

Metaphorical adjective-noun phrases in German journalese

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The study explores metaphorical adjective-noun phrases (ANPs) and describes the semantics behind the polysemous structure of ANPs. The data for the research have been collected in German newspapers. The whole ANP-construction provides an overall figurative frame and tends to influence the metaphorical use of the adjective in that construction. As the study shows the same syntactic structure can refer to different metaphorical or literal predications. The role of the context is also discussed as well as the nature of the adjective in the ANP.

Keywords: nominal phrase, metaphorical, adjective-noun, journalese, German

1. Introduction

Non-native speakers of German can be struck by the number of figurative phrases in German newspaper articles and especially in headlines. Non-literal nominal phrases composed of an attributive adjective with a noun (ANP) belong to recurrent lexicalization patterns in journalese as they are compact and vivid ways of expression which aim at attracting the reader's attention to the text.¹ For the reader they constitute an interpretation challenge, not only because of their conciseness, but also because such phrases are characterized by semantic incompatibility between the adjective and the noun, the meaning of the ANPs has to be inferred, as illustrated by the following short list of ANPs, *politische Safari*² ('political safari'; Die Welt, 08.07.1982), *politisches Tauwetter* ('political thaw weather'; Die Welt,

1. It is not the purpose of this contribution to deal in detail with figurative language in newspapers and the role of headlines, therefore we refer to the studies by Evans (1974), Kniffka, 1980, Spiegel (1966) and Yergaliyev et al. (2014).

2. The data are part of a larger sample of examples collected by the author in different newspapers. See the following section about the quality of the papers.

24.04.1982), *die soldatische Frau* ('the soldier-like woman'; Die Welt, 5.05.2016), *sozialdemokratisches Gesicht* ('socio-democratic face'; Hamburger Abendblatt 12.3.2015). A closer look at such ANPs also reveals that the same syntactic structure [adjective + noun] is polysemous and can instantiate different predications. E.g. in *politisches Tauwetter* some political events are conceptualized as meteorological events, whereas in *die soldatische Frau* a different predication is meant, namely that the woman is a soldier.³ In spite of the structural similarity of the examples, "the semantic contribution of the adjectives to a phrase cannot be explained by a uniform function" (Strohner and Stoet, 1999: 195; see also Bickes, 1984: 80 and Neubauer, 1977: 234). Up to now little has been done to systematically explore the conceptual structure of the polysemous ANP structure. The present contribution aims at describing the possible semantics of metaphorical ANPs with a larger collection of data, thereby focusing on the nature of the adjective on the one hand and the metaphorical elaboration on the other. To do so, it starts from the framework of conceptual metaphor theory, originally inspired by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), which defines metaphor as the mapping of a source domain on a target domain. The metaphorical mapping is based on similarity. Some ANPs also instantiate metonymy, in which case the relation between two domains is said to be one of contiguity, i.e. part for whole or one component of a domain stands for another component (see the details in Section 4).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 zooms in onto former research on (metaphorical) ANPs. Inspired by Sullivan's (2013) study and by conceptual metaphor theory, Section 3 introduces the theoretical framework for the exploration of the data, which are described in full length and in detail and classified in Section 4. This section further focuses on the role of the context in understanding metaphorical ANPs, dealing more specifically with visual contexts in the form of pictures which sometimes accompany the press articles. Section 5 further examines the nature of the adjectives most frequently used in metaphorical ANPs. A quick glance at the examples shows that many adjectives used in (metaphorical) ANPs are derivations from nouns with productive suffixes, e.g. *polit-isch* ('political'), *tunes-isch* ('Tunesian'), *könig-lich* ('royal'), or *atom-ar* ('atomic'). Denominal adjectives are particularly suitable for their use in metaphorical ANPs. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the main findings and discusses some perspectives.

3. Of course we need the context to be able to interpret these examples. We discuss them in full length and with the context in Section 4.

2. Former research on metaphorical adjective-noun phrases

Earlier studies in (metaphorical) adjective-noun phrases (Aarts & Calbert, 1979; Fries, 1952; Meyer, 1988; Neubauer, 1977; Warren, 1984) already recognized that “the predication value is not the same in all adjectives and that it may vary according to the noun that an adjective co-occurs with” (Aarts & Calbert, 1979: 81). These earlier studies tried to capture the structural polysemy of ANPs with the description of ‘semantic (or contextual) features’ associated to the adjectives (Aarts & Calbert, 1979; Meyer, 1988): “The common role of the adjectivization is to attribute a property (PA) to the entity designated by the noun rector (ENr), that is to say to characterize it” (Meyer, 1988: 193; translation from French). This view on the role of adjectives with nouns is very narrow and inadequate, especially when it comes to describing metaphorical ANPs which are characterized by semantic incompatibility, either between the adjective and the noun, or between the ANP within the sentence or with its larger context.

By contrast, more recent research (Coulson, 2006; Sullivan, 2013; Sweetser, 1999; Tribushinina, 2011) has shown that the adjectives in the (metaphorical) nominal phrases are often non-predicating, which means that they do not express a property characteristic of the nominal concept. This is illustrated among others by Sweetser’s (1999: 129–130) discussion of examples like *usual suspects* or *likely candidates* and further by Coulson’s (2001: 134) metonymical example *hot lid* referring to the lid for paper cups that contain hot drinks like coffee or tea. But, as already pointed out by Sweetser (1999), the mere differentiation between predicating and non-predicating adjectives does not allow to account for the large amount of different ANPs, let alone non-literal nominal phrases. Following Fauconnier and Turner’s (1996 and 1998) idea of mental spaces, Sweetser further argues that the constituents of ANPs are characterized by a mapping in the form of a blend of different mental spaces. Thus, the interpretation of an ANP like *red ball* “requires blending of two input spaces, one contributed by *red* and the other by *ball*, to create a coherent blended space.” (1999: 139) The interpretation of such phrases is easier when the constituents of the ANP belong to compatible mental spaces. In *red ball* a color is a possible characteristic of an object like a ball. More problematic are non-literal uses of adjectives and nouns in one phrase. In her description of the metaphorical example *intellectual sleeping pills* referring to sermons Sweetser (1999: 144) claims that the hearer who tries to find an interpretation for this ANP will have “to blend the space involving sleeping pills with some space involving the intellect rather than the body” (1999: 144). Although the concept of a blend between two domains motivates the possible combination of an adjective with a noun which are semantically incompatible, blending theory does not allow to go further than that, i.e. determine the respective roles of the adjective and the noun

