

A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

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"I don't see much sense in that," said Rabbit. "No," said Pooh humbly, "there isn't. But there was going to be when I began it. It's just that something happened to it along the way."

From: *Winnie the Pooh*, A.A. Milne (1926)

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## List of Abbreviations

- A - Adjective  
Adv - Adverb  
AdvP - Adverbial Phrase  
AP - Adjective Phrase  
CA - Causative Adjective  
*CamGEL* - Huddleston, R. & G. Pullum (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: University Press.  
*CGEL* - Quirk, R. et al. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London [et al.]: Longman.  
Det - Determiner  
EModE - Early Modern English  
*He8* - *Henry the Eighth*  
Inf - Infinitive  
*KiL* - *King Lear*  
*LGSWE* - Biber, D. et al. (2000). *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Essex: Longman.  
*LLL* - *Love's Labour's Lost*  
ME - Middle English  
N<sub>(head)</sub> - (Head) Noun  
NP - Noun Phrase  
OE - Old English  
*OED* - Oxford University Press (2007). *Oxford English Dictionary*; URL: <http://www.oed.com>; Date Visited: August 16, 2010.  
p.c. - personal communication  
PA - Potential Adjective  
PDE - Present Day English  
PP - Prepositional Phrase  
Prep - Preposition  
Quintilian - Thayer, B. (1993-2007). *Quintilian: Institutio Oratoria*; URL: [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio\\_Oratoria/8B\\*.html#6](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/8B*.html#6); Last updated: October 12, 2006; Date visited: June 25, 2007. OR: Russell, D.A. (ed.) (2001). *Quintilian, M.F. – Institutio Oratoria. The orator's education. The Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.  
*R&J* - *Romeo and Juliet*  
*Ri3* - *Richard the Third*  
*Tem* - *The Tempest*  
V<sub>(aux)</sub> - (Auxiliary) Verb  
VP - Verb Phrase

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## 1 Introduction and description of the corpus

The following quote, spoken by Romeo in the third scene of the last act of *Romeo and Juliet* (V.3), comprises all three reasons why a study of Shakespeare's adjectives needs to be undertaken:

The time and my intents are *savage-wild*,  
*More fierce* and more *inexorable* far  
Than *empty tigers* or the *roaring* sea.

At this point of his speech, Romeo has entered the grave in which Juliet lies, presumably dead. He is about to open her tomb in order to take the ring off her finger and swallow the poison it contains so that he can finally join his love, albeit in death. He does not know, of course, that Juliet is only pretending to be dead and that she will wake up after Romeo has taken the poison, only to then kill herself with his dagger.

In only three lines, Shakespeare manages to reveal to the audience just how agitated Romeo is and how much will-power he has: he says that he is as wild as a savage in his intent to open the tomb; he even tells his servant that he does not even need to attempt to stop him, Romeo, from carrying out his plan. He then contradicts himself by saying that he is even fiercer, his use of the periphrastic comparative form shows us that he must be quite upset, than both a savage and a tiger, indicating that his mind is definitely set on opening the tomb and that he is as unstoppable in his plans as both hungry tigers and the sea are, both of which can be deafeningly noisy and at least the latter one is recurring in its movement. He says this by stating that the tiger is 'empty' and that the sea is 'roaring', while he 'should' have said that the tigers are hungry, and are possibly roaring because of their hunger, and that the sea is roaring as loudly as a tiger.

In this passage, Shakespeare uses three types of adjectives, all of which are analysed in this dissertation: a compound, *savage-wild*, two comparisons, *more fierce* and *more inexorable*, and two adjective-noun combinations which strike the reader, *empty tigers* and *roaring sea*. All three types of adjectives can startle a modern reader because their bases of comparison, the elements used for the compound or the adjective-noun combinations, are difficult to decipher for a modern reader.

Working with adjectives has revealed that while numerous books and articles exist, which deal with the phenomenon from a grammatical or a literary point of view, almost no studies have been carried out which combine these two perspectives.

The present study thus aims to fill this gap by analysing the above mentioned types of adjectives from a syntactic point of view first before presenting a semantic study of these structures. It is assumed that the three types of adjectives under investigation here were used by Shakespeare as effective means to create concise dialogues and monologues for his characters. It is his dense use of the English language, however, which can create difficulty in comprehension for the modern audience. At the same time, it is structures such as these which make Shakespeare's language and texts so beautiful and attractive to literary investigation, even after four centuries.

The dissertation first describes the difficulties which arose in the attempt to apply modern terminology to a corpus consisting of old texts, and gives an overview of the existing studies on Shakespeare's language. After a description of the corpus, the word class *adjective* is described and delimited from other word classes before the different functions of adjectives and the position in which they occurred in the corpus are described. In the ensuing chapters three different adjectival structures are described: comparisons which occur in predicative structures, transpositions which occur in attributive structures and finally compounds which occur in both predicative and attributive structures, before a summary and outlook on future studies is presented.

The original idea for this dissertation arose because inexperienced, non-native readers of Shakespeare usually face great difficulty when they are reading Shakespeare's plays, in school for example. A didactic approach to the question of where students need help in comprehending Shakespeare's texts and experimental analysis is planned for the future.

Because they naturally try to understand the plays by applying their modern comprehension and book knowledge of English (school) grammar, German students have more problems in comprehension than a native speaker might have, for



example, although even inexperienced, native speakers may face the same problems.

And indeed, the most prominent difficulty I faced was to come to terms with the application of modern terminology and structure of lexeme classification to a corpus containing texts of an older period of the English language. A structurally oriented present-day English (*PDE*) grammatical model (Quirk et al. 1985) was taken as a basis of discussion to which the grammatical viewpoint of Huddleston & Pullum (2002) was added. However, as the present study attempts to present the similarities and differences between the English used by Shakespeare in his plays and today's English, by covering the syntactic and semantic features of about ten thousand adjectives within a corpus of six plays (cf. section 1.2 for a description of the corpus), the terminology introduced and used by the above grammars was not always able to adequately cover the scope of Shakespeare's use of adjectives. Quirk et al. (1985), as well as Huddleston & Pullum (2002), describe the functions and positions of *PDE* adjectives and, although they are an adequate basis for analysis, their grammatical concepts cannot be directly applied to different historical phases of English (cf. also Rissanen 1997: 2).

The flexibility, instability and continual change of the Early Modern English period (*EModE*) made it possible for Shakespeare to use words and assign them a certain adjectival force which can at times be problematic from a modern perspective. To be able to describe the use of a word class in an older period of English, or even compare grammatical phenomena across time, a more elaborate terminology is necessary.

For this reason, I felt it necessary to adopt and enlarge the proposed terms and functions of the word class adjective to a five-fold model. Section 1.5 explains the functions and positions of Shakespearean adjectives in more detail, but it should be briefly mentioned here that the adjectives in the corpus have two functions, i.e. they can occur as attributive and predicative adjectives. These two functions can be subdivided into "prenominal" and "postnominal" attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives which occur "after 'be'", "after copular verbs" and "after other lexical verbs".

### 1.1 Previous studies of Shakespeare's language

The earliest published work on Shakespeare's language is a 60-page dissertation published in 1868: George Helms, *The English Adjective in the Language of Shakspeare* [sic], the only book, to my knowledge, which deals only with adjectives and only Shakespeare's plays. It has been quite forgotten over the years, but provides more, and also more detailed adjectival examples than Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* (1870<sup>3</sup> [1869]). Unfortunately, both treatments of Shakespeare's adjectives are far from complete.

Abbott's strength undoubtedly lies in the "wealth of illustrative examples" (Hope 2003: 2) of Shakespeare's English, but the grammar is obviously not a coherent description of *EModE*. He attempts to "furnish students of Shakespeare and Bacon with a short systematic account of some points of difference between Elizabethan syntax and our own [i.e. Victorian]" (Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 1), while giving and explaining differences of idiom which are often less obvious and noticeable than mere problems of vocabulary. Many other authors after Abbott who have dealt with Shakespeare's language have been heavily indebted to his findings.

A complete treatment of the countless literary and linguistic studies of Shakespeare's plays is impossible, but Schmidt's (1902) *Shakespeare Lexicon* (revised, in the 6<sup>th</sup> edition, by G. Sarrazin in 1971) and Franz' (1909<sup>2</sup>) *Shakespeare-Grammatik* played an important role in the past. Present studies of importance include Blake (2002) *A Grammar of Shakespeare's Language*, Hope (2003) *Shakespeare's Grammar*, and D. & B. Crystal (2002) *Shakespeare's words: a glossary and language companion*.

Schmidt (1902) as well as Crystal & Crystal (2002) are included in this list although they are a lexicon and glossary, respectively. Schmidt's lexicon includes an appendix which discusses problematic adjectival structures; the Crystals' glossary, published a century later, includes comments on the study of Shakespeare's language. Neither book is ideal: the first is deemed too old for the glossary to be of much relevance, the latter cannot serve as the sole guide to Shakespeare's language as a whole either, as the compiling procedure is mainly based on the authors' intuition: "We went through each text and highlighted *any word whose form or meaning we felt to be 'difficult'*" (Crystal & Crystal 2002: xii; my emphasis). Nevertheless, both glossaries

may provide insights as to whether (views of) word classes have changed over the past century.

All the books mentioned above deal with Shakespeare's language and in the following chapters I will be able to support or contradict their and other writers' findings when analysing Shakespeare's usage of adjectives in my corpus of six plays.

According to Hope, Shakespeare's inventory and use of words is more varied than that of other, younger contemporary writers of the time, and his language use is not as close to *PDE* as theirs is: "Younger, or more urban sixteenth-century writers than Shakespeare generally show much less variation in their grammar: their English is effectively closer to ours than Shakespeare's is" (Hope 2003: 7). Therefore, his language still needs to be analysed and I will attempt to fill in a small piece of the puzzle by analysing his use of adjectives from a syntactic-semantic perspective. Certain linguistic structures resemble those of modern, present-day English and *EModE* is often regarded as a threshold to our present day usage of English, in contrast to structures of the Old and Middle English periods (*OE* and *ME*, respectively). However, *EModE* is a period in which linguistic changes continue to take place, and certain patterns were consolidated only after the writings of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. As this dissertation cannot review all linguistic features of *EModE*, the reader is referred to histories of the English language, especially the *Cambridge History* (Lass 2001) and introductions to *EModE* (cf. Görlach 1994 and 2002; Barber 1993 and 1997<sup>2</sup>) for a description of the English used during Shakespeare's time.

Shakespeare's language has been a focus of interest almost since the day his plays were made accessible to the public (cf. Schabert 2000<sup>4</sup>); a statistical analysis of Shakespeare's use of language, especially his use of adjectives, has not been undertaken for various reasons, in some cases out of a personal dislike of statistics, e.g. Houston: "Some statistics are almost inevitable in a stylistic study. I do not consider them admirable in themselves; nor do I like tables of them" (Houston 1988: ix). For him, statistical analysis seems to be irrelevant because "almost any theoretically distinct syntactic element can be found somewhere in a mixed or ambiguous form, so that true numerical accuracy in such matters eludes attainment" (Houston 1988: ix).

Many studies of Shakespeare exclude either prose or rhymed passages of his texts as the authors feel that a "study that does not distinguish between the two kinds of verse will give a confused picture of the syntax of both" (Houston 1988: viii). Although this might be true to some degree, all occurrences of adjectives as defined in the following chapters are included in the present study; failure to do so would present a distorted picture of the poet's use of these structures and possibly also conceal difficulties readers might have with the meaning precisely because of certain syntactic structures used in the plays.

### 1.2 Description of the corpus

#### 1.2.1 Plays chosen

My corpus consists of six texts which were chosen according to the criteria of category of play and to date of completion.

Two texts from each of the categories *comedy*, *tragedy*, *history* were selected; the texts were taken from the early, middle and late period of Shakespeare's creative period, which spans a little over two decades, i.e. between 1592 and 1613. The dating of the plays is based on Sir Edmund Chambers, as quoted in McQuain et al. (1998). Based on the above criteria, the following texts were chosen. The abbreviations used in the dissertation, instead of the ones proposed by Schmidt (1902), follow a three-letter abbreviation, which make them compatible with other databased studies and tagging guidelines:

Title	Date	Type	Abbreviation
<i>The Tragedy of Richard the Third</i>	1592-1593	History	<i>Ri3</i>
<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	1594-1595	Comedy	<i>LLL</i>
<i>The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet</i>	1594-1595	Tragedy	<i>R&amp;J</i>
<i>The Tragedy of King Lear</i>	1605-1606	Tragedy	<i>KiL</i>
<i>The Tempest</i>	1611-1612	Comedy	<i>Tem</i>
<i>The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth</i>	1612-1613	History	<i>He8</i>

**Table 1:** Title, date and type of plays in the corpus

Although *The Tempest* is usually classified as a *romance*, *tragi-comedy* or *problem play*, it is here taken to be representative of the comedies, although this classification extends somewhat the traditional definition of *comedy* (cf. Abrams

1993: 802). The last undisputed comedy written by Shakespeare (*Measure for Measure*, 1604-1605) would have been too early for the study of selection and variation in his plays.

Although sole authorship is doubted for *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth* (cf. Abrams 1993: 802), the play is included in the corpus, as stylistic similarities and differences to other plays by Shakespeare can be shown, cf. chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this study. Of course the reasons for these findings might be either an author's or a printer's variants, but nevertheless the digression shows that "there are still too many [variants] to sweep them under the rug" (Lass 2001: 143).

The reliability of the texts is not doubted in the present study, however, because only if all existing versions are regarded as a whole, can the task of analysing Shakespeare's use of adjectives be completed. All six plays in the corpus were published in the First Folio edition of 1623 and although the first publication of Shakespeare's plays was already no longer an original copy of the 36 plays, and although only three of the six plays in the corpus also have good quartos (*LLL*, *R&J*, *KiL*), one a doubtful quarto (*Ri3*) and a bad quarto for *R&J* (cf. Schabert 2000<sup>4</sup>: 202-220), all of these prints were published before the editions prepared by Rowe (1709) and Pope (1725). The corpus is based on these Folio/Quarto editions (*Riverside Edition*, Evans 1974 [1997<sup>2</sup>] & Directmedia Publishing GmbH 2002).

*The Riverside Shakespeare* (Evans 1974 [1997<sup>2</sup>]) presents modern readers with a text that includes remarks on the different variants which appear in the existing quarto and folio editions. Therefore the interested researcher will still be able to trace these variants and the disputed parts of the plays.

The corpus consists of 137,837 words, cf. Spevack (1968). Of these, 10,098 lexemes, or 7.35%, were classified as adjectives. The following table summarises the linguistic material provided by the corpus, with a normalisation of the frequency of the adjectives per 10,000 words. A normalisation of the frequency per 1,000 words would have resulted in rather small numbers for the analysis of individual phenomena, e.g. compounds or comparative forms. These small numbers would have made a comparison more difficult to understand. It remains to be seen whether the differences of the frequency of adjectives, e.g. between *Ri3* and *Tem* are significant,

as both a reduction of the use of adjectives over time or an interplay between genres could be the cause.

Play	Words	Adjectives	Percentage of adjectives / words	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words
<i>Ri3</i>	28,309	2,210	7.80%	780.67
<i>LLL</i>	21,033	1,535	7.29%	729.80
<i>R&amp;J</i>	23,913	1,851	7.74%	774.05
<i>KiL</i>	25,221	1,811	7.18%	718.05
<i>Tem</i>	16,036	1,084	6.75%	675.97
<i>He8</i>	23,325	1,607	6.88%	688.96
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>137,837</b>	<b>10,098</b>	<b>7.32%</b>	<b>732.60</b>

**Table 2:** Overview of corpus material and normalised occurrences

### 1.2.2 Text versions chosen

The untagged electronic version of *The Riverside Shakespeare*, published by Directmedia Publishing GmbH (2002), served as a basis for compiling my corpus of six Shakespearean plays. The first digital version of Shakespeare's plays to be tagged with some reliability only became available at the end of 2004, by which time the manual tagging of the plays used for the dissertation had already been undertaken: *The Nameless Shakespeare*, included in the *BNC Baby v1.0* (Burnard 2004).

While Mueller, the annotator of *The Nameless Shakespeare*, estimates the error rate to be quite low: "I estimate the error rate at 0.5%" (Mueller, p.c., February 17, 2006). Rayson, the director of UCREL, is less optimistic: "I would fully expect that the accuracy over the Nameless Shakespeare or other non-modern corpora to be less, although not much less" than the accuracy of CLAWS, i.e. 96-97%, which was evaluated over part of the BNC (Rayson, p.c., February 20, 2006).

Although Mueller's and Rayson's information regarding the error rate varies by approximately 3%, the estimated accuracy rate is still quite high, ranging between 96-99.5%. Hence, the CD-Rom was used to cross-check my data and taggings, which had by then been completed manually. Obvious differences in the tagging are either due to a decision based on what is described below or on errors by me.

In an early attempt to simplify manual tagging, all lexemes classified as adjectives in Crystal & Crystal (2002, electronic version) were put into a PERL-programme, which in turn was run over the corpus. It soon became clear that the results were reliable enough to serve as a starting point in the manual tagging, but because of their procedure to select the lexemes for their glossary, the results presented by Crystal & Crystal (2002) could not be used as the only procedure either:

[our] procedure was straightforward. We went through each text and highlighted any word whose form or meaning we felt to be 'difficult', either because it was an Elizabethan usage no longer current or because it would pose a problem to a modern readership despite its continued currency. [...] Any word identified by the [...] series editors as a problem case, for whatever reason, was automatically included in our coverage; and to avoid the biases of those editors, we carried out the same exercise on all the words singled out for special comment in volumes from two other series.

(Crystal & Crystal 2002: xii),

Nevertheless, the value of intuition, even in a corpus-based study, should not be underestimated and therefore the six plays of the corpus, as reproduced in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, were checked to manually find the words which, according to Crystal and Crystal, were difficult and problematic for a modern readership. The fact that the present research has been carried out by a non-, but near-native speaker of English resulted in finding more than the above mentioned entries being considered 'difficult'.

Since many words used by Shakespeare can function in more than one word class (cf. Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 4), a list of lexemes classified as adjectives includes only those words that the compilers of a glossary or corpus view as an adjective, the word class usually assigned to the word is that of its most frequent use. As the results of a corpus linguistic study are only as representative and reliable as the corpus used, this meant that in addition to the help received from computer programmes, the manual tagging and cross-checking of the six plays was vital in order to ensure that all recognized adjectives were classified as such.

### 1.2.3 Tagsets used

Because changes in the syntactic and semantic classification of word classes might have occurred between the era of Elizabethan English and now, all those words with *potential adjectival force* were tagged as adjective (<adj>) so that they could be more easily retrieved in the subsequent analysis. In a second step, the syntactic function and position was tagged with the help of the following, arbitrary tagset: /att (prenominal), /pre (after *be*), /pos (postnominal), /cop (after copular and other verbs). These arbitrary tagsets were used to facilitate future research on whether a differentiation between the two types of classification is really possible or necessary.

