *three-legg'd* (TS 1.1.338) to the same extent.

The token *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), however, is a special case in point, since it differs from the other compounds in this group, semantically and arguably also morphologically, as the semantic analysis of the token suggests that the basis for the formation process of the extended bahuvrihi adjective compound is not a syntactic phrase, but rather a semantically lexicalized numeral + noun compound (which, however, is not a bahuvrihi noun). The semantic particularity of the token *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), is grounded in the fact that the default semantic paraphrase for extended Bahuvrihi-formations, 'having three piles', does not appropriately capture the actual meaning of the compound, which is (in the context of the play as well as in its institutionalized sense) applied to cloth (commonly velvet), "in which the loops of the pile-warp (which constitutes the nap) are formed by three threads" (s.v. "'three-' pile, adj. (and n.)." *OED online*. 21 March 2017). A potential synonym for the compound is given in the respective entry in Crystal & Crystal (2002), who circumscribe it with the adjective *three-threaded*. Whereas this synonym perfectly corresponds to the semantic pattern of extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds formed from syntactic phrases, the token *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), upon closer investigation appears to involve an intricate interplay of metaphorical and implicit meanings. As the basic meaning of the noun pile is "[h]air, esp. fine soft hair or down; spec. the fine short underfur of certain mammals" (s.v. "pile, n.6.1.a." *OED online*. 21 March 2017), the application of the noun to denote "[t]he raised surface or nap on a fabric" (s.v. "pile,

n.6.2.a." *OED online*. 21 March 2017) is metaphorical in itself. In the combination with *three*, however, a further semantic attribute is introduced but not made explicit: *three-pile*, which has been documented as a compound noun since 1607, actually denotes what could be termed *three-threaded pile* (nap). Yet, in the compounds *three-pile* and *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), the second constituent of this construction, *threaded*, is left out and is only implicitly entailed in the institutionalized paraphrase of *three-pile*, ‘pile made with three threads’. The semantic paraphrase of the extended bahuvrihi adjective compound *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), therefore, has to be ‘having a pile made from three threads’ and the semantic analysis of the token prompts the conclusion that the actual formation process behind the compound is the suffixation of an already existing, semantically lexicalized, numeral + noun compound *three-pile*, even if the OED’s quotations suggest the extended bahuvrihi adjective to have preceded the latter formation. To assume a morphological formation process based on a syntactic phrase (as is the usual case for numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds), which would demand the plural form of the noun, *three piles*, is ruled out on semantic grounds, since it is not the *pile* but the *threads* involved that are more than one and, hence, plural. An alternative analysis of the construction as a combination of *three* and *piled* is possible, but does not forgo the substitution of an implicitly contained *threaded* either and the resulting semantic paraphrase, ‘piled in a three[-threaded] way’, appears less natural than the one arising from the structural interpretation explained above.

#### 7.5.11.4. Innovation among the Numeral + Noun + *-ed* Compounds

Among the four formations of this morphologic type, the only registered new formation is Shakespeare’s *three-legg’d* (TS 1.1.338). While Marlowe’s compound *fiftie headed* (T 1.2.103) is not recorded in the OED, the tokens *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38) and *triple headed* (T 1.2.161) are all documented before their occurrence in the respective plays from the corpus. Both compounds, however, emerge around 1600 and therefore are of EModE origin.

#### 7.5.11.5. Semantic Description

Apart from the compound *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), the semantic complexity of which has already been discussed above, the numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds from the corpus are uniformly

attributable to the semantic class / type DEGREE; ‘Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action’. This semantic structure is the most common one among compounds formed with numerals as their first constituent, as can also be observed with regard to numeral + noun and numeral + (deverbal) adjective compounds. (cp. chs. 7.4.4.5, 7.5.3.5)<sup>309</sup> The semantic structure of *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), however, due to the omission of essential semantic components in its surface structure (cp. above), does not correspond to any of the semantic classes / types established in this study. As all of the tokens in this group fall into the larger category of extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds, their reference is generally metonymic.

#### 7.5.11.6. Metaphoricity

Among the numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds in the corpus, three out of four tokens display (some kind of) metaphor. This type, although low in token numbers, therefore displays a relatively high rate of metaphoricity, featuring two tokens exhibiting metaphor in word-formation and one contextually metaphorical compound:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>three-legg'd</i> (TS 1.1.338)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Second Constituent	RNF
<i>three-pild</i> (EM 3.3.38)	Jonson	Comedy			Second Constituent	
<i>triple headed</i> (T 1.2.161)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>As if he now deuis'd some Stratageme: Or meant to pierce Avernus darksome vaults, and pull the triple-headed dog from hell</i>	Direct		

Table 44: The metaphorical numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds

The morphological metaphoricity of the abovementioned compound *three-pild* (EM 3.3.38), is indicated by the semantic dissonance produced by a literal reading of *pile* as ‘fur, soft hair’ (cp.

<sup>309</sup> In the light of numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds being extended bahuvrihi adjectives, however, the semantic classification as ‘Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action’ deviates from the expected pattern, since most extended (and simple) Bahuvrihi-adjectives are classifiable under the semantic class / type ‘QUALITY’; ‘Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)’. (cp. ch. 7.5.12.5) The semantic classification of numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds as ‘DEGREE’-compounds, however, is based on the special property of their first constituents to express the quantity of the entity denoted by the noun in the compound, instead of its quality, as is the case in adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds, which comprise the largest portion of extended Bahuvrihi-adjectives. (cp. ch. 7.5.12)

"pile, n.6." *OED online*. 22 March 2017) and the numeral *three*. Also, when taking into consideration that the numeral, as pointed out in ch. 7.5.11.3, represents 'three-threaded' in the compound, this semantic dissonance remains. Hence, as has already been stated in ch. 7.5.11.3, a metaphorical transfer that enables *pile* to denote "[t]he raised surface or nap on a fabric" (s.v. "pile, n.6.2.a." *OED online*. 22 March 2017) is necessary in the context of the compound.

The second instance of morphological metaphor affects the compound *three-legg'd* (TS 1.1.338). As the basic sense (i.e. the oldest and the most human-centred reading) of the second constituent *leg* is "[e]ither of the two lower limbs of the human body" (s.v. "leg, n.1.1.a." *OED online*. 22 March 2017), the semantic discrepancy between this second element and the numeral *three* is evident. It is resolved by a metaphorical interpretation of *leg* as something resembling a *leg* in function or, potentially, in form. In the context of the phrase *three-legg'd stoole* (TS 1.1.338), in which Shakespeare uses his new formation, it denotes one of the "supports of a piece of furniture" (s.v. "leg, n.12.a." *OED online*. 22 March 2017) – a metaphorical sense of the word which becomes institutionalized after 1616.

#### 7.5.12. Adjective / Adverb + Noun + *-ed*

##### 7.5.12.1. Morphological Description

Adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds are formed as synthetic compounds, combining an adjective (or adverb, cp. the discussion of the general ambiguity between these word-classes in chs. 7.5.2.1, 7.5.7.1, 7.5.9.1), a noun and the suffix *-ed*. The majority of the tokens belonging to the superordinate class of extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds in the corpus display this morphological shape. Hence, the statements made in ch. 7.5.11.1 concerning the semantic particularities, as well as the history of extended bahuvrihi adjectives, equally apply here and will therefore not be repeated in detail.

As has already been indicated in ch. 7.5.11.1, adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds are not necessarily morphologically isolated from syntactic groups, since, on the one hand, combinations of adverbs and noun + *-ed* formations, which, in some cases can also occur independently (e.g., *headed*), are possible syntactic phrases, and, on the other hand adjectives and adverbs are not always clearly distinguishable, as has already been pointed out on several occasions. Especially for those compounds, whose second constituents are independently



existent lexemes, therefore, similar difficulties of morphological isolation arise as have been observed with respect to adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds (cp. ch. 7.5.10.1).

Adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds form the second largest class among the adjective compounds from the corpus, and the high number of new formations among the compounds of this type appears to confirm assertions about the increased productivity of extended bahuvrihi adjective compounds from EModE onwards. (cp. Koziol 1972:186) In accordance with this observation, the corpus features only very few instances of adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds, which are to be classified as derivations from previously existing simple bahuvrihi adjectives. Among the rare examples are the tokens *hard-hearted* (RII 5.3.2459 and JM 3.3.40), which goes back to OE *heard-heort* (cp. Sauer 1992:318) and, potentially, *mad-brain'd* (TS 3.3.1470), with the simple bahuvrihi adjective *mad-brain* being documented as having preceded the former formation. (cp. "madbrain, adj. and n." and "mad-brained, adj." *OED online*. 22 March 2017) Since the time gap between the first quotations of the latter pair of compounds, however, is less than 20 years, the actual formation process cannot be determined unequivocally on the basis of chronology.

The preferences for using adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds differ among the three playwrights in the corpus, with Shakespeare and Marlowe using almost exactly as many tokens of this type as they use adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds. In Marlowe's plays 13 instances of this type are found (as opposed to 14 adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds), while Shakespeare applies 23 tokens of both types in his plays. Quite contrary to what Scheler (1982) claims, these are the two types that occur most frequently among Shakespeare's (as well as Marlowe's) adjective compounds, in the three plays from the present corpus, clearly outnumbering the noun + noun + *-ed* compounds, which Scheler (1982:118) observes to be particularly frequent types in Shakespeare's work in general. Ben Jonson, in turn, uses only six adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds and hence appears to exhibit no significant preference for constructions of this shape. In his works, adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds, of which his plays feature 15 instances, are by far the largest class of adjective compounds.

7.5.12.2. The Adjective / Adverb + Noun + *-ed* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>Bare-headed</i> (RII 5.2.2276)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bare-headed</i> (TS R. 2074)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>black-lidded</i> (S 4.268)	Jonson	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>blue-ey'd</i> (S 3.256)	Jonson	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>deep-mouth'd</i> (TS II.16)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	AD
<i>fainthearted</i> (T 1.2.130)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>greedy minded</i> (T 2.2.67)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>greene eyd</i> (O 3.3.1618)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>hard fauourd</i> (RII 5.1.2169)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>hard-hearted</i> (JM 3.3.40)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>hard-hearted</i> (RII 5.3.2459)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>hastie witted</i> (TS 5.2.2443)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>heauy-gated</i> (RII 3.2.1318)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>heavie headed</i> (EII 19.39)	Marlowe	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>high minded</i> (EII 1.150)	Marlowe	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>high stomackt</i> (RII 1.1.18)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>horie-headed</i> (EM 4.10.42)	Jonson	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>ill-fauour'd</i> (TS 1.2.585)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>ill-Starr'd</i> (O 5.2.3177)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>leane-lookt</i> (RII 2.4.1246)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>leane-witted</i> (RII 2.1.730)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>light-brainde</i> (EII 19.2)	Marlowe	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>light-headed</i> (EII 4.400)	Marlowe	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>light-wingd</i> (O 1.3.554)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>Long-winded</i> (A 3.2.54)	Jonson	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>loose bodied</i> (TS 4.3.2011)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF

<i>mad-brain'd</i> (TS 3.3.1470)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>male-spirited</i> (S 2.211)	Jonson	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>neere leg'd</i> (TS 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>pale fac't</i> (RII 2.3.1158)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>proud minded</i> (TS 2.1.939)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>quicke witted</i> (TS 5.2.2441)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>rare witted</i> (JM 3.1.7)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>savage minded</i> (EII 4.78)	Marlowe	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>Sharpe forked</i> (T 5.1.217)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>shril voicd</i> (RII 5.3.2447)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>slow-wing'd</i> (TS 2.1.1015)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>smokie-bearded</i> (A 4.6.41)	Jonson	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>smoothe toongd</i> (EII 16.66)	Marlowe	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	RNF
<i>sweet fac'd</i> (JM 4.2.47)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>swift-footed</i> (JM 2.1.7)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	AD
<i>tender-hearted</i> (RII 3.3.1676)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	

Table 45: The adjective / adverb + noun + -ed compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.12.3. Morphological Particularities

The morphological make-up of the 42 adjective / adverb + noun + -ed compounds is largely regular, while adjective / adverb and noun appear in their full forms, the -ed -ending occasionally shows phonetic spelling, e.g., in *high stomackt* (RII 1.1.18), *leane-lookt* (RII 2.4.1246) and *pale fac't* (RII 2.3.1158), or appears in shortened forms such as -d or -'d.

The overwhelming majority of the compounds of this type involve human body parts as their nominal constituents. Among these, *head* (five times), *heart* (four times) and *mind* (four times) are particularly preferred second constituents, repeatedly occurring in constructions such as *bare-headed* (TS R. 2074, RII 5.2.2276), *heavie headed* (EII 19.39), *horie-headed* (EM 4.10.42) and *light-headed* (EII 4.400); *fainthearted* (T 1.2.130), *hard-hearted* (JM 3.3.40, RII 5.3.2459) and *tender-hearted* (RII 3.3.1676), as well as *greedy minded* (T 2.2.67), *high minded* (EII 1.150), *proud minded* (TS 2.1.939) and *savage minded* (EII 4.78). This corresponds to the

historical predisposition of Bahuvrihi-formations of all word-classes to serve as "descriptive labels for living things" (Adams 2001:95) – a tendency that can clearly be observed for the respective constructions in the corpus as well.

Similar to the numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds (cp. ch. 7.5.11), the standard formation process of the compounds in this group is the formation of a synthetic compound on the basis of a syntactic phrase, such as, e.g., *proud mind*, *sweet face*, *neare legs*, *black lid* etc. As pointed out above, the material further contains several rare instances of compounds that originate from simple bahuvrihi adjective compounds (cp. ch. 7.5.12.1) and, thereby, represent actual cases of ‘extended’ bahuvrihi adjectives in the literal sense.

#### 7.5.12.4. Innovation among the Adjective / Adverb + Noun + *-ed* Compounds

Of the 42 adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds that occur in the present corpus, 22 (i.e. 52%) tokens are documented as earlier formations. Clearly different from what could be observed for adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds (cp. ch. 7.5.10.4), unregistered compounds are remarkably rare among the material, making up only 10% of the overall number of tokens of this type. The following pie chart shows the distribution of the tokens with regard to innovation:

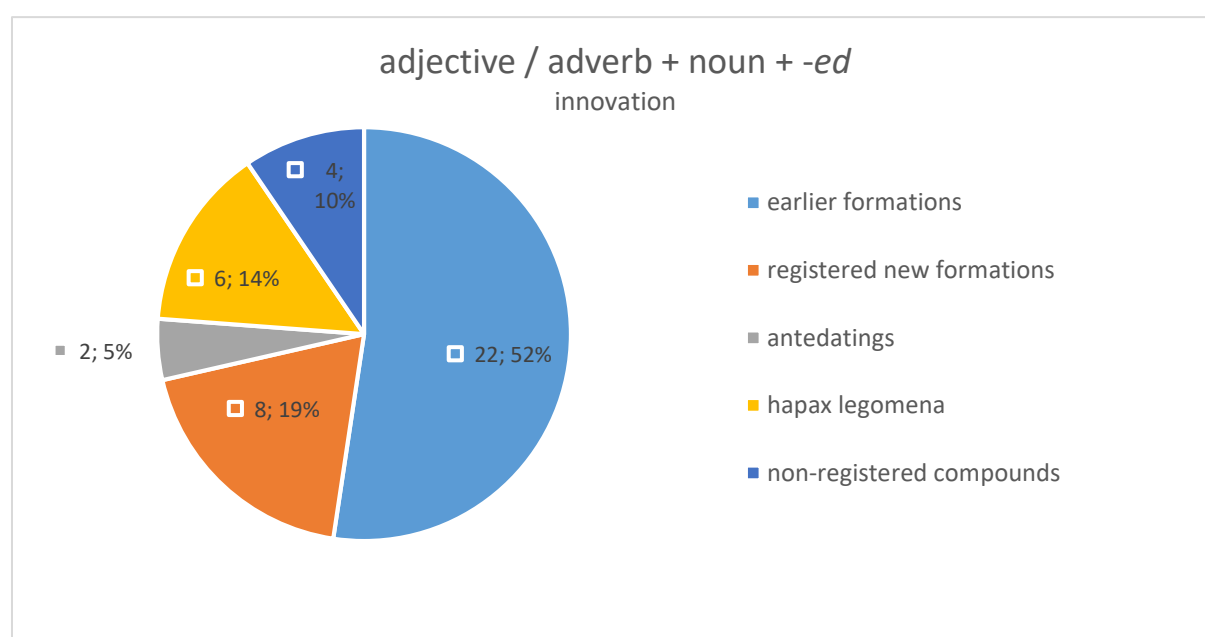


Figure 30: Innovation among the adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds

It might be noted as indicative of a certain bias in the OED's documentation practices that, notwithstanding the obviously high documentation rate of adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds in the OED, three out of the four non-registered compounds of this type, *rare witted* (JM 3.1.7), *savage minded* (EII 4.78) and *Sharpe forked* (T 5.1.217), occur in Christopher Marlowe's works. By contrast, four of the six hapax legomena in the corpus, *hastie witted* (TS 5.2.2443), *heauy-gated* (RII 3.2.1318), *leane-witted* (RII 2.1.730) and *neere leg'd* (TS 3.2.1351), as well as six out of eight registered new formations, the compounds *ill-Starr'd* (O 5.2.3177), *leane-lookt* (RII 2.4.1246), *light-wingd* (O 1.3.554), *loose bodied* (TS 4.3.2011), *shril voicd* (RII 5.3.2447) and *slow-wing'd* (TS 2.1.1015), stem from Shakespeare's three plays. Regardless of potential imbalances in the documentation of the OED visible here (cp. further ch. 9), however, it is still the case that the majority of compounds (11 tokens) countable as new formations (AD, HL, RNF) among the adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds is attributable to William Shakespeare, which shows that Shakespeare does not only appear to exhibit a preference for using compounds of this type, (cp. ch. 7.5.12.1) but also for forming them.

#### 7.5.12.5. Semantic Description

The adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds in the corpus are subsumable under the class of extended Bahuvrihi adjective compounds, which are generally semantically parallel to the simple bahuvrihi adjective compounds that have been discussed in ch. 7.5.4. The semantic classification of the adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds is therefore equally parallel to that of the rare remnants of the former group, the only difference between the simple bahuvrihi adjective *mad-braine* (TS 3.2.1316) and the extended bahuvrihi adjective *mad-brain'd* (TS 3.3.1470) being that, while the former belongs to the compounds traditionally referred to as 'exocentric', the latter is rendered endocentric by its *-ed*-ending. It is this ending that explicitly encodes the metonymic reference of the lexeme, which remains unexpressed in simple Bahuvrihis. (cp. ch. 4.3.2) The semantic relation between adjective / adverb and noun in the respective compounds of both classes, however, remains unaffected by the *-ed*-ending and is still describable as 'QUALITY'; 'Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)' on the basis of the semantic paraphrase '[having a] brain that is mad' that is identical for both forms of Bahuvrihi-formation.

### 7.5.12.6. Metaphoricity

The share of metaphorical tokens among the adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds in the corpus is 45%, i.e. the following 19 out of 42 compounds of this type exhibit (some kind of) metaphor:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>black-lidded</i> (S 4.268)	Jonson	History	<i>Ere thou [Ioue] wilt open thy black-lidded eye</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>deep-mouth'd</i> (TS II.16)	Shakespeare	Comedy			First Constituent	AD
<i>greedy minded</i> (T 2.2.67)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First Constituent	
<i>hard fauourd</i> (RII 5.1.2169)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Why should hard-fauoured greife be lodgd in thee, when triumph is become an Alehouse guest?</i>	Indirect	First Constituent	
<i>hard-hearted</i> (JM 3.3.40)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First Constituent	
<i>hard-hearted</i> (RII 5.3.2459)	Shakespeare	History			First Constituent	
<i>heauy-gated</i> (RII 3.2.1318)	Shakespeare	History			First Constituent	HL
<i>heavie headed</i> (EII 19.39)	Marlowe	History	<i>To dash the heavie headed Edmund's drift</i>	Indirect		
<i>high minded</i> (EIII.150)	Marlowe	History			First Constituent	
<i>high stomackt</i> (RII 1.1.18)	Shakespeare	History			Both Constituents	
<i>light-headed</i> (EII 4.400)	Marlowe	History	<i>Freely enjoy that vaine light-headed earl</i>	Indirect		
<i>light-wingd</i> (O 1.3.554)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>light-wingd toyes Of feathered Cupid</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>Long-winded</i> (A 3.2.54)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>You ma be any thing, and leaue off to make Long-winded exercises</i>	Indirect		
<i>pale fac't</i> (RII 2.3.1158)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Frighing her pale-fac't villadges with warre</i>	Indirect		
<i>smokie-bearded</i> (A 4.6.41)	Jonson	Comedy			First Constituent	RNF
<i>smoothe toongd</i> (EII 16.66)	Marlowe	History	<i>Spencer [...] is with that smoothe toongd scholler Baldock gone</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>sweet fac'd</i> (JM 4.2.47)	Marlowe	Tragedy			First Constituent	
<i>swift-footed</i> (JM 2.1.7)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>The incertaine pleasures of swift-footed time</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>tender-hearted</i> (RII 3.3.1676)	Shakespeare	History			First Constituent	

Table 46: The metaphorical adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds

The metaphoricity rate among the compounds of this type is relatively high and clearly surpasses that of the adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds in the corpus. The morphologic type is one of the few types featuring more morphologically metaphorical tokens than contextually metaphoric ones and not comprising any instances of direct metaphors in the plays. Instead, metaphoricity of the adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds either exclusively affects the first constituent of the tokens, with the compound *high stomackt* (RII 1.1.18) being the only exception that additionally involves metaphor of its second element, or occurs as indirect metaphor. In the former cases of metaphor in word-formation, lexemes with a basic sense which is connected to a concrete physical or spatial property, such as, e.g., *high*, *deep* or *hard*, often occur in the position of first elements with a metaphorically extended meaning and, occasionally, in connection with a metonymical sense of the second constituent. In the compounds *hard faouurd* (RII 5.1.2169) and *hard-hearted* (JM 3.3.40, RII 5.3.2459), for instance, the adjective *hard* has forfeited its literal meaning "resistant to force or pressure; firm, solid" (s.v. "hard, adj. and n." *OED online*. 24 March 2017) in favour of a metaphorical meaning which can be described as 'unpleasing, ugly' and 'unfeeling', respectively. The token *hard faouurd* (RII 5.1.2169), further comprises metonymy in its second element, since the sense of *favour* as denoting a person's 'face, countenance, look' has evolved from the basic sense of the loan word, originally denoting '[p]rofitous or friendly regard, goodwill', via metonymy, the face being the body part by which the said emotional state is commonly communicated. Additionally, since the compound is used with reference to *grief*, personified in the Queen's question to her husband, *[w]hy sould hard faouured greife be lodgd in thee / [w]hen triumph is become an alehouse guest ?* (RII 5.1.2169), the adjective compound further represents an instance of contextual indirect metaphor.

A similar structure is incorporated in the compound *deep-mouth'd* (TS II.16) as used in the phrase *deep-mouth'd brach* (hound) (TS II.16), in which the body part *mouth* stands metonymically for 'voice'. The adjective *deep*, however, whose basic sense, "[h]aving great or considerable extension downward" (s.v. "deep, adj." *OED online*. 24 March 2017), clearly produces semantic dissonance, with both the literal and the metonymic sense of *mouth*, is to be understood metaphorically as transferred from its original spatial sense to the realm of sound. Moreover, the forfeiture of the original spatial sense of the first element can be observed in the compounds *high minded* (EIII.150) and *high stomackt* (RII 1.1.18) which both exhibit a similar semantic discord between their constituents when understood in their literal senses. Hence, instead of denoting 'upward extension' (cp. "high, adj. and n.2." *OED online*. 24 March 2017), the adjective, in the context of the compounds, whose meanings are institutionalized as 'proud,

arrogant' and 'courageous' respectively, (cp. "high-minded, adj." and "high-stomached, adj." *OED online*. 24 March 2017) rather captures the notions 'haughty, arrogant', on the one hand, and '(morally) great, worthy', on the other. With respect to *high stomackt* (RII 1.1.18), however, in order to arrive at a sensible interpretation of the meaning of the compound, the second element has to be understood metaphorically as well, denoting a person's 'disposition' or 'spirit' instead of the actual digestive organ. (cp. "stomach, n.8." *OED online*. 24 March 2017)

A discrepancy between the meaning of the compound as a whole and its referent in context has, in turn, motivated the classification of tokens such as *pale fac't* (RII 2.3.1158) and *smoothe toongd* (EII 16.66) used in the phrases *pale fac't villadges* (RII 2.3.1158) and *smoothe toongd scholler* (EII 16.66) as indirect metaphors. The degree of discrepancy can, however, vary and, in some cases, such as *heavie headed Edmund* (EII 19.39) and *light-headed earle* (EII 4.400), a literal interpretation of the adjective compound is theoretically possible. It is only the wider context of the utterance which makes it clear that the intended meaning of the adjective-compounds is not 'having a heavy / light head' (which would be a legitimate meaning in other contexts) but 'being stupid / frivolous'.

Contextual metaphor on the level of the noun phrase, in turn, affects two Shakespearean constructions which are not listed in the table above, since, in these cases, metaphor is not attestable on the level of the respective adjective compounds. Thus, Shakespeare's proverbial *greene eyd monster* (O 3.3.1618) does not display any semantic discrepancy between adjective compound and head of noun phrase, since monsters may well be 'having green eyes'. The context of the use of this phrase, however, reveals that the actual referent of the phrase is *jealousy*, which is described in a highly poetic and metaphoric way. Similarly, it is, in fact, *Kate*, instead of a bird, who is addressed in *The Taming of the Shrew* as the *slow-wing'd Turtle* (TS 2.1.1015) that runs the risk of being taken by a buzzard. On both occasions, the compounds, are therefore involved in metaphorical expressions, in which the adjective compounds and their referents coalesce and eventually pertain to one single metaphorical image that transgresses lexeme boundaries. In coherence with the method for metaphor identification of adjective compounds in the present study (cp. ch. 5.3.6), however, the lack of semantic discrepancy between the basic sense of the adjective compounds and the respective head of the noun phrases, the tokens themselves are not classified as metaphorical.



### 7.5.13. Noun + Noun + *-ed*

#### 7.5.13.1. Morphological Description

Noun + noun + *-ed* compounds are the third morphologic class in the material that comprises extended bahuvrihi adjectives, compounds in this particular group featuring nouns as their first constituents. Other than numeral + noun + *-ed* and adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds, noun + noun + *-ed* compounds are generally morphologically isolated, since no parallel syntactic groups exist.

As observed with regard to certain tokens ultimately analysed as adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* (e.g., *ill placed* (S 5.892), cp. ch. 7.5.10.1), the word class of the second constituent in compounds of morphologic types with deverbal (participial) adjectives and noun + *-ed* formations can be ambiguous at times, and, for some tokens in this group, such as, e.g., *oliue-colour'd* (A 1.3.46) and *sea-walled* (RII 3.4.1768) an alternative analysis as noun + verb + *-ed* is theoretically possible. As *wall* and *colour* exist both as verbs and as nouns, the classification of the respective compounds as noun + noun + *-ed* formations is, in this case, semantically motivated, since I have felt their interpretation as extended bahuvrihi adjectives ('having a wall made of sea' 'having a colour like olives') to capture the tokens' meanings in the context of their use most appropriately.

As distinguished from adverb + verb + *-ed* and most numeral + noun + *-ed* compounds, the morphological shape of noun + noun + *-ed* compounds rules out syntactic phrases as the basis for their formation, since combinations of two nouns have, in the present study, been determined to be morphologically isolated. Instead, this particular class of synthetic compounds combines the formation of a noun + noun compound, such as *sea-wall*, or *olive-colour* with the derivation process of *-ed*-suffixation, which then results in an extended bahuvrihi adjective ('having AB'). As is commonly the case with synthetic compounds, however, the previous existence of the respective noun + noun formations is not a prerequisite for their formation, since compounding and derivation process occur simultaneously in most constructions of this type. Hence, in some cases, such as, e.g., *flap-ear'd* (TS 4.1.1703), the corresponding noun compound is documented centuries later than the extended bahuvrihi adjective (cp. the compound *flap ear* which is recorded as occurring in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, potentially as a backformation of the Shakespearean hapax legomenon. (cp. "flap, n." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) Among the material, only the tokens *tin-foild* (EM 1.3.114), *logger-headed* (TS 4.1.1671) and *bottle-nos'd* (JM 3.3.10) are possibly derivations from pre-existing noun + noun

compounds, whereas the compound *sea-walled* (RII 3.4.1768) may well be an independent formation, although *sea-wall* as a noun + noun compound already appears in *Beowulf*. (cp. "sea-wall, n." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) Semantically, however, noun and adjective compounds are thoroughly different, with the former denoting a "wall or embankment to prevent the encroachment of the sea" (s.v. . "sea-wall, n.1." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) and the latter describing the royal garden in *Richard II* as "surrounded or protected by the sea as a wall of defence" (s.v. "sea-wall, n." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) Thus, an independent new formation of the synthetic compound is conceivable.

The compound *prick-eared*, first documented in 1425 (cp. "prick-eared, adj." *OED online*. 27 March 2017), apparently being one of the very few examples of Middle English noun + noun + *-ed* formations, this morphologic type is essentially Modern English. (cp. Marchand 1969:266)<sup>310</sup> In the corpus, twelve constructions of this type are to be found, six of them occurring in Shakespeare's works, while Jonson's and Marlowe's plays each feature three compounds of this type.

#### 7.5.13.2. The Noun + Noun + *-ed* Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>beetle-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>bottle-nos'd</i> (JM 3.3.10)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>bristle-pointed</i> (T 4.1.27)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	AD
<i>earth-mettall'd</i> (JM 1.2.79)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>flap-ear'd</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	HL

<sup>310</sup> While Marchand (1969) claims *prick-eared* to be the only "earliest example" (266) of a ME compounds of this type, while other noun + noun + *-ed* constructions were Modern English, Koziol (1972) further lists the compound *bow-backed* as ME, which, according to the OED indeed appears in 1470 for the first time. (cp. "bow-backed, adj." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) In Sauer's EME corpus, this morphologic type is not present at all. (cp. Sauer 1992:317)

<i>logger-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1671)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	RNF
<i>night-ey'd</i> (S 4.363)	Jonson	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	TIME	Time / Duration – Timed'	RNF
<i>oliue-colour'd</i> (A 1.3.46)	Jonson	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	RNF
<i>rose-lip'd</i> (O 4.2.2476)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	RNF
<i>rugheaded</i> (RII 2.1.771)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	RNF
<i>sea-walled</i> (RII 3.4.1768)	Shakespeare	History	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	HL
<i>tin-foild</i> (EM 1.3.114)	Jonson	Comedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	

Table 47: The noun + noun + -ed compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.13.3. Morphological Particularities

Morphological particularities are rare among the noun + noun + -ed compounds from the corpus. Parallel to the adjective / adverb + noun + -ed formations, the -ed-suffix occasionally appears in reduced form and the majority of the tokens feature body parts, such as *head*, *lip*, *ear*, *eye* or *nose* as their nominal elements.

### 7.5.13.4. Innovation among the Noun + Noun + -ed Compounds

Of the twelve noun + noun + -ed compounds from the corpus, *bottle-nos'd* (JM 3.3.10), *beetle-headed* (TS 4.1.1703) and *tin-foild* (EM 1.3.114) are the only three tokens that are documented before their respective appearance in the corpus. All of them, however, are EModE formations (cp. "bottle-nosed, adj.", "beetle-headed, adj." and "tin-foil, v." *OED online*. March 2017).

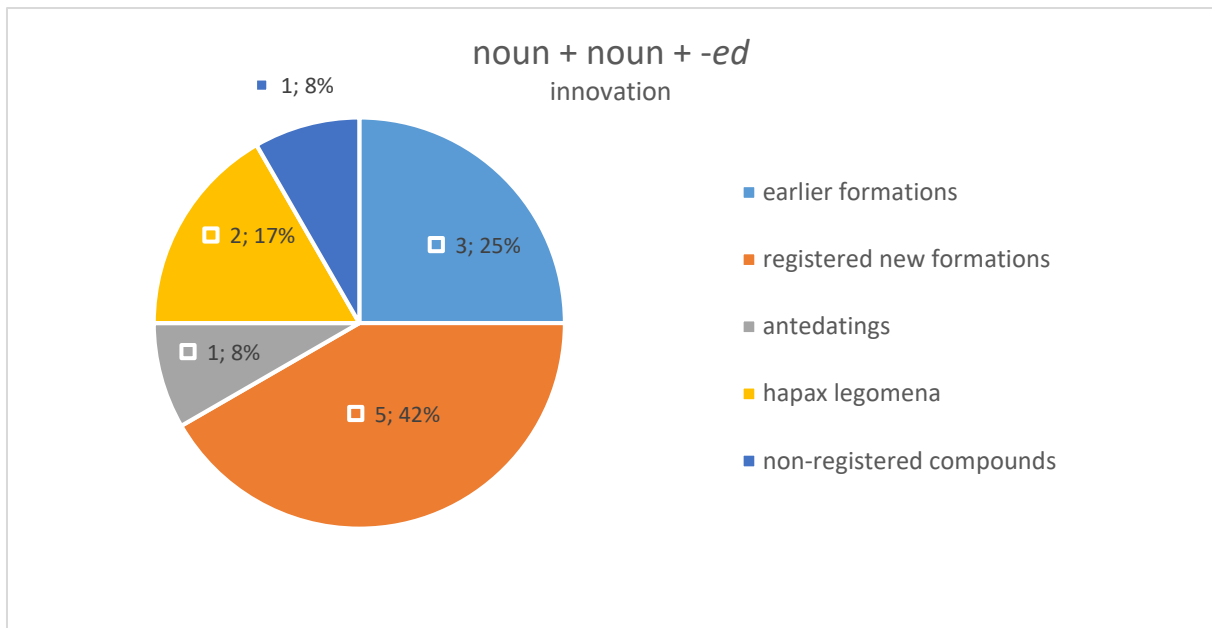


Figure 31: Innovation among the noun + noun + -ed compounds

The only compound that is not recorded in the OED is *earth-mettall'd* (JM 1.2.79), which, together with the only antedating from the material, *bristle-pointed* (T 4.1.27), appears in Christopher Marlowe's works, while the only two hapax legomena in the corpus, *flap-ear'd* (TS 4.1.1703) and *sea-walled* (RII 3.4.1768) are from Shakespeare's plays. Again, this imbalance may be indicative of certain differences in the OED's treatment of the respective playwrights. In general, however, the innovation rate among the noun + noun + -ed compounds is comparatively high, with two thirds of the compounds of this type being new formations (RNF, AD, HL), many of them of highly poetic nature (cp. below).

#### 7.5.13.5. Semantic Description

The morphological make-up of the compounds in this class, featuring two nouns, results in a semantic structure of the respective tokens, which is found more frequently among noun + noun compounds than among the extended bahuvrihi adjectives of other morphological shapes discussed so far:

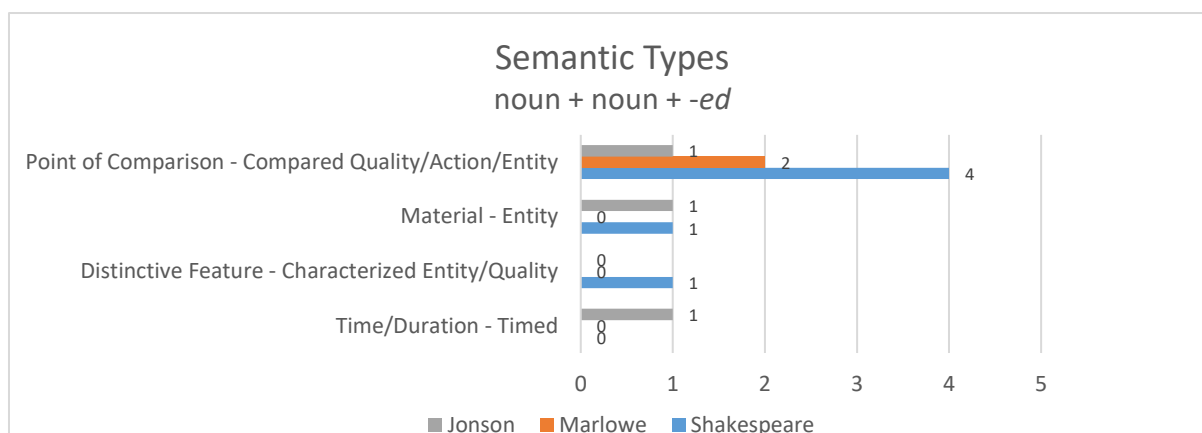


Figure 32: Semantic types of the noun + noun + -ed compounds

In the majority of cases, the semantic relation between the two nouns in the noun + noun + -ed compounds from the corpus is that of a metaphorical comparison, in which the first constituent represents the point of comparison, to which the second noun is metaphorically compared. All of Marlowe's, most of Shakespeare's and one of Jonson's noun + noun + -ed compounds hence pertain to the semantic class / type 'COMPARISON'; 'Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity', among them several highly poetical new formations such as, e.g., *rose-lip'd* (O 4.2.2476), but also some unflattering descriptions of human appearance, e.g., *bottle-nos'd* (JM 3.3.10). The only tokens in the corpus that exhibit a different semantic relation are *rugheaded* (RII 2.1.771), *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), *sea-walled* (RII 3.4.1768) and *tin-foild* (EM 1.3.114), the latter two being analysable as 'Material – Entity' compounds and the first of the four, *rugheaded* (RII 2.1.771), being paraphrasable as 'having a head with a rug (for hair)' and hence attributable to the semantic type 'Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality'. (cp. "rug-headed, adj." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) The compound *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), in turn, which in the nineteenth and twentieth century occurs, characterizing insects or other animals as 'having eyes designed for seeing at night' (cp. "night, n. and int. C.4." *OED online*. 27 March 2017), may, on the basis of this paraphrase potentially be classified as belonging to the semantic type 'Purpose – Entity'. In the context of Jonson's *Sejanus*, however, it is used in reference to a quality that is ascribed to the emperor Tiberius. Hence, an alternative classification of this particular compound (within this specific context) as 'Time/Duration – Timed', appears more appropriate, since the paraphrase 'having eyes that see (only) at night', appears to capture the token's meaning in context more exactly, when considering that in the context of its use, Tiberius is insinuated as possessing this special capability at the expense of actual daylight vision: *I dare tell you [...] That our night-ey'd Tiberius doth not see His minions driftes* (S 4.3.6.2f).

The semantic structure of the formation *earth-mettall'd* (JM 1.2.79), that appears in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, is, in turn, not completely determinable. Whereas the compound is not registered in the OED, its use in the context of the play within a condescending utterance of Barabas, *Oh earth-mettall'd villaines, and no Hebrews born!* (JM 1.2.79), together with the meaning of *mettle*, institutionalized since the early sixteenth century as denoting "a person's character, disposition, or temperament; the 'stuff' of which one is made, regarded as an indication of one's character" (s.v. "mettle, n. and adj." *OED online*. 27 March 2017) strongly suggests a connection to the *Theory of Humours*. Within this theory, famously described by E.M.W. Tillyard (1998 [1943]), the element *earth* is one of the four elements believed to correspond to certain character types. Hence, the compound *earth-mettall'd* (JM 1.2.79) most likely constitutes an attribution of a person to the melancholic character type, associated with the element 'earth'. (cp. Klein 2009:20) The exact semantic relation between *earth* and *mettle*, however, is not classifiable as belonging to any of the semantic types established in this study, since it is neither sensibly paraphrasable as a comparative relation, '\*a mettle like earth' nor as a 'Material – Entity' structure, '\*mettle made of earth'. Instead, the relation between the two constituents is based solely on the abstract correspondences established in this theory.

#### 7.5.13.6. Metaphoricity

With nine out of twelve noun + noun + *-ed* compounds in the corpus displaying metaphor of some kind, the metaphoricity rate among the compounds of this morphologic type is high (75%). Whereas among Marlowe and Jonson's noun + noun + *-ed* compounds from the corpus – which are generally fewer in numbers than those found in the three plays by William Shakespeare (cp. above)– three items are non-metaphoric (*earth-mettall'd* (JM 1.2.79), *oliue-colour'd* (A 1.3.46) and *night-ey'd* (S 4.363)), 100% of Shakespeare's compounds of this type (i.e. six tokens) display metaphoricity. All metaphorical compounds are listed in the following, together with relevant information about their contextual use:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>bottle-nos'd</i> (JM 3.3.10)	Marlowe	Tragedy			Relation	
<i>bristle-pointed</i> (T 4.1.27)	Marlowe	Tragedy			Relation	AD
<i>flap-ear'd</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Relation	HL

<i>beetle-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare	Comedy		Relation	
<i>logger-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1671)	Shakespeare	Comedy		Relation	RNF
<i>rose-lip'd</i> (O 4.2.2476)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		Relation	RNF
<i>rugheaded</i> (RII 2.1.771)	Shakespeare	History		First Constituent	RNF
<i>sea-walled</i> (RII 3.4.1768)	Shakespeare	History		Second Constituent	HL
<i>tin-foild</i> (EM 1.3.114)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>this man [...] so tin-foild by nature, as not ten house-wiues pewter [...] shew's more bright to the world</i>	Indirect	

Table 48: The metaphorical noun + noun + -ed compounds

The comparatively high metaphoricity of the tokens in this class is largely due to the high number of compounds displaying a metaphorically comparative relation between their constituents. Indirect contextual metaphor, on the other hand, is rare among the compounds of this type, although the material features several instances of metaphorical noun phrases, many of which abusive descriptions of characters, such as, e.g., *beetle-headed flap-ear'd knave[s]* (TS 4.1.1703), *logger-headed and vnpollisht groomes* (TS 4.1.1671), *subtil bottle-nos'd knave[s]* (JM 3.3.10) or King Richard's depiction of the Irish, as *rough rugheaded kernes* (RII 2.1.771). In a similar way, as in Petruchio's characterization as a *mad-braine rudesby* (TS 3.2.1316) by his future wife in *The Taming of the Shrew*, (cp. ch. 7.5.4.6), however, the adjective compounds in the respective noun phrases remain unaffected by metaphor, since metaphoricity in these cases is located at noun phrase level. While semantic discrepancy between the respective referents of the complete noun phrases, e.g., Barabas in the case of *bottle-nos'd knave* (JM 3.3.10), and the actual meaning of the noun phrases as a whole can certainly be assumed, the adjective compounds, e.g., *bottle-nos'd* (JM 3.3.10), *beetle-headed* (TS 4.1.1703) or *flap-ear'd* (TS 4.1.1703) and the respective heads of the noun phrases do not display any semantic dissonance which would justify a classification of the tokens as metaphorical. Hence, the only occurrence of indirect metaphor on compound level among the noun + noun + -ed compounds is *tin-foild* (EM 1.3.114), which is used in reference to Master Stephen in a *fit metaphore* (EM 1.3.113f) employed by Edward Knowell in *Every Man in His Humour*.

Just like the adjective / adverb + noun + -ed compounds from the corpus, (cp. 7.5.12.6) the tokens in this group of extended Bahuvrihi-formations do not occur in direct contextual metaphors. Instead, 90% of the metaphorical noun + noun + -ed compounds exhibit metaphor in word-formation. While the most frequent form of morphological metaphor is that of a metaphorical comparison between the constituents, as it occurs in *bristle-pointed* (T 4.1.27), *flap-ear'd* (TS 4.1.1703) or *rose-lip'd* (O 4.2.2476), metaphor affects the first and the second

constituent respectively in the compounds *rugheaded* (RII 2.1.771) and *sea-walled* (RII 3.4.1768). In the former compound, *rug* stands for ‘coarse hair’ and in the latter token, *wall*, instead of representing an actual human-made “rampart of earth, stone, or other material constructed for defensive purposes” (s.v. “wall, n.1.” *OED online*. 28 March 2017), signifies the natural protecting barrier of the ocean.

#### 7.5.14. Verb + Noun + *-ed*

##### 7.5.14.1. Morphological Description

The morphologic type verb + noun + *-ed*, which occurs only once among the material, is the last morphologic type discussed here that comprises extended bahuvrihi adjectives. Compounds of this type are synthetic compounds formed with a verb (or verb stem) as their first constituent, which they combine, parallel to adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* or noun + noun + *-ed* compounds, with a noun and the *-ed*-ending generally marking extended bahuvrihi adjectives.

Formations of this type are generally limited in number and appear to emerge for the first time no earlier than around 1600. (cp. Marchand 1969:267) In terms of its formation process, the only token in this class, *swag-bellied* (O 2.3.1078), is likely to be a derivation from an already existing Bahuvrihi noun *swag-belly*, which, although first documented almost simultaneously to Shakespeare’s adjective compound, occurs as a possible translation of a French lexeme in Cotgrave’s French Dictionary of 1611, which clearly indicates its having already become institutionalized at that time. (cp. “swag belly | swag-belly, n.” *OED online*. 28 March 2017)

##### 7.5.14.2. The Verb + Noun + *-ed* Compound from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>swag-bellied</i> (O 2.3.1078)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Extended Bahuvrihi Adjective	AGENTIVE	Action – Agent	RNF

Table 49: The verb + noun + *-ed* compound from the corpus

##### 7.5.14.3. Morphological Particularities



Apart from the rarity of this morphologic type, the compound *swag-bellied* (O 2.3.1078) does not display any morphological particularities.

#### 7.5.14.4. Innovation of the Verb + Noun + *-ed* Compound

The adjective compound *swag-bellied* (O 2.3.1078) is recorded as a Shakespearean new formation in the OED.

#### 7.5.14.5. Semantic Description

The verb + noun + *-ed* compound *swag-bellied* (O 2.3.1078) is paraphrasable as ‘having a belly that swags’ and hence corresponds to the semantic class / type ‘AGENTIVE’; ‘Action – Agent’, parallel to verb + noun compounds such as, e.g., *whirle winde* (EII 16.68) or *flitter-mouse* (A 5.4.89).