in the metaphorical predication. The framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory allows for more systematicity as it starts from the 'X is Y'-predication and looks at the linguistic realization of this predication. That is why we rather rely on this framework for the analysis and classification of the data.

3. A cognitive linguistics framework for the exploration of ANPs

It is the merit of Sullivan (2013) to have proposed a more fine-grained analysis of ANPs which integrates several frameworks and descriptive concepts. Like most studies on adjective-noun combinations, Sullivan (2013) starts from the distinction between predicating vs. non-predicating adjectives, which she illustrates respectively with the examples *beautiful princess* (predicating) vs. *electrical engineer* (non-predicating) (2013: 7). The predicating adjective expresses properties characterizing the noun, e.g. 'the princess is beautiful', whereas the non-predicating adjective refers to a specific domain. Thus, an electrical engineer is not an engineer who is electrical, but one who is specialized in electricity issues. This leads Sullivan (2013: 7) to adopt Sweetser's (1999: 144) term "domain adjective" to qualify non-predicating adjectives. Domain adjectives have also been called "classifying adjectives" (Warren, 1984: 241). They (sub)classify the entity described by the noun according to the area that characterizes it. Thus, the adjective in *electrical engineer* refers to the area in which the engineer is working. Geckeler (1971: 241) rather speaks of "relational adjectives" because there is a relation between the adjective and an underlying ground morpheme – which is a noun in most cases. Geckeler (1971: 241) establishes some further characteristics of relational adjectives: they cannot build a comparative form or express grading, they cannot be used with diminutive or augmentative suffixes and cannot be used in a predicating way (see also Bolinger, 1967). Considering that at the conceptual level metaphors are defined as mapping one domain onto another one, the term "domain adjective" is preferred in this paper because it can refer to the notion of metaphorical domain as well (see the definition of this term hereunder).

As already observed in the introduction, the surface structure of ANPs is polysemous. This leads Sullivan (2013) to distinguish between two construction types with different constructional semantics for the ANPs. The nominal phrase with a predicating adjective like *beautiful princess* is a so-called "predicating modifier construction" (2013: 7) because the adjective indeed modifies the semantics of the noun. By contrast, a non-predicating example like *electrical engineer* is a "domain construction" (2013: 7) as it contains a domain adjective. This distinction is especially relevant for the analysis of metaphorical ANPs. In the predicating modifier construction, the adjective and the noun are both used literally, they are

semantically compatible. In domain constructions a metaphorical adjective can appear with a literally used noun or inversely, a literal adjective is used with a metaphorical noun (see Section 4 for more details).

Non-predicating domain constructions are often more difficult to understand. In order to process their meaning Sullivan (2013) suggests to look at the zone (or facet of an entity) which is being activated (Langacker, 1987: 272) in the specific domain construction. Langacker (1987: 272) points to the fact that

[e]ntities are often multifaceted, only certain facets being able to interact with a particular domain or play a direct role in a particular relationship. Those facets of an entity capable of interacting directly with a given domain or relation are referred to as the active zone of the entity with respect to the domain or relation in question.

Activated zones are context-dependent, e.g. when one speaks of a car, different aspects of a car can be involved, like the car as transportation vehicle in the sentence *Mary picks her children from school by car*. Or one thinks of the 'machine/engine' dimension when one says *I had to bring my car to the garage as it completely broke down*. The definition of the different facets of an entity is dependent on our encyclopedic knowledge about categories around us. According to Fillmore (1982) this knowledge is organized in frames. In the car example above, this means that there are several frames which can be associated with such an 'object'. More specifically, the car as a transportation means evokes a frame with a driver, persons or objects being transported, a trajectory, a possible source and a goal. This frame includes further information, e.g. about the driver who must have a driving license, the roads and the signs, the speed, etc. In adjective-noun combinations too the adjective can refer to a specific active zone of the entity described by the noun. Let us look at a few examples.

- (1) *Politisches Tauwetter in Budapest* [H]⁴
 Lit. 'Political thaw weather in Budapest' (Die Welt 24.4.1982)
Größerer Spielraum der Kirche möglich / Vermittelt Ungarn zwischen den Blöcken?
 [ST]
 Lit. 'Greater latitude of the church possible / Does Hungary mediate between the blocks?'

4. The data are part of a larger sample of examples collected by the author. Because the interpretation of each example – as shown in the following sections – is dependent on the context in which the ANP appears, the following abbreviations are used to specify whether the example appears in a headline [H] or in the following text [T]. Moreover, [ST] is used to specify the subtitle which sometimes accompanies the headline and which may facilitate the understanding of the ANP.

Einiges deutet darauf hin, dass der Vatikan und die Kirchenführer und damit die katholische Kirche in Ungarn künftig mehr Handlungsfreiheit haben werden als bisher. [...] Dies deutet darauf hin, dass Ungarn in Zukunft ähnlich wie Rumänien eine gewisse Vermittlerrolle zwischen den Ländern beider Blöcke spielen möchte.