In subsequent steps, more syntactic information was added as to whether the adjectives were nominal modifiers (/nou), occurred in a degree of comparison (/com, /sup), were intensified (/int), participial in form (/prp, /pap) or part of a compound (/two). Information was added as to whether the adjective referred to nationality (/nat) or was used in addressing other characters (/cal).

Finally, adjectives occurring in a "hypallagic construction" were tagged /hyp and those that were 'special' in any other way were tagged /spe. This last tag was used, for example, for cases of semantic discomfort, a change in meaning, double comparative forms, the sequencing of adjectives or for cases where the syntax of the adjective could be explained by the metre of the verse. Table 3 gives an overview of the tagsets used in my corpus with examples from the plays. Chapter 3 differentiates in detail between the terms 'hypallage' and 'transferred adjective'. 'Hypallage', briefly, is the exchange of two words which creates a change in meaning.

Tag used after <adj>	Reading of abbreviation	Examples (all taken from <i>King Lear</i> )
/att	prenominal A	this young<adj/att> fellow's mother (I.1)
/pos	postnominal A	a sectary astronomical<adj/pos> (I.2)
Tag used after <adj>	Reading of abbreviation	Examples (all taken from <i>King Lear</i> )
/pre	Predicative A, after <i>be</i>	I am sick<adj/pre> (I.3)
/cop	A after copular or other verbs	it seems pleasant<adj/cop> to him (IV.2)
/com	comparative A	the freer<adj/.../com> course (IV.2)
/sup	superlative A	[it] was most requir'd<adj/.../sup> (IV.3)



/nou	nominal modifier	Gloucester's bastard<adj/.../nou> son (IV.6)
/prp	present participle	the [warring<adj/.../prp>] winds <sup>1</sup> (IV.7)
/pap	past participle	his banish'd<adj/.../pap> son (IV.7)
/int	intensified A	this high illustrious<adj/.../int> prince (V.3)
/two	compounded A	and fire-new<adj/.../two> fortune (V.3)
/hyp	A in hypallagic structure	1.) Myself could else out-frown false<adj/.../hyp> Fortune's frown <sup>2</sup> (V.3) 2.) and why you answer / This present<adj/.../hyp> summons <sup>3</sup> (V.3)
/spe	otherwise semantically or syntactically noteworthy A	1.) in a country new<adj/.../spe> <sup>4</sup> (I.1) 2.) 'tween asleep and wake<adj/.../spe> <sup>5</sup> (I.2)
/cal	A used in form of address	Our dearest<adj/.../cal> Regan (I.1)
/nat	A denoting nationality	a British<adj/.../nat> man (III.4)

**Table 3:** Tagsets used in the corpus

### 1.3 On adjectives

Quirk et al. (1985: 402f), Biber et al. (2000: 505f), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 528) and other scholars more or less agree on their definition of adjectives. The definition comprises a mix of four morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria:

1. ability to occur in attributive function
2. ability to occur in predicative function
3. ability to allow comparison, either with the endings *-er* and *-est*, or with *more* and *most*
4. ability to be modified by the adverb *very*.

Quirk et al. (1985: 404) in particular differentiates between *central* and *peripheral* adjectives: if the lexeme meets both of the first two criteria it is labelled *central*, otherwise it is *peripheral*. The level of peripherality of an adjective also has to do with

<sup>1</sup> The square brackets are used by Directmedia (2002) to indicate lexemes that do not occur in all editions of Shakespeare's texts.

<sup>2</sup> Rephrase: "Myself could else out-frown Fortune's *false* frown".

<sup>3</sup> Rephrase: "and why you answer / This summons *presently*".

<sup>4</sup> *New* is postnominal because of the rhyme with *adieu* in the preceding line.

<sup>5</sup> *Awake* had come into the English language as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century and was known to Shakespeare: it is used in *KIL*, for example: *He's scarce awake<adj/pre>*.

its semantic features, i.e. (non-) inherency, intensification, restrictiveness (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 428ff), which are not analysed here.

Section 1.4, which deals with the differences between adjectives and other word classes, presents the more peripheral adjectives which occur in my corpus. The boundaries of the category 'adjective' are not always easy to draw in terms of the above characteristics, however, as "[o]ther word classes can be used in similar ways to adjectives" (Biber et al. 2000: 506). In retrospect, Haspelmath's (2002) approach, a prototypical concept of word classes, might have been the more useful approach.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.3.1 Definition: adjectives and adjective phrases

The head of an *adjective phrase (AP)* is an adjective, whether or not it is pre- or postmodified. As the terminology implies, however, more than one lexeme is usually involved when the term *phrase* is used. The occurrence of a single adjective in an NP will henceforth be called *adjective* or *modifier*, while the term *adjective phrase* will be reserved for more complex structures, including cases in which (i) several adjectives occur in sequence together with a noun, (ii) the adjective modifying a noun is complemented by a phrase or clause ('*heavy modification*'), (iii) the adjective is used in a discontinuous modification or (iv) the adjective itself is pre- or postmodified by a (degree) adverb.

- (i) within a *DULL, STALE, TIRED* bed (*KiL* I.2)
- (ii) I find it not *fit for your o'erlooking* (*KiL* I.2), with purple fountains *ISSUING FROM* your veins (*R&J* I.1)<sup>7</sup>
- (iii) it is a *FAIRER* name *THAN FRENCH CROWN* (*LLL* II.1)
- (iv) a *VERY HONEST-HEARTED* fellow (*KiL* I.4)

For most lexemes in the corpus, functional label and class coincide, i.e. the term *modifier* is used synonymously with the term *adjective* most of the time. Sometimes, however, this correlation is not given, e.g. when a noun, verb or adverb is used to modify the head of the NP (cf. iv).

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<sup>6</sup> I thank Professor Anderwald for this remark, p.c. 8.11.2010.

<sup>7</sup> The classification of the gerund *issuing* as an adjective is not unambiguous.

For Huddleston & Pullum, only 'true' adjectives are adjectives. The term *modifier* is reserved for cases when a word of one class (e.g. a noun) occurs "with a function which is prototypically associated with another class (adjective)" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 96). This can be realised by adverbs, adjectives as well as nouns. The term *modifier* seems to imply that the word in question occurs in attributive position only and cannot be used for predicative occurrences of *potential adjectives* (cf. 1.3.2). Also, the range of forms that can function as modifiers in NPs is rather too heterogeneous to be used this as a criterion for a syntactic class.

### 1.3.2 Potentiality of adjectivehood

Biber et al. (2000: 67) say that a word is to be considered a noun if it "fills the typical nominal slot of the head of a noun phrase (e.g. preceded by determiners or adjectives; followed by an *of*-phrase or relative clause)"; in other words, if the word occurs in the most typical position for nouns. In accordance with this definition, words in my corpus were classified as *potential adjectives (PA)* if they filled the typical adjectival slot of the head of an AP, that is

- 1.) between a determiner and a noun, e.g. *THE lusty STEALTH of nature (KiL I.2)*,
- 2.) after the noun, e.g. *with his SWORD prepar'd (R&J I.1)*,
- 3.) after the auxiliary *be*, e.g. *I AM subtle (Ri3 I.1)*,
- 4.) after a copular verb, e.g. *my soul GROWS sad (He8 III.1)* or
- 5.) after any other lexical verb, e.g. *MAKE yourself ready (Tem I.1)*<sup>8</sup>.

The term *potential adjective (PA)* was adopted from Gleby (2002) to accommodate all those instances in my corpus in which a lexeme occurred in a position potentially and typically occupied by an adjective in *PDE*.

The choice of the five categories above is defended in the following chapters, after potentially problematic classifications have been clarified, in order to then be able to fully describe and explore Shakespeare's usage of adjectives.

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<sup>8</sup> This last criterion is admittedly a rather weak one, as the distinction from the lexeme in question is only possible if it can occur after the auxiliary *be* as well.

From the vast number of lexical items available as *PAs* in my corpus, 'only' 10,000 items (10,098, to be exact) were actually classified as adjectives after having applied the test methods presented below.

Often, the classification of *words with a potential adjectival force* was not easy due to syntactic changes which have occurred over time, and thus the following chapter gives an overview of the tagging procedure undertaken in both the problematic and the unproblematic cases in my corpus. Section 1.4 gives a detailed description as to which lexemes were and which were not classified as adjectives.

### 1.4 Differences to other word classes

Classificational problems sometimes arose due to similarities and differences between adjectives and other word classes. This section points out the differences from determiners (1.4.1), nouns (1.4.2), verbs (1.4.3) and adverbs (1.4.4), clarifying which lexemes were classified as adjectives and which were not.

#### 1.4.1 Adjectives vs. (semi-) determiners

Although the classification of certain lexemes as *determiners* is not altogether undisputed, the terminology is adopted here.<sup>9</sup> Determiners are usually divided into three subgroups: predeterminers, central determiners and postdeterminers. They are function words which "specify the reference of a noun" (cf. *LGSWE* 2000: 258) and cannot usually co-occur in combination with one another. A special type of determiners consists of the so-called *semi-determiners*, a group which comprises determiner-like words. According to the *LGSWE* (2000: 258 & 280f) they are the following: *certain, other, next, last, former, latter, same* and *such*. Meyer (2000), however, classifies the first four as determiners.

In his study, Meyer includes expressions which are sometimes called *expressions of relative amounts* in the group of determiners. These are *many (a), much* (large

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<sup>9</sup> For a detailed discussion of the topic the reader is referred to Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Meyer (2000) and Meyer (2001).

amount), (*a little* and *several* (restricted amount)<sup>10</sup>. According to Meyer (2000: 170, 194, 197, 198), these expressions can sometimes be used as adjectives if they fulfil the criteria for *central adjectives* as proposed by Quirk et al. (1985), Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and others.

The above listed semi-determiners are often referred to as adjectives, even though they are only marginally adjectival in that they have no descriptive meaning while acting as specifiers of the reference of nouns (LGSWE 2000: 280). This suggests that there might be an overlap between peripheral adjectives and (semi-) determiners, i.e. that to a certain extent both determination and modification can expand a noun to a complete noun phrase.

In general, the tagging followed Meyer's matrix for the elements in the Det-Slot ("Merkmalmatrix für Elemente im Det-Slot", Meyer 2000: 54) and the new gradient resulting from this matrix ("Determinatoren und der 'the'-Faktor: ein neuer Gradient", Meyer 2000: 57), in which 'the' is the most typical determiner and 'many' the most marginal one with a 'the'-factor of 1.0 and .31, respectively.<sup>11</sup> In a first tagging, determiners were tagged as adjectives in the corpus when (i) the 'the'-factor was above .50 (cf. Meyer 2000: 57) and when (ii) they occurred in a typically adjectival position, i.e. between another determiner and a noun.

The following sections describe cases which were unproblematic in their classification, i.e. those that were not tagged as adjectives (1.4.1.1), and cases which were problematic in their classification (1.4.1.2). In these sections Shakespeare's use of PAs is presented and clarification is given as to which lexemes are regarded as adjectives in my corpus.

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<sup>10</sup> *A few* also expresses restricted amount, but did not occur in the corpus.

<sup>11</sup> Meyer developed 13 binary criteria for the lexemes possible in the determiner slot. The aim was to decide on the prototypicality of the lexemes in question (cf. chapter 1.7 in his book). After having come up with this matrix in which he set up different factors according to which one can define the determinacy ("Determiniertheit") of the words in question, a hierarchical order was created. Taking *the* as the most prototypical determiner (*the* fulfilled all criteria of his matrix), he then calculated the gradient factor between the number of positive criteria divided by the number of calculable criteria. This calculation resulted in a gradient list of determiners, ranging between the two poles *prototypically determinative* vs. *marginally determinative*.

### 1.4.1.1 Unproblematic classifications

Phrases in which the following lexemes occurred were excluded from the tagging, either because they could not be clearly classified as adjectives from a modern perspective (*all, some, each, either, half, any, both, all of, no, every, another, plenty, additional, numerous, a few, most, many a, such a*; multipliers, demonstrative determiners, possessive determiners, ordinal numbers, cardinal numbers, definite and indefinite articles) or because the phrases are not found in the corpus (*numerous, (a) few, additional, most, many a, such a*), cf. table below.

In line with Meyer (2000) and against Blake (2002), possessive determiners are not counted as adjectives in the corpus. Blake classifies them as adjectives because the occurrence of two determiners in an NP, as in *This my mean task* (*Tem* III.1), is not acceptable to him because "the use of a demonstrative adjective as determiner creates adjectives" out of words like *my*, above (Blake 2002: 79f). Possessive determiners have a 'the'-factor of .85, which is seen as an indicator that they are not adjectives. In addition, possessive determiners, such as *my* in the example given, are not classified as an adjective in my corpus, as they do not carry any descriptive meaning (cf. Biber et al. 2000: 280), although semantic criteria were only used as a subordinate reason for classification in ambiguous cases.

Ordinal and cardinal numbers, which are only marginally determinative for the same reason (cf. Meyer 2000: 57f), were also excluded.

The following table gives an overview of the determiners which were not classified as adjectives in the corpus.

Determiner	Example	Play
<i>All</i>	here <i>all</i> eyes gaze on us	<i>R&amp;J</i> (III.1)
<i>Some</i>	Give me <i>some</i> little breath	<i>Ri3</i> (IV.2)
<i>Each</i>	In <i>each</i> degree	<i>Ri3</i> (V.3)
<i>Either</i>	On <i>either</i> side	<i>Ri3</i> (V.3)
<i>Half</i>	<i>half</i> a fish and <i>half</i> a monster	<i>Tem</i> (III.2)
<i>Any</i>	worse than <i>any</i> death	<i>Tem</i> (III.3)
<i>Both</i>	Good day to <i>both</i> your Graces	<i>He8</i> (II.2)
<i>all of</i>	<i>All of</i> us have cause	<i>Ri3</i> (II.2)
<i>No</i>	render we <i>no</i> grace	<i>LLL</i> (V.2)
<i>Every</i>	<i>every</i> varied object	<i>LLL</i> (V.2)
<i>another</i>	I must <i>another</i> way	<i>R&amp;J</i> (II.5)

Determiner	Example	Play
<i>plenty</i>	With smiling <i>plenty</i>	<i>Ri3</i> (V.5)
multiplier	<i>Twice</i> sod simplicity	<i>LLL</i> (IV.2)
demonstrative determiner	<i>that</i> self metal	<i>KiL</i> (I.1)
possessive determiner	yet never lost <i>her</i> lustre	<i>He8</i> (II.2)
ordinal number	into <i>a hundred thousand</i> flaws	<i>KiL</i> (II.3)
cardinal number	by the <i>third</i> sound of the trumpet	<i>KiL</i> (V.3)
definite article	<i>the</i> Cardinal's doing	<i>He8</i> (II.2)
indefinite article	<i>an</i> honest gentleman	<i>R&amp;J</i> (II.5)
<i>numerous</i>	no occurrence	---
<i>(a) few</i>	no occurrence	---
<i>additional</i>	no occurrence	---
<i>most</i>	no occurrence	---
<i>many a</i>	no occurrence	---
<i>such a</i>	no occurrence	---

**Table 5:** Exclusions from the corpus of *PDE* determiners

#### 1.4.1.2 Problematic classifications

The following lexemes are sometimes tagged as adjectives, thus differing from Meyer's (2000), Meyer's (2001), the *LGSWE*'s (2000) and the *CamGEL*'s (2002) proposals for the classification of determiners and semi-determiners: *enough, own, several, certain, many, much, more, less, such, other, former, latter, little, same, last, next*.<sup>12</sup>

In 74.4% of the occurrences the classification was unproblematic and the above mentioned determiners and semi-determiners were also classified as such in my corpus.

However, the classification in my corpus deviates in about a quarter of the occurrences (25.6%), in 384 out of 1,496 cases, from the suggestions made by Meyer (2000 & 2001), the *LGSWE* and the *CamGEL*. The deviations typically occurred whenever the lexemes were placed (i) between a prototypical determiner<sup>13</sup> and a noun or (ii) between a prototypical determiner and a numeral, the missing noun after the numeral could usually be inferred easily from the context.

<sup>12</sup> *Several, many, more, such, other, little, last* and *next* are classified as postdeterminers by Meyer (2001), a category not followed in this study.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. if the determiner's 'the'-factor was above .50 (cf. Meyer 2000: 57).

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

All in all, a very conservative approach was undertaken in the classification, as can be seen from the last two examples in the following table, so that no example would be left out which ought to be analysed in the following chapters. A more detailed distinction between determiners and adjectives could not be undertaken for the present study as it would have digressed too far from the purpose of the dissertation. Table 6 shows in how many instances the problematic cases were classified as adjectives in relation to their overall occurrence. The table also shows when and why these lexemes were classified as adjectives in contrast to Meyer's (2000, 2001), the *LGSWE's* (2000) and the *CamGEL's* (2002) classifications.

Element tagged as either A or Det	Illustration of adjectival versus determinative use	No of adjectival uses / total no of occurrences of lexeme	Tagged as adjective	
<i>other</i>	A: in some <i>other</i> sort. (LLL V.2) Det: <i>Other</i> slow arts (LLL IV.3)	49/117	if placed between a determiner and a noun	
<i>own</i>	A: For mine <i>own</i> part (LLL V.2) Det: The fault's your <i>own</i> (Tem II.1)	96/122		
<i>enough</i>	A: They are apt <i>enough</i> (KiL IV.2) Det: Put strength <i>enough</i> to't (KiL IV.6)	5/33	if placed in predicative position or if lexeme was intensified pronominally	
<i>many</i>	A: So mighty and so <i>many</i> my defects (Ri3 III.7) Det: a care-craz'd mother to a <i>many</i> sons, (Ri3 III.7)	9/87		
<i>much</i>	A: 'tis <i>much</i> to draw them thence, (Ri3 III.7) Det: <i>much</i> less spirit to curse (Ri3 IV.4)	29/200		
<i>more</i>	A: His word is more than the miraculous harp. (Tem II.1) Det: I'll bear him no more sticks (Tem II.2)	25/377		
<i>less</i>	A: I do profess to be no <i>less</i> than I seem (KiL I.4) Det: Fools had ne'er <i>less</i> grace in a year (KiL I.4)	7/42		
<i>least</i>	A: in the <i>least</i> degree (LLL I.1) Det: at the <i>least</i> of thy sweet notice (LLL I.1)	5/23		
<i>such</i>	A: your case is <i>such</i> (LLL IV.3) Det: <i>such</i> noble scenes (He8 Prol.)	2/235		
<i>same</i>	A: the <i>self-same</i> thing (LLL I.2) Det: at this <i>same</i> ancient east of Capulet's (R&J I.2)	5/49		if lexeme was part of a compound



<i>last</i>	A: in his <i>last</i> sickness (He8 I.2) Det: to the <i>last</i> two (He8 Vision)	21/58	if lexeme occurred in prenominal position
<i>next</i>	A: upon the <i>next</i> occasion (LLL V.2) Det: <i>next</i> heav'n (He8 III.1)	18/33	
<i>(a) little</i>	A: like <i>little</i> wanton boys (He8 III.2) Det: which makes me / <i>A little</i> happier (He8 II.1)	62/106	if meaning was synonymous to <i>short</i> or <i>small</i> <sup>14</sup>
<i>former</i>	A: our <i>former</i> hatred (Ri3 II.1)	4/4	always tagged as adjective, in contrast to <i>CamGEL</i> , <i>LGSWE</i>
<i>latter</i>	A: for the <i>latter</i> end of his name (LLL V.2)	2/2	
<i>several</i>	A: the <i>several</i> messengers (KiL II.1)	20/20	always tagged as adjective, for further investigation on determinacy
<i>certain</i>	A: that's a <i>certain</i> text (R&J IV.1)	30/30	

**Table 6:** Deviations from *PDE* in tagging of lexemes as (semi-) determiners

#### 1.4.2 Adjectives vs. nouns

Nouns differ from adjectives in that they take adjectives as modifiers and determiners as dependents. Count nouns inflect for number, nouns with a non-fused head can occur as subject, object, or predicative complement, whereas adjectives cannot (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 536f).

