

# **Creative Compounding in English**

The Semantics of Metaphorical  
and Metonymical Noun-Noun Combinations

Réka Benczes

Eötvös Loránd University

John Benjamins Publishing Company  
Amsterdam/Philadelphia

# **Creative Compounding in English**

The Semantics of Metaphorical  
and Metonymical Noun-Noun Combinations

Réka Benczes

Eötvös Loránd University

John Benjamins Publishing Company  
Amsterdam/Philadelphia



™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences - Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Réka Benczes

Creative compounding in English : The semantics of metaphorical and metonymical noun-noun combinations / Réka Benczes.

p. cm. (Human Cognitive Processing, ISSN 1387-6724 ; v. 19)

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

1. English language--Compound words. 2. English language--Noun phrase. 3. English language--Semantics. 4. Metaphor.

PE1205.B38 2006

428.1--dc22

2006043043

ISBN 90 272 2373 4 (Hb; alk. paper)

© 2006 - John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands  
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

HUMAN COGNITIVE PROCESSING is a forum for interdisciplinary research on the nature and organization of the cognitive systems and processes involved in speaking and understanding natural language (including sign language), and their relationship to other domains of human cognition, including general conceptual or knowledge systems and processes (the language and thought issue), and other perceptual or behavioral systems such as vision and non-verbal behavior (e.g. gesture). 'Cognition' should be taken broadly, not only including the domain of rationality, but also dimensions such as emotion and the unconscious. The series is open to any type of approach to the above questions (methodologically and theoretically) and to research from any discipline, including (but not restricted to) different branches of psychology, artificial intelligence and computer science, cognitive anthropology, linguistics, philosophy and neuroscience. It takes a special interest in research crossing the boundaries of these disciplines.

### Editors

Marcelo Dascal, *Tel Aviv University*

Raymond W. Gibbs, *University of California at Santa Cruz*

Jan Nuyts, *University of Antwerp*

### Editorial address

Jan Nuyts, University of Antwerp, Dept. of Linguistics (GER),  
Universiteitsplein 1, B 2610 Wilrijk, Belgium.

E-mail: jan.nuyts@ua.ac.be

### Editorial Advisory Board

Melissa Bowerman, *Nijmegen*; Wallace Chafe, *Santa Barbara, CA*;

Philip R. Cohen, *Portland, OR*; Antonio Damasio, *Iowa City, IA*;

Morton Ann Gernsbacher, *Madison, WI*; David McNeill, *Chicago, IL*;

Eric Pederson, *Eugene, OR*; François Recanati, *Paris*;

Sally Rice, *Edmonton, Alberta*; Benny Shanon, *Jerusalem*;

Lokendra Shastri, *Berkeley, CA*; Dan Slobin, *Berkeley, CA*;

Paul Thagard, *Waterloo, Ontario*

### Volume 19

Creative Compounding in English: The Semantics of Metaphorical  
and Metonymical Noun-Noun Combinations

by Réka Benczes

*To István*

## Acknowledgements

Completing a long-term project such as this one offers the pleasure of acknowledging the generous help and support of all those who have participated in the process of its preparation. First and foremost I wish to thank Zoltán Kövecses and Linda Thornburg, my linguistics professors at the American Studies Department of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, for acquainting me with cognitive linguistics and thereby offering a more plausible account of language in an otherwise generative-oriented environment. It was Zoltán Kövecses who encouraged me to continue my studies at the English Linguistics doctoral programme of the university and start my individual research on compounds under his supervision. I am greatly indebted to him for providing me with an incredible amount of expertise, advice and support throughout the years.

I am also grateful to a number of people who gave me feedback on various parts of this book, and its predecessor, my PhD thesis. My thanks goes to the participants of the Empirical Methods in Cognitive Linguistics Workshop, held at Cornell University, May 2003, especially Seana Coulson, Raymond W. Gibbs and Eve Sweetser. I am indebted to my audience at the Imagery in Language Conference, held at Łódź University, September 2003, especially Ronald W. Langacker. Thanks to a European Science Foundation grant, I was able to present my doctoral research at the “Mind, Language and Metaphor: From Computers to Neuropsychology” EURESCO conference, April 2004. The conference provided me with plenty of useful ideas on how to refine my hypotheses. I have also received invaluable suggestions and support from a number of people along the years, including Antonio Barcelona, Lóránt Bencze, Enikő Bollobás, Mario Brdar, Szilvia Csábi, Dirk Geeraerts, Tibor Frank, Bruce Fraser, András Kertész, Lajos Marosán, Wolfgang Meid, Ádám Nádasdy, Mark Newson, Klaus-Uwe Panther, Péter Pelyvás, Günter Radden, Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza, Linda Thornburg, Rita Szabó-Brdar, Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy, Mark Turner, Tamás Váradi, László Varga, Viktor Volom, Beatrice Warren and the faculty and fellow students of the English Linguistics PhD programme at Eötvös Loránd University.