[T]

Lit. 'There are indications that the Vatican and church leaders, and thus the Catholic Church in Hungary, will in future have more freedom of action than before. [...] This indicates that in the future, similar to us, Hungary would like to play a certain intermediary role between the countries of both blocs.'

(2) *Die soldatische Frau*

[H]

Lit. 'The soldier-like woman'

(Die Welt, 5.05.2016)

Dass Frauen stark sind und auch kämpfen können, geschenkt. In der Bundeswehr geht es um Kitas und schwangere Soldatinnen.

[ST]

Lit. 'That women are strong and can also fight, this we know. The German army is concerned with day-care centres and pregnant female soldiers.'

Our knowledge of the frames of politics (Example (1)) and the military (Example (2)) allows mental access to the activated zone of the ANPs. More concretely, the political frame – as many examples in journalese refer to political issues – includes information about actors called politicians, elections, laws, the parliament, political parties, issues to be discussed, votes, etc. As our examples are drawn from German newspapers, more specific knowledge of the frame related to German politics is needed as illustrated by the following example,

(3) *Der Regierung fehlt sozialdemokratisches Gesicht*

[T]

Lit. 'Government lacks socio-democratic face'

(Hamburger Abendblatt 12.3.2015)

Was aber der SPD vor allem fehlt, ist ein Gesicht, eine Persönlichkeit. Kurt Beck ist dies in den Augen der meisten Deutschen nicht. Selbst die Genossen stehen mehrheitlich eher zu Angela Merkel als zu ihrem eigenen Parteivorsitzenden.

[T]

Lit. 'But what the SPD is missing above all is a face, a personality. Kurt Beck is not that in the eyes of most Germans. Even the comrades are majority to Angela Merkel rather than their own party chairman.'

This frame includes knowledge about the election of chancellors, the specific parties in Germany, etc. As is shown hereunder frames play a major role in the understanding process of metaphorical ANPs. The difficulty with metaphorical ANPs depends on the fact that the zone activated by the domain adjective does not necessarily refer to expected properties of the zone activated by the noun. Thus, in Example (3) the zone activated by the adjective refers to a political party by personification which at first sight has nothing to do with a person's face. As the present study focuses on

'metaphorical' ANPs, it is necessary to briefly present the theoretical framework selected for the description of metaphors. In the introduction metaphor has been described as a mapping of (an element or an aspect of) a source domain onto (an element of) a target domain. The mapping is based on a similarity relation, i.e. 'X is Y'. The understanding process of metaphors thus consists in recognizing both domains involved as well as the mapping between both domains. Syntactically, the metaphor can be expressed in various ways, viz. with appositions in which no copula is used, e.g. *His politics, a roller coaster!* or in noun phrases with genitive complements, e.g. *He has a wealth of ideas* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 48). Even compounds can realize a part of the metaphorical mapping, e.g. *Zitronenmond* ('lemon moon'), *Kirschmund* ('cherry mouth') (Schmid, 2012).⁵ Against this background the main issue related to the interpretation of metaphorical ANPs in the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is to define the ANP-internal metaphor, i.e. see which roles are played respectively by the adjective and the noun and recognize the contribution of the construction. Theoretically there are several possibilities:

- i. The adjective is used literally and the noun is metaphorical.
- ii. Inversely, the adjective can be metaphorical and the noun used literally.
- iii. Both adjective and noun are literal, but the whole ANP construction refers to the source domain for a target domain referred to by the larger context.

The ANP provides an overall figurative constructional frame and tends to influence the metaphorical use of both the adjective and the noun in the ANP. Section 4 deals with the different possibilities in detail.

4. A semantic and conceptual study of metaphorical ANPs

As already explained in Section 1, it is the aim of this paper to analyze the semantics that can be conveyed by the polysemous syntactic structure ANP and to offer a more fine-grained analysis of the possible instantiations of this structure. The data for the present study have been collected in German journalistic texts selected by the author in the daily newspapers *Die Welt* and *Das Hamburger Abendblatt* and the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*.⁶ The use of metaphorical ANPs is widespread in all three newspapers in spite of their different style registers, *Die Welt* and *Die Zeit* being better quality papers than the local *Das Hamburger Abendblatt*.

5. For further syntactic possibilities and examples see Schmid (2012).

6. For the sake of completeness some more examples have been extracted from other German texts like the television magazine *Funk Uhr*.

For our analysis we start from the constituents of the ANP and we examine whether they are used literally or metaphorically, whether the adjective is predicating or not and which domain (source or target) is instantiated by the adjective and noun. These criteria allow to classify the examples. Let us look at the different categories in detail.

4.1 Adjective [literal] + noun [metaphorical]

Most metaphorical ANPs in German journalistic texts belong to this category. All the ANPs in this category are non-predicating, they consist of a domain adjective used literally and combined with a metaphorical noun which conceptualizes the source domain, as illustrated by (4) and (5).