In my corpus, *nominalised adjectives*, such as *poor* in *they are the poorest* (He8 The Vision), are not regarded as adjectives, in contrast to Quirk et al. (1985: 421-424) who distinguish between three different types of adjectives functioning as heads of noun phrases.

Combinations with the prop-word *one*, as well as nouns which are used as *attributive modifiers* (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 537, Quirk et al. 1985: 410ff for a definition) before another noun, are included in the corpus, as they occur in positions typical of adjectives and thus show a certain adjectival force. Nominal modifiers are included under the label *adjective* in the tagged corpus.

The label *adjective* often seemed insufficient as it does not incorporate all types of modifiers possible in the corpus. However, the tagging conventions were upheld nevertheless. Only the group of nominal modifiers, which is not very large to begin

<sup>14</sup> *A little* was never classified as an adjective because it is considered a separate entity altogether.

with (1.84% or 186/10,098), will be analysed in detail. A separate study of nouns should be able to trace the emergence and development of compounded nouns used as modifiers. The following three sections aim to clarify reasons for the exclusion or inclusion of the lexemes in question.

### 1.4.2.1 Nominalised adjectives

For Jespersen, there was "no formal criterion [in the common case] to decide whether a word is still an adjective or has become a substantive" (1940-1949, Book II: 232). From a *PDE* point of view, the case seems to be easier: a word which he could not decide on must have become a noun, because it does not fulfil all the criteria proposed in section 1.3. A determiner followed by an adjective without a following head noun can form a phrase only if the adjective functions as a generic adjective. In other words, the word can be analysed by the *fused-head analysis* proposed by the *CamGEL* (2002: 536f). It has noun-like qualities and is therefore classified as a noun and not as an adjective in the corpus.

### 1.4.2.2 Adjectives followed by the prop-word "one"

In modern English an adjective "cannot [...] be used freely in the singular without a substantive or *one*[,] instead of *a poor* (ein armer) or *the old* (der alte) one has to say *a poor man*, *the old man* or *a poor one*, *the poor one*" (Jespersen 1940-1949, Book II: 231f). Therefore, the word before the prop-word *one* is classified as an adjective, [Det+A+*one*(s)], in 19 instances in the corpus.

Structures like [Det+A+N+and+(Det)+A], such as in *Tem* (II.1)

Antonio: *Temperance was a delicate wench.* –  
Sebastian: *Ay, and a subtle,*

are worth mentioning as Görlach (1991, 1994), Abbott (1870<sup>3</sup>), Blake (1983, 2002) mention this feature as being very prominent in Shakespeare's language. In the corpus, however, it occurs only nine times.

Jespersen explains these structures by saying that *one* tends to be avoided "when two adjectives are joined to the same substantive" (Jespersen 1940-1949, Book II:

270). Rissanen (1967: 77f) even goes as far as to say that the link between adjective and noun is much closer when a second *one* is avoided and, while a repetition of *one* might be less favoured for stylistic reasons, it might also be avoided so as not to change the meaning of the phrase:

The least ambiguous type of expression would, of course, [be] produced by the addition of a noun after adjective ('a good man'), but this [is] probably often felt stylistically less satisfactory, particularly when it would [mean] the repetition of the noun. [...] It is of interest that in the majority of such instances where *a* + adjective is not followed by *one*, the adjective is so closely linked with the preceding noun that EVERY POSSIBILITY OF MISUNDERSTANDING IS EXCLUDED. This is often the case with comparative adjectives, and in expressions of the type 'a good man and a wise' [...]. One might even suggest that the phrase 'a good man and a wise one' would REFER TO TWO SEPARATE INDIVIDUALS, just as the phrase 'a good man and a wise man' does. According to Gerber [...] and Langenfelt [...] *one* does not occur in this phrase in ME or in early Mod E if the reference is to one and the same individual. [My emphasis]

Constructions such as [Det + A + *one(s)*] or [Det + A + N + and + (Det) + A] do not really pose a problem of understanding nowadays, but are likely to be analysed as occurrences of a speaker who seems to have finished his first thought and later remembers that there is more to be said on the topic. In the example given above, a second speaker, Sebastian, adds additional information to what the first speaker, Antonio, began saying.

As this type of adjective refers to the same noun, it is also classified as an adjective in the corpus. It might be argued, however, that it could also be seen as a contextual ellipsis, which would then call for an exclusion from the corpus.

### 1.4.2.3 Nominal modifiers

Historically, N+N-compounds did not exist in Old English, but typically evolved from [genitive + N] combinations or [A + N] combinations where the adjective was derived from a noun, e.g. *stænen weal* 'stone wall' (cf. Fischer 2004: 32). After the inflectional endings had been lost in Middle English, many of these combinations started to behave like adjuncts to the noun. The grammatical category of the two lexemes ("stone" and "wall" are both nouns in *PDE*) is the same in *PDE*, however. The difference or change in meaning is perhaps better explained with another

example: *golden watch* vs. *gold watch*, where the adjective *golden* refers to the colour and the noun *gold* to the material of the watch in question. Therefore both *gold* and *golden* in the following examples were classified as [A + N] in the corpus: *That in GOLD clasps locks in the GOLDEN story.* (R&J I.3).

The phonological, morphological and syntactic similarities and differences between nominal and adjectival modifiers in *PDE* are discussed by Warren (1993), who explains that there are two types of modifiers preceding the head in a noun phrase, i.e. adjectival and nominal modifiers. The stress pattern in noun-modified noun phrases is characterised by double or fore-stress, whereas adjective-noun combinations normally have double stress only. Nominal modifiers are not normally inflected when used as modifiers, while adjectival modifiers retain their ability to be graded. Both types of modifiers precede their heads; only adjectival modifiers can sometimes succeed their heads (Fischer 2004: 7-9).

The major difference lies in the ways in which nominal and adjectival modifiers can be combined with other modifiers: *adjectival* modifiers can be combined by parataxis, i.e. by either syndetic or asyndetic coordination, but hypotaxis is not possible. *Nominal* modifiers, on the other hand, can be combined by syndetic coordination or subordination, but not by asyndetic coordination. This means that the order of nominal modifiers in subordinate combination cannot be reversed as the meaning would either be nonsensical or at least not synonymous.

Possible differences in meaning will not be analysed in detail in this dissertation; the purpose is to maintain that both nouns and adjectives can serve as modifiers similar to adjectives in English and particularly so in Shakespeare's plays. Differences in meaning are due to the level of restrictiveness of the modifiers. Nominal modifiers almost form "referring units", i.e. the new lexemes may function as hyponyms of a less restrictive hyperonym (cf. Fischer's idea of a new compound/token, 2001: 258). Adjectival modifiers, on the other hand, are less restrictive *per se* and usually contribute additional information about a referent of the head. They are relatively more independent of the heads than nominal modifiers and therefore retain their stress patterns and their ability to be inflected.

To summarize, nominalised adjectives were excluded from the corpus, while both adjectives followed by the prop-word "one" and nominal adjectives were included.

### 1.4.3 Adjectives vs. verbs: participial adjectives

The most problematic lexemes to tag were *participials*: lexemes which end in *-ing* and *-ed*<sup>15</sup>, which other studies tend to avoid (cf. for example Meurman-Solin 1997). Words with a participial ending can be (i) both present (*-ing*) and past participles (*-ed*) if they occur after the auxiliary *be*, and (ii) part of "a complex-intransitive clause containing an adjectival passive as predicative complement" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1436; cf. also their explanation of adjectival passive), that is, they can be used verbally or adjectivally.

All those participial forms which occur *attributively*, i.e. in prenominal position, are automatically classified as adjective, regardless of whether they are used actively or passively (cf. Marchand 1966).

Poutsma (1919a: 130) and Curme (1947: 265) say that a participle participates in the nature of an adjective and a verb, and can thus participate in more than one word class; it holds an intermediate position between verbs and adjectives, and its grammatical function is often only determinable by the context. Poutsma even suggests that both participles [present and past] are "pure adjectives when [...] any time-association is absent from the speaker's or writer's mind. [...] This applies especially to participles which express a state or emotion" (Poutsma 1919a: 141ff), for example in *LLL* (II.1), where the *-ing* in *willing* is a derivational suffix:

*I am less proud to hear you tell my worth  
Than you much WILLING to be counted wise  
In spending your wit in the praise of mine.*

I follow Poutsma's notion that present and past participles can be pure adjectives.

The question of whether attributive participial forms are inflectional or derivational was not important for the dissertation and was thus not discussed here. This differentiation is, however, important for the study of participles as such and naturally underlies the classification of lexemes such as *willing* as adjectival (as in *I was much WILLING to proceed* in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; cf. Schmidt 1902) because the suffix *-ing* functions as derivational suffix.

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<sup>15</sup> The notation *-ed* at all times includes irregular participles, such as *-en*, change of root vowel and suppletive forms.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1290-1292) discuss in detail the underlying gradience from deverbal nouns via verbal nouns to participles because "a complex gradience [...] from the pure count noun in [1], '*some paintings of Brown's*', to the purely participial form in a finite verb phrase in [14], '*Brown is painting his daughter*'" can and must be distinguished. The following 14 examples are reproduced here verbatim with Quirk et al.'s explanatory comments, in which *paintings* is a deverbal noun in [1] and [2], an abstract noun in [3] and [4], a gerund in [5] and [6] and a (present) participle in [7-14]:

- [1] *Some paintings of Brown's* [[a] 'some paintings that Brown owns'; or [b] 'some paintings painted by Brown']
- [2] *Brown's paintings of his daughter* [[a] 'paintings depicting his daughter and painted by him'; or [b] 'paintings depicting his daughter and painted by someone else but owned by him']
- [3] *The painting of Brown* is as skilful as that of Gainsborough. [[a] 'Brown's mode of painting'; or [b] 'Brown's action of painting']
- [4] *Brown's deft painting of his daughter* is a delight to watch. ['It is a delight to watch while Brown deftly paints his daughter']
- [5] Brown's deftly painting of his daughter is a delight to watch. [= [3b] or [4] in meaning]
- [6] I dislike *Brown's painting his daughter*. ['I dislike either [a] the fact or [b] the way that Brown does it.']
- [7] I dislike *Brown painting his daughter* (when she ought to be at school). [= [6a]]
- [8] I watched *Brown painting his daughter*. [[a] 'I watched Brown as he painted'; or [b] 'I watched the process of Brown('s) painting his daughter..']
- [9] *Brown deftly painting his daughter* is a delight to watch. [= [3b] or [4]]
- [10] *Painting his daughter*, Brown noticed that his hand was shaking. ['while he was painting']
- [11] *Brown painting his daughter* that day, I decided to go for a walk. ['since Brown was painting']
- [12] *The man painting the girl* is Brown. ['who is painting']
- [13] *The silently painting man* is Brown. ['who is silently painting']
- [14] *Brown is painting* his daughter.

The following sections explain the ways and means of how the corpus distinguishes between verbal and adjectival uses of words ending in *-ing* and *-ed*.

### 1.4.3.1 Indetermination of participial form

The actual status of the participial form, i.e. whether it has verbal (passive) force or adjectival status can sometimes be indeterminable according to Quirk et al. (1985: 414f). They give the following examples and interpretations:

- (1) *The man was offended*  
In a *participial* interpretation, the focus is on the process of offending; whereas in an *adjectival* interpretation, the focus is on the state resulting from the process.

In another example, the status of the form in question is determined somewhat more easily:

- (2) *John is insulting* (no object present!)  
An *adjectival* interpretation argues that this is one of John's traits of character; a *participial* interpretation seems implausible, as 'insult' is used as an intransitive verb. The only argumentation pro-participle possible, according to Quirk et al. (1985), is when the sentence expresses that John is in the process of giving an insult, and the direct object is expected, though not present.

Several grammatical tests for the adjectival status of participial forms in predicative position are proposed by the *CamGEL*, the *CGEL* and the *LGSWE* which were also applied to the corpus. To identify and classify a lexeme in question clearly, more than one test usually had to be applied. The following grammatical tests, which were applied to forms which are present in the corpus, are explained in further detail in the next sections of this chapter:

- 1.) Pre-modification by adverbs other than *very* and *too*,
- 2.) Existence of a verb complement,
- 3.) Complementation (*by*-phrase complements),
- 4.) Modification by *very* and *too*,
- 5.) Occurrence with other verbs taking predicative complements,
- 6.) Compounded forms, coordination and similarity,
- 7.) Evidence for adjectival status (cf. also Gleby (2002: 130ff),
- 8.) Adjectival passives with specialised senses (cf. also *CamGEL* (2002: 1440),
- 9.) The negative prefix *un-*,
- 10.) Dynamic vs. stative meaning.

Syntactic test methods (1-6) only allowed about a third of the participial forms to be clearly classified as being either verbal or adjectival. By applying several tests consecutively, together with the semantic criteria (7-10), approximately three quarters of the forms in question could be clearly classified as either adjectival or verbal.

Forms which could not be classified after the extensive search and classification procedure was completed were excluded from the corpus, as too many arguments could have been found *pro and contra* the classification as adjectival or not.

All in all, 2,181 participial lexemes were classified as adjectives. Of these, 1,741 had a past participial ending and only 440 a present participial ending, a relation of 79.8% to 20.2%.

### 1.4.3.2 Unproblematic cases

The following two pages clarify which of the unproblematic occurrences were included in, and excluded from, the corpus.

As stated above, lexemes which were modified by adverbs such as *well*, *much* etc., were excluded from the corpus, as it was assumed that only verbs, not adjectives, can be modified by this type of modifier.<sup>16</sup> This was done unless I found examples like *I was much WILLING to proceed in (Two Gentlemen of Verona)* which Schmidt (1902) counts as adjectival.

If the sentence in which a participial form occurred was complemented by a (direct) object, the lexeme was not classified as an adjective, as this was seen as a syntactic indicator classifying the form as verbal: participial adjectives can be followed by prepositional phrases but not by objects. At the same time, verbs but not adjectives can take predicative complements (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1439).

Instances in which a verb complement was present in the sentence were thus classified as verbal forms, e.g. in *He8 (IV.2): There is STAYING / A gentleman, sent from the King, to see you.*

Complementation by a *by*-phrase is a clear indicator that the participial form in question is part of a passive construction. As the preposition of the agent can vary quite considerably in *EModE* (Rissanen 1999: 263), the occurrence of certain prepositional phrases (also called 'pseudo-passives'), introduced by *of*, *from* or *with*,

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<sup>16</sup> I realised too late for the present research that at least *much* had a different syntactic status during that time compared to today.



was also taken as an indicator for verbal use of the participial form, which was hence excluded from the corpus:

Late Middle and Early Modern English form a crucial period during which a choice of variant prepositions that had been used in the agentive function since Old English times: *by*, *from*, *mid*, *of*, *through* and *with*, became gradually limited to the one that is currently used: *by*.

(Peitsara 1993: 219; the preposition *mid* was not found in the corpus, RK)

If the lexeme in question was modified by *very*, *too* or similar modifiers, this was seen as sufficient proof of its adjectival status (and they were therefore **included** in the corpus), as only gradable adjectives, not verbs, can be modified by these modifiers. Unfortunately, this test is only sufficient, but not necessary, as not all adjectives are gradable and thus not all participial forms can be modified by *very* and *too*. In the case of non-gradable participial adjectives, one or more of the other test methods had to be applied.

If typically copular verbs such as *be*, *feel*, *seem*, *appear* etc. were followed by lexemes with a participial ending, these were considered adjectives:

Because of the diversity of the verbs that serve as copulas it is often difficult to ascertain whether the construction under investigation is in fact a copula construction. [...] If, for instance, *hot* in *get hot* is an adjective (which it undeniably is), then *cracking* in *get cracking* is possibly also an adjective. [...] [O]ccurrence in a copular construction is seen as a criterion for adjectivehood as against verbhood [...]. (Gleby 2002: 85)

If the auxiliary *be* occurred together with a participial form and could be replaced by other copular verbs, then that participial form was tagged as an adjective (cf. also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1437).

Participial lexemes which occurred as part of an adjectival compound were classified as participial adjectives:

*the precursors / [...] more momentary / And SIGHT-OUTRUNNING were not (Tem I.2)*  
*The King was WEeping-RIPE (LLL V.2)*  
*[Study] will not be DEEP[?/?]SEARCH'D with saucy looks (LLL I.1)*

Lexemes which occurred in coordinative constructions were classified like the other, more typical, part of the construction, i.e. if either the first or the second part of the structure was a typical adjective, both lexemes were classified as adjectives: *Her blood is SETTLED, and her joints are STIFF (R&J IV.5)*. In the case of attributive adjectives, Poutsma suggests that "a marked adjectival character is often evidenced

by an ordinary adjective being placed in juxtaposition or contrast to the participle[:]  
*These are but wild and WHIRLING words.* Shak., Haml. I, 5, 133." (1919a: 143)

Participial lexemes which in *PDE* are regarded as having a specialised sense, as in *She's BOUND to win. We're ENGAGED (to be married). His days are NUMBERED.* (examples taken from *CamGEL 2002*), were classified as participial adjectives in the corpus. It should be noted here that the *CamGEL* suggests that the connection with proper passives is more obvious in *EModE* than it is today.

### 1.4.3.3 Problematic cases

The negative prefix *un-* is quite productive in the English language and can be attached to both verbs and adjectives. As different meanings are assigned to the two types of prefix, if attached to a verb, *un-* gives the verb a reversive meaning, whereas if attached to an adjective, the lexeme has a negative meaning, it can therefore serve as a helpful means to differentiate between adjectival and verbal participial forms. In addition, in many cases, the form without the prefix occurs in verbal but not adjectival passives, cf. *unseen* (A) vs. *seen* (V), so the former of the two must be an adjective according to *CamGEL* (2002: 1440) because no verb *\*unsee* exists.

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1436) use the term *adjectival passive* when they need to differentiate between verbal *be*-passive forms such as 'The kitchen window was *broken* by the thieves.' And complex-intransitive adjectival forms such as 'They were *worried*.' Because passives are by definition verbal, "[t]he term adjectival passive applies only to the predicative complement, that is to the AdjPs *very worried* and *married*. Thus the clause 'They were very worried' is not itself an adjectival passive – it merely contains one" in the complex-intransitive clause, where the adjectival passive serves as a predicative complement. Adjectival passives are sometimes called 'pseudo-passives', a term which is more widely used for prepositional passives (*CamGr 2002: 1436*<sup>Footnote</sup>).