I am immensely thankful to Jan Nuyts, the Editor of the “Human Cognitive Processing” series of John Benjamins, for supporting the publication of this book, and my three anonymous reviewers, whose highly constructive criticisms have prompted me to reconsider a number of the issues and expand their relevance to areas I had not contemplated previously. I would also like to thank Kees Vaes for guiding me through the publication process so expertly.

This project would never have been either undertaken, or completed, without the full support of my family. It was my parents, Ágnes and László Hajdú, who taught me the love of language, for which I will always be grateful to them. Last but not least my thanks goes to my husband, István Benczes, for all the inspiration he has given me, right from the very beginning.

## Abbreviations

CCED	<i>Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners</i>
DOS	<i>Dictionary of Symbols</i>
ICM	Idealised Cognitive Domain
LDOCE	<i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English</i>
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Ország	Ország–Magyar: <i>Angol–Magyar Nagyszótár</i> [English–Hungarian Dictionary]
PDEI	<i>Penguin Dictionary of English Idioms</i>
wordspy	<a href="http://www.wordspy.com">http://www.wordspy.com</a>
wikipedia	<a href="http://en.wikipedia.org">http://en.wikipedia.org</a>



# Contents

Acknowledgements	XI
List of figures	XIII
List of tables	XV
Notation	XV
Abbreviations	XVI

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction and some basic concepts 1

- 1.1. Scope of this study 3
  - 1.1.1 The theoretical framework 4
  - 1.1.2 The cognitive processes underlying the formation of metaphorical and/or metonymical compounds 4
  - 1.1.3 The products of metaphorical and/or metonymical compounding: creative compounds 5
- 1.2. What is a compound? 7
- 1.3. Endocentric and exocentric compounds 8
- 1.4. Nonce words and neologisms 9
- 1.5. The data 11
- 1.6. Structure of the book 12

## PART 1 Theory and past approaches

## CHAPTER 2

### Descriptivists, transformationalists and alternative theories 15

- 2.1. Descriptivist approaches 16
  - 2.1.1 The basics: Bloomfield's categories of endocentric and exocentric compounds 16
  - 2.1.2 Jespersen's semantics-based classification of compounds 17
  - 2.1.3 Marchand's categories of exocentric compounds 18
  - 2.1.4 The emergence of metaphorical compounds in Adams's typology 19
- 2.2. Analyses within the transformationalist/generativist framework 20
  - 2.2.1 A critique of the transformationalist approach: the metaphorical and idiomatic compounds of Afrikaans 22
  - 2.2.2 Levi's generativist account 26
  - 2.2.3 Selkirk's word structure rules 28

- 2.3. Alternative approaches 30
  - 2.3.1 Downing's account of English compounding: the role of pragmatics 31
  - 2.3.2 Warren's investigations of the semantics of English compounding patterns 32
  - 2.3.3 Adams revisited 37
- 2.4. Summary 38

#### CHAPTER 3

- Cognitive linguistics: Principles and methodology 41**
  - 3.1. Establishing a new linguistic philosophy 41
  - 3.2. The Langackerian system of grammar 45
  - 3.3. Conceptual metaphor 47
  - 3.4. Conceptual metonymy 50
  - 3.5. Blending 53
  - 3.6. Methodology 58
    - 3.6.1 Ryder's schema theory-based approach 59
    - 3.6.2 Blending put to the test: the analyses of Coulson and Fauconnier and Turner 61
    - 3.6.3 Sweetser's integrated approach to adjective-noun combinations 64
  - 3.7. Summary 67

#### CHAPTER 4

- Compositionality and transparency 69**
  - 4.1. Contested concepts 69
    - 4.1.1 The cognitive linguistic perspective 72
  - 4.2. Idiomaticity 77
  - 4.3. Storage versus computation? 82
  - 4.4. Summary 84