- (4) *Sozialdemokratischer Flirt mit den Grünen* [H]
 Lit. 'Social democratic flirt with the Greens' (Die Welt, 10.06.1982)
SPD-Frauen, Jusos und Hamburgs Ex-Bürgermeister Klose raten zu Verhandlungen über Zusammenarbeit mit der GAL. [ST]
 Lit. 'SPD women, Jusos and Hamburg's ex-mayor Klose advise negotiations on cooperation with the GAL.'
Auf der Suche nach einer regierungsfähigen Mehrheit wächst bei Sozial-demokraten in Hamburg der Wunsch, es doch mit der Grün-Alternativen Liste (GAL) zu versuchen. [T]
 Lit. 'In the search for a governing majority of Social Democrats in Hamburg grows the desire to try it with the green alternatives list (GAL).'
- (5) *Politisches Tauwetter in Budapest* [H]
 Lit. 'Political thaw weather in Budapest'
Größerer Spielraum der Kirche möglich/ Vermittelt Ungarn zwischen den Blöcken? (ST)
 Lit. 'Greater latitude for the church possible/ Does Hungary mediate between the blocks?' (Die Welt, 24.04.1982)
Einiges deutet darauf hin, dass der Vatikan und die Kirchenführer und damit die katholische Kirche in Ungarn künftig mehr Handlungsfreiheit haben werden als bisher. [...] Dies deutet darauf hin, dass Ungarn in Zukunft ähnlich wie Rumänien eine gewisse Vermittlerrolle zwischen den Ländern beider Blöcke spielen möchte. [T]
 Lit. 'There are indications that the Vatican and church leaders, and thus the Catholic Church in Hungary, will in future have more freedom of action than before. [...] This indicates that in the future, similar to us, Hungary would like to play a certain intermediary role between the countries of both blocs.'

The adjective refers to the target domain, it is itself grounded in a metonymy which motivates the link between the property expressed by the adjective and the target domain that it stands for. The identification of the target domain and the conceptual metaphor in such ANPs constitutes a challenge for the reader. This can only happen by referring to the frames about the concepts expressed by the adjective and further by the nominal context – sometimes also by further contextual clues – in the ANP. For instance, several examples of ANPs contain the adjective *politisch* (Example (5)) which activates a specific frame about political events (see description of this frame in Section 3). The adjective *sozialdemokratisch* (Example (4)), evokes the same political frame, while focusing on political parties. In this sense, both examples (4) and (5) refer to the same frame, but they elaborate on different active zones of politics.

In the same way, information about the source domain is also structured in frames. In Example (5) *Tauwetter* ('thaw weather') refers to the source domain which concerns METEOROLOGICAL EVENTS. The information about this source domain includes knowledge about the disappearance of obstacles like snow or ice, a more relaxed situation for the traffic or for persons moving, the travelling situation getting better or easier, and so on. Hence, the mapping of *Tauwetter* ('thaw weather') onto *politisch* ('political') – which is itself a metonymy for political events – refers to the idea of a more relaxed situation in politics. The context *in Budapest* brings some more clues about the country with the relaxed situation, namely Hungary.

An interesting example is (6) where two ANPs realize the same frame of a dog (once as a whole and then with its bodypart), but also the same political frame as target domain with the words *kommunistisch* and *sozialistisch* as in Example (4) and (5):

- (6) *Auch bei den Parlamentswahlen von 1977 wirkte Mitterrand noch wie die Geisel der französischen K[ommunistischen] P[artei]; der kommunistische Schwanz schien mit dem sozialistischen Hund zu wackeln.* [T]
 Lit. 'Even in the 1977 parliamentary elections, Mitterrand still acted like the hostage of the French Communist Party; the communist tail seemed to wiggle with the socialist dog. [...] the communist tail seemed to wiggle with the socialist dog.'
 (Die Zeit, 15.05.1981)

In this example the source domain ANIMALS is mapped upon political events as the target domain, which is referred to with the communist party and the socialist president Mitterrand.

Journalistic texts contain a rich trove of examples with different metaphorical source domains for political issues or events as target domain, as illustrated by

- (7) *Politischer Brückenbau über den Kanal* [H]
 Lit. 'Political bridge building over the Channel' (Die Welt, 12.09.1981)
Mitterrand wünscht Schutz des EG-Marktes auch vor Produkten aus den USA [ST]
 Lit. 'Mitterrand also wishes to protect the EC market from products from the USA'
- (8) *U-Bahn-Fahrt wird zur politischen Safari* [H]
 Lit. 'Underground-journey becomes a political safari' (Die Welt, 08.07.1982)
Im Berliner „Untergrund“ gibt es immer wieder Probleme [ST]
 Lit. 'In the 'underground' of Berlin there are repeatedly problems'
- (9) *Sozialdemokratischer Flirt mit den Grünen* [H]
 Lit. 'Social-democratic flirt with the Greens' (Die Welt, 10.06.1982)
SPD-Frauen, Jusos und Hamburgs Ex-Bürgermeister Klose raten zu Verhandlungen über Zusammenarbeit mit der GAL [ST]
 Lit. 'SPD women, Jusos and Hamburg's ex-mayor Klose advise negotiations on cooperation with the GAL:
Auf der Suche nach einer regierungsfähigen Mehrheit wächst bei Sozialdemokraten in Hamburg der Wunsch, es doch mit der Grün-Alternativen Liste (GAL) zu versuchen. [T]
 Lit. 'In the search for a governing majority of Social Democrats in Hamburg grows the desire to try it with the green alternatives list (GAL).'

ISSUES IN POLITICS are seen as a BUILDING PROCESS (e.g. 7), as AN ADVENTURE (Example (8)), or as HUMAN RELATIONS (Example 9). In this last example the domain adjective refers to an agent, namely to the socio-democratic party.

The next examples do not concern politics, they refer to different target domains,

- (10) *Die soziale Zeitbombe tickt unüberhörbar* [H]
 Lit. 'The social time-bomb ticks unmistakably'
Ausländer / Heute beträgt der Anteil in Frankfurt rund 22 Prozent – und seine Zahl steigt ständig weiter an [ST]
 Lit. 'Foreigners / Today the share in Frankfurt is around 22 percent – and its number continues to rise steadily' (Die Welt, 11.03.1981)
- (11) *Porträt des Autors, der Nachkriegsdeutschland in einem literarischen Röntgenbild fixierte* [ST]
 Lit. 'Portray of the author, who recorded after-the-war-Germany in a literary x-ray picture' (Die Zeit, 23.10.1981)

Example (10) illustrates the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, whereas Example (11) realizes the primary⁷ metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING. This last example also instantiates the source domain MEDICINE for the target domain LITERATURE.