Those occurrences in the corpus of [*un-* + V-*ed*] which could not be classified by means of the other test methods described before could be classified clearly with the help of the above explanations.

The question of dynamic posed another problem in classification. Quirk et al. (1985: 413f) and Biber et al. (2000: 69) introduce semantic criteria intended to facilitate the differentiation between an adjectival and a verbal participial form: if the focus of the utterance lies on the process, then the form is verbal; whereas if the focus is on the state resulting from the process, the form needs to be interpreted as being adjectival.

The proposed semantic criteria are often helpful in the classification, but cannot solve all problematic cases: the focus of the utterance is not always clearly on the process or the state resulting from the process, especially so in the so called *short passives*<sup>17</sup> (Biber et al. 2000: 943), as the agent is eliminated in a short dynamic passive. The initiator of the action is left unexpressed as the information may either be unknown, redundant or irrelevant. These short passives are often very stative in meaning so that the classification as either clearly passive (i.e. verbal force) or clearly active (i.e. adjectival force) seems impossible. The main reason for the usage of short passives in my corpus seemed to be that the verses were often too short to include all relevant information which could and should have been expressed in an active construction containing the same information. In the corpus, however, the occurrences of short passives were classified as being adjectival in use.

Another problem which cannot be ruled out by the application of semantic criteria is that the word in question is regarded as being more stative and less dynamic (thus adjectival) today than it might have been in Shakespeare's time<sup>18</sup>, as in *I am much beholding* (*He8*) which has a rather stative meaning. Because of the modifier *much*, however, it can be regarded as a verbal construction. The possible diachronic differences in Shakespeare's usage of modifiers cannot be analysed in the present study. The problem here lies in the fact that the analysis tries to apply *PDE* grammar to a corpus of *EModE* texts.

As mentioned above, forms which could not be classified after the extensive search and classification procedure was completed were excluded from the corpus, as too many arguments could have been found *pro* and *contra* the classification as adjectival or not.

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<sup>17</sup> Stative passives are quite similar to constructions with [V<sub>aux</sub> + A].

<sup>18</sup> This cannot be clearly proved, however. As the English language is deviating further and further from Shakespeare's usage of it, perhaps a differentiation is now indeed impossible.

### 1.4.4 Adjectives vs. adverbs

Adverbs are a very heterogeneous category, as they can modify adjectives, verbs and other adverbs (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 526-529); no *-ly* adverb, however, modifies a noun (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 563) and in contrast to adjectives, adverbs cannot occur predicatively. The distinction between adjectives and adverbs should therefore have been relatively easy, but proved difficult for several reasons.

In those forms where there is a grammatical syncretism, as with such lexemes as *fast*, *hard*, *early*, a differentiation was possible only indirectly by replacing the lexeme with a more typical member of either the adjective or the adverb class.

Shakespeare frequently used adjectival instead of adverbial forms (cf. Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 32), i.e. the *-ly* ending which became so typical of adverbs by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century frequently is infrequent in the corpus. However, the typical *-ly* ending of an adverb was often omitted for reasons of metre, which then causes the reader to relate the lexeme in question to the noun following. Because of the missing *-ly*, it is possible to read and understand such constructions as [VP + NP {A+N}] instead of [VP {V+Adv} + N]. This misreading creates an (unintended) hypallage which causes semantic discomfort and may even lead to incomprehensibility of the passage.

Cases in which a lexeme without an *-ly* ending was *not* classified as adjective were cases like *certain* in *His leg is too big for Hector's. – More calf, CERTAIN (LLL V.2)* or *A man so breathed, that CERTAIN he would fight, yea (LLL V.2)* as they resembled the use of the adverb with *-ly* in *Certainly, sir, I can (Tem I.2)*, i.e. the meaning of the first two occurrences could be paraphrased by 'it is certainly so' and not by \*'it is certain so'.

One must be careful with these lexemes ending in *-ly* because the suffix is not always used adverbially, as in *friendly*, for example. Careful reading and classification is of vital importance. For example, Shakespeare also used lexemes ending in *-ly*, thus seemingly adverbs, in predicative position, e.g. *There was a noise, / That's VERILY<sup>19</sup> (Tem II.1)*. Although in *PDE* adverbs cannot occur predicatively (cf.

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<sup>19</sup> The OED (2007) says that *verily* can be an adjective (meaning 'true' or 'very') or an adverb (meaning 'in truth or verity; as a matter of truth or fact; indeed, fact, or reality; really, truly'). Both readings make sense here, but only when the adjectival reading is taken (cf. German: "Das ist wahr.") can this lexeme count as one of the adjectives of the corpus. The adverbial reading (cf. German: "Das ist die Wahrheit.") of course forbids the lexeme to be counted.

Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 563), these lexemes did occur in *PA*-position and were thus classified as adjectives.

In NPs consisting of several modifiers after the determiner, and in which the first word might be regarded as an adverb or an adjective, i.e. possible cases of sequencing or intensification, the coordination test was applied and if such a combination was reasonably acceptable, the lexeme in question was tagged as an adjective. Intensifying structures, i.e. [Adv+A]-combinations, and ordering of adjectives in sequence, i.e. [A+A]-combinations, and their respective semantic differences, are analysed more closely in chapters 3 and 4.

Because *much* was classified as modifier and hence not included in the present analysis, a discussion about determinative or adjectival use of *much*, as they occur in *there's much example (Timotheus)*, *thy much misgovernment (Much Ado About Nothing)*<sup>20</sup> for example, was not undertaken. It is possible, however, that in these cases *much* is followed by an adjective ending in *-ing*.

### 1.5 Functions and positions of adjectives in the corpus

Based on the grammars mentioned above and on the assumption that the following are issues worth studying when analysing Shakespeare's language, I differentiate between two basic functions of adjectives: *attributive* and *predicative*.

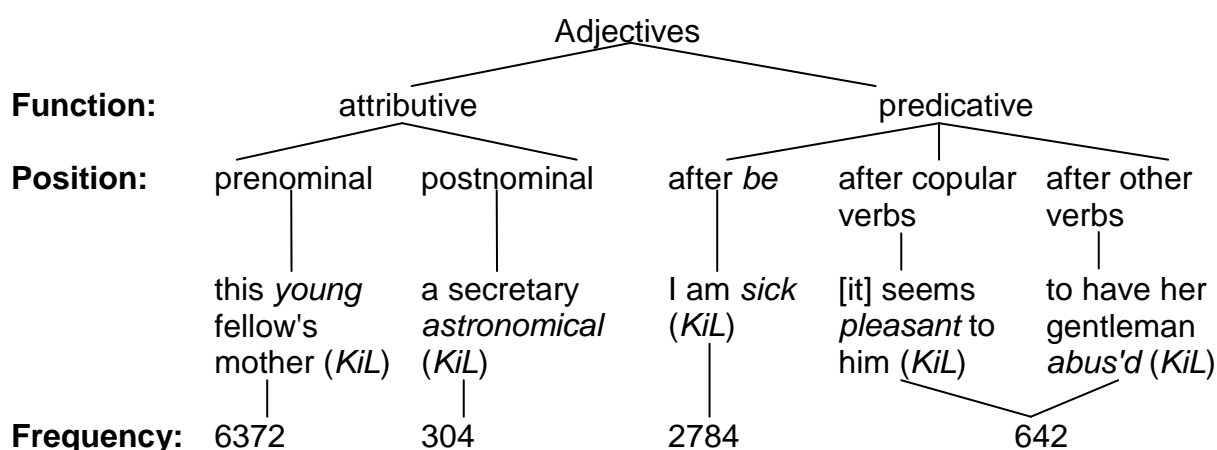
These two functions of adjectives can be further subdivided according to the position of the adjective: attributive adjectives into *prenominal* and *postnominal* adjectives and predicative adjectives into those occurring *after the auxiliary 'be'*, *after copular verbs* and *after (what will simply be called) other or complex-transitive verbs*. In contrast to many linguists (Fischer 2001, Haumann 2002, Quirk et al. 1985, Huddleston & Pullum 2002, to name but a few), I believe that both subtypes of attributive adjectives modify the noun phrase directly, because both these subtypes are seen in relation to the noun they modify.

While pre- and postnominal adjectives are always seen in relation to the noun they modify, predicative adjectives are usually examined according to their function as

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<sup>20</sup> I thank Prof. Meyer for this information and examples.

*subject* or *object* complements only. My distinction into two possible attributive, i.e. prenominal and postnominal, positions and three possible predicative positions, i.e. predicative adjectives after *be*, after copular verbs, after complex-transitive verbs, aims at facilitating a later analysis of the actual functions of these adjectives. The following figure, which is also used as a summarising overview of this chapter later on, presents the different functions and positions of adjectives and their frequencies in the corpus.



**Figure 1:** Functions and positions of adjectives in the corpus

It is felt that the different functions of the predicative adjectives are necessary because (i) the combination [*be* + A] seems to form a closer unit than the other two predicative combinations, (ii) the combination of an adjective with a copular verb seems to have been either more varied in *EModE*, which would actually call for a combination of adjectives after copular and other verbs, or (iii) the non-auxiliary combination of a verb plus an adjective serves functions which are not sufficiently explained by the terms subject and object complements.

### 1.5.1 Attributive function, pre- and postnominal position

*Attributive adjectives* modify the head of a noun phrase (Quirk et al. 1985: 417), i.e. they are pre- or post-head internal modifiers (dependents) in the structure of the NP (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 582). They provide information on the inherent

characteristics of the noun phrase and thus form the topic of the sentence (Fischer 2001: 250).

6,676, or about 66%, of the total number of adjectives in the corpus were classified as *attributive adjectives*.

### 1.5.1.1 Prenominal position

*this FOUL swine (Ri3 V.2)*  
*in all DESIRED employment (LLL IV.2)*  
*with TENDER Juliet (R&J I.5)*  
*the GOOD advantage (KiL II.1)*  
*of BRAVE mettle (Tem II.1)*  
*the CHIEF cause (He8 V.2)*

Prenominal adjectives form the largest group in the corpus: 6,372 out of a total of 10,098 adjectives were prenominal adjectives (63%). In addition to being analysed by semantic criteria and their use in stereotypical character description, prenominal adjectives can be further analysed according to what tendencies they show when more than one adjective occurs before a noun and whether this behaviour differs from that of *PDE* adjectives.

### 1.5.1.2 Postnominal position

*Plots have I laid, inductions DANGEROUS (Ri3 I.1)*  
*When [...] violets BLUE / [...] Do paint the meadows with delight (LLL V.2)*  
*What is it else? a madness most DISCREET (R&J I.1)*  
*A credulous father and a brother NOBLE (KiL I.2)*  
*For yet ere supper time must I perform / much business APPERTAINING (Tem III.1)*  
*Her ashes NEW create another heir (He8 V.4; "New" could also be regarded as an adverb, then reading as 'anew' or 'newly'.)*

With only 304 occurrences, postnominal adjectives form the smallest group of adjectives in the corpus (c. 3%) and are much less frequent than prenominal and predicative ones.

Postnominal adjectives can today be regarded as reduced relative clauses and behave like predicates (cf. Ferris 1993). They are postpositioned when they occur

after compound indefinite pronouns and adverbs ending in *-body*, *-where*, *-one* and *-thing*, e.g. *I'th' name of SOMETHING HOLY* (*Tem* III.3), when the AP is heavy in relation to the head, e.g. *We'll have no Cupid HOODWINK'D WITH A SCARF* (*R&J* I.4), or when the AP itself is long, e.g. *Is not lead a metal HEAVY, DULL AND SLOW?* (*R&J* III.1). They can also occur postnominally in idiomatic phrases which "[reflect] a neoclassical style based on Latin participles [...] much en vogue in Elizabethan times" (Quirk et al. 1985: 419).

When there is no alternative attributive use, the postpositioning is due to the fact that the adjectives are part of fixed phrases or because the adjectives are altogether excluded from prenominal use, they only "occur under severe syntactic constraints in NPs with nouns as heads" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 528f). From a more semantic point of view, [N+A] combinations split the topic of the noun phrase: the noun stands in contrast to other nouns which are not characterised by the adjective (cf. Fischer 2001).

It is typically assumed that Shakespeare's use of postnominal adjectives is due to the metre used in his verses. Houston (1988: ix), however, claims that Shakespeare purposely chose the postposition of the adjective in his prose passages due to the wish for greater emphasis, even though all other syntactic possibilities were available to him. Franz states that adjective and adverb are very similar in predicative function. Lexemes become more and more adjectival during Shakespeare's time if the adjective itself does not determine the verb, but is relevant for the meaning of the sentence itself, as in *feed fat*, *tie tight*, *bow low*, *rise high*, *run dry* (1909<sup>2</sup>: 332f).

### 1.5.2 Predicative function: adjectives after "be", copular & other verbs

In *PDE*, predicative adjectives function as subject or object complements, with a copular relationship between subject and subject complement and object and object complement, respectively (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 526ff; Quirk et al. 1985: 417f). Those adjectives that are virtually restricted to the predicative position are most like verbs and adverbs and tend to refer to a (possibly temporary) condition of the noun rather than to characterise it. The complementation of these adjectives is usually mandatory (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 432ff).



Ferris (1993) labels all adjectives not occurring in an NP as *postverbal*. This definition is too broad for my study. *Predicative adjectives* are therefore further divided into *predicative adjectives after "be"*, *predicative adjectives after copular verbs*, and *predicative adjectives after other verbs*. These are all adjectives in the function of an object complement, i.e. as a second complement of complex transitive verbs (e.g. *make someone happy*, *render something useless*, *have somebody killed*). This is not the same slot as for copular verbs; cf. also section 1.5.2.

It is impossible to present the reader with "distinctive syntactic properties" (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 528) for the three subcategories proposed here. Although Huddleston & Pullum suggest that semantic criteria help define which lexical category can be considered an adjective, for the actual distinction they propose to consider distinctive syntactic properties. The only distinctive property, however, that can be given here is that the adjective is a dependent in the clause structure, in other words, of the verb phrase. A differentiation is nevertheless useful for a later comparison of the usage of the three types of predicative adjectives, i.e. between *attributive (pre- and postnominal)* and *predicative adjectives*.

There are 3,422 predicative adjectives in the corpus, which amounts to c. 34% of the total number of adjectives.

### 1.5.2.1 Predicative adjectives after "be"

*You are too SENSELESS-OBSTINATE, my lord (Ri3 III.1)*  
*Your stomachs are too YOUNG (LLL IV.3)*  
*Your plantan leave is EXCELLENT for that (R&J I.2)*  
*When others are more WICKED (KiL II.4)*  
*I wish / Myself were MUDDERED in that oozy bed (Tem V.1)*  
*Would you were half so HONEST (He8 V.2)*

Predicative adjectives after *be* form the second largest group in the corpus with 2,784 occurrences (c. 28%). Exclamatory adjective clauses (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 428) were tagged as predicative adjectives after *be* in my corpus, as they could easily be enlarged into complete sentences. They occurred only rarely in my corpus, and were not worth a separate study.

### 1.5.2.2 After copular and other verbs

*You are become so PENITENT (Ri3 I.2)*  
*It grows DARK, he may stumble. (LLL V.2)*  
*I would have made it SHORT<sup>21</sup> (R&J II.4)*  
*Those wicked creatures yet look WELL-FAVORED (KiL III.4)*  
*Thou mightst lie DROWNING (Tem I.1)*  
*Wish him ten fadom DEEP (He8 II.1)*

The term *copular* is traditionally only used in combination with the verb *be* and so-called *linking verbs*. There are two main classes of copular verbs, "according to whether the subject complement has the role of CURRENT ATTRIBUTE or of RESULTING ATTRIBUTE [...]. This distinction corresponds to that between CURRENT COPULAS and RESULTING COPULAS." (CGEL 1985: 1171f). Current copular verbs identify attributes that are in a continuing state of existence, while resulting copular verbs identify an attribute that happens as a result of some process or change (cf. LGSWE 2000: 436, which additionally introduces the subgroup of sensory copular verbs).

Both grammars present lists of verbs which are either 'typical' copular verbs or are regularly used in a copular pattern, that is, expressions with these verbs are copular, "when [the verb] is followed by a subject complement C<sub>s</sub> or a predication adjunct [...], and when this element cannot be dropped without changing the meaning of the verb. The verb in such a clause is a COPULAR (or linking) verb, and is equivalent in function to the principal copula, the verb *be*" (CGEL 1985: 1171). The CGEL and LGSWE list the following copular verbs and verbs acting as copulas: (i) current copular verbs: *be, seem, appear, keep, remain, stay, burn, lie, loom, play, plead, rest, stand (up)*; (ii) resulting copular verbs: *become, get, go, grow, prove, come, turn (out), end up, wind up, blush, fall (down), freeze, run, slam, spring, wax*, (iii) sensory copular verbs: *look, feel, sound, smell, taste*.

Many of the verbs which are used in a copular pattern resemble intransitive verbs and the complement is added almost as an optional specifier underlying lexical or semantic restrictions induced by the verbs, e.g. it may be an idiomatic verb-adjective sequence or it may restrict the usage of certain adjectives after the verb: "the

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<sup>21</sup> In contrast to my reading, Meyer (p.c., June 2, 2010) reads this example as an object attribute, similar to the expression 'to make somebody chairman', where *chairman* is not a subject attribute but an object attribute.

meaning of *blush* restricts the adjective to a subset of colour words: *blush scarlet*, but not *\*blush green*" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1172).

Gleby (2002) takes the definition a step further: he says that there are *copulas* and "verbs acting as copulas"; the latter can be "intransitive verbs, complex transitive verbs which occur in the SVOC<sub>0</sub> pattern where the object complement is an adjective phrase, and the verb *make*" (Gleby 2002: 85, cf. also *CGEL* 1985: 427).

Counting both types of verbs and both types of complements as having the same syntactic structure gives a much more simplified picture of the situation: 'empty' verbs and copulas cannot necessarily be regarded as belonging to the same set, because they are used in the function of an object complement, i.e. as a second complement of complex-transitive verbs (*make someone happy, render something useless, have somebody killed*).

But because it is not important for my study whether the adjective in question follows a verb which is a typical *copular verb* or any other verb which "acts as a copula", no differentiation was undertaken between these two types of verbs; they were both tagged as *copular adjectives*: /*cop*. That is, an adjective in a construction with a typical copular verb, such as *prove*, is as much a *copular adjective (CA)* in the corpus as it is after any other verb which requires a following complement, such as *run*, or as an adjective which serves as an object complement, as in these three examples from *R&J*:

*For this alliance may so HAPPY PROVE* (II.3)

*he will sure RUN MAD* (II.4)

*Who SET this ancient quarrel new ABROACH?* (I.1)

To simplify matters in the tagging procedure, my corpus was first tagged for *copular adjectives* by running Gleby's list of "verbs acting as copulas" (2002: 304ff) without the complements over the texts to find as many verbs as possible. In a second step, the words following these verbs were looked at to see whether they were adjectives or adjective phrases to the verb, and then tagged accordingly.

Contingent adjective clauses (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 426ff), which are called "predicative adjuncts" by Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 529, 550) resemble my classification of adjectives after lexical verbs, e.g. *he sells them NEW, he died YOUNG*.

Predicative adjectives after *copular* and *other verbs* form the second smallest group in the corpus, with only 642 occurrences (c. 6%). A differentiation between the two types is deemed necessary in general (hence the separate tagsets used in this dissertation, cf. section 1.2.3, *Tagsets used*), but was not undertaken here. A separate investigation will need to prove whether certain adjectives trigger certain verbs and vice versa. In addition, a comparison to adjectives occurring after the auxiliary *be*, i.e. an analysis of the degree of idiomaticity of the combinations, might also be possible.

### 1.6 Chapter summary and outlook

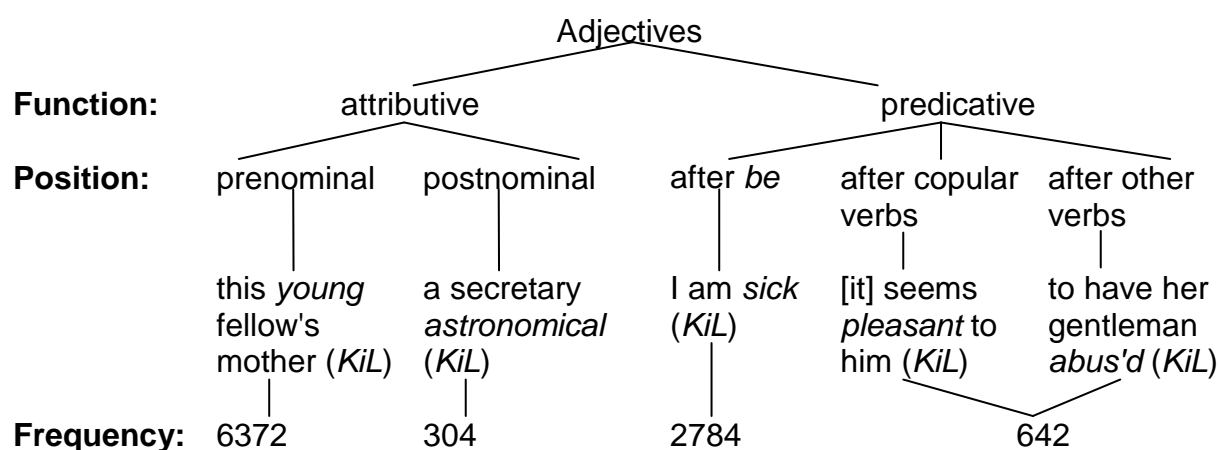
Theoretically speaking, all adjectives are under investigation in this study. However, only those adjectives will be analysed in detail which occur in prenominal and postnominal position and which are used in comparative, hypallagic and compound structures. Their occurrence, modification and (other) semantic properties will be analysed in the following chapters, because it is these adjectival constructions that pose problems to the modern reader, either syntactically or semantically.

Postnominal adjectives, which are regarded by many as a relic from Latin and French influences on the English language, "most nouns + adjective combinations contain a borrowed adjective and the whole expression is often a term going back to French or Latin" (Rissanen 1999: 208), account for most problems of comprehensibility for modern readers. They also facilitate the hypallagic use of adjectives, analysed in chapter 3, which, though hypallage is not altogether uncommon today, seems to be 'a thing of the moment', i.e. it is comprehensible the moment it is uttered, but as every user and group follows different linguistic conventions, a hypallage of an older period causes more semantic discomfort than one uttered today.

It was especially difficult to find *PDE* support for my fifth category, *position of predicative adjectives after other verbs*. This subgroup is usually not included in grammatical analyses. A semantic approach is usually taken, e.g. by Huddleston & Pullum (2002), when attempting to explain predicative structures. *Subject* and *object complements* are the terms usually referred to here. By labelling these adjectives as

*predicative adjectives occurring after other verbs*, I would like to emphasise the fact that it is possible to analyse these structures syntactically, i.e. without having to revert to semantic approaches, and that they form a syntactic group different enough from other copular constructions to be analysed on their own.

Before giving a detailed analysis in the following chapters of the thesis, Figure 1 summarises the classification and terminology used in the present study, as introduced in section 1.5, whereas section 1.4 explained the more or less problematic cases which occurred in the classification of *PAs* (potential adjectives) as adjectives in the corpus. Unless further specified in the text, the term *attributive (function of) adjective* is used synonymously with (the) *pre- and postnominal (position of) adjective*, while the term *predicative (function of) adjective* is used instead of the three possible postverbal positions of adjectives, i.e. after *be*, after copular and other verbs.



**Figure 1:** Functions and positions of adjectives in the corpus

Despite the general preference of the Elizabethans for copious language and voluptuous images, Shakespeare's plays also strike the reader for other reasons. In the present study, three kinds of concise structures are analysed: transpositions, comparisons and compounds. His characters do not use concise structures in general; Shakespeare rather tends to reduce the speech of his characters in situations which are highly emotional, cf. the starting quote from *R&J* for example, thus creating moments which show the direness the character finds himself in or

which are relieved comically because of a, possibly intended, misunderstanding created by means of the concise structure.

A concise structure is here understood as a structure in which the adjective-noun-combination needs to be regarded in more detail because the two either stem from different semantic fields or from different syntactic categories. The combination of these adjectives and nouns can therefore seem unnatural or even impossible in the given situation, but definitely unexpected, and can only be deciphered when read and treated with attention.

In the following three chapters, I analyse the three most striking concise structures, i.e. transpositions, comparisons and compounds before summarising the findings and giving an outlook on further studies on Shakespeare. They are striking and noteworthy for a number of reasons, one of them being that, when looked at from a non-native speaker's perspective, they might pose difficulties in comprehension.

## **2 Predicative comparative structures**

In this chapter I will analyse the syntactic and semantic structures of Shakespeare's use of comparative structures. The main tasks of this chapter are to delimit different types and realisations of comparative structures as well as to classify and analyse them according to their syntactic-semantic structure. I shall also attempt to verify hypotheses which arise in the course of the present investigation, to find out whether Shakespeare prefers a specific lexical field for his comparisons and, finally, to analyse constructions which contain semantically odd comparisons.

After presenting general, theoretical reflections on comparisons, I continue by analysing previous studies on Shakespeare's use of double comparative structures before going on to differentiating between different types of comparative structures and their realisations in the corpus. Furthermore, I will present different approaches to the semantic classification of adjectives which she will then use for the semantic and syntactic analysis of the comparative structures used by Shakespeare. The chapter then analyses problematic comparative elements, all quite similar on a semantic level, before closing with exemplary readings of comparative structures in

the corpus. The following table presents the material provided by the corpus with a normalisation of the frequency per 10,000 words:

Play	Words	Com- para- tives	Percentage of com- paratives / words	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words	Adjec- tives	Percentage of com- paratives / adjectives	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words
<i>Ri3</i>	28,309	33	0.12%	11.66	2,210	1.49%	149.32
<i>LLL</i>	21,033	27	0.13%	12.84	1,535	1.76%	175.89
<i>R&amp;J</i>	23,913	33	0.14%	13.80	1,851	1.78%	178.28
<i>KiL</i>	25,221	40	0.16%	15.86	1,811	2.21%	220.87
<i>Tem</i>	16,036	36	0.22%	22.45	1,084	3.32%	332.10
<i>He8</i>	23,325	25	0.11%	10.72	1,607	1.56%	155.57
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>137,837</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>0.14%</b>	<b>14.07</b>	<b>10,098</b>	<b>1.92%</b>	<b>192.12</b>

**Table 7:** Normalised frequency of comparatives per total number of words and per adjective

The table reveals extreme differences in the use of comparative structures in the plays analysed here: before the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the usage of comparative structures increased slightly, but steadily. After the turn of the century, however, a tremendous increase can be noted in *KiL* and *Tem*, while *He8* reverts to the former, much lower frequencies. A closer linguistic study on all syntactic features of this play in comparison to Shakespeare's other plays needs to be undertaken to find reasons for this phenomenon.

A total of 194 adjectives in the corpus were comparatives, which are analysed in this section. These comparatives are equivalent to 1.92% of the total number of adjectives in the corpus.

## 2.1 Theoretical reflections

Comparison is traditionally considered one of the four criteria used to define the word class adjective in English, cf. Biber et al. 2000: 505-6; Gleby 2002: 128; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 528; Quirk et al. 1985: 402-3. However, only the first two criteria, namely the ability to occur attributively and predicatively, are considered necessary or central features of adjectives. Both the ability to be modified by the adverb *very* and the ability to allow comparison, either with the endings *-er* and *-est*, or with *more* and *most*, are considered peripheral features. On a broad level, Quirk et al. (1985: 1127) say that

comparison includes comparisons of EQUIVALENCE (1) [...] and comparisons of SUFFICIENCY and EXCESS, as in (2) and (3):

- (1) Jane is as healthy as *her sister (is)*
- (2) Don is *sensitive enough to understand your feelings.*
- (3) Marilyn was *too polite to say anything about my clothes.*

The present study, however, is concerned with a more narrow level and considers those comparisons which include "a standard measurable in terms of degree that is expressed by means of the correlative sequence *more*, *less*, or other comparative forms in the matrix clause, together with *than* in the subordinate clause" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1128), i.e. comparisons of NON-EQUIVALENCE. Comparisons of sufficiency (2) and excess (3) are not considered here, but comparisons of equality are.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1127) state that "in a comparative construction, a proposition expressed in the matrix clause is compared with a proposition expressed in the subordinate clause with respect to some STANDARD OF COMPARISON". That is to say that in a sentence such as (1), above, the standard of comparison is *health*.

Quirk et al. (1985) assume that it is most important to analyse the *standard of comparison*, i.e. the (adjectival) element that both A and B are compared to, with A being the proposition expressed in the matrix clause and B the proposition expressed in the subordinate clause. The perspective that Quirk et al. take here is that both sisters are compared to one another by their respective levels of health, and because both sisters are equally healthy, sentence (1) could be represented by the following formulae:

$$A = \text{adjective} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{adjective} = B,$$

with A being the proposition of the matrix clause and B being the proposition of the subordinate clause, while the adjective forms the standard of comparison. Since both A and B refer to the same standard of comparison, the two equations could be formulated as one formula, i.e.

$$A = \text{adjective} = B.$$

Alternatively, for comparisons of inequality the formulae are:

$$A > \text{adjective} > B$$

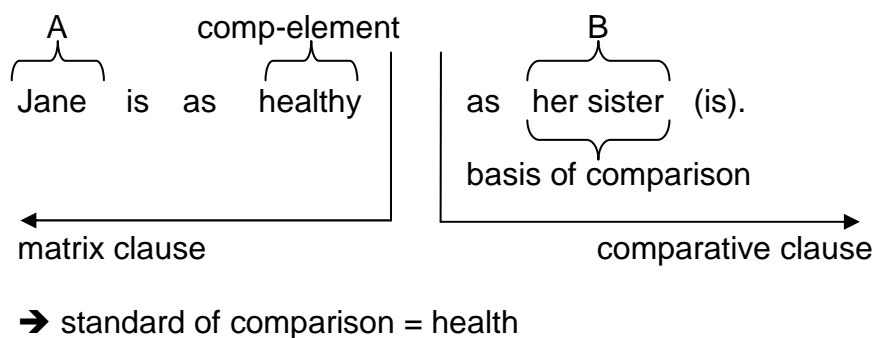
$$A < \text{adjective} < B.$$



In an analysis of the semantics (and compatibility) of the adjective and proposition B, it is irrelevant, however, whether we are dealing with a comparison of equality or one of inequality. The acceptability and predictability of the comp-element and proposition B does not change because of this. Thus, the degree-type of a comparison is only important when proposition A is compared to proposition B.

But since this chapter and the dissertation deal with the means and effects of adjectival conciseness in comparative and other structures, proposition A is of subordinate relevance here. Instead, the effects which are analysed are created by combining the comp-element and proposition B.

In example (1) given above (Quirk et al. 1985: 1128), a comparison of equality, the standard of comparison is *health*:



**Figure 2:** Exemplary reading of a comparison of equality; cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1128)

To follow Quirk et al.'s terminology further, the clause element, in the present study the adjective, which specifies the standard of comparison, is the COMPARATIVE ELEMENT ('comp-element'), in this case *healthy*. The BASIS OF COMPARISON is contained in the COMPARATIVE CLAUSE, otherwise called the correlative subordinate clause.

Taking on the perspective which Quirk et al. adhere to means that the proposition expressed in the matrix clause, i.e. A, which is usually the subject of the clause, is always essential to the analysis of the comparison. In my opinion, this emphasises the subject, normally a noun or noun phrase, too much and takes the focus off the actual standard and basis of comparison.

My corpus shows that proposition A is not always present in the comparative structure. It can, however, almost always be inferred from the context. In contrast to Quirk et al., my study puts the focus on the semantic relation between the standard of comparison, i.e. the comp-element, and proposition B, brought forward in the subordinate clause.

This is done because it is assumed that proposition A and the comp-element are equal by definition, because the author chooses to make them equal or unequal. No condensed meaning, and hence no problem in comprehension, can be found in the first part of the equation: A = adjective.

It could be argued that the author also chooses to set the comp-element equal to proposition B, thus allowing the condensed formula A = adjective = B, as can be seen in the 'literal' comparison of Quirk's example (1), above. This argument is true, of course, but only the second part of the equation, adjective = B, actually allows the author to be creative and stir the readers' or listeners' attention in an exceptional way. It is only this second part of the comparison which startles readers because it is rather 'non-literal' in comparison to the health of 'Jane' and 'her sister'.

One of the many means available to any author, and Shakespeare is a child of his time because euphuisms were quite fashionable then (cf. Standop 1995 for an analysis of these structures in Shakespeare's sonnets), is to condense the second part of the comparative structure. This can be done on a syntactic as well as on a semantic level. By doing so, Shakespeare is able to produce images which strike the audience and reader as being deviant from the norm. When this is the case, a more thorough investigation of the interaction between syntax and semantics of the comparative structures is needed.

### *2.2 Aims and findings of previous studies on Shakespeare's use of double comparatives*

None of the existing studies on Shakespeare's use of comparative structures, such as Hope (2003), Blake (2002), Görlach (1991), Abbott (1870<sup>3</sup>) etc., can be viewed as a corpus linguistic analysis of the comparatives. Neither do they analyse the semantics of the comp-elements or occurrences of proposition B used in the

comparison. They usually either focus on the formation of the comparative form, which is the same in *PDE* and thus only needs mentioning briefly below, or on Shakespeare's use of double comparatives. Brief comments on the mostly false statements regarding the frequent use of double comparatives are presented in the following section.

### 2.2.1 Comments on previous studies

A mixture of the two types of comparison, i.e. a mixture of inflectional and periphrastic comparison (see below), is the so-called double comparative. It is not generally accepted as being grammatically correct in *PDE* and is said to occur only occasionally in conversation. Forms such as *more easier*, *more nicer*, *most cockiest* etc. might be acceptable in different varieties of English, but are "stigmatized and generally considered unacceptable, unless they are used jokingly, in Standard English." (cf. Biber et al. 2000: 525). Fries suggests that

periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives occurs less frequently in the 20<sup>th</sup> century than in the Early Modern English period or in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is, however, still very much with us, and is frequently used by the OED in its definitions [... and] it occurs in book titles, taking up a Shakespearian phrase. Fries (1993: 36)

Fries also mentions that "instances of periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives are very frequent in 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century texts" (1993: 25). By analysing data from the London-Lund Corpus, he also found out that "periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives is not a feature typical of the spoken language" of today (1993: 30) and that frequently-used adjectives even tend to resist periphrastic comparison (cf. Dekeyser et al. in Fries 1993: 34). The importance of periphrastic comparison of monosyllabic adjectives must, however, not be exaggerated: "Most adjectives occur in their base form, only relatively few adjectives occur in the comparative form, and still fewer occur in the superlative form" (Fries 1993: 36).

Shakespeare's use of double comparatives has been commented on quite frequently from early on, as the following quotes show; the statements on the frequency of double comparative forms were highlighted by me:

In the formation and use of the comparative degree, Sh. is frequently at variance with modern usage. In the first place, THE FREQUENT USE he makes of the double comparative deserves notice. Helms (1868: 11)

The inflections *-er* and *-est*, which represent the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives, though retained, yet lost some of their force, and SOMETIMES received the addition of more, most, for the purpose of greater emphasis. Abbott (1870<sup>3</sup>: 22)

It is interesting to notice here that Abbott, who is often quoted and relied on by modern authors (e.g. Hope 2003, below), does not say that Shakespeare uses double comparatives frequently.

Intensification of terminational comparatives by prefixing more and most, appears in ME, along with the introduction of periphrastic comparison. This is the so-called "double comparison" proper. It is COMMON throughout the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, both in prose and verse, and is FREQUENT WITH SHAKESPEARE, lasting into the eighteenth century in literary English. In the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, it is most common with monosyllabic and dissyllabic adjectives, but is found even with trisyllabic [ones].

Pound (1901: 50f)

Franz (1909<sup>2</sup>) is clearly heavily indebted to Pound's dissertation when he says that multiple comparison is common in Shakespeare's language, both in prose and verse. In the language of his time, double comparison occurs so frequently that it cannot and does not serve the intention of emphasis which it originally did:

Mehrfache komparation (*more better*) ist eine GEWÖHNLICHE ERSCHEINUNG in der sprache Sh.'s, die in der prosa und im vers vorkommt. Im 18. jahrh. ist sie in der literärsprache VERPÖNT; Rowe und Pope sind bestrebt, dieselbe zu beseitigen. In der heutigen vulgärsprache ist die doppelte steigerung so häufig, daß sie den zweck nachdrücklicher hervorhebung, dem sie ursprünglich wohl diente, weder haben kann noch tatsächlich hat.

Franz<sup>22</sup> (1909<sup>2</sup>: 206)

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<sup>22</sup> Franz only uses capitalised letters at the beginning of sentences and for personal names and thus does not follow German spelling rules.

Double gradation was FREQUENT IN COLLOQUIAL SPEECH, in which it could serve to express emphasis. Such forms BECAME MORE FREQUENT in the sixteenth century and were accepted in respectable prose, too. Ben Jonson praised them as a special virtue of the English language.

Görlach (1991: 84)

Another feature is that double comparison was acceptable: it was possible to use the inflectional and the periphrastic method together. There is a famous example in Julius Caesar:

*This was the most vnkindest [!] cut of all.*

Double comparatives are illustrated by Shakespeare's *more nearer* (Hamlet) and *more larger* (Antony and Cleopatra). But such usages are not confined to drama: they are COMMON, in both verse and prose. An example from the King James Bible is most straitest 'strictest' (Acts 26:5). Its occurrence here shows that the usage was not just a colloquialism.

Barber (1997<sup>2</sup>: 147)

A double comparative or superlative IS ALSO FAIRLY FREQUENT in the work of Shakespeare and his contemporaries: *more larger*, *most boldest*, or Mark Antony's *This was the most unkindest cut of all*.

Baugh & Cable (1997<sup>4</sup>: 236)

The statements on the presumed frequency of Shakespeare's use of double comparatives thus range from 'frequent' (four times), 'common' (three times) to 'sometimes' (once). As already noted above, Abbott is the only author investigated so far who does not say that Shakespeare uses double comparatives frequently.

Of the authors who have published on Shakespeare's language in the last decade, only Blake distances himself somewhat from the opinions on frequency, and "mistake" of double comparative forms by saying:

As with his vocabulary, editors in the eighteenth century, following on from the strictures against Shakespeare's poor grammatical usage found as early as Ben Jonson, who noted his use of double comparatives, deplored the 'MISTAKES' IN GRAMMAR which they found in Shakespeare's works and often emended them to present him as a figure whose grammar was less reprehensible.

Blake (2002: 8f)

Writers focused on vocabulary, grammar and rhetoric, and particularly after 1600 it was MINOR FAILINGS in grammar such as double comparatives which increasingly attracted attention. Blake (2002: 18)

He notices that older writers focused on Shakespeare's 'mistakes' and 'failings' and states later that double comparatives are 'not uncommon' and that Shakespeare used 'many of these mistakes' because they were used in his time by other authors as well:

[...] double comparatives and superlatives, that is with both more/most and the inflection, are NOT UNCOMMON, for grammarians had not yet purged them from the language. Blake (2002: 46)

Shakespeare [...] did indeed use MANY of these 'mistakes' like double comparatives [...] which Dryden isolated in Jonson, for they were part of the language of his time. Blake (2002: 326f)

Blake follows a more descriptive approach than other author's and does not judge the correctness of Shakespeare's use of English.

Hope, on the other hand, whose aim it was to "produce an up-to-date, systematic descriptive grammar of Shakespeare which can be used by editors, teachers and students of Shakespeare, without assuming any detailed linguistic knowledge or familiarity with work in historical linguistics" (Hope 2003: 2f), admits to having begun with "Abbott's text in electronic format, copying and pasting his examples into [his] structure, and providing [his] own account of the linguistic feature under discussion. [He] then replaced Abbott's quotations with quotations from the Folio or Quarto text." (Hope 2003: 2f). As was noted above, Helms (1868) first mentioned the frequency of double comparatives and also later authors, but not Abbott. Apparently, Hope did not merely copy and paste Abbott's examples, but also other authors' wrong information on double comparatives and states the following:

VERY FREQUENTLY Early Modern English shows both analytic and synthetic marking on the same adjective for emphasis, in the so-called double comparative form. [...] Such forms were rigorously proscribed out of the written language in the eighteenth century, but remain in spoken English. They do not carry the connotations of informality or lack of education in Early Modern usage that they do today.

Hope (2003: 53; my emphasis)

Several different studies on *EModE* exist, however, which contradict the above scholars in their statements on frequency of double comparative forms, for example Kytö & Romaine (2000: 171, 173) and González-Díaz (2004 and 2007). Adamson (1999: 552) even says that

double comparative [...] forms of adjective [...], which are often attributed by modern commentators to uncertainty of usage or typological transition in Early Modern English, should be interpreted, at least in some instances, as deliberate turns, which [...] play off analytic against synthetic alternatives by combining the two.

The investigation of the present corpus showed that double comparatives are indeed not frequently used: only 5% of all predicative comparisons to a higher degree, that is four out of 82 instances: *more fairer* (*LLL* IV.1), *more harder* (*KiL* III.2), *more better* (*Tem* I.2) and *worser* (*R&J* III.2), in the corpus are double comparatives, see below. All in all, 14 (attributive and prediactive) double comparative forms were found in my corpus, which amounts to 3.3% of the total number of comparisons to a higher degree. González-Díaz (2004, 2007) discusses this in more detail.

Görlach's claim that "when rationalism came to prevail in the late seventeenth century, these forms [i.e. double comparatives] were condemned as being illogical [...]; they were removed consistently from Shakespeare's texts in the editions prepared by Rowe (1709) and Pope (1725)" (1991: 84) also has to be treated with reserve, at least for the corpus of the present study: Franz (1909<sup>2</sup>) was the first person to comment on Pope's and Rowe's editorial work, see above.

As mentioned before, my corpus is based on the Folio/Quarto editions (*Riverside Edition*, Evans 1974 [1997<sup>2</sup>] & Directmedia Publishing GmbH 2002) and thus Görlach's claim that double comparative forms were removed from the texts, and that this was the reason for the small number of double comparatives, is not true. Shakespeare seems simply to never have used double gradation frequently. My examination of all 418 comparisons to a higher degree in the corpus, i.e. both attributive and predicative comparisons, showed that there were only 14 double comparative forms in the corpus: *LLL* contained two double comparative forms, *Tem* three, *KiL* six and the other three plays contained one double comparative each.

Play	<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	<b>Total</b>
Number	1	2	1	6	3	1	<b>14</b>

**Table 8:** Number of double comparisons in the corpus

### *2.3 Types of comparative structures analysed in the study*

Three types of comparison are analysed here: those in which the comparison works in relation to (i) a higher degree, (ii) the same degree or to (iii) a lower degree. The corpus contains a total of 194 predicative comparative structures, which will be analysed here with regard to whether and how they convey a condensed or concise meaning. Because there were only four comparatives in the corpus to a lower degree, type (i) and type (iii) will be analysed in one section only, which allows me to speak, perhaps in a more adequate and general manner, of the two types of comparisons which occur in the corpus, comparisons of inequality and comparisons of equality.

The first type, comparisons of equality, occurs 108 times. The second type, comparisons of inequality, accounts for 86 cases in the corpus (altogether 82 of these cases are comparisons to a higher degree, while only four are comparisons to a lower degree).

#### 2.3.1 Comparison to the same degree – "as...as"

The search word *as* yielded altogether 852 occurrences. This relatively high number of occurrences is due to the fact that several functions can be attributed to *as*: it can be a conjunction, particle, or preposition. Furthermore, it is used as a subordinator to finite clauses. In this latter role, *as* is similar in function to prepositions, which in turn have a relating function. *As* can also imply concessive, proportional, temporal meaning, and be used in expressions of manner and reason. Furthermore, it is used to denote similarity and also occurs in comparative structures (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 998). The latter two functions are analysed in the present chapter, if the constructions contain an adjective, as one of the most obvious comparison signals is found in adjectives (Quirk et al. 1985: 1467f). After excluding all the occurrences of *as* in one of the functions above, the number of *as* in comparative structures was still relatively high, i.e. around 300.

The final count for *as* in the constructions to be analysed amounted to 181. Altogether, there were 108 comparisons of equality in the corpus. The higher number



of almost 200 occurrences of *as* was largely due to the fact that comparative structures of equality normally contain more than one *as*, for example in *AS true AS flesh and blood can be* (LLL IV.3), unless one of the two lexemes is omitted in the construction, e.g. (*He8* I.1) *for he is equal rav'nous / As he is subtile*, or if the comparative constructions contain *so* as their first element, e.g. (LLL V.1) *Pardon, sir, error: he is not quantity enough for that Worthy's thumb, he is not SO big AS the end of his club*.

In *PDE*, the basis of comparison is normally made explicit in the clause. If that is not the case, then it must be inferred from the previous context (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1467f). In the present analysis both types are included, constructions in which the basis of comparison is made explicit and constructions in which they have to be inferred from the context. However, other lexical items which may be used, in a quasi-grammatical way, to express identity, similarity, dissimilarity or difference are not analysed here, as the present investigation is concerned with the *objects* of comparison (i.e. proposition B) used in Shakespeare's comparative structures. Thus, the above mentioned comparisons of sufficiency and excess (*sensitive enough to* and *too polite to*) are not included in this chapter.

### 2.3.1.1 Different functions of "as" in comparative constructions

Comparisons of equality are expressed by using the correlatives *as...as*. Quirk et al. (1985: 1137) state that the *as...as* construction is grammatically parallel to the *more...than* construction. However, the *as*-paradigm lacks functions (i) – (iii) below, i.e. the determinative, pronoun and subjunct functions of *more*. "These gaps are filled by *as many* (count) and *as much* (non-count)." (Quirk et al. 1985: 1137)

Once these gaps are filled, according to Quirk et al. (1985: 1137), *as* parallels the seven functions of *more* (cf. 2.3.2):

- (i) DETERMINATIVE: Isabelle has *as many books* as her brother (has).
- (ii) HEAD OF A NOUN PHRASE: *As many of my friends* are in New York as (are) here.
- (iii) SUBJUNCT: I agree with you *as much as* ((I agree) with) Robert.
- (iv) MODIFIER OF AN ADJECTIVE HEAD: The article was *as objective* as I expected (it would be).

- (v) MODIFIER OF A PREMODIFYING ADJECTIVE: It was *as lively a discussion* as we thought it would be.
- (vi) MODIFIER OF AN ADVERB: The time passed *as quickly* as (it passed) last year.
- (vii) MODIFIER OF A PREMODIFYING ADVERB: I am *as severely handicapped* as you (are).

The following section briefly presents the different functions of *as* in the corpus as well as an outline of which functions are analysed in this chapter.

### 2.3.1.2 Different functions of "as" in the corpus

All seven different functions of *as* within the comp-element above can be found in the corpus, although their frequencies differ:

<b>(i) Function of <i>as many</i> / <i>as much</i>: determinative</b>		<b>Play</b>
Rosalind:	Madam, came nothing else along with that?	LLL (V.2)
Princess:	Nothing but this? Yes, <i>as much love in rhyme</i> / As would be cramm'd up in a sheet of paper, / Writ a' both sides the leaf, margent and all, / That he was fain to seal on Cupid's name.	
Fool:	But for all this, thou shalt have <i>as many dolours</i> for thy daughters as thou canst tell in a year.	KiL (II.4)
Buckingham:	[...] this cunning Cardinal / The articles o' th' combination drew / As himself pleas'd; and they were ratified / As he cried, "Thus let be!" to <i>as much end</i> / As give a crutch to th' dead.	He8 (I.1)

**Table 9:** *as much* / *as many* as determinative

*As many* / *as much* as a determinative could neither be found in the earlier of the two histories and tragedies nor in the later of the two comedies, but only in *LLL*, *KiL* and *He8*.

<b>(ii) Function of <i>as many</i> / <i>as much</i>: head of a noun phrase</b>		<b>Play</b>
Mercutio:	That's <i>as much</i> as to say, such a case as yours constrains a man to bow in the hams.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (II.4)
Survey:	After 'the Duke his father,' with the 'knife,' / He stretch'd him, and with one hand on his dagger, / Another spread on 's breast, mounting his eyes, / He did discharge a horrible oath, whose tenor / Was, were he evil us'd, he would outgo / His father by <i>as much</i> as a performance / Does an irresolute purpose.	<i>He8</i> (I.2)

**Table 10:** *as much* / *as many* as head of NP

*As much* / *as many* as head of a noun phrase could be attested in *R&J* and *He8* with one certain example each. Function (ii) does not occur in any of the other four plays of the corpus.

<b>(iii) Function of <i>as many</i> / <i>as much</i>: subjunct</b>		<b>Play</b>
Hastings:	With patience, noble lord, as prisoners must; / But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks / That were the cause of my imprisonment. – Gloucester: No doubt, no doubt, and so shall Clarence too, / For they that were your enemies are his, / And have prevail'd <i>as much on him</i> as you.	<i>Ri3</i> (I.1)
Armado:	I do excel thee in my rapier <i>as much</i> as thou didst me in carrying gates.	<i>LLL</i> (I.2)
Goneril:	Sir, I love you more than [words] can wield the matter, / Dearer than eyesight, space, and liberty, / Beyond what can be valued, rich or rare, / No less than life, with grace, health, beauty, honor; / <i>As much</i> as child e'er lov'd, or father found.	<i>KiL</i> (I.1)
Prospero:	My dukedom since you have given me again, / I will requite you with as good a thing, / At least bring forth a wonder, to content ye / <i>As much</i> as me my dukedom.	<i>Tem</i> (IV.1)
Wolsey:	The King is present: if it be known to him / That I gainsay my deed, how may he wound, / And worthily, my falsehood! Yea, <i>as much</i> / As you have done my truth.	<i>He8</i> (II.4)

**Table 11:** *as much* / *as many* as subjunct

*As much* / *as many* as subjunct was not found in *Romeo and Juliet*, but in the other five plays of the corpus.

<b>(iv) Function of as: modifier of an adjective head</b>		<b>Play</b>
Gloucester:	And if King Edward be <i>as true and just</i> / As I am subtle, false, and treacherous, / This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up / About a prophecy, which says that G / Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be.	<i>Ri3</i> (I.1)
Boyet:	The tongues of mocking wenches are <i>as keen</i> / As is the razor's edge invisible.	<i>LLL</i> (V.1)
Mercutio:	True, I talk of dreams, / Which are the children of an idle brain, / Begot of nothing but vain fantasy, / Which is <i>as thin of substance</i> as the air, / And more inconstant than the wind, who woos / Even now the frozen bosom of the north, / And, being anger'd, puffs away from thence, / Turning his side to the dew-dropping south.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (I.4)
Lear:	What art thou?	<i>KiL</i> (I.4)
Kent:	A very honest-hearted fellow, and <i>as poor</i> as the King.	
Gonzalo:	I'll warrant him for drowning, though the ship were no stronger than a nutshell, and <i>as leaky</i> as an unstash'd wench.	<i>Tem</i> (I.1)
Cranmer:	Nor shall this peace sleep with her; but as when / The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix, / Her ashes new create another heir / <i>As great in admiration</i> as herself, / So shall she leave her blessedness to one / (When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness) / Who from the sacred ashes of her honour / Shall star-like rise <i>as great in fame</i> as she was, / And so stand fix'd.	<i>He8</i> (V.4)

**Table 12:** as as modifier of an adjective head

As in the function of a modifier of an adjective head was found in all plays in the corpus.

<b>(v) Function of as: modifier of a premodifying adjective</b>		<b>Play</b>
Q. Elizabeth:	<i>As little joy</i> , my lord, as you suppose / You should enjoy, were you this country's king - / <i>As little joy</i> you may suppose in me / That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.	<i>Ri3</i> (I.3)
Costard:	I thank God I have <i>as little patience</i> as another man, and therefore I can be quiet.	<i>LLL</i> (I.2)
Mercutio:	Come, come, thou art <i>as hot a Jack in thy mood</i> as any in Italy, and as soon mov'd to be moody, and as soon moody to be mov'd.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (III.1)
Alonso:	This is <i>as strange a maze</i> as e'er men trod, / And there is in this business more than nature / Was ever conduct of.	<i>Tem</i> (V.1)

<b>(v) Function of <i>as</i>: modifier of a premodifying adjective</b>	<b>Play</b>
Buckingham: Why the devil, / Upon this French going out, took he upon him / (Without the privity o' th' King) t' appoint / Who should attend on him? He makes up the file / Of all the gentry; for the most part such / To whom as <i>great a charge</i> as little honor / He meant to lay upon; and his own letter, / The honorable Board of Council out, / Must fetch him in the papers.	<i>He8</i> (Prologue)

**Table 13:** *as* as modifier of a premodifying adjective

As in the function of modifier of a premodifying adjective could certainly be attested in four plays; the example from *Richard III* is dubious because it does not contain the second correlative. While this is not generally a problem, it is here because the subordinate clause cannot be inferred from the previous or following context. *As* in function (v) does not occur in *King Lear* at all.

<b>(vi) Function of <i>as</i>: modifier of an adverb</b>	<b>Play</b>
Boy: Grandam, we can; for my good uncle Gloucester / Told me the King, provok'd to it by the Queen, / Devis'd impeachments to imprison him; / And when my uncle told me so, he wept, / And pitied me, and kindly kiss'd my cheek; / Bade me rely on him as on my father, / And he would love me <i>dearly</i> as a child. [Read: love me as dearly as his own child]	<i>Ri3</i> (II.2)
Capulet: 'Tis since the nuptial of Lucentio, / Come Pentecost as <i>quickly</i> as it will, / Some five and twenty years, and then we mask'd.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (I.5)
Regan: I am doubtful that you have been conjunct / And bosom'd with her - <i>as far</i> as we call hers.	<i>KiL</i> (V.1)
Caliban: Remember / First to possess his books; for without them / He's but a sot, as I am; nor hath not / One spirit to command: they all do hate him / <i>As rootedly</i> as I.	<i>Tem</i> (III.2)

**Table 14:** *as* as modifier of an adverb

The different realisations of the comparative of equality, i.e. the realisations of the comp-element *as*, are discussed in the following sections. An attempt was made here to provide examples of the most prototypical occurrence of *as...as* wherever possible. The example from *Ri3* must be read as 'and he would love me as dearly as his own child', even though it does not include the first *as*. *As* in the function of modifier of an adverb was not found in *LLL* or *He8*.

<b>(vii) Function of as: modifier of a premodifying adverb</b>	<b>Play</b>
Buckingham: Well, let them rest. Come hither, Catesby. / Thou art <i>sworn as deeply</i> to effect what we intend / As closely to conceal what we impart.	<i>Ri3</i> (III.1)
Mercutio: Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and <i>as soon mov'd to be moody</i> , and <i>as soon moody to be mov'd</i> . [infer: as any Jack in Italy.]	<i>R&amp;J</i> (III.1)
Lear: The barbarous Scythian, / Or he that makes his generation messes / To gorge his appetite, shall to my bosom / Be <i>as well neighbor'd, pitied, and reliev'd</i> , / As thou my sometime daughter.	<i>KiL</i> (I.1)

**Table 15:** as as modifier of a premodifying adverb

No play contains all seven functions of *as* (*as much, as many*) in comparative structures as exemplified by Quirk et al. (1985: 1133) for *PDE*:

- *as* as determinative could not be found in *R&J*, *Ri3*, and *Tem*.
- *as* as head of a noun phrase could not be found in *KiL*, *R&J*, *Ri3*, and *Tem*.
- *as* as subjunct could not be found in *R&J*.
- *as* as modifier of a premodifying adjective could not be found in *KiL* and *Ri3*.
- *as* as modifier of an adverb could not be found in *He8* and *LLL*.
- *as* as modifier of a premodifying adverb could not be found in *He8*, *LLL*, *R&J* and *Tem*.

Only the fourth function, *as* as a modifier of an adjectival head, occurs in all six plays of the corpus. Not all comparative constructions of equality are of interest for the present study, but only those functions which contain adjectives, that is functions (iv), modifier of an adjective head, and (v), modifier of a premodifying adjective. The present study only analyses the fourth function, "And if King Edward be *as true and just* / As I am subtle, false, and treacherous" (*Ri3* I.1) because the adjective is used predicatively and is thus the focus of attention in the phrase.

The fifth function is of interest only insofar as it can call for unusual syntactic constructions which might be linked to the hypallagic use of Shakespeare's adjectives, analysed in chapter 3, as for example in:

- *thou art AS HOT A JACK in thy mood as any in Italy* (*R&J* III.1) or
- *I serve AS GOOD A MAN as you* (*R&J* I.1) or
- *for the most part such / To whom AS GREAT A CHARGE as little honour / He meant to lay upon* (*He8* Prologue) or
- *AS PROPER A MAN as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground* (*Tem* II.2).

Seppänen, commenting on an article by Christophersen (1974), explains this interesting position of the adjective in relation to the head noun as a transformation derived from the more normal word order 'a + Adj + N' (Seppänen 1978: 529). This "pre-article position of the adjective was possible [...] when the adjective was preceded by an intensifier but also when no intensifier was present" (Seppänen 1978: 533). It is a less common word order pattern for which the *OED* (2007) has a quotation from c1300<sup>1</sup>, and not 1622, as Seppänen proposes (1978: 525), in Wright Pop. Sc. 137: *And þut as gret as urthe and as lute as heo is, Ther nis bote, etc.*

The fact that all seven functions of *as* occur in the corpus should not conceal the fact that some of the functions of the comp-item *as* are only infrequently used by Shakespeare. The second function, *as* as a head of a noun phrase, could only be attested once in two of the six plays. It was found once more in *As You Like It* (i) and *Winter's Tale* (ii):

- (i) Rosalind: "If I were a woman I would kiss *as many of you as* had beards that pleas'd me, [...]" (Epilogue)
- (ii) Clown: "I must have saffron to colour the warden pies; mace; dates; [...] four pounds of pruns, and *as many of raisins o' th' sun.*" (IV.3)

### 2.3.2 Comparison to a higher or lower degree – "*more / less ... than*"

There are two ways of forming the comparative form of an English adjective, namely by either using the inflectional ending *-er* or by using a comparative item *more* or *less* for a periphrastic comparison. No inflectional form exists for comparisons to a lower degree containing 'less ... than'. Periphrasis, according to Curme (1947: 504), allows a speaker to emphasise either the meaning of the utterance or the mere idea of degree he or she uses. A combination of inflectional and periphrastic comparison in coordinate constructions is infrequent because the comparative modes are not semantically similar (cf. González-Díaz 2007).

The choice between the two ways of comparison, inflectional or periphrastic, is not arbitrary in modern English, but follows certain principles (cf. Lass 2001: 156; cf. also Quirk et al. (1985: 461-2) for a detailed description of the possible choices between inflectional and periphrastic comparison. The historical development of the usage is described in Baugh & Cable (1997<sup>4</sup>)):

- (i) Monosyllabic bases take suffixes [...]. Periphrasis is usually [only] available when two adjectives are predicated by a single head [...].
- (ii) Disyllabic adjectives preferentially take suffixes, though periphrasis is available for many [...].
- (iii) Trisyllabic and longer forms take periphrasis [...].

However, Shakespeare seems to be more liberal in using the periphrastic comparative form for adjectives which we would today compare inflectionally (cf. González-Díaz 2007), apart from the double comparative<sup>23</sup>. This happens in 13 of the 86 cases of the comparisons to a higher degree (15.1%):

*UGLY: Yet see, / When these so noble benefits shall prove / Not well dispos'd, the mind growing once corrupt, / They turn to vicious forms, ten times MORE UGLY / Than ever they were fair. (He8 1.2)*

*DEVOUT: But MORE DEVOUT than this [in] our respects / Have we not been, and therefore met your loves / In their own fashion, like a merriment. (LLL V.2)*

*RICH: Conceit, MORE RICH in matter than in words, / Brags of his substance, not of ornament. (R&J II.6)*

*FIERCE: Some blood drawn on me would beget opinion / Of my MORE FIERCE endeavor. (KiL II.1)*

*The time and my intents are savage-wild, / MORE FIERCE and more inexorable far / Than empty tigers or the roaring sea. (R&J V.3; this occurrence could be due to the fact that another adjective follows which needs to be compared periphrastically: 'more fierce and inexorable far than...')*

*TRUE: I'll prove MORE TRUE / Than those that have [more] coying to be strange (R&J II.2)*

*DEEP: But no MORE DEEP will I endart mine eye / Than your consent gives strength to make [it] fly. (R&J I.3)*

*FAIR: Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon, / Who is already sick and pale with grief / That thou, her maid, art far MORE FAIR than she. (R&J II.2)*

*HOARSE: Bondage is hoarse, and may not speak aloud, / Else would I tear the cave where Echo lies, / And make her airy tongue MORE HOARSE than [mine], / With repetition of my [Romeo's name.] (R&J II.2)*

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<sup>23</sup> I am grateful for Prof. Meyer (p.c., October 11, 2010) in correcting me and directing me to the Coca-Corpus, which lists *more ugly* 23 times and *more rich* 41 times.



*GENTLE*: *O, she is / Ten times MORE GENTLE than her father's crabbed* (*Tem* III.1)

*Their manners are MORE GENTLE, kind, than of / Our human generation you shall find / Many, nay, almost any.* (*Tem* III.3; it remains unclear here whether only *gentle* is compared periphrastically or the following *kind* as well: 'more gentle, kind than...')

*SOFT*: *Love's feeling is MORE SOFT and sensible / Than are the tender horns of cockled snails.* (*LLL* IV.3; this occurrence could be due to the fact that another adjective follows, which needs to be compared periphrastically: 'more soft and sensible than...')

One can assume that Shakespeare does this as a means of emphasis which would otherwise require a much longer or more complicated explanation.

A comparison must contain the correlative sequence introduced by *more* or *less* (or other comparative forms in the main clause), together with *than* in the subordinate clause. The *comparative element* specifies the standard of comparison, cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1128), and therefore also plays an essential part in the comparison.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1134-5) state that the comparative item *more* (and *less* as well) can have seven different functions within the comp-element:

- (i) DETERMINATIVE: Isabelle has *more books* than her brother (has).
- (ii) HEAD OF A NOUN PHRASE: *More (of my friends)* are in New York than (are) here.
- (iii) SUBJUNCT: I agree with you *more than* ((I agree) with) Robert.
- (iv) MODIFIER OF AN ADJECTIVE HEAD: The article was *more objective* than I expected (it would be).
- (v) MODIFIER OF A PREMODIFYING ADJECTIVE: It was a *more heated discussion* than we thought it would be.
- (vi) MODIFIER OF AN ADVERB: The time passed *more quickly* than (it passed) last year.
- (vii) MODIFIER OF A PREMODIFYING ADVERB: I am *more severely handicapped* than you (are).

The following section analyses which of the above functions occur in the corpus and which of the above functions are analysed here.

2.3.2.1 Different functions of "more" / "less" in the corpus

Of the seven different functions of *more* within the comp-element above, six can be found in the corpus:

<b>(i) Function of <i>more</i>: determinative</b>	<b>Play</b>
Q. Margareth: I do find <i>more pain in banishment</i> / Than death can yield me here by my abode.	<i>Ri3</i> (I.3)
Berowne: These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights, / That give a name to every fixed star, / Have <i>no more profit</i> of their shining nights / Than those that walk and wot not what they are.	<i>LLL</i> (I.1)
Fr. Lawrence: But look thou stay not till the watch be set, / For then thou canst not pass to Mantua, / Where thou shalt live till we can find a time / To blaze your marriage, reconcile your friends, / Beg pardon of the Prince, and call thee back / With twenty hundred thousand times <i>more joy</i> / Than thou went'st forth in lamentation.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (III.3)
Kent: No contraries hold <i>more antipathy</i> / Than I and such a knave.	<i>KiL</i> (II.2)
Prospero: Here in this island we arriv'd, and here / Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee <i>more profit</i> / Than other princess' can, that have more time / For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful.	<i>Tem</i> (I.2)
Buckingham: For further life in this world I ne'er hope, / Nor will I sue, although the King have <i>mercies</i> / <i>More</i> than I dare make faults.	<i>He8</i> (II.1)

**Table 16:** *more* as determinative

The example taken from *He8* is not in the prototypical form: *more* is here in postposition in relation to the head noun *mercies*. Because about three percent of Shakespeare's adjectives occur in postposition for reasons of rhyme, metre and emphasis, this example is also a valid one: the comparison is especially emphasised through the use of the postponed determinative.

<b>(ii) Function of <i>more</i>: head of a noun phrase</b>		<b>Play</b>
Richmond:	<i>More</i> than I have said, loving countrymen, / The leisure and enforcement of the time / Forbids to dwell upon, yet remember this: / God and our good cause fight upon our side;	<i>Ri3</i> (V.3)
King:	If this, or <i>more</i> than this, I would deny, / To flatter up these powers of mine with rest, / The sudden hand of death close up mine eye!	<i>LLL</i> (V.2)
Mercutio:	For thou hast <i>more of the wild goose in one of thy wits</i> than, I am sure, I have in my whole five.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (II.3)
Kent:	Few words, but to effect, <i>more</i> than all yet.	<i>KiL</i> (II.4)
Alonso:	This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod, / And there is in this business <i>more</i> than nature / Was ever conduct of.	<i>Tem</i> (V.1)
Wolsey:	No; I'll no Anne Bullens for him, / There's <i>more</i> in't than fair visage.	<i>He8</i> (III.2)

**Table 17:** *more* as head of NP

The example taken from *King Lear* is somewhat difficult as it could be argued that *more* functions as a determinative (function (ii)) here, with the head noun being "words". This might be true but is not of any major importance for this chapter. This section merely serves as an overview of the forms and functions that are possible today and were already used by Shakespeare. The focus of the analysis of comparative structures in this chapter is on function (iv).

<b>(iii) Function of <i>more</i>: subjunct</b>		<b>Play</b>
King Richard:	What shall I say <i>more</i> than I have inferr'd?	<i>Ri3</i> (V.3)
Berowne:	I have for barbarism spoke <i>more</i> / Than for that angel knowledge you can say	<i>LLL</i> (I.1)
Romeo:	A gentleman, nurse, that loves to hear himself talk, and will speak <i>more</i> in a minute than he will stand to in a month.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (II.4)
Edmund:	I have seen drunkards / Do <i>more</i> than this in sport. Lear: Allow not nature more than nature needs, / Man's life is cheap as beast's.	<i>KiL</i> (II.1)
Miranda:	Therefore wast thou / Deservedly confin'd into this rock, / Who hadst deserv'd <i>more</i> than a prison.	<i>Tem</i> (I.2)
Q. Katherine:	I must tell you, / You tender <i>more</i> your person's honor than / Your high profession spiritual.	<i>He8</i> (II.4)

**Table 18:** *more* as subjunct

The meaning of all the above examples, in which *more* functions as subjunct, are straightforward and hence unproblematic.

<b>(iv) Function of <i>more</i>: modifier of an adjective head</b>		<b>Play</b>
York:	Then he is <i>more beholding to you</i> than I	<i>Ri3</i> (III.1)
Costard:	I am <i>more bound to you</i> than your fellows, for they are but lightly rewarded.	<i>LLL</i> (I.2)
Romeo:	[I am] Not mad, but <i>bound more</i> than a madman is.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (I.2)
Cordelia:	And yet not so, since I am sure my love's / <i>More ponderous</i> than my tongue.	<i>KiL</i> (I.1)
Prospero:	I have done nothing, but in care of thee / (Of thee my dear one, thee my daughter), who / Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing / Of whence I am, nor that I am <i>more better</i> / Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell, / And thy no greater father.	<i>Tem</i> (I.2)
Cranmer:	Saba was never / <i>More covetous</i> of wisdom and fair virtue / Than this pure soul shall be.	<i>He8</i> (V.4)

**Table 19:** *more* as modifier of an adjective head

The example from *R&J* (I.2) shows, once again, the emphasis that is created by postpositioning the modifier. The example from *LLL* (I.2) uses the same adjective, this time in the 'normal' word order.

The example from *LLL* is noteworthy as well, if analysed in isolation, because it allows several readings which only the context clarifies: Costard could be saying that

- (i) Costard is more bound to Armado than he is to ARMADO'S FELLOWS, or he could be saying that
- (ii) Costard is more bound to Armado than Armado is to ARMADO'S FELLOWS, or he could be saying that
- (iii) Costard is more bound to Armado than ARMADO'S FRELLOWS are bound to ARMADO, or he could be saying that
- (iv) Costard is more bound to Armado than ARMADO'S FELLOWS are bound to COSTARD.

It could be argued that readings (i) and (iv) as well as readings (ii) and (iii) are synonymous, because the two pairs involve the same people and a bond between them. My reading is such, however, that one person in every reading initiates the

bond and is therefore to be seen as the stronger element in the bond; hence the four readings.

Even when looking at more than just the two-sentence exchange between the two characters, a precise meaning does not become clear. The condensed form of the comparison allows all four readings, and perhaps this was even deliberate.

<b>(v) Function of <i>more</i>: premodifying adjective</b>		<b>Play</b>
Anne:	<i>More direful hap</i> betide that hated wretch / That makes us wretched by the death of thee / Than I can wish to wolves - to spiders, toads, / Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!	<i>Ri3</i> (I.2)
King:	With a child of our grandmother Eve, a female; or for <i>thy more sweet understanding</i> , a woman.	<i>LLL</i> (I.1)
Romeo:	More validity, / <i>More honorable state</i> , more courtship lives / In carrion flies than Romeo;	<i>R&amp;J</i> (III.3)
Lear:	Therefore beseech you / T' avert your liking <i>a more worthier way</i> / Than on a wretch whom Nature is ashamed / Almost t' acknowledge hers.	<i>KiL</i> (I.1)
Prospero:	She did confine thee, / By help of her <i>more potent ministers</i> , / And in her most unmitigable rage, / Into a cloven pine.	<i>Tem</i> (I.2)
Cranmer:	For I know / There's none stands under <i>more calumnious tongues</i> / Than I myself, poor man.	<i>He8</i> (V.1)

**Table 20:** *more* as premodifying adjective

Although this fifth function of *more* does contain compared adjectives, it is of less importance to the present study. The emphasis in all these examples seems to lie more on the head noun of the NP than the adjective itself. That is to say, the adjective delimits or characterises the head noun. The focus of the comparison, however, is actually on the noun in relation to the following subordinate *than*-clause rather than on the adjective itself. These constructions are only further analysed in this dissertation if they prove to be hypallagic in use (cf. chapter 3).

(vi) Function of <i>more</i> : modifier of an adverb	Play
King Richard: Ely with Richmond troubles me <i>more near</i> / Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength.	<i>Ri3</i> (IV.3)
Juliet: I'll look to like, if looking liking move; / But no <i>more deep</i> will I endart mine eye / Than your consent gives strength to make [it] fly.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (I.3)
Edmund: If I find him comforting the King, it will stuff his suspicion <i>more fully</i> .	<i>KiL</i> (III.5)
Gard: You shall know many dare accuse you <i>boldly</i> , / <i>More</i> than (I fear) you are provided for.	<i>He8</i> (V.2)

**Table 21:** *more* as modifier of an adverb

This function is generally not used frequently by Shakespeare. It does occur in four plays of the corpus, but cannot be found in *LLL* or *Tem*.

The seventh function of *more*, *more* as a modifier of a premodifying adverb, does not occur in the corpus at all. It does, albeit infrequently, occur in Shakespeare's other plays, for example in *Two Noble Kinsmen* (I.3): "You talk of Pirithous' and Theseus' love: / Theirs has more ground, is *more maturely* season'd, / More buckled with strong judgment, [Than Pirithous' and Flavina's]".

Generally speaking, an example was not included in the tables given above if the subordinate clause, introduced by *than*, was neither present in the same sentence, nor in a sentence close by, nor inferable from the context. It is considered essential that a comparison should consist of all its necessary parts:  $A_{\text{comp}} + \textit{than}$ .

Not all comparative constructions of inequality, i.e. which contain the comparative item *more* or *less*, are of interest for the present study, but only those functions which contain adjectives, i.e. function (iv), modifier of an adjective head, and function (v), modifier of a premodifying adjective.

## 2.4 Different realisations of comparative structures in the corpus

The corpus contains altogether 108 comparisons of equality and 86 comparisons of inequality. These will be analysed in the following sections and chapters, starting with the different realisations or types of *as...as* constructions.

### 2.4.1 Equality

According to Quirk et al., the first correlative element in a comparison of equality functions as a degree modifier in the superordinate clause, while the second is a subordinator introducing the final subordinate clause. The second correlative in the construction endorses the meaning of the first. The correlative subordinators with which comparative structures can be formed are *as...as*, *so...as*, in non-assertive contexts, and *such...as* (Quirk et al. 1985: 999f).

No *such...as*-realisations exist in the corpus in which the comp-element is an adjective. The other two realisations, *as...as* and *so...as* do exist in the corpus, with only 17 of *so...as* and with 91 cases of *as...as*.

This realisation of the comparison of equality, which is almost five times as large, contains 73 'pure' forms (*as...as*) and two subtypes: in the first subtype, with 13 occurrences, the first correlative subordinator is missing,  $\emptyset$  ... *as*, while the second subordinator is missing in the second subtype (5 occurrences): *as* ...  $\emptyset$ .

#### 2.4.1.1 Type I – "as ... as"

<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
6	14	15	10	12	16	73

**Table 22:** Distribution of "as ... as"

The high frequency of a prototypical, at least from a syntactic point of view, realisation of the comparison of equality allows Shakespeare to 'play' with the comparisons on a syntactic-semantic basis. He is able to use and combine both comp-elements and propositions (both A and B) and complements of comp-element

and propositions, even though they do not always coincide with one another from a semantic point of view.

(a) Subtype 1 – "∅ ... as"

<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
1	8	1	2	--	1	13

**Table 23:** Distribution of "∅ ... as"

The first subtype is not infrequently found even in *PDE* contexts, namely after a copular verb or where a copular verb is implied (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1138). This is the case with all thirteen occurrences in the corpus as well, for example:

*Man's life is cheap AS beast's. (KiL II.4)*  
*She [Cordelia] is dead AS earth. (KiL V.3)*  
*Thy love is black AS ebony. (LLL IV.3)*  
*The deer was [...] ripe AS the pomewater. (LLL IV.2)*  
*But old folks [are] unwieldy, slow, heavy, and pale AS lead. (R&J II.5)*

(b) Subtype 2 – "as ... ∅"

<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
--	1	3	--	--	1	5

**Table 24:** Distribution of "as ... ∅"

The second subtype is not a normal deviation, and only happens in the corpus in situations when the character speaking attempts to add another comparison to the one just given, but fails to do so because the second comparison would be too difficult, too long or simply would not sound good. When Juliet declares her love in "My bounty is as boundless as the sea, My love as deep" (*R&J II.2*), she attempts to say, in the second comparison, that her love is as deep as the sea is boundless.

Similarly, when Rosalind (*LLL V.2*) says "And if my face were but as fair as yours, / My favor were as great", she means to say that if she were as beautiful as the princess, her favour would be equally great as the princess' favour.



Both types of fragmented comparison, subtypes one and two, can also be due to an interruption by another character, or because the complete comparison is implied from the immediately preceding context.

### 2.4.1.2 Type II – "so ... as"

<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
4	2	7	4	--	--	17

**Table 25:** Distribution of "so ... as"

The second main type of correlative subordinators used in comparative structures, so...as, occurs only in about one fifth of all comparisons of equality in the corpus, while neither the last comedy nor the last history in the corpus contains this type of correlatives:

- (*LLL*) *You may not come, fair Princess, within my gates, / But here without you shall be so receiv'd / As you shall deem yourself lodg'd in my heart, / Though so denied fair harbor in my house.* (II.1)
- (*R&J*) *My short date of breath is not so long AS is a tedious tale.* (V.3)  
*Thou art so low AS one dead in the bottom of a tomb.* (III.5)  
*And I were so apt to quarrel AS thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an hour and a quarter.* (III.1)
- (*Ri3*) *[My life] was never so precious AS 'tis now.* (III.2)  
*Think you [...] I would be so triumphant AS I am?* (III.2)
- (*KiL*) *The crows and choughs that wing the midway air / Show scarce so gross AS beetles.* (IV.6)  
*And chud ha' bin zwagger'd out of my life, 'twould not ha' bin so long AS 'tis by a vortnight.* (IV.6)

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 999f) the contexts of so ... as-constructions are non-assertive. As can be seen from the examples above, however, this is not the case here. For example, the depth of a well is known as is the length of a fortnight. If a tale is tedious, then its telling takes a long time.

The following table summarises the findings for the comparisons of equality in this section:

Type of comparison	Ri3	LLL	R&J	KiL	Tem	He8	Total
<b>as ... as</b>	6	14	15	10	12	16	73
<b>∅ ... as</b>	1	8	1	2	--	1	13
<b>as ... ∅</b>	--	1	3	--	--	1	5
<b>so ... as</b>	4	2	7	4	--	--	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>108</b>

**Table 26:** Distribution of comparisons of equality in the corpus

#### 2.4.2 Inequality

A distinction between different types of comparison of inequality is possible on a much more limited basis. In contrast to the comparisons of equality, neither the first nor the second correlative can be omitted for the comparison to function properly.

Of the 86 comparisons of inequality, 82 cases denote a comparison to a higher degree and four a comparison to a lower degree. About two thirds of the first type of comparisons are generated by inflectional comparison (50 inflectional comparatives), i.e. the adjective in its comparative form, for example:

Inflectional comparison to a higher degree	Play
<i>Than my Lord Hastings no man might be BOLDER</i>	<i>Ri3 (III.4)</i>
Their conceits have wings <i>FLEETER than</i> arrows, bullets, wind, thought, swifter things	<i>LLL (V.2)</i>
[Queen Mab] comes in shape no <sup>24</sup> <i>BIGGER than</i> an agot-stone	<i>R&amp;J (I.4)</i>
Court holy-water in a dry house is <i>BETTER than</i> this rain-water out o'door.	<i>KiL (III.2)</i>
The ship were no <sup>25</sup> <i>STRONGER than</i> a nutshell.	<i>Tem (I.1)</i>
[The good trial] makes me a <i>little HAPPIER than</i> my wretched father.	<i>He8 (II.1)</i>

**Table 27:** Corpus examples of inflectional comparisons to a higher degree

<sup>24</sup> On the negation of the comp-element, cf. the upcoming discussion in 2.4.3.

<sup>25</sup> On the negation of the comp-element, cf. the upcoming discussion in 2.4.3.

About a third are generated by the periphrastic marker *more* plus the adjective in its positive form, i.e. 27 comparative forms:

Periphrastic comparison to a higher degree	Play
Let her [= Richard's future wife] be made <i>MORE miserable by the [life] of him than</i> I am made by my young lord and thee.	<i>Ri3</i> (I.2)
Love's feeling is <i>MORE soft and sensible than</i> are the tender horns of cockled snails.	<i>LLL</i> (IV.3)
Fantasy, / Which is as thin of substance as the air, / And <i>MORE inconstant than</i> the wind.	<i>R&amp;J</i> ()
My love's <i>MORE ponderous than</i> my tongue.	<i>KiL</i> (I.1)
She is ten times <i>MORE gentle than</i> her father's crabbed.	<i>Tem</i> (III.1)
More than my all is nothing: nor my prayers / Are not words duly hallowed, nor my wishes / <i>MORE worth than</i> empty vanities.	<i>He8</i> (II.3)

**Table 28:** Corpus examples of periphrastic comparisons to a higher degree

Only four of the 82 comparisons to a higher degree are doubly marked by the periphrastic and inflectional markers *more* and *-er*.

Double comparison to a higher degree	Play
[Thou art] <i>MORE FAIRER than</i> fair.	<i>LLL</i> (IV.1)
All this is comfort, wherefore weep I then? / Some word there was, <i>WORSE than</i> Tybalt's death, / That murd'red me.	<i>R&amp;J</i> (III.2)
[They] are <i>MORE HARDER than</i> the stones whereof 'tis rais'd.	<i>KiL</i> (III.2)
[You know not that] I am <i>MORE BETTER than</i> Prospero, master of a full poor cell.	<i>Tem</i> (I.2)

**Table 29:** Corpus examples of double comparisons to a higher degree

The four remaining comparisons are to a lower degree. They are all formed periphrastically with *less* plus the adjective in its positive form:

Comparison to a lower degree	Play
We are come in deep designs no <sup>26</sup> <i>LESS importing than</i> our general good	<i>Ri3</i> (III.7)
I am <i>LESS proud to hear you tell my worth than</i> you much willing to be counted wise / In spending your wit in the praise of mine	<i>LLL</i> (II.1)
We are <i>LESS afraid to be drown'd than</i> thou art.	<i>Tem</i> (I.1)
[The King's Majesty] does purpose honor to you no <sup>27</sup> <i>LESS flowing than</i> Marchioness of Pembroke	<i>He8</i> (II.3)

**Table 30:** Corpus examples of comparisons to a lower degree

<sup>26</sup> On the negation of the comp-element, cf. the upcoming discussion in 2.4.3.

<sup>27</sup> On the negation of the comp-element, cf. the upcoming discussion in 2.4.3.

A further distinction between different types of structures of the *more/less...than*-constructions was not possible. The following table summarises the findings for the comparisons of inequality:

Type of comparison		<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
higher degree	inflectional	9	3	6	13	9	10	<b>50</b>
	periphrastic	2	5	8	3	5		<b>27</b>
	Double	--	1	1	1	1	1	<b>5</b>
lower degree		1	1	--	--	1	1	<b>4</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>86</b>

**Table 31:** Distribution of comparisons of inequality in the corpus

#### 2.4.3 Negation of the comp-element in comparisons of in-/ equality

Only seven of the comparisons of equality are negated, and all seven instances negate the subtype *so...as*. Only one of them is intensified – "*he* [the waggoner is] *NOT HALF SO big as a round little worm.*" (*R&J* I.4). Two are with the negative item *never*, and the comparisons are a repetition of one another: "*My lord, / I hold my life as dear as [you do] yours, / And NEVER in my days, I do protest, / Was it SO PRECIOUS to me as 'tis now*" (*Ri3* III.2).

The situation with the comparisons of inequality is as follows: six of the 50 inflectionally compared adjectives are negative, as are three of the 27 periphrastically compared adjectives. In this count, both the comparisons to a higher and to a lower degree are included. One of the negated comparisons of inequality contain the negative items *not*, the other eight contain the negative item *no*.

Type of negation	<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
<i>not</i> plus comparative of inequality	1	--	--	--	--		1
<i>no</i> plus comparative of inequality	1	--	2	1	3	1	8 <sup>28</sup>
<i>not</i> plus comparative or equality	--	1	3	1	--	--	5
<i>never</i> plus comparative or equality	2	--	--		--	--	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>

**Table 32:** Distribution of negative comparative structures of inequality

A link between these findings could not be established. The meaning of the comparative structure does not change because of the way the adjective's comparative is formed. The negation does not so much affect the adjective or complement, but rather the whole comparative structure. Thus, the whole comparative structure is negated, not just the adjective. However, the negation in *Ri3*, above, brings in a temporal element rather than negating the comparative structure: "Never before was my life so precious to me than 'tis now."

In the study, the negative item was always analysed separately from the comparative structure, i.e. [NEG [comp<sub>high</sub>]] or [NEG [comp<sub>low</sub>]]. The semantic aspect that the negative item can either intensify or alter the type of comparison, e.g. [neg. comp<sub>high</sub>] => [comp<sub>low</sub>], was not accounted for here. The analysis of the negated comparative structures is carried out here without looking at the semantics of negation, worth a separate study altogether.

## 2.5 Analysis of the semantics of Shakespeare's comparative structures

### 2.5.1 Different approaches to semantic classification

Several different approaches have been undertaken to classify adjectives on a semantic basis, e.g. Aarts & Calbert (1979), Dixon (1982 and 1991), Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004), Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982), Lee (1994), Rachidi (1989) and Wierzbicka (1972). In the present study, only the approaches undertaken by Dixon (1982 and 1991), Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004), Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982) will be

<sup>28</sup> The occurrences in *Ri3* and *He8* are both comparisons to a lower degree.

analysed, to compare the applicability of two different approaches which were both first published in the same year. While Dixon's approach underwent further elaboration and modification in the subsequent years, Hundsnurscher & Splett's classification did not. Nevertheless, it is more elaborate than Dixon's approach and, although it is intended as a classification of German adjectives, it is indeed very suitable for the present study. The third section presents a final juxtaposition of the two approaches before the classifications are applied to different parts of the analysis.

### 2.5.1.1 Dixon's approach

The approaches that need to be mentioned first and foremost are Dixon (1982 and 1991) and Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004). Dixon suggests that the syntax and semantics of words are closely linked with one another and goes so far as to say that it is a word's semantic attributes that define its membership of a specific word class and not the morphological and syntactic information of a word (Dixon 1991: 6ff). In his view, the morphological and syntactic characteristics can be derived from the word's semantic description and not vice versa.

In his study on the semantics of several different languages of the world (Dixon 1982), he came to realise that although all natural languages contain the word classes 'verb' and 'noun', and the semantics attributed to these word classes here almost always overlap with the syntactic function of these word classes, yet not all languages contain the category 'adjective'. English has a distinct class of adjectives, but in other languages which have this category, there might be overlaps between the verb, noun and adjective classes.

In his studies, for example Dixon (1982) and Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004), he differentiates between five different language types, based on the question of how the adjective class is realised: In TYPE I LANGUAGES (Latin, Greek, the majority of languages in Europe, North Africa, North Asia and Australia), adjectives are grammatically similar to nouns and are congruent in number, case, and gender. In predicative position, the use of an adjective usually calls for a copula. In TYPE II LANGUAGES (languages of the Pacific region, Chinese, Korean, Malaysian and

others), adjectives are similar to verbs. Predicative adjectives do not need a copula as they are morphologically equal to verbs. In TYPE III LANGUAGES (Dyirbal, Luiseno and Bashkirish), adjectives are like nouns in some ways and like verbs in others, i.e. the adjective has grammatical functions of the noun class (in the noun phrase, the adjectives behave like nouns) as well as of the verb class (in predicative function, adjectives are inflected like verbs). TYPE IV LANGUAGES (for example in Fijian, Mam and Tzutujil) have an open adjective class in which the adjectives are characterised by their own affixes and special syntactic properties. TYPE V LANGUAGES (i.e. languages of the Pacific regions and languages in India, Africa and America) have a limited and closed adjective class, which might contain as few as five adjectives or up to about a hundred.

Since not all languages have a word class *adjective* as distinct and large as English, a TYPE I LANGUAGE, other lexical categories take on the functions of (English) adjectives in languages with a small adjective class. For example, the properties *speed* and *physical property* are found in languages which have a larger adjective class. Only in languages with a large adjective class are *human propensity* terms expressed by adjectives, while nouns usually express this feature in languages with a small adjective class. Even if a language does *not* contain a large adjective class, certain key concepts such as dimension, age, values and colour are always included in this small class and expressed by adjectives: "the AGE, DIMENSION, VALUE and COLOUR type are likely to belong to the adjectival class, however small it is" (Dixon 1977: 56).

The semantic content of the word class 'adjective' can be represented by and classified into seven semantic types. The first seven semantic types Dixon (1982) proposed were: *dimension*, *physical property*, *colour*, *human propensity*, *age*, and *value*. Dixon (1991) presents a reclassification of these semantic types, by which he tries to provide "a broad outline of the semantic types, and the ways in which their meanings condition their syntactic properties" (Dixon 1991: 12). His 'semantic grammar' provides a semantically orientated framework through which a grammatical analysis is enabled. The focus on English language study should now be on the different meanings of words and the possible impacts on their grammatical behaviour. This would provide a contrast to traditional grammatical approaches,

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which place more emphasis on syntax and only rarely look at the impact of meaning on language(s).

Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004) modified the original approach once again: the original seven semantic types are by now differentiated into eleven different types with several subtypes, as can be seen in table 33:

Semantic types		Explanation	Examples
1	DIMENSION	Measurement of any sort	<i>great, thin, short, big, round, narrow, deep, wide, long, tall, small</i>
2	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	The last five are a subclass referring to corporeal properties	<i>hard, soft, wet, rough, hot, sour, strong, clean, cool, heavy, sweet, fresh, cheap, well, sick, ill, dead, absent, tired</i>
3	SPEED		<i>quick, fast, rapid, slow</i>
4	AGE		<i>new, old, young, modern</i>
5	COLOUR		<i>white, black, red, crimson, mottled, golden</i>
6	VALUE	Quality	<i>good, bad, lovely, atrocious, odd, lucky, strange, curious, necessary, crucial, important, perfect, proper (real)</i>
7	DIFFICULTY	The state or quality of being difficult	<i>difficult, easy, tough, hard, simple</i>
8	SIMILARITY	Comparing two things, states, or events	<i>like, unlike [both with direct object], similar (to), different (from) [which introduce the second role – obligatory for an adjective from this type – with a preposition], strange, other</i>
9	HUMAN PROPENSITY		<i>angry, mad, sad, anxious, keen, thankful, careful, sorry, glad, curious (all with about), proud, ashamed, afraid, jealous, fond (all with of), eager, ready, prepared (all with for), unsure, sure, certain (all with of or about), willing, happy, kind, clever, stupid, generous, cruel, lucky</i>
9a	Fond	With a similar meaning of liking verbs (e.g. fond of)	<i>fond (of)</i>



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Semantic types		Explanation	Examples
9b	Angry	Describing an emotional reaction to some definite happening	<i>angry (about), jealous (of), mad (about), sad (about)</i>
9c	Happy	An emotional response to some actual or potential happening	<i>anxious, keen, happy, thankful, careful, sorry, glad (all requiring about), proud, ashamed, afraid (all requiring of)</i>
9d	Unsure	The speaker's assessment about some potential event	<i>certain, sure, unsure (all requiring of or about), curious (about)</i>
9e	Eager	With meaning similar to wanting verbs	<i>eager, ready, prepared (all requiring for), willing</i>
9f	Clever	Referring to ability, or an attitude towards social relations with others	<i>stupid, clever, lucky, kind, cruel, generous, smart</i>
10	QUALIFICATION		<i>definite, true, probable, possible, likely, usual, normal, common, correct, appropriate, sensible, certain, right, wrong, sure, impossible</i>
10a	Definite	A factual qualification regarding an event	<i>definite, probable, true</i>
10b	Possible	Expressing the speaker's opinion about an event, which is often some potential happening	<i>possible, impossible</i>
10c	Usual	The speaker's opinion about how predictable some happening is	<i>usual, common, normal</i>
10d	Likely	Again an opinion, but tending to focus on the subject's potentiality to engineer some happening	<i>likely, certain</i>
10e	Sure	As above, but with a stronger focus on the subject's control	<i>sure</i>
10f	Correct	Either commenting on the correctness of a fact or on the correctness of the subject's undertaking of some activity	<i>correct, right, wrong, sensible, appropriate</i>

Semantic types		Explanation	Examples
11	OTHER SEMANTIC TYPES		
11a	Quantification		<i>all (whole), many, some, few, only, enough</i>
11b	Position		<i>high, low, near, far/distant, right, left/strange, northern</i>
11c	Cardinal Numbers	Together with ordinal numbers	<i>first, last</i>

**Table 33:** Semantic types of adjectives according to Dixon (1982), Dixon (1991) and Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004)

To present a slightly different approach, the following section introduces the approach taken by Hundsnurscher & Splett before deciding on which approach the present study will follow.

#### 2.5.1.2 Hundsnurscher & Splett's approach

The classification published by Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982), in the same year as Dixon's, also needs mentioning because their analysis provides a new approach to lexical semantics. They suggest a classification of German adjectives by relying on semantic relations, which they derived by induction from the lexical material they analysed rather than by arriving at a system of concepts via deduction (Hundsnurscher & Splett 1982: 19, 39). The material analysed consisted of four major German dictionaries *Duden* 1976-1981, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* 1964-1977, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 1970<sup>6</sup>, *Wahrig* 1975.

Although they deal with German adjectives, their approach is presented and adopted here as both German and English are TYPE I languages (cf. Dixon, 1982 & 1991), each a language with a large number of adjectives and a separate word class *adjective*. Hundsnurscher & Splett suggest a classification into thirteen major adjective classes which are further subclassified, cf. table below.

Their classification overlaps with Dixon (1982 & 1991) in some aspects, but is far more detailed than the modified and enlarged classification presented by Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004). Their classification contains 70 subclasses altogether. Still, they consider their classification to be broad and in need of further fine-tuning (Hundsnurscher & Splett 1982: 40):

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Es leuchtet unmittelbar ein, daß die hier erarbeitete Grobklassifizierung nicht das Endziel einer semantischen Analyse des Adjektivwortschatzes der deutschen Gegenwartssprache sein kann. [Sie ist] aber eine unabdingbare Vorarbeit und ein nicht zu überspringendes Zwischenstadium der angestrebten Feinstrukturierung [...].

The following table reproduces the semantic classification of adjectives proposed by Hundsnurscher & Splett. The labels and examples have been translated from German.

Adjective class		Subclassification		Examples
I.	PERCEPTIONAL	1	lightness	<i>light, dark</i>
		2	colour	<i>red, green, blue</i>
		3	sound	<i>loud, soft</i>
		4	taste	<i>sweet, sour, salty</i>
		5	smell	<i>burnt, aromatic</i>
		6	temperature	<i>warm, cold</i>
		7	touch	<i>rough, smooth</i>
II.	SPATIAL	1	dimension	<i>long, short, flat</i>
		2	direction	<i>north, head-on</i>
		3	localisation	<i>close, upper, overseas</i>
		4	origin	<i>local, foreign</i>
		5	spatial distribution	<i>sparse, overcrowded</i>
		6	form	<i>round, straight, rectangular</i>
III.	TEMPORALITY-RELATED	1	time	<i>early, lately, yearly</i>
		2	age	<i>old, young</i>
		3	habit	<i>common, unusual</i>
IV.	SPATIO-TEMPORAL		motion	<i>quick, slow</i>
V.	MATERIAL-RELATED	1	material	<i>wooden, iron, silky</i>
		2	consistence	<i>hart, fluid, dense, flexible</i>
		3	ripeness	<i>ripe, fresh, spoilt</i>
		4	dampness	<i>wet, dry</i>