#### PART 2 Analysing creative compounds 87

#### CHAPTER 5

- Metaphor-based compounds 89**
  - 5.1. Metaphor-based modifier 91
    - 5.1.1 *Heartland* 91
    - 5.1.2 *Armchair* 91
    - 5.1.3 PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS 93
  - 5.2. Metaphor-based profile determinant 96
    - 5.2.1 Single-scope networks 96

5.3. Double metaphorical processing: metaphor-based modifier  
and profile determinant 102

5.3.1 *Chicken hawk* 102

5.3.2 *Flame sandwich* 103

5.4. Summary 105

CHAPTER 6

Metaphor-based semantic relation between the constituents  
of the compound 107

6.1. Image metaphors 108

6.1.1 The case of the true “exocentrics”: *beanpole* and *muffin top* 111

6.1.2 Image-schema metaphors 115

6.2. Monsters and zombies 117

6.3. Personification: *bandit sign* 118

6.4. Single-scope blends 119

6.4.1 *Sandwich generation* 119

6.4.2 *Seabiscuit candidate* 121

6.4.3 *Birdcage* and *cereal box* 123

6.4.4 *Nanny state* and *nanny car* 127

6.4.5 *Jackpot justice* 130

6.4.6 *Chainsaw consultant* 130

6.4.7 *Bait car* 135

6.5. Double-scope blends 137

6.5.1 *Trophy child* 137

6.5.2 *Toy food* 138

6.6. Summary 140

CHAPTER 7

Metonymy-based compounds 141

7.1. Metonymy-based modifier 141

7.1.1 *Office-park dad* 142

7.1.2 Analysability 143

7.1.2.1 The “workers” 144

7.1.2.2 *Bear jam* 147

7.1.2.3 *Knee-mail* 148

7.1.3 Alliteration 149

7.1.4 A note on Warren’s analyses 151

7.2. Metonymy-based profile determinant 153

7.2.1 *Handwriting* 154

7.2.2 *Gaslight* 155

7.3. Double metonymical processing: metonymy-based modifier and profile determinant	155
7.3.1 Gadget-related illnesses	156
7.4. The compound as a whole is metonymical	157
7.4.1 <i>Humpback</i> and <i>hunchback</i>	158
7.4.2 <i>Bearskin</i>	158
7.4.3 <i>Glue sniffing</i>	159
7.5. Metonymy-based relation between the two constituents of the compound	160
7.5.1 WHOLE-PART	160
7.5.2 PART-WHOLE	161
7.5.3 PART-PART	161
7.6. Summary	162
CHAPTER 8	
Metaphor- and metonymy-based compounds	163
8.1. Metaphor-based semantic relationship between the constituents of the compound and metonymy-based modifier	165
8.1.1 Sign metonymies: FORM FOR CONCEPT	166
8.1.2 Concept metonymies	167
8.1.2.1 MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY	167
8.1.2.2 DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY	169
8.1.2.3 PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT	170
8.2. Metaphor-based semantic relationship between the constituents of the compound and metonymy-based profile determinant	171
8.2.1 <i>Bell-bottoms</i> : An image metaphor	173
8.3. Metonymy-based modifier and metaphor based profile determinant	173
8.3.1 <i>Firedog</i> : Constraining in action	175
8.3.2 <i>Lunch lid</i> : A double-scope blend	177
8.4. Metaphor-based modifier and metonymy-based profile determinant	179
8.5. Summary	180
CHAPTER 9	
A brief overview and the wider perspective	183
9.1. The results: systematic creativity	184
9.2. Alternative construal and motivation	185
9.3. The wider perspective	187
Appendix	191
References	196
General index	203
Metaphor and metonymy index	206

## List of figures

3.1	The relation between a more abstractly characterised unit (schema) and more fully specified units [A] and [B]	46
3.2	The constructional schema of noun–noun compounds (a); and the constructional schema of <i>jar lid</i> (b)	47
3.3	The process of selecting a reference point within a domain (or ICM) to provide access to a target	51
3.4	Simplex blend	55
3.5	Single-scope blend	56
3.6	The strength of a schema for combining units x and y is related to the number and entrenchment of its instances	61
3.7	The blend analysis of <i>land yacht</i>	63
3.8	The blend analysis of <i>red ball</i>	65
3.9	The blend analysis of <i>intellectual sleeping pills</i>	66
5.1	The blend analysis of <i>jailbird</i>	97
5.2	The blend analysis of <i>belly button</i>	98
5.3	The blend analysis of <i>meadow mayonnaise</i>	99
5.4	Model of a creative compound with a metaphor-based modifier and profile determinant	102
5.5	The blend analysis of <i>flame sandwich</i>	104
6.1	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>submarine sandwich</i> and <i>big-box store</i>	109
6.2	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>beanpole family</i>	110
6.3	Representation of the image-based conceptualisation of <i>bar-code hairstyle</i>	110
6.4	Constructional schemas of <i>steamboat</i> and <i>doghouse</i>	111
6.5	The typical constructional schema of metaphor-based noun–noun compounds (a); and the atypical constructional schema of metaphor-based noun–noun compounds with an unexpressed profile determinant (b)	112
6.6	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>beanpole</i>	113
6.7	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>muffin top</i>	114
6.8	Representation of the OUT image schema	116
6.9	Representation of the SHUTTLE MOTION image schema	117
6.10	The blend analysis of <i>sandwich generation</i>	120

6.11	The blend analysis of <i>Seabiscuit candidate</i>	122
6.12	The blend analysis of <i>birdcage</i>	124
6.13	The blend analysis of <i>cereal box</i>	126
6.14	The blend analysis of <i>nanny state</i>	128
6.15	The blend analysis of <i>nanny car</i>	129
6.16	The blend network of <i>jackpot justice</i>	131
6.17	The blend analysis of <i>chainsaw consultant</i>	132
6.18	The blend analysis of <i>bait car</i>	136
6.19	The blend analysis of <i>trophy child</i>	138
6.20	The blend network of <i>toy food</i>	139
7.1	Model of a creative compound with a metonymy-based modifying constituent	141
7.2	The blend analysis of <i>office-park dad</i>	142
7.3	The blend analysis of <i>scarlet-collar woman</i>	146
7.4	The blend analysis of <i>Lexus lane</i>	150
7.5	Model of a creative compound with a metonymy-based profile determinant	154
7.6	Model of a creative compound with a metonymy-based modifier and profile determinant	156
7.7	Model of a creative compound where the meaning as a whole is metonymical	157
7.8	PART-PART conceptualisation of <i>lamppost</i>	161
8.1	Model of a creative compound with a metaphor-based relationship between the two constituents and a metonymy-based modifier	165
8.2	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>picasso porn</i>	170
8.3	Model of a creative compound with a metaphor-based relationship between the two constituents and a metonymy-based profile determinant	172
8.4	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>bell-bottoms</i>	173
8.5	The blend analysis of <i>firedog</i>	176
8.6	The blend analysis of <i>lunch lid</i>	178
9.1	The elaboration-extension relationship of creative noun-noun compounds	189

## List of tables

2.1	A comparison of Warren's (1978) and Downing's (1977) semantic relations between the two components of a noun–noun compound	33
3.1	Mappings between the source and target domains of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor	48
3.2	Coulson's analysis of the <i>pet fish</i> blend	62
6.1	Mappings between the source and target domains of the PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A HORSE RACE conceptual metaphor	121
6.2	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>chainsaw consultant</i>	133
6.3	Mappings between the source and target domains of <i>bait car</i>	135
7.1	Warren's (1978) "incomplete compounds" and their corresponding ICMs	152

## Notation

<i>italics</i>	example
'...'	definition
"..."	1. English equivalent
	2. underlying relative clause (or sentence)
Capitalisation	1. ICM (Body ICM, Constitution ICM, etc.)
	2. participant in an ICM (Agent, Instrument, etc.)
SMALL CAPS	1. conceptual metaphor
	2. conceptual metonymy
	3. domain (in a blend network)
	4. image schema
	5. semantic pole of a symbolic unit
<...>	element (in a conceptual metaphor or blend network)

## Introduction and some basic concepts

In an interview with Bill Wyman, the former bass guitarist of Rolling Stones, the conversation turned to his favourite pastime, metal detecting, and the journalist asked Wyman what his old bandmates thought about his passion for “land fishing”.<sup>1</sup> Although Wyman simply replied that the others did not attach too much importance to his hobby, what is linguistically significant about *land fishing* is that it represents one of the most creative processes of the English language: the ability to create and understand compound expressions that have been formed by utilising the endless possibilities of metaphor and metonymy. As it is evident to both Wyman and the interviewer, and the larger readership of the article, *land fishing* has got nothing to do with catching fish; it refers rather to the activity of seeking out treasure hidden in the ground with the means of a metal detector. Why can we use *land fishing* in order to speak about metal detecting? Why can we be sure (as in the case of the interviewer), that when confronted with such an expression — in an appropriate context — the referent of the expression will be immediately understood even if it happens to be a construction which the reader of the article had not been previously familiar with?

The answer lies in conceptual metaphor and metonymy, notions that entered semantic discussion and analysis with the advent of cognitive linguistics. As it has been demonstrated by cognitive linguists and psychologists, it is with the help of metaphor and metonymy that we are able to understand and talk about basic emotions such as love, anger or fear, or more abstract concepts such as friendship, business or society. The all-pervasiveness of metaphor (and metonymy) also shows up in the semantics of a noun–noun compound such as *land fishing* for instance, where the activity of fishing metaphorically stands for the activity of metal detecting: the person doing the fishing is metaphorically understood as the person looking for treasure, the fishing rod metaphorically stands for the metal detector, and the happy moment of finally catching a fish is interpreted as finding treasure hidden in the ground. The fact that we are able to access this metaphor so effectively when coming across the term *land fishing* can be accounted for by a number of reasons. First, we are required to perform such “metaphorical operations” quite often when coming across metaphor-based constructions, and therefore we are responsive to contextual cues that induce us to search for a metaphorical interpretation of a given

---

1. Source: *The Times*, Supplement *The Knowledge*, p. 46, 26 March 2005.



lexical item.<sup>2</sup> Second, our familiarity with English noun–noun compounding tells us that such combinations show a degree of compositionality; that is, the overall meaning of the compound is motivated by the meaning of the constituents. Therefore, the two constituent nouns of *land fishing* provide us with considerable linguistic support by evoking separate concepts, one for land-related activities and pursuits (as evoked by *land*), and one for fishing (as evoked by *fishing*), which prompt us to look for associations between these separate concepts so as to arrive at a possible interpretation that fits the immediate context of the expression, a process that is called conceptual integration or blending. Third, the unconscious and ubiquitous use of metaphor (and metonymy) in everyday language and thought means that we are able to employ a vast repository of metaphorical and metonymical associations quickly and efficiently when encountering noun–noun compounds such as *land fishing*.

Noun–noun compounds have been at the forefront of linguistic analysis for a number of well-founded reasons. Not only do they form the largest group of compounds in English (Algeo 1991),<sup>3</sup> but children learn to produce this type of compound the earliest, from around the age of two (Clark 1981). However, what is most remarkable about these compounds is the diversity of semantic relationships that can exist between the two components on the one hand, and between the individual elements and the compound as a whole on the other. Nevertheless, however diverse the semantics of noun–noun combinations may be, many linguists have attempted to systematise the constraints that apply in their creation and interpretation.

The most traditional and pervasive semantic classification of compounds used in linguistic literature is based upon the work of Leonard Bloomfield (1933), who suggested that compounds fall into two main groups. In endocentric constructions, the compound is the hyponym of the head element: *apple tree* is a kind of tree. In the case of exocentric or “headless” constructions, however, the compound is not a hyponym of the head element, and in the majority of cases there is some sort of met-

2. I have found plenty of webpages on the Internet related to fishing where the expression *land fishing* refers to fishing performed from land, not from water (from a fishing boat for instance).

3. A fifty-year-long research into the emergence of new words in the United States (Algeo 1991) has managed to shed some light on contemporary word formation patterns. According to the data, compounding is the most productive word formation process: 68% of the new expressions were grouped into the combining category. More interestingly, 90% of the compounds were nouns. John Algeo explains this bias towards nominal compounds on two accounts: first, there are “more new things to name” (p. 7) than events or qualities—it is very rare that we have to name a new action, but we do come across new objects all the time. Second, one of the features of English is the preference to put semantic information into a noun. As there is no grammatical objection to having a noun in a modifier position before another noun, there is no particular need for distinct adjectives.