Before we close this sub-section we want to discuss an interesting example which shows how important it is to analyze the construction-internal predication of the ANP.

- (12) *Königliche Arbeiterin* [H]
 Lit. 'Royal worker' (Die Zeit, 19.03.1982)

At first sight and without further context – which is the case when the ANPs build short headlines as in this example – this ANP construction will be understood as predicating and literal, i.e. (12) as *Die Arbeiterin ist königlich* ('The worker is royal' = behaves like a queen). With the first sentence of the article, namely *Ist die Tätigkeit der englischen Königin Arbeit?* [T] (Lit. 'Is the activity of the English Queen work?') the example has to be reinterpreted. The text describes the many duties of Queen Elisabeth II who is not a worker, but who works hard. As a consequence, Example (12) has an equative meaning, i.e. 'Die Königin ist eine Arbeiterin' with the adjective referring to the target domain and the noun to the source domain. By contrast with the other examples discussed in this category, the adjective in Example (12) is not the metonymical expression of the target domain, but instantiates the target domain as such. The apparently literal ANP instantiates in fact an underlying metaphorical predication.

4.2 Adjective [metaphorical] + noun [literal]

Examples of ANPs in which the adjective realizes the source domain for the target domain expressed by the noun can also be found in journalistic texts, they are favored in headlines. Let us look at some examples:

- (13) *Mörderischer Besuch* [H]
 Lit. 'Murderous visit' (Funk Uhr, 6.12.2009)
- (14) *Ein mörderischer Pfleger* [H]
 Lit. 'A murderous carer' (Hamburger Abendblatt, 27.02.2015)

Without any contextual clue, both examples of ANPs are understood as predicating and not metaphorical – just like Example (12) in the above category –, e.g. (13) *Der*

7. The term 'primary metaphor' has been introduced by Joseph Grady (1997) to qualify conceptual metaphors that belong to our basic experience as human beings.

Besuch ist mörderisch ('The visit is murderous').⁸ Example (14) can be understood as *Der Pfleger ist mörderisch* ('The carer is murderous'). With the extended context though, the examples have to be reinterpreted as follows:

- (13') *Der Besuch ist ein Mörder*

Lit. 'The visit(or) is a **murder**'

TV-Krimi. 5 Mio. Zuschauer sahen im Nov. 2009 „Die Seele eines Mörders“, die erste Verfilmung eines Batya-Gur-Krimis. [ST]

'Lit. TV thriller. 5 million viewers saw "The Soul of a Murderer" in Nov. 2009, the first film adaptation of a Batya Gur thriller.'

In the same way, the headline *Ein mörderischer Pfleger* ('A murderous carer') (Example (14)) can be reinterpreted as *Der Pfleger ist ein Mörder* ('The carer is a murderer') when reading the first sentence of the subtitle:

- (14') *Im Prozess gegen den ehemaligen Klinikmitarbeiter Niels H., der mindestens fünf Menschen umgebracht hat, fiel am Donnerstag das Urteil: Lebenslang und eine besondere Schwere der Schuld.* [ST]

Lit. 'In the trial against the former clinic employee Niels H., who killed at least five people, the verdict was passed on Thursday: lifelong and a particular severity of guilt.'

With the contextual clues it becomes clear that examples (13) and (14) have a literal meaning, the apparent metaphoricity of the ANPs results from the constructional process. These examples are not really metaphorical. In this sense they are different from Example (12) *Königliche Arbeiterin*, an apparently literal ANP which instantiates a metaphorical predication, i.e. 'Die Königin ist eine Arbeiterin'.

The following example also contains the adjective *mörderisch* ('murderous'), but has to be interpreted differently:

- (15) *Mörderisches Musical am English Theatre gefeiert* [H]

Lit. 'Murderous musical celebrated at the English Theatre'.

(Hamburger Abendblatt 25.04.2015)

Schon 1929 nutzte Patrick Hamilton den Mord als Vorlage für sein Stück „Rope“, Alfred Hitchcock drehte darüber 1948 seinen Thriller „Cocktail für eine Leiche“.

[T]

Lit. 'As early as 1929 Patrick Hamilton used the murder as a model for his play "Rope", Alfred Hitchcock turned 1948 his thriller "Cocktail for a corpse".'

8. In a figurative sense, *mörderisch* ('murderous') can be used with the meaning of 'straining', e.g. the visitors are very straining.

With a closer look at the context – especially the expression *English Theatre* – we can understand what is precisely meant: the ANP is neither predicating, the musical not being murderous, nor can it be interpreted as examples (13) and (14) above, namely **ein Mörder ist ein Musical* (**A murderer is a musical*). What is referred to in this example is the plot of the musical which deals with a murder, i.e. the adjective *mörderisch* ('murderous') is again an autonomous denominal adjective which refers metonymically to the plot of the musical (metonymy: PART FOR WHOLE). The ANP is not predicating and its metaphoricity results from the combination of the denominal adjective with the noun in the ANP which is characterized by semantic incompatibility.

The following Example (16) can be interpreted in the same way as Example (15):

- (16) *Himmlisches Vergnügen mit „Sister Act“* [H]
 Lit. 'Divine/Celestial pleasure with "Sister Act"'
 (Hamburger Abendblatt, 05.12.2010)

In this example the ANP is accompanied by a prepositional phrase which refers to the musical "Sister Act". In this film, the actress Whoopi Goldberg plays the role of a nun who cheers up the other nuns in the convent with her music. Now we can understand the motivation behind the word *himmlisch* ('celestial') as nuns are supposed to be representatives of God in heaven on earth. *Himmlisch* activates a specific frame, with which God, nuns, and convent are associated. The adjective *himmlisch* is the metonymical expression of the nuns who play a role in the musical "Sister Act". The film brings a lot of fun, this motivates the use of *Vergnügen*.

The importance of the context for the understanding of ANPs is again obvious in the following example:

- (17) *Lesen – ein prickelndes Erlebnis* [H]
 Lit. 'Reading – a sparkling experience' (Hamburger Abendblatt, 28.04.2015)
Kritiker Denis Scheck erhielt den „Champagne-Preis für Lebensfreude“ aus der Hand Frank Schätzing's [ST]
 Lit. 'Critic Denis Scheck received the "Champagne Prize for joie de vivre" from Frank Schätzing's hand'

In this example the necessary information to remotivate the meaning of the ANP is quoted in the subtitle: *Champagne-Preis für Lebensfreude* ('Champagne prize for joie de vivre'). Champagne is a sparkling drink, the link between *prickelnd* and 'champagne' is again metonymical. When you drink champagne, you are supposed to experience some pleasure, this motivates the use of *Erlebnis* in the ANP.

The discussion of the examples in the categories 4.1 and 4.2 reveals that metaphoricity can be elaborated in different ways in ANPs. Either there is a semantic incompatibility between the adjective and the noun, the adjective referring to the

target domain and the noun to the source domain (see category 4.1). Or the ANP is apparently metaphorical (category 4.2). In this case no metaphorical mapping is being expressed but the construction looks as if it were metaphorical. Both categories 4.1 and 4.2 are construction-internal metaphors. The following category looks at construction-external metaphors.

4.3 Adjective + noun [metaphorical]

The nominal phrase as a whole can represent the source domain, as illustrated in Example (18):

- (18) *Die Börse – Seherin, launische Dame oder hysterische Frau?* [H]

Lit. 'The stock market – prophetess, lunatic lady or hysterical woman?'

(Die Welt 25.2.1983)

The target domain is the stock-market, the 'lunatic lady' or the 'hysterical woman' is the linguistic expression of the source domain as a whole. In this case the adjective is predicating the noun. This personification metaphor is based on a metonymy as stock exchange rates are known to fluctuate, to be unpredictable. The following example illustrates at its best the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR and further the 'dueling' frame, which is at play in this metaphor:

- (19) *Mit teutonischem Breitschwert* [H]

Lit. 'With Teutonic broadsword'

(Die Zeit 15.5.81)

This headline comes with the following text and can only be understood with this text:

Erster Eindruck: Mitterrand und Giscard fechten ein Duell aus, das den Betrachter aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland verwirrt. So plump und grobschlächtig und allgemein, ganz wie im eigenen Land, hatte er sich die Debatte nun wirklich nicht vorgestellt. (...) Statt mit maliziös gespitztem Florett schlugen die Franzosen mit teutonischem Breitschwert aufeinander ein... [T]

Lit. 'First impression: Mitterrand and Giscard fight a duel that confuses the viewer from the Federal Republic of Germany. He had not really imagined the debate to be so clumsy and coarse and general, just like in his own country. (...) Instead of a maliciously sharpened foil, the French beat each other with a Teutonic broadsword...'

The ANP *teutonisches Breitschwert* as a whole is the expression of the source domain for a target domain which deals with the language of politics. The metaphorical ANP is embedded in a larger context which is based on the 'dueling' frame. The expressions *fechten* ('fight with a sword'), *gespitztem Florett* ('sharpened foil'), or

schlugen ('beat') all sustain the same frame. The adjective *teutonisch* is predicating. ANP-external metaphors are characterized by a predicating adjective – which is not a domain adjective – combined with a noun. Both constituents are semantically compatible, they can refer to the source domain as a whole for a target domain referred to by other elements of the context.

4.4 Contextual information with pictures

It has become clear that the role of the context for the correct interpretation of the ANPs is often essential. Up to now only verbal contexts have been discussed. Sometimes newspapers add pictures to the texts, they can sustain the understanding of the ANPs. Here is an example:

- (20) *Titanische Kämpfe* [H]
 Lit. 'Titanic fights' (Welt am Sonntag, 04.10.2015)

This example is the headline to an article with a picture of the actress Kate Winslet. Without reading the article, *Titanische Kämpfe* could be understood literally, i.e. as a predicating phrase. The adjective is lexicalized with the meaning of exceptional strength, size, or power and thus is compatible with the noun *Kämpfe*. But the picture of Kate Winslet, who played in the famous film "Titanic", associated to this headline guides the reader to another interpretation. The adjective is derived from the name of the ship and film. As to the motivation for the use of the word *Kämpfe* ('fights') in this context, it is necessary to read the following article. It deals with the actress's trouble (realized as 'fights') with her several marriages. Thus, the headline *Titanische Kämpfe* can be interpreted as one of the examples described in Section 4.1 in which the domain adjective is the metonymical expression for the actress, i.e. FILM FOR ACTRESS.

Another example is

- (21) *Mausige Weihnachtsgeschenke* [H]
 Lit. 'Mausy Christmas presents' (Die Welt 19.12.2016)

Example (21) *Mausige Weihnachtsgeschenke* ('Mausy Christmas presents') appears with the picture of the well-known little cartoon mouse which plays the main role in "Die Sendung mit der Maus" ('The programme with the mouse'), a series for children on German television. Thus, the denominal adjective *mausig* directly refers to this little mouse, it is the metonymical expression for the series with the mouse. The adjective is not predicating, but a domain adjective for the series. It reminds of Example (15) *Mörderisches Musical am English Theatre gefeiert* (Lit. 'Murderous

musical celebrated at the English Theatre') and the other examples of category 4.2 quoted above. It is not metaphorical.

Verbal and pictorial clues can be combined as illustrated by the following example:

- (22) *Die soldatische Frau* [H]
 Lit. 'The soldier-like woman' (Die Welt, 5.05.2016)

Example (22) refers to women who become soldiers. This can be interpreted when looking at the subtitle of this headline:

Dass Frauen stark sind und auch kämpfen können, geschenkt. In der Bundeswehr geht es um Kitas und schwangere Soldatinnen. [ST]

Lit. 'That women are strong and can also fight, this we know. The German army is concerned with day-care centres and pregnant female soldiers.'

A picture representing a female soldier carrying a baby sustains the interpretation. This example reminds of Example (12) *Königliche Arbeiterin* (Lit. 'Royal worker'; Die Zeit, 19.03.1982), which is equative and not metaphorical.

We close this section with the discussion of a last complex example which 'plays' with the possible meanings of the adjective in the nominal phrase, e.g.

- (23) *Dosierte Freiheit* [H]
 Lit. 'Dosed freedom (= in dosis)'
 "Tzisch" – warum der Schluck aus dem Weißblech überlebt hat [ST]
 Lit. "'Tzish" – why the sip from the tinplate survived'
 (Hamburger Abendblatt, 18.08.2004)

The attributive adjective *dosierte* is the perfect participle of *dosieren* ('to dose', 'to divide into doses'). Literally, the nominal phrase would mean something like 'freedom which you get in small doses'. But with the accompanying picture depicting beer cans, the reader gets another clue as *dosierte* also contains the noun *Dose* which refers to cans, especially for beer or other soft drinks. The use of *dosierte* in this sense though is not common, one would rather use a prepositional phrase, e.g. *in Dosen* ('in cans').

There is further a subtitle, namely *Schluck aus dem Weißblech* ('gulp out of the tin plate'), which refers to the beer cans with the metonymy MATERIAL OF THE CANS FOR THE CANS. But still, it is necessary to read the text to understand what is meant with the noun *Freiheit* ('freedom') and connect the information in the text with our knowledge about the use of cans as containers for drinks in Germany. Some years ago, cans were supposed to be replaced by glass bottles for ecological reasons. The text reports about the new authorization to sell drinks in cans again,



Figure 1. Picture of beer cans next to the text about *Dosierte Freiheit* (Hamburger Abendblatt, 18.08.2004)

this motivates the use of *Freiheit* ('freedom'). In this example the metaphoricity of the ANP emerges from the use of a denominal adjective which refers to a polysemous noun either with the meaning of 'cans' or of 'dosis'. This last example illustrates how encyclopedic knowledge and verbal and pictorial clues are combined (for further details, see also Pérez Sobrino's (2015) study on multi-modality with metaphors).

To summarize, the ANPs we have just discussed are complex nominal phrases which require some metalinguistic reflecting to understand them. By contrast with the examples discussed in the category 4.1, e.g. *politisches Safari*, the ANP is not characterized by a semantic incompatibility between the noun and the adjective. As a consequence, the reader is first being misled as s/he will understand such examples as predicating constructions. But the adjective is denominal and so it refers to a noun. The metonymical association has to be identified as in (16) *Himmlisches Vergnügen*, (17) *Prickelndes Erlebnis* or (20) *Titanische Kämpfe*. Example (23) *Dosierte Freiheit* is not only characterized by a metonymy but further by a metalinguistic reinterpretation of the word *dosiert*. Consequently, the surprise effect for the reader is achieved (1) by the combination of a 'disguised' domain adjective with a noun in one construction and (2) by the derivational status of the adjective which represents another word class, namely a noun. The adjective can be defined as a 'fake' adjective in such constructions. The next section examines the nature of the adjective more closely.

5. The nature of domain adjectives

The description of the different types of ANPs in Section 4 has uncovered some differences in the nature of the adjectives in German non-predicating ANPs. Because the adjectives are domain adjectives, it does not surprise that most adjectives are derived ones. Indeed, domain adjectives are the metonymical expression of a concept mostly expressed by another word class, namely nouns. Accordingly, ANPs with simplex adjectives are not so frequent as they are mostly predicating and hence not autonomous. Still, among simplex adjectives, color adjectives are recurrent in journalese, which is understandable as they can be domain adjectives, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (24) Die Zeiten der grünen Clownerie sind vorbei [H]
 Lit. 'The times of the green clowning are over' (Die Welt, 12.08.1982)
Die Mehrheit im Landesvorstand der Grünen Liste – etwa 400 Mitglieder – akzeptierte dann auch den Vertrag „mit Bauchschmerzen“, wie ein Vorstandsmitglied formulierte. Die „Zeit der Clownerie“ sei nämlich vorbei. Wenn man in den Landtag einziehen wolle, würden Argumente und nicht der Handstand auf der Tagungsordnung stehen. [T]
 Lit. 'The majority on the regional board of the Green List – about 400 members – then accepted the contract “with abdominal pain,” as a board member formulated. The “time of clowning” is over. If you wanted to move into the state parliament, arguments and not the handstand would be on the agenda.'
- (25) Schmidt soll mit Breschnew über den „Gelben Regen“ sprechen [H]
 Lit. 'Schmidt should talk with Breshnew about the “yellow rain”'
Die Versuche der Sowjets mit Giftgas / Gasraketen und chemische Kampfstoffe [ST]
 Lit. 'The Soviet attempts with poison gas / gas rockets and chemical warfare agents' (Die Welt, 25.11.1981)
- (26) Fluß des „Weißen Goldes“ gerät ins Stocken [H]
 Lit. 'Flow of “white gold” comes to a standstill'.
Italien/Der Marmor wird allmählich von anderen Materialien verdrängt [ST]
 Lit. 'Italy: Marble is gradually replaced by other materials' (Die Welt, 01.09.1981)

Either do they refer to the colors of political parties, like in Example (24) where *grün* refers to the ecological party in Germany⁹ by metonymy. In this ANP the adjective

9. Colors characterize different political parties, i.e. black for the German Christian Democrats (CDU), red for the socialists (SPD) or yellow with a touch of pink for the liberal party (FDP), to name the most common parties.

is the metonymical expression of some activities by the ecological party which are seen as clowning. This example could be classified in the category described in Section 4.1. In Example (25) *gelb* ('yellow') refers to the color of the pollution resulting from the use of chemical weapons in some Asian countries. The rain is indeed yellowish, therefore this example is not metaphorical, but literal. By contrast, 'white gold' in Example (26) refers to marble which is quoted in the subtitle: *Italien/ Der Marmor wird allmählich von anderen Materialien verdrängt* ('Italy: Marble is gradually replaced by other materials'). The whole ANP is the metaphorical expression of the source domain for marble. This example corresponds to type 4.3.

But most attributive adjectives in the ANPs are denominal, i.e. derived from nouns with productive German suffixes, e.g. *polit-isch* ('polit-ical'), *himml-isch* ('celest-ial'), *könig-lich* ('roy-al'), *sozi-al* ('soci-al'), as seen in the above examples. Other suffixes are also possible, e.g.

- (27) *Die soziale Zeitbombe tickt unüberhörbar* [H]
 Lit. 'The social time-bomb ticks unmistakably'
Ausländer/Heute beträgt der Anteil in Frankfurt rund 22 Prozent – und seine Zahl steigt ständig weiter an [ST]
 Lit. 'Foreigners/Today, the share in Frankfurt is around 22 percent – and its number continues to rise steadily' (Die Welt, 11.03.1981)
- (29) *Konjunkturelle Brems Spuren dämpfen Leasingwachstum* [H]
 Lit. 'Economic braking marks reduce the leasing growth' (Die Welt, 19.04.1983)

Admoni (1970) observes that compared with other languages the amount of 'relational' (or domain) adjectives is rather low in German as they are somewhat "fremdartig" ('unfamiliar, strange') (1970: 145). This claim is not totally unmotivated: First, German is known to be a synthetic language (De Knop, 2015: 295; Hinrichs, 2004; Primus, 1997; Würstle, 1992) which favors compound ways of expression (see Gaeta & Schlücker, 2012). Accordingly, ANPs as more analytical expressions are in competition with compounds. Secondly, as stressed by Geckeler (1971), relational adjectives do not refer to a property expressed by the adjective itself, but to another ground morpheme. The meaning of the whole ANP with such relational adjectives is not obvious or unequivocal. This is even more obvious in cases of metaphorical ANPs with domain adjectives. But still, relational or domain adjectives are quite common in newspapers,¹⁰ especially in metaphorical ANPs and they are very suitable to express different semantic and conceptual predication – as Section 4 has shown.

10. Having said this, we cannot provide any figures proving this claim. But this intuition relies on the amount of examples collected in newspapers.

6. Conclusions

The fine-grained study of the ANPs has shown that several dimensions and theoretical concepts are needed if we want to describe the semantic and conceptual variety of nominal phrases with an attributive adjective in a precise way. The distinction between predicating vs. non-predicating attributive adjectives is essential for the interpretation of metaphorical phrases. Non-predicating adjectives are domain adjectives which can either refer to the target domain of the conceptual metaphor (see the category described in Section 4.1). By contrast, in some cases the domain adjective refers to the source domain (category in Section 4.2). It is often necessary to recognize the metonymy which characterizes the link between the domain adjective profiling one aspect and the domain itself. This shows that metaphors are strongly interwoven with metonymy as the adjective often expresses a part of the metaphorical predication by metonymy.

The polysemous structure of ANPs can express different predications characterized by various properties. There can be a semantic incompatibility between the non-predicating literal adjective and the metaphorical noun, as instantiated in *sozialdemokratisches Gesicht* (Example (3) in category 4.1). By contrast, an example like (12) *Königliche Arbeiterin*, which seems to be literal at first sight, instantiates a metaphorical predication in which the domain adjective refers to the target domain and the noun to the source domain. The ANPs of category 4.2 contain a predicating adjective, which seems to be metaphorical in the ANP. They appear with a noun which is used literally. These ANP-constructions instantiate a literal predication, the metaphoricality results from the constructional process. The description of the different categories has revealed that the polysemous ANP can instantiate many different predications, either literal or metaphorical.

The interpretation of metaphorical ANPs is not always straightforward. The difficulties result from the following aspects:

1. The adjective is often non-predicating, this leads to a semantic incompatibility between the attributive adjective and the noun with which it appears. Sometimes this semantic incompatibility is simply due to the combination of the adjective with a noun, although it does not refer to a metaphorical predication.
2. The syntactic sequence does not necessarily reflect the semantics of the predication. This is particularly obvious with the examples in category 4.2.
3. As part of the metaphorical predication, the domain adjective refers to a specific domain by metonymy.
4. Finally, because the adjective in the metaphorical ANPs is often the result of denominal derivation, it refers to a noun which represents a domain. It is the construction which constrains the adjectival form of the domain.

No need to say that the context (verbal and/or visual) and our encyclopedic knowledge in the form of frames play a major role in the interpretation process of (metaphorical) ANPs.

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