

## Transferred Epithet as a Domain Adjective\*

Takashi Ishida

### 1. Introduction

Since Ogawa's (1957) and Hall's (1973) findings, it has been observed that, in some 'adjective + noun' (hereafter, A-N) expressions, the adjective does not directly modify its subsequent noun. Observe (1) (Hall (1973:92), with slight modifications; cf. Yasui et al. (1976:177), Honda (2005:54)):

- (1) He was now smoking a sad cigarette.

In sentence (1), there is an apparently awkward A-N expression: *sad cigarette*. The adjective *sad* modifies the noun *cigarette* in a formal manner; however, this type of adjective does not usually modify inanimate nouns, since *sad* basically designates an emotional state of a person. In some A-N expressions, this kind of modifier showing unique behaviour has been called *transferred epithet* (hereafter, TE), which is known as a part of *hypallage*. This phenomenon has been traditionally studied as one of the rhetorical and stylistic devices (Huddleston and Pullum (2002:558)).

From his detailed observation, Hall (1973) argues that TE is not grammatically wrong, but rather it is specialised by semantic notions. Hall (1973:93) attempts to decompose the structure of (1) by suggesting a transformational process through the following 'imaginary intermediate stages': *He was sad + He was smoking a cigarette* → *He was sadly smoking a cigarette*. According to Hall (1973), sentence (1) can be firstly classified into two descriptive properties in terms of the subject's emotion and action. Secondly, as a manner of the action *smoking*, the adjective *sad* is moved to modify the way of *smoking*, transforming its category from adjective to adverb. Finally, the adverb *sadly* is again moved to the front of the head nominal *cigarette*, transforming its category into the adjective *sad* and this is the TE. Hall's (1973) analysis of TE is linguistically reasonable, and yet there has been still no empirical evidence:

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why the adverb *sadly* must transform into the adjective *sad*, why the adjective *sad* can be interpreted in a manner fashion, etc. There are also other kinds of TE phenomena: how the TE modifies the noun and how they are distributed.

This paper argues, introducing Sullivan's (2013) cognitive approach, which is based on Langacker's (1987, 1991) model, that TE can be analysed as a *domain adjective*, which is known as having the function of subcategorising or elaborating on a type of noun. By doing so, we will capture the mechanism of how TE modifies the noun and classify TE phenomena into two types.

This paper continues as follows. Section 2, observing Nishikawa's (1971, 1973) syntactic analysis, and Yoshida's (2009) and Kanazawa's (2010) semantic analyses, considers the syntax-semantics interface in TE phenomena. Section 3 introduces Sullivan's (2013) cognitive approach and explore the characteristics of domain adjectives. Section 4 analyses TE expressions, observing Sadamitsu's (1999) and Noro's (2008) analyses. Section 5 discusses TE phenomena and some remaining issues. Section 6 provides a brief conclusion.

## 2. The Syntax-Semantics Interface in Transferred Epithet

Let us first observe the following definition of TE (Sadamitsu (1999:71), italics mine; cf. Ogawa (1954:65), Yasui et al. (1976:176)):

- (2) An adjective is called TE when it is transferred to another word from the original word to which the adjective *should* be attributed.

This definition used to be reasonable; however, since it only roughly captures a part of TE, we cannot identify what kind of specific factors *should* make the TE locate in the attributed position. In this section, we examine both syntactic and semantic analyses on TE. First of all, let us explore the direct and indirect relations in A-N expressions, based upon Jespersen's (1909-1949, II) account.

### 2.1. Basic Notions of A-N Expressions and TE

Jespersen (1909-1949, II:283) argues that 'the relation between adjunct (attributive adjective) and its principal (generally a substantive) is not always easy and simple as in *a young lady*' (i.e., *a lady who is young*). According to him, adjuncts are classified into two types: *direct* and *indirect* (cf. direct relation vs. indirect relation (Yasui et al. (1976), Kihara (2010))). Direct adjuncts are, for instance, *a young lady*, *this man*, *young men*, *the tallest man*, etc. In direct adjuncts, the adjective directly modifies the head noun and thus we understand how formally and semantically they are related. As for indirect adjuncts, on the

other hand, the relationship between A and N is difficult to capture. They are in fact very complex, as vigorously argued in Yasui et al. (1976). Indirect adjuncts are further classified into four types.<sup>1</sup> Observe the first example (Jespersen (1909-1949, II:283, 285, with modifications)):

- (3) a. an early riser  
 b. ??a riser who is early  
 c. he rises early

The combination in (3a) is difficult to paraphrase into a predicative form like (3b). The adjunct *early* is a *shifted subjunct* of the verb *rise* contained in the noun *riser*, as seen in (3c). This type of adjunct is called *shifted subjunct-adjuncts* (e.g. *perfect simplicity* ‘perfectly simple’, *a hard student* ‘studies hard’, *a perfect stranger* ‘one who is quite a stranger’, etc.) (Jespersen (1909-1949, II:285-292)). Jespersen does not explicitly refer to TE; however, it can be considered one of these types of indirect adjuncts (Kihara (2010:179)).

The next type is the case where the combination of the adjective and the noun pertains to a kind of compound. Observe the following examples (Jespersen (1909-1949, II:283, with modifications)):

- (4) a. a sick room  
 b. ??a room which is sick  
 c. a room that has something to do with the sick, a room for the sick

The phrase *a sick room* in (4a) does not indicate that the room itself is sick as in (4b), but rather it is a room for the sick, as exemplified in (4c). Jespersen (1909-1949, II:283, 301) refers to the combination of the adjective and the noun in (4a)

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<sup>1</sup> The other type of indirect adjunct includes the case in which the adjective modifies a part of noun, but not the whole of noun it precedes, as is the case with derivatives and compounds. For example (Jespersen (1909-1949, II:283; with slight modifications)):

- (i) a. the Pacific Islanders  
 b. the Pacific Islands  
 (ii) a. a public schoolboy  
 b. a public school

The derivative in (ia) is from (ib) and the *-boy* in compound *schoolboy* is a lexeme combined with *school* (iib). This type of indirect adjuncts is called *partial adjuncts* (e.g. *sound sleeper* ‘sound sleep’, *quarterly reviewers* ‘reviewers who review articles quarterly’, *a criminal lawyer* ‘a lawyer who specialises in criminal law’, etc.) (Jespersen (1909-1949, II:292-301)).

as *compositional adjuncts* (i.e. compound noun; e.g. *yellow fever* ‘fever that causes yellow discoloration’, *infrared lamp* ‘lamp that emits infrared rays’, *a red lamp* ‘a lamp which is red or a lamp which emits red light’, etc. (Yasui et al. (1976:180))). Furthermore, there are other indirect adjuncts such as *all his born days*, *mid-ocean*, *half this amount*, *John’s married life*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) also recognise considerable variation in the usage of TE and explain the common fact that the established adjectives do not apply literally to the head noun. Let us observe the following examples (Huddleston and Pullum (2002:558), with slight modifications):

- (5) a. smoked a discreet cigarette  
 b. a drunken brawl  
 c. their insane cackle  
 d. a nude photo of the mayor  
 e. a quiet cup of tea  
 f. your own stupid fault

Indeed, all TEs in (5) are considered not to semantically describe properties or qualities of the head nouns, but to explain a state or manner of each event or referent: the cigarette in (5a) itself is not discreet but the way of smoking is; the participants in the brawl are drunk (5b); the people cackling are insane (5c); the mayor is nude but not the photo itself (5d); the way of drinking a cup of tea is quiet (5e); the person who made a fault is stupid (5f).

Jespersen’s (1909-1949) classification for the combinations between A and N, however, does not include the following topics: (i) what type of adjectives are transferred; (ii) what type of nouns are modified; and (iii) what type of modification structures are licenced. Let us consider TE’s syntactic analysis in the following subsection.

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<sup>2</sup> In terms of A-N phrases, Hüning (2010:211) claims that they ‘can become classificatory expressions when frequently used for a certain, well-defined set of entities, or A-N phrases can evolve from intentional coining as a “name” for such a category’. The function of compounds is to provide names for entities, properties, or actions, as Bauer (2003:135) explains. On the other hand, Booij (2002:314) argues that some A-N phrases function like compounds such as *hard disk*, *yellow pages*, etc. Namely, they provide names like compounds for a relevant class of entities, because many of these phrases are already established and conventionalised. Based on this claim, we can expect that some TE expressions function like compounds, even though they consist of a phrasal form (e.g. *sleeping car*, *sick room*, *yellow fever*, etc.). Hüning (2010:211) argues that ‘the more inflection, the more compounding is needed to create “names”’. Based on this, we assume that English TE inevitably consists of phrasal forms, since it has lacked inflections. I thus regard the TE as a genuine adjective in this paper.

## 2.2. Syntax in Transferred Epithetical Modification

Nishikawa (1973:3) analyses TE from a syntactic perspective. Observe:

- (6) The ploughman homeward plods *his weary way*

The semantic relationship between *weary* and *way* is clearly odd. What is *weary* is not the *way* but *his*, that is, *ploughman*. From this semantic complex, the adjective *weary* is regarded as TE. Nishikawa (1973:5) firstly attempts to decompose the structure (*his weary way*) as in (7):

- (7) (*his way*) which is *weary*

The predicative form in (7) is semantically bizarre. Like Hall (1973), Nishikawa (1973:11) assumes three sentence classes of (*his weary way*) as follows (with modifications):

- (8) a. There is a certain man (ploughman)  
 b. The man is plodding {on/along} the way  
 c. The man is weary

If we assume sentence (8b) as a matrix sentence and sentence (8c) as an embedded (inserted) sentence, we obtain the following deep structure:

- (9) [<sub>S1</sub>[<sub>NP</sub>(the) man [<sub>S2</sub>(the) man is weary]] is plodding {on/along} the way]

Based on this, Nishikawa (1973:9) explains the transformation from predicative to attributive and calls it *transferred epithetical transformation*. According to him, the following five processes can be considered:

- (10) *Transferred Epithetical Transformation*  
 a. Relative Clause Reduction (WH-Deletion)  
 b. Adjective-shift  
 c. Hypothetical Verb Phrase Slipping  
 d. Hypothetical Nominative Slipping  
 e. Preposition Deletion

Firstly, the structure in (9) transforms into the following structure, undergoing the first two transforming processes of (10a) and (10b) (Nishikawa (1973:14)):

(11) [S<sub>1</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> (the) weary man] is plodding {on/along} the way]

Nishikawa (1973:14) postulates the three ‘potential constituents’ in A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N expressions: (i) Hypothetical Nominative; (ii) Hypothetical Verb Phrase; and (iii) Preposition. In the surface structure of the A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N expression in (6), there appears no *man is plodding {on/along}*, thus these three potential constituents are realised only in the deep structure. Secondly, transformation rule (10c) is applied to (11) and it generates a derived structure such as (12) (Nishikawa (1973:15)):

(12) [S<sub>[NP the weary man]</sub> [VP {on/along} the way]]

This operation seems plausible in this context, since a (potential) man directly acts on noun, implying his subjective emotion. Finally, the last two transformation processes of (10d) and (10e) are simultaneously applied to (12) in the following steps (Nishikawa (1973:15-16)):

(13) a. [S<sub>[NP weary]</sub> [VP<sub>[Prep {on/along}]</sub> [NP the way]]]]  
 b. [S<sub>[NP Ø]</sub> [VP<sub>[Prep {on/along}]</sub> [NP the weary way]]]]  
 c. [S<sub>[NP Ø]</sub> [VP<sub>[Prep Ø]</sub> [NP the weary way]]]]

Because of the hypothetical nominative slipping, the nominative *man* is slipped forward, as in (13a), but the TE got lost. The TE, seeking a stable and satisfying position, needs a nominal, as in (13b). Finally, deleting the preposition, (13c) is yielded. Notice that the connection between the A<sub>[TE]</sub> and N is stronger than that of DP and preposition. This prediction is confirmed by the ungrammatical combinations (Nishikawa (1973:16), with slight modifications):

(14) a. \*{on/along} weary the way  
 b. \*weary {on/along} the way

Nishikawa (1973:17) also explains other examples such as *(the) hungry street*, *(the) pious morning*, *(the) happy car*. His first syntactic analysis of TE seems to be reasonable; however, it has a fundamental issue like the following: there is no independent evidence for ‘potential constituents’ and hypothetical slipping. It also lacks an explanation of the combination of A<sub>[TE]</sub> and N. We leave these issues and turn to the semantic account of TE in the following subsection.

### 2.3. *Semantics in Transferred Epithetical Modification*

Yoshida (2009:55-56) points out that there are two common facts between semantic conflation (cf. Talmy (1985)) and TE: (i) there are phonetically null elements, which relate to semantics; (ii) the existence of subevent determines the acceptability of the relevant expressions.<sup>3</sup> For example (Bolinger (1988:3)):

- (15) a. There is a definite shortage of gum.
- b. Possible rain tonight.
- c. She knows perfect English.

Bolinger (1988) explains that the common feature of the A-N expressions among (15a), (15b), and (15c) is that the adjectives that belong somewhere else have gravitated to certain convenient nouns. In this gravitational tendency, ‘a verb modifier is converted to an adjective’ (Bolinger (1988:2)). That is, all cases in (15) can be paraphrased into the following expressions with adverbs (Bolinger (1988:3)):

- (16) a. There is definitely a shortage of gum.
- b. Possibly rains tonight.
- c. She knows perfectly English.

Yoshida (2009) provides the same insight as Bolinger; namely, the referent that is practically modified by TE is not the subsequent noun *per se* but ‘the event’.

In TE modification, it is important to notice that the adjective functions as an adverb, according to Yoshida (2009).<sup>4</sup> Yoshida (2009:55) explains that when the adjective can be converted to the adverb, there is a condition like the following (translation mine and with modifications):

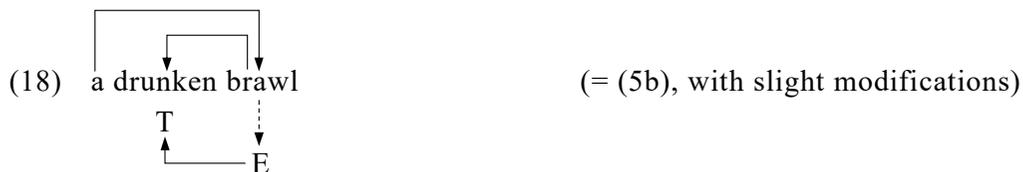
- (17) If there is an invisible subevent in the relevant clause, the adverbialised adjective (i.e. originally TE) can modify the subevent.

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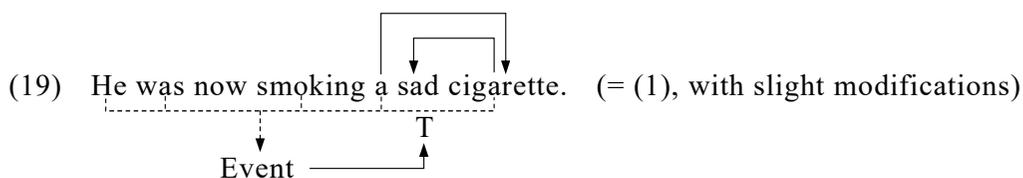
<sup>3</sup> Based on these two points, Hale and Keyser (1993) and van Hout and Roeper (1998), based on phrase structure rules, attempt to give an explanation; however, Yoshida (2009) criticises their generative grammar analyses in the following three points: (i) failing in explaining the established functional categories; (ii) assuming movements that may yield counter evidence; and (iii) not explaining the reason of establishing Aspect phrase (AspP) as a projection, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning whether the TE is a genuine adjective or adverb, see Giegelich (2012) and Díaz-Negrillo (2014).

Based on this, Yoshida (2009) analyses the TE, based on Dependency Grammar (DG) (cf. Hudson (1984, 1990)). We will not go into DG in detail here but only draw our attention to Yoshida's main claim. For example:



Firstly, in DG, the relationship between the head and the other element is the most important. In (18), both two upper arrows depart from the head each (i.e. the indefinite article *a* towards *brawl* and the head noun *brawl* towards the TE *drunken*). E and T stand for 'entity' and 'transfer' respectively. Secondly, the dashed arrow departed from *brawl* indicates pragmatic inference; namely E is a whole knowledge estimated from the *brawl* (cf. semantic frame (Fillmore (1982))). When we access to this knowledge, depending on T, we determine which referent the TE *drunken* actually depend on (i.e. the participants of the drunken bash). This analysis can be applied to sentence type (1), as shown below:



The elements *he*, *was smoking*, *a cigarette* in (19) are linked by dotted lines and each element designates an event. At this point, the TE *sad* is suspended. Once *smoking a cigarette* is determined as an event, the TE *sad* modifies the event. The TE *sad* is an adjective in the form but it is interpreted adverbially to modify the event (cf. semantic coercion; type shifting (Pustejovsky (1995))). Yoshida's (2009) analysis is provoking in that the mechanism of the  $A_{[TE]}-N$  expressions are disclosed at both phrasal and sentential levels.

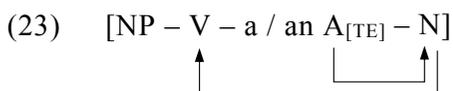
Kanazawa (2008, 2010) also attempts to analyse TE from a semantic viewpoint. He argues that the difference between the TE use and general attributive use in A-N expressions can be found in the following minimal pair of examples (Kanazawa (2008:614)):

- (20) a. John smoked a sad cigarette.  
b. John looked at a sad cigarette.

Kanazawa (2008) explains that the adjective in (20a) is interpreted as TE, whereas (20b) is not. What (20b) implies is as follows (Kanazawa (2008:614)): (i) *John is a cigarette lover*; (ii) *John smoked the cigarettes in the box one after another*; and (iii) *there is only one cigarette left in the box*. The adjective *sad* in (20b) is thus interpreted in a figurative sense; however, it formally and semantically modifies the noun *cigarette* and functions as attributive use. This fact leads Kanazawa (2008, 2010) to contend that the nouns that are formally modified by the TE are heavily contingent on the cooccurring verbs' semantic restrictions. This argument is supported by Yasui et al.'s (1976) observation. Consider (21) and (22) (Yasui et al. (1976:179); cf. Kanazawa (2010:2), with modifications):

- (21) a. He took a quick shower.  
       b. He took a shower quickly.  
 (22) a. He wrote a hasty letter.  
       b. He wrote a letter hastily.

Yasui et al. (1976) also argue that the TEs in both (21a) and (22a) formally modify the subsequent nouns but semantically modify the verbs. Sentence (21a) can be paraphrased into (21b); the same applies in the case of (22a, b). Kanazawa (2010) assumes, based on Yasui et al. (1976), that the referent modified by the TE has been semantically expanded from event nouns to common nouns. He further finds a common and fixed syntactic pattern like (23) below in the TE sentences (Kanazawa (2010:3, 4; with modifications)):



He further argues that the adjectives that fill in the A<sub>[TE]</sub> slot determine the relationship between the A<sub>[TE]</sub> and the objective N, as the internal arrow (i.e. A<sub>[TE]</sub> to N) designates in (23). In addition, the nouns that fill in the N slot determine the type of cooccurring V (i.e. the external arrow (N to V)). Langacker (1995) also recognises such a property of adjectives underlying the A-N modification. According to him (1995:52), when the adjective modifies the noun, it is often related to 'some activity of process'. Consider the following example (Kanazawa (2010:4) cited from Langacker (1995:52)):

- (24) a. hard surface  
       b. The ice cream is solid.

In (24a), the adjective *hard* modifies the noun *surface*. Similarly, though its form is predicative, the adjective *solid* in (24b) modifies the noun *ice cream*. The activity *touch* can be evoked for (24a), while the activity *eat* is evoked for (24b).

Yoshida's (2009) and Kanazawa's (2008, 2010) semantic accounts of TE seem reasonable; however, their explanations are still insufficient for operating the TE and its interpretation. In fact, there have been other TE types (e.g. *nervous fingers*, *busy time*) and already fixed and conventionalised TE expressions (e.g. *sick room*, *yellow fever*); see section 4.1 for more detail. These expressions thus cannot be explained in Yoshida's and Kanazawa's analyses. In particular, Kanazawa's (2010) analysis is applied only to the TE type, which contains a somewhat adverbial sense. We thus find our way to provide a more unified account for the entire TE modification. Before this, however, let us discuss in the next section how adjectives and nouns are cognitively related.

### 3. Proposal: Two Types of A-N Modification and Domain Adjectives

This section introduces Sullivan's (2013) cognitive analysis of the A-N construction. We will also observe how the adjective and the nouns are related in terms of a certain semantic type of adjective (i.e. domain adjective). Investigating metaphoric language, Sullivan (2013) attempts to show how it is construed and how conceptual relationships function with respect to A-N formed metaphoric expressions based on the cognitive mechanism of non-metaphoric language (section 3.1). Her analysis shows the generalisations possible from a small number of constructs (e.g. conceptual autonomy and conceptual dependent, etc.). We particularly focus on the function of domain adjectives, which is not discussed in detail in Sullivan's analysis (section 3.2). We will then apply it to clarify the TE's semantic relation and its cognitive mechanism in the later section.

#### 3.1. Predicating Adjectives and Domain Adjectives

To illustrate Sullivan's (2013) point, let us first consider the two contrastive A-N metaphoric expressions: *bright student* and *mental exercise* (Sullivan (2013:Ch. 5.2 and 5.3)). Regarding the former, the modifier *bright* predicates the property of the *student* metaphorically (i.e. *the student is bright*), based on the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING (Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff et al. (1991)).<sup>5</sup> According to Sullivan (2013:77), the conceptual structure

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<sup>5</sup> Conceptual Metaphor is formed as *target domain* (i.e. abstract notion) *is source domain* (i.e. concrete notion) expression. For example, the expression *she spends her time unwisely*

of *bright student* is schematically represented in (25), where the adjective *bright*, called a ‘predicating adjective’, is a conceptually dependent element while the noun *student* is autonomous (cf. Langacker (1987, 1991)):<sup>6</sup>

(25) Predicating Adjective Construction

Structure:	<i>bright</i>	<i>student</i>
Conceptual relation:	dependent	autonomous
Syntax:	predicating Adj.	N

This type of conceptual relationship between the predicating adjective and the noun is the most typical in the range of A-N formed expressions, because of the general function of an adjective as a modifier. Apart from this general type of A-N expression, there is another type of A-N construction. Let us observe it in the next subsection.

As for the adjectival phrase *mental exercise*, the modifier *mental* does not predicate the property of *exercise* (i.e., *\*the exercise is mental*),<sup>7</sup> but it rather

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is construed via the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY (cf. TIME IS A RESOURCE) (Lakoff et al. (1991:77-78)).

<sup>6</sup> Langacker (1987:308) strongly argues that ‘the distinction between conceptually autonomous and dependent predications is crucial for characterizing a number of important grammatical notions’. Given this view, Sullivan (2013:8) follows Langacker’s idea and explains, ‘when a grammatical construction combines two structures one structure will typically be dependent and one autonomous’. For example, observe the A-N expressions below:

- (i) a. obese cat
- b. tall man

In the phrase *obese cat* in (ia), *cat* is an autonomous element because it is obviously possible to conceptualise a cat without considering its weight. The *obese* is, on the other hand, a dependent element because the meaning of *obese* relies on the conceptualisation of an animate object that indicates the quality of obesity (Sullivan (2013:9)). This conceptual autonomy-dependence asymmetry is the same with the phrase in (ib): *tall* (i.e. dependent element) and *man* (i.e. autonomous element).

<sup>7</sup> Non-predicating (nominal) adjectives generally do not occur in the predicate position; however, they frequently do because they share the same morphological characteristics of ‘normal’ adjectives as in the following examples (extracted from Levi (1978:254)):

- (i) a. Her infection turned out to be *bacterial*, not *vital*.
- b. That interpretation is *presidential*, not *judicial*.

elaborates on the meaning of *exercise*, identifying the specific type of it based on the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A BODY. This type of adjective is called ‘domain adjective’. The conceptual structure is exemplified in (26), according to Sullivan (2013:66):

(26) Domain Adjective Construction		
Structure:	<i>mental</i>	<i>exercise</i>
Conceptual relation:	autonomous	dependent
Syntax:	domain Adj.	N

In (26), the adjective *mental* is a conceptually autonomous element while the noun *exercise* is a dependent element. That is, compared to the predicating adjective construction in (25), the conceptual relation between the adjective and the noun is reversed. This asymmetrical nature of A-N modification is crucial to capture the function of domain adjectives in a given construction. Though Sullivan (2013) does not attempt to develop the notion of domain adjective, this paper expands this in order to apply it to TE modification. Let us consider how the domain adjective is characterised and how it functions in the next section in detail.

### 3.2. *Function of Domain Adjectives*

In this section, we explore how domain adjectives function and refine it, based on Sullivan’s (2013) theory. Firstly, I assume that if the morpho-syntactic

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As (ia) shows, the non-predicating adjective *bacterial* occurs in a predicating position. This undeniable fact can also be explained when *bacterial* is compared with *vital* in terms of the cause of infection. The same is true of (ib). That is, the contrastive reading enables this phenomenon (pointed out by Prof. Robert Levine of Ohio State University (p.c.)). Furthermore, the predicating position of a non-predicating adjective is hypothesised by the derivative process from *ellipsis*, regarding (ia) (Levi (1978:255)):

- (ii) a. Her infection is an infection caused by a virus.
- b. Her infection is a virus-caused infection.
- c. Her infection is a virus infection.
- d. Her infection is a viral infection.
- e. Her infection is viral.

Levi (1978) does not further attempt to elucidate ellipsis phenomena; however, her analysis is important for differentiating the basic properties of predicating adjectives (normal; *true predicates*) from those of non-predicating adjectives (nominals acting as adjectives; *nouns as disguise*) (McNally and Boleda (2004:182)).

features of domain adjectives are parallel with those of relational adjectives (cf. classifying adjective), domain adjectives have also the classifying function (Warren (1984); cf. Giegelich (2005:572), etc.). For example, the domain adjective *mental* in *mental exercise* has the function of subcategorising the types of *exercise* (cf. *physical exercise*, *aerobic exercise*).<sup>8</sup> Sullivan (2013) does not explain the details of domain adjectives and she takes relational adjectives only in her analysis (e.g. *academic job*, *rural policeman*, *spiritual wealth*, etc.). I assume that the classifying function of domain adjectives can also be seen in qualitative adjectives. For example, consider the following minimal pair:

- (27) a. bright student (= (25))  
 b. bright taste (Ishida (2018b); cf. Ishida (2018a))

The adjective *bright* in (27a) predicates the property of the *student* in a metaphoric way; this adjective thus functions as a predicating adjective. As for the adjective *bright* in (27b), even though the phrase in (27b) is a metaphoric expression, its predicative form is unnatural (i.e., *the taste is bright*). This is because the adjective *bright* refers to a visual sense and the noun *taste* refers to a gustatory sense, their different sensory modification cannot be expressed in a predicative form (cf. Ishida (2018)). What the adjective *bright* does with the noun *taste* is subcategorising the types of *taste*; however, this interpretation can only be obtained with a felicitous and sufficient context (cf. Ishida (2018)). The phrase in (27a) corresponds to the diagram in (25), while (27b) corresponds to (26), though the same adjective *bright* appears in both phrases.

Secondly, domain adjectives require either conceptual or concrete contexts. Sullivan (2013) does not refer to this point; however, the phrase *mental exercise* as in (26) is construed via the conceptual metaphor (i.e. THE MIND IS A BODY). I assume that conceptual metaphors can be considered a type of context for metaphoric language. On the other hand, there is no apparent conceptual metaphor, or even it is difficult to find a metaphorical mapping based on similarity for interpreting *bright taste*. The phrase *bright taste*, therefore, can be considered not a metaphoric expression. Sakamoto (2007:286) strongly argues that this type of peculiar expression is highly context-dependent and requires a metonymic interpretation. Given this, Sullivan's (2013) analysis can be extended to this type of metonymic expression. Phrases like (27b) are, therefore, interpreted via a concrete context instead of a conceptual metaphor as in (28):

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<sup>8</sup> On relational/classifying adjectives, see Levi (1978), Warren (1984), Bisetto (2010), Cinque (2010), Morzycki (2016), Nagano (2016), etc.

- (28) The sweetness of meat and gravy. The sweetness of well-stewed onion is mixed. The slight sweetness of raisin can also be felt. Let's say...*bright taste*. This is the Sicilian taste, so it almost feels like I am in the Mediterranean. (translation mine)<sup>9</sup>

From the context in (28), *bright taste* can be metonymically interpreted as 'the taste of meal in a bright place like Sicilia' (Ishida (2018)). The adjective *bright* does not predicate the *taste* but metonymically elaborate on a type of *taste* based on the context. Notice that Bolinger (1967:14-23) has already mentioned that there are two types of modification: *referent-modification* and *reference-modification*. Referent-modification corresponds to predicative modification, that is, the modifier directly modifies the referent of the noun. In reference-modification, by contrast, what the modifier modifies is not the referent of the noun but its reference. This is equal to domain adjective modification. Observe the example (Bolinger (1967:15)):

- (29) a. The lawyer is criminal. [referent-modification]  
 b. a criminal lawyer [reference-modification]

In (29a), the predication means that 'an individual may be classed as criminal or as law-abiding', whereas the attributive in (29b) means 'lawyers are classed as criminal, civil, etc.' (Bolinger (1967:15)). Domain adjective modification can be considered a type of reference-modification because the adjective *bright* means not the referent of *taste* but its reference (i.e. Sicilian taste), as we have observed above. This interpretation can be obtained only when the context is given.

Thirdly, domain adjectives are conceptually autonomous whereas the noun is conceptually dependent within nominal constructions. From the viewpoint of valence relations, Langacker (1987:309) explains that adjectives are usually dependent elements by default, because nominal complements (or arguments) are entitled by subjects and objects, whereas relational complements are entitled by adjectives and prepositional phrases. According to Langacker (1987:285), valence relations are significant for providing the linguistic coding of a unified conceptualisation. Adjectives are conceptually relational on their own and their meanings are satisfied with autonomous components like nominal complements.

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<sup>9</sup> This context is excerpted from the following Japanese website and translated into English (i.e. *akarui aji* 'bright taste'). The translation is attested by Prof. Robert Levine (Ohio State University): <http://sakakishinichiro.com/wp/blog/%E3%82%AA%E3%82%B9%E3%83%86%E3%83%AA%E3%82%A2%E3%83%8A%E3%82%AB%E3%83%A0%E3%83%A9/> [accessed in March, 2018].

Adjectives are thus essentially combined with some other grammatical elements. As for domain adjectives, however, the conceptual autonomy-dependence relation is reversed, as observed in section 3.2. The domain adjective *mental* in *mental exercise*, indeed, identifies a particular type in the semantic substructure of nouns.

In sum, let us summarise the properties of predicating adjectives and domain adjectives in the table below:

**Table 1** *Comparison between Predicating Adj. and Domain Adj.*

Type	Function	Context	A/D
predicating adj.	predication (referent-modification)	conceptual context	dependent
domain adj.	classification (reference-modification)	conceptual/concrete context	autonomous

Along these lines, I propose that TE has a property parallel to that of domain adjective. Concerning some types of TE, we analyse them in the next section.

#### 4. Analysis

This section, based on the characteristics of domain adjectives, analyses TE modifications. Firstly, as Yasui et al. (1976) mention, TE phenomena are complicated because they involve many grammatical and semantic factors. Sadamitsu (1999) and Noro (2008), however, seem to be the first researchers to classify them into several types (section 4.1). Their classifications are effective in giving complex TE phenomena a cognitive account. Based on their classifications, this paper proposes two types of TE modifications (section 4.2).

##### 4.1. *Classifying the TE Phenomena*

Let us observe how TE has been distributed and classified in Sadamitsu's (1999) analysis, as the following table shows (with modifications):

**Table 2** *Sadamitsu's Classification of TE*

Class	TE type	Example
1	superficial part of the subjects	<i>nervous fingers, cold shoulder, etc.</i>
2	acts, voice, or manner	<i>tired step, frightened voice, etc.</i>
3	separate from the subjects	<i>cruel nails, meditative cigarette, etc.</i>
4	time or space	<i>hopeless years, busy time, etc.</i>

Note: The table is made based on Sadamitsu (1999:82-83).

Sadamitsu (1999) basically classifies the TE phenomena into four classes, as provided in Table 2. The first class is a type in which the TE modifies part of the subjects and the ‘shift’ of modifier from the original nouns (semantically adequate; the subjects) to the formal nouns. The second class of TE is the most frequent and ubiquitous one. In this class, the TE expresses the subjects’ acts, voice or manner, and they in fact modify the verbs in the clauses. The third class is similar to the second class. The TE is separated from the subjects and formally modify the postnominals. The fourth class indicates time or space in which the subjects are placed (e.g. {*happy/sad*} *hours*, {*busy/lonesome*} *street*, etc.). Sadamitsu’s (1999) analysis of the TE phenomena seems reasonable; however, his classification is still vague. He explains the cognitive mechanism of the TE *per se*, and yet does not explain the *raison d’être* of TE phenomena.

Another classification is provided by Noro (2008). Compared to Sadamitsu’s classification, Noro (2008) includes group C, which is a peculiar phenomenon, called synaesthetic expressions. In this group, the TE that refers to a particular sense modality modifies the other type of sense modality (e.g. *loud colour*, *sweet voice*, *bright taste*, etc.). Let us observe his classification of TE phenomena shown in Table 3:

**Table 3** *Noro’s Classification of TE*

Group	TE type	Example
A	1. the subject’s mental state	<i>sleepless night, testy foot</i> , etc.
	2. others’ mental state	<i>miserable praise, mortal taste</i> , etc.
	3. lack of the subjects	<i>sad hours, the most unkindest cut</i> , etc.
	4. no subjects in the clause	<i>nice cup of coffee, fine lot of friends</i> , etc.
B	parallel with adverbials	<i>thoughtful lump of sugar, free hearts</i> , etc.
C	synaesthetic expressions	<i>blind mouth, ragged noise</i> , etc.

Note: The table is made based on Noro (2008:5-13).

As we can see from this table, Noro (2008) classifies the TE phenomena into more types than Sadamitsu (1999). Firstly, group A is further subcategorised into four types. The TE, in the first type of group A, expresses the subject’s mental or emotional state in particular. Noro (2008) insists that this type of TE is the most prototypical of all. The second type in the same group expresses not only the subject’s mental state but also the others’. This type does not explicitly appear in the clause. The third type, in fact, lacks its modifiees in the clause, but this type can be identified through contexts or based on our common knowledge. The fourth one is another typical case of TE according to Noro (2008:9). It modifies not the subjects themselves but refers to some properties or qualities of the

quantifiers which are put right after the TE. The TE in group B can be paraphrased into adverbials. Noro (2008) additionally identifies the other possible TE phenomena but we will observe some of them in the discussion section later.

Based on these classifications, I will analyse the TEs as domain adjectives and aim to show a relative advantage of the domain adjective analysis in the next section.

#### 4.2. *TE as a Domain Adjective*

This section examines the relationship between the adjective and the head nominal. The analysis, from the viewpoint of domain adjectives, results in claiming that there are two types of TE modification, given as follows:

- (30) a.  $A_{[TE]-N}$  via V modification  
 b.  $A_{[TE]-N}$  modification

I further argue that the common function of TE in both two types of TE modifications above is in parallel with that of domain adjectives. Furthermore, by polishing Sadamitsu's (1999) and Noro's (2008) analyses classifications, the cognitive-semantic aspect of TE phenomena can be captured comprehensively. Let us analyse the type in (30a) first.

##### 4.2.1 *$A_{[TE]-N}$ via V Modification*

The first type of TE modification is the typical case and it consists of TE and nouns but the semantic relationship between them is satisfied with the semantics of verbs in a clause:  $A_{[TE]-N}$  via V modification. That is, this type seems to correspond to class 1, 2, and 3 in Table 2 and group A-1, A-2, and group B in Table 3. This  $A_{[TE]-N}$  via V modification includes the following cases, in which (i) TE describes the subject's or other's mental states, or action manners, and (ii) the semantics of TE can be equivalent to adverbial paraphrases. Firstly, observe the examples below (Noro (2008:5), Honda (2005:54-55)):

- (31) a. He was now smoking a sad cigarette. (= (1), (19))  
 b. She tapped Bruton Street with a testy foot.  
 c. It was plain that I had shaken him. His eyes widened, and an astonished piece of toast fell from his grasp.

All TEs in (31) describe the subjects' inner states respectively: feeling *sad* is about the subject *he* (31a), *testy* describes the subject's (*she*) mind (31b), and *astonished* designates the subject's (*him, his*) emotion (31c). Honda (2005:55) also explains that the TEs in (31a) and (31c) describe the others' mind through the speakers' visual perception, whereas (31b) does so through auditory perception. According to Noro (2008), this type can be considered a prototypical type of TE and thus it is the most productive amongst all types. Firstly, the TE expression *sad cigarette* cannot be transformed into the predicating form, as shown below:

- (32) a. a sad cigarette  
 b. ??The cigarette is sad.

This leads us to assume that the TE in this type is a non-predicating adjective. If the TE is a predicating adjective, we need to analyse it as a dependent element and regard the noun *cigarette* as an autonomous element. That is, as a domain adjective (i.e. subcategorising and elaborating on the type of the post-positioned nouns), the autonomous element *sad* in fact modifies the dependent element *cigarette*; however, this insight is only partly correct. Reconsider the example (= (20)) again:

- (33) a. John smoked a sad cigarette. [TE expression]  
 b. John looked at a sad cigarette. [Metaphoric expression]

Interestingly, the expression of (33a) is analysed as a TE phenomenon but (33b) is not, as Kanazawa (2008) argues. The A-N expression *sad cigarette* in (33b) corresponds to the domain adjective construction. As for the expression in (33a), this TE expression should be analysed as forming the A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N via V modification. This contrast is brought by the different relationships between the verbs (i.e. *smoked* vs. *looked*) and the property of the noun (i.e. *cigarette*). Regarding (33a), the verb *smoked* and the noun *cigarette* make a semantically stronger relationship (i.e. the relation between them indicates a common activity; we know that cigarettes are smoked in common sense) rather than that of the adjective *sad* and the noun *cigarette*; however, this relationship becomes vague for (33b). The semantic connection between the verb *looked* and the noun *cigarette* is weaker than (33a). This leads to the figurative reading of (33b), as argued in Kanazawa (2008).

Secondly, in order to analyse TE as a domain adjective, we will employ some syntactic tests based on Kihara (2004, 2010). From a Construction Grammar perspective, Kihara (2004, 2010) attempts to find the relation between the TE and the verb. According to Kihara, the original TE expressions cannot be added by the negation clauses. Take the example of (31a) again (Kihara (2004:111; 2010:186), with modifications):<sup>10</sup>

- (34) a. \*He was smoking a sad cigarette, but he wasn't sad.  
 b. He was sadly smoking a cigarette, but he wasn't sad.

Due to the coordinate clause *but he wasn't sad*, the TE expression in (34a) becomes semantically unacceptable, while the adverbial paraphrase in (34b) is acceptable. In (34a), the TE *sad* modifies not only the noun *cigarette* but also the subject *he*, whereas the adverb *sadly* modifies only the manner of action *smoking*. Furthermore, observe the following interrogative test (Kihara (2004:112; 2010:188), with modifications):

- (35) a. \*What was he smoking? — He was smoking a sad cigarette.  
 b. How was he smoking a cigarette? — He was smoking a sad cigarette.

As opposed to the *how* question in (35b), the *what* question in (35a) cannot be accepted for the TE expression. Kihara (2004) analyses the transitive TE expressions (i.e. [S–V<sub>[transitive]</sub>–A<sub>[emotional]</sub>–N]) and argues that this construction is analysable in parallel with cognate object constructions. Kihara's (2004) proposal seems remarkable; however, it is only suitable for the transitive TE constructions. Observe another example (Noro (2008:9-10), with slight modifications):

- (36) The ploughman homeward plods his weary way. (= (6))  
 a. ??The ploughman homeward way is weary.  
 b. \*The ploughman homeward plods his weary way, but he isn't weary.  
 c. \*What does the ploughman homeward plod?  
 — He plods his weary way.

The predicative form in (36a), the negation test in (36b), and the interrogative test in (36c) are not acceptable. As a consequence, what the TE *weary* really modifies is not the subsequent nouns but the verb *plods*. We are thus led to

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<sup>10</sup> The asterisks '\*' hereafter indicate not ungrammaticality but unacceptability.

conclude that the following paraphrases are adequate:

- (37) a. The ploughman homeward plods his way wearily.  
 b. The ploughman homeward plods his way wearily, but he isn't weary.  
 c. How does the ploughman homeward plod his way?  
 — He plods his weary way.

Let us take another example in (38) (Kihara (2004:111); cf. Noro (2008:9)):

- (38) I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar.  
 a. ??A lump of sugar is thoughtful.  
 b. \*I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar, but I wasn't thoughtful.  
 c. \*What did you balance?  
 — I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar.

All syntactic tests are applied and the examples in (38) are unacceptable. We therefore obtain the consequence that the original sentence *I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar* consists of A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N via V modification and should be regarded as the adverbial transformations (Kihara (2004:111)):

- (39) a. I balanced a lump of sugar thoughtfully.  
 b. I thoughtfully balanced a lump of sugar, but I wasn't thoughtful.  
 c. How did you balance a lump of sugar?  
 — I balanced a thoughtful lump of sugar.

From the above analysis, a question arises as to whether the TE *thoughtful* is truly an adjective or adverb. I assume that the TE *thoughtful* is a genuine adjective and it modifies the reference of noun (i.e. a lump of sugar which is balanced by me). All adverbial interpretations in (39) are derived from not only the relation between *thoughtful* and *a lump of sugar* but also the relation between A-N and the verb *balanced*. As a result, the TE phrase *a thoughtful lump of sugar* can be construed as being conceptually elaborated and finally interpreted in a manner like *thoughtfully*, concerning the verb *balanced* (i.e. a lump of sugar which is thoughtfully balanced). Accordingly, one type of TE phenomena can be classified and identified based on the relation of the TE and the verb in the clause. If we regard the TE as a domain adjective, the TE can be interpreted via the semantics of the verb. As we have observed before, Noro's analysis and Yoshida's analysis have already pointed out the importance of considering the

relation between the TE and the verb; however, I propose that what the domain adjective modifies is not only ‘the event’ evoked by the verb but also ‘the content of proposition’ evoked by the relation between the noun and the verb, as we have seen concerning the difference between the TE and the metaphoric expression in (33). In order to support this proposal, observe the following comparative sentences:

- (40) a. He was smoking a sadder cigarette than she was. [TE]  
 b. ??He was looking at a sadder cigarette than she was. [Metaphoric]

According to my informant, (40a) means that *he* and *she* are both *smoking* because they are *sad*, but *he* is feeling worse or has more problems, so *he was smoking a sadder cigarette*. As for (40b), it is difficult to imagine the context. Sentence (40b) thus literally indicates that the *cigarette* itself is *sadder* than the others. That is, because of the semantically strong relation between the verb and the noun, (40a) is more acceptable, whereas (40b) is not. Sentence (40a) also evokes not only the smoking event associated by the verb but also the proposition (i.e. *he was sadder than her*). In this way, A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N via V modification can be characterised as a type of TE phenomena.

#### 4.2.2 A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N Modification

The second type consists of TE and nouns only: A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N modification. This type describes the following three cases: (i) not only the subject’s mental state but also others’; (ii) conventionalised phrases that indicate ‘use’, ‘time’, ‘result’; and (iii) human beings’ integrated sensations. This type corresponds to class 4 in Table 2, and group A-3 and group C in Table 3. For instance, observe the following phrases (Noro (2008:7-8), with slight modifications):

- (41) a. his dying wish  
 b. a busy day  
 c. a sleeping car

In (41a), the referent of *dying* is not formally and semantically *wish* but *his* (i.e., generally, genitives correspond to subjects). Similarly, the TE *busy* in (41b) also corresponds to the speaker’s perspective, though there is no overtly true referent in the phrase (e.g. *criminal court*, *smoking room*, *sick room*, etc.). The phrase (41c), particularly, cannot be paraphrased into the predicating form because the adjective *sleeping* is autonomous while the noun *car* is dependent in a conceptual

manner: *??the car is sleeping*. The TE *sleeping* can be considered a domain adjective, subcategorising or elaborating on a specific type of car (i.e. a railway carriage containing beds for passengers to sleep in; cf. *rental car*, *luxury car*, etc.). Notice that in this type, the function of TE is the same as the group A in Table 3 but the modifiee is not necessarily the subject only (Noro (2008:7)). The second type also includes a complex sensational modification. Let us observe the examples (Noro (2008:10)):

- (42) a. Blind mouths!  
 b. At length I heard a ragged noise and mirth of thieves and murderer...

The above examples suggest that all adjectives that describe a sensory experience modify a different sensory source. Such combinations seem unnatural and odd: *blind* in (42a) is related to a visual sense, but it modifies *mouths*; *ragged* in (42b) is a visual or tactile sensation, but it modifies auditory sensation *noise*. This type of modification should be considered in relation to linguistic synaesthesia, as Noro (2008:11) strongly argues. Take example (42b) again:

- (43) At length I heard a ragged noise and mirth of thieves and murderer...

The visual or tactile adjective *ragged* irregularly modifies the auditory noun *noise*. This sensory discordant modification is called synaesthetic metaphor (i.e., ‘words that pertain to one sensory modality (e.g. vision) are extended to express another sensory modality (e.g. audition)’ (Cacciari (2008:427))). In this type, the general definition of TE shown in (2) cannot be applied because we cannot find the ‘original word’ before which the adjective is transferred, in the relevant clause. Some of the synaesthetic adjectives that are considered domain adjectives have been claimed in Ishida (2018a, b) (cf. *akaru-i aji* ‘bright taste’ in Japanese). In synaesthetic expressions, some modifiers, in general, do not modify the nouns because they are different sensory modifiees. In this situation, therefore, we conclude that *ragged* is a domain adjective which subcategorises the noun *noise*, but does not predicate the property of *noise* (i.e., *??the noise is ragged*).

From the observation and analysis so far, we conclude that TE is morpho-syntactically and cognitive-semantically a genuine adjective. This conclusion is yielded by analysing TE as a domain adjective. The notion of domain adjective, based on its functions, allows us to distinguish TE expressions in two modification types: (i) A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N via V modification; and (ii) A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N modification. The former can be characterised as shown in (44):

(44) A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N via V modification

In this modification, what the TE modifies is the reference of the subsequent noun. The range of reference in this type, in fact, extends not only to ‘the event’ but also to ‘the content of proposition’ based on the semantic relation between the noun and the verb.

The latter can be described in (45):

(45) A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N modification

This type of TE also modifies the reference of the subsequent noun. It further subcategorises or elaborates on the type of the referent of the subsequent noun.

The common feature in both (44) and (45) is what TE modifies, that is, the reference of the subsequent noun. The difference between them is whether the TE modification is based on the verb or not. It has been widely discussed that, in typical case (44), the TE is almost equal to the adverb; however, we should take another type (45) into consideration in order to capture how the TE functions and to regard the TE as a genuine adjective. We further discuss in the following section why the TE occurs.

## 5. Discussion

First of all, we discuss the reason why TE phenomena occur. As Noro (2008) argues, the TE phenomena are closely related to the nature of English language, which prefers nominal expressions rather than adverbial ones. For example, generally, the nominal sentences are preferable rather than the adverbial sentences in English (i.e., *she is a good tennis player* > *she plays tennis well*; *she is a good cook* > *she cooks well*) (Noro (2008:10)). Noro’s indication has already been pointed out and discussed by Jespersen (1909-1949, 1933). Jespersen (1933:91) claims that in A-N expressions, the contiguity between adjectives and nouns is essential, using his own term, *junction*. According to Jespersen (1933:91), ‘in a junction, the joining of the two elements is so close that they may be considered one composite name for what might in many cases just as well have been called by a single name’. For example, the following phrases can be paraphrased into a single composite: *a silly person* ‘a fool’, *the warmest season* ‘summer’, *a very tall person* ‘a giant’, *an offensive* ‘a stench’, etc. In terms of junction, the combination of A-N is preferable and indeed it has been conventionalised along with grammaticisation. Ogawa (1954:56) and Bolinger

(1988:10) provide interesting examples of the relationship of A-N and N-N compounds. Observe the following examples in (46):

- (46) a. green grass  
 b. a beautiful rose  
 c. a white rose  
 d. a red poppy  
 e. a sensitive (or humble) plant  
 f. a scarlet runner  
 g. a linden tree

From (46a; A-N) to (46g; N-N), Bolinger (1988) contends that the relationships between the two grammatical components (i.e. A-N or N-N) become stronger and tighter. For example, the noun *grass* in *green grass* in (46a) can be independently self-contained concept without the adjective *green*. The *poppy* in (46d) is a self-contained noun, so it can be conceptualised by itself, but at the same time we know there are some kinds of poppies. Given this, a type of *poppies* can be identified by the adjective *red*. More apparently, *linden tree* in (46g) is a N-N compound. In compounds, the first nouns are relatively autonomous elements and the second nouns are dependent (Sullivan (2013:83)). That is, although the first noun *linden* is already self-contained as the name of a plant but is identified as a type of tree by the second noun *tree*. This type of compound is called *tautological compound* (cf. Benczes (2014); cf. *oak tree, tuna fish, subject matter*, etc.). Although the *linden* is a noun, as a conceptually autonomous element, it behaves like a domain adjective since it determines a type of *trees* by its combination.

From the above observation, I assume that the notion of domain adjective can be applied not only to TE but also to other adjectives. That is, domain adjectives may not only be determined by the morpho-syntactic properties (cf. Sproat and Shih (1988, 1991), Cinque (2010), Watanabe (2010, 2017), Nagano (2013, 2016), Nagano and Shimada (2015, 2016)) but also be determined by the cognitive-semantic properties (cf. Bolinger (1967, 1988), Langacker (1987, 1991), Sullivan (2013)). When the relevant adjectives can be considered domain adjectives except for general metaphoric A-N expressions, the combination between the modifiers and the modifiees is semantically peculiar. This character of domain adjective is nothing to do with syntactic aspects; nevertheless, its syntactic behaviour is the same as the other general A-N modifications (e.g. metaphoric language, synaesthetic expressions, transferred epithet, etc.). This is

why incongruities between forms and meanings are focused such as TE phenomena or other peculiar expressions. In order to explain its modification process, the linearisation rule in Dependency Grammar (DG) can be worth referring to. The linear modification is also mentioned by Bolinger (1952) in detail. A linearisation rule is a dependency rule and it is the necessity to place the one in front of the other (Osborne (2014:616)). In DG, these two components are considered a head and a modifier, respectively. For example, in English a determiner-noun dependency is linearised to a determiner-noun sequence; namely, a linearisation rule requires that a dependent determiner be positioned in front of its head noun (Osborne (2014:625)). Yoshida (2009:55) argues that linearisation rules can be universally applied to any kind of languages. Based on this modification principle and junction, we predict that some peculiar A-N expressions inevitably consist of A and N as its independent grammatical components. We, however, leave the DG approach for future research.

There is one TE type left untouched in this paper, that is, group A-4 in Table 3.<sup>11</sup> This type describes not only human mental states but also inanimate properties. Observe the examples (Noro (2008:8), with slight modifications):

- (47) a. Would you like a nice cup of tea?  
 b. A fine lot of friends they turned out to be.  
 c. We need a tough lot of people.

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<sup>11</sup> The other possible TE phenomenon is called *transposition of adjectival phrases*. This phenomenon, which is found by Abbott's (1873:308) analysis of Shakespeare's works, is exceptional case, therefore it is not directly relevant with the TE but worth referring to in relation to the TE modification. Observe the following examples (Noro (2008:16-17)):

- (i) a. As a long-parted mother with her child.  
 b. You have won a happy victory to Rome.  
 c. He was a skilful orator, quick, logical, and decisive.

When an adjective is not a mere epithet and essentially implies a relative, the adjective is placed after the noun; however, when the combination of the adjective and the noun is destroyed by this operation, the adjective is preferred to be placed before the noun. The modifier *long-parted* is in (ia) in fact linked to the prepositional phrase *with her child* (i.e., *a mother long-parted with her child*). Similarly, *happy* in (ib) modifies *to Rome* (i.e. *a victory happy to Rome*) and *skilful* in (ic) is originally placed after the noun *orator* but precedes the noun. The Elizabethans preferred to use this operation, according to Abbott (1873). This type is considered a more complex case because the TE merely cannot modify the subsequent nouns; however, as Abbott (1873) claims, transposition of adjectival phrases sometimes occurs when the semantic destruction between A-N is caused by positioning adjectives after nouns. This indicates that the contiguity between A-N and adjective's pre-positioned priority in A-N are preferred in English.

In (47), all TEs formally modify the subsequent quantifiers (i.e. *a cup of, a lot of*) but semantically modify the set of nominals. We can thus paraphrase each case as follows:

- (48) a. Would you like a cup of nice tea?  
 b. A lot of fine friends they turned out to be.  
 c. We need a lot of tough people.

Noro (2008) claims that this type evokes a metonymic or synecdoche interpretation based on A-N contiguity. With respect to (48a) in particular, we have observed that the TE *nice* should originally be located in front of the noun *tea*. I argue, however, that phrases like (47) should not be regarded as a type of TE, because each phrase can be transformed into a predicative form: *a cup of tea is nice; a lot of friends are fine; a lot of people are tough*. Given this, I assume that the nouns *cup* and *lot* in this case can be considered not as ‘full noun’ but as ‘light noun’, which means that these nouns are not regarded as entities or substances but classifiers or units (see Watanabe (2012)). In this respect, the behaviour and character of these types of nouns resemble those of ‘Semi-lexical Ns’ (see Shimada (2013), Naya (2017)). Semi-lexical Ns are considered a group of functional categories in that they lack purely semantic features (e.g. *one, self, thing, people, time, way*, etc.). The nouns *cup* and *lot* here, indeed, lack their semantic features but merely indicate the units of quantity. Considering this, we may doubt whether this type of TE expression can be analysed as being a true TE phenomenon. More importantly, however, we should pay our attention more carefully to the properties of the noun involved, though we leave this issue open.

There are also other approaches to TE phenomena such as construction grammar (cf. Kihara (2004, 2010)), pragmatics (cf. Ohmori (2014)), cognitive-based (cf. Yamamoto (2015)), etc. We, however, leave these possible approaches for future research.

## 6. Conclusion

To conclude, I summarise my claims in the following three points:

- (i) TE can be analysed as a domain adjective and a genuine adjective.
- (ii) TE as a domain adjective modifies the reference of the noun.
- (iii) Based on the notion of domain adjective, TE phenomena can be classified into two types:  $A_{[TE]}-N$  via V modification and  $A_{[TE]}-N$  modification.

We have observed the behaviour of TE and its functions from a cognitive-semantic perspective. TE, in this paper, has been analysed as a domain adjective for its classifying and elaborating functions. Based on this, we conclude that TE is a genuine adjective and its modification can be divided into two types, A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N via V type and A<sub>[TE]</sub>-N type. Although both types are frequently seen in TE phenomena, the former type is more typical than the latter one. Some TE expressions, however, have been conventionalised, so they are lexicalised and are given names for its ‘use’, ‘time’, ‘properties’, or ‘actions’. In English, based on the notion of junction, the connection between the adjective and the noun is stronger and tighter than the other grammatical elements. This general property leads TE to consist of a phrase rather than a compound, because it is ‘highly specialised, idiomatic meaning, which makes them eye-catching and precludes a literal interpretation’ (Hüning (2010:210)).

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Doctoral Program in Literature and Linguistics

University of Tsukuba

e-mail: takashi.ishida1990@gmail.com