#### 7.5.14.6. Metaphoricity

Quite similar to Richard’s description of the Irish as *rough rugheaded kernes* (RII 2.1.771) (cp. above), Iago’s uncomplimentary description of the Dutch as *swag-bellied Hollander[s]* (O 2.3.1078), who are surpassed in their capability to drink only by the English, represents a very stereotypical and unflattering characterization of Dutch people. The adjective compound *swag-bellied* (O 2.3.1078), itself, however, is not classifiable as metaphorical, since no semantic dissonance between compound and referent exists.

### 7.5.15. Noun + Noun (Adj.)

#### 7.5.15.1. Morphological Description

The last category of adjective compounds found in the corpus of this study contains compounds with two nouns as their constituents, that are used in premodifying position within noun phrases.

As this function is most commonly fulfilled by adjectives, it arguably indicates a converted nature of the respective tokens. Hence, constructions such as *goose-turd* (A 4.4.50) and *heire-breadth* (O 1.3.421), which occur in attributive function in the phrases *goose-turd bands* (A 4.4.50) and *heire-breadth scapes* (O 1.3.421), have, as has already been pointed out in ch. 7.1.3, been classified as noun + noun compounds that have undergone unmarked change of word-class (as a whole) and function as adjectives in their contextual use.

This interpretation, however, is not entirely free from difficulties, primarily since, although noun + noun compounds as such have been determined to be morphologically isolated from syntactic phrases (cp. 7.4.1.1), there are several arguments indicating that in fact "a noun compound functioning as a modifier to another noun is not so much functioning as an adjective as forming a three-term noun compound" (Bauer 1983:210). Especially since the change of word-class can only in the rarest of cases be argued to involve a complete conversion of the respective tokens to fully-fledged adjectives, which would typically allow for a predicative use of the compounds, their classification is potentially disputable. Indeed, from the respective compounds in the corpus, predicative usage is only conceivable for the token *shipwreck* (EII 4.205), for which several usages as a synonym for the adjective *shipwrecked* are documented. (cp. "shipwreck, adj." *OED online*. 29 March 2017). Moreover, semantically, noun + noun compound and head of noun phrase frequently exhibit semantic relations that correspond to those commonly found between the constituents of noun + noun compounds. In the case of *goose-turd bands* (A 4.4.50), for instance, the head of the noun phrase stands in a comparative relation to the noun + noun compound *goose-turd* (A 4.4.50), the phrase, as a whole, being paraphrasable as 'bands resembling goose-turd (in terms of their colour)' and hence potentially classifiable as belonging to the semantic class / type 'COMPARISON'; 'Point of Comparison – Compared Quality / Action / Entity', parallel to noun + noun compounds such as *hayle-shot* (EM 1.5.162). Although these considerations are certainly significant, there are other arguments that still justify a classification of the respective tokens as premodifying adjective compounds. Firstly, unmarked change of word-class (or conversion) has, in recent scholarship and in the present study, been understood as a gradual phenomenon (cp., e.g., Bauer 2005; Schönefeld 2005) and as primarily triggered by the contextual use of a lexeme. (cp., e.g., Leisi & Mair 2008) Hence, a complete acquisition of all features of the target category is not a condition for the noun + noun compounds to be classified as having undergone unmarked change of word-class based on their functional properties. Secondly, some attributively used noun + noun compounds have been shown to become not only institutionalized in that position, but also to exhibit semantic lexicalization, having "different connotations [when used attributively] from

402

the same forms used as non-attributive compound nouns." (Bauer 1983:210) In fact, the semantic content of the compound *goose-turd* (A 4.4.50) can be argued to be restricted to the realm of 'colour', whenever the token is used in premodifying position. (cp. "goose, n.C.1.a." *OED online*. 29 March 2017) Thirdly, there are cases where the attributively used noun + noun compound is followed by other (simplex) adjectives, further premodifying the head of the noun phrase and, thereby, separating head and noun + noun compound. It is especially in such juxtaposition of different premodifiers, as illustrated with respect to the uses of the compounds *Whorson* (EM 1.2.27) and *floodgate* (O 1.3.342) in the phrases *Whorson base fellow* (EM 1.2.27) and *floodgate and orebearing nature* (O 1.3.342), for instance, that the adjectival character of the respective lexemes becomes visible. Eventually, therefore, the borderline between multi-part compounds, selected examples for which are discussed in ch. 8.2, and instances of noun + noun compounds functioning as adjectives in premodifying position is a matter of the individual assessment of the respective arguments pointed out above. In the present work, the respective classifications are based on judgements made concerning the semantic unity (and lexicalization) of the respective constructions and their degree of institutionalization, either as multi-part compounds (cp., e.g., highly institutionalized three-partite compounds such as *houshold stufte* (TS I2.272) or *friday-nights* (A 1.2.88)), or as attributively used noun + noun compounds (cp., e.g., *goose-turd* (A 4.4.50)). A certain degree of subjectivity involved in these assessments can, however, not be ruled out completely, as for some cases both interpretations are theoretically possible. On the basis of these considerations, I have determined seven constructions from the corpus to most likely function as adjective compounds of the morphological shape of noun + noun compounds.

#### 7.5.15.2. The Noun + Noun (Adj.) Compounds from the Corpus

The noun + noun (Adj.) compounds are listed together with the respective heads of the noun phrases in which they occur, in order to provide the necessary context that has motivated their classification:

Compound	Author	Genre	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>floodgate and orebearing nature</i> (O 1.3.342)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>goose-turd bands</i> (A 4.4.50)	Jonson	Comedy	PRODUCT	Producer – Product	

<i>heire-breadth scapes</i> (O 1.3.421)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity
<i>Horson malt-horse drudge</i> (TS 4.1.1675)	Shakespeare	Comedy	PRODUCT	Producer – Product
<i>shipwrack body</i> (EII 4.205)	Marlowe	History	COPULA	Copula
<i>whore-sonne captayne</i> (A 1.1.127)	Jonson	Comedy	PRODUCT	Producer – Product
<i>Whorson base fellow</i> (EM 1.2.27)	Jonson	Comedy	PRODUCT	Producer – Product

Table 50: The noun + noun (adj.) compounds from the corpus

### 7.5.15.3. Morphological Particularities

Several of the noun + noun (Adj.) compounds from the corpus show substantial deviations from PDE spelling conventions. This especially pertains to the first constituent of the compound *heire-breadth* (O 1.3.421), which is identical to PDE *hair*, as well as to the varying spellings of the abusive term *whoreson*, as *whore-sonne* (A 1.1.127), *Whorson* (EM 1.2.27) and *Horson* (TS 4.1.1675), the two latter spellings partly obscuring the compound nature of the lexeme.

### 7.5.15.4. Innovation among the Noun + Noun (Adj.) Compounds

All seven compounds of this morphologic type are documented as noun + noun compounds before their respective occurrence in the corpus. Hence, none of the tokens is countable as a new formation as defined in the present study, although the use of *floodgate* (O 1.3.342) and *heire-breadth* (O 1.3.421) as attributive adjectives occurs in Shakespeare's *Othello* for the first time, according to the OED. (cp. "hairbreadth, n.2." and "'flood-, gate | 'flood, gate, n.3.b." *OED online*. 29 March 2017)

### 7.5.15.5. Semantic Description

The semantic classification of the noun + noun (Adj.) compounds is parallel to that of noun compounds of the same shape. While the three instances of *whore-sonne* (A 1.1.127, and, in different spellings, EM 1.2.27 and TS 4.1.1675) are assigned to the semantic class 'PRODUCT'; 'Producer – Product', in accordance with the homonymous noun + noun compounds discussed in ch. 7.4.1.3, the material further features one instance of 'PURPOSE'; 'Purpose – Entity', *floodgate* (O 1.3.342), as well as one token that is classifiable as 'COMPARISON'; 'Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity', *heire-breadth* (O

1.3.421). The classification of the latter compound, however, is ambiguous to a certain degree, since an alternative conceptualisation of *heire-breadth* (O 1.3.421) as corresponding to the semantic class / type ‘POSSESSION’; ‘Possessor – Possession’, is conceivable and depends on whether the lexeme is primarily understood as denoting the actual ‘breadth of a hair’ or rather as signifying the small ‘breadth resembling that of a hair’.

The compound *shipwrack* (EII 4.205), as the last of the seven tokens in this group, originally denotes "the remains of a wrecked vessel" (s.v. "shipwreck, n." *OED online*. 29 March 2017) and is, with the noun *wreck* signifying "[t]hat which is cast ashore by the sea" (s.v. "wreck, n.1." *OED online*. 29 March 2017), assignable to the category of copula compounds (‘COPULA’; ‘Copula’).

#### 7.5.15.6. Metaphoricity

All seven tokens classified as noun + noun (Adj.) compounds display indirect contextual metaphor, which further underlines their semantic unity and coherence as noun + noun compounds in adjectival position:

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>floodgate</i> (O 1.3.342)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>for my particular griefe, Is of so floodgate and orebearing nature</i>	Indirect		
<i>goose-turd</i> (A 4.4.50)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>And my-lords goose-turd bands</i>	Indirect		
<i>heire-breadth</i> (O 1.3.421)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>I spoke of most disastrous chances, [...]</i> <i>Of heire-breadth scapes ith imminent deadly breach</i>	Indirect	Relation	
<i>Horson</i> (TS 4.1.1675)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>you horson malt-horse drudge</i>	Indirect		
<i>shipwrack</i> (EII 4.205)	Marlowe	History	<i>Unlesse the sea cast up his shipwreck body</i>	Indirect		
<i>whore-sonne</i> (A 1.1.127)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>a whore-sonne, vpstart, apocryphall captayne</i>	Indirect		
<i>Whorson base</i> (EM 1.2.27)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Whorson base fellow! A mechanicall seruing-man!</i>	Indirect		

Table 51: The metaphorical noun + noun (adj.) compounds

While the three different usages of *whore-sonne* (A 1.1.127, and, in different spellings, EM 1.2.27 and TS 4.1.1675) are part of abusive references to characters from the respective plays and therefore classified as indirect contextual metaphors, the discrepancies between the basic meanings of the compounds and that of the respective nouns they modify are clearly visible in the phrases *floodgate [...] nature* (O 1.3.342), *goose-turd bands* (A 4.4.50), *heire-breadth scapes* (O 1.3.421) and *shipwrack body* (EII 4.205). The only instance of morphological metaphoricity among the compounds of this type occurs in *heire-breadth* (O 1.3.421), which, as pointed out above, can be interpreted as denoting a ‘breadth resembling that of a hair’.

## 7.6. Verbal Compound Constructions

### 7.6.1. Morphology of the Verbal Compound Constructions

The question of the verbal compounds has been exhaustively discussed in the eponymous ch. 4.5.2, where it has proved not to be devoid of several intricacies and where insights into the formation process of the three compound verbs that I have accepted as such on the basis of product-orientation, *Vouchsafe* (EM 1.5.22 and, in inflected form, T 4.4.139, EII 2.18), *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) and *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240), have been provided. It is due both to the disputable compound status of the respective formations (and of verbal compounds in general, particularly manifest in their formation process) and to the very small number of compound verbs in the present corpus, that an analysis of the same extent of systematicity as conducted for noun and adjective compounds appears disproportionate. I have therefore decided to subject the three compound constructions (represented by six tokens) to a subsumptive analysis.

As partly follows from the six tokens’ respective processes of formation (cp. ch. 4.5.2 and below), the morphology of the constructions presents itself as follows:

Compound	Author	Genre	Morphological Shape	Formation Process
<i>Fly-blow</i> (S 5.511)	Jonson	History	noun + noun (verb)	Converted noun + noun compound
<i>safeguard</i> (RII 1.2.240)	Shakespeare	History	adjective + noun (verb)	Converted loan compound (adjective + noun)
<i>vouchsafe</i> (S 1.495)	Jonson	History	verb + adjective (verb)	Univerbation of <i>vouch sth. safe</i>
<i>Vouchsafe</i> (EM 1.5.22)	Jonson	Comedy	verb + adjective (verb)	Univerbation of <i>vouch sth. safe</i>
<i>vouchsafes</i> (EII 2.18)	Marlowe	History	verb + adjective (verb)	Univerbation of <i>vouch sth. safe</i>
<i>vouchsaft</i> (T 4.4.139)	Marlowe	Tragedy	verb + adjective (verb)	Univerbation of <i>vouch sth. safe</i>

Table 52: The verbal compound constructions from the corpus

In terms of their first occurrences in the English language, the compound construction *Vouchsafe* (EM 1.5.22 and, in inflected form, T 4.4.139, EII 2.18) is the oldest of the three formations, dating back to the early fourteenth century, where it first occurs as a syntactic combination with separable constituents and then coalesces. (cp. "vouchsafe, v." *OED online*. 30 March 2017) The converted verbal form *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240), in turn, which goes back to the noun compound *safeguard*, borrowed from French in the fifteenth century (cp. "safeguard, n." *OED online*. 30 March 2017), appears as a verb for the first time around 1500. (cp. "safeguard, v." *OED online*. 30 March 2017) It is thus only *Fly-blow* (S 5.511), whose verbal use is an innovation from Jonson's history play in the corpus, which is featured in the OED as the first documented use of the respective construction as a verb. (cp. "'fly-blow, v." *OED online*. 30 March 2017).

#### 7.6.2. Semantics of the Verbal Compound Constructions

Due to the restricted number of verbal compound constructions in the corpus as well as the disputed status of verbal compounds in general, the focus of the semantic typology set up for the purposes of this study has been on noun and adjective compounds. Therefore, I have not endeavoured a comprehensive semantic typology of verbal compound constructions.

Since the tokens *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) and *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240), however, could be shown to have undergone unmarked change of word-class on the basis of two very common noun compound types, noun + noun and adjective + noun, the semantic relation between the constituents of the two formations is, of course, describable by means of the semantic classes / types that occur among the respective noun compound types. In the case of *Fly-blow* (S 5.511), the relation between the elements is, thus, assignable to the semantic class / type 'PRODUCT', 'Producer – Product', parallel to unconverted noun + noun constructions such as *cobweb* (S 3.24) or *horse-dung* (A 1.1.84). The compound construction *safeguard* (RII 1.2.240), on the other hand, while also assignable to the semantic class 'PRODUCT', pertains to the less common semantic type 'Effect – Cause' exemplified by adjective + noun compounds such as *greene-sickness* (A 4.6.52).

Eventually, it is the univerbation *Vouchsafe* (EM 1.5.22 and, in inflected form, T 4.4.139, EII 2.18), which proves most problematic in terms of its semantic classification, since its distinct formation process (and the lack of a nominal basis) does not allow for a similarly

straightforward attribution of the formation in a semantic class / type originally geared to capturing the semantic structures of noun or adjective compounds. Instead, the construction features a genuine verb, *to vouch*, as its first constituent, which principally refers to an action. The consideration of the origin of this particular verbal compound construction in the syntactic phrase *to vouch something safe* further uncovers the original syntactic function of the adjective *safe* as an Object Complement. Syntactically, the structure of the compound construction is therefore describable as ‘Verb (or Action) – Object Complement’. A semantic specification of the constituent’s roles, however, is difficult, as the basic meaning of the formation, which is institutionalized as denoting the action of ‘giving or granting or conferring something to somebody’ (cp. "vouchsafe, v." *OED online*. 30 March 2017) does not take up the meaning of the adjective *safe* in its institutionalized denotation. Nevertheless, the semantic relation between the constituents of the construction may potentially be analysed as ‘Cause – Effect’, understanding the action of ‘vouching (i.e. ‘warranting’)' to cause the object in question to be *safe* with its recipient.

### 7.6.3. Metaphoricity of the Verbal Compound Constructions

The converted compound *Fly-blow* (S 5.511) from Ben Jonson’s *Sejanus*, is the only verbal compound construction in the corpus that exhibits metaphor. Applied in a clearly figurative sense in the utterance *is not he blest that [...] / Can claw his subtle elbow, or with a buzze / Fly-blow his eares* (S 5.507-511), the metaphoricity of the token has already been addressed in ch. 7.1.2.2 in the context of the discussion of zero-morphemes. Making use of indirect contextual metaphor, Jonson, in his history play, skilfully likens the corruption of a person by another person with the help of words to the repulsive image of flies depositing their eggs in the subject’s ears and hence creates a metaphor that is forceful enough for the verbal compound construction to be reused in its metaphorical sense "to corrupt secretly, taint" (s.v. "'fly-blow, v." *OED online*. 30 March 2017) several times in works from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. (cp. "'fly-blow, v." *OED online*. 30 March 2017)



## 7.7. Summary

The survey of the different morphologic types represented among the EmodE material has shone a light on the diversity and multifacetedness of compounds in Early Modern English drama and conveys an impression of the remarkable breadth of the stylistic spectrum they cover. While *whore-master[s]* (A 4.6. 24) and *cut-purse[s]* (A 1.1.108), for instance, border on the vulgar and represent the lowest levels of both language and society, compounds are simultaneously applied to capture the most sophisticated sentiments of the upper classes, the *thrice noble Lord[s]* (TS I2.251) and *high minded earle[s]* (EII 1.150) concerned with *State matters* (O 3.4.2082) and *ciuill warre* (S 2.370) and harbouring *glad-suruiuing hopes* (S 3.57) as well as *sordide-base desire[s]* (S 3.188). The recurrence of a small group of mainly adjective + noun compounds, such as *Gentleman* (O 1.3.539, TS 1.2.696, RII 1.1.148, EII 4.29 and in plural A 1.1.2, EM 1.2.1; JM 3.1.7, T 1.1.140), *Gentlewoman* (O 3.1.1411, TS I 1.83, JM 4.2.50 and in plural A 5.1.13) and *nobleman* (A 4.5.82, EII 4.2.77, in plural EM 1.5.124, T 1.1.22) but also of the verb + noun compound *hangman* (O1.1.33, JM 4.2.23, EII 11.274), the particle + adjective compound *upstart* (EII 4.41, in slightly different spelling A 1.1.127, S 5.1.465, RII 2.3.1185), as well as the crude invective *whore-sonne* (A 1.1.127, and in different spellings, EM 1.2.27, TS 4.1.1675), further reflects the stylistic diversity of EModE compounds but also sheds light on some of the core elements and personage of Elizabethan drama and society. On the other hand, the fact that only relatively few compounds occur in several of the works underlines both the versatility of EModE compounding and the individuality of compound use that each of the three playwrights (and, arguably, each of the nine plays) display.

Indeed, with regard to the use of compounds by the three Renaissance playwrights, it could be shown that the individual preferences and habits differ. Ben Jonson, whose plays are particularly rich in noun compounds (cp. further ch. 9.1) displays a special predilection for verb + noun and noun + verb + *-er* compounds, many of which he employs as invectives or nicknames. Among the adjective compounds, however, it is Jonson instead of Shakespeare, who, contrary to statements by Marchand (1969) and Koziol (1972), uses most adjective + adjective compounds, although adjective compounds in general occur more frequently in Shakespeare's plays. (cp. further ch. 9.1) We further find a relatively high portion of semantically diverse verb + *-ing* + noun compounds in William Shakespeare's works and Shakespeare is the only playwright, who employs adjective compounds of the type pronoun + (deverbal) adjective in his plays, whilst generally displaying a particular preference for

markedly poetic (new) formations of the type noun + verb + *-ed* as well as adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed*, i.e. extended Bahuvrihi adjectives. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Christopher Marlowe's three plays from the corpus do not feature any imperative compounds, while he employs adjective compounds of the types noun + adjective, numeral + (deverbal) adjective and adjective / adverb + verb + *-ing* in higher numbers than his two contemporary playwrights. A comparative perspective on morphological and semantic diversity as well as on the use and creation of metaphor across morphologic types will be offered in ch. 9.

In the end, several of the general diachronic tendencies observed for compounds in the history of English, such as the enduring frequency of noun + noun and adjective + noun compounds, the predominance of verb + *-ing* + noun compounds over verb + noun compounds, the decline of the old bahuvrihi adjectives and the simultaneous strengthening of extended Bahuvrihis from Middle English onwards, the rarity of genuine verbal compounds, and the increased productivity of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds in the EModE period are clearly perceptible also in the present corpus. However, some morphologic types behave differently from what may have been expected. While, for instance, the morphologic type of noun + verb + *-ing* (Noun) compounds is attested as highly productive from Old English onwards (cp. Marchand 1969:75; Sauer 1992:218), the type is, with only three items entailed in the corpus, remarkably rare among the material and also with regard to the adjectival noun + verb + *-ing* compounds, of which the corpus features eight, expectations about an increased productivity of the type in EModE (cp. Koziol 1972:78), could not be confirmed, so that compounds of this morphologic shape do not appear to be a preferred choice in EModE literary texts, neither in the function of noun, nor of adjective compounds. Similarly, the particularly high productivity of noun + adjective compounds around 1600, that is mentioned by Marchand (1969), is not reflected in the present corpus, in which the type, with only 21 items, is considerably smaller than that of adjective / adverb + verb + *-ed* and adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds.

## 8. Special Cases and Fringe Areas of Compoundhood

In the following, several tokens from the corpus that I have deemed to fall out of the prototypical spectrum of compounds and have instead allocated within the numerous fringe areas of compoundhood will be mentioned. Other than in the previous chapters, however, the compound constructions listed in the present section only have exemplary function, as, due to the scope of this study, no claim of completeness is being raised with regard to the documentation of the different fringe types from the corpus.

### 8.1. Opaque Compound Constructions

Compound constructions that exhibit opacity in their morphological make-up are highly diverse both in terms of the degree of opacity they display and with respect to the shape this opacity takes. Hence, opaque compound constructions can show lexicalization of particular constituents, as is the case with most of the English weekdays, for instance, whose first constituents are synchronically non-transparent (cp. below). Other cases of opacity result in a complete obscuring of a lexeme's compound structure, most commonly exemplified by lexemes such as *lord*, *lady* or *nice*, which are referred to as 'fused' or 'amalgamated' compounds by some scholars (cp. Brinton & Traugott 2006:50). Although, as has already been pointed out in ch. 4.5.1, the diachronic transition of an (analysable) compound to either a highly idiosyncratic compound construction or, in some cases, a simplex lexeme, is, to a certain degree, gradual and subjective, such extreme cases of opacity are probably better interpreted as having forfeited their compound status. (cp. Bauer 1983:52) Similarly diverse as its degree and shape, the reasons for opacity in compound constructions can lie in various areas of language with "significant phonological and morphological changes or losses from the vocabulary" (Brinton & Traugott 2006:50) being potential initiators of a process that can render certain elements of a compound opaque, or, in extreme cases, lead to the complete fusion of two formerly distinct lexemes.

The following list includes tokens from the present corpus, which exhibit various degrees and forms of opacity and which have, therefore, not been included in the general analysis provided in ch.7. It has to be noted, however, that the present collection is not intended to be exhaustive. Instead, the present study has applied a relatively liberal selection process and has, in many cases included milder forms of morphological (or phonological) lexicalization in the general classifications, in order to make the respective compounds subject to more detailed analysis, while only a few tokens have been excluded as opaque and are listed in the present chapter. I perceive this liberty in the selection process to be justifiable by the generally gradual and subjective nature of the different degrees of lexicalization and opacity. (cp. ch. 4.5.1 and above)

<b>Compound</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Word Class</b>
<i>Alderman</i> (A 3.2.89, E 5.5.39)	Jonson	noun
<i>burlwarkes</i> (T 3.3.139)	Marlowe	noun
<i>husband</i> (O 1.3.470, S 2.10, T 4.2.59, JM 4.2.98, EM 4.4.3, EII 6.36, TS II.131, RII 1.2.252)	Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson	noun
<i>iolt-heads</i> (TS 4.1.1712)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>pole-cat</i> (A 2.3.81)	Jonson	noun
<i>sonday</i> (TS 2.1.1101)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>Tuesday</i> (O 3.3.1511)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>Wednesday</i> (RII 4.1.2141, O 3.3.1512, A 1.3.51)	Shakespeare, Jonson	noun
<i>welcome</i> (EII 1.148, T 1.2.238, O 1.1.97, TS II.76, RII 2.3.233, JM 1.2.275)	Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson	verb, noun, interjection

Table 53: Selected opaque compound constructions from the corpus

In the case of the compounds *Alderman* (A 3.2.89, E 5.5.39), *iolt-heads* (TS 4.1.1712), *pole-cat* (A 2.3.81) and the three names for days of the week which appear in the corpus, *sonday* (TS 2.1.1101), *Tuesday* (O 3.3.1511) and *Wednesday* (RII 4.1.2141, O 3.3.1512, A 1.3.51), the respective first constituents of the compounds are opaque, albeit in various respects and to different degrees.

The first constituent of the compound *Alderman* (A 3.2.89, E 5.5.39), which refers to a ‘chief’ or ‘leader’ (cp. "ealdorman, n." *OED online*. 20 April 2017), can be traced back to the Old English noun *ealdor* which has a very similar denotation and may originally be a derivation from the Germanic base of the Old English adjective *eald*, *ald* (‘old’). (cp. Sauer 1992:107; "†alder, n.2." *OED online*. 20 April 2017) The comparative forms *yldra*, *eldra* of this Old English adjective, in turn, have early been part of folk etymological explanations of the compound, which assumed its first constituent to be cognate of the adjective rather than the noun. This led to the formation of adjective + noun compounds, featuring the comparative form

as their first constituent and being formed in supposed analogy to *Alderman* (A 3.2.89, E 5.5.39). (cp. Sauer 1992:107f; "ealdorman, n." *OED online*. 20 April 2017) The noun *alder*, as the actual first constituent of the compound, however, disappears towards Modern English (cp. "†alder, n.2." *OED online*. 20 April 2017).

While in the case of *Alderman* (A 3.2.89, E 5.5.39), the opacity involved results from the disappearance of the first element of the compound as an independent lexeme and can, therefore, be clearly perceived an effect of diachronic language change, the etymologies of the first constituents of *iolt-heads* (TS 4.1.1712) and *pole-cat* (A 2.3.81) are entirely unclear. Whereas a connection of the first element in the compound *pole-cat* (A 2.3.81), which denotes a particular type of mammal of the weasel family (cp. "polecat" ODEE) to the English noun *pole* ('stick') is highly unlikely due to semantic reasons, alternative suggestions have been made, which either attempt to establish a link to Old French *poule*, meaning 'hen' and, hence, referring to the animal's supposed prey of choice, or to Anglo-Norman *pulent*, *pullent*, meaning 'stinking, dirty', thus expressing a characteristic feature of the said mammal. (cp. "polecat, n." *OED online*. 20 April 2017; "polecat" ODEE) Neither of these proposals, however, has been unequivocally verifiable so far, however, so that the first constituent of the compound remains obscure.

With compound constructions such as *iolt-heads* (TS 4.1.1712) or *jolting pate*, being documented almost a century before the first occurrence of the verb *to jolt*, the etymology of the first constituents in these compound constructions is similarly unclear. While a semantically equivalent verb *to jot* has existed since 1530 and possibly earlier, the compound construction *iolt-heads* (TS 4.1.1712), as has been suggested, may in fact go back to the noun *jowl*, a term for the head of a man or a beast, existing since Middle English. The latter assumption is reinforced by the occasional occurrence of the compound construction in the spelling *cholt-head*, which bears obvious resemblances to the spelling variant *choll(e)* for the simplex noun. (cp. "jowl | jole, n.3." *OED online*. 20 April 2017)

The English names for weekdays share the common property of being phonologically lexicalized for many speakers, who pronounce their second constituents as /di/. (cp. "sunday" CEPD; see further Götz 1971:63f; Faiß 1992:105ff; Sauer 1992:357; ODEE) In addition, however, the first elements of compound constructions such as *Tuesday* (O 3.3.1511) and *Wednesday* (RII 4.1.2141, O 3.3.1512, A 1.3.51) are also opaque from a synchronic perspective, the only exception among the names for weekdays in English being the lexeme *sunday*, which

appears as *sonday* (TS 2.1.1101) in the corpus and exhibits a transparent first element.<sup>311</sup> Regardless of this construction displaying a considerably lower degree of opacity, I have included *sonday* (TS 2.1.1101) in the present list of opaque compound constructions together with the other tokens belonging to the class of weekdays, in order to make a comprehensive treatment of all three tokens from this class possible. Although no longer visible in the case of *sonday* (TS 2.1.1101), the first elements of all three names from the corpus, *sonday* (TS 2.1.1101), *Tuesday* (O 3.3.1511) and *Wednesday* (RII 4.1.2141, O 3.3.1512, A 1.3.51) (and all other names of weekdays in English) are originally genitives, the constructions going back to Old English *sunnandæg*, *tiwesdæg* and *wodnesdæg*, respectively. In terms of their historical origin, the English names for the days of the week have all been formed as loan translations from the Latin equivalents in West Germanic, ascribing the respective days to different deities. (cp. Carr 1939:98ff; Meid & Krahe 2011:18)

Opacity figures in both constituents of the compound *burlwarkes* (T 3.3.139), which denotes a "substantial defensive work" (s.v. "bulwark, n." *OED online*. 21 April 2017) and potentially goes back to a composition of the bases of the PDE nouns *bole* ('trunk of a tree') and *work*. (cp. "bulwark, n." *OED online*. 21 April 2017; ODEE) An alternative etymological interpretation, however, links the first constituent of the compound to the Middle High German verb *boln* ('to throw') instead, "on the grounds that the Middle High German word seems in some cases to have meant a machine for throwing large stones" (s.v. "bulwark, n." *OED online*. 21 April 2017). The actual origin of the first constituent therefore remains doubtful.

Furthermore, the frequently cited example for an opaque compound *husband* (O 1.3.470, S 2.10, T 4.2.59, JM 4.2.98, EM 4.4.3, EII 6.36, TS II.131, RII 1.2.252) features often in the corpus, as can be expected. Formed after early Scandinavian *húsbóndi*, the compound represents an Old English combination of the nouns *hus* and *bonda* ('master of the house') (cp. "husband, n." *OED online*. 21 April 2017; also ODEE) and becomes non-transparent after the Middle English period. (cp. Sauer 1992:358)

Finally, I have included the compound *welcome* (EII 1.148, T 1.2.238, O 1.1.97, TS II.76, RII 2.3.233, JM 1.2.275) in this list, although, from a synchronic perspective, its constituents appear fairly transparent. Diachronically, however, the first constituent of the lexeme originates in OE *will* ('will, desire, pleasure') and has only subsequently, after its connection to the adverb *well* following Old French *bien venu*, been altered to *wel-*. Moreover,

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<sup>311</sup> Except for the first element of *Sunday*, all determinants of names of weekdays are synchronically countable as blocked morphemes. (cp. Sauer 1992:344)

its second element originally represented the Old English agent noun *cuma* ('comer, guest') and has only later been linked to the verb *come*, of whose paradigm it now either represents the infinitive, imperative (cp. "welcome, n.1, adj., and int." *OED online*. 21 April 2017) or a participle (cp. Sauer 1992:297).<sup>312</sup> While the lexeme no longer exists in its original OE meaning 'welcome guest' in EModE, it appears as a noun denoting the action of 'greeting someone with welcome' in *Richard II* and *Othello*, while it is used as an interjection in *Edward II* and *The Jew of Malta*. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, in turn, the lexeme figures as an adjective in predicative use, and in *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe employs the compound as a verb.

## 8.2. Multi-Part Compounds

Multi-part compounds among the material, i.e. compounds in which one (or, potentially) both constituents are compounds themselves,<sup>313</sup> are not subjectable to a classification into the morphologic types established for bipartite compounds and have, therefore, been relegated to the present chapter, in which several of the examples from the corpus are mentioned. Their allocation within the fringe area of compoundhood is, hence, first and foremost based on their resistance to integration into the morphological analysis of regular (bipartite) compounds<sup>314</sup> and is only to a minor degree motivated by the fact that some authors, among them most prominently Marchand (1974a), deny compound status to these formations. While, as Carr (1939:197) attests, multi-part compounds did not exist in Germanic and West Germanic, the constructions emerged to be a part of the Old and Middle English vocabulary, the number of their constituents, however, being in most cases restricted to three simplex lexemes. (cp. Sauer 1992:324) Although PDE theoretically allows for the formation of compounds with a practically unlimited number of constituents,<sup>315</sup> whose status as compounds is accepted by the majority of scholars (cp. Adams 2001; Bauer 1983, 2008a; Booij 2007; Koziol 1972; Plag 2003; Warren 1978), the Early Modern examples from the present corpus also adhere to this rule.

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<sup>312</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the complex etymology of *welcome*, see the respective entry in the ODEE, which understands it primarily as a loan translation of the Old French term, as well as Bammesberger (1984); Carr (1939).

<sup>313</sup> Compounds with complex, derived constituents other than the ones that are covered by the morphologic types discussed in ch. 7, such as, e.g. *with-drawing chamber* (A 2.3.26) have not been dealt with in this study.

<sup>314</sup> Semantically, however, they normally show a binary structure (cp. Plag 2003:134), which, on the first level of analysis, corresponds to the semantic types specified for two-term compounds.

<sup>315</sup> Cp. for instance, Booij's (2007:76) example *White House Travel Office Staff*, as well as several other similar examples, listed, e.g. in Sauer (1992:324). In German, lengthy constructions such as *Donaudampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft* have gained publicity.

The following table lists 36 multi-part compounds from the corpus, however without raising any claim to completeness.

<b>Compound</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Word Class</b>
<i>alehouse guest</i> (RII 5.1.2170)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>almost-equal</i> (A 4.1.169)	Jonson	adjective
<i>aqua-vitae-men</i> (A 1.1.52)	Jonson	noun
<i>Christmas gambold</i> (TS I2.270)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>christ-masse vailes</i> (A 1.1.54)	Jonson	noun
<i>Counting-house window</i> (JM 4.3.37)	Marlowe	noun
<i>friday-nights</i> (A 1.2.88)	Jonson	noun
<i>gentleman-citizen</i> (EM 2.2.11)	Jonson	noun
<i>gentleman-slaue</i> (EM 2.4.64)	Jonson	noun
<i>gold-end-man</i> (A 2.4.21)	Jonson	noun
<i>Guild-hall verdict</i> (EM 1.2.89)	Jonson	noun
<i>high-country wines</i> (A 4.1.157)	Jonson	noun
<i>Hounds-ditch man</i> (EM 3.5.31)	Jonson	noun
<i>House-hold Roofes</i> (RII 4.1.2104)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>houshold coate</i> (RII 3.1.1283)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>houshold seruants</i> (RII 2.2.976)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>houshold stufte</i> (TS I2.272)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>houshold-rogues</i> (A 4.6.16)	Jonson	noun
<i>mad-cap ruffian</i> (TS 2.1.1091)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>malt-horse drudg</i> (TS 4.1.1675)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>neighbor Kings</i> (T 2.5.20)	Marlowe	noun
<i>neighbor Lamps</i> (T 4.2.34)	Marlowe	noun
<i>neighbour foes</i> (T 1.1.61)	Marlowe	noun
<i>pinch 'd-horne-nose</i> (A 1.1.28)	Jonson	noun
<i>pisse-pot mettle</i> (EM 3.7.66)	Jonson	noun
<i>hang-man cut</i> (EM E2.2.30)	Jonson	adjective
<i>scander-bag rogue</i> (EM 1.3.26)	Jonson	noun
<i>shove-groat shilling</i> (EM 3.5.16)	Jonson	noun
<i>spring-time flowers</i> (TS 2.1.1048)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>Sunne-shine dayes</i> (RII 4.1.2043)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>sun-shine day</i> (EII 18.27)	Marlowe	noun
<i>swan-skin coverlid</i> (A 3.3.47)	Jonson	noun
<i>townes-men maske</i> (T 4.2.108)	Marlowe	noun
<i>true loue teares</i> (RII 5.1.2164)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>walnut-shell</i> (TS 4.3.1946)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>Wool-sack pies</i> (A 5.4.41)	Jonson	noun

Table 54: Selected multi-part compounds from the corpus

Among this selection of multi-part compounds, several tokens exhibit complex first constituents that show morphological lexicalization (or opaque elements), so that speakers may already have been unaware of the actual multi-part structure of the respective constructions in EModE. Assignable to this group are the compounds *friday-nights* (A 1.2.88), *neighbor Kings*



(T 2.5.20), *neighbor Lamps* (T 4.2.34), *neighbour foes* (T 1.1.61),<sup>316</sup> *walnut-shell* (TS 4.3.1946) as well as the adjective compound *almost-equal* (A 4.1.169), which features a compound adverb as its determinant. Furthermore, also the first constituents of *Christmas gambold* (TS I2.270) and *christ-masse vailes* (A 1.1.54) exhibit lexicalization. (cp. ch. 7.4.1.3) Along with that, several of these constructions also show comparatively strong institutionalization. Especially the compounds *friday-nights* (A 1.2.88), *walnut-shell* (TS 4.3.1946) and *Christmas gambold* (TS I2.270) are inherent parts of the EModE vocabulary. (cp. "Friday, n. and adv.C1.", "walnut-shell, n" and "gambol,n.2c." *OED online*. 28 April 2017)

Analogous to noun + noun compounds of the same semantic structure, the compound status of tripartite formations, featuring a compound denoting a material or location as their first constituent, is disputable (cp. 7.4.1.1), as these constructions are most likely to display a level stress pattern with the first constituent of the complex first element and the second element being equally stressed. Multi-part compounds of this semantic structure from the corpus include the tokens *high-country wines* (A 4.1.157) and *swan-skin coverlid* (A 3.3.47), for which alternative interpretations as syntactic phrases, featuring either an attributively used noun + noun compound or a converted adjective compound as their first (complex) parts, are thinkable.<sup>317</sup>

In terms of their internal structure the multi-part compounds from the corpus are left-branching, i.e., they feature a complex determinant instead of a complex determinatum, which corresponds to the general tendency of multi-part compounds in English. (cp. Jespersen 1942:154, as well as Sauer 1992:324, who observes that the clear majority of the Early Middle English compounds from his corpus are left-branching as well) Although generally possible, the material analysed does not feature any ambiguous cases for which a right-branching structure is conceivable.

Semantically, the relation between the first (complex) element and the determinatum of the respective constructions is very frequently parallel to the semantic structures observed for bipartite compounds. Hence, the material features several tokens with temporal relations, such as *Christmas gambold* (TS I2.270), *christ-masse vailes* (A 1.1.54), *friday-nights* (A 1.2.88) or

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<sup>316</sup> An alternative interpretation of the three compounds featuring *neighbour* as their complex determinants as combinations of a converted adjective *neighbour* and a noun are conceivable as well. (cp. "neighbour | neighbor, n. and adj.B2." *OED online*. 28 April 2017. As has been pointed out in ch. 7.5.15.1, however, clear-cut distinctions are hard to make in this matter.

<sup>317</sup> For a discussion of stress pattern as a criterion for compoundhood see ch. 4.4.2, for further remarks on the issue with focus on noun + noun compounds see ch. 7.4.1.1 and for a discussion of the potentially converted nature of compound determinants see ch. 7.5.15.1 on noun + noun compounds from the corpus used as attributive adjectives.

*spring-time flowers* (TS 2.1.1048). Further, locative relations, as in *alehouse guest* (RII 5.1.2170), *high-country wines* (A 4.1.157), *neighbor Kings* (T 2.5.20), *neighbor Lamps* (T 4.2.34) or *neighbour foes* (T 1.1.61), occur, as do the common semantic relations ‘Whole – Part’ (e.g., *Counting-house window* (JM 4.3.37), *houshold stuffe* (TS I2.272), *walnut-shell* (TS 4.3.1946)), ‘Purpose – Entity’ (e.g., *houshold coate* (RII 3.1.1283), *houshold seruants* (RII 2.2.976)) and ‘Producer – Product’ (e.g., *Guild-hall verdict* (EM 1.2.89), *Wool-sack pies* (A 5.4.41) with *Wool-sack* being the name of an Inn). Further, with *gentleman-citizen* (EM 2.2.11) and *gentleman-slaue* (EM 2.4.64), Jonson’s *Every Man in His Humour* features two multi-part compounds, whose semantic structure is most likely to be copulative.<sup>318</sup>

### 8.3. Phrasal Compound Constructions

The label ‘phrasal compound construction’ in the present study serves as an umbrella term for several types of constructions, which either involve phrasal elements or which in fact are most likely to represent lexicalized syntactic phrases as a whole. While the latter types of formations, exemplified in the corpus by, e.g., *Clim-o’the-clovghs* (A 1.2.46) or, as a more common example, *sonne in-law* (5.595), are explicitly denied compound status by most scholars (cp., e.g., Adams 2001:2ff; Marchand 1969:122f, Plag 2003:136),<sup>319</sup> the assessment of constructions featuring phrasal constituents of the form of, e.g., *what-sha’-call-him doublet* (1.3.15), differs. While Adams (2001), in reference to the ‘no-phrase constraint’ formulated by Carstairs-McCarthy (1992), excludes all constructions containing phrasal elements from the realm of composition, Plag (2003) and, although less explicitly, also Jespersen (1942), accept such formations as compounds as long as it is the determinant (i.e. the left-hand constituent) of the constructions which is a phrase. This highly disputed status of both types of constructions involving phrases, as well as of formations of the type of *looker on* (S 5.257), which Marchand (1969:123) classifies as “derivation[s] from a verbal phrase”, substantiates the subsumption of the respective tokens in the corpus as a particular form of fringe type. In the following, different forms of phrasal compound constructions from the corpus will be listed, grouped according to their morphological shape and origin.

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<sup>318</sup> Besides the most frequent ones just mentioned, the material features several other semantic structures, of course, a comprehensive semantic analysis of the multi-part compounds has, however, been deemed to go beyond the scope of the present study.

<sup>319</sup> Koziol (1972:70), by contrast, accepts such formations as compounds and lists several (nonce) formations, such as *what-d’ye-call-them* or *love-in-a-puff* as examples.

## Lexicalized Phrases

Item	Author	Word Class
<i>brother in law</i> (RII 5.3.2509)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>Clim-o´the-clovghs</i> (A 1.2.46)	Jonson	noun
<i>Farewell</i> (T 1.1.82, O 1.1.147, TS 1.1.374, RII 1.2.249, JM 1.2.32, EII 1.37, S 2.114, A 3.2.62)	Shakespeare; Marlowe, Jonson	noun, interjection
<i>foot-and-half-foote</i> (EM P.10)	Jonson	adjective
<i>iacke of the clocke</i> (RII 5.5.1589)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>law of armes</i> (EII 11.237)	Marlowe	noun
<i>Officers at Armes</i> (RII 1.1.204)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>had-Iwist</i> (EII E9.84)	Christopher Marlowe	noun
<i>sister in-law</i> (EM 4.8.106)	Jonson	noun
<i>son in law</i> (O 1.3.576, A 5.595)	Shakespeare, Jonson	noun

## Formations with Phrasal Constituents

Item	Author	Word Class
<i>what-sha´-call-him doublet</i> (EM 1.3.15)	Jonson	adjective
<i>liuery-three-pound-thrum</i> (A 1.1.16)	Jonson	noun
<i>vn-in-one-breath-utterable</i> (EM 1.5.121)	Jonson	adjective

## Derivations from Verbal Phrases

Item	Author	Word Class
<i>keeper backe</i> (RII 2.2.985)	Shakespeare	noun
<i>looker on</i> (S 5.257)	Jonson	noun

Table 55: Selected phrasal compound constructions from the corpus

Especially in the light of formations such as *Clim-o´the-clovghs* (A 1.2.46) and *foot-and-half-foote* (EM P.10), it becomes obvious that the degree of lexicalization (and institutionalization) of tokens, which, mainly by their spelling, are indicated to be intended as units of a certain level of cohesion surpassing that of regular syntactic phrases, varies. In fact, while formations such as *brother in law* (RII 5.3.2509), *son in law* (O 1.3.576, A 5.595) and particularly *Farewell* (T 1.1.82, O 1.1.147, TS 1.1.374, RII 1.2.249, JM 1.2.32, EII 1.37, S 2.114, A 3.2.62), are firmly established as phrasal compounds in English, the aforementioned examples exhibit little to no institutionalization. While the adjective formation *foot-and-half-foote* (EM P.10) is used in the phrase *foot-and-half-foote words* (EM P.10) to describe the prosodic characteristics of certain verses is a nonce formation, which is most likely to remain a one-off, *Clim-o´the-clovghs* (A

1.2.46) represents a metaphorical use of the name of the outlaw in the popular ballad and, as such, also represents an innovative and non-institutionalized use of the construction.

Innovation and creativity is further involved in the formations featuring phrasal constituents that appear in the corpus. While *liuery-three-pound-thrum* (A 1.1.16) is a novel derogative expression, most likely characterizing a person as shabbily dressed and poorly paid (cp. Jonson 2009:356; footnote 16), the adjective construction *vn-in-one-breath-utterable* (EM 1.5.121) is also highly unusual for its morphological make-up and the interlacing of processes of derivation and compounding involved in its formation.

#### 8.4. Reduplicative Formations: Rhyme Compound Constructions

Similar to the category of ‘phrasal compound constructions’, the label ‘reduplicative formations’ is understood as comprising several types of (asyntagmatic) constructions that all involve reduplication but which can differ in their exact morphological shape. According to the definition used in this study, which corresponds to Jespersen's (1942:173ff) use of the term ‘reduplicative compounds’, the category of ‘reduplicative formations’ thus includes constructions containing identical repetition as well as ablaut and rhyme formations in which either the vowel or the consonantal onset is subject to alteration. (cp. also Dienhart 1999 for a similar distinction) In the present chapter, the focus is on reduplicative rhyming compounds, as they occasionally occur among the material.

Reduplicative constructions, such as *hoddie-doddie* (EM 4.10.56) or *Helter skelter* (EM 1.4.91), clearly belong to the fringe areas of compoundhood, since, as long as lexical roots are understood to carry semantic content, they defy the most basic product-oriented definition of compounds, which requires them to consist of "at least two roots" (Bauer 1983:28; and ch. 4). While prototypical compounds, such as *horse-race* (A 1.1.75) or *dogge-wearie* (TS 4.2.1817), are motivated by the semantic contents of their constituents, "[t]ypically, each half of a reduplicative rhyming compound is meaningless on its own or has a meaning distinct from the meaning of the compound" (Shuffelton & Randall 2008:6). Since reduplicative rhyme compounds, such as the examples mentioned above, are motivated by form instead (cp. Marchand 1969:436; see further Marchand 1957), a semantic analysis according to the

categories and types commonly established for compounds is impossible for such constructions.<sup>320</sup>

The EMode corpus features four instances of reduplicative rhyming compounds, three of which occur in Ben Jonson's comedy *Every Man in His Humour*:

Compound	Author	Word Class
<i>Helter skelter</i> (EM 1.4.91)	Jonson	adjective
<i>hoddie-doddie</i> (EM 4.10.56)	Jonson	noun
<i>hum-drum</i> (EM 1.1.45)	Jonson	noun
<i>shag-rag</i> (JM 4.2.63)	Marlowe	adjective

Table 56: Selected reduplicative formations from the corpus

The two noun constructions, *hoddie-doddie* (EM 4.10.56) and *hum-drum* (EM 1.1.45), respectively serve as derogative expressions for a 'cuckold' and a 'dull, commonplace fellow' in Jonson's comedy. While the original sense of the former formation is presumably equivalent to that of the noun *hoddy-dod*, which is first documented in 1601 as a name for a 'shell-snail', *hoddie-doddie* (EM 4.10.56) may represent a nursery jingle variation of this lexeme. The contextual meaning 'cuckold', which first appears in Jonson's work, but then reoccurs at least once in a later play of another author, may, as the OED suggests, connect the images of the shell-snail's horn to the imagined 'horns' of a cuckold via metaphor. (cp. "hoddy-doddy, n. and adj." *OED online*. 4 May 2017) In fact, whereas the first constituent of the compound, *hoddy*, appears to have been semantically empty originally (and its occurrence in the compound, hence, motivated by form rather than meaning), it "appears itself to have come to be associated with or to mean 'snail' (or ? horned)" (s.v. "†hoddy-dod | hoddidod, n." *OED online*. 4 May 2017) in later formations. With regard to the second element of the compound, a connection to the first constituent of *dodman*, also denoting a 'shell-snail', is highly likely, but the semantic content of the form *dod* itself also remains mainly unclear. (cp. "'dodman, n." *OED online*. 4 May 2017)

In the case of *hum-drum* (EM 1.1.45), it is the second constituent that appears to be motivated by its form, while the first element may well go back to the verb *to hum*, capturing the notions of monotony and dullness entailed in the meaning of the compound. The second

<sup>320</sup> That is, however, not to say that a systematic analysis of rhyme compounds is generally impossible. For a more detailed account of the different semantic categories PDE rhyme formations fall into and the signifying potential rhyme can have in such formations, see, for example, Benczes (2012).

element, *drum*, in turn, is probably more likely to be motivated by its form, rather than by any specific connection to the noun *drum*. (cp. "humdrum, adj. and n." *OED online*. May 2017)

The corpus further features two adjective rhyme compounds, *Helter skelter* (EM 1.4.91) and *shag-rag* (JM 4.2.63). While the latter formation probably represents a "jingling alteration of *shake-rag* ('ragged, rascally')" (s.v. "shag-rag, adj. and n." *OED online*. 4 May 2017), which, in the context of *The Jew of Malta* is used as an attributive adjective in the noun phrase *shag-rag knave* (JM 4.2.63), the former compound combines reduplication with phonetic symbolism: Neither of the two elements of *Helter skelter* (EM 1.4.91) being semantically filled, the compound's sound structure is suspected to be intended "as vaguely imitating the hurried clatter of feet rapidly and irregularly moved, or of many running feet" (s.v. "helter-skelter, adv., adj., n., and v." *OED online*. 4 May 2017), hence adding an onomatopoeic dimension to the rhyme compound.<sup>321</sup>

## 8.5. Borrowed Compounds

Foreign influences on the EModE lexis are an essential characteristic of the language of a period that is marked by a most rapid expansion of its vocabulary, with the influx of borrowings, particularly from Latin and French (the latter donor language, however, decreasing in significance compared to the Middle English period), culminating in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. (cp. Durkin 2014:299ff)<sup>322</sup> Linguistic scholarship has attempted various typologies and classifications of loan words<sup>323</sup> and, also within the realm of compounding, foreign influences can affect various different stages of the composition process and can ultimately be reflected in the word-formation product in different forms and to different degrees. For this purpose, the quadrinomial classification of compounds affected by foreign influence as applied by Sauer (1992) appears most practicable: For his Early Middle English material, Sauer (1992:358) distinguishes between borrowed types of composition (i.e.,

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<sup>321</sup> For a detailed account of phonetic symbolism in English and further examples for verbs with the initial consonants /sk-/, frequently implying quick movements, see Marchand (1969:397ff).

<sup>322</sup> For more detailed accounts of the lexical developments and the inflow of loan words in Early Modern English, see further Minkova & Stockwell (2012:48ff), Nevalainen (2009:336ff). For an account of the etymological composition of William Shakespeare's vocabulary in terms of native and foreign elements, see Scheler (1982:89ff).

<sup>323</sup> For a general classification of borrowed lexemes and lexemes exhibiting foreign influence in terms of their morphology or semantics, see, e.g., Durkin (2014:8ff), or Gneuss (1985), who refers to the seminal works on the matter by Betz (1949) and Haugen (1950).

inversion compounds and imperative compounds), hybrid compounds (i.e. compounds combining native and foreign elements), loan formations (i.e. compounds formed in English as imitations of foreign compounds) and actual borrowed compounds.<sup>324</sup> In consideration of the main focus of this work, I have deemed a comprehensive treatment and analysis of all compounds, including tokens potentially assignable to one of these four groups, for which a certain degree of transparency can be assumed to have existed for the EModE speaker, most profitable. Thus, the majority of tokens from the corpus which, in one way or another, incorporate effects of foreign influences on English have already been analysed and discussed together with their native counterparts in the course of chapter 7. These include hybrid compounds such as, e.g., *handkercher* (3.3.1758) and *neckercher* (EM 3.6.55), which have been formed within English but incorporate a second constituent borrowed from French in the Middle English period (cp. "kerchief, n." *OED online*. 9 May 2017; see further ch. 7.4.3.1). Furthermore, compounds such as, e.g., *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347), an imperative compound going back to Italian *montambanko* and, hence, classified as a borrowed compound by the OED, (cp. "mountebank, n." *OED online*. 9 May 2017) have been discussed along with other tokens exhibiting the same morphological and semantic structure, all of the respective formations representing a composition pattern that is most likely to have been borrowed from Old French. (cp. ch. 7.4.7.1)

With *to mount* and *bank* both having entered the English language in the Middle English period before the first recorded occurrence of the compound in question, (cp. "mount, v." and "bank, n." *OED online*. 9 May 2017), the compound *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347) itself can be assumed to have been largely transparent for speakers of EModE. In fact, it is not always entirely determinable on the basis of the documentation in the OED, whether, as in the case of *mountebancks* (O 1.3.347), a classification of a token as a borrowed compound or as a loan formation, coined after the foreign example by combining the constituents that already exist in the English language (although potentially as lexical borrowings), is more appropriate. (cp. also Sauer 1992:360, as well as Gneuss 1985) Moreover, the classification of a lexeme as 'foreign' or 'native' is invariably determined by the timeframe that is taken into consideration, so that

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<sup>324</sup> A further special category of formations, which combine Greek (or, less frequently) Latin elements, often linked by a linking element *-o-*, to produce lexemes mainly belonging to the vocabulary of science and termed 'neoclassical compounds' by several scholars, (cp. Adams 1973; Bauer 1998a, 1983; Díaz-Negrillo 2014; Durkin 2014, 2011; Plag 2003) are usually perceived as borderline cases between derivations and compounds and would, therefore, also belong to the fringe areas of compoundhood. 'Neoclassical compounding', however, is, apart from "scattered examples [...] from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" (Durkin 2014:346) mainly a later phenomenon (cp. also the findings concerning the chronological distribution of the combining forms analysed in Díaz-Negrillo 2014:8), which does not figure in the corpus.

the boundaries both between the categories ‘native’ and ‘foreign’ as well as between the different types of loans are, to a certain degree, bound to be blurred.<sup>325</sup>

As no systematic classification of the compounds from the corpus in terms of their respective etymological origin and loan word status is intended in the present study, this chapter is restricted to listing examples of borrowed compounds which entered the language in the EModE period (or slightly before). The tokens are grouped according to the respective donor language, with the category of borrowings from French including those lexemes which originally go back to Latin, but are most likely to have entered the English language via French.

### French Origin

Compound	Author	French Etymon	Word Class
<i>argent-viue</i> (A 2.1.95)	Jonson	<i>argent vif</i> (‘quicksilver’) (from Lat. <i>argentum vivum</i> )	noun
<i>Bankrouts</i> (JM 2.3.194)	Marlowe	<i>bancque rouverte</i>	noun
<i>demi cannon</i> (TS 4.3.1967)	Shakespeare	<i>demi-canon</i>	noun
<i>demi-culuerings</i> (EM 3.1.141)	Jonson	<i>demi-coulevrine</i>	noun
<i>parricide</i> (S 3.397)	Jonson	<i>parricide</i> (from Lat. <i>parricida</i> )	noun

### Latin Origin

Compound	Author	Latin Etymon	Word Class
<i>Cornu-copiae</i> (EM 3.6.25)	Jonson	<i>cornu copiae</i> (‘horn of plenty’)	noun

### Dutch Origin

Compound	Author	Dutch Etymon	Word Class
<i>linstock</i> (EM 3.1.144)	Jonson	<i>lontstok</i>	noun
<i>quack-saluers</i> (EM 2.1.123)	Jonson	<i>quacksalver</i>	noun

Table 57: Selected borrowed formations from the corpus

The examples listed above differ in terms of their analysability as compounds, as well as in their prototypicality for the category. While tokens such as *argent-viue* (A 2.1.95) and *Cornu-copiae* (EM 3.6.25) are likely to have been recognized as borrowed compounds due to their spelling and their constituents being retained in their full form,<sup>326</sup> tokens such as *Bankrouts* (JM 2.3.194), *parricide* (S 3.397) and *linstock* (EM 3.1.144) are considerably less transparent and, occasionally, can already be considered opaque in the donor language. This is exemplified most

<sup>325</sup> In the light of these observations, Bauer’s (1998a) proposed conceptualisation of the dichotomy of ‘native’ and ‘foreign’ being more appropriately imaginable as a scalar dimension, is supported.

<sup>326</sup> It has to be noted, however, that both borrowed compounds go back to Latin noun phrases and, hence, have their ultimate origin in syntactic constructions.



clearly by the borrowed lexeme *parricide* (S 3.397), a combination of Latin *-cida*, a Latin combining form, and a first constituent which is of unknown origin but "in classical Latin authors came to be associated with classical Latin *parens*" (s.v. "parricide, n.1." *OED online*. 11 May 2017). Besides the fact that the compound status of formations featuring combining forms, i.e. elements which, although exhibiting a lexical meaning, do not occur independently, is certainly disputable, the token *parricide* (S 3.397) has forfeited its analysability long before entering the English language. Its compound status is therefore highly debatable.

Besides instances of different degrees of opacity, the list further features the borrowed formations *demi cannon* (TS 4.3.1967) and *demi-culuerings* (EM 3.1.141), both representing names for weapons borrowed from French, whose first constituent *demi-* is classified as a prefix in the OED, (cp. "demi-, prefix." *OED online*. 11 May 2017) thus potentially relegating the respective compounds to the fringe areas of compoundhood as well, although, as pointed out in ch. 7.4.3.1, the present study accepts *demi-* (and *half-*) as first constituents in adjective + noun compounds on the basis of them also appearing as independent adjectives of the same semantic content.

## 9. Comparative Overview of the Results

After the analysis and description of the compounds from the corpus alongside their classification into morphologic types, which I have undertaken in the previous chapters, the present section aims at providing selected synoptic overviews of the compounds' morphological and semantic distribution and diversity. Thereby, the focus will be broadened from the separate investigation of each morphologic type to a more extensive and comparative perspective on the three playwrights' general use of compounds, uncovering their overall preferences as observable from the data as well as the respective diversity of the compounds from the works by each playwright, in terms of their morphology and semantics. Furthermore, the use and creation of metaphor in (and by) the compounds by each playwright will be focussed on in a third subsection of this chapter, aiming at a comparison of the playwrights' compound use in this particular regard.

### 9.1. Morphological Distribution and Diversity of the Compounds from the Corpus

As the first of the three areas of investigation, the distribution of the compounds from the corpus over the two major morphological classes of noun and adjective compounds,<sup>327</sup> and their morphological diversity, as manifest in the number of different morphologic types, will be addressed. For that purpose, the following table provides the absolute numbers of noun and adjective compounds per play and per playwright, together with the number of different morphologic types, to which the respective items have been assigned.

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<sup>327</sup> As has been done in the general assessment of compound frequencies in ch. 6, verbal compound constructions have been excluded from the quantitative analyses in this chapter, because of their highly disputable status and their very low number. Furthermore, the compound constructions from the 'fringe areas of compoundhood', as selectively listed and discussed in ch. 8, have also not been included in the present analysis.

	Shakespeare				Marlowe				Jonson				SUM
	O	TS	RII	All	JM	T	EII	All	A	EM	S	All	
<b># all compounds</b>	84	124	108	<b>316</b>	84	72	76	<b>232</b>	202	141	72	<b>415</b>	963
# noun cpds	64	94	62	<b>220</b>	66	47	55	<b>168</b>	191	123	52	<b>366</b>	754
% of noun cpds	76%	76%	57%	<b>70%</b>	79%	65%	72%	<b>72%</b>	95%	87%	72%	<b>88%</b>	78%
# morph. types	9	8	7	<b>10</b>	8	6	6	<b>8</b>	8	10	8	<b>10</b>	10
# adjective cpds	20	30	46	<b>96</b>	18	25	21	<b>64</b>	11	18	20	<b>49</b>	209
% of adj. cpds	24%	24%	43%	<b>30%</b>	21%	35%	28%	<b>28%</b>	5%	13%	28%	<b>12%</b>	22%
# morph. types	11	11	11	<b>15</b>	8	7	8	<b>13</b>	7	9	9	<b>12</b>	15

Figure 33: Morphological distribution and diversity of the compounds from the corpus

In terms of word class, it has already been noted in ch. 6, that noun compounds clearly outweigh adjective compounds in all nine plays from the corpus. Focussing on individual authors, however, the table shows that the discrepancy between the number of noun compounds and that of adjective compounds is most striking for Ben Jonson's plays: While, with 366 items, his three works contain the largest portion of noun compounds by far, they comprise only 49 and, hence, the lowest number of adjective compounds in the corpus. The general preference for noun compounds, although observable for all three playwrights, is, therefore, particularly pronounced in Ben Jonson's works in the corpus, in which 88% of his overall number of compounds belong to the word-class of nouns. As is visible in the table, especially Jonson's two comedies – first and foremost *The Alchemist*, but also *Every Man in His Humour* – feature only a very small number of adjective compounds, as opposed to a remarkably high number of noun compounds.<sup>328</sup>

Although the 191 noun compounds from Jonson's *The Alchemist* constitute 95% of the compounds in the play and 25% of all noun compounds in the corpus, morphological diversity among the noun compounds is highest in his second comedy, *Every Man in His Humour*, which is the only play from the corpus whose noun compounds are distributed over all ten morphologic types (of noun compounds) that have been found in the overall material, followed by Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello*, in which the noun compounds are distributed over nine different morphologic types. *The Alchemist*, in turn, although quantitatively exceeding all other

<sup>328</sup> This tendency, although on a smaller scale and with a less pronounced discrepancy between compounds of the two word-classes, can also be observed with regard to the third comedy in the corpus, Shakespeare's *The Taming of The Shrew*, in which Shakespeare employs the highest number of noun compounds of all his three plays in the corpus. This observation coincides with the findings concerning general compound frequencies within the different genres and a particularly high number of noun compounds within the comedies, as presented and discussed in ch. 6.

plays, proves less morphologically diverse in this regard, the noun compounds from this comedy covering only eight of the ten morphologic types of noun compounds. Viewing the overall number of noun compounds per playwright, all ten morphologic types occur among both Shakespeare's and Jonson's noun compounds from the corpus, while Christopher Marlowe does not use any noun compounds of the types numeral + noun and noun + verb + *-ing* (Noun), and, hence, falls behind with only eight of the ten morphologic types of noun compounds being realised within his three plays. Although both morphologic types, numeral + noun and noun + verb + *-ing* (Noun), belong to comparatively small types of noun compounds, that generally tend to occur rarely, the data still suggests that William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson generally surpass their contemporary playwright in terms of morphological diversity among the noun compounds.

Shifting the focus to the adjective compounds in the corpus, the tendencies appear reversed to a certain degree, both with regard to the general preferences of the three authors to use such formations and with respect to the morphological diversity the adjective compounds display. While Jonson shows a preference for noun compounds, which is particularly pronounced in his comedies, it is William Shakespeare whose plays, in total, contribute 46% (i.e. 96 items) of all adjective compounds to the material. Among the three playwrights, Shakespeare, hence, displays the strongest predilection for using compounds of this word-class, with 30% of all compounds in his plays being adjective compounds. While among his contemporary writers, Christopher Marlowe, although generally using fewer compounds in his plays, ranks second with 28% of his compounds being adjectives, Ben Jonson falls back sharply in this regard with the compounds from his three plays in sum containing a clearly lower portion of only 12% adjectives. Within this word-class, Shakespeare, hence, stands out quantitatively and a closer look at the numbers of adjective compounds in each of his three plays shows that this is especially due to the compounds from his history *Richard II*, in which adjective compounds make up 43% of all compounds in the play and in which the discrepancy between the numbers of noun and adjective compounds is distinctly smaller than in all other plays in the corpus. In fact, this tendency is also visible for Ben Jonson's history play, *Sejanus*, in which he uses 28% adjective compounds and in which this discrepancy between the compounds from the two word-classes is significantly smaller than in his other two plays in the corpus, as well. Thus, the data from the present study suggests again that for William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson the choices for using compounds from either of the two word-classes are not independent of

genre and, related to that, the subject matter, tone and style level of the respective works,<sup>329</sup> as their two history plays from the corpus contain a particularly high portion of compound epithets. Among Christopher Marlowe's plays, in turn, the numerical differences are generally less pronounced and cannot be linked to any stylistically relevant genre-distinction between histories and tragedies, since his history, *Edward II*, contains 28% adjective compounds, while his two tragedies in the corpus, *The Jew of Malta* and *The Tamburlaine*, feature 21% and 35% adjective compounds, respectively.

Also with regard to morphological diversity, William Shakespeare's adjective compounds, being distributed over all 15 morphologic types established for the adjective compounds from the corpus, surpass both Marlowe's and Jonson's formations of that word-class, which contain only 13 and twelve different morphologic types, respectively. This particularly high morphological diversity of Shakespeare's adjective compounds can partly be attributed to Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello* containing the only instance of the very rare morphologic type verb + noun + *-ed* as well as his history *Richard II* featuring three items classifiable as pronoun + (deverbal) adjective – both being morphologic types that do not occur in any of the other analysed plays. Within the area of adjective compounds, therefore, it is indeed Shakespeare, who goes beyond the more common and frequent morphologic types within this word-class and who, with respect to the morphological aspect, achieves higher diversity in this class than his contemporary writers.

## 9.2. Semantic Distribution and Diversity of the Compounds from the Corpus

The predominant aim of the semantic analysis of the compounds from the corpus was to provide a comprehensive and exhaustive semantic classification, in order to complement the morphological analysis of the items and add a second qualitative perspective on the tokens. By setting up one classification scheme designed to cover both noun and adjective compounds from the corpus (as well as the few instances of verbal compound constructions), it could be shown that a systematic semantic classification of compounds *across* word-classes and *across* morphologic types is possible. Due to this methodological approach, the relatively small set of

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<sup>329</sup> In ch. 6, similar tendencies have been noted with respect to general compound frequencies in the different genres / plays in the corpus, as well as with regard to the semantic areas that are dominant among the compounds from the different genres.

34 semantic types that has been established comprises an overall of 937 items from the corpus,<sup>330</sup> with many of the semantic types containing members from both word classes. As I have made no principled distinction between noun and adjective compounds with regard to the semantic classification scheme and since the semantic analyses of each morphologic type in ch. 7 have already provided detailed information on the semantic structures represented within each morphologic type, the present chapter takes the complementary perspective and focusses on the compounds' distribution over the different semantic types, as well as on the semantic diversity of the compounds in the works. For this purpose, the following table provides an overview of the numbers of compounds comprised by each semantic type, further indicating the number of different semantic types found among the compounds of each play / playwright.

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<sup>330</sup> The 938 compounds assigned to different semantic types are supplemented by 26 tokens for which the semantic structure could not be definitely determined and that have, therefore, been labelled 'UNCLEAR'.



The semantic diversity of the compounds itemized by playwright is relatively balanced, although not completely equal: With Shakespeare's *Othello* featuring the only instance of the type 'Instrument – Agent' in the corpus, the noun compound *Counter-caster* (O 1.1.30), the compounds from his plays spread over all 34 semantic types established, while Ben Jonson's compounds in total exhibit 33 different semantic structures. Christopher Marlowe's tokens further lack any instances of the type 'Action – OBJ', that is represented by *Cut-purse* (A1.1.108) or *make-peace* (RII 1.1.160) and comprises those verb + noun compounds which are traditionally termed 'imperative compounds', and which do not feature in Marlowe's works. The latter author's plays in the corpus, therefore, exhibit the least semantic diversity of their compounds, with only 32 semantic types figuring among the material.

In general, the most frequently represented semantic structure among the compounds from the corpus is 'Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)'. This type contains 127 items and, hence, is represented by 13% of the total number of compounds in the corpus. Taking compounds by each of the three playwrights in total, compounds of the type 'Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)' are in the majority for each of the three authors. The semantic type is particularly prevalent among the comparatively large class of adjective / adverb + noun compounds, and further comprises all instances of adjective / adverb + noun + *-ed* compounds in the corpus. The latter class, often termed 'extended bahuvrihi adjectives', is most strongly represented among William Shakespeare's items, his plays featuring 23 instances of such constructions. Christopher Marlowe's and Ben Jonson's plays, in turn, only contain 13 and six extended bahuvrihi adjectives respectively, so that the high numbers of 'Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)' – compounds among his plays is partly attributable to Shakespeare's preference for applying epithets of this particular morphological shape, such as, e.g., *proud minded* (TS 2.1.939), or *slow-wing'd* (TS 2.1.1015).

As becomes evident from these observations, the semantic distribution of the compounds from the corpus is not totally independent of their morphological make-up. Hence, it is expectable that among Ben Jonson's tokens, which I have shown above to be predominantly nouns, those semantic types which typically occur among noun compounds, feature most frequently. This tendency is clearly visible, for instance, with regard to locative and partitive semantic structures, such as, 'Location – Located' or 'Whole – Part', but also with respect to 'Purpose – Entity' compounds, which are also clearly predominant in Ben Jonson's plays. On the other hand, the semantic type 'Time/Duration – Timed', although generally containing many noun + noun compounds, is, with only seven tokens of that type, rarely represented among



Jonson's compounds and occurs more frequently both in Shakespeare's and in Marlowe's plays. In fact, the data suggests that certain individual preferences also exist with regard to the semantics of compounds, and the predilection for using noun compounds with a temporal semantic structure, such as *morning Larke* (TS I2.179), *summer leaues* (T 1.2.225), or *Summer Evening* (JM 5.3.41) appears to be stronger for Shakespeare and Marlowe<sup>331</sup> than for Ben Jonson.

Moreover, thematical and genre-specific characteristics of individual plays are partly reflected in the semantic distribution of their compounds, often paired, however, with certain individual preferences of a playwright: While the insulting terms found in Shakespeare's plays, such as, e.g., *winter cricket* (TS 4.3.1988), *Ginny Hen* (O 1.3.601) or *Woodcocke* (TS 1.2.684), frequently stem from the animal sphere and are rather diverse in their semantic structures, the numerous insults contained in Ben Jonson's comedies are very often assignable to the types 'Occupation – (human) Entity' or 'OBJ – Agent', as they comprise many occupational titles being used in a derogative manner, e.g., *dog-leach* (A 1.1.103), *Cow-herd* (A 1.1.107), *paper-peddlers* (EM 5.5.43) or *Costar'-monger* (EM 1.3.61).<sup>332</sup> Furthermore, the topic and setting of individual plays such as the focus on alchemical (and pseudo-alchemical) substances and processes, on the one hand, and on the characters' successful trickery, on the other, in Jonson's comedy *The Alchemist*, can be retraced to a certain degree in the accumulation of compounds complying to the semantic type 'Material – Entity', that comprises 23 items from this particular work. Hence, while several constructions such as, e.g., *ash-fire* (A 2.3.85), *pin-dust* (A 2.5.71), and *rose-vinegar* (A 5.2.12) pertain to the alchemical sphere, the focus on the prosperity and the tangibles Subtle and Face hope to amass by their swindles becomes evident by a comparatively high number of constructions such as *silver tongs* (A 1.3.30), *siluer shells* (4.1.158), *siluer-breakers* (A 5.4.117), or *damaske suite* (A 2.6.72).

Eventually, the 14 tokens with an unspecifiable semantic structure (classified as 'UNCLEAR') in *The Alchemist* make up a striking 60% of all the compounds for which no clear semantic classification could be determined. Again, this remarkably high portion can be

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<sup>331</sup> It has to be noted, however, that many of the 'Time/Duration – Timed'-compounds among Marlowe's tokens, are morphologically uniform adjective compounds such as *ever drisling* (T 4.1.31), *ever shining* (T 4.2.9), *ever howling* (T 5.1.245), or *everliving* (T 5.1.290).

<sup>332</sup> Pennanen (1951) connects this accumulation of invectives located in the social sphere and social hierarchy, which he also observes in his study of Jonson's language, to the playwright's personality in which he believes to detect a particular class-consciousness and even a "superiority complex" (199). Rather than attempting any psychological interpretation of the related findings in the present study, however, I perceive a connection between his use of these formations and the subject matter, style and personage of Jonson's comedies, in which satirical portrayal of society and class is a fundamental theme, as more convincing than Pennanen's (1951) thesis.

attributed to certain aspects of the play's plot, which, as has already been mentioned in ch. 7.4.1.5, features a relatively extensive scene of Dol Common having a talking fit and, in close succession, uttering nonce-formations, such as *Gog-horned* (A 4.5.7), *Gog-north* (A 4.5.5), *Egypt-south* (A 4.5.5), *Gog-dust* (A 4.5.9) and *Egypt-dust* (A 4.5.9).

### 9.3. Two Comparative Perspectives on Metaphor

As pointed out in detail in ch. 5.3.10, the framework for the analysis of metaphor in the compounds allows for two distinct perspectives on the playwrights' stylistic habits and creativity in this regard: the general *use* of metaphor and the *creation* of metaphor. As a first informative aspect, general stylistic preferences connected to the degree of metaphoricity involved in the compounds from the corpus, i.e. the playwrights' *use* of metaphor in and by their compounds, can be assessed by a comprehensive view on the numerical distribution of all metaphorical compounds over playwrights, plays and – to add a further qualitative layer – over the major different categories of metaphoricity, contextual metaphor and morphological metaphor. Secondly, however, when focussing on imaginativeness of playwrights and within plays, associated with *creating* metaphor in and by compounds, the category of metaphor in word-formation can no longer be treated uniformly, since the assessment has to differentiate between already existing morphological metaphoricity, as it occurs in compounds that have already been institutionalized with metaphor before their appearance in the corpus, and newly created morphological metaphor, which surfaces in the new formations from the corpus. The present chapter, therefore, is divided into two sections, each of them presenting one of the two aspects just outlined.

#### 9.3.1. The Use of Metaphor

##### 9.3.1.1. The Use of Metaphorical Compounds per Play and Playwright

Information on the use of metaphor by each playwright and in each play is given in the following table, which provides an overview of the numerical distribution of all metaphorical compounds over plays and playwrights, first across both lexical classes and then divided into noun and adjective compounds. The numbers comprise all instances of metaphoricity of some kind, i.e. of all six categories.

	Shakespeare				Marlowe				Jonson				SUM
	O	TS	RII	All	JM	T	EII	All	A	EM	S	All	
<b><u>Use of Metaphor</u></b>													
<b># all compounds</b>	84	124	108	<b>316</b>	84	72	76	<b>232</b>	202	141	72	<b>415</b>	963
<b># cpds involving metaphor</b>	32	32	38	<b>102</b>	23	20	23	<b>66</b>	58	49	28	<b>135</b>	303
<b>% of cpds involving metaphor</b>	38%	26%	35%	<b>32%</b>	27%	28%	30%	<b>28%</b>	29%	35%	39%	<b>32%</b>	31%
<b># noun cpds</b>	64	94	62	<b>220</b>	66	47	55	<b>168</b>	191	123	52	<b>366</b>	754
<b># noun cpds involving metaphor</b>	19	23	15	<b>57</b>	15	11	13	<b>39</b>	51	40	21	<b>112</b>	208
<b>% of noun cpds inv. metaphor</b>	30%	24%	24%	<b>26%</b>	23%	23%	24%	<b>23%</b>	27%	33%	40%	<b>31%</b>	28%
<b># adjective cpds</b>	20	30	46	<b>96</b>	18	25	21	<b>64</b>	11	18	20	<b>49</b>	209
<b># adjective cpds involving metaphor</b>	13	9	23	<b>45</b>	8	9	10	<b>29</b>	7	9	7	<b>23</b>	95
<b>% of adjective cpds inv. metaphor</b>	65%	30%	50%	<b>47%</b>	44%	48%	48%	<b>42%</b>	64%	50%	35%	<b>47%</b>	45%

Figure 35: The use of metaphorical compounds per play and playwright

The first and most basic conclusion that can be drawn from the data is that, unsurprisingly, none of the playwrights or plays analysed can cope without metaphor, when it comes to the compounds they apply or contain. This observation can be seen as further evidence for the ubiquity of metaphor in language (and, arguably, in thought), which, naturally, manifests itself in compounds as well and forms an inherent part of their use and morphological make-up – doubtlessly often without speakers or writers consciously recognizing it, but, as several highly poetic choices from the present literary corpus have illustrated, also frequently in the form of stylistic choices that are very likely made consciously. The divergences between the authors, that can be observed in terms of the proportional metaphoricity of compounds, i.e. the percentages of metaphorical compounds in relation to the overall number of items that each of the three playwrights uses, are, however, although not overly extreme, indicative of certain stylistic differences between the playwrights’ use of metaphorical compounds.<sup>333</sup> In that respect, it is noticeable that the results for Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare exhibit close similarity: While, in total, about one third (31%) of the overall number of EModE compounds from the corpus involve (some kind of) metaphor, both William Shakespeare’s and Ben Jonson’s compounds each contain a portion of 32% metaphorical items. Hence, it is again Christopher Marlowe, who falls behind, with the compounds from his plays exhibiting a metaphoricity rate of only 28%, so that the tendencies, that have been observed with regard to

<sup>333</sup> Of course, all these observations have to be seen in the light of the restricted size of the corpus as well as the general focus of this study on compounds. A larger set of data and the consideration of metaphor manifest in other morphological (or textual) structures, may well yield different results.

morphological and semantic diversity of the compounds (as well as with respect to the general frequency of compounds), are partly reiterated when it comes to the use of metaphor.

Focussing on noun and adjective compounds separately, the distribution of the metaphorical tokens over the two word-classes exhibits divergences between the three playwrights, which imply that the use of metaphorical compounds assignable to the class of nouns is a particular preference of Ben Jonson. With 31% of the generally high number of noun compounds in his plays involving (some kind of) metaphor, the latter clearly surpasses both William Shakespeare, whose noun compounds display a metaphoricity rate of 26%, and Christopher Marlowe, among whose noun compounds only 23% involve metaphor. Thus, the data underscores what has already emerged as a tendency from the analyses presented in the previous chapters and suggests that Ben Jonson's particular strength lies in the field of noun compounds, which he appears not only to use in notably high numbers and in morphologically diverse forms, but among which we further find comparatively many items that involve metaphor.

Another general observation to be made, in view of these results, concerns the connection between metaphoricity of compounds and their respective word-class, in general. With an overall 45% of metaphorical items, the total proportion of adjective compounds involving metaphor is significantly higher for all plays and playwrights from the corpus, than that of noun compounds, which have been shown to be more frequent in absolute numbers, but among which only 28% involve metaphor. Hence, the importance of the metaphorical (and poetic) compound adjective as an essential component of Elizabethan style, which I have noted already in ch. 2.1, is reflected in the results of the present study in so far as the compound epithets from the corpus, although occurring in fewer numbers than noun compounds, are more frequently metaphorical and, thus, conduce to the form and style of poetical description "favoured by contemporary aesthetic standards" (Pennanen 1951:61).

Whereas individual differences between Jonson's and Shakespeare's preferences are evidently reflected most prominently in the distribution of the metaphorical noun compounds from the corpus, the respective relative portions of metaphorical adjective compounds for both playwrights do not show the same degree of variation and, in total, reflect the tendencies observed above for the use of metaphorical compounds in general. Among both Ben Jonson's and William Shakespeare's total number of adjective compounds, 47% involve some kind of metaphor, while the metaphoricity rate of Christopher Marlowe's adjective compounds is only 42%. Thus, in terms of the relative proportion of metaphorical adjective compounds, a

predilection for metaphoricity in these constructions, observable exclusively on the part of Shakespeare, which would coincide with his preference for using particularly numerous adjective compounds of high morphological diversity, cannot be observed from the data so far. It is only when taking the absolute numbers into account, that this tendency is partly affirmed, considering that, of the 96 adjective compounds involving metaphor, 45 (i.e. 47%) tokens are found in Shakespeare's three plays under study, while the absolute number of adjective compounds in general and of metaphorical adjective compounds in particular in the plays by the other two authors, is significantly lower. Indeed, the fact that Ben Jonson's plays feature only 49 tokens of that word-class and, with that, significantly fewer adjective compounds than Shakespeare's plays, leads to a comparatively high percentage of metaphorical tokens among the former's compounds, although the absolute number of 23 metaphorical adjective compounds in Jonson's works is rather low. Finally, it is, therefore, arguably still the case that, in total, William Shakespeare uses noticeably many adjective compounds that involve metaphor, although the relative proportions suggest a balance between the two playwrights in this respect.

Focussing on the use of metaphor per individual play, however, the picture that emerges is further complicated. With *Sejanus* and *Othello* exhibiting the highest metaphoricity rates of 39% and 38% respectively, followed by *Richard II* and *Every Man in His Humour* with a portion of 35% metaphorical compounds each, the four leading plays in this regard belong to the works of Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare. Christopher Marlowe's plays, in turn, rank in the lower middle field, all three displaying moderate and relatively similar portions of metaphoricity. Whereas this corresponds perfectly to the tendencies observed so far, it is striking that it is Shakespeare as well, whose comedy *The Taming of The Shrew* exhibits the lowest rate of metaphorical compounds (26%) among all nine plays from the corpus and that, further, Ben Jonson's second comedy from the corpus, *The Alchemist*, also contains a relatively small portion of only 29% of metaphorical compounds. Thus, the data suggests that, also when it comes to metaphor, neither the individual stylistic preferences of Ben Jonson nor of William Shakespeare are stable and invariable across individual plays. Instead, considering that two histories and one tragedy feature among the plays with the highest rates of metaphorical compounds in the corpus, it is, once again, the complex interplay of the seriousness of the subject matter, tone and the specific stylistic character of the genre that appears as a factor which may also have some influence in the area of metaphoricity. Although an in-depth analysis of the various factors, specific to individual characters from the plays, that may further be of influence in this regard, clearly goes beyond the scope of the present work, it is, of course, the

case that, in the tradition of classical rhetoric, metaphor has always been understood as a fundamental part of the ‘grand’ or ‘high’ style, which, with its elaborate register and its highly poetic form was felt to suit the grave subject matter of tragedies and histories, rather than that of comedies, marked by the more colloquial language of the middle and low style. (Adamson 2001b:38; cp. further Gilbert 1979:11f; ch. 6) And indeed, where *hard fauour'd greife* (RII 5.1.2169), *well painted passion* (O 4.1.2386) and *glad-suruiuing hopes* (S 3.57) condition the actions as well as the *still-breeding thoughts* (RII 5.5.2537) of princes, the poeticity of the diction in *Othello*, *Richard II* and *Sejanus* is palpable and stands in clear contrast to the stylistic level of the *shrew'd ill-fauour'd wife[s]* (TS 1.2.585), the *almost-equal seruant[s]* (A 4.1.169) and the *horie-headed letcher[s]* (EM 4.10.42) from the comedies, whose compounds, even if involving metaphor, tend to rather exhibit the colloquial style and the comical force of a *horson beetle-headed [...] knaue* (TS 4.1.1703) or a *connie-catching rascal[s]* (EM 3.1.181). With this in view, the degree of metaphoricity of the different plays (with regard to their compounds) can be interpreted as an indication of Ben Jonson and, especially, William Shakespeare, proving particularly sensitive to the characteristics and requirements of different genres, plots and style levels.

#### 9.3.1.2. The Distribution of the Metaphorical Compounds over the Different Forms of Metaphoricity

In order to provide a more detailed perspective on the individual playwrights’ stylistic preferences with regard to metaphor in (and by) compounds, the present chapter offers additional information regarding the distribution of the metaphorical compounds from the corpus over the various types of metaphoricity that I have set up in this study.

In terms of the different forms of metaphor and the frequency of their occurrence among the material, the individual discussions of each morphologic type in the course of ch. 7 have already revealed the general tendency of contextual metaphors to be the stronger type. The following chart visualizes the proportion of contextually and morphologically metaphoric compounds, grouped by author in relation to the overall numbers of metaphorical items in the works by the respective playwright and indicates that this observation equally applies to the compounds by all three playwrights, but is most pronounced among Ben Jonson’s compounds:

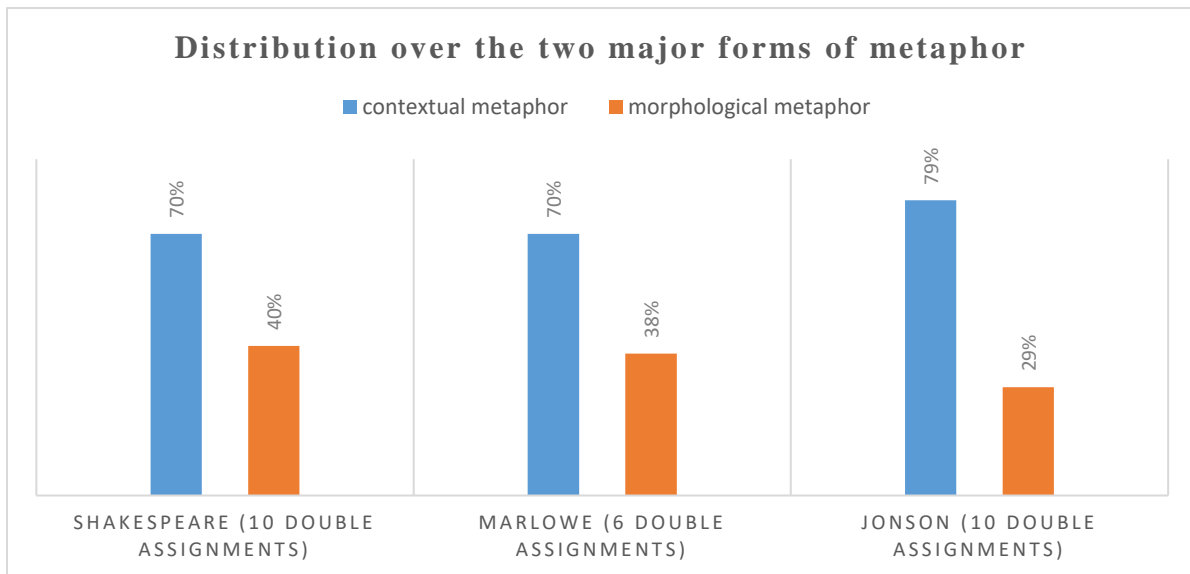


Figure 36: The distribution of the metaphorical compounds over the two major forms of metaphor per playwright

When focussing further on the two forms of contextual metaphor, direct and indirect metaphors, however, differences between the playwrights' preferences emerge:

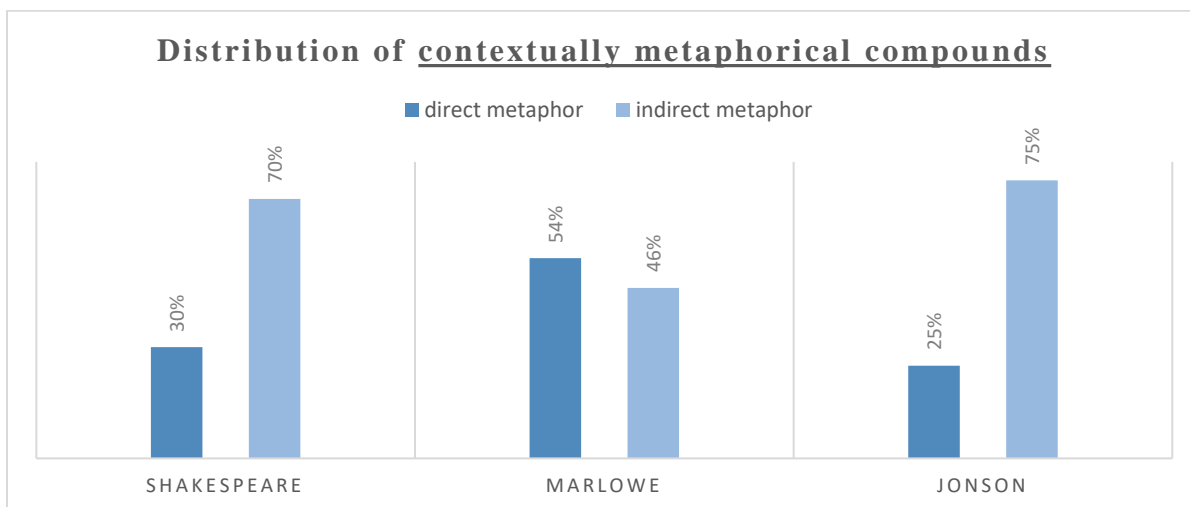


Figure 37: The distribution of the contextually metaphorical compounds over the two forms of contextual metaphor per playwright

While both Ben Jonson's and William Shakespeare's compounds show a predilection for using compounds as indirect metaphors, Christopher Marlowe's compounds in the corpus are more frequently entailed in directly expressed metaphors. In that, the latter author exhibits a stylistic habit that clearly distinguishes him from his two contemporary playwrights, who both show similarly distinct, crosscurrent tendencies.

Finally, a detailed analysis of the compounds from the corpus which involve metaphor in their morphological make-up reveals that ‘metaphoricity of the second constituent’ is the most frequent form of morphological metaphor among both Ben Jonson’s and William Shakespeare’s morphologically metaphorical compounds:

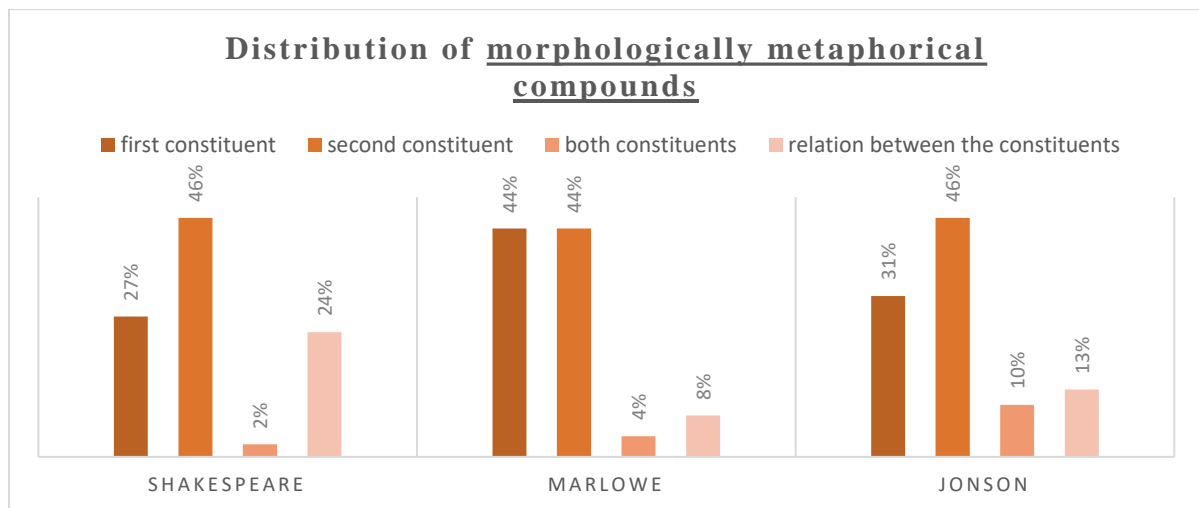


Figure 38: The distribution of the morphologically metaphorical compounds over the four classes of morphological metaphor per playwright

Only Christopher Marlowe’s compounds involving metaphor in word-formation show a balanced distribution over the first two types, exhibiting metaphoricity of the first and second constituent in equal proportions. The high proportion of compounds which entail a metaphorical comparison between their constituents (‘relation between the constituents’) among Shakespeare’s items, in turn, is influenced by a particularly high number of English adjective compounds exhibiting this form of metaphorical comparison (cp., e.g., *logger-headed* (TS 4.1.1671), *maid-pale* (RII 3.3.1614) etc.) and is, therefore, connected to the general preference of Shakespeare for using particularly numerous adjective compounds in his plays (cp. ch. 9.1).

In summary, the comparative perspective on the use of metaphor in the works by each of the three playwrights has brought to light several striking similarities between the ways and the relative quantities in which Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare use compounds which involve metaphor. The parallels between these two authors in this regard have been shown to extend over both the quantitative portion of metaphorical items among their compounds and their distribution over the different types of metaphoricity. Christopher Marlowe’s compound use, in turn, appears to be marked by less metaphoricity and also differs from that of his contemporary authors in the corpus with respect to his preference for applying compounds as direct metaphors, instead of indirect metaphors in context. While Marlowe’s use of metaphor in (and by) compounds ranges on a relatively low level throughout all his three plays included



in the corpus, Ben Jonson's and, even more so, William Shakespeare's results in this area exhibit considerable variation over individual plays – an observation that can be connected to a particularly refined adaptation of their respective language use to the genre of the individual play.

### 9.3.2. The Creation of Metaphor

As held out in the introduction to this chapter, as well as in ch. 5.3.10, the differentiation between morphological metaphor in newly formed compounds and metaphor in the morphological make-up of compounds that are only *used* but not *formed* by the playwrights in the corpus, promises to shed light on one further aspect connected to the metaphoricity of the compounds, which can be termed 'creation of metaphor' (as distinguished from 'use of metaphor').<sup>334</sup> The results in this category are based on an exclusion of those compounds that exhibit metaphor (solely) in word-formation but do not qualify as newly created. Thus, I have included only those morphologically metaphorical compounds which are either registered new formations (RNF), hapax legomena (HL) or antedatings (AD). Further, in anticipation of the results of a more detailed discussion of the issue of creativity, innovation, and the status of non-registered formations (NR), which is presented in ch. 10, and considering the fact that the corpus contains several compounds that are highly metaphorical and, although not documented in the OED, very likely to represent new formations (or hapax legomena) of the respective authors, non-registered compounds displaying morphological metaphor have also been included in the calculations for the category 'creation of metaphor'. The results are provided in the following table:

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<sup>334</sup> As has been explained in ch. 5.3.10, contextual metaphors of both kinds are all included in the countings for 'creation of metaphor', due to their high degree of context-specificity.

	Shakespeare				Marlowe				Jonson				SUM
	O	TS	RH	All	JM	T	EII	All	A	EM	S	All	
<b><u>Creation of Metaphor</u></b>													
# all compounds	84	124	108	<b>316</b>	84	72	76	<b>232</b>	202	141	72	<b>415</b>	963
# cpds inv. <u>creation of metaphor</u>	31	27	36	<b>94</b>	15	17	18	<b>50</b>	54	41	28	<b>123</b>	267
% of cpds inv. <u>creation of metaphor</u>	37%	22%	33%	<b>30%</b>	18%	24%	24%	<b>22%</b>	27%	29%	39%	<b>32%</b>	28%
# noun cpds	64	94	62	<b>220</b>	66	47	55	<b>168</b>	191	123	52	<b>366</b>	754
# noun cpds inv. <u>creation of metaphor</u>	19	20	15	<b>54</b>	11	11	11	<b>33</b>	47	36	21	<b>104</b>	191
% of noun cpds inv. <u>creation of met.</u>	30%	21%	24%	<b>25%</b>	17%	23%	20%	<b>20%</b>	25%	29%	40%	<b>28%</b>	25%
# adjective cpds	20	30	46	<b>96</b>	18	25	21	<b>64</b>	11	18	20	<b>49</b>	209
# adj. cpds inv. <u>creation of metaphor</u>	12	7	21	<b>40</b>	4	6	7	<b>17</b>	7	5	7	<b>19</b>	76
% of adj. cpds inv. <u>creation of met.</u>	60%	23%	46%	<b>42%</b>	22%	24%	33%	<b>27%</b>	64%	28%	35%	<b>39%</b>	36%

Figure 39: The creation of metaphor in and by compounds per play and playwright

While in terms of overall tendencies and general proportional distributions, the findings observable for the category ‘use of metaphor’ are partly reiterated, when it comes to the ‘creation of metaphor’ in the compounds, it is the latter dimension, in which the differences between the three playwrights, that have crystallized above, become more pronounced. With Ben Jonson’s items displaying the highest rate of compounds involving the creation of metaphor (32%) he slightly surpasses Shakespeare, whose compounds display an overall portion of items involving the creation of metaphor of 30%. The discrepancy between these two playwrights and the third of the authors, Christopher Marlowe, however, has increased clearly in this area, with the plays of the latter containing only 22% compounds in (or by) which metaphor has been created. Thus, judging from the data in the present study, Christopher Marlowe’s use and creation of compounds emerges as least prone to metaphor in comparison to his two contemporary authors.

Distinguishing between the two major word-classes of the compounds, the tendencies observed for the use of metaphor in compounds and the respective authorial preferences are substantiated further by the results in this second area, although, in the realm of noun compounds, discrepancies between the authors have decreased slightly. Still, it is Ben Jonson, whose noun compounds exceed in this category, displaying a rate of 28% of compounds involving the creation of metaphor, while William Shakespeare’s and Christopher Marlowe’s items only reach 25% and 20%, respectively. Hence, it is Ben Jonson, whose noun compounds do not only make relatively frequent use of metaphor but are also marked by the highest portion of items in or by which metaphor has been created. Regarding the adjective compounds, the

general tendency of adjective compounds showing more instances of metaphoricity in general, recurs with respect to the creation of metaphor, which also turns out to be proportionately more frequent among the compounds of this word-class. Viewed individually per playwright, however, the observation that William Shakespeare appears to be particularly strong in this area, which could be substantiated only by the absolute numbers of compounds involving the use of metaphor above, is further corroborated by the results in this area, where it is also reflected in the proportions: While among Shakespeare's 96 adjective compounds 42% (i.e. 40 tokens) involve the creation of metaphor, Jonson's compounds of this class, which are considerably fewer in number (49 tokens), only display a rate of 39% (i.e. 19 tokens) compounds in (or by) which metaphor has been created and Marlowe clearly falls behind in this regard, with his 64 adjective compounds only containing 27% (i.e. 17 tokens) that involve the actual creation of metaphor.

Also, when considering the results for each play individually, the tendencies observed above are further underpinned, with *Sejanus*, *Othello* and *Richard II* emerging as the plays with the highest rates for 'creation of metaphor' among their compounds. In fact, all 28 compounds in Jonson's *Sejanus* that are metaphorical, also involve the creation of metaphor, while from 32 metaphorical compounds in *Othello* and 38 metaphorical compounds in *Richard II* 97% and 95% respectively involve the creation of metaphor. Hence, the three works are not only marked by a particularly frequent use of metaphor with regard to the compounds they contain but also entail a high portion of compounds in or by which metaphoricity is newly *created*. Especially when viewed in absolute numbers, however, it is Shakespeare's *Richard II* that more clearly stands out in this regard. Nevertheless, when Esko Pennanen in his *Chapters on the Language in Ben Jonson's Dramatic Works* (1951) claims to detect a "lack of boldness and striking originality in Jonson's new formations" (185), his judgement cannot be corroborated as long as Jonson's history play is concerned, of which the creation of metaphor forms a prominent part. Again, certain factors which these three plays, *Sejanus*, *Othello* and *Richard II*, have in common, such as the grave subject matter, reflected in the elaborate style and poeticity of the language in the plays, as well as, possibly, the fact that many of the characters from these plays are endowed with exceptional rhetoric abilities, which they exert to persuade and manipulate others, may be invoked as potential determinators of this high degree of metaphoricity in these plays, of which both Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare appear to be most sensitive. However, to substantiate these assumptions, further research into the connection between individual characters and metaphor (realized by compounds and in other forms), as well as, potentially, on the relation between metaphoricity and the number and length of soliloquies,

speeches and passages of introspection in the individual plays, is required and may bring further correspondences to light. The scope of the present work, however, does not allow for these investigations to be conducted within this study.

## 10. The Factor ‘Inventiveness’: New Formations among the Compounds from the Corpus

### 10.1. Lemmatization Issues

#### 10.1.1. Compounds and Dictionaries

As announced in the introductory chapters, the present study has deliberately not placed its sole focus on the new formations among the EModE compounds, as has been done in earlier studies, which have mainly either sought to substantiate Shakespeare’s exceptional linguistic creativity (e.g., Kilian 1953; Voitl 1954, 1969) or endeavoured to relativize it by critically investigating the reliability of the OED as the main authority for dating a word. (cp. Schäfer 1980) Nevertheless, a study that undertakes to comparatively investigate compound use of the three main Renaissance poets, cannot omit examining the respective inventiveness involved in the compounds. Thus, both aspects, Shakespeare’s linguistic creativity as well as his contemporaries’ performance in this respect, and the issues and uncertainties involved in dating a compound in the first place, will be mentioned in the following chapter, followed by a comparative analysis of the new formations among the material.

It seems almost needless to say that the definitional challenges concerning the general question of which tokens are actually to be counted as compounds (as exhaustively discussed in ch. 4) and the individual decisions that are made in this respect, will inevitably affect both the registration policy of dictionaries in general and the results of the present study. In the light of the discussion of the definition of compounds, it is to be expected that especially those types which are not morphologically isolated as compounds, will experience inconsistent treatment in dictionaries and it has been noted frequently that English orthography is not much of an aid in this respect (cp., e.g., Bauer 1998b; Durkin 2011; Lieber & Štekauer 2011). Moreover, considering the high productivity of the word-formation process of compounding, it becomes clear that a complete documentation of all English compounds is an unreasonable demand to make of any dictionary. The attempts to reduce the number of candidates for documentation to a manageable quantity, usually take two directions: On the one hand, the general conceptualisation of many dictionaries to serve as an aid to understanding unknown words is accounted for by listing mainly those compounds that are, to a certain degree, semantically opaque and hence "clear candidates for inclusion in a dictionary, where they are treated as units or 'long words'" (Fellbaum 2016:413). As reasonable and necessary this approach may be, it

unavoidably promotes a certain distortion of the picture, when the aim is to get a comprehensive impression of the process of compounding and its results in the English language:

Dictionaries of course, as the repositories of words at every stage on the path towards unanalysability, are likely to foster a misleading view of the present state of word formation. They are likely to give preference to words with something obscure or remarkable about their make-up and to omit regular and transparent items that users will probably not need to look up. (Adams 2001:14)

Clearly, Adams' (2001) observation is at least equally valid with regard to earlier states in the history of English.

On the other hand, the degree of institutionalization of a compound is taken as a yardstick for its documentation. Compounds which have been termed "'deictic' compound[s]" (Downing 1977:818), "nonce formations" (Durkin 2011:39) or ad-hoc-compounds and which are characterised by their substantial context-dependence and serve as naming units only temporarily for a particular situation in a particular setting, normally "fail to enter more extensive usage" (Durkin 2011:39) and "are unlikely to survive beyond the context in which they were originally created" (Downing 1977:838). These "one-offs" (Durkin 2011:39) are inevitably subject to inconsistent treatment in dictionaries, since their number is potentially unlimited and "[t]here is no clear-cut answer as to whether or not such [short-lived and context bound] compounds should be included in lexical resources and coverage differs across dictionaries" (Fellbaum 2016:413).

#### 10.1.2. Registration Policy of the OED

Doubtlessly, the OED, widely perceived and advertising itself as "[t]he definitive record of the English language" (OED Online; 11 August 2016), has a special standing as the authoritative dictionary of English, with the additional peculiarity of offering a historical dimension that is, in itself, unsurpassed by any other dictionary. Indeed, its "length of documentation makes it possible to argue that the *OED* is the dictionary in which historical principles are most elaborately and satisfyingly developed" (Considine 2016:170), and yet, also an achievement as imposing as the OED, is subject to practical constraints in its recording of words in general and compounds in particular. Hence, the abovementioned issues and strategies concerning documentation of compounds in common dictionaries, are valid for the OED and their registration policy as well, the only restriction being that the historical dimension of the OED

seems to demand an especially inclusive treatment of words from older stages of the language, in order to keep the contortion of the picture for earlier periods which is due to registration policies as minimal as possible. The two-fold nature of compounds, however, has been noted to have resulted in a treatment of these word-formation products, which lacks the desirable exhaustiveness and consistency and so Voitl (1954), in his early study on Shakespearean compound new formations, observes a substantial discrepancy between the number of prefix- and suffix-formations recorded in the first edition of the OED and that of compounds. (cp. Voitl 1954:4)<sup>335</sup> The relatively high numbers of compounds from the present study that have been found not to be recorded as such in the OED (cp. further ch. 10.3), suggest that the overall situation with regard to compounds has hardly changed since the first printed editions of the dictionary, as there is still a particular interdependency between the definitional difficulties of the category as discussed in ch. 4 and the documentation of its members as autonomous compound lexemes. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that many tokens of the traditionally most disputed types, such as noun + noun compounds in which the first element is either a place name or denotes a material, e.g., *Winchester pipes* (A 1.3.31) or *Amber bracelets* (TS 4.3.1937), noun + *s* + noun compounds, e.g., *babies cap* (TS 4.3.1947) or *Tinkers pans* (JM 4.1.3), or compounds with adjectives or adverbs as first elements, such as *well reclaimd* (EII 13.57) or *ill-dayes* (A 1.3.95) have been omitted by the OED editors, supposedly on the grounds of a different and more exclusive definition of what is to be regarded as a compound, which they unfortunately do not make explicit. Much more striking, however, is the observation that, whatever definition of compoundhood may have been chosen by the OED editors, its adherence in terms of a consequent registration or exclusion of the respective items, seems to lack consistency in many cases. It is hardly explainable, for example, why a compound such as *Amber bracelets* (TS 4.3.1937) should have been denied the status of an independent lexeme, whereas Ben Jonson's *maple block* (A 1.3.30) is listed as a compound, although both words are equally transparent in meaning and show the same morphological shape.<sup>336</sup> In this respect, Schäfer's (1989) observations with regard to the OED's first edition still seem to be valid to a certain extent for the registration policy of its newest version:

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<sup>335</sup> In a similar study, Kilian (1953) mentions three groups of compounds not recorded in the OED's first edition: Compounds that have obviously not been regarded as such, compounds whose elements are extremely frequent and for which numerous similar formations exist (here, technical constraints in compiling the early editions certainly come into play) and compounds that seem to have been overlooked (which are very few in numbers according to Kilian 1953). (cp. 7f)

<sup>336</sup> Similar observations can, among other examples, be made for adjective/adverb + verb + *-ed* compounds, such as *well-experienc'd* (EM 1.5.138) and *well tun'd* (O 2.1.881), which are both recorded as compounds in the OED as opposed to the analogous formations *well reclaimd* (EII 13.57) and *well-watch'd* (EM 3.3.28).

In terms of sheer numbers OED citations may indeed be considered adequate. The following pages will demonstrate again and again, however, that their selection was often arbitrary. Words of comparable lexical status – whether found in a writer's text or in a dictionary – were sometimes included, sometimes omitted. (Schäfer 1989:5)

Consulting the information given on the websites of the modern online edition of the OED, whose third, revised edition is currently being published in quarterly updates of numerous entries, the user learns that the primary condition for the inclusion of a word is its "currency in the language (present or past), and editors use a number of factors to gauge this" (OED Online; 11 August 2016). Hence, besides matters of definition, the degree of institutionalization of a compound is crucial for its inclusion in the OED. It is, however, unfortunate that the respective criteria which are used to determine an individual token's 'currency' at a certain point in the language history are not being made explicit, since, as discussed in ch. 4.5.1, questions of transparency, institutionalization and lexicalization prove to be especially intricate ones, when it comes to earlier stages of the language (cp., e.g., Durkin 2011:51f and ch. 4.5.1). The 37 hapax legomena among the analysed material further appear to prove that mere frequency of occurrence cannot have been the sole criterion upon which the decisions were made and thereby prompt the conclusion that a certain arbitrariness, possibly connected to individual editors' personal assessment of a compound's stylistic value, cannot be ruled out with respect to this criterion either.

While still being a resource of enormous value, it has to be kept in mind that the documentation of compounds in the OED is subject to several inaccuracies and inconsistencies and, thus, the results of a study such as the present one, in which the OED with its quotations and datings of compounds is taken as the basis for the quantitative comparison of creativeness, will always be influenced (and adulterated to a certain degree) by the registration policy of the dictionary. The high proportion of compounds, which are indeed being documented correctly in the OED on the one hand, however, and the general possibility of explicitly pointing out potential interferences, as I have attempted to do in this chapter and will also continue to do (with a different focus) in the following one, on the other hand, still make the approach appear sensible and profitable.



## 10.2. First Recorded Use and Datings

### 10.2.1. Polygenesis of Compounds

Regardless of the intricacies concerning registration policy and several other potential interferences with regard to dating an entry correctly and objectively, which will be the subject of this chapter, the OED still presents the most comprehensive and exhaustive resource for the investigation of new formations from the Early Modern period. It is quite true, therefore, that "[t]he number of the O.E.D.'s first citations taken from an author's work has been a favourite yardstick for measuring his linguistic creativity" (Schäfer 1980:60) and the present study will, in principle, not deviate from this approach. In doing so, however, the potential snares of too readily assuming a direct correlation between the number of the OED's first citations and the inventiveness of the author credited by the OED (or the definitive date of the actual entry of the word into the English language) must constantly be kept in mind in order to avoid making overly "simplistic claims" (Considine 2016:172).

It lies in the nature of language being essentially and primarily an oral/auditory medium that the bulk of invention and inventiveness takes place in the realm of spoken language. Hence, the fact that in being restricted to written sources only for the documentation of earlier stages of the language, the picture a historical dictionary can ever be able to present of the new formations of a certain period and their exact entry dates will necessarily be incorrect to a certain degree. Obviously, "the first documentation of a new word need not be, and often is not, identical with its actual coinage: a word may have been in use for decades before it was recorded in writing" (Schäfer 1980:60). Especially when considering compounds such as *Goate feet* (EII 1.60) or *oysterwench* (RII 1.4.581), which are documented as new formations by Marlowe and Shakespeare respectively, but which clearly belong to the realm of every-day language, earlier oral usage seems very likely, although it is not provable.<sup>337</sup> Since there is hardly an effective remedy for the general restriction to written sources, however, a general awareness of the problem will have to be sufficient precaution against overestimating the OED's quotation evidence.

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<sup>337</sup> It is, in addition to what has been stated so far, very unlikely indeed that these compounds should really have found their first ever mention in a literary work. Instead, the dating of every-day words like the examples given may well have resulted from a general inclination of the OED's editors to take mainly literary works as the basis for their quotations – an imbalance that the current revision of the OED is attempting to correct by including more texts from other genres (cp. <http://public.oed.com/the-oed-today/rewriting-the-oed/collecting-the-evidence/#programmes>; 10 August 2016) and which will again be mentioned in ch. 10.2.2.

In addition to the general liability of being restricted to written sources, it has been observed – rather unsurprisingly – that words are not necessarily limited to entering the language only once. In fact, "[i]t is very likely (although rarely demonstrable) that most words show some degree of polygenesis [...]: they are not coined once and for all, but enter a language on numerous separate occasions" (Durkin 2011:68; cp. also Schäfer 1980). It is therefore not always completely appropriate to assume that invention and creativeness have only been involved in the first recorded use of a certain lexeme, instead "a writer may recoin a word without being aware of its earlier existence" (Schäfer 1980:60). However, since examples of this kind of re-invention of a compound can rarely be unequivocally identified as such and the general assumption of potential polygenesis for all compounds would unjustly annihilate the validity of the numbers, it appears more beneficial to the present study to assume that the instances of polygenesis remain the statistically insignificant exception among the material.

#### 10.2.2. The OED's Bias(es)

Based on the results of his influential study on the documentation practices of the then solely available first edition of the OED, in which he analyses and compares the OED's quotation data for the Early Modern writer Nashe to that for Shakespeare, Jürgen Schäfer (1980) postulates that "[i]nstead of providing an unquestioned basis for further research, the O.E.D. has to become its object" (Schäfer 1980:3). The demanded questioning of the OED has since taken place not only in the realm of scholarly research, (cp., e.g., Schäfer's posthumously published work on Early Modern English lexicography, 1989; or, more recently Brewer 2007, 2010; Coleman 2013) but also on the part of the modern OED's editors, who in the preface to the third edition of the online dictionary, acknowledge that one of the main points of criticism, the over proportional recourse to literary works as quotation sources, "is not entirely without foundation" (OED Online; 11 August 2016).

The heavy reliance of the OED on literary sources, which has also been target of Jürgen Schäfer's criticism (cp. Schäfer 1980:13) and which the modern editors now attempt to correct by including more non-literary texts in their reading programmes (cp. <http://public.oed.com/the-oed-today/rewriting-the-oed/collecting-the-evidence/#programmes>; 11 August 2016), is partly explainable, as Brewer (2010) convincingly shows, by the OED's self-conception "as the nation's dictionary[,] [...] which assumes unproblematic and self-

evident connections between high literary culture, national identity, society and language" (95). The relevance of this literary bias to the present study has already been mentioned in passing in the previous chapter and mainly concerns the reliability of datings for compounds from everyday language, for which a literary source as the first quotation seems relatively unlikely. It is instead to be expected that some of the items such as *Goate feet* (EII 1.60), *oysterwench* (RII 1.4.581), *rice porredg* (JM 3.4.66), *Saile-maker* (TS 5.1.2330) or *hazle twig* (TS 2.1.1056), whose first quotations in the OED come from the respective plays, will perhaps eventually occur in earlier texts of more everyday origin.<sup>338</sup>

The implications of the OED's conceptualisation as preserver not only of the language but also of the literary and cultural values of the nation, go beyond the mere inclination to resort to literary sources as such, however, and also bring about another tendency that entails a decisively "preferential treatment" (Schäfer 1980:15) of canonical authors in general, (cp. Hawke 2016:189) and of William Shakespeare in particular. (cp. Schäfer 1980:15) Schäfer (1980) shows that with regard to lemmatization policies (i.e. the general acceptance of tokens as lemmata), the selection of quotations from several synchronous possibilities from different authors, (cp. Schäfer 1980:13ff) as well as with respect to the general rigour in the examination of the respective works, Shakespeare clearly takes precedence over other less canonical authors, such as Nashe, Mallory or Wyatt, in the first edition of the OED. (cp. Schäfer 1980:39f) This bias towards canonical authors (and, as entailed in this, towards the 'most canonical' author William Shakespeare) is still observable in today's Online edition of the OED, as Brewer (2010) confirms:

[F]ollowing the digitalisation of the OED in the 1980s, we can now search the dictionary electronically and actually count up the number of quotations from different sources, to find that the lexicographers did indeed favour works then commonly recognized by the educated classes, without the self-consciousness or self-questioning in which we would engage today, as canonical – not just for English literature, but for the English language in its entirety: the poets and writers widely acknowledged, in the Victorian period, as 'great writers' of the past and present. (Brewer 2010:104f)

The relevance of this observation for the present study becomes visible on several levels, and differences in the treatment of Shakespeare compared to the other two writers, although all three arguably have a solid standing in the canon of English literature, can be uncovered by investigating the respective documentation of the compounds in the OED.<sup>339</sup> Although all the

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<sup>338</sup> Brewer (2010) already notes that "[a] series of new reading programmes directed at areas of language insufficiently covered by the first edition has thrown up thousands of ante- and post-datings of words" (96).

<sup>339</sup> The results touched on selectively in this paragraph are only exemplary in nature and will be complemented and find more detailed discussion in ch. 10.3.2.

nine plays are explicitly listed in the OED's bibliography as quotation sources (cp. OED Online; 11 August 2016), the absolute number of compounds that are not recorded as such by the OED is almost twice as high for Ben Jonson's plays than for those of Shakespeare. Broken down to proportions, Shakespeare's works exhibit the lowest percentage of compounds that have been omitted by the OED among all three writers, which prompts the conclusion that the OED's editors more readily accepted a compound as an independent lexeme, when it occurred in Shakespeare's oeuvre than in one of the other playwrights' works.<sup>340</sup> Another point in case is the striking discrepancy between the number of antedatings for Jonson's compounds (22 compounds) and those for Shakespeare's, whose analysis has retained only four instances of antedating, thus pointing in a direction that strongly conforms to Schäfer's (1980) observations. Hence the statistical evidence from the present study, as will be presented in detail in ch. 10.3.2 strongly corroborates the OED's bias towards Shakespeare in terms of lemmatization and minuteness of examination and indeed seems to suggest that "with regard to first citations Shakespeare is markedly over-represented in the *O.E.D.*" (Schäfer 1980:41) and most certainly would have "little to gain and much to lose from a general re-examination of the *O.E.D.*'s sources" (Schäfer 1980:41).

Closely connected, but not as directly relevant to the results of the present study, is another aspect of potential influences of the lexicographers' preferences on the documentation of language, which the contemporary editors are apparently attempting to remedy currently and which is rooted in a general overrepresentation of the Elizabethan era. Although the numbers as sketched in the previous paragraph clearly show Shakespeare's particularity in this respect, it seems that in general not only Shakespeare himself, but also his contemporary writers from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century have been granted exceptional status. (cp. Brewer 2007:129; Schäfer 1980:49ff) The resulting picture of an immense lexical productivity in this period might, therefore, be deceiving and, in fact, more revealing in terms of the OED's lexicographical methods than of the actual characteristics of the period. With respect to the ongoing revision of the OED, however, Brewer (2007) observes a trend that may represent an attempt to balance the proportions and include more quotations from the eighteenth century in the revised edition. Since all the nine plays can, considering the dates of their composition, be regarded as falling in the Elizabethan era,<sup>341</sup> the interference of this particular bias, with the

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<sup>340</sup> Differences in the respective accuracy when examining the works might, of course, potentially play a role as well.

<sup>341</sup> Jonson's *The Alchemist*, as the youngest of the nine plays can, its composition being dated 1610, still be counted as belonging to the period in question.

results from the present study, is expected to be less pronounced. Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out, of course, that some of the alleged new formations from the corpus have, in fact, predecessors in earlier centuries, which have not been examined with the same rigour and extension.<sup>342</sup>

In the end, it becomes clear that, to expect absolute objectivity from the OED's data is certainly naïve to some extent but, in the light of the immense magnitude of the endeavour to present "[t]he definitive record of the English language" ( OED Online; 11 August 2016), it also means to be asking too much. Hence, the critical discussion of the potential biases imbedded in the OED's data, is not supposed to minimize the enormous value of this resource, but has been undertaken only to point out potentially problematic areas and thus be immune against an overestimation of the evidence and any kind of unduely "simplistic claims" (Considine 2016:172).

### 10.3. The Creativeness of the Playwrights

#### 10.3.1. Method

Before turning to the comparative analysis of the three playwrights' inventiveness, several methodological clarifications have to be made. As already stated earlier (and notwithstanding the respective intricacies addressed above), the present study takes the data of the online version of the OED as a basis for the analysis and classification of the compounds as new formations. It has to be noted firstly that, since the compounds are understood as independent lexemes, the compounds as a whole served as search items in the analysis. I have tackled the expected irregularities and idiosyncrasies in spelling of compounds, particularly in the EModE works, by testing both the original spelling as found in the respective text and its modern English equivalents.<sup>343</sup> With respect to the resulting entries in the OED, it has not been distinguished between compounds which serve as main entries, i.e. entries in which the compound is listed as the head word, as is the case for, e.g., *Philosophers stone* (JM 2.3.112), *Gunpowder* (JM

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<sup>342</sup> Again, it seems likely that especially those compounds denoting everyday objects which are by no means innovations of Shakespeare's time (e.g. *Goate feet* (EII 1.60), *oysterwench* (RII 1.4.581) or *hazle twig* (TS 2.1.1056)) may have occurred in earlier works from periods not as meticulously studied.

<sup>343</sup> A search for *Guiny-bird* (A 4.1.38) or *turnep-cart* (A 5.5.81), for example, does not render any results, hence, the modernized spelling variants *guinea bird* and *turnip cart* have to be substituted. It has to be noted, however, that the *OED online* proves particularly user-friendly in recognizing a remarkable number of EModE compounds despite their unusual spellings and, further, in not letting hyphens or spaces impede the search results in any way.

5.5.28), *dogge-wearie* (TS 4.2.1817) or *Senate-house* (S 5.449), and compounds which are listed under their first element, either as compounds / combined forms or, in rarer cases, as (phrasal) combinations of attributive first elements and a head in the form of the second element. The latter cases occur most frequently with compounds in which the first elements are place names, e.g., *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), which have apparently been classified as at least bordering on syntactic constructions by the editors.<sup>344</sup> Examples for compounds listed within the entry for their determinant are *temple doores* (S 5.475), *hogs-flesh* (EM 1.2.75), *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41) and *sword prooffe* (EII 2.8). In the majority of these cases the respective compounds are separated into subentries, each being treated basically as a main entry with the quotation data being listed under the respective compound. There are however, some compounds, such as, for example, *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41), for which the OED chooses to list accumulatively several compounds with the same first element as one subentry and provide quotations for all of them below. For these tokens, the respective date of the quotation given is taken as the first documented use in the analysis.<sup>345</sup>

As has already been mentioned in ch. 7.4.1.1, I have distinguished between different types of new formations among the material on the basis of their documentation in the OED, in order to allow for more specific insights. Those compounds for which the OED cites the respective play from the corpus as the first recorded use, are classified as registered new formations (RNF). Compounds, for which the OED quotes the respective play as its only recorded occurrence, are marked as hapax legomena (HL) and compounds, for which the corpus provides an earlier occurrence than the first recorded use in the OED, are registered as antedatings (AD). Excluded from any further analysis within this area of investigation are all compounds for which the OED presents earlier quotation evidence.<sup>346</sup> In the light of the definitional difficulties which compounds entail, as well as with respect to the lemmatization issues and the OED's biases as discussed in the previous chapters, the fourth and last category, which comprises compounds that are not recorded as such by the OED (but potentially represent new formations as well), is an especially intricate one. Given the inconsistencies in the OED's

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<sup>344</sup> The explicit listing of *Venice gold* (TS 2.1.1158) as a compound within the entry of *Venice*, however, proves that the respective classifications are inconsistent and they have therefore not been of particular interest for the definition of compoundhood, as applied in the present study.

<sup>345</sup> In some cases, the quotation listed in accumulative entries for the respective compound is the one from the corpus. Based on the assumption that for these accumulative entries only one or few quotations have been chosen by the OED to illustrate the usage of the respective combinations, compounds from accumulative entries, for which only one quotation is given are treated as registered new formation (RNF), not as hapax legomena (HL).

<sup>346</sup> The respective column ('New Formation') in the tables as well as in the alphabetical list of all compounds in the appendix (app. 5) is left empty for these items.

registration of compounds (cp. ch. 10.1.2) as well as in its treatment of authors (cp. ch. 10.2.2), denying the respective tokens any status of being new formations and hence excluding them completely from the analysis in this area of investigation (just as those, for which earlier evidence exists) appears unjustified and liable to falsify the results.<sup>347</sup> On the other hand, there is no hard evidence comparable to that for the other three subcategories, which would sufficiently warrant an unambiguous classification of these compounds as new formations. Thus, I have chosen a two-pronged approach and will present both numbers for new formations, once including not recorded compounds (marked ‘NR’ in the overview table) and once excluding them, side by side in the next chapter. This strategy has the further advantage of rendering the numerical discrepancies between not recorded compounds for the different writers and plays visible and, thereby, shedding more light on certain trends and tendencies in the OED’s coverage.

Moreover, it has to be noted that meaning expansions in the sense of new metaphorical usages of compounds or their use with innovative and non-institutionalized meanings have not been counted as actual new formations in the following analysis. The creativity involved in employing the adjective *wire-drawne* (A 3.2.88) as an epithet for *grace*, or tokens such as *flitter-mouse* (A 5.4.89) and *puck-fist* (A 1.2.63) as nicknames for persons, is already accounted for in the respective analyses targeted at the (contextual) metaphoricity of the compounds and is therefore not of relevance in the present chapter.<sup>348</sup> Instead, only the actual morphological formation of the compounds as such is of interest in this area of investigation.

One last methodological clarification concerns the classification of tokens from the corpus, whose first recorded use in the OED stems from a different work by the respective writer. In these cases, the date of the composition of the play is decisive and determines the labelling of the compound, e.g., as an antedating (AD), if the OED quotation comes from a later work than the one included in the corpus. This applies to compounds such as, for example, *hunting-match* (EM 2.4.10), which is registered in Jonson’s *Timber* of 1636, or *deep-mouth’d* (TS II.16), registered in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*, which the OED bibliography dates 1600. The

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<sup>347</sup> In his study on Shakespeare’s compound new formations Voithl (1954) also opts for counting unrecorded compounds as new formations and substantiates his decision on the basis of frequency counts. His assumption is that already existing compounds must be more salient in the writer’s mind and thus be used more often in his work. The fact that those compounds not recorded in the OED, however, behave in a similar way to those recorded as new formations with regard to their frequency in Shakespeare’s works, leads Voithl (1954) to the conclusion that the former are to be interpreted as new formations as well. (cp. Voithl 1954:11ff)

<sup>348</sup> Voithl (1954) and Schäfer (1980) both choose the same approach in their studies, without however conducting any separate systematic analysis of metaphoricity.

compound *sordid-base* (EM 2.5.96 and S 3.188), which occurs twice in the corpus, is recorded as having first been used in Jonson's revised Folio edition of *Every Man in His Humour* (published 1616) by the OED. The evidence from the corpus, however, shows that, in fact, Jonson's use of the word in *Sejanus*, composed around 1603 and published 1605, precedes the OED quotation and the compound, hence, constitutes an antedating from the latter play.<sup>349</sup> In turn, compounds such as *home returne* (RII 1.3.535) or *China-houses* (A 4.4.48), for which the OED presents evidence from earlier works of the respective playwrights (Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, dated 1590, and Jonson's *Epicoene*, dated 1609 in the OED bibliography) are excluded from investigation in this chapter. For the three compounds *candle-cases* (TS 3.2.1351), *apple Tart* (TS 4.3.1968) and *trunke sleeve* (TS 4.3.2018) from Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, the dating and chronology of the OED's quotations is somewhat inconsistent with the information given in the dictionary's bibliography, which dates the composition of the play as 1596, but lists the respective quotations from the play as 'a1616' following other quotes from later works.<sup>350</sup> In the present study, I have counted these compounds as registered new formations (RNF) on the basis of the OED's dating in the bibliography as well as the information about the year of composition provided in Drabble (2006) (cp. ch. 2.5).

### 10.3.2. Results

#### 10.3.2.1. Statistical Overview 1: The Inventiveness of the Playwrights

The analysis of the compounds from the corpus has rendered 351 tokens, which are considered to belong to one of the four types of new formations. Complete lists of these compounds, grouped by new formations type and containing all relevant information on morphology,

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<sup>349</sup> As has already been pointed out in ch. 2.5. and as research suggests (cp. Butler 1999:8, Bevington 1999:24) the revised Folio edition of Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* is to be viewed as an "entirely new version[]" (Butler 1999:8) of the play and is therefore regarded as an independent and autonomous work, distinct from the quarto version, whose composition (which in this particular case, of course, equals the radical revision and re-writing of the quarto version) can be dated around 1616. In consistence with this assessment, the four compounds which are listed as new formations from the quarto version of 1601 by the OED, *tauern-token* (EM 1.4.55), *hackney pace* (EM 3.5.15), *tin-foild* (EM 1.3.114) and *horie-headed* (EM 4.10.42), have not been counted as new formations in this study, since the present study only investigates the revised folio version.

<sup>350</sup> It has been noted before that the OED's bibliography bears deficiencies and is "not sufficiently helpful, since its various versions are avowedly incomplete" Brewer (2010:102). In the present study inconsistencies concerning dating of works and quotations have occasionally been detected, but they do not seem to severely impede the results.



semantics and metaphoricity, are included in chs. 10.3.2.2 – 5,<sup>351</sup> where selected qualitative aspects will be addressed. The following table depicts the numerical distribution of all new formations in the corpus grouped by playwright:

Types	New-Formations (incl. NR)		New-Formations (excl. NR)		
	#	% of overall number of cpds.	#	% of overall number of cpds.	
<b>Shakespeare</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>22%</b>
	RNF	45	14%		
	HL	19	6%		
	AD	4	1%		
	NR	62	20%		
<b>Jonson</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>13%</b>
	RNF	15	4%		
	HL	15	4%		
	AD	22	5%		
	NR	99	24%		
<b>Marlowe</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8%</b>
	RNF	9	4%		
	HL	3	1%		
	AD	7	3%		
	NR	51	22%		
<b>Sum</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>351</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>14%</b>
	RNF	69	7%		
	HL	37	4%		
	AD	33	3%		
	NR	212	22%		

Figure 40: The distribution of all new formations from the corpus per playwright

As indicated above, the special status of compounds that are not registered in the OED (NR), together with their relatively high number, has made it seem advisable to choose a two-pronged approach, by presenting numbers for new formations excluding the ones unrecorded in the OED, in addition to the overall numbers, which include the respective unregistered tokens. The numbers presented in bold designate the absolute counts of new formations from all four types (grouped by author), complemented by the percentage of new formations in relation to the overall number of compounds by each playwright. This percentage serves as an indication for the inventiveness each author displays in his use and formation of compounds and thus makes for a comparative perspective. The fourth box, in turn, combines the numbers of new formations

<sup>351</sup> A complete list of the 212 non-registered compounds can be found in the appendix (app. 4), since an inclusion in this chapter was perceived as impractical due to the high number of tokens.

by each author and provides information on new formations in the overall corpus as well as their percentages in relation to all the EModE compounds included in the corpus.

Including those compounds that have not been registered by the OED, the 351 new formations (incl. NR) among the material make up 36% of the overall number of compounds in the corpus. With an absolute count of 151 compounds, Ben Jonson's plays contain the highest number of new formations (incl. NR) among the material. Relative to the overall number of compounds that have been used by the respective playwrights, however, Ben Jonson's innovative compounds constitute a percentage of 36%, whereas William Shakespeare, with an absolute number of 130 new formations (incl. NR), reaches a percentage of 41% and thus shows the highest inventiveness rate. Christopher Marlowe, on the other hand, who has already been observed to use considerably fewer compounds than his contemporary playwrights, (cp. ch.6) stays 11% behind his eminent fellow author William Shakespeare, with a rate of 30% of newly formed compounds in his three plays. Hence, the results so far underscore Shakespeare's extraordinary lexical inventiveness, which, although Ben Jonson is not too far behind, still surpasses that of his contemporary writers.

The change of proportions, however, which can be observed with regard to the second set of numbers that excludes the non-registered compounds and thereby clearly increases Shakespeare's margin, calls to mind the general dependency of the numbers presented here on the OED's registration policy. Since from Jonson's plays, 99 compounds (i.e. 24% of the compounds from his three plays) are not registered in the OED (NR), the percentage of new formations shrinks to 13% of his compounds, when only counting the 52 registered tokens. Similarly, Christopher Marlowe's rate of innovation is reduced to 8%, if the 51 non-registered formations (NR) are excluded. In contrast, William Shakespeare's rate of invention – as the playwright's works display the lowest percentage of non-registered compounds – decreases only to 22% and, as one might have expected in the light of the insights into the OED's policies outlined in the previous chapters, the resulting picture accentuates Shakespeare's exceptional position. This noticeable shift of proportions when excluding non-registered formations indicates that differences in the OED's accuracy and minuteness in examination of his plays, the potential inclination to grant lexeme status to his formations more readily and an overall preferential treatment of Shakespeare's works is still perceptible in the present data.<sup>352</sup> Hence, the proportional distribution of innovative compounds is more accurately represented when

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<sup>352</sup> The numerical distribution of the remaining subtypes (RNF, AD, HL) point in a similar direction as will be mentioned in the respective chapters dealing with each subtype individually.

including non-registered formations in the counts, since the influence of the OED's biases is then minimized.

### 10.3.2.2. The Registered New Formations from the Corpus

The following tables list the 69 new formations from the corpus that have been recorded as first usages by the OED (i.e. type RNF; antedatings and hapax legomena will be subject of chs. 10.3.2.2 and 10.3.2.3), grouped according to the compounds' word class.

#### Registered New Formations (RNF)

##### Nouns

<b>Compound</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Morphologic Type</b>	<b>Semantic Class</b>	<b>Metaphoricity</b>
<i>Aglet babie</i> (TS 1.2.604)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>apple Tart</i> (TS 4.3.1968)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	Met. in context
<i>Bridall chamber</i> (TS 4.1.1724)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>bridall dinner</i> (TS 3.3.1525)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>candle-cases</i> (TS 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Clisterpipes</i> (O 2.1.861)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>demy diuell</i> (O 5.2.3202)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Noun	DEGREE	Met. in context
<i>eare-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	AGENTIVE	Met. in w.-f.
<i>eare-rent</i> (A 1.1.169)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>eye-reach</i> (S 5.508)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	AGENTIVE	Met. in w.-f.
<i>Goate feet</i> (EII 1.60)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>hazle twig</i> (TS 2.1.1056)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>land-Carrick</i> (O 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>mandrake juice</i> (JM 5.1.82)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>maple block</i> (A 1.3.30)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>night brawler</i> (O 2.3.1195)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i>	TIME	
<i>oysterwench</i> (RII 1.4.581)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>parcell-broker</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	DEGREE	Met. in context
<i>Parler fire</i> (TS 5.2.1508)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>party verdict</i> (RII 1.3.506)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>Paulesman</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>pomander-bracelets</i> (A 1.4.21)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>port-maisters</i> (EII 14.22)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>quarter-looke</i> (S 5.389)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	DEGREE	Met. in w.-f.
<i>rice porredg</i> (JM 3.4.66)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>rope trickes</i> (TS 1.2.637)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>Saile-maker</i> (TS 5.1.2330)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i>	AGENTIVE	
<i>sand-heat</i> (A 2.3.58)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>spur-leathers</i> (EM 2.1.83)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>stone-lugs</i> (TS I2.223)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	

<i>Towne Armory</i> (TS 3.2.1353)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>triumph day</i> (RII 5.2.2323)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>trunke sleeve</i> (TS 4.3.2018)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>tumbling tricke</i> (TS I2.270)	Shakespeare	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>wedding cheere</i> (TS 3.3.1493)	Shakespeare	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>wedding sheetes</i> (O 4.2.2519)	Shakespeare	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	TIME	
<i>whole-bawd</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	DEGREE	Met. in context

### Adjectives

Table 58: The registered new formations from the corpus

<i>blood-raw</i> (T 4.4.12)	Marlowe	Noun + Adjective	QUALITY	
<i>care tuned</i> (RII 3.2.1391)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	INSTRUMENT	Met. in w.-f.
<i>dogge-wearie</i> (TS 4.2.1817)	Shakespeare	Noun + Adjective	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>eare-peircing</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adj.)	OBJECT	Met. in context
<i>full gorg'd</i> (TS 4.1.1737)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>ill-Starr'd</i> (O 5.2.3177)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>leane-lookt</i> (RII 2.4.1246)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>light-wingd</i> (O 1.3.554)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>logger-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1671)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>long parted</i> (RII 3.2.1311)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	Met. in context
<i>loose bodied</i> (TS 4.3.2011)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>neuer quenching</i> (RII 5.5.2637)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	TIME	
<i>night growne</i> (EII 4.284)	Marlowe	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	TIME	
<i>night-ey'd</i> (S 4.363)	Jonson	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	PURPOSE	
<i>oliue-colour'd</i> (A 1.3.46)	Jonson	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	COMPARISON	
<i>plume-pluckt</i> (RII 4.1.1931)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>rose-lip'd</i> (O 4.2.2476)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>rude-spun</i> (A 2.1.16)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>rugheaded</i> (RII 2.1.771)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>shoulder-shotten</i> (TS 3.2.1361)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	QUALITY	
<i>shril voicd</i> (RII 5.3.2447)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>slow-wing'd</i> (TS 2.1.1015)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>smokie-bearded</i> (A 4.6.41)	Jonson	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>smoothe toongd</i> (EII 16.66)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>spirit-stirring</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adj.)	OBJECT	Met. in w.-f.
<i>strong built</i> (JM P 22)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>swag-bellied</i> (O 2.3.1078)	Shakespeare	Verb + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	AGENTIVE	
<i>sword prooffe</i> (EII 2.8)	Marlowe	Noun + Adjective	QUALITY	
<i>three-legg'd</i> (TS 1.1.338)	Shakespeare	Num. + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	Met. in w.-f.
<i>time bewasted</i> (RII 1.3.493)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	PRODUCT	
<i>time honourd</i> (RII 1.1.1)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	AGENTIVE	
<i>Wrath kindled</i> (RII 1.1.152)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	INSTRUMENT	Met. in w.-f.

With 32 adjectives and only 37 nouns among the registered new formations, their proportional distribution over the two word-classes diverts markedly from the general distribution of the compounds from the corpus, which contains almost four times as many noun compounds as

adjective compounds. (cp. chs. 6; 9.1) This proportional discrepancy suggests an exceptionally high inventiveness of the EmodE playwrights in the realm of adjective compounds. When, however, taking the overall numbers of new formations (including antedatings and hapax legomena) as well as the non-registered compounds into account, as has been demonstrated to lead to more reliable numerical results, an overall number of 251 newly formed noun compounds is complemented by 100 adjective compounds, hence markedly shifting the proportions towards the expected distribution. Nevertheless, the numbers still point at a particularly high inventiveness in the formation of adjective compounds, new formations of which appear to be particularly prominent among Shakespeare's compounds.<sup>353</sup>

In general, Shakespeare most strikingly heads the table with regard to compounds from the corpus that are registered as first recorded usages in the OED (RNF), as the statistical overview presented in ch. 10.3.2.1 already showed. The 45 compounds by Shakespeare quoted as first usage form a percentage of 14% of his overall number of compounds and make up 65% of all registered new formations (RNF) from the corpus. Shakespeare, thereby, clearly surpasses Jonson and Marlowe with respect to first recorded usages, which only make up 4% of their overall number of compounds respectively. Most certainly, this extreme imbalance cannot be seen as totally independent of the OED's registration practices, as have been pointed out in the previous chapters and the obvious overweight of first recorded usages of Shakespeare in the OED has to be viewed in the light of what has been stated above concerning the OED's respective biases. The data as present, and especially the overall numbers of compounds that can be counted as new formations (including those not registered in the OED), nevertheless underscore the fact that claims about Shakespeare's immense inventiveness are not completely without foundation and do not, after all, as exclusively belong to the realm of myths as David Crystal (2009) suggests. (cp. ch. 1)

Among the adjective compounds, Shakespeare exhibits particular creativity with respect to those synthetic compounds that have traditionally been termed extended bahuvrihi adjectives and which occur very frequently among the Shakespearean new formations recorded by the OED. The eleven recorded first usages of extended Bahuvrihi adjectives by Shakespeare, *ill-Starr'd* (O 5.2.3177), *leane-lookt* (RII 2.4.1246), *light-wingd* (O 1.3.554), *logger-headed* (TS 4.1.1671), *loose bodied* (TS 4.3.2011), *rose-lip'd* (O 4.2.2476), *rugheaded* (RII 2.1.771), *shril voicd* (RII 5.3.2447), *slow-wing'd* (TS 2.1.1015), *swag-bellied* (O 2.3.1078) and *three-legg'd*

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<sup>353</sup> This observation obviously ties in with the results regarding the general use of adjective compounds as well as the creation of metaphor in adjective compounds in Shakespeare's plays, which have also been shown to be particularly strong points of Shakespeare. (cp. ch. 9.1; 9.3.2).

(TS 1.1.338), clearly outnumber the three respective formations recorded for Ben Jonson, *night-ey'd* (S 4.363), *oliue-colour'd* (A 1.3.46), *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41). For Christopher Marlowe, the only compound of this particular type, recorded as first usage, is *smoothe toongd* (EII 16.66). The infrequent instances of extended Bahuvrihi compounds that occur among the antedatings, hapax legomena and non-registered formations in the material (cp. chs. 10.3.2.3 – 5), only slightly shift the general proportional distributions and, thus, the data illustrates a noticeable preference of Shakespeare to invent compounds of this particular type.

Furthermore, 47 % of the adjective compounds among the registered new formations (i.e. 15 tokens out of 32) display metaphoricity of some kind. Of these, only *long parted* (RII 3.2.1311) displays direct metaphor and hence a type of metaphoricity, which is not rooted in the contextual reference of the compound or the meaning of its constituents. The portion of metaphorical adjective compounds recorded as new formations exceeds the general percentage of metaphorical adjective compounds (cp. 'use of metaphor', ch. 9.3.1.1) among the material and allows for two interpretations. Firstly, the data suggests that, especially when inventing new adjective compounds, the playwrights very frequently choose to combine the cognitive effort of inventing a novel expression with encoding certain aspects of the intended meaning by making use of metaphor and thereby create new epithets that are remarkably vivid and pictorial. The results are highly poetical expressions such as, e.g., *King Richard's II care tuned tongue* (RII 3.2.1391) or the *Wrath kindled gentlemen* (RII 1.1.152) from the same play. In this respect, it is again particularly Shakespeare, who, with twelve of his 23 innovative adjective compounds recorded as first usages in the OED involving metaphor, clearly excels in comparison to both Christopher Marlowe, with the two metaphorical compounds *smoothe toongd* (EII 16.66) and *strong built* (JM P 22) and Ben Jonson, whose registered adjective new formations only feature the epithet *smokie-bearded* (A 4.6.41). Again, further taking all hapax legomena, antedatings and non-registered formations into account (cp. chs. 10.3.2.3 – 5) does not significantly influence this proportional distribution. Secondly, however, the high percentage of metaphorical compounds among the first recorded usages of adjective compounds, which is contrasted by a very low rate of metaphorical adjectives among the non-registered adjective compounds (cp. also cp. 10.3.2.5), also attests to certain tendencies of the OED and dictionaries in general to prefer to register those compounds which are not completely transparent, as has already been remarked in ch. 10.1.1. Especially for adjective compounds, the OED's editors indeed appear to have deemed the 'poetical' ones more "worthy of registration" (Schäfer 1989:3) than the innovative transparent compounds, thereby indirectly favouring the Shakespearean formations from the corpus, which, as I have found in the present

study (cp. ch. 9.3.2), are more frequently metaphorical than those from his contemporary writers' plays.

Moreover, the data reveals that, among the newly formed noun compounds, combinations of two nouns are most frequent for all three playwrights. This numerical overweight is expectable, given the generally high productivity of this morphologic type. The semantic structure, style and complexity of the noun + noun compounds is wide-ranging and covers transparent compounds from the realms of everyday life, such as *oysterwench* (RII 1.4.581), *rice porredg* (JM 3.4.66) or *Goate feet* (EII 1.60), as well as highly creative metaphorical lexemes such as Jonson's *eare-rent* (A 1.1.169) or Shakespeare's *trunke sleeve* (TS 4.3.2018). In contrast, the morphologically non-isolated compound type adj. + noun only rarely occurs among the first recorded usages, and with the majority (i.e. 98 tokens), of the 118 adj. + noun compounds from the corpus being attested as earlier formations in the OED, the coinage of compounds of this particular morphological shape does not seem to be in the centre of any of the three playwrights' preferences. The similarity of the five registered new formations of this type, however, which comprise two compounds with *bridal* as their first element, *Bridall chamber* (TS 4.1.1724) and *bridall dinner* (TS 3.3.1525), and further three compounds of the semantic type DEGREE, *demy diuell* (O 5.2.3202), *parcell-broker* (A 4.6.33) and *whole-bawd* (A 4.6.33), is striking, especially in the light of the semantic class QUALITY being generally much more frequent among compounds of this morphologic type. It is further noticeable that the only three compounds of the non-isolated type verb + *-ing* + noun which are recorded as first citations are all Shakespearean formations.

Finally, it is remarkable that the only four noun compounds registered as first usages by Christopher Marlowe are the noun + noun compounds *Goate feet* (EII 1.60), *mandrake juice* (JM 5.1.82), *port-maisters* (EII 14.22) and *rice porredg* (JM 3.4.66), which, besides being few in numbers, appear only moderately poetic in their make-up. While keeping in mind potential distortive influences on the part of the OED's documentation, the more detailed assessment of the registered new formations in the OED complements the quantitative findings as presented in ch. 10.3.2.1 and reinforces the impression that particularly Shakespeare's but also Ben Jonson's compounds are marked by higher inventiveness and a more evolved poetic creativity than Christopher Marlowe's.

### 10.3.2.3. Hapax Legomena

Although explicitly stating that "[n]ew words and meanings are principally selected for inclusion in the dictionary on the basis of their currency in the language" (Proffitt:<http://public.oed.com/the-oed-today/rewriting-the-oed/sorting-of-quotations/>), the OED still registers several compounds as hapax legomena, i.e. giving only one single quotation as evidence for the occurrence of the respective lexeme. From the 139 compounds from the corpus, which the OED records as any kind of new formation (excl. NR), this applies to the following 37 compounds (type HL):

#### Nouns

Compound	Author	Morphological Type	Semantic Class	Metaphoricity
<i>beggar-feare</i> (RII 1.1.189)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	AGENTIVE	
<i>channel water</i> (EII 20.27)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>Counter-caster</i> (O 1.1.30)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i>	AGENTIVE	Both
<i>crackhempe</i> (TS 5.1.2300)	Shakespeare	Verb + Noun	OBJECT	Met. in context
<i>dole-beer</i> (A 1.1.53)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COPULA	
<i>inke-dablers</i> (EM 5.5.44)	Jonson	Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i>	AGENTIVE	Met. in context
<i>mill-iade</i> (A 3.3.5)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>partie-bawd</i> (A 3.3.11)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	DEGREE	Met. in context
<i>philosophers vinegar</i> (A 2.3.100)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	POSSESSIO	Met. in w.-f.
<i>Philosophers wheele</i> (A 2.3.44)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in w.-f.
<i>poulder-cornes</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>punque-master</i> (A 4.3.56)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	Met. in context
<i>selfe-bloud</i> (S 3.71)	Jonson	Pronoun + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>selfe-charity</i> (O 2.3.1201)	Shakespeare	Pronoun + Noun	OBJECT	
<i>thicklips</i> (O 1.1.66)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>trencher-rascall</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	Met. in context
<i>vnder-scribe</i> (A 1.2.49)	Jonson	Particle + (devbl.) Noun	LOCATION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>woing dance</i> (TS1.2.593)	Shakespeare	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	Both

#### Adjectives

<i>flap-ear'd</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>glad-suruiuing</i> (S 3.57)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>halfe-chekt</i> (TS 3.2.1362)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>hastie witted</i> (TS 5.2.2443)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>heauy-gated</i> (RII 3.2.1318)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>ill seeming</i> (TS 5.2.2549)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>knee-crooking</i> (O 1.1.45)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adjective)	OBJECT	
<i>leane-witted</i> (RII 2.1.730)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>light-brainde</i> (EII 19.2)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>lip-good</i> (S 1.410)	Jonson	Noun + Adjective	QUALITY	
<i>lust-staind</i> (O 5.1.2803)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adjective)	AGENTIVE	Met. in w.-f.



<i>maid-pale</i> (RII 3.3.1614)	Shakespeare	Noun + Adjective	COMPARISON	Both
<i>male-spirited</i> (S 2.211)	Jonson	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>neere leg'd</i> (TS 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>oile-dried</i> (RII 1.3.493)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adjective)	QUALITY	
<i>sea-walled</i> (RII 3.4.1768)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	COMPOSITION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>selfe affrighted</i> (RII 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	Pronoun + (Deverbal) Adjective	PRODUCT	
<i>swine-eating</i> (JM 2.3.7)	Marlowe	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adjective)	OBJECT	
<i>turtle-billing</i> (EM 1.5.68)	Ben Jonson	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adjective)	COMPARISON	Met. in context

Table 59: The hapax legomena from the corpus

With 19 hapax legomena among the compounds from the corpus, it is again Shakespeare, whose plays contain the highest number of this particular type of new formation, making for 6% of his overall number of compounds in the corpus. For Ben Jonson, whose 15 instances of hapax legomena constitute 4% of his compounds in the corpus, the numbers are slightly lower. Christopher Marlowe, however, whose analysed plays contain only three hapax legomena, hence making up only 1% of his compounds, lies remarkably adrift of his contemporary playwrights. The numerical distribution of this particular type of new formation again corroborates what has frequently been observed in various respects before, both in this study and in others (cp., e.g., Schäfer 1980:14f): although "currency in the language" (OED Online; 11 August 2016) is one criterion upon which the inclusion in the OED rests, the inclination to grant presumably rather singular formations such as *Counter-caster* (O 1.1.30) or *lust-stained* (O 5.1.2803) hapax legomena status appears greater for Shakespearean innovations than for Jonson's or particularly Marlowe's, whose only hapax legomenon among the noun compounds is the noticeably mundane formation *channel water* (EII 20.27). The discrepancy between Marlowe's and the other two playwrights' numbers, however, is too pronounced to be seen exclusively as a reflection of the OED's practices. Instead, the tendency which further crystallizes is that Marlowe's inventiveness in his use of compounds is indeed more limited than that of Jonson and Shakespeare.

The relative distribution of hapax legomena over the two word-classes again allows for conclusions concerning Jonson's and Shakespeare's particularly strong points. As is the case with regard to the first citations (RNF) discussed above, it is again Shakespeare, whose plays exhibit a strikingly high number of adjective compounds registered as hapax legomena. Among the total of 19 adjective compounds of this new formation type (HL), 13 items are registered as only occurring in Shakespeare's respective plays. Among these, the six extended bahuvrihi adjectives *flap-ear'd* (4.1.1703), *hastie witted* (5.2.2443), *heauy-gated* (3.2.1318), *leane-witted* (2.1.730), *neere leg'd* (3.2.1351) and *sea-walled* (3.4.1768), underscore Shakespeare's

preference for coining new compounds of this type (cp. also the similar observation with regard to first citations in ch. 10.3.2.1) and are paralleled by only one token of the same type for Jonson and Marlowe respectively (*male-spirited* (2.211) and *light-brainde* (19.2)). Conversely, the majority of noun compounds among the hapax legomena from the corpus is attributed to Ben Jonson, among them two tokens of the rarely registered and morphologically non-isolated type noun + *s* + noun, *philosophers vinegar* (A 2.3.100) and *Philosophers wheele* (A 2.3.44), one compound of the morphologic types pronoun + noun, noun + verb + *-er* and particle + noun respectively, *selfe-bloud* (S 3.71), *inke-dablers* (EM 5.5.44) and *vnder-scribe* (A 1.2.49), as well as several noun + noun compounds. The morphologic types of adj./adv. + noun and verb + *-ing* + noun, however, are similarly rare among the hapax legomena as among the first citations (cp. ch. ch. 10.3.2.1) and, in both cases, the only single instances of the respective types are Shakespearean formations (*thicklips* (O 1.1.66) and *woing dance* (TS1.2.593)).

Finally, it is remarkable that, of the 37 hapax legomena from the corpus, 59% (i.e. 22 tokens) involve metaphor of some kind, which is a considerably high percentage and further substantiates the assumption expressed in ch. 10.3.2.1, with respect to metaphorical adjective compounds, that the OED's preference for registering non-transparent and metaphorical compounds is visible in the data. This tendency also appears to extend to tokens for which only one single quotation can be listed as evidence.

#### 10.3.2.4. Antedatings

As the third and last type of new formations that are recorded in the OED, the 33 antedatings (AD) that could be found in the material are listed below. Included in the list are all compounds from the corpus, for which the first citation given in the OED is younger than the occurrence in the corpus, regardless of the time span for which the lexeme is antedated. Cases for which this time span is particularly large or narrow will be mentioned below.

##### Nouns

<b>Compound</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Morphological Type</b>	<b>Semantic Class</b>	<b>Metaphoricity</b>
<i>Barbary horse</i> (O 1.1.114)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>bed Curtaines</i> (O 5.2.3272)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>buttry-hatch</i> (A 1.1.52)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>councill table</i> (EII 21.58)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>court-fucus</i> (A 1.3.73)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	

<i>cunning-man</i> (A 1.2.8)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>dung-worme</i> (EM 3.5.127)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>estrich tailcs</i> (A 2.2.69)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>Flanders mares</i> (JM 3.4.114)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>Giant-race</i> (S 4.270)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	EntityCLASS	
<i>Guiny-bird</i> (A 4.1.38)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>halfe-dozen</i> (EM 3.5.13)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	DEGREE	
<i>hedge corner</i> (TS II.18)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>hunting-match</i> (EM 2.4.10)	Jonson	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>kitchin ware</i> (A 2.5.53)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>knight-aduenturers</i> (EM 4.8.128)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COPULA	
<i>law-French</i> (A 4.4.61)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>leeke-porridge</i> (EM 3.4.45)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>liuery-punke</i> (A 2.1.11)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>Tabacco-men</i> (A 5.1.5)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>tabacco-traders</i> (EM 3.5.96)	Jonson	Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i>	AGENTIVE	Met. in context
<i>Temple-church</i> (A 2.3.289)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>Tigers milke</i> (EII 18.71)	Marlowe	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>turnep-cart</i> (A 5.5.81)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>winters tales</i> (JM 2.1.25)	Marlowe	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	TIME	

## Adjectives

Table 60: The antedatings from the corpus

<i>bristle-pointed</i> (T 4.1.27)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>cleane-Swept</i> (EM 2.5.61)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	PRODUCT	
<i>deep-mouth'd</i> (TS II.16)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>full stuft</i> (S 3.435)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	Met. in context
<i>ill placed</i> (S 5.892)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>sordide-base</i> (S 3.188)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Adjective	COPULA	Met. in w.-f.
<i>steale-bard</i> (JM 1.1.14)	Marlowe	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adj.)	INSTRUMENT	
<i>swift-footed</i> (JM 2.1.7)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context

In general, the distribution of the antedated compounds with regard to the three authors, is inversely proportional to that of the remaining types of new formations, which can anon be traced back to the OED's documentation habits. As to be expected from the findings discussed so far, it is Shakespeare whose works have obviously undergone the most minute investigation, thus rendering the lowest number of antedatings, the only four instances (making 1% of his overall number of compounds) being *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114), *bed Curtaines* (O 5.2.3272), *hedge corner* (TS II.18) and the adjective compound *deep-mouth'd* (TS II.16). Of those four tokens, the compounds *deep-mouth'd* (TS II.16) and *hedge corner* (TS II.18) constitute cases that are, in fact, recorded as Shakespearean formations by the OED, but for his plays *Henry V* and *All's Well that Ends Well* respectively, which were both written later than the comedy under study. *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) is registered as having first occurred in a work by Edward

Topsell dated 1607 and thus presents a mild case of antedating, which also involves an alteration of the author to whom the lexeme is attributed. The compound *bed Curtaines* (O 5.2.3272), in contrast, antedates the citation given in the OED from Webster and Parkes' *Encyclopædia of domestic economy*, dated 1844, by more than 200 years and thus constitutes a surprisingly severe correction to the OED's documentation, while being the only such case from Shakespeare's works.

Although, with *winters tales* (JM 2.1.25) being registered as having first occurred in Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido* (listed in the OED's bibliography with the date 1593, i.e. one year after the presumed date of composition of *The Jew of Malta*) also containing one instance of a very minor antedating that does not impede the authorial attribution, the seven compounds among the antedatings used by Christopher Marlowe not only outnumber Shakespeare's, but also clearly contain more cases that constitute major corrections of the OED's dating. The time spans for which the remaining six lexemes in question can be antedated by the tokens from the corpus range from ca. 15 years for *swift-footed* (JM 2.1.7), which tellingly antedates an occurrence in Shakespeare's sonnets, over 20 to 30 years for the noun compounds *councill table* (EII 21.58) and *Flanders mares* (JM 3.4.114) to approximately 250 years for *Tigers milke* (EII 18.71), dated 1850 by the OED quoting from R. Gordon-Cumming, and *bristle-pointed* (T 4.1.27), for which the OED provides a first citation by W. Gardiner of 1848. Lastly, Marlowe's use of *steale-bard* (JM 1.1.14) presents the most striking instance of antedating among the material, as the compound is recorded in the OED with a citation from letters by Dylan Thomas dated 1947.

It is in Jonson's works, however, in which the clear majority of antedatings from the corpus is found and which, with 22 tokens recorded with later citations in the OED, prove the most obvious example of the differences that can be observed when comparing documentation practices. The antedatings in Jonson's plays make up a remarkable 5% of the compounds he uses and, although also containing minor instances of antedatings, such as the occurrences of *sordide-base* (S 3.188) in *Sejanus*, recorded for the later *Every Man in His Humour*, or *hunting-match* (EM 2.4.10), quoted in Jonson's younger play *Timber or Discoveries Made Upon Men and Matter* from 1636, also feature several major corrections. The time spans for Jonson's antedatings start with instances of under ten years, such as *buttry-hatch* (A 1.1.52), *Tabacco-men* (A 5.1.5) and *full stuft* (S 3.435), further include tokens that are antedated by their occurrence in the corpus for 20 to 40 years, such as *dung-worme* (EM 3.5.127), *Guiny-bird* (A 4.1.38), *ill placed* (S 5.892) and *law-French* (A 4.4.61), which is attested in Milton's *Of Education* from

1644, and eventually extend to antedatings for over 100 years, such as *kitchin ware* (A 2.5.53), with an OED citation of 1722 by Daniel Defoe, *halfe-dozen* (EM 3.5.13), *tabacco-traders* (EM 3.5.96) and *cleane-Swept* (EM 2.5.61). An even more pronounced correction of the OED's documentation, however, is presented by the compound *Giant-race* (S 4.270), for which the OED provides a first and only citation from John Keats' *Hyperion*, dated 1820.

All in all, the numerical distribution of the antedatings from the corpus ties in with the observations made in the previous chapters and suggests that the general assumption of William Shakespeare presumably having "little to gain and much to lose from a general re-examination of the *O.E.D.*'s sources" (Schäfer 1980:41), is not completely incorrect. Nevertheless, it has to be declared that, regardless of potential biases founded in the OED's approach, the numbers as presented in ch. 10.3.2.1, normalized to a certain degree by also taking into account non-registered formations, still bear witness to Shakespeare's extraordinary inventiveness, which the necessary critical assessment of the OED's documentation practices cannot annihilate completely.

#### 10.3.2.5. Non-Registered Formations

It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that, as has already been pointed out in ch. 10.3.2.1, Shakespeare's plays comprise the lowest percentage of non-recorded compounds compared to those of his contemporary playwrights, which is in accord both with the observations made by scholars such as Brewer (2007, 2010) or Schäfer (1980) and the numerical distributions of the different types of registered new formations in the present study, particularly that of the antedatings (cp. ch. 10.3.2.4) among the material.

As has already been pointed out in ch. 10.1.2, however, the different conceptualisations and definitions of compounds also strongly influence the registration policy in a dictionary and are often problematic in themselves, regardless of other notions such as the potential bias towards a certain author. The compounds from the corpus which are not recorded by the OED, expectably reveal some tendencies in the OED's registration policy, although clear and consistent decisions in the lemmatization of specific morphologic types are rarely perceptible. The present chapter will discuss selected aspects concerning the 212 compounds from the corpus which are not registered as lemmas in the OED, and will mention some observable tendencies, although the general inconsistencies that are detectable in the OED's coverage of

compounds do not allow for many unambiguous statements as to the criteria on which the editors base their decisions. A full list comprising all non-registered formations (NR) in the corpus is to be found in the appendix (app. 4) due to reasons of space.

With regard to the noun compounds, the definitional difficulties of compounds are reflected in the findings in the way that the morphologically non-isolated types receive the least consistent treatment in the OED. As already indicated in chapter 10.1.2, among the noun + noun compounds, which make up the largest class of noun compounds from the corpus and also among the new formations of any kind, the traditionally most disputed subtypes, which feature place names or materials as first elements, are inconsistently covered by the dictionary, the only recorded tokens among the new formations from the corpus being the antedatings (AD) *Guiny-bird* (A 4.1.38) and *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) for the former, and the recorded first usages (RNF) *pomander-bracelets* (A 1.4.21), *maple block* (A 1.3.30), *mandrake juice* (JM 5.1.82) and *stone-lugs* (TS I2.223) for the latter subtype.<sup>354</sup> In general, these particularly disputed subclasses of the noun + noun compounds are only rarely registered as compounds in the OED and also, when broadening the focus from new formations of any kind to all compounds in the corpus, the number of registered compounds from these subtypes is only increased by six tokens,<sup>355</sup> for which earlier evidence exists in the OED. Among the non-registered compounds, similar formations are considerably more frequent and comprise several tokens with cities, countries or regions as first elements, e.g., *Winchester pipes* (A 1.3.31), *Cipres warres* (O 1.1.153), *Pisa walls* (TS 2.1.1171), *Marcellus roade* (TS 2.1.1179), *Candy shoare* (JM 1.1.46), *Malta Rhode* (JM 1.1.49) and *Orient Perle* (JM 1.1.86).<sup>356</sup> Furthermore, compounds featuring *iron* as first elements, such as *yron chaines* (T 1.2.174), *yron bils* (T 4.1.25), *yron armes* (RII 1.3.409) or *iron barre* (EM 2.3.29) frequently occur among the non-registered formations, besides several other formations with different kinds of materials as first elements. Although it is evident that the OED's treatment of these special subtypes is inconsistent, a tendency to prefer a particular author in that respect cannot be proved from the data. It appears safe to assume, therefore, that the OED editors generally incline to perceive the respective tokens as syntactic combinations rather than compounds.

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<sup>354</sup> The remaining tokens among the first citations (RNF) displaying the respective semantic type of COMPOSITION are either metaphorical (e.g. *eare-rent* (1.1.169) or contain a first element that denotes the primary ingredient instead of the general material of the denoted object (*leeke-porridge* (EM 3.4.45), *apple Tart* (TS 4.3.1968), *rice porredg* (JM 3.4.66)).

<sup>355</sup> These are *Douer pire* (A 3.3.19), *China-houses* (A 4.4.48), *silke stockings* (EM 4.9.49), *veluet hose* (TS 5.1.2320), *Ginny Hen* (O 1.3.601) and *Venice gold* (TS 2.1.1158).

<sup>356</sup> The compound *Dagger frume ty* (A 5.4.42) represents a special case in that the first element is the invented name of a tavern in the play.

A similar observation can be made with regard to the morphologically non-isolated and hence rather disputed type of noun + -s + noun compounds, of which 35, i.e. 49% of the 71 occurrences in the corpus are recorded in the OED (either as new formations of some kind or are earlier formations) while the remaining 36 tokens are not registered. With the majority of compounds of this type occurring in Ben Jonson's plays, the fact that both among the registered and the non-registered lexemes his compounds are in the majority as well, does not constitute proof of any particular preferential treatment of any of the three playwrights. Instead, the OED's documentation is consistent in so far as to deny lemmatization to highly disputable compounds of the respective type, whose first element is a proper noun, such as *Edwards shillings* (A 3.4.142), *Harry's soueraigne* (A 3.4.143) or *S. Maries bath* (A 2.3.61).<sup>357</sup> Although none of these cases expresses a real possessive relation between the elements, so that a classification as *classifying genitives* and hence arguably compounds (cp. ch. 4.4.3.4 and 8.3.2.1) is conceivable, compounds of this morphological shape clearly belong to the peripheral and disputable areas of compoundhood. In contrast, the registration policy towards noun + -s + noun compounds of the semantic class BELONGING TO, frequently denoting body parts of animals, is evidently inconsistent, with registered formations such as *bulls-head* (A 2.6.13), *hogs-flesh* (EM 1.2.75), *Codshead* (O 2.1.840) or *Neats foote* (TS 4.3.1896) being paralleled by non-registered compounds such as *camels heeles* (A 2.2.75), *birds-skins* (A 2.2.93), *crowes-head* (A 2.3.68), *Salmons taile* (O 2.1.840) or *horses hooffes* (T 150). The slight overweight of non-registered compounds of this particular shape from Jonson's plays, is due to his preference for frequently using noun + -s + noun compounds in general and the respective compounds featuring proper nouns as first elements in particular, rather than to a bias in the OED's coverage. The observed inconsistencies concerning the latter equally extend to formations by Marlowe or Shakespeare.

Registration policy with regard to the non-isolated types of adjective compounds appears comparably inconsistent, with eight of the 16 compounds of the morphologic type adj./adv. + verb + -ing, *glad-suruiuing* (S 3.57), *ill seeming* (TS 5.2.2549), *well meaning* (RII 2.1.743), *well deserving* (RII 2.1.809), *neuer quenching* (RII 5.5.2637), *everlasting* (JM 1.2.166), *everliving* (T 5.1.290) and *never fading* (T 5.1.296) being documented in the OED, while, among the remaining eight tokens, formations such as *euer-burning* (O 3.3.1913), *still-breeding* (RII 5.5.2537) or *ever shining* (T4.2.9) bear overt similarity to their non-registered counterparts, both with respect to their morphological make-up as well as their semantic

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<sup>357</sup> The only exception to this practice is the registered new formation (RNF) *Paulesman* (EM Pers.), whose first element, referring to St. Paul's, contains a genitive ending as well which, however, belongs to the name of the cathedral as such and has not been added in the course of the compound's formation.

structure. With Christopher Marlowe exhibiting a certain preference for using this particular type of adjective compound in his works (nine compounds out of the overall number of 16 occur in Marlowe's plays), it is to be expected that the majority of both registered and non-registered formations of the type is found in his works. Given the general inconsistency of documentation of this type in the OED, which does not show any inclination to exclude a particular subtype of these compounds on the basis of definitional principles, however, the proportion of six of Marlowe's tokens being unregistered compounds and only three of them having been documented presents itself as slightly unbalanced, especially when viewed in the light of Shakespeare's respective formations exhibiting a ratio of registered to unregistered of 4:2.

Especially with regard to adjective compounds, the analysis of the non-registered compounds supports the observations made with respect to the coverage of metaphorical lexemes (cp. ch. 10.3.2.2), which generally appear to be most comprehensively included as lemmas in the OED. Indeed, only 10% (10 tokens) of the 97 adjective compounds in the corpus which involve some kind of metaphor remain unregistered in the OED. Among these, the compounds *totter'd staring* (JM 4.3.6), *ever drisling* (T 4.1.31), *ever howling* (T 5.1.245) and *wide gasping* (T 5.1.460) from Christopher Marlowe's works again make for a relatively high proportion, which is, however, possibly explainable by their morphological shape (i.e. the non-isolated type adj./adv. + verb + *-ing*) which renders them bordering on syntactic groups and, thus, potentially subject to exclusion on definitional grounds (cp. above). The same potentially applies to Shakespeare's *new-inspirde* (RII 2.1.645) and *still-breeding* (RII 5.5.2537), whereas the basis for the exclusion of the remaining metaphorical adjective compounds, *worlds-renown'd* (S4.121), *black-lidded* (S 4.268), *Olympus high* (O 2.1.870) and *al-hating* (RII 5.5.2595) is uncertain. Moreover, the extended Bahuvrihi compounds among the adjective compounds exhibit a certain conspicuousness, since five of the generally strikingly low number of merely six non-registered compounds of that particular type are found exclusively among Marlowe's compounds,<sup>358</sup> complemented only by the aforementioned *black-lidded* (S 4.268) from Jonson's plays. In contrast to that, all compounds of the respective subtype from Shakespeare's works are recorded by the OED, many of them as new formations (see above). Thus, a certain preferential treatment of Shakespeare, with regard to this particular type of compounds is conceivable on the basis of the findings.

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<sup>358</sup> The respective tokens are *earth-mettall'd* (JM 1.2.79), *rare witted* (JM 3.1.7), *fiftie headed* (T 1.2.103), *Sharpe forked* (T 5.1.217) and *savage minded* (EII 4.78).



### 10.3.2.6. Statistical Overview 2: Inventiveness by Play

As a last more-detailed perspective on innovation in the plays, the following table gives an overview of the distribution of new formations over the nine works from the corpus. The numbers are arranged according to the familiar method of the statistical overview in chapter 10.3.2.1, with the percentages given, now relating to the overall number of compounds in the respective play, representing the innovation rate of each play. The order of the plays in the table is based on the percentage of new formations (incl. NR) and starts with the play containing the highest portion of innovative compounds.

Types	New-Formations (incl. NR)		New-Formations (excl. NR)		
	#	% of overall number of cpds.	#	% of overall number of cpds.	
<b>Sejanus</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17%</b>
B. Jonson	RNF	4	6%		
History	HL	4	6%		
	AD	4	6%		
	NR	22	31%		
<b>Richard II</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>19%</b>
W. Shakespeare	RNF	13	12%		
History	HL	7	6%		
	AD	0	0%		
	NR	25	23%		
<b>Taming of the Shrew</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>24%</b>
W. Shakespeare	RNF	21	17%		
Comedy	HL	7	6%		
	AD	2	2%		
	NR	21	17%		
<b>Othello</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21%</b>
W. Shakespeare	RNF	11	13%		
Tragedy	HL	5	6%		
	AD	2	2%		
	NR	16	19%		
<b>Alchemist</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14%</b>
B. Jonson	RNF	9	4%		
Comedy	HL	9	4%		
	AD	11	5%		
	NR	46	23%		
<b>Tamburlaine</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3%</b>
C. Marlowe	RNF	1	1%		
Tragedy	HL	0	0%		
	AD	1	1%		
	NR	24	33%		
<b>Every Man</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8%</b>
B. Jonson	RNF	2	1%		
Comedy	HL	2	1%		
	AD	7	5%		
	NR	31	22%		
<b>Edward II</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12%</b>
C. Marlowe	RNF	5	7%		
History	HL	2	3%		
	AD	2	3%		
	NR	12	16%		
<b>Jew of Malta</b>	<b>all types</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10%</b>
C. Marlowe	RNF	3	4%		
Tragedy	HL	1	1%		
	AD	4	5%		
	NR	15	18%		

Figure 41: The distribution of the new formations from the corpus per play

It is a play of Jonson's that, in respect of its innovation rate, leads the table and remarkably so, since it was William Shakespeare who in ch. 10.3.2.1 was shown to use the highest number of newly formed compounds in his plays. With *Sejanus* featuring a share of 45% innovative compounds (incl. NR), Jonson's history play surpasses the remaining plays from the corpus in inventiveness, although containing a relatively low absolute number of new formations compared to Jonson's two comedies. With the overall number of compounds being lowest in *Sejanus* (cp. ch. 6) compared to the other eight plays, Ben Jonson's history play once again stands out, due to its noticeably sophisticated use of these particular products of word-formation, which although quantitatively limited, Jonson appears not only to choose with a particular eye for metaphor (cp. ch. 9.3), but also frequently creates anew, to meet the demands of a play whose rhetoricity is perceptible to the reader and is also reflected in the results of the analysis.

As can be expected from the numbers presented in ch. 10.3.2.1, William Shakespeare's plays all display a relatively high innovation rate, ranging from 40 % in *Othello* over 41 % in *The Taming of the Shrew* and 42% in *Richard II*. Whereas the numbers for Jonson's works vary strongly, *Sejanus* exhibiting an extraordinarily high percentage of innovative compounds, but the two comedies falling considerably far behind with 37% newly formed compounds in *The Alchemist* and only 30% in *Every Man in His Humour*, Shakespeare's works show an extraordinary balance with regard to their innovation rates, regardless of genre, style or plot of the play. Whereas Shakespeare's formation of compounds is marked by a generally high level of inventiveness, resulting in his supremacy with regard to this particular aspect, Ben Jonson's plays are conspicuous for their variability in terms of new formations, hence giving the impression that the stylistic versatility observable for the latter playwright also extends to the area of innovation.

Christopher Marlowe's plays *Edward II* and *Tamburlaine*, with absolute numbers of 21 and 26 newly formed compounds respectively, and percentages of new formations of 28% and 36%, come abreast of Ben Jonson's comedies in regard to their innovation rates, without, however, innovation turning out to be as particularly pronounced as has been demonstrated for *Sejanus*. Instead the third of Marlowe's plays, *The Jew of Malta*, displays the lowest innovation rate in the corpus of only 27%. Due to the play featuring the highest percentage of non-registered formations (33%), Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, nevertheless, stands out as being the play that, in the light of what I have stated concerning general inconsistencies of lemmatization policy, apparently receives the least exhaustive documentation of the nine plays in the OED. In

this context, the numerical distribution of the non-registered formations over the nine plays as revealed in the table, further suggests that, although the share of non-recorded compounds is relatively low in all three Shakespearean plays, it still varies from play to play. Contrary to what may be expected, the lowest percentage of non-registered formations (16%) occurs in Marlowe's *Edward II* and at least one of Shakespeare's plays, *Richard II*, exhibits a share of 23% non-registered formation which is, albeit very slightly, above the average of 22% non-recorded compounds among the material. This prompts the conclusion that, although, all in all, the data underscores the impression that Shakespeare's works are indeed documented more exhaustively and accurately than those of his contemporary playwrights (cp. also ch. 10.3.2.1 – 5), differences between the specific plays from the corpus are still perceivable, thus rendering a simple attribution of all the results in this area of investigation exclusively to the OED's preferential treatment of Shakespeare unjustifiable.

## 11. Conclusion

The systematic analysis of the EModE compounds from the corpus has highlighted the versatility of these word-formation products, which is visible in all respects that have been examined in the present study: morphologically, semantically, in terms of different forms of metaphor affecting the compounds and, as the focus on their use in literary texts has brought to light, also stylistically. Indeed, I have proclaimed the main objective of the present investigation to be a two-fold one and, while a thorough analysis of EmodE compounds in this thesis has early been identified as a desideratum that is worth exploration, the study aimed to combine this endeavour with a comparative view on the use of compounds in dramatic works by the three most renowned playwrights of the English Renaissance, Shakespeare, Marlowe and Jonson, and has attempted to make their individual preferences, talents and habits graspable.<sup>359</sup> Focussing first on the general character of the material, it is noticeable that, from an overall perspective, the EModE compounds from the corpus have proved structurally *modern*, in that their morphological make up and their semantic structures correspond to a large extent to the patterns we also find in PDE. In this regard, the proportional distribution of the different types in the corpus, as well as the properties of the individual items, are in some points clearly distinguishable from what we would expect from an Old or Middle English corpus of compounds, and the material could be shown to capture several superordinate trends of the general diachronic development of composition in the history of English, such as, for example, the gradual replacement of ‘real’ bahuvrihi adjectives by endocentric extended forms.<sup>360</sup> Its modernity notwithstanding, however, the corpus has also revealed its distinctly *Early Modern* side, apparent, for instance, in the abundance of spelling irregularities and idiosyncrasies, in occasional remnants of old inflectional endings,<sup>361</sup> but also in the choices of semantic fields and metaphors, and the reoccurrence of a small group of (mainly adjective + noun ) compounds that

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<sup>359</sup> It has become evident at several points in the course of the study that there are further aspects and perspectives that might also yield interesting results, but which could not be explored due to the scope of this thesis. These desiderata, first and foremost, include a closer investigation of the connection between compound frequencies (and their qualitative properties) and individual characters from the plays, a more detailed examination of potential correspondences between semantic structures and metaphoricity, as well as a systematic analysis of metonymy in the compounds from the corpus, that could operate along the lines of the framework established for the investigation of metaphoricity in (and of) compounds. Furthermore, of course, a comparable systematic analysis of compounds from a larger corpus of plays, as well as from other EModE texts and/or genres would certainly be of interest.

<sup>360</sup> The corpus, of course, also reflects certain enduring tendencies of English compounds that remain relatively stable over the history of the language, such as, e.g., the massive productivity of noun + noun and adjective + noun compounds.

<sup>361</sup> Cp. the frequent *-e*-endings of the first constituents of exocentric verb + noun compounds, for example, which are likely to constitute remnants of older imperative endings. (cp. ch. 7.4.7.3)

appears to belong to the core vocabulary of Early Modern English and, in particular, Early Modern English drama.

It is indeed the literariness of the text corpus that has allowed for the stylistic possibilities and remarkable flexibility of compounds to become obvious in this study. Far from exclusively ornamenting high style passages in their decorative function as "great words" (Wilson 1909 [1585]:196), compounds have been shown to occur on all levels of style in Elizabethan drama, from veritable tirades of abuse over colloquial everyday conversation and witty middle style repartee to the highly poetic diction of the *noble born* (EII 4.80), who contemplate their personal or political fates in the histories and tragedies. In fact, particularly when looking at Shakespeare and Jonson, the classical tripartite genre distinction between comedies, histories and tragedies is partly rendered a two-fold stylistic division between their histories and tragedies, *Richard II*, *Sejanus*, and *Othello*, that feature fewer compounds, but exhibit proportionally more metaphorical, innovative and highly poetic formations, and the three comedies from the corpus, which display a completely different stylistic level and make up, while being marked, nonetheless, by a specific use of compounds as well. Here, invectives, everyday language and colloquial style dominate among the compounds, so that the comedies can indeed be argued to contain a certain 'realism' of plot and characters, dramatized in a *language, such as men doe vse* (EM P 21).<sup>362</sup> It is true that especially Ben Jonson takes great care to choose his compounds "according to the persons [he] make[s] speak, or the things [he] speak[s] of" (Jonson 2012 [1641]) and he is the one who feels the least delicacy about entering the realms of vulgarity for that purpose. In *Sejanus*, however, Jonson proves that he is capable of his own form of the refined high style as well, which Shakespeare brings to sheer perfection, particularly in the compound epithets uttered by the *care tunde tongue[s]* (RII 3.2.1391) and *vpright soule[s]* (RII 1.1.121) in *Richard II* or *Othello*.

Apart from their mutual sensitivity to genre conventions and stylistic levels, Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare have time and again shown certain similar tendencies in their use of compounds, especially regarding their overall use of metaphor and the general semantic and morphological diversity of their items. Nevertheless, differences between all three playwrights could still be observed. In the case of Jonson and Shakespeare, these lie mainly in crosscurrent preferences for compounds of one particular word class. While Ben Jonson, generally employing the highest number of compounds in his plays, exhibits a predilection for noun compounds, which is manifest in their frequency but extends to qualitative areas such as the

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<sup>362</sup> Cp. also Esko Pennanen's (1951:59f) observations in this regard.

use and creation of metaphor as well, William Shakespeare notably excels in adjective compounds, which he uses and forms in relatively high quantity and of which a remarkably high number involves metaphor. Moreover, it is still Shakespeare, whose compounds exhibit the highest ratio of new formations and whose inventiveness in this realm, is, hence, unsurpassed by his contemporary authors. Christopher Marlowe, in turn, appears to handle compounds differently. Not only does he prove less prone to employing them in general, genre- or play-specific choices or trends are not as clearly perceptible among the compounds from Marlowe's plays in the corpus either. Although we must not forget that the latter impression may be reinforced by the fact that no comedies by Christopher Marlowe exist, it is still the case that his compounds fall behind in the investigation in terms of morphological and semantic diversity, metaphoricity and inventiveness. It has to be noted, however, that these observations do not necessarily impair the value of his literary language in general, but only suggest that compounds and compounding may not be the realms where Marlowe expresses his individual stylistic excellence and by help of which he preferably embellishes his plays. Instead, the "mastery of the grand style" (Adamson 2001b:34), that has been ascribed to him, may have its foundation in the skilful employment of linguistic devices other than compounds.

In the end, when returning to the initial observation which sparked this study and Shakespeare's so frequently attested status as a paragon of language use, this thesis has certainly contributed to a more balanced picture, particularly by opening the perspective on Ben Jonson's capabilities of compound use, which, in many respects, prove equally virtuous as those of his eminent contemporary, without, however, relinquishing a certain stylistic individuality. Hence, while we can certainly agree with David Crystal (2009), when he claims that

[F]rom Shakespeare we learn how it is possible to explore and exploit the resources of a language in original ways, displaying its range and variety in the service of the poetic imagination[,] (232)

we cannot fail to acknowledge that, at least as far as compounds are concerned, Ben Jonson's plays can serve as a similarly inspiring model.

# Appendix

## 1. The Noun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>Aglet babie</i> (TS 1.2.604)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	RNF
<i>ale-house</i> (A 1.1.85)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Alehouse</i> (O 2.1.823)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Alewife</i> (TS 12.157)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>ale-wiues</i> (A 5.4.114)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>almesmans</i> (RII 3.3.1665)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>Amber bracelets</i> (TS 4.3.1937)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>anchor hold</i> (EII 13.77)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>apple Tart</i> (TS 4.3.1968)	Shakespeare	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>apple-squire</i> (EM 4.10.57)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Aprill showers</i> (T 4.1.31)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>artillerie garden</i> (EM 3.5.150)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>artillerie-yard</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>ash-fire</i> (A 2.3.85)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>Axeltree</i> (T 4.2.50)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>bag-pipe</i> (EM 2.5.135)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>Barbary horse</i> (O 1.1.114)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Origin – Entity	AD
<i>Bassoe-maister</i> (T 3.3.173)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COPULA	Copula	NR
<i>bay trees</i> (RII 2.4.1243)	Shakespeare	History		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>Beareheard</i> (TS 12.155)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>bed Curtaines</i> (O 5.2.3272)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	AD
<i>bedfellow</i> (TS 4.6.2221)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	
<i>bed-staffe</i> (EM 1.5.126)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>beech-coale</i> (A 1.3.102)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>beggar-feare</i> (RII 1.1.189)	Shakespeare	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	HL
<i>birdlime</i> (O 2.1.811)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>birth-day</i> (JM 1.2.192)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>birth-right</i> (A 4.3.14)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	



<i>bloud-hounds</i> (S 3.376)	Jonson	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>bloudshed</i> (EII 9.82)	Marlowe	History		OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>bondman</i> (JM 5.1.40)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>bond-mans</i> (S 1.147)	Jonson	History		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>bone-ache</i> (A 3.2.38)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>bonfires</i> (O 2.2.998)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>bone-fires</i> (EM 4.8.117)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>bonfires</i> (T 3.3.238)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>boot-hose</i> (TS 3.2.1372)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>bowmen</i> (EII 11.36)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>brasse-bullets</i> (JM 3.5.24)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>Bride-groom</i> (TS 3.2.1311)	Shakespeare	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>bride-groom</i> (A 4.5.104)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>Bridegroom</i> (EM 5.4.15)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>buttry-hatch</i> (A 1.1.52)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	AD
<i>byrth-day</i> (T 1.1.13)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>cambrick sheets</i> (A 3.3.48)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>candle-cases</i> (TS 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	RNF
<i>Candy shoare</i> (JM 1.1.46)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Placename' + Noun	BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>Cannon shot</i> (T 2.4.3)	Marlowe	Tragedy		INSTRUMENT	Instrument- Action/State	
<i>Canon Law</i> (JM 3.6.34)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>car-men</i> (EM 3.2.70)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>cart-horse</i> (EM 3.4.8)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>castell walles</i> (EII 7.24)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Castle wall</i> (RII 3.2.1469)	Shakespeare	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>cedar board</i> (A 2.1.87)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>Cedar tree</i> (EII 6.16)	Marlowe	History		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>Cedar trees</i> (T 4.2.24)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>chamber floore</i> (JM 1.2.296)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>chamber maid</i> (T 3.3.188)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>chamber-maid</i> (EM 2.5.40)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>channel water</i> (EII 20.27)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	HL
<i>chapman</i> (A 3.3.57)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>chariot-wheeles</i> (S 5.698)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Chesse-nut</i> (TS 1.2.734)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>chest-nut</i> (A 1.3.46)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>China-houses</i> (A 4.4.48)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Christ-masse</i> (A 3.2.43)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>Christ-tide</i> (A 3.2.43)	Jonson	Comedy		TIME	Timed – Time	

<i>Cipres warres</i> (O 1.1.153)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>citie busnesse</i> (S 3.604)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>citie pounds</i> (EM 2.1.77)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>citie walles</i> (T 3.1.15)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>citie-magistrate</i> (EM 3.5.52)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>City wals</i> (JM 3.5.13)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>city-dames</i> (A 1.3.73)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>cleargie man</i> (RII 3.3.1544)	Shakespeare	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Clisterpipes</i> (O 2.1.861)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	RNF
<i>cloke-bag</i> (EM 4.8.11)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>coach-man</i> (A 3.3.73)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>cobweb</i> (S 3.24)	Jonson	History		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>cob-webs</i> (A E1.1.57)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>cob-webs</i> (EM 2.5.62)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>cobwebs</i> (TS 4.1.1600)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>cock-pit</i> (A 1.1.75)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>companion Peeres</i> (RII 1.3.372)	Shakespeare	History		COPULA	Copula	NR
<i>Companion-Bashawes</i> (JM 5.5.51)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		COPULA	Copula	NR
<i>copataine hat</i> (TS 5.1.2320)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	User – Used	NR
<i>coronation day</i> (EII 21.70)	Marlowe	History		TIME	Timed – Time	NR
<i>Corronation day</i> (RII 5.5.2606)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Timed – Time	NR
<i>councell chamber</i> (EII 23.20)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>councell table</i> (EII 21.58)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Located – Location	AD
<i>Counsell-house</i> (JM 1.1.145)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Coutrey disposition</i> (O 3.3.1653)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>coutrey formes</i> (O 3.3.1691)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>coutrey Gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>coutrey man</i> (O 5.1.2857)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>coutrey men</i> (RII 1.4.584)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>countriman</i> (EM 3.1.161)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>Countrimen</i> (TS 1.1.469)	Shakespeare	Comedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>countrimen</i> (EII 15.1)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>countrimen</i> (T 5.1.60)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>country Swaines</i> (T 1.2.47)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>Countrymen</i> (JM 1.1.140)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>court stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>court-fucus</i> (A 1.3.73)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	AD
<i>court-god</i> (S 1.203)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>court-hand</i> (A 1.2.24)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>Cow-herd</i> (A 1.1.107)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>custard coffen</i> (TS 4.3.1961)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Custom-house</i> (JM 1.1.56)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Custom-house</i> (EM 3.2.69)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Cypres chests</i> (TS 2.1.1155)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR

<i>Dagger frume</i> 'ty (A 5.4.42)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	PRODUCT	Producer – Product	NR
<i>damaske suite</i> (A 2.6.72)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>day-light</i> (EM 4.7.4)	Jonson	Comedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>day-Owles</i> (A 5.5.12)	Jonson	Comedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>death-bed</i> (RII 2.1.709)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>death-bed</i> (O 5.2.2952)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>December snow</i> (RII 1.3.540)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>dinner time</i> (TS 4.3.2065)	Shakespeare	Comedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>dog-bolt</i> (A 1.1.121)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>dog-leach</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>dole-beer</i> (A 1.1.53)	Jonson	Comedy		COPULA	Copula	HL
<i>Douer pire</i> (A 3.3.19)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>downe-bed</i> (A 3.3.43)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>draimen</i> (RII 1.4.582)	Shakespeare	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>dung-hills</i> (A 1.1.34)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>dung-worme</i> (EM 3.5.127)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	AD
<i>eare-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	RNF
<i>eare-rent</i> (A 1.1.169)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>egge-shells</i> (A 2.3.194)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Egypt-dust</i> (A 4.5.9)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>Egypt-south</i> (A 4.5.5)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>elboe</i> (O 5.1.2769)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>elbow</i> (EII 18.33)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>elbow</i> (S 5.510)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Elizabeth groat</i> (A 3.4.144)	Jonson	Comedy	'Name' + Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>ember-weekes</i> (EM 3.4.4)		Comedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>estrich tails</i> (A 2.2.69)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	AD
<i>eye lids</i> (EII 5.39)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>eye-lids</i> (JM 2.1.59)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>eye-reach</i> (S 5.508)	Jonson	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	RNF
<i>eye-sight</i> (A 4.2.70)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>eye-sore</i> (TS 3.2.1408)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	
<i>Faerie land</i> (A 5.4.55)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>farme house</i> (4.48)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Ferriman</i> (T 5.1.246)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>fetherbed</i> (EII 22.33)	Marlowe	History		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>field rapier</i> (EM 2.4.92)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>field-pieces</i> (JM 5.5.27)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>fire-brands</i> (S 1.209)	Jonson	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>firebrands</i> (T 5.1.219)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	

<i>fire-drake</i> (A 2.1.26)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Product – Producer	
<i>fish-wife</i> (A 1.4.2)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Flanders mares</i> (JM 3.4.114)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	AD
<i>flint bosome</i> (RII 5.1.2158)	Shakespeare	History	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>flock-bed</i> (A 5.4.147)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>foot-boy</i> (A 2.2.80)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>foot-boy</i> (TS 3.2.1375)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>footmen</i> (T 3.1.64)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Foot-men</i> (A 4.4.46)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>foot-stoole</i> (T 4.2.1)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>forrest Deare</i> (EII 18.9)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>forrest woods</i> (RII 3.1.1282)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>fruit trees</i> (RII 3.4.1770)	Shakespeare	History		PRODUCT	Product – Producer	
<i>funerall robes</i> (EII 23.95)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>gally-slaves</i> (JM 2.3.205)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>Giant-race</i> (S 4.270)	Jonson	History		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	AD
<i>ginger-bread</i> (A 3.5.66)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>Ginny Hen</i> (O 1.3.601)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>Glasse-men</i> (A 3.1.22)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Goate feet</i> (EII 1.60)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	RNF
<i>godfathers</i> (JM 4.1.112)	Marlowe	Tragedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>Gog-dust</i> (A 4.5.9)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>Gog-north</i> (A 4.5.5)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>gold-smith</i> (A 1.3.32)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>grammar schooles</i> (A 2.3.50)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>Groome-porters</i> (A 3.4.61)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>Guiny-bird</i> (A 4.1.38)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Origin – Entity	AD
<i>Gunpowder</i> (JM 5.5.28)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>hackney pace</i> (EM 3.5.15)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>handful</i> (T 2.3.17)	Marlowe	Tragedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>handkercher</i> (O 3.3.1758)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>hand-kerchiefs</i> (A 3.5.22)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>Handmaids</i> (T 4.2.69)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>hart bloud</i> (EII 4.38)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>harvest time</i> (T 1.1.31)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>hayle-shot</i> (EM 1.5.162)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>hazle nuts</i> (TS 2.1.1058)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>hazle twig</i> (TS 2.1.1056)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	RNF

<i>Headborough</i> (TS II.10)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Part – Whole	
<i>headstall</i> (TS 3.2.1362)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>heart bloude</i> (RII 1.1.172)	Shakespeare	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>heart strings</i> (O 3.3.1713)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>heart-bloud</i> (EM 4.8.32)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>hedge corner</i> (TS II.18)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	AD
<i>hell paines</i> (O 1.1.156)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>Hermes seale</i> (A 2.3.79)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>herring-cob</i> (EM 1.4.27)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>hobby horse</i> (O 4.1.2278)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>hob-nailes</i> (EM 1.5.98)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	
<i>Hollowmas</i> (RII 5.1.2235)	Shakespeare	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>home allarmes</i> (RII 1.1.205)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>hop-yards</i> (A 1.1.184)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Horse Boy</i> (EII Pers.)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>horse pestilence</i> (JM 3.4.116)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	NR
<i>horse-dung</i> (A 1.1.84)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>horse-leeches</i> (S 4.356)	Jonson	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>horse-race</i> (A 1.1.75)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>horse-tail</i> (TS 4.1.1643)	Shakespeare	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>horsmen</i> (T 1.2.111)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>hour-glasse</i> (EM 3.3.49)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>house affaires</i> (O 1.3.432)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	
<i>house-wiues</i> (EM 1.3.114)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>houshold</i> (A 3.3.59)	Jonson	Comedy		OBJECT	OBJ – Action	
<i>huswiues</i> (O 1.3.558)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Iacke boy</i> (TS 4.1.1595)	Shakespeare	Comedy		COPULA	Copula	
<i>Iames shillings</i> (A 3.4.144)	Jonson	Comedy	'Name' + Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>iet ring</i> (EM 2.4.35)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>iron barre</i> (EM 2.3.29)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>iron carre</i> (EII 14.45)	Marlowe	History	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>Iuory cofers</i> (TS 2.1.1154)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>Ivorie sled</i> (T 1.2.98)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>key-hole</i> (JM 2.3.264)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>kitchin ware</i> (A 2.5.53)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	AD
<i>knight-aduenturers</i> (EM 4.8.128)	Jonson	Comedy		COPULA	Copula	AD
<i>lady-Tom</i> (A 5.5.127)	Jonson	Comedy		COPULA	Copula	NR

<i>Lance-knights</i> (EM 2.4.21)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>land-Carrick</i> (O 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	RNF
<i>Landlord</i> (RII 2.1.728)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>land-waters</i> (S 3.101)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>law-dayes</i> (O 3.3.1593)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>law-French</i> (A 4.4.61)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	AD
<i>leeke-porridge</i> (EM 3.4.45)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	AD
<i>Lieutenant-Coronell</i> (EM 3.5.22)	Jonson	Comedy		COPULA	Copula	NR
<i>lifetime</i> (JM 1.1.15)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>life-time</i> (EM 3.5.26)	Jonson	Comedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>lilly-pots</i> (A 1.3.28)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>liuery-punke</i> (A 2.1.11)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	AD
<i>Loadstarre</i> (JM 2.1.42)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>load-stone</i> (A 1.3.69)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>London streetes</i> (RII 5.5.2606)	Shakespeare	History	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>Lyon radge</i> (RII 2.1.788)	Shakespeare	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	NR
<i>Madge-howlet</i> (EM 2.2.23)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>Malta Rhode</i> (JM 1.1.49)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>malt-horse</i> (EM 1.5.89)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>mandrake juice</i> (JM 5.1.82)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>man-kind</i> (A 1.3.28)	Jonson	Comedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>maple block</i> (A 1.3.30)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>Marble stones</i> (JM 2.3.210)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>Marcellus roade</i> (TS 2.1.1179)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>mariage bed</i> (T 5.1.83)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>mariage day</i> (EII 4.173)	Marlowe	History		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>mariage feast</i> (EII 6.256)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>mariage time</i> (T 5.1.505)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	NR
<i>Market-place</i> (JM 2.3.1)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Market-place</i> (TS 5.1.2267)	Shakespeare	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>master-prince</i> (S 2.165)	Jonson	History		COPULA	Copula	NR
<i>milch-kine</i> (TS 2.1.1161)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PRODUCT	Product – Producer	NR
<i>mill-iade</i> (A 3.3.5)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	HL
<i>minerall physicke</i> (A 2.3.231)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>Moone-light</i> (A 4.2.78)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	
<i>Moonelight</i> (TS 4.6.2182)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	
<i>morning Larke</i> (JM 2.1.60)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>morning Larke</i> (TS I2.179)	Shakespeare	Comedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>morning Roses</i> (TS 2.1.981)	Shakespeare	Comedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR

<i>mother wit</i> (TS 2.1.1066)	Shakespeare	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>mother wits</i> (T P.1)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Bahuvrihi Noun	POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>mother-tongue</i> (A 3.3.70)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>mountain top</i> (T 1.2.133)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>musket-rest</i> (EM 2.5.143)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>mustard reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.51)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	NR
<i>neckercher</i> (EM 3.6.55)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>neck-verse</i> (JM 4.2.20)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>needle worke</i> (TS 2.1.1158)	Shakespeare	Comedy		INSTRUMENT	Instrument-Action/State	
<i>night time</i> (JM 2.3.207)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>nightcap</i> (O 2.1.988)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>Night-gowne</i> (O 4.3.2695)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>Nightingales</i> (TS I2.171)	Shakespeare	Comedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>nightowles</i> (RII 3.3.1698)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>night-vestments</i> (S 5.91)	Jonson	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>Nosegay</i> (EII 5.35)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>nostrill</i> (S T.t.R. 26)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>nupson</i> (EM 4.6.59)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>oat-meale</i> (O 3.4.97)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>Olive tree</i> (EII 1.64)	Marlowe	History		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>Orient Perle</i> (JM 1.1.86)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Origin – Entity	NR
<i>ostrich stomack</i> (EM 3.1.183)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR
<i>oysterwench</i> (RII 1.4.581)	Shakespeare	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	RNF
<i>oyster-women</i> (A 5.1.4)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>pack-saddle</i> (EM 1.5. 95)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>packthred</i> (TS 3.2.1369)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>pack-thred</i> (EM 4.6.40)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>palace gates</i> (EII 11.215)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Palace-rattes</i> (S 1.427)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>paper-pedlers</i> (EM 5.5.43)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	NR
<i>parchment bonds</i> (RII 2.1.678)	Shakespeare	History	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>park pale</i> (EII 5.73)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Parler fire</i> (TS 5.2.1508)	Shakespeare	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	RNF
<i>partie-bawd</i> (A 3.3.11)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	HL
<i>party verdict</i> (RII 1.3.506)	Shakespeare	History		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	RNF
<i>pathway</i> (RII 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	History		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	

<i>pen-man</i> (EM 4.8.51)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>penn'orth</i> (A 2.5.55)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>pibble-stones</i> (JM 1.1.23)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>pin-dust</i> (A 2.5.71)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>pipe-full</i> (A 5.5.141)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>Pisa walls</i> (TS 2.1.1171)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>play-houses</i> (A 3.4.70)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>pocket-muse</i> (EM 5.5.16)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>pomander-bracelets</i> (A 1.4.21)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>port-maisters</i> (EII 14.22)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	RNF
<i>port-towne</i> (A 5.5.123)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>poulder-cornes</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	HL
<i>prison walles</i> (RII 5.5.2550)	Shakespeare	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>puck-fist</i> (A 1.2.63)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Producer – Product	
<i>puddle water</i> (EII 20.30)	Marlowe	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>punque-master</i> (A 4.3.56)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	HL
<i>puppit-play</i> (A 1.2.79)	Jonson	Comedy		INSTRUMENT	Instrument-Action/State	
<i>quarter-looke</i> (S 5.389)	Jonson	History		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	RNF
<i>ram-mutton</i> (A 3.4.112)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>ram-vellam</i> (A 2.1.91)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>rasher-bacon</i> (EM 1.4.28)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Part – Whole	NR
<i>rice porredge</i> (JM 3.4.66)	Marlowe	Tragedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>rope trickes</i> (TS 1.2.637)	Shakespeare	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	RNF
<i>rose-vinegar</i> (A 5.2.12)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>rose-water</i> (EM 2.3.35)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>Rose-water</i> (TS II.54)	Shakespeare	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>ruffian-tricks</i> (EM 4.2.107)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	NR
<i>rugg gowne</i> (A 2.6.21)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>rush Candle</i> (TS 4.6.2193)	Shakespeare	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>sack-lees</i> (A 1.3.24)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	NR
<i>salt teares</i> (O 4.3.2708)	Jonson	Tragedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>salt-water</i> (EM 3.4.57)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>salt-Water</i> (RII 4.1.2067)	Jonson	History		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>sand-heat</i> (A 2.3.58)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	RNF
<i>schoole boy</i> (EII 11.30)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Schoolemasters</i> (TS 1.1.368)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>sea banke</i> (O 4.1.2258)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Sea-man</i> (T 3.2.76)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	



<i>Sea-marke</i> (O 5.2.3172)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>sea-men</i> (JM 1.1.76)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>sea-side</i> (S 4.49)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Senate-house</i> (JM 1.1.164)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Senate-house</i> (S 5.449)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>sheepeherd</i> (EII 6.61)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>sheepe-skin</i> (A 2.1.91)	Jonson	Comedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Shepherd</i> (T Per.)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Sicamour tree</i> (O 4.3.2700)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		COPULA	Hyponym – Hyperonym	
<i>silke russet</i> (EM 4.9.62)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>silke stockings</i> (EM 4.9.49)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>silke-hose</i> (EM 1.3.47)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>siluer Bason</i> (TS I.1.53)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>siluer shells</i> (A 4.1.158)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>siluer-breakers</i> (A 5.4.117)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>silver tongs</i> (A 1.3.30)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>slaughter-house</i> (S 4.388)	Jonson	History		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>smock-rampant</i> (A 5.4.126)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>spur-leathers</i> (EM 2.1.83)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	RNF
<i>spur-ryall</i> (A 3.5.33)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>star-light</i> (EII 1.16)	Marlowe	History		PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	
<i>State affaires</i> (O 1.3.358)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	
<i>State matters</i> (O 3.4.2082)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	NR
<i>stock-affaires</i> (A 5.4.93)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Restriction – Entity/Quality	NR
<i>stock-fish</i> (EM 3.4.63)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>stone-lugs</i> (TS I2.223)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	RNF
<i>strawberries</i> (O 3.3.1887)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>straw-berries</i> (A 4.4.33)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>streete dore</i> (EM 1.3.24)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Direction – Entity/Action	
<i>suburb-Captayne</i> (A 1.1.19)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>suburbe-humor</i> (EM 1.3.134)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>Sugar Canes</i> (JM 4.2.107)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PRODUCT	Product – Producer	
<i>summer corne</i> (RII 3.3.1678)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	

<i>Summer Evening</i> (JM 5.3.41)	Marlowe	Tragedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>summer flies</i> (O 4.2.2479)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>summer leaues</i> (RII 1.2.225)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>sunne-shine</i> (EM 3.1.7)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>sun-shine</i> (EII 11.51)	Marlowe	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>supper time</i> (O 4.2.2658)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>supper time</i> (TS 4.3.2067)	Shakespeare	Comedy		TIME	Timed – Time	
<i>tabacco-Boy</i> (A 3.4.16)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	NR
<i>Tabacco-men</i> (A 5.1.5)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	AD
<i>tabacco-pipe</i> (EM 3.5.114)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>taffata-sarsnet</i> (A 2.2.89)	Jonson	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>taperlights</i> (EII 4.98)	Marlowe	History		INSTRUMENT	Instrument-Action/State	
<i>tauerne cups</i> (A 5.4.118)	Jonson	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>tauern-token</i> (EM 1.4.55)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>temple doores</i> (S 5.475)	Jonson	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Temple-church</i> (A 2.3.289)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	AD
<i>Thistle tops</i> (JM 5.2.42)	Marlowe	Tragedy		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	
<i>Thunderbolts</i> (T 2.3.19)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	
<i>thunderclaps</i> (T 3.2.80)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PRODUCT	Cause – Effect	
<i>tom-boyes</i> (A 5.5.80)	Jonson	Comedy		COPULA	Copula	
<i>tongue-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	NR
<i>tooth-ach</i> (A 5.1.13)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>top-branches</i> (EII 6.17)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>topflag</i> (EII 4.276)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>Towne Armory</i> (TS 3.2.1353)	Shakespeare	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	RNF
<i>towne-gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>Towne-seale</i> (JM 2.3.104)	Marlowe	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>towne-stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>traitour coward</i> (RII 1.1.102)	Shakespeare	History		COPULA	Copula	NR
<i>trencher-rascall</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	HL
<i>tribute mony</i> (JM 1.2.68)	Marlowe	Tragedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>triumph day</i> (RII 5.2.2323)	Shakespeare	History		TIME	Timed – Time	RNF
<i>trunke sleeve</i> (TS 4.3.2018)	Shakespeare	Comedy		COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	RNF
<i>tumbrell-slop</i> (EM 2.2.24)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	NR
<i>Turband Turke</i> (O 5.2.3259)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>turnep-cart</i> (A 5.5.81)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	AD
<i>Twiggen-bottle</i> (O 2.3.1148)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Feature – Characterized Entity/Quality	NR
<i>tyrant custome</i> (O 1.3.514)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>vassaille hands</i> (RII 3.3.1605)	Shakespeare	History		BELONGING TO	Whole – Part	NR

<i>veluet hose</i> (TS 5.1.2320)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>Venice gold</i> (TS 2.1.1158)	Shakespeare	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>vineger reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.50)	Jonson	Comedy		COMPARISON	Point of Comparison – Compared Quality/Action/Entity	NR
<i>vineyards</i> (JM 4.2.103)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>voyce potentiall</i> (O 1.2.199)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>ware-house</i> (EM 2.1.4)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Ware-houses</i> (JM 4.1.67)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>Water-drops</i> (RII 4.1.2084)	Shakespeare	History		COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	
<i>water-tankard</i> (EM 3.7.10)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	NR
<i>water-worke</i> (A 2.1.76)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>whore-master</i> (A 4.6.24)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	
<i>Winchester pipes</i> (A 1.3.31)	Jonson	Comedy	'Placename' + Noun	LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>wind Instruments</i> (O 3.1.1393)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		INSTRUMENT	Instrument- Action/State	
<i>Windegalls</i> (TS 3.2.1358)	Shakespeare	Comedy		UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>wind-instruments</i> (EM 3.1.62)	Jonson	Comedy		INSTRUMENT	Instrument- Action/State	
<i>wind-mill</i> (EM 1.2.91)	Jonson	Comedy		INSTRUMENT	Instrument- Action/State	
<i>wind-pipe</i> (EII 21.33)	Marlowe	History		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	
<i>winter cricket</i> (TS 4.3.1988)	Shakespeare	Comedy		TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	NR
<i>wit-brokers</i> (EM 4.2.56)	Jonson	Comedy		PURPOSE	Occupation – (human) Entity	NR
<i>witchcraft</i> (O 1.3.350)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	
<i>Woodcocke</i> (TS 1.2.684)	Shakespeare	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>yron armes</i> (RII 1.3.409)	Shakespeare	History	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>yron bils</i> (T 4.1.25)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>yron chaines</i> (T 1.2.174)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR
<i>Yvory pen</i> (T 5.1.145)	Marlowe	Tragedy	'Material' + Noun	COMPOSITION	Material – Entity	NR

Table 61: The noun + noun compounds from the corpus

## 2. The Metaphorical Noun + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Context	Metaphor in Context	Met. in Word-formation	New Formation
<i>Aglet babie</i> (TS 1.2.604)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Second constituent	RNF
<i>anchor hold</i> (EII 13.77)	Marlowe	History	<i>This noble gentleman forward in armes, Was borne I see to be our anchor hold</i>	Indirect		
<i>apple Tart</i> (TS 4.3.1968)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>[the gown] vp and downe caru'd like an apple Tart</i>	Direct		RNF
<i>apple-squire</i> (EM 4.10.57)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>And you, young apple-squire</i>	Indirect	Both constituents	
<i>artillerie-yard</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>black, and melancholique wormes, Like poulder-cornes, shot, at th'artillerie-yard</i>	Direct		
<i>Axeltree</i> (T 4.2.50)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Clymens brain-sicke sonne, That almost brent the Axeltree of heaven</i>	Indirect		
<i>bag-pipe</i> (EM 2.5.135)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>I am readie to burst with laughing! Neuer was a bottle, or bag-pipe fuller</i>	Direct		
<i>Barbary horse</i> (O 1.1.114)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>youle haue your daughter couered with a Barbary horse</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>birdlime</i> (O 2.1.811)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>my inuention Comes from my pate, as birdlime does from freeze</i>	Direct		
<i>bloud-hounds</i> (S 3.376)	Jonson	History	<i>Two of Seianus bloud-hounds, whom he breeds with human flesh</i>	Indirect		
<i>bond-mans</i> (S 1.147)	Jonson	History	<i>But, for his life, it did as much disdain Comparison, with that voluptuous, rash, Giddy, and drunken Macedon's, as mine Doth with my bond-mans.</i>	Direct		
<i>bone-fires</i> (EM 4.8.117)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>whole bone-fires of zeale</i>	Indirect		
<i>Castle wall</i> (RII 3.2.1469)	Shakespeare	History	<i>As if this flesh which wals about our life, were brasse impregnable: and [...] [the antique] Comes at the last, and with a little pin, Boares through his Castle wall</i>	Indirect		
<i>Cedar trees</i> (T 4.2.24)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>scattered like the lofty Cedar trees</i>	Direct		
<i>Chesse-nut</i> (TS 1.2.734)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>not halfe so great a blow to hear, As will a Chesse-nut in a Farmers fire</i>	Direct		
<i>chest-nut</i> (A 1.3.46)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Your chest-nut, or your oliue-colour'd face Do's neuer faile</i>	Indirect		
<i>citie pounds</i> (EM 2.1.77)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>an' hee thinke to be relieu'd by me, when he is got into one o'your citie pounds, the Counters</i>	Direct	Second constituent	NR
<i>Clisterpipes</i> (O 2.1.861)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>your fingers to your lips? Would they were Clisterpipes for your sake</i>	Direct		RNF
<i>cobweb</i> (S 3.24)	Jonson	History	<i>they are weaving Some curious cobweb to catch flyes</i>	Indirect		
<i>countrey Gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	NR

<i>country Swaines</i> (T 1.2.47)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>these that seeme but silly country Swaines, May have the leading of so great an host</i>	Direct		NR
<i>court stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>The few [poets], that would giue out themselues, to be Court, and towne-stallions, and, each where, belye ladies</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>court-god</i> (S 1.203)	Jonson	History	<i>Seianus can repait, if Iove should ruine. He is the now court-god.</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>Cow-herd</i> (A 1.1.107)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Cow-herd. [Subtle to Face]</i>	Indirect		
<i>custard coffen</i> (TS 4.3.1961)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>It [the cap] is a paltrie cap, A custard coffen</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>day-Owles</i> (A 5.5.12)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>These day-Owles</i>	Indirect		
<i>death-bed</i> (RII 2.1.709)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Thy deathbed is no lesser than thy land, Wherein thou liest in reputation sicke</i>	Indirect		
<i>dog-bolt</i> (A 1.1.121)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>I'll not be made a prey vnto the marshall, For ne're a snarling dog-bolt o' you both</i>	Indirect		
<i>dog-leach</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Out, you dog-leach, The vomit of all prisons</i>	Indirect		
<i>Douer pire</i> (A 3.3.19)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>to make his battry Vpon our DOL, our Castle, our cinque- Port, Our Douer-pire, or what thou wilt</i>	Indirect		
<i>dung-worme</i> (EM 3.5.127)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>a dung-worme, an excrement!</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>eare-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	History			Second constituent	RNF
<i>eare-rent</i> (A 1.1.169)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	RNF
<i>eye lids</i> (EII 5.39)	Marlowe	History			Second constituent	
<i>eye-lids</i> (JM 2.1.59)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Now Phoebus ope the eye-lids of the day</i>	Indirect	Second constituent	
<i>eye-reach</i> (S 5.508)	Jonson	History			Second constituent	RNF
<i>eye-sore</i> (TS 3.2.1408)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>shame to your estate, An eye- sore to our solemn festiuall</i>	Indirect		
<i>field-pieces</i> (JM 5.5.27)	Marlowe	Tragedy			Second constituent	
<i>fire-drake</i> (A 2.1.26)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>That's his fire-drake, his lungs, his Zephyrus</i>	Indirect		
<i>flint bosome</i> (RII 5.1.2158)	Shakespeare	History			Second constituent	NR
<i>foot-stoole</i> (T 4.2.1)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Bring out my foot-stoole [Bajazeth]</i>	Indirect		
<i>Ginny Hen</i> (O 1.3.601)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>ere I would say I would drowne my selfe, for the loue of a Ginny Hen, I would change my humanity with a Baboone</i>	Indirect		
<i>Goate feet</i> (EII 1.60)	Marlowe	History	<i>My men like Satyrs grazing on the lawnes, Shall with their Goate feete daunce an antick hay</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>godfathers</i> (JM 4.1.112)	Marlowe	Tragedy			Second constituent	
<i>gold-smith</i> (A 1.3.32)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>A neate, spruce-honest-fellow, and no gold-smith</i>	Indirect		
<i>Guiny-bird</i> (A 4.1.38)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Well-said my Guiny-bird</i>	Indirect		AD
<i>hackney pace</i> (EM 3.5.15)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>and haue translated out of the old hackney pace, to a fine easy amble, and made it runne as</i>	Indirect		

			<i>smooth, of the tongue, as a shove-groat shilling</i>			
<i>handful</i> (T 2.3.17)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>The host of Xerxes [...] Was but a handful to that we will have</i>	Indirect		
<i>harvest time</i> (T 1.1.31)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>Tamburlaine, That like a fox in midst of harvest time</i>	Direct		
<i>hayle-shot</i> (EM 1.5.162)	Jonson	Comedy			Relation	
<i>hazle nuts</i> (TS 2.1.1058)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>[Kate] as browne in hue As hazle nuts</i>	Direct		
<i>hazle twig</i> (TS 2.1.1056)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>Kate like the hazle twig Is straight, and slender</i>	Direct		RNF
<i>Headborough</i> (TS II.10)	Shakespeare	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>headstall</i> (TS 3.2.1362)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Second constituent	
<i>heart strings</i> (O 3.3.1713)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>Tho that her Iesses were my deare heart strings, I'de whistle her off</i>	Direct	Second constituent	
<i>hell paines</i> (O 1.1.156)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>I doe hate him, as I doe hell paines</i>	Direct		
<i>hobby horse</i> (O 4.1.2278)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>There, giue it to your hobby-horse</i>	Indirect		
<i>hob-nailes</i> (EM 1.5.98)	Jonson	Comedy			Relation	
<i>horse-leeches</i> (S 4.356)	Jonson	History	<i>Fare you well. We haue no need of horse-leeches.</i>	Indirect		
<i>hour-glasse</i> (EM 3.3.49)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>My braine (me thinkes) is like an houre-glasse</i>	Direct		
<i>house-wiues</i> (EM 1.3.114)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>this man [...] so tin-foild by nature, as not ten house-wiues pewter</i>	Direct		
<i>Iacke boy</i> (TS 4.1.1595)	Shakespeare	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>iron barre</i> (EM 2.3.29)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>My presence shall be as an iron barre</i>	Direct		NR
<i>lady-Tom</i> (A 5.5.127)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	NR
<i>land-Carrick</i> (O 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>he to night hath boorded a land-Carrick: if it proue lawfull prize, hee's made for euer</i>	Indirect		RNF
<i>Landlord</i> (RII 2.1.728)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Landlord of England art thou now, not King</i>	Indirect		
<i>land-waters</i> (S 3.101)	Jonson	History	<i>all my streams of grief are lost, No less then are land-waters in the sea</i>	Direct		
<i>Loadstarre</i> (JM 2.1.42)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>The Loadstarre of my life, if Abigail</i>	Indirect		
<i>Lyon radge</i> (RII 2.1.788)	Shakespeare	History	<i>In warre was neuer Lyon radge more fierce</i>	Direct		NR
<i>malt-horse</i> (EM 1.5.89)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>he has no more iudgement then a malt-horse</i>	Direct		
<i>master-prince</i> (S 2.165)	Jonson	History	<i>When the master-prince Of all the world, Seianus, saith, he feares</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>mill-iade</i> (A 3.3.5)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>would you haue me stall like a mill-iade</i>	Direct		HL
<i>morning Roses</i> (TS 2.1.981)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>she lookes as clear, as morning roses newly washed with dew</i>	Direct		NR
<i>musket-rest</i> (EM 2.5.143)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	
<i>mustard reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.51)	Jonson	Comedy			Relation	NR
<i>nightcap</i> (O 2.1.988)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>For I feare Cassio, with my nightcap [wife] to</i>	Indirect		
<i>Nosegay</i> (EII 5.35)	Marlowe	History			Second constituent	

<i>ostrich stomack</i> (EM 3.1.183)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>you haue an ostrich stomack, cousin</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>Palace-rattes</i> (S 1.427)	Jonson	History	<i>We that know the euill, Should hunt the Palace-rattes, or giue them bane</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>paper-pedlers</i> (EM 5.5.43)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>But, these paper-pedlers! These inke-dablers!</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>parchment bonds</i> (RII 2.1.678)	Shakespeare	History			Second constituent	NR
<i>partie-bawd</i> (A 3.3.11)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>my deare Delicious compeere, and my partie-bawd</i>	Indirect		HL
<i>pathway</i> (RII 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	History	<i>In suffring thus thy brother to be slaughtered, Thou shewest the naked pathway to thy life</i>	Indirect		
<i>pibble-stones</i> (JM 1.1.23)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>And in his house heap pearle like pibble-stones</i>	Direct		
<i>play-houses</i> (A 3.4.70)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>You shall ha' your ordinaries bid for him, As playhouses for a poet</i>	Direct		
<i>pocket-muse</i> (EM 5.5.16)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	NR
<i>poulder-cornes</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>black, and melancholique wormes, Like poulder-cornes, shot, at th'artillerie-yard</i>	Direct		HL
<i>puck-fist</i> (A 1.2.63)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>I'ld choake, ere I would change An article of breath, with such a puck-fist</i>	Indirect		
<i>punque-master</i> (A 4.3.56)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>This is a truell'd punque-master, and do's know All the delays</i>	Indirect		HL
<i>puppit-play</i> (A 1.2.79)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>And blow vp gamester after gamester, as they doe crackers, in a puppit-play</i>	Direct		
<i>quarter-looke</i> (S 5.389)	Jonson	History			First constituent	RNF
<i>schoole boy</i> (EII 11.30)	Marlowe	History	<i>As though your highnes wer a schoole boy still</i>	Direct		
<i>Sea-man</i> (T 3.2.76)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>And Casts a pale complexion on his cheeks. As when the Sea-man sees the Hyades Gather an army of Cemerian cloudes</i>	Direct		
<i>Sea-marke</i> (O 5.2.3172)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>Heere is my butt and verie Sea-marke of my vtmost Saile</i>	Indirect		
<i>sheepeherd</i> (EII 6.61)	Marlowe	History	<i>The sheepeherd nipt with biting winters rage, Frolicks no more to see the paynted spring</i>	Direct		
<i>slaughter-house</i> (S 4.388)	Jonson	History	<i>He hath his slaughter-house, at Caprae</i>	Indirect		
<i>smock-rampant</i> (A 5.4.126)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>No, my smock-rampant</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>spur-ryall</i> (A 3.5.33)	Jonson	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>strawberries</i> (O 3.3.1887)	Shakespeare	Tragedy			First constituent	
<i>straw-berries</i> (A 4.4.33)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Shee will crie straw-berries else, within this twelue-moth</i>	Indirect	First constituent	
<i>suburb-Captayne</i> (A 1.1.19)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Since, by my means, translated suburb-Captayne</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>summer flies</i> (O 4.2.2479)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	<i>[I esteem you honest] as summer-flies, are in the shambles, that quicken euen with blowing</i>	Direct		NR
<i>summer leaues</i> (RII 1.2.225)	Shakespeare	History	<i>Tomas my deare Lord [...] One flourishing branch of his most royall roote Is crackt [...] and his summer leaues all faded by Enuies hand</i>	Indirect		NR

<i>taperlights</i> (EII 4.98)	Marlowe	History	<i>Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperiall groomes, For these thy superstitious taperlights [clergymen], wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze</i>	Indirect		
<i>Thistle tops</i> (JM 5.2.42)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>[He that liveth in Authority] Lives like the Asse [...] That labours with a load of bread and wine, And leaves it off to snap on Thistle tops</i>	Direct		
<i>Thunderbolts</i> (T 2.3.19)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>And bullets like Joves dreadfull Thunderbolts</i>	Direct		
<i>tom-boyes</i> (A 5.5.80)	Jonson	Comedy			First constituent	
<i>tongue-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	History			Second constituent	NR
<i>topflag</i> (EII 4.276)	Marlowe	History	<i>when he shall know it lies in us, To banish him, and then to call him home, Twill make him vaile the topflag of his pride</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>towne-gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Comedy			Second constituent	NR
<i>towne-stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>The few [poets], that would giue out themselues, to be Court, and towne-stallions, and, each where, belye ladies</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>traitour coward</i> (RII 1.1.102)	Shakespeare	History	<i>like a traitor coward, Slucte out his innocent soule</i>	Direct		NR
<i>trencher-rascall</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>Away, you trencher-raskall</i>	Indirect		HL
<i>trunke sleeve</i> (TS 4.3.2018)	Shakespeare	Comedy			Relation	RNF
<i>vineger reunge</i> (EM 3.6.50)	Jonson	Comedy			Relation	NR
<i>water-worke</i> (A 2.1.76)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>[hand out preservatives obtained by the philosophers stone] As he that built the water-worke, do's with water</i>	Direct		
<i>whore-master</i> (A 4.6.24)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>And [your eye] says you are a lumpish whore-master</i>	Indirect		
<i>wind-instruments</i> (EM 3.1.62)	Jonson	Comedy	<i>be acquainted with my two hang-by's here; [...] my wind-instruments</i>	Indirect		
<i>winter cricket</i> (TS 4.3.1988)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>thou winter cricket thou</i>	Indirect		NR
<i>Woodcocke</i> (TS 1.2.684)	Shakespeare	Comedy	<i>Oh this Woodcocke, what an Asse it is</i>	Indirect		
<i>yron chaines</i> (T 1.2.174)	Marlowe	Tragedy	<i>I hold the Fates bound fast in yron chaines</i>	Indirect		NR

Table 62: The metaphorical noun + noun compounds from the corpus



### 3. The Adjective + Noun Compounds from the Corpus

Compound	Author	Genre	Special Subtype	Semantic Class	Semantic Type	New Formation
<i>Aspen leaf</i> (T 2.4.4)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>base court</i> (RII 3.3.1692)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>bawdy-house</i> (A 2.3.225)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>black-birds</i> (A 3.3.46)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>black-pot</i> (A 5.2.32)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bleard-eyes</i> (A 2.2.24)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>blinde men</i> (S 1.426)	Jonson	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bondmaide</i> (TS 2.1.810)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bondslaue</i> (RII 2.1.729)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Bondslauches</i> (O 1.2.286)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Bony-bell</i> (A 4.2.5)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>bridale night</i> (EM 5.5.68)	Jonson	Comedy		TIME	Timed – Time	NR
<i>Bridall chamber</i> (TS 4.1.1724)	Shakespeare	Comedy		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	RNF
<i>bridall dinner</i> (TS 3.3.1525)	Shakespeare	Comedy		PURPOSE	Purpose – Entity	RNF
<i>capitall offence</i> (S 4. 137)	Jonson	History		PRODUCT	Effect – Cause	NR
<i>Capitall treason</i> (RII 4.1.1974)	Shakespeare	History		PRODUCT	Effect – Cause	NR
<i>ciuill cause</i> (S 3.451)	Jonson	History		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>ciuill warre</i> (S 2.370)	Jonson	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>civil war</i> (A 1.1.83)	Jonson	Comedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>civill townes</i> (EII 11.214)	Marlowe	History		POSSESSION	Possessor – Possession	NR
<i>civill warre</i> (T 1.1.148)	Marlowe	Tragedy		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>civill warres</i> (EII 6.233)	Marlowe	History		AGENTIVE	Agent – Action	
<i>commonweale</i> (EII 20.63)	Marlowe	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>commonwealth</i> (RII 2.3.1230)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Common-wealth</i> (S 3.29)	Jonson	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>common-wealth</i> (EM 3.4.33)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>common-wealth</i> (A 5.5.76)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>cunning men</i> (TS 1.1.371)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>cunning-man</i> (A 1.2.8)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	AD

<i>dead mens</i> (JM 2.3.186)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>demy diuell</i> (O 5.2.3203)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	RNF
<i>east-side</i> (A 1.3.64)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	
<i>English man</i> (O 2.3.1080)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>Englishman</i> (RII 1.1.66)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>free-hold</i> (JM 4.2.19)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>french beans</i> (A 1.3.29)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>Frenchman</i> (EII 2.7)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>French-man</i> (JM 4.4.35)	Marlowe	Tragedy		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>Gentleman</i> (RII 1.1.148)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentleman</i> (TS 1.2.696)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentleman</i> (O 1.3.593)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>gentleman</i> (EII 4.29)	Marlowe	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>gentleman</i> (S A. 1)	Jonson	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentlemen</i> (T 1.1.140)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>gentlemen</i> (A 1.1.2)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>gentlemen</i> (EM 1.2.1)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentlemen</i> (JM 3.1.7)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentlewoman</i> (O 3.1.1411)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentlewoman</i> (JM 4.2.50)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gentlewoman</i> (TS II.83)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>gentlewomen</i> (A 5.1.3)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>good-man</i> (TS I2.239)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>good-wife</i> (EM 4.10.55)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Gray-beard</i> (TS 2.1.1142)	Shakespeare	Comedy	Bahuvrihi Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>gray-hounds</i> (TS I2.182)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>greene-sickness</i> (A 4.6.52)	Jonson	Comedy		PRODUCT	Effect – Cause	
<i>grey-hound</i> (EM 1.2.126)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>halfe brother</i> (EM 1.5.85)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>halfe Lunaticke</i> (TS 2.1.1090)	Shakespeare	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	NR
<i>halfe-circle</i> (A 3.4.34)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>halfe-crowne</i> (A 3.5.43)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>halfe-dozen</i> (EM 3.5.13)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	AD

<i>halfe-peny</i> (EM 2.1.80)	Jonson	Comedy	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>high treason</i> (RII 1.1.27)	Shakespeare	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>high treason</i> (EII 17.57)	Marlowe	History	DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	
<i>high way</i> (RII 1.4.555)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>high-Dutch</i> (A 2.1.83)	Jonson	Comedy	UNCLEAR	UNCLEAR	
<i>high-waies</i> (A 1.3.24)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>holiday</i> (RII 3.1.1303)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>holly land</i> (RII 5.5.2696)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Holly-Hoke</i> (JM 4.4.44)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>holy-day</i> (A 5.3.9)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>ill-dayes</i> (A 1.3.95)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>ioyn 'd stoole</i> (TS 2.1.1005)	Shakespeare	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>long-sword</i> (EM 5.3.34)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>mad man</i> (TS 5.1.2311)	Shakespeare	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>mad men</i> (RII 5.5.2591)	Shakespeare	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>mad-folkes</i> (A 5.3.56)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	NR
<i>mad-men</i> (A 1.1.5)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Mad-mens</i> (S 4.315)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>marshall lawe</i> (EII 21.89)	Marlowe	History	TIME	Time/Duration – Timed	
<i>meane time</i> (EII 1.202)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>meane time</i> (O 3.3.1705)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>meane time</i> (S T.t.R. 18)	Jonson	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>midnight</i> (JM 1.3.9)	Marlowe	Tragedy	BELONGIN G TO	Part – Whole	
<i>mid-night</i> (EM 3.3.137)	Jonson	Comedy	BELONGIN G TO	Part – Whole	
<i>midnight</i> (O 4.1.2334)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	BELONGIN G TO	Part – Whole	
<i>mid-night</i> (S 5.296)	Jonson	History	BELONGIN G TO	Part – Whole	
<i>mid-way</i> (EM 2.4.16)	Jonson	Comedy	BELONGIN G TO	Part – Whole	
<i>noble man</i> (EII 4.277)	Marlowe	History	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>noble men</i> (T 1.1.22)	Marlowe	Tragedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>nobleman</i> (A 4.5.82)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>noblemen</i> (EM 1.5.124)	Jonson	Comedy	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	

<i>north-part</i> (A 1.3.66)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Location – Located	NR
<i>nuptiall bed</i> (EII 18.31)	Marlowe	History		LOCATION	Located – Location	
<i>parcell-broker</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	RNF
<i>petticoate</i> (TS 2.1.813)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>petti-coats</i> (A 5.4.118)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>plaguy-houses</i> (A 1.4.19)	Jonson	Comedy		LOCATION	Located – Location	NR
<i>privie seale</i> (EII 19.37)	Marlowe	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>quick silver</i> (EII 21.36)	Marlowe	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>quick-sand</i> (EM 3.3.29)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>quick-silver</i> (A 2.3.153)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Roman-catholike</i> (EM 3.3.89)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>sweet hart</i> (EII 13.27)	Marlowe	History	Bahuvrihi Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Sweet heart</i> (EM 2.3.35)	Jonson	Comedy	Bahuvrihi Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>sweet-hart</i> (JM 4.4.43)	Marlowe	Tragedy	Bahuvrihi Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>thicklips</i> (O 1.1.66)	Shakespeare	Tragedy	Bahuvrihi Noun	QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	HL
<i>Torried Zone</i> (T 4.4.133)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Welchman</i> (RII 2.4.1240)	Shakespeare	History		LOCATION	Origin – Entity	
<i>white oyle</i> (S 2.64)	Jonson	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>whole-bawd</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	Comedy		DEGREE	Degree/Intensification – Entity/Quality/Action	RNF
<i>Wildcats</i> (O 2.1.795)	Shakespeare	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>Wilde-cat</i> (TS 1.2.721)	Shakespeare	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>wildefire</i> (T 5.1.312)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>wild-fowle</i> (A 5.3.79)	Jonson	Comedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>wise men</i> (JM 4.1.125)	Marlowe	Tragedy		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	
<i>wisemen</i> (RII 3.2.1477)	Shakespeare	History		QUALITY	Distinctive Quality (SC) – Characterized Entity (S)	

Table 63: The adjective + noun compounds from the corpus

#### 4. Formations from the Corpus Not Recorded in the OED

##### Nouns

Compound	Author	Morphological Type	Semantic Class	Metaphoricity
<i>after fleete</i> (O 1.3.322)	Shakespeare	Particle + (deverbal) Noun	LOCATION	
<i>Amber bracelets</i> (TS 4.3.1937)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>ash-fire</i> (A 2.3.85)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>Aspen leaf</i> (T 2.4.4)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>babies cap</i> (TS 4.3.1947)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>barbers shoppe</i> (TS 4.3.1970)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	POSSESSION	Met. in context
<i>Bassoe-maister</i> (T 3.3.173)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COPULA	
<i>beeues fat</i> (S 5.74)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>birds-skins</i> (A 2.2.93)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>bleard-eyes</i> (A 2.2.24)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>brasse-bullets</i> (JM 3.5.24)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>bridale night</i> (EM 5.5.68)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	TIME	
<i>cambrick sheets</i> (A 3.3.48)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>camels heeles</i> (A 2.2.75)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>Candy shoare</i> (JM 1.1.46)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>capitall offence</i> (S 4. 137)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>Capitall treason</i> (RII 4.1.1974)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>Captaines beard</i> (A 4.7.130)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>cedar board</i> (A 2.1.87)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>childes whistle</i> (EM 3.2.25)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>Cipres warres</i> (O 1.1.153)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>citie businesse</i> (S 3.604)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>citie pounds</i> (EM 2.1.77)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>citie-magistrate</i> (EM 3.5.52)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>citizens-wiues</i> (A 1.4.21)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>ciuill cause</i> (S 3.451)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>civill townes</i> (EII 11.214)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>comick-writers</i> (A P.11)	Jonson	Noun + Verb + -er	QUALITY	
<i>companion Peeres</i> (RII 1.3.372)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COPULA	
<i>Companion-Bashawes</i> (JM 5.5.51)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COPULA	
<i>copataine hat</i> (TS 5.1.2320)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>coronation day</i> (EII 21.70)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>Corronation day</i> (RII 5.5.2606)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>Country disposition</i> (O 3.3.1653)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>country formes</i> (O 3.3.1691)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>country Gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>country Swaines</i> (T 1.2.47)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>court stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>court-god</i> (S 1.203)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>crowes-head</i> (A 2.3.68)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>Cypres chests</i> (TS 2.1.1155)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	

<i>Dagger frume'ty</i> (A 5.4.42)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>damaske suite</i> (A 2.6.72)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>December snow</i> (RII 1.3.540)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>diuels dam</i> (TS 1.1.379)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>dolphins milke</i> (A 4.1.160)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>drinking-schole</i> (EM 4.2.109)	Jonson	Verb + -ing + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Edwards shillings</i> (A 3.4.142)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>Egypt-dust</i> (A A4.5.9)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>Egypt-south</i> ( 4.5.5)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>Elizabeth groat</i> (A 3.4.144)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>Falcons flight</i> (RII 1.3.340)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	AGENTIVE	Met. in context
<i>field rapier</i> (EM 2.4.92)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>flint bosome</i> (RII 5.1.2158)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>forrest Deare</i> (EII 18.9)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>forrest woods</i> (RII 3.1.1282)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>funerall robes</i> (EII 23.95)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Gog-dust</i> (A 4.5.9)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>Gog-north</i> (A 4.5.5)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>halfe Lunaticke</i> (TS 2.1.1090)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Noun	DEGREE	
<i>Harry's soueraigne</i> (A 3.4.143)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>hawking languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)	Jonson	Verb + -ing + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>home allarmes</i> (RII 1.1.205)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>horse pestilence</i> (JM 3.4.116)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>horses hooffes</i> (T 3.3.150)	Marlowe	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>hunting-languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)	Jonson	Verb + -ing + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Iames shillings</i> (A 3.4.144)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>iet ring</i> (EM 2.4.35)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>ill-dayes</i> (A 1.3.95)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>iron barre</i> (EM 2.3.29)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	Met. in context
<i>iron carre</i> (EII 14.45)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>Iuory cofers</i> (TS 2.1.1154)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>Ivorie sled</i> (T 1.2.98)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>kniues point</i> (A 2.1.59)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>lady-Tom</i> (A 5.5.127)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COPULA	Met. in w.-f.
<i>lances pointes</i> (T 3.3.91)	Marlowe	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>lie-giuer</i> (RII 4.1.1891)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + -er	AGENTIVE	
<i>Lieutenant-Coronell</i> (EM 3.5.22)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COPULA	
<i>London streetes</i> (RII 5.5.2606)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>Lyon radge</i> (RII 2.1.788)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	AGENTIVE	Met. in context
<i>mad-folkes</i> (A 5.3.56)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>Malta Rhode</i> (JM 1.1.49)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>Marcellus roade</i> (TS 2.1.1179)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>mariage time</i> (T 5.1.505)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>masking stufte</i> (TS 4.3.1966)	Shakespeare	Verb + -ing + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>master-prince</i> (S 2.165)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COPULA	Met. in context
<i>milch-kine</i> (TS 2.1.1161)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>morning Larke</i> (TS I2.179)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>morning Roses</i> (TS 2.1.981)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	Met. in context

<i>mustard reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.51)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>needles eie</i> (RII 5.5.2546)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	Both
<i>needles point</i> (EII 21.33)	Marlowe	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>night-vestments</i> (S 5.91)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>no-buttocks</i> (A 1.1.37)	Jonson	Particle + (deverbal) Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>north-part</i> (A 1.3.66)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>not-haile</i> (S 5.463)	Jonson	Particle + (deverbal) Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>offering-Bason</i> (JM 2.3.28)	Marlowe	Verb + -ing + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Orient Perle</i> (JM 1.1.86)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>ostrich stomack</i> (EM 3.1.183)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>Palace-rattes</i> (S 1.427)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>paper-pedlers</i> (EM 5.5.43)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>parchment bonds</i> (RII 2.1.678)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>parting teares</i> (RII 1.4.556)	Shakespeare	Verb + -ing + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>phesants egges</i> (A 4.1.157)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>pins heads</i> (EII TS 5.48)	Marlowe	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	Both
<i>Pisa walls</i> (TS 2.1.1171)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>plaguy-houses</i> (A 1.4.19)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>pocket-muse</i> (EM 5.5.16)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>ram-vellam</i> (A 2.1.91)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>rasher-bacon</i> (EM 1.4.28)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>Ravens wing</i> (JM 4.2.33)	Marlowe	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>ruffian-tricks</i> (EM 4.2.107)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	AGENTIVE	
<i>S. Maries bath</i> (A 2.3.61)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>sack-lees</i> (A 1.3.24)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>Sailors wiues</i> (A 5.1.4)	Jonson	Noun + -s + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>Salmons taile</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>salt teares</i> (O 4.3.2708)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>selfe-bounty</i> (O 3.3.1652)	Shakespeare	Pronoun + Noun	OBJECT	
<i>Serpents curse</i> (O 4.2.2428)	Shakespeare	Noun + -s + Noun	PRODUCT	
<i>seruing boy</i> (S 1.212)	Jonson	Verb + -ing + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Shepherds weed</i> (T 1.2.199)	Marlowe	Noun + -s + Noun	UNCLEAR	
<i>silke russet</i> (EM 4.9.62)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>silke-hose</i> (EM 1.3.47)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>siluer Bason</i> (TS I.1.53)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>siluer shells</i> (A 4.1.158)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>siluer-breakers</i> (A 5.4.117)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>silver tongs</i> (A 1.3.30)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>smock-rampant</i> (A 5.4.126)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>State matters</i> (O 3.4.2082)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>stock-affaires</i> (A 5.4.93)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>suburb-Captayne</i> (A 1.1.19)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>suburbe-humor</i> (EM 1.3.134)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>Summer Evening</i> (JM 5.3.41)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	TIME	
<i>summer flies</i> (O 4.2.2479)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	Met. in context
<i>summer leaues</i> (RII 1.2.225)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	Met. in context
<i>tabacco-Boy</i> (A 3.4.16)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>taffata-sarsnet</i> (A 2.2.89)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	

<i>taming schoole</i> (TS 4.2.1812)	Shakespeare	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>tauerne cups</i> (A 5.4.118)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>Tinkers pans</i> (JM 4.1.3)	Marlowe	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	Met. in context
<i>tongue-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	AGENTIVE	Met. in w.-f.
<i>top-branches</i> (EII 6.17)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>topflag</i> (EII 4.276)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>towne-gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in w.-f.
<i>towne-stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	Met. in context
<i>Tragick writer</i> (S T.t.R. 21)	Jonson	Noun + Verb + <i>-er</i>	QUALITY	
<i>traitour coward</i> (RII 1.1.102)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COPULA	Met. in context
<i>Tribunes place</i> (S 1.182)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>trumpets clangue</i> (TS 1.2.731)	Shakespeare	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	INSTRUMENT	
<i>trumpets sound</i> (T 1.1.133)	Marlowe	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	INSTRUMENT	
<i>tumbrell-slop</i> (EM 2.2.24)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>Turband Turke</i> (O 5.2.3259)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>Twiggen-bottle</i> (O 2.3.1148)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	QUALITY	
<i>tyrant custome</i> (O 1.3.514)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>varlets gowne</i> (EM 5.3.107)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>varlets sute</i> (EM 4.9.76)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>vassaille hands</i> (RII 3.3.1605)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>vineger reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.50)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	COMPARISON	Met. in w.-f.
<i>vipers tooth</i> (S 3.385)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>voyce potentiall</i> (O 1.2.199)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	POSSESSION	
<i>water-tankard</i> (EM 3.7.10)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>weapons pointes</i> (T 3.3.157)	Marlowe	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	BELONGING TO	
<i>Winchester pipes</i> (A 1.3.31)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	LOCATION	
<i>winter cricket</i> (TS 4.3.1988)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	TIME	Met. in context
<i>wit-brokers</i> (EM 4.2.56)	Jonson	Noun + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>wolves iaws</i> (S 4.298)	Jonson	Noun + <i>-s</i> + Noun	BELONGING TO	Met. in context
<i>writing fellow</i> (S 2.304)	Jonson	Verb + <i>-ing</i> + Noun	PURPOSE	
<i>yron armes</i> (RII 1.3.409)	Shakespeare	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>yron bils</i> (T 4.1.25)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	
<i>yron chaines</i> (T 1.2.174)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	Met. in context
<i>Yvory pen</i> (T 5.1.145)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun	COMPOSITION	

## Adjectives

Compound	Author	Morphological Type	Semantic Class	Metaphoricity
<i>al-hating</i> (RII 5.5.2595)	Shakespeare	Pronoun + (deverbal) Adjective	OBJECT	Met. in context
<i>best-practis'd</i> (EM 1.5.143)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>better fashion'd</i> (TS 4.3.1980)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>black-lidded</i> (S 4.268)	Jonson	Adj./Adv + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>earth-mettall'd</i> (JM 1.2.79)	Marlowe	Noun + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	UNCLEAR	
<i>euer-burning</i> (O 3.3.1913)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	TIME	
<i>ever drisling</i> (T 4.1.31)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	TIME	Met. in context
<i>ever howling</i> (T 5.1.245)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	TIME	Met. in context



<i>ever shining</i> (T 4.2.9)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	TIME	
<i>fiftie headed</i> (T 1.2.103)	Marlowe	Num. + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>first betrothed</i> (T 5.1.389)	Marlowe	Num. + (deverbal) Adj.	TIME	
<i>ill erected</i> (RII 5.1.2157)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>life-harming</i> (RII 2.2.919)	Shakespeare	Noun + Verb + <i>-ing</i> (Adjective)	OBJECT	
<i>new betroth'd</i> (JM 2.3.327)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	
<i>Most-lou'd</i> (S 3.531)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>never staid</i> (T 5.1.88)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	
<i>new deliuerd</i> (RII 2.2.981)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	
<i>new elected king</i> (EII 18.78)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	
<i>new-commented</i> (S 4.400)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	
<i>Olympushigh</i> (O 2.1.870)	Shakespeare	Noun + Adjective	COMPARISON	
<i>new-inspirde</i> (RII 2.1.645)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	TIME	Met. in context
<i>Proud-daring</i> (RII 2.1.53)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	QUALITY	
<i>rare witted</i> (JM 3.1.7)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>rime-giuen</i> (EM 4.2.14)	Jonson	Noun + Adjective	QUALITY	
<i>savage minded</i> (EII 4.78)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>scarce-seene</i> (S 2.43)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>Sharpe forked</i> (T 5.1.217)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Noun + <i>-ed</i>	QUALITY	
<i>spruce-honest</i> (A 1.3.32)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Adjective	COPULA	
<i>still-breeding</i> (RII 5.5.2537)	Shakespeare	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>thrice noble</i> (T 1.2.249)	Marlowe	Num. + (deverbal) Adj.	DEGREE	
<i>thrice noble</i> (TS I2.251)	Shakespeare	Num. + (deverbal) Adj.	DEGREE	
<i>thrice renowned</i> (T 2.5.6)	Marlowe	Num. + (deverbal) Adj.	DEGREE	
<i>thrise noble</i> (RII 3.3.1619)	Shakespeare	Num. + (deverbal) Adj.	DEGREE	
<i>totter'd staring</i> (JM 4.3.6)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	QUALITY	Met. in w.-f.
<i>triple worthy</i> (T 3.2.112)	Marlowe	Num. + (deverbal) Adj.	DEGREE	
<i>well perfum'd</i> (TS 1.2.675)		Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>well reclaimd</i> (EII 13.57)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>well-watch'd</i> (EM 3.3.28)	Jonson	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ed</i>	DEGREE	
<i>wide gasping</i> (T 5.1.460)	Marlowe	Adj./Adv. + Verb + <i>-ing</i>	QUALITY	Met. in context
<i>wolfe-turn'd men</i> (S 3.251)	Jonson	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adjective)	QUALITY	
<i>worlds-renown'd</i> (S 4.121)	Jonson	Noun + Verb + <i>-(e)d</i> (Adjective)	LOCATION	Met. in context

Table 64: The non-registered formations from the corpus

## 5. Alphabetical List of All Compounds from the Corpus (incl. Verbal Compound Constructions)

<i>after fleete</i> (O 1.3.322)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>base born</i> (T 2.2.65)	Marlowe	
<i>after loue</i> (RII 5.3.2408)	Shakespeare		<i>base court</i> (RII 3.3.1692)	Shakespeare	
<i>afternoone</i> (TS 1.2.802)	Shakespeare		<i>base-bred</i> (T 4.3.12)	Marlowe	
<i>after-noone</i> (A 1.3.2)	Jonson		<i>Bassoe-maister</i> (T 3.3.173)	Marlowe	NR
<i>after-noone</i> (EM 1.4.75)	Jonson		<i>bawdy-house</i> (A 2.3.225)	Jonson	
<i>Aglet babie</i> (TS 1.2.604)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>bay trees</i> (RII 2.4.1243)	Shakespeare	
<i>ale-house</i> (A 1.1.85)	Jonson		<i>beadsmen</i> (RII 3.2.1415)	Shakespeare	
<i>Alehouse</i> (O 2.1.823)	Shakespeare		<i>Beareheard</i> (TS I2.155)	Shakespeare	
<i>Alewife</i> (TS I2.157)	Shakespeare		<i>bed Curtaines</i> (O 5.2.3272)	Shakespeare	AD
<i>ale-wiues</i> (A 5.4.114)	Jonson		<i>bedfellow</i> (TS 4.6.2221)	Shakespeare	
<i>al-hating</i> (RII 5.5.2595)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>bed-staffe</i> (EM 1.5.126)	Jonson	
<i>almesmans</i> (RII 3.3.1665)	Shakespeare		<i>beech-coale</i> (A 1.3.102)	Jonson	
<i>Amber bracelets</i> (TS 4.3.1937)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>beeues fat</i> (S 5.74)	Jonson	NR
<i>anchor hold</i> (EII 13.77)	Marlowe		<i>beggar-feare</i> (RII 1.1.189)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>apple Tart</i> (TS 4.3.1968)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Bell-founders</i> (A 3.1.23)	Jonson	
<i>apple-squire</i> (EM 4.10.57)	Jonson		<i>best-practis'd</i> (EM 1.5.143)	Jonson	NR
<i>Aprill showers</i> (T 4.1.31)	Marlowe		<i>better fashion'd</i> (TS 4.3.1980)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>artillerie garden</i> (EM 3.5.150)	Jonson		<i>birdlime</i> (O 2.1.811)	Shakespeare	
<i>artillerie-yard</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson		<i>birds-skins</i> (A 2.2.93)	Jonson	NR
<i>ash-fire</i> (A 2.3.85)	Jonson	NR	<i>birth-day</i> (JM 1.2.192)	Marlowe	
<i>Aspen leaf</i> (T 2.4.4)	Marlowe	NR	<i>birth-right</i> (A 4.3.14)	Jonson	
<i>Axeltree</i> (T 4.2.50)	Marlowe		<i>black-birds</i> (A 3.3.46)	Jonson	
<i>babies cap</i> (TS 4.3.1947)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>black-lidded</i> (S 4.268)	Jonson	NR
<i>back return</i> (T 5.1.465)	Marlowe		<i>black-pot</i> (A 5.2.32)	Jonson	
<i>back-dore</i> (EM 1.2.79)	Jonson		<i>bleard-eyes</i> (A 2.2.24)	Jonson	NR
<i>backe lanes</i> (JM 3.1.17)	Marlowe		<i>blinde men</i> (S 1.426)	Jonson	
<i>back-side</i> (A 5.4.133)	Jonson		<i>blindfold</i> (RII 1.3.496)	Shakespeare	
<i>bag-pipe</i> (EM 2.5.135)	Jonson		<i>blood-raw</i> (T 4.4.12)	Marlowe	RNF
<i>ballad-singer</i> (EM 4.2.120)	Jonson		<i>bloud-hounds</i> (S 3.376)	Jonson	
<i>Barbary horse</i> (O 1.1.114)	Shakespeare	AD	<i>bloudshed</i> (EII 9.82)	Marlowe	
<i>barbers shoppe</i> (TS 4.3.1970)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>blue-ey'd</i> (S 3.256)	Jonson	
<i>bare-foot</i> (S 2.141)	Jonson		<i>bolts-head</i> (A 2.2.9)	Jonson	
<i>bare-foot</i> (TS 2.1.841)	Shakespeare		<i>bondmaide</i> (TS 2.1.810)	Shakespeare	
<i>barefoot</i> (O 4.3.2699)	Shakespeare		<i>bondman</i> (JM 5.1.40)	Marlowe	
<i>bare-foot</i> (JM 2.3.25)	Marlowe		<i>bond-mans</i> (S 1.147)	Jonson	
<i>Bare-headed</i> (RII 5.2.2276)	Shakespeare		<i>bondslaue</i> (RII 2.1.729)	Shakespeare	
<i>bare-headed</i> (TS R. 2074)	Shakespeare		<i>Bondslaues</i> (O 1.2.286)	Shakespeare	
<i>base born</i> (JM 2.3.282)	Marlowe		<i>bone-ache</i> (A 3.2.38)	Jonson	

<i>bonfires</i> (O 2.2.998)	Shakespeare		<i>Cedar tree</i> (EII 6.16)	Marlowe	
<i>bone-fires</i> (EM 4.8.117)	Jonson		<i>Cedar trees</i> (T 4.2.24)	Marlowe	
<i>bonfires</i> (T 3.3.238)	Marlowe		<i>chamber floore</i> (JM 1.2.296)	Marlowe	
<i>Bony-bell</i> (A 4.2.5)	Jonson		<i>chamber maid</i> (T 3.3.188)	Marlowe	
<i>boot-hose</i> (TS 3.2.1372)	Shakespeare		<i>chamber-maid</i> (EM 2.5.40)	Jonson	
<i>bottle-nos'd</i> (JM 3.3.10)	Marlowe		<i>channel water</i> (EII 20.27)	Marlowe	HL
<i>bowmen</i> (EII 11.36)	Marlowe		<i>chapman</i> (A 3.3.57)	Jonson	
<i>brainsicke</i> (EII 1.125)	Marlowe		<i>chariot-wheeles</i> (S 5.698)	Jonson	
<i>brain-sicke</i> (T 4.2.49)	Marlowe		<i>Chesse-nut</i> (TS 1.2.734)	Shakespeare	
<i>brasse-bullets</i> (JM 3.5.24)	Marlowe	NR	<i>chest-nut</i> (A 1.3.46)	Jonson	
<i>breakfast</i> (EM 2.2.45)	Jonson		<i>childes whistle</i> (EM 3.2.25)	Jonson	NR
<i>bridale night</i> (EM 5.5.68)	Jonson	NR	<i>China-houses</i> (A 4.4.48)	Jonson	
<i>Bridall chamber</i> (TS 4.1.1724)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Christ-masse</i> (A 3.2.43)	Jonson	
<i>bridall dinner</i> (TS 3.3.1525)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Christ-tide</i> (A 3.2.43)	Jonson	
<i>Bride-groom</i> (TS 3.2.1311)	Shakespeare		<i>Cipres warres</i> (O 1.1.153)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>bride-groom</i> (A 4.5.104)	Jonson		<i>citie businesse</i> (S 3.604)	Jonson	NR
<i>Bridegroom</i> (EM 5.4.15)	Jonson		<i>citie pounds</i> (EM 2.1.77)	Jonson	NR
<i>brimfull</i> (O 2.3.1213)	Shakespeare		<i>citie walles</i> (T 3.1.15)	Marlowe	
<i>Brimstone</i> (A 3.1.27)	Jonson		<i>citie-magistrate</i> (EM 3.5.52)	Jonson	NR
<i>Brimstone</i> (O 4.1.2359)	Shakespeare		<i>citizens-wiues</i> (A 1.4.21)	Jonson	NR
<i>bristle-pointed</i> (T 4.1.27)	Marlowe	AD	<i>City wals</i> (JM 3.5.13)	Marlowe	
<i>bulls-head</i> (A 2.6.13)	Jonson		<i>city-dames</i> (A 1.3.73)	Jonson	
<i>buttry-hatch</i> (A 1.1.52)	Jonson	AD	<i>ciuill cause</i> (S 3.451)	Jonson	NR
<i>byrth-day</i> (T 1.1.13)	Marlowe		<i>ciuill warre</i> (S 2.370)	Jonson	
<i>cambrick sheets</i> (A 3.3.48)	Jonson	NR	<i>civil war</i> (A 1.1.83)	Jonson	
<i>camels heeles</i> (A 2.2.75)	Jonson	NR	<i>civill townes</i> (EII 11.214)	Marlowe	NR
<i>candle-cases</i> (TS 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>civill warre</i> (T 1.1.148)	Marlowe	
<i>Candy shoare</i> (JM 1.1.46)	Marlowe	NR	<i>civill warres</i> (EII 6.233)	Marlowe	
<i>Cannon shot</i> (T 2.4.3)	Marlowe		<i>cleane-Swept</i> (EM 2.5.61)	Jonson	AD
<i>Canon Law</i> (JM 3.6.34)	Marlowe		<i>cleargie man</i> (RII 3.3.1544)	Shakespeare	
<i>capitall offence</i> (S 4. 137)	Jonson	NR	<i>Clisterpipes</i> (O 2.1.861)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>Capitall treason</i> (RII 4.1.1974)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>cloke-bag</i> (EM 4.8.11)	Jonson	
<i>Captaines beard</i> (A 4.7.130)	Jonson	NR	<i>coach-man</i> (A 3.3.73)	Jonson	
<i>Cardmaker</i> (TS I2.155)	Shakespeare		<i>cobweb</i> (S 3.24)	Jonson	
<i>care tunde</i> (RII 3.2.1391)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>cob-webs</i> (A 1.1.57)	Jonson	
<i>car-men</i> (EM 3.2.70)	Jonson		<i>cob-webs</i> (EM 2.5.62)	Jonson	
<i>cart-horse</i> (EM 3.4.8)	Jonson		<i>cobwebs</i> (TS 4.1.1600)	Shakespeare	
<i>castell walles</i> (EII 7.24)	Marlowe		<i>cock-pit</i> (A 1.1.75)	Jonson	
<i>Castle wall</i> (RII 3.2.1469)	Shakespeare		<i>cocks-combe</i> (A 1.1.115)	Jonson	
<i>catter-waling</i> (EM 4.2.96)	Jonson		<i>cocks-combe</i> (EM 1.1.54)	Jonson	
<i>cedar board</i> (A 2.1.87)	Jonson	NR	<i>Codshead</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	

<i>cole-blacke</i> (RII 5.1.2204)	Shakespeare		<i>Cow-herd</i> (A 1.1.107)	Jonson	
<i>cole-blacke</i> (T 3.1.25)	Marlowe		<i>Coxcombe</i> (TS 2.1.1031)	Shakespeare	
<i>comick-writers</i> (A P.11)	Jonson	NR	<i>Coxcombe</i> (O 5.2.3137)	Shakespeare	
<i>commonweale</i> (EII 20.63)	Marlowe		<i>crackhempe</i> (TS 5.1.2300)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>commonwealth</i> (RII 2.3.1230)	Shakespeare		<i>craftsmen</i> (RII 1.4.578)	Shakespeare	
<i>Common-wealth</i> (S 3.29)	Jonson		<i>Crest-fallen</i> (RII 1.1.188)	Shakespeare	
<i>common-wealth</i> (EM 3.4.33)	Jonson		<i>crowes-head</i> (A 2.3.68)	Jonson	NR
<i>common-wealth</i> (A 5.5.76)	Jonson		<i>cuckold-maker</i> (EM 4.10.57)	Jonson	
<i>companion Peeres</i> (RII 1.3.372)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>cunning men</i> (TS 1.1.371)	Shakespeare	
<i>Companion-Bashawes</i> (JM 5.5.51)	Marlowe	NR	<i>cunning-man</i> (A 1.2.8)	Jonson	AD
<i>conicatching</i> (TS 4.1.1597)	Shakespeare		<i>cup-bearer</i> (S 2.14)	Jonson	
<i>connie-catching</i> (EM 3.1.181)	Jonson		<i>custard coffen</i> (TS 4.3.1961)	Shakespeare	
<i>copataine hat</i> (TS 5.1.2320)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>Custom-house</i> (JM 1.1.56)	Marlowe	
<i>copies-mate</i> (EM 4.10.15)	Jonson		<i>Custom-house</i> (EM 3.2.69)	Jonson	
<i>coronation day</i> (EII 21.70)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Cut-purse</i> (A 1.1.108)	Jonson	
<i>Corronation day</i> (RII 5.5.2606)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>Cypres chests</i> (TS 2.1.1155)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Costar´-monger</i> (EM 1.3.61)	Jonson		<i>dab-chick</i> (A 4.2.60)	Jonson	
<i>costar-monger</i> (A 4.1.57)	Jonson		<i>Dagger frume´ty</i> (A 5.4.42)	Jonson	NR
<i>councell chamber</i> (EII 23.20)	Marlowe		<i>damaske suite</i> (A 2.6.72)	Jonson	NR
<i>councell table</i> (EII 21.58)	Marlowe	AD	<i>day-light</i> (EM 4.7.4)	Jonson	
<i>Counsell-house</i> (JM 1.1.145)	Marlowe		<i>day-Owles</i> (A 5.5.12)	Jonson	
<i>Counter-caster</i> (O 1.1.30)	Shakespeare	HL	<i>dead drunke</i> (O 2.3.1081)	Shakespeare	
<i>counter-point</i> (S 3.127)	Jonson		<i>dead mens</i> (JM 2.3.186)	Marlowe	
<i>Counting-house</i> (JM 1.1.R)	Marlowe		<i>death-bed</i> (RII 2.1.709)	Shakespeare	
<i>Coutrey disposition</i> (O 3.3.1653)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>death-bed</i> (O 5.2.2952)	Shakespeare	
<i>coutrey formes</i> (O 3.3.1691)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>December snow</i> (RII 1.3.540)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>coutrey Gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	NR	<i>deep-mouth´d</i> (TS II.16)	Shakespeare	AD
<i>coutrey man</i> (O 5.1.2857)	Shakespeare		<i>demy diuell</i> (O 5.2.3203)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>coutreymen</i> (RII 1.4.584)	Shakespeare		<i>dinner time</i> (TS 4.3.2065)	Shakespeare	
<i>countriman</i> (EM 3.1.161)	Jonson		<i>diuels dam</i> (TS 1.1.379)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Countrimen</i> (TS 1.1.469)	Shakespeare		<i>dog-bolt</i> (A 1.1.121)	Jonson	
<i>countrimen</i> (EII 15.1)	Marlowe		<i>dogge-wearie</i> (TS 4.2.1817)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>countrimen</i> (T 5.1.60)	Marlowe		<i>dog-leach</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	
<i>country Swaines</i> (T 1.2.47)	Marlowe	NR	<i>dogs-meate</i> (A 1.2.45)	Jonson	
<i>Countrymen</i> (JM 1.1.140)	Marlowe		<i>dole-beer</i> (A 1.1.53)	Jonson	HL
<i>court stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	NR	<i>dolphins milke</i> (A 4.1.160)	Jonson	NR
<i>court-fucus</i> (A 1.3.73)	Jonson	AD	<i>Douer pire</i> (A 3.3.19)	Jonson	
<i>court-god</i> (S 1.203)	Jonson	NR	<i>downe right</i> (O 1.3.535)	Shakespeare	
<i>court-hand</i> (A 1.2.24)	Jonson		<i>downe-bed</i> (A 3.3.43)	Jonson	
			<i>downefall</i> (RII 3.4.1804)	Shakespeare	
			<i>downfall</i> (T 2.7.6)	Marlowe	

<i>downfall</i> (EII 4.18)	Marlowe		<i>fetherbed</i> (EII 22.33)	Marlowe	
<i>draimen</i> (RII 1.4.582)	Shakespeare		<i>field rapier</i> (EM 2.4.92)	Jonson	NR
<i>drinking-schole</i> (EM 4.2.109)	Jonson	NR	<i>field-pieces</i> (JM 5.5.27)	Marlowe	
<i>dripping-pans</i> (A 2.3.120)	Jonson		<i>fiftie headed</i> (T 1.2.103)	Marlowe	NR
<i>dung-hills</i> (A 1.1.34)	Jonson		<i>fire-brands</i> (S 1.209)	Jonson	
<i>dung-worme</i> (EM 3.5.127)	Jonson	AD	<i>firebrands</i> (T 5.1.219)	Marlowe	
<i>dying day</i> (EM 2.5.144)	Jonson		<i>fire-drake</i> (A 2.1.26)	Jonson	
<i>eare-peircing</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>first betrothed</i> (T 5.1.389)	Marlowe	NR
<i>eare-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	RNF	<i>fish-monger</i> (EM 1.4.67)	Jonson	
<i>eare-rent</i> (A 1.1.169)	Jonson	RNF	<i>fish-wife</i> (A 1.4.2)	Jonson	
<i>earth-mettall'd</i> (JM 1.2.79)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Fly-blow</i> (S 5.511)	Jonson	
<i>east-side</i> (A 1.3.64)	Jonson		<i>Flanders mares</i> (JM 3.4.114)	Marlowe	AD
<i>Edwards shillings</i> (A 3.4.142)	Jonson	NR	<i>flap-ear'd</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>egge-shells</i> (A 2.3.194)	Jonson		<i>flint bosome</i> (RII 5.1.2158)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Egypt-dust</i> (A 4.5.9)	Jonson	NR	<i>flutter-mouse</i> (A 5.4.89)	Jonson	
<i>Egypt-south</i> (A 4.5.5)	Jonson	NR	<i>flock-bed</i> (A 5.4.147)	Jonson	
<i>elboe</i> (O 5.1.2769)	Shakespeare		<i>floodgate</i> (O 1.3.342)	Shakespeare	
<i>elbow</i> (EII 18.33)	Marlowe		<i>foot-boy</i> (A 2.2.80)	Jonson	
<i>elbow</i> (S 5.510)	Jonson		<i>foot-boy</i> (TS 3.2.1375)	Shakespeare	
<i>Elizabeth groat</i> (A 3.4.144)	Jonson	NR	<i>footmen</i> (T 3.1.64)	Marlowe	
<i>ember-weekes</i> (EM 3.4.4)	Jonson		<i>Foot-men</i> (A 4.4.46)	Jonson	
<i>English man</i> (O 2.3.1080)	Shakespeare		<i>foot-stoole</i> (T 4.2.1)	Marlowe	
<i>Englishman</i> (RII 1.1.66)	Shakespeare		<i>fore-fathers</i> (S 1.481)	Jonson	
<i>estrich tailes</i> (A 2.2.69)	Jonson	AD	<i>fore-finger</i> (A 1.3.53)	Jonson	
<i>euer-burning</i> (O 3.3.1913)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>forehead</i> (EM 4.4.5)	Jonson	
<i>ever drisling</i> (T 4.1.31)	Marlowe	NR	<i>forrest Deare</i> (EII 18.9)	Marlowe	NR
<i>ever howling</i> (5.1.245)	Marlowe	NR	<i>forrest woods</i> (RII 3.1.1282)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>ever shining</i> (T 4.2.9)	Marlowe	NR	<i>fortnight</i> (A 1.1.188)	Jonson	
<i>everlasting</i> (JM 1.2.166)	Marlowe		<i>free-hold</i> (4JM .2.19)	Marlowe	
<i>everliving</i> (T 5.1.290)	Marlowe		<i>french beans</i> (A 1.3.29)	Jonson	
<i>eye lids</i> (EII 5.39)	Marlowe		<i>Frenchman</i> (EII 2.7)	Marlowe	
<i>eye-lids</i> (JM 2.1.59)	Marlowe		<i>French-man</i> (JM 4.4.35)	Marlowe	
<i>eye-reach</i> (S 5.508)	Jonson	RNF	<i>fruit trees</i> (RII 3.4.1770)	Shakespeare	
<i>eye-sight</i> (A 4.2.70)	Jonson		<i>full gorg'd</i> (TS 4.1.1737)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>eye-sore</i> (TS 3.2.1408)	Shakespeare		<i>full stuft</i> (S 3.435)	Jonson	AD
<i>Faerie land</i> (A 5.4.55)	Jonson		<i>funerall robes</i> (EII 23.95)	Marlowe	NR
<i>fainthearted</i> (T 1.2.130)	Marlowe		<i>gally-slaves</i> (JM 2.3.205)	Marlowe	
<i>Falcons flight</i> (RII 1.3.340)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>Gentleman</i> (RII 1.1.148)	Shakespeare	
<i>farme house</i> (S 4.48)	Jonson		<i>Gentleman</i> (TS 1.2.696)	Shakespeare	
<i>Fasting dayes</i> (EM 3.4.1)	Jonson		<i>Gentleman</i> (O 1.3.593)	Shakespeare	
<i>Ferriman</i> (T 5.1.246)	Marlowe		<i>gentleman</i> (EII 4.29)	Marlowe	

<i>gentleman</i> (S A. 1)	Jonson		<i>halfe-chekt</i> (TS 3.2.1362)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>Gentlemen</i> (T 1.1.140)	Marlowe		<i>halfe-circle</i> (A 3.4.34)	Jonson	
<i>gentlemen</i> (A 1.1.2)	Jonson		<i>halfe-crowne</i> (A 3.5.43)	Jonson	
<i>gentlemen</i> (EM 1.2.1)	Jonson		<i>halfe-dozen</i> (EM 3.5.13)	Jonson	AD
<i>Gentlemen</i> (JM 3.1.7)	Marlowe		<i>halfe-peny</i> (EM 2.1.80)	Jonson	
<i>Gentlewoman</i> (O 3.1.1411)	Shakespeare		<i>handful</i> (T 2.3.17)	Marlowe	
<i>Gentlewoman</i> (JM 4.2.50)	Marlowe		<i>handkercher</i> (O 3.3.1758)	Shakespeare	
<i>Gentlewoman</i> (TS II.83)	Shakespeare		<i>hand-kerchiefs</i> (A 3.5.22)	Jonson	
<i>gentlewomen</i> (A 5.1.3)	Jonson		<i>Handmaids</i> (T 4.2.69)	Marlowe	
<i>Giant-race</i> (S 4.270)	Jonson	AD	<i>hangman</i> (O 1.1.33)	Shakespeare	
<i>ginger-bread</i> (A 3.5.66)	Jonson		<i>hang-man</i> (EM 1.4.92)	Jonson	
<i>Ginny Hen</i> (O 1.3.601)	Shakespeare		<i>hangman</i> (EII 11.274)	Marlowe	
<i>glad-suruiuing</i> (S 3.57)	Jonson	HL	<i>Hangman</i> (JM 4.2.23)	Marlowe	
<i>Glasse-men</i> (A 3.1.22)	Jonson		<i>hang-men</i> (S 2.416)	Jonson	
<i>Goate feet</i> (EII 1.60)	Marlowe	RNF	<i>hard fauourd</i> (RII 5.1.2169)	Shakespeare	
<i>godfathers</i> (JM 4.1.112)	Marlowe		<i>hard-hearted</i> (JM 3.3.40)	Marlowe	
<i>Gods-guift</i> (A 3.3.49)	Jonson		<i>hard-hearted</i> (RII 5.3.2459)	Shakespeare	
<i>Gog-dust</i> (A 4.5.9)	Jonson	NR	<i>Harry's soueraigne</i> (A 3.4.143)	Jonson	NR
<i>Gog-north</i> (A 4.5.5)	Jonson	NR	<i>hart bloud</i> (EII 4.38)	Marlowe	
<i>gold-smith</i> (A 1.3.32)	Jonson		<i>harvest time</i> (T 1.1.31)	Marlowe	
<i>good-man</i> (TS I2.239)	Shakespeare		<i>hastie witted</i> (TS 5.2.2443)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>good-wife</i> (EM 4.10.55)	Jonson		<i>hawking languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)	Jonson	NR
<i>goose-turd</i> (A 4.4.50)	Jonson		<i>hayle-shot</i> (EM 1.5.162)	Jonson	
<i>grammar schooles</i> (A 2.3.50)	Jonson		<i>hazle nuts</i> (TS 2.1.1058)	Shakespeare	
<i>Grashoppers</i> (JM 4.4.68)	Marlowe		<i>hazle twig</i> (TS 2.1.1056)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>grasse-greene</i> (JM 1.1.26)	Marlowe		<i>Headborough</i> (TS II.10)	Shakespeare	
<i>Grasse-hoppers</i> (A 5.5.15)	Jonson		<i>headstall</i> (TS 3.2.1362)	Shakespeare	
<i>Gray-beard</i> (TS 2.1.1142)	Shakespeare		<i>head-strong</i> (EII 6.262)	Marlowe	
<i>gray-hounds</i> (TS I2.182)	Shakespeare		<i>headstrong</i> (TS 4.1.1755)	Shakespeare	
<i>greedy minded</i> (T 2.2.67)	Marlowe		<i>heart bloude</i> (RII 1.1.172)	Shakespeare	
<i>greene eyd</i> (O 3.3.1618)	Shakespeare		<i>heart breaking</i> (EII 20.21)	Marlowe	
<i>greene-sickness</i> (A 4.6.52)	Jonson		<i>heart strings</i> (O 3.3.1713)	Shakespeare	
<i>grey-hound</i> (EM 1.2.126)	Jonson		<i>heart-bloud</i> (EM 4.8.32)	Jonson	
<i>grind-stone</i> (JM 4.3.9)	Marlowe		<i>heauy-gated</i> (RII 3.2.1318)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>Gripes egge</i> (A 2.3.40)	Jonson		<i>heavie headed</i> (EII 19.39)	Marlowe	
<i>Groome-porters</i> (A 3.4.61)	Jonson		<i>hedge corner</i> (TS II.18)	Shakespeare	AD
<i>Guiny-bird</i> (A 4.1.38)	Jonson	AD	<i>heire-breadth</i> (O 1.3.421)	Shakespeare	
<i>Gunpowder</i> (JM 5.5.28)	Marlowe		<i>hell paines</i> (O 1.1.156)	Shakespeare	
<i>hackney pace</i> (EM 3.5.15)	Jonson		<i>Hermes seale</i> (A 2.3.79)	Jonson	
<i>halfe brother</i> (EM 1.5.85)	Jonson		<i>herring-cob</i> (EM 1.4.27)	Jonson	
<i>halfe Lunaticke</i> (TS 2.1.1090)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>hide-bound</i> (A 5.5.144)	Jonson	

<i>high minded</i> (EII 1.150)	Marlowe		<i>huswiues</i> (O 1.3.558)	Shakespeare	
<i>high stomackt</i> (RII 1.1.18)	Shakespeare		<i>Iacke boy</i> (TS 4.1.1595)	Shakespeare	
<i>high treason</i> (RII 1.1.27)	Shakespeare		<i>Iames shillings</i> (A 3.4.144)	Jonson	NR
<i>high treason</i> (EII 17.57)	Marlowe		<i>iet ring</i> (EM 2.4.35)	Jonson	NR
<i>high way</i> (RII 1.4.555)	Shakespeare		<i>ill erected</i> (RII 5.1.2157)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>high wrought</i> (O 2.1.684)	Shakespeare		<i>ill placed</i> (S 5.892)	Jonson	AD
<i>high-Dutch</i> (A 2.1.83)	Jonson		<i>ill seeming</i> (TS 5.2.2549)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>high-waies</i> (A 1.3.24)	Jonson		<i>ill-dayes</i> (A 1.3.95)	Jonson	NR
<i>hobby horse</i> (O 4.1.2278)	Shakespeare		<i>ill-Starr'd</i> (O 5.2.3177)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>hob-nailes</i> (EM 1.5.98)	Jonson		<i>inke-dablers</i> (EM 5.5.44)	Jonson	HL
<i>hogs cheek</i> (JM 2.3.42)	Marlowe		<i>ioyn'd stoole</i> (TS 2.1.1005)	Shakespeare	
<i>hogs-flesh</i> (EM 1.2.75)	Jonson		<i>iron barre</i> (EM 2.3.29)	Jonson	NR
<i>holiday</i> (RII 3.1.1303)	Shakespeare		<i>iron carre</i> (EII 14.45)	Marlowe	NR
<i>Hollowmas</i> (RII 5.1.2235)	Shakespeare		<i>Iuory cofers</i> (TS 2.1.1154)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>holly land</i> (RII 5.5.2696)	Shakespeare		<i>Ivorie sled</i> (T 1.2.98)	Marlowe	NR
<i>Holly-Hoke</i> (JM 4.4.44)	Marlowe		<i>key-hole</i> (JM 2.3.264)	Marlowe	
<i>holy-day</i> (A 5.3.9)	Jonson		<i>kinsman</i> (RII 1.1.59)	Shakespeare	
<i>home allarmes</i> (RII 1.1.205)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>kinsman</i> (EM 1.1.66)	Jonson	
<i>home returne</i> (RII 1.3.535)	Shakespeare		<i>kins-man</i> (A 5.4.34)	Jonson	
<i>home-bred</i> (RII 1.3.460)	Shakespeare		<i>Kinsmans</i> (T 3.3.75)	Marlowe	
<i>hop-yards</i> (A 1.1.184)	Jonson		<i>Kinsmen</i> (O 1.1.69)	Shakespeare	
<i>horie-headed</i> (EM 4.10.42)	Jonson		<i>kinsmen</i> (S 1.1.13)	Jonson	
<i>Horse Boy</i> (EII Pers.)	Marlowe		<i>kitchin ware</i> (A 2.5.53)	Jonson	AD
<i>horse pestilence</i> (JM 3.4.116)	Marlowe	NR	<i>knee-crooking</i> (O 1.1.45)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>horse-dung</i> (A 1.1.84)	Jonson		<i>knight-aduenturers</i> (EM 4.8.128)	Jonson	AD
<i>horse-leeches</i> (S 4.356)	Jonson		<i>kniues point</i> (A 2.1.59)	Jonson	NR
<i>horse-race</i> (A 1.1.75)	Jonson		<i>lady-Tom</i> (A 5.5.127)	Jonson	NR
<i>horses hooffes</i> (T 3.3.150)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Lance-knights</i> (EM 2.4.21)	Jonson	
<i>horse-tail</i> (TS 4.1.1643)	Shakespeare		<i>lances pointes</i> (T 3.3.91)	Marlowe	NR
<i>horsmen</i> (T 1.2.111)	Marlowe		<i>land-Carrick</i> (O 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>beetle-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1703)	Shakespeare		<i>Landlord</i> (RII 2.1.728)	Shakespeare	
<i>horson</i> (TS 4.1.1675)	Shakespeare		<i>land-waters</i> (S 3.101)	Jonson	
<i>hour-glasse</i> (EM 3.3.49)	Jonson		<i>law-dayes</i> (O 3.3.1593)	Shakespeare	
<i>house affaires</i> (O 1.3.432)	Shakespeare		<i>law-French</i> (A 4.4.61)	Jonson	AD
<i>house-keeper</i> (A 5.3.19)	Jonson		<i>leane-lookt</i> (RII 2.4.1246)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>house-keeping</i> (TS 2.1.1160)	Shakespeare		<i>leane-witted</i> (RII 2.1.730)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>house-wiues</i> (EM 1.3.114)	Jonson		<i>leeke-porridge</i> (EM 3.4.45)	Jonson	AD
<i>houshold</i> (A 3.3.59)	Jonson		<i>leystalls</i> (EM 2.5.64)	Jonson	
<i>hunting-languages</i> (EM 1.1.42)	Jonson	NR	<i>lie-giuer</i> (RII 4.1.1891)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>hunting-match</i> (EM 2.4.10)	Jonson	AD			
<i>Huntsman</i> (TS I.1.13)	Shakespeare				

<i>Lieutenant-Coronell</i> (EM 3.5.22)	Jonson	NR	<i>Marcellus roade</i> (TS 2.1.1179)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>life-harming</i> (RII 2.2.919)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>mariage bed</i> (T 5.1.83)	Marlowe	
<i>lifetime</i> (JM 1.1.15)	Marlowe		<i>mariage day</i> (EII 4.173)	Marlowe	
<i>life-time</i> (EM 3.5.26)	Jonson		<i>mariage feast</i> (EII 6.256)	Marlowe	
<i>light-brainde</i> (EII 19.2)	Marlowe	HL	<i>mariage time</i> (T 5.1.505)	Marlowe	NR
<i>light-headed</i> (EII 4.400)	Marlowe		<i>Market-place</i> (JM 2.3.1)	Marlowe	
<i>light-wingd</i> (O 1.3.554)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Market-place</i> (TS 5.1.2267)	Shakespeare	
<i>lilly-pots</i> (A 1.3.28)	Jonson		<i>marshall lawe</i> (EII 21.89)	Marlowe	
<i>lip-good</i> (S 1.410)	Jonson	HL	<i>masking stufte</i> (TS 4.3.1966)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>liuery-punke</i> (A 2.1.11)	Jonson	AD	<i>master-prince</i> (S 2.165)	Jonson	NR
<i>Loadstarre</i> (JM 2.1.42)	Marlowe		<i>meane time</i> (EII 1.202)	Marlowe	
<i>load-stone</i> (A 1.3.69)	Jonson		<i>meane time</i> (O 3.3.1705)	Shakespeare	
<i>logger-headed</i> (TS 4.1.1671)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>meane time</i> (S T.t.R. 18)	Jonson	
<i>London streetes</i> (RII 5.5.2606)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>meat-yard</i> (TS 4.3.2029)	Shakespeare	
<i>long expected</i> (T 2.3.44)	Marlowe		<i>midnight</i> (JM 1.3.9)	Marlowe	
<i>long parted</i> (RII 3.2.1311)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>mid-night</i> (EM 3.3.137)	Jonson	
<i>long-sword</i> (EM 5.3.34)	Jonson		<i>midnight</i> (O 4.1.2334)	Shakespeare	
<i>Long-winded</i> (A 3.2.54)	Jonson		<i>mid-night</i> (S 5.296)	Jonson	
<i>Looking-Glasse</i> (RII 4.1.2090)	Shakespeare		<i>mid-way</i> (EM 2.4.16)	Jonson	
<i>loose bodied</i> (TS 4.3.2011)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>midwife</i> (S 1.421)	Jonson	
<i>love-sick</i> (EII 4.86)	Marlowe		<i>midwife</i> (RII 2.2.978)	Shakespeare	
<i>lust-staind</i> (O 5.1.2803)	Shakespeare	HL	<i>midwiues</i> (A 4.6.50)	Jonson	
<i>Lyon radge</i> (RII 2.1.788)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>milch-kine</i> (TS 2.1.1161)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>mad man</i> (TS 5.1.2311)	Shakespeare		<i>milke-white</i> (T 1.1.77)	Marlowe	
<i>mad men</i> (RII 5.5.2591)	Shakespeare		<i>mill-iade</i> (A 3.3.5)	Jonson	HL
<i>mad-brain 'd</i> (TS 3.3.1470)	Shakespeare		<i>minerall physicke</i> (A 2.3.231)	Jonson	
<i>mad-braine</i> (TS 3.2.1316)	Shakespeare		<i>Moone-light</i> (A 4.2.78)	Jonson	
<i>mad-folkes</i> (A 5.3.56)	Jonson	NR	<i>Moonelight</i> (TS 4.6.2182)	Shakespeare	
<i>Madge-howlet</i> (EM 2.2.23)	Jonson		<i>morning Larke</i> (JM 2.1.60)	Marlowe	
<i>mad-men</i> (A 1.1.5)	Jonson		<i>morning Larke</i> (TS I2.179)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Mad-mens</i> (S 4.315)	Jonson		<i>morning Roses</i> (TS 2.1.981)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>maid-pale</i> (RII 3.3.1614)	Shakespeare	HL	<i>Most-lou 'd</i> (S 3.531)	Jonson	NR
<i>make-peace</i> (RII 1.1.160)	Shakespeare		<i>mother wit</i> (TS 2.1.1066)	Shakespeare	
<i>male-spirited</i> (S 2.211)	Jonson	HL	<i>mother wits</i> (T P.1)	Marlowe	
<i>Malta Rhode</i> (JM 1.1.49)	Marlowe	NR	<i>mother-tongue</i> (A 3.3.70)	Jonson	
<i>malt-horse</i> (EM 1.5.89)	Jonson		<i>mountain top</i> (T 1.2.133)	Marlowe	
<i>mandrake juice</i> (JM 5.1.82)	Marlowe	RNF	<i>mountebancks</i> (O 1.3.347)	Shakespeare	
<i>man-kind</i> (A 1.3.28)	Jonson		<i>musket-rest</i> (EII 2.5.143)	Jonson	
<i>maple block</i> (A 1.3.30)	Jonson	RNF	<i>mustard reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.51)	Jonson	NR
<i>Marble stones</i> (JM 2.3.210)	Marlowe		<i>Neats foote</i> (TS 4.3.1896)	Shakespeare	
			<i>neckercher</i> (EM 3.6.55)	Jonson	



<i>neck-verse</i> (JM 4.2.20)	Marlowe		<i>nuptiall bed</i> (EII 18.31)	Marlowe	
<i>needle worke</i> (TS 2.1.1158)	Shakespeare		<i>oat-meale</i> (A 3.4.97)	Jonson	
<i>needles eie</i> (RII 5.5.2546)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>offering-Bason</i> (JM 2.3.28)	Marlowe	NR
<i>needles point</i> (EII 21.33)	Marlowe	NR	<i>off-spring</i> (JM 2.1.14)	Marlowe	
<i>neere leg'd</i> (TS 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	HL	<i>oile-dried</i> (RII 1.3.493)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>neighbour</i> (TS 2.1.848)	Shakespeare		<i>oliue-colour'd</i> (A 1.3.46)	Jonson	RNF
<i>neuer quenching</i> (RII 5.5.2637)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Olive tree</i> (EII 1.64)	Marlowe	
<i>never fading</i> (T 5.1.296)	Marlowe		<i>Olympushigh</i> (O 2.1.870)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>never staid</i> (T 5.1.88)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Orient Perle</i> (JM 1.1.86)	Marlowe	NR
<i>new betrothed</i> (JM 2.3.327)	Marlowe	NR	<i>ostrich stomack</i> (EM 3.1.183)	Jonson	NR
<i>new come</i> (EII 1.11)	Marlowe		<i>ouer-leather</i> (TS I2.148)	Shakespeare	
<i>new come</i> (RII 5.2.2304)	Shakespeare		<i>ouer-sight</i> (A 5.5.54)	Jonson	
<i>new deliuerd</i> (RII 2.2.981)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>out-cast</i> (TS 1.1.307)	Shakespeare	
<i>new elected</i> (EII 18.78)	Marlowe	NR	<i>out-house</i> (JM 5.2.79)	Marlowe	
<i>new made</i> (RII 5.2.2302)	Shakespeare		<i>oysterwench</i> (RII 1.4.581)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>new made</i> (JM 1.2.302)	Marlowe		<i>oyster-women</i> (A 5.1.4)	Jonson	
<i>new-commented</i> (S 4.400)	Jonson	NR	<i>pack-saddle</i> (EM 1.5. 95)	Jonson	
<i>new-inspirde</i> (RII 2.1.645)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>packthred</i> (TS 3.2.1369)	Shakespeare	
<i>new-made</i> (S 5. 661)	Jonson		<i>pack-thred</i> (EM 4.6.40)	Jonson	
<i>night brawler</i> (O 2.3.1195)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>palace gates</i> (EII 11.215)	Marlowe	
<i>night growne</i> (EII 4.284)	Marlowe	RNF	<i>Palace-rattes</i> (S 1.427)	Jonson	NR
<i>night time</i> (JM 2.3.207)	Marlowe		<i>pale fac't</i> (RII 2.3.1158)	Shakespeare	
<i>nightcap</i> (O 2.1.988)	Shakespeare		<i>paper-pedlers</i> (EM 5.5.43)	Jonson	NR
<i>night-ey'd</i> (S 4.363)	Jonson	RNF	<i>parcell-broker</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	RNF
<i>Night-gowne</i> (O 4.3.2695)	Shakespeare		<i>parchment bonds</i> (RII 2.1.678)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Nightingales</i> (TS I2.171)	Shakespeare		<i>park pale</i> (EII 5.73)	Marlowe	
<i>nightowles</i> (RII 3.3.1698)	Shakespeare		<i>Parler fire</i> (TS 5.2.1508)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>night-vestments</i> (S 5.91)	Jonson	NR	<i>partaker</i> (T 1.2.230)	Marlowe	
<i>noble born</i> (EII 4.80)	Marlowe		<i>partie-bawd</i> (A 3.3.11)	Jonson	HL
<i>noble man</i> (EII 4.277)	Marlowe		<i>parting teares</i> (RII 1.4.556)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>noble men</i> (T 1.1.22)	Marlowe		<i>party verdict</i> (RII 1.3.506)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>nobleman</i> (A 4.5.82)	Jonson		<i>passe-time</i> (A 1.2.8)	Jonson	
<i>noblemen</i> (EM 1.5.124)	Jonson		<i>pastime</i> (TS I1.65)	Shakespeare	
<i>no-buttocks</i> (A 1.1.37)	Jonson	NR	<i>pathway</i> (RII 1.2.236)	Shakespeare	
<i>Northeast winde</i> (RII 1.4.557)	Shakespeare		<i>Paulesman</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	RNF
<i>north-part</i> (A 1.3.66)	Jonson	NR	<i>pen-man</i> (EM 4.8.51)	Jonson	
<i>north-west</i> (EM 1.2.77)	Jonson		<i>penn'orth</i> (A 2.5.55)	Jonson	
<i>Nosegay</i> (EII 5.35)	Marlowe		<i>petticoate</i> (TS 2.1.813)	Shakespeare	
<i>nostrill</i> (S T.t.R. 26)	Jonson		<i>petti-coats</i> (A 5.4.118)	Jonson	
<i>not-haile</i> (S 5.463)	Jonson	NR	<i>phesants egges</i> (A 4.1.157)	Jonson	NR
<i>nupson</i> (EM 4.6.59)	Jonson		<i>philosophers stone</i> (A 1.1.102)	Jonson	

<i>Philosophers stone</i> (JM 2.3.112)	Marlowe		<i>rime-giuen</i> (EM 4.2.14)	Jonson	NR
<i>philosophers vinegar</i> (A 2.3.100)	Jonson	HL	<i>Roman-catholike</i> (EM 3.3.89)	Jonson	
<i>Philosophers wheele</i> (A 2.3.44)	Jonson	HL	<i>rope trickes</i> (TS 1.2.637)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>pibble-stones</i> (JM 1.1.23)	Marlowe		<i>rose-lip'd</i> (O 4.2.2476)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>pick-purse</i> (A 4.6.26)	Jonson		<i>rose-vinegar</i> (A 5.2.12)	Jonson	
<i>pin-dust</i> (A 2.5.71)	Jonson		<i>rose-water</i> (EM 2.3.35)	Jonson	
<i>pins heads</i> (EII 5.48)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Rose-water</i> (TS II.54)	Shakespeare	
<i>pipe-full</i> (A 5.5.141)	Jonson		<i>rude-spun</i> (A 2.1.16)	Jonson	RNF
<i>Pisa walls</i> (TS 2.1.1171)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>ruffian-tricks</i> (EM 4.2.107)	Jonson	NR
<i>plaguy-houses</i> (A 1.4.19)	Jonson	NR	<i>rugg gowne</i> (A 2.6.21)	Jonson	
<i>play-houses</i> (A 3.4.70)	Jonson		<i>rugheaded</i> (RII 2.1.771)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>plume-pluckt</i> (RII 4.1.1931)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>rush Candle</i> (TS 4.6.2193)	Shakespeare	
<i>pocket-muse</i> (EM 5.5.16)	Jonson	NR	<i>S. Maries bath</i> (A 2.3.61)	Jonson	NR
<i>pomander-bracelets</i> (A 1.4.21)	Jonson	RNF	<i>sack-lees</i> (A 1.3.24)	Jonson	NR
<i>port-maisters</i> (EII 14.22)	Marlowe	RNF	<i>safeguard</i> (RII 1.2.240)	Shakespeare	
<i>port-towne</i> (A 5.5.123)	Jonson		<i>Saile-maker</i> (TS 5.1.2330)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>pot-hangers</i> (A 2.3.120)	Jonson		<i>Sailors wiues</i> (A 5.1.4)	Jonson	NR
<i>poulder-cornes</i> (A 1.1.31)	Jonson	HL	<i>Salmons taile</i> (O 2.1.840)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>prison walles</i> (RII 5.5.2550)	Shakespeare		<i>salt teares</i> (O 4.3.2708)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>privie seale</i> (EII 19.37)	Marlowe		<i>salt-water</i> (EM 3.4.57)	Jonson	
<i>proud minded</i> (TS 2.1.939)	Shakespeare		<i>salt-Water</i> (RII 4.1.2067)	Shakespeare	
<i>Proud-daring</i> (JM 2.1.53)	Marlowe	NR	<i>sand-heat</i> (A 2.3.58)	Jonson	RNF
<i>puck-fist</i> (A 1.2.63)	Jonson		<i>savage minded</i> (EII 4.78)	Marlowe	NR
<i>puddle water</i> (EII 20.30)	Marlowe		<i>scarce-seene</i> (S 2.43)	Jonson	NR
<i>punque-master</i> (A 4.3.56)	Jonson	HL	<i>schoole boy</i> (EII 11.30)	Marlowe	
<i>puppit-play</i> (A 1.2.79)	Jonson		<i>Schoolemasters</i> (TS 1.1.368)	Shakespeare	
<i>quarter-looke</i> (S 5.389)	Jonson	RNF	<i>scot-free</i> (EM 3.7.15)	Jonson	
<i>quick silver</i> (EII 21.36)	Marlowe		<i>sea banke</i> (O 4.1.2258)	Shakespeare	
<i>quicke witted</i> (TS 5.2.2441)	Shakespeare		<i>Sea-man</i> (T 3.2.76)	Marlowe	
<i>quick-sand</i> (EM 3.3.29)	Jonson		<i>Sea-marke</i> (O 5.2.3172)	Shakespeare	
<i>quick-silver</i> (A 2.3.153)	Jonson		<i>sea-men</i> (JM 1.1.76)	Marlowe	
<i>rake-hells</i> (EM 4.3.13)	Jonson		<i>sea-side</i> (S 4.49)	Jonson	
<i>ram-mutton</i> (A 3.4.112)	Jonson		<i>sea-walled</i> (RII 3.4.1768)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>ram-vellam</i> (A 2.1.91)	Jonson	NR	<i>seildsene</i> (JM 1.1.28)	Marlowe	
<i>rare witted</i> (JM 3.1.7)	Marlowe	NR	<i>selfe affrighted</i> (RII 3.2.1351)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>rasher-bacon</i> (EM 1.4.28)	Jonson	NR	<i>selfe-bloud</i> (S 3.71)	Jonson	HL
<i>rats-bane</i> (EM 3.5.115)	Jonson		<i>selfeborne</i> (RII 2.3.1145)	Shakespeare	
<i>Ravens wing</i> (JM 4.2.33)	Marlowe	NR	<i>selfe-bounty</i> (O 3.3.1652)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>red hote</i> (EII 22.30)	Marlowe		<i>selfe-charity</i> (O 2.3.1201)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>rice porredge</i> (JM 3.4.66)	Marlowe	RNF	<i>selfe-loue</i> (S 1.130)	Jonson	
			<i>selfe-loue</i> (EM 3.1.105)	Jonson	

<i>selfe-same</i> (EM 1.1.16)	Jonson		<i>spirit-stirring</i> (O 3.3.1804)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>selfesame</i> (TS 5.2.2406)	Shakespeare		<i>spruce-honest</i> (A 1.3.32)	Jonson	NR
<i>Senate-house</i> (JM 1.1.164)	Marlowe		<i>spur-leathers</i> (EM 2.1.83)	Jonson	RNF
<i>Senate-house</i> (S 5.449)	Jonson		<i>spur-ryall</i> (A 3.5.33)	Jonson	
<i>sennights</i> (O 2.1.760)	Shakespeare		<i>star-light</i> (EII 1.16)	Marlowe	
<i>Serpents curse</i> (O 4.2.2428)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>starting holes</i> (EII 11.127)	Marlowe	
<i>seruing boy</i> (S 1.212)	Jonson	NR	<i>State affaires</i> (O 1.3.358)	Shakespeare	
<i>seruingman</i> (EM 1.2.27)	Jonson		<i>State matters</i> (O 3.4.2082)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>seruingman</i> (RII 2.2.R)	Shakespeare		<i>states-man</i> (S 3.722)	Jonson	
<i>seruingmen</i> (TS P.)	Shakespeare		<i>Statesmen</i> (O 1.2.286)	Shakespeare	
<i>Sessions day</i> (JM 2.3.106)	Marlowe		<i>stedfast</i> (EII 22.77)	Marlowe	
<i>seuen-night</i> (EM 3.5.72)	Jonson		<i>steele-bard</i> (JM 1.1.14)	Marlowe	AD
<i>Sharpe forked</i> (T 5.1.217)	Marlowe	NR	<i>still-breeding</i> (RII 5.5.2537)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Shee Asses</i> (JM 1.2.185)	Marlowe		<i>stock-affaires</i> (A 5.4.93)	Jonson	NR
<i>sheepeherd</i> (EII 6.61)	Marlowe		<i>stock-fish</i> (EM 3.4.63)	Jonson	
<i>sheepes leather</i> (TS 3.2.1363)	Shakespeare		<i>stone-Iugs</i> (TS I2.223)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>sheepe-skin</i> (A 2.1.91)	Jonson		<i>strawberries</i> (O 3.3.1887)	Shakespeare	
<i>Shepherds weed</i> (T 1.2.199)	Marlowe	NR	<i>straw-berries</i> (A 4.4.33)	Jonson	
<i>Shepherd</i> (T Per.)	Marlowe		<i>streete dore</i> (EM 1.3.24)	Jonson	
<i>shipwrack body</i> (EII 4.205)	Marlowe		<i>strong built</i> (JM P 22)	Marlowe	RNF
<i>shooing-horne</i> (A 2.4.13)	Jonson		<i>suburb-Captayne</i> (A 1.1.19)	Jonson	NR
<i>shoulder-shotten</i> (TS 3.2.1361)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>suburbe-humor</i> (EM 1.3.134)	Jonson	NR
<i>ill-fauour'd</i> (TS 1.2.585)	Shakespeare		<i>Sugar Canes</i> (JM R4.2.107)	Marlowe	
<i>shril voicd</i> (RII 5.3.2447)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>summer corne</i> (RII 3.3.1678)	Shakespeare	
<i>Sicamour tree</i> (O 4.3.2700)	Shakespeare		<i>Summer Evening</i> (JM 5.3.41)	Marlowe	NR
<i>silke russet</i> (EM 4.9.62)	Jonson	NR	<i>summer flies</i> (O 4.2.2479)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>silke stockings</i> (EM 4.9.49)	Jonson		<i>summer leaues</i> (RII 1.2.225)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>silke-hose</i> (EM 1.3.47)	Jonson	NR	<i>Sun-bright</i> (T 2.3.22)	Marlowe	
<i>siluer Bason</i> (TS I.1.53)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>sunne-shine</i> (EM 3.1.7)	Jonson	
<i>siluer shells</i> (A 4.1.158)	Jonson	NR	<i>sun-shine</i> (EII 11.51)	Marlowe	
<i>siluer-breakers</i> (A 5.4.117)	Jonson	NR	<i>supper time</i> (O 4.2.2658)	Shakespeare	
<i>silver tongs</i> (A 1.3.30)	Jonson	NR	<i>supper time</i> (TS 4.3.2067)	Shakespeare	
<i>sixe-pence</i> (EM 1.4.89)	Jonson		<i>swag-bellied</i> (O 2.3.1078)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>sixpence</i> (O 2.3.1090)	Shakespeare		<i>sweet fac'd</i> (JM 4.2.47)	Marlowe	
<i>slaughter-house</i> (S 4.388)	Jonson		<i>sweet hart</i> (EII 13.27)	Marlowe	
<i>slow-wing'd</i> (TS 2.1.1015)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Sweet heart</i> (EM 2.3.35)	Jonson	
<i>smock-rampant</i> (A 5.4.126)	Jonson	NR	<i>sweet-hart</i> (JM 4.4.43)	Marlowe	
<i>smokie-bearded</i> (A 4.6.41)	Jonson	RNF	<i>swift-footed</i> (JM 2.1.7)	Marlowe	AD
<i>smoothe toongd</i> (EII 16.66)	Marlowe	RNF	<i>swine-eating</i> (JM 2.3.7)	Marlowe	HL
<i>sordid-base</i> (EM 2.5.96)	Jonson		<i>sword prooffe</i> (EII 2.8)	Marlowe	RNF
<i>sordide-base</i> (S 3.188)	Jonson	AD	<i>tabacco-Boy</i> (A 3.4.16)	Jonson	NR

<i>Tabacco-men</i> (A 5.1.5)	Jonson	AD	<i>Tragick writer</i> (S T.t.R. 21)	Jonson	NR
<i>tabacco-pipe</i> (EM 3.5.114)	Jonson		<i>traitour coward</i> (RII 1.1.102)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>tabacco-traders</i> (EM 3.5.96)	Jonson	AD	<i>trencher-rascall</i> (A 1.1.103)	Jonson	HL
<i>taffata-sarsnet</i> (A 2.2.89)	Jonson	NR	<i>Tribunes place</i> (S 1.182)	Jonson	NR
<i>taming schoole</i> (TS 4.2.1812)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>tribute mony</i> (JM 1.2.68)	Marlowe	
<i>tankard-bearer</i> (EM 1.3.110)	Jonson		<i>triple headed</i> (T 1.2.161)	Marlowe	
<i>taperlights</i> (EII 4.98)	Marlowe		<i>triple worthy</i> (T 3.2.112)	Marlowe	NR
<i>tauerne cups</i> (A 5.4.118)	Jonson	NR	<i>triumph day</i> (RII 5.2.2323)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>tauern-token</i> (EM 1.4.55)	Jonson		<i>true-born</i> (A 4.7.2)	Jonson	
<i>temple doores</i> (S 5.475)	Jonson		<i>trumpets clangue</i> (TS 1.2.731)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Temple-church</i> (A 2.3.289)	Jonson	AD	<i>trumpets sound</i> (T 1.1.133)	Marlowe	NR
<i>tender-hearted</i> (RII 3.3.1676)	Shakespeare		<i>trunke sleeve</i> (TS 4.3.2018)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>thicklips</i> (O 1.1.66)	Shakespeare	HL	<i>tumbling tricke</i> (TS I2.270)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>Thistle tops</i> (JM 5.2.42)	Marlowe		<i>tumbrell-slop</i> (EM 2.2.24)	Jonson	NR
<i>thred-bare</i> (EM 3.7.65)	Jonson		<i>Turband Turke</i> (O 5.2.3259)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Three-farthings</i> (EM 2.1.70)	Jonson		<i>turnep-cart</i> (A 5.5.81)	Jonson	AD
<i>three-legg'd</i> (TS 1.1.338)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>turtle-billing</i> (EM 1.5.68)	Jonson	HL
<i>three-pild</i> (EM 3.3.38)	Jonson		<i>twelue-moneth</i> (EM 3.7.30)	Jonson	
<i>thrice noble</i> (T 1.2.249)	Marlowe	NR	<i>twelue-month</i> (A 4.4.34)	Jonson	
<i>thrice noble</i> (TS I2.251)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>Twiggen-bottle</i> (O 2.3.1148)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>thrice renowned</i> (T 2.5.6)	Marlowe	NR	<i>tyrant custome</i> (O 1.3.514)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>thrise noble</i> (RII 3.3.1619)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>tyring-house</i> (EM P.12)	Jonson	
<i>Thunderbolts</i> (T 2.3.19)	Marlowe		<i>vnder-scribe</i> (A 1.2.49)	Jonson	HL
<i>thunderclaps</i> (T 3.2.80)	Marlowe		<i>vplifted</i> (RII 2.2.966)	Shakespeare	
<i>Tigers milke</i> (EII 18.71)	Marlowe	AD	<i>vpriht</i> (S 5.244)	Jonson	
<i>time bewasted</i> (RII 1.3.493)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>vpriht</i> (RII 1.1.121)	Shakespeare	
<i>time honourd</i> (RII 1.1.1)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>upstart</i> (EII 4.41)	Marlowe	
<i>tin-foild</i> (EM 1.3.114)	Jonson		<i>vpstart</i> (S 5.1.465)	Jonson	
<i>Tinkers pans</i> (JM 4.1.3)	Marlowe	NR	<i>vpstart</i> (A 1.1.127)	Jonson	
<i>tom-boyes</i> (A 5.5.80)	Jonson		<i>varlets gowne</i> (EM 5.3.107)	Jonson	NR
<i>tongue-reach</i> (S 5.509)	Jonson	NR	<i>varlets sute</i> (EM 4.9.76)	Jonson	NR
<i>tooth-ach</i> (A 5.1.13)	Jonson		<i>vassaille hands</i> (RII 3.3.1605)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>top-branches</i> (EII 6.17)	Marlowe	NR	<i>veluet hose</i> (TS 5.1.2320)	Shakespeare	
<i>topflag</i> (EII 4.276)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Venice gold</i> (TS 2.1.1158)	Shakespeare	
<i>Torried Zone</i> (T 4.4.133)	Marlowe		<i>vineger reuenge</i> (EM 3.6.50)	Jonson	NR
<i>totter'd staring</i> (JM 4.3.6)	Marlowe	NR	<i>vineyards</i> (JM 4.2.103)	Marlowe	
<i>Towne Armory</i> (TS 3.2.1353)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>vipers tooth</i> (S 3.385)	Jonson	NR
<i>towne-gull</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson	NR	<i>Vouchsafe</i> (EM 1.5.22)	Jonson	
<i>Towne-seale</i> (JM 2.3.104)	Marlowe		<i>vouchsafe</i> (S 1.495)	Jonson	
<i>townes-man</i> (A 2.6.12)	Jonson		<i>vouchsafes</i> (EII 2.18)	Marlowe	
<i>towne-stallions</i> (A 2.2.66)	Jonson	NR	<i>vouchsaft</i> (T 4.4.139)	Marlowe	

<i>voyce potentiall</i> (O 1.2.199)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>whirle winde</i> (EII 16.68)	Marlowe	
<i>waiting maid</i> (T 3.3.177)	Marlowe		<i>whirle-wind</i> (S 4.353)	Jonson	
<i>waiting-maide</i> (A 4.6.51)	Jonson		<i>whirlewinds</i> (TS 5.2.2546)	Shakespeare	
<i>walking mates</i> (EM 2.2.29)	Jonson		<i>white oyle</i> (S 2.64)	Jonson	
<i>walking staffe</i> (RII 3.3.1668)	Shakespeare		<i>whole-bawd</i> (A 4.6.33)	Jonson	RNF
<i>ware-house</i> (EM 2.1.4)	Jonson		<i>whore-master</i> (A 4.6.24)	Jonson	
<i>Ware-houses</i> (JM 4.1.67)	Marlowe		<i>whore-sonne</i> (A 1.1.127)	Jonson	
<i>warming-pan</i> (JM 4.2.34)	Marlowe		<i>Whorson</i> (EM 1.2.27)	Jonson	
<i>warning-peece</i> (JM 5.5.39)	Marlowe		<i>wide gasping</i> (T 5.1.460)	Marlowe	NR
<i>Water-bearer</i> (EM Pers.)	Jonson		<i>Wildcats</i> (O 2.1.795)	Shakespeare	
<i>Water-drops</i> (RII 4.1.2084)	Shakespeare		<i>Wilde-cat</i> (TS 1.2.721)	Shakespeare	
<i>water-tankard</i> (EM 3.7.10)	Jonson	NR	<i>wildefire</i> (T 5.1.312)	Marlowe	
<i>water-worke</i> (A 2.1.76)	Jonson		<i>wild-fowle</i> (A 5.3.79)	Jonson	
<i>watring pots</i> (A 1.1.67)	Jonson		<i>Winchester pipes</i> (A 1.3.31)	Jonson	NR
<i>weapons pointes</i> (T 3.3.157)	Marlowe	NR	<i>wind Instruments</i> (O 3.1.1393)	Shakespeare	
<i>wedding cheere</i> (TS 3.3.1493)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>Windegalls</i> (TS 3.2.1358)	Shakespeare	
<i>wedding day</i> (TS 2.1.841)	Shakespeare		<i>wind-instruments</i> (EM 3.1.62)	Jonson	
<i>wedding garment</i> (TS 4.1.1602)	Shakespeare		<i>wind-mill</i> (EM 1.2.91)	Jonson	
<i>wedding sheetes</i> (O 4.2.2519)	Shakespeare	RNF	<i>wind-pipe</i> (EII 21.33)	Marlowe	
<i>welbeloved</i> (EII 16.33)	Marlowe		<i>winter cricket</i> (TS 4.3.1988)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Welchman</i> (RII 2.4.1240)	Shakespeare		<i>winters tales</i> (JM 2.1.25)	Marlowe	AD
<i>well approu'd</i> (TS 1.1.281)	Shakespeare		<i>wire-drawne</i> (A 3.2.88)	Jonson	
<i>well assur'd</i> (RII 2.4.1252)	Shakespeare		<i>wise men</i> (JM 4.1.125)	Marlowe	adams
<i>well beloued</i> (TS 5.1.2283)	Shakespeare		<i>wisemen</i> (RII 3.2.1477)	Shakespeare	
<i>well deserving</i> (RII 2.1.809)	Shakespeare		<i>wit-brokers</i> (EM 4.2.56)	Jonson	NR
<i>well disposed</i> (RII 2.1.821)	Shakespeare		<i>witchcraft</i> (O 1.3.350)	Shakespeare	
<i>well furnisht</i> (RII 2.1.901)	Shakespeare		<i>woing dance</i> (TS 1.2.593)	Shakespeare	HL
<i>well meaning</i> (RII 2.1.743)	Shakespeare		<i>wolfe-turn 'd</i> (S 3.251)	Jonson	NR
<i>well painted</i> (O 4.1.2386)	Shakespeare		<i>wolves iaws</i> (S 4.298)	Jonson	NR
<i>well pend</i> (EM 1.5.48)	Jonson		<i>Woodcocke</i> (TS 1.2.684)	Shakespeare	
<i>well perfum'd</i> (TS 1.2.675)	Shakespeare	NR	<i>worlds-renown 'd</i> (S 4.121)	Jonson	NR
<i>well read</i> (TS 1.2.168)	Shakespeare		<i>worme-eaten</i> (EM 3.5.11)	Jonson	
<i>well reclaim'd</i> (EII 13.57)	Marlowe	NR	<i>Wrath kindled</i> (RII 1.1.152)	Shakespeare	RNF
<i>well tun 'd</i> (O 2.1.881)	Shakespeare		<i>writing fellow</i> (S 2.304)	Jonson	NR
<i>well-experienc 'd</i> (EM 1.5.138)	Jonson		<i>yron armes</i> (RII 1.3.409)	Shakespeare	NR
<i>Well-gract</i> (RII 5.2.2281)	Shakespeare		<i>yron bils</i> (T 4.1.25)	Marlowe	NR
<i>well-spoken</i> (S 3.223)	Jonson		<i>yron chaines</i> (T 1.2.174)	Marlowe	NR
<i>well-watch 'd</i> (EM 3.3.28)	Jonson	NR	<i>Yvory pen</i> (T 5.1.145)	Marlowe	NR
<i>wel-read</i> (S 3.694)	Jonson				
<i>whetstone</i> (EM 4.2.124)	Jonson				

Table 65: Alphabetical list of all compounds from the corpus

## Kurzzusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit widmete sich der Analyse und Klassifizierung frühneuenglischer Komposita aus Theaterstücken der drei bekanntesten Autoren der englischen Renaissance, Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare und Ben Jonson. Dabei sollte nicht nur ein Beitrag zum bisher kaum beachteten Forschungsbereich frühneuenglischer Wortbildung geleistet werden, sondern auch eine vergleichende Perspektive auf Kreativität, Originalität und Vielfalt im Sprachgebrauch der jeweiligen Autoren eingenommen werden, von denen einzig Shakespeare gemeinhin als unübertroffene Koryphäe gehandelt wird.

Um einen empirischen und ganzheitlichen Blick auf Kompositagebrauch und Kreativität der drei Autoren, sowie auf den generellen Facettenreichtum frühneuenglischer Komposita(-bildung) im literarischen Kontext zu erhalten, wurden die Komposita aus insgesamt neun Werken, darunter Tragödien, Komödien sowie Historien, gesammelt und im Rahmen von drei übergeordneten Schwerpunktbereichen analysiert. Dabei war zunächst eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Begriff des (frühneuenglischen) Kompositums an sich, sowie den vielfältigen Problembereichen, die dieser Begriff aufwirft, und den verschiedenen Kriterien, sowie Analysemöglichkeiten, die von der Forschung in diesem Bereich herangezogen werden, geboten, um schließlich im Ergebnis zu einer relativ weitgreifenden Kompositadefinition zu gelangen, die für die vorliegende Arbeit als die gewinnbringendste Lösung erschien.

Der erste Untersuchungsschwerpunkt umfasste daraufhin den rein quantitativen Blick auf die relative Häufigkeit von Komposita in den Texten der jeweiligen Autoren. Hierbei ließ sich beobachten, dass die Frequenz von Komposita in Ben Jonsons drei analysierten Stücken insgesamt die in den Werken Shakespeares und insbesondere Marlowes deutlich übersteigt und der verstärkte Gebrauch von Komposita somit, durchschnittlich betrachtet und verglichen mit seinen zwei Zeitgenossen, ein spezielles Charakteristikum von Ben Jonsons Sprache darstellt. Bei gesonderter Betrachtung der Kompositafrequenz in den einzelnen Stücken jedoch fiel auf, dass die Häufigkeit von Komposita in den Werken Shakespeares und Jonsons stark variiert und die drei Komödien aus dem Korpus, Shakespeares *The Taming of the Shrew* und Jonsons *Every Man in His Humour* und *The Alchemist*, die meisten Komposita (relativ zur Länge der Stücke) enthalten, während die Tragödien und Historien der beiden Autoren deutlich geringere Kompositafrequenzen aufweisen. Die quantitative Kompositaverwendung von Shakespeare und Jonson konnte daher mit dem jeweiligen Genre der Stücke, sowie der damit verbundenen Adaption der Sprache an die jeweiligen stilistischen Merkmale der Gattung in Verbindung

gebracht werden. So weisen die drei Komödien im Korpus beispielsweise vermehrt Schimpfworte, Spottnamen und Invektive auf, die häufig in Form von Substantivkomposita auftreten. Außerdem finden sich unter den Belegen aus den Komödien zahlreiche Komposita aus dem Bereich der Alltagssprache, die auf Objekte und Personengruppen des Alltagslebens, darunter insbesondere Berufsgruppen der niedrigeren Schichten, referieren und so das traditionell niedere bis mittlere Stilniveau der Komödie, die sich thematisch und sprachlich stärker am Konkreten und Alltäglichen orientiert, markieren. Eine vergleichbare Varianz in der Kompositahäufigkeit konnte für Christopher Marlowes Stücke, die keine Komödien, sondern ausschließlich Tragödien und Historien umfassen, von denen die drei analysierten Werke, *Tamburlaine Part 1*, *The Jew of Malta* und *Edward II*, jeweils relativ gleichmäßige moderate Kompositafrequenzen aufweisen, nicht festgestellt werden.

Der zweite Schwerpunktbereich der Untersuchung, der den Hauptteil der Arbeit darstellt, nahm eine qualitative Perspektive auf die frühneuenglischen Belege ein. Im Rahmen von drei untergeordneten Analysen wurden die Komposita aus dem Korpus systematisch nach den Gesichtspunkten der morphologischen Gestalt, der semantischen Struktur und ihrer jeweiligen Metaphorik analysiert und klassifiziert. Die morphologische Gestalt und somit die morphologischen Typen der Komposita bildeten hierbei den Ausgangspunkt für die Untergliederung der Belege, die in Kapitel 7 pro morphologischem Typ behandelt wurden. Im Bereich der morphologischen Untersuchungen wurde auf die jeweilige Häufigkeit des morphologischen Typs im Korpus, sowie auf dessen sprachgeschichtliche Entwicklung und auf morphologische Besonderheiten einzelner Belege eingegangen, wobei auf eine relativ strikte Trennung zwischen morphologischen und semantischen Aspekten Wert gelegt wurde. So wurden beispielsweise Bahuvrihibildungen als kontextuelle und semantische (bzw. metonymische) Phänomene verstanden, die entsprechend im Bereich der semantischen Analyse Erwähnung fanden, die die morphologische Gestalt eines Kompositums jedoch nicht beeinflussen. Die morphologische Analyse der Typen wurde ergänzt durch Angaben zur semantischen Struktur der Komposita des jeweiligen morphologischen Typs. Hierfür wurden alle Belege einem der für diese Studie festgelegten 34 wortartübergreifenden semantischen Typen zugeordnet, der die semantische Relation zwischen Erst- und Zweitelement des Kompositums spezifiziert und so einen systematischen Blick auf die Semantik der frühneuenglischen Komposita, sowie in einem zweiten Schritt auch die semantische Vielfalt der jeweiligen Komposita der einzelnen Autoren, erlaubte. Als dritte Komponente der qualitativen Untersuchung wurde die Metaphorik der Komposita auf der linguistischen Ebene beleuchtet, für deren Analyse in Kapitel 5 ein theoretisches Modell entwickelt wurde. Dieses

vereint methodologische Aspekte der Metaphernidentifikation im Diskurs, wie sie die MIP(VU)-Methode (vgl. Praggeljaz Group 2007; Steen 2010) vorschlägt, mit den speziellen Anforderungen an eine Untersuchung von linguistischer Metaphorik in Komposita und beinhaltet zunächst die Klassifikation von metaphorischen Belegen nach den zwei Hauptkategorien der kontextuellen und der morphologischen Metaphorik. Während in morphologisch metaphorischen Komposita die Metaphorik das Erst- oder Zweitelement, bzw. beide Elemente oder die Relation zwischen den Elementen, betrifft, sind kontextuell metaphorische Komposita als Ganzes metaphorisch gebrauchte Lexeme. Hierbei kann, in Übereinstimmung mit der MIP(VU)-Methode, zwischen indirekten Metaphern, die eine metaphorische *Bezeichnung* wie, beispielsweise, *Barbary horse* (O 1.1.114) für Othello, darstellen, und direkten Metaphern, bei denen es sich um explizite metaphorische Vergleiche, beispielsweise in Form von Similes, wie in *My brain (me thinks) is like an houre-glasse* (EM 3.3. 49), handelt, unterschieden werden. Insgesamt ergaben sich daher sechs verschiedene Kategorien für die Metaphorikanalyse, nach denen die Belege klassifiziert und im Rahmen der einzelnen Untersuchungen der morphologischen Typen behandelt wurden. Die dreigeteilte qualitative Untersuchung der Belege eröffnete somit einen detaillierten, ausgewogenen und systematischen Blickwinkel auf die frühneuenglischen Komposita aus dem Textkorpus und deren Facettenreichtum. Es konnten dabei übergreifende diachrone Tendenzen, so wie die generelle Häufigkeit von Komposita aus zwei Substantiven oder aus einem Adjektiv und einem Substantiv, sowie gewisse Korrespondenzen zwischen bestimmten semantischen Relationen und morphologischen Typen, wie beispielweise dem vermehrten Auftreten eines ‚Objekt – Agens‘ - Verhältnisses unter den ‚Substantiv + Verb + -er‘ Komposita, beobachtet werden. Im Bereich der Metaphorik ließ sich unter anderem ein relativ hoher Anteil metaphorischer Belege unter Verb + Substantiv - Komposita, sowie den verschiedenen Formen erweiterter Bahuvrihiadjektive feststellen. Des Weiteren wurden im Zuge der Untersuchung erste autorenpezifische Präferenzen deutlich. So benutzt Christopher Marlowe, zum Beispiel, keinerlei Imperativkomposita in den drei analysierten Werken, während sich für Ben Jonson und William Shakespeare, neben vergleichbaren individuellen Beobachtungen auf der Ebene der einzelnen morphologischen Typen, bzw. deren Semantik und Metaphorik, bereits gegenläufige übergeordnete Neigungen bezüglich der verstärkten Kompositaverwendung einer bestimmten Wortart, Substantivkomposita bei Ben Jonson und Adjektivkomposita bei William Shakespeare, heraus kristallisierten.

Ergänzt wurde die qualitative Untersuchung der Komposita zudem durch Ergebnisse aus dem dritten Schwerpunktbereich der Studie, der sich mit den Neubildungen aus dem



Material und damit mit dem Faktor 'Innovation' befasst. Basierend auf der Dokumentation durch das *Oxford English Dictionary* wurden sämtliche Belege auf ihren Neubildungswert hin überprüft und entweder als bereits existente Lexeme, als Neubildungen, als im Wörterbuch nicht belegte Bildungen, als Hapax Legomena, oder als Antedatierungen gekennzeichnet, sodass bei der Behandlung der morphologischen Typen auch Informationen zum jeweiligen Anteil an Neubildungen pro Typ (und damit der Produktivität des morphologischen Typs) und pro Autor einbezogen werden konnten. Während Erkenntnisse aus diesem Untersuchungsschwerpunkt daher in verschiedene Teilbereiche der Studie einfließen, widmete sich Kapitel 10 gesondert und übergreifend den Neubildungen im Korpus, sowie der damit verbundenen Fragen nach der Verlässlichkeit und Objektivität der Dokumentation des OED. Es wurde dabei festgestellt, dass sich die bereits in früheren Studien (z.B. Schäfer 1980) beklagte Voreingenommenheit des OED und dessen Bevorzugung Shakespeares gegenüber anderen Autoren der frühneuenglischen Periode in Grundzügen auch in der Dokumentation der Komposita aus dem vorliegenden Korpus widerspiegelt. So ist der Anteil an nicht belegten Komposita sowie an Antedatings in den untersuchten Texten von Ben Jonson und Christopher Marlowe höher als in den Werken Shakespeares, während umgekehrt prozentual deutlich mehr Hapax Legomena von Shakespeare im OED Erwähnung finden als von seinen zwei weniger renommierten Zeitgenossen. Während die Diskrepanzen zwischen den Autoren im Bereich der Neubildungen daher deutlich geringer werden, sobald man nicht belegte Komposita als Neubildungen des jeweiligen Autors in die Zählungen miteinbezieht, zeigte sich im direkten Vergleich aber dennoch, dass William Shakespeares Kreativität im Bereich der Kompositabildung die Innovationskraft sowohl Ben Jonsons als auch Christopher Marlowes übertrifft.

Unter Einbeziehung der Ergebnisse aus allen drei Schwerpunktbereichen wurde außerdem in Kapitel 9 ein übergreifender Vergleich zwischen der Kompositaverwendung der einzelnen Autoren angestellt, der die morphologische und semantische Diversität der Belege aus den Werken der Autoren, sowie den Einsatz und die Erzeugung von Metaphorik in und durch Komposita in den Fokus nahm. Im Bereich der Morphologie bestätigten sich hier, neben dem generellen Überwiegen der Substantivkomposita gegenüber den Adjektivkomposita im Korpus, die bereits zuvor angemerkten gegenläufigen Präferenzen von Ben Jonson und William Shakespeare insofern, als dass 88% von Ben Jonsons Komposita der Wortart Substantiv zugehören, während Shakespeares Werke einen auffallend hohen Anteil an Adjektivkomposita aufweisen. Die Substantivkomposita in Jonsons und Shakespeares Werken decken dabei alle zehn morphologischen Typen ab, die in der vorliegenden Arbeit im Bereich der

Substantivkomposita unterschieden wurden, während Christopher Marlowes Substantivkomposita nur in acht dieser Typen zu finden waren. William Shakespeares Adjektivkomposita weisen zudem mit insgesamt 15 vertretenen morphologischen Typen eine außerordentliche morphologische Vielfalt auf, die die der Adjektivkomposita aus Marlowes und Jonsons Werken, mit jeweils 13 und zwölf unterschiedlichen morphologischen Typen, übersteigt. Die semantische Diversität der Komposita aus den Werken der drei Autoren stellte sich dagegen als relativ ausgewogen heraus, wobei Shakespeares Belege sämtliche 34, Jonsons Komposita 33 und Marlowes Komposita 32 semantische Typen realisieren. Für den Vergleich der Metaphorizität der Komposita nahm die vorliegende Arbeit letztlich eine zweigeteilte Perspektive ein und unterschied zwischen dem Einsatz bzw. der Verwendung von metaphorischen Komposita zum einen, und der aktiven Erzeugung von Metaphorik innerhalb oder mittels Komposita zum anderen. Um Einblicke in ersteren Teilbereich zu erlangen wurden sämtliche metaphorischen Belege aus allen sechs Metaphorikkategorien pro Autor und Werk zahlenmäßig verglichen. Die vergleichende Berechnung ergab einen prozentualen Anteil an metaphorischen Komposita von je 32% in Jonsons und Shakespeares Werken und von 28% in Marlowes Stücken, wobei sich die wortartenspezifischen Präferenzen der ersten beiden Autoren auch im Bereich der Metaphorik beobachten ließen. Die individuelle Betrachtung der einzelnen Stücke wiederum zeigte, dass die Tragödien und Historien unter den untersuchten Werken von Shakespeare und Jonson, *Sejanus*, *Othello* und *Richard II*, den prozentual höchsten Anteil an metaphorischen Komposita enthalten, was erneut mit der Anpassung der Sprache an den traditionell gehobenen poetischen Stil dieser Genres durch die Autoren zu erklären ist, der sich so in Bezug auf die Kompositaverwendung und -bildung in den Werken Shakespeares und Jonsons, weniger jedoch Marlowes beobachten lässt. Um im nächsten Schritt den Fokus weg von der puren Verwendung von metaphorischen Komposita und hin zu einer vergleichenden Betrachtung der Kreativität der Autoren, widerspiegelt durch die aktive Erzeugung von Metaphorik in und durch Komposita, zu lenken, wurden in einem zweiten Vergleich sämtliche Komposita, die morphologische Metaphorik aufweisen, aber bereits vor ihrem jeweiligen Auftreten im Korpus existierten, aus den Berechnungen ausgeschlossen. Während die Ergebnisse dieser zweiten Analyse einige der zuvor beobachteten Tendenzen bezüglich der Metaphorizität einzelner Stücke bzw. Genres, sowie die komplementär verteilten Stärken von Jonson und Shakespeare im Bereich der Substantiv- bzw. Adjektivkomposita, weiterhin und teils auch klarer erkennen ließen, trat die Diskrepanz zwischen den beiden letzteren Autoren und Christopher Marlowe im Bereich der Erzeugung von Metaphorik noch deutlicher hervor: Während Ben Jonson in dieser Kategorie mit einem Prozentsatz von 32% Komposita, durch

welche oder innerhalb welcher Metaphorik erzeugt wurde, seinen prominenten Zeitgenossen Shakespeare um 2% übertrifft, fallen von Christopher Marlowes Komposita nur 22% in diese Gruppe.

Abschließend ließ sich daher festhalten, dass sich die drei untersuchten Autoren in ihren individuellen Präferenzen bezüglich ihrer Verwendung und Bildung von Komposita klar unterscheiden, wobei Ben Jonsons und William Shakespeares jeweiliger Kompositagebrauch neben unterschiedlichen Tendenzen und Schwerpunkten auch Ähnlichkeiten aufweist, nicht zuletzt erkennbar an der beidseitigen Sensibilität gegenüber den Anforderungen von Genrekonventionen und verschiedenen Stilniveaus. Christopher Marlowes Kompositaverwendung unterscheidet sich indes klar von der seiner Zeitgenossen, was sowohl im quantitativen Bereich, als auch in Bezug auf morphologische und semantische Vielfalt, sowie Metaphorik und Innovation, deutlich wird. In der vorliegenden Studie fiel Marlowe in all diesen Dimensionen hinter Jonson und Shakespeare zurück, was den Schluss nahelegt, dass Komposita nicht der präferierte Bereich sind, in dem Christopher Marlowe seiner sprachlichen Kreativität Ausdruck verleiht.

Neben systematischen Einblicken in die außerordentliche Vielfalt von frühneuenglischen Komposita, sowie insbesondere deren stilistischer Flexibilität, konnte die vorliegende Arbeit, in Rückbezug auf das eingangs erwähnte überwältigende Renommee William Shakespeares als sprachliches Genie, schließlich zeigen, dass, obwohl Shakespeares Komposita sich durchaus durch enorme Kreativität und Innovationskraft auszeichnen, Ben Jonson ihm in vielen Bereichen ebenbürtig ist und auch seine Kompositaverwendung, insbesondere im Bereich der Substantivkomposita, durch stilistisches Feingefühl, Bildhaftigkeit und Facettenreichtum geprägt ist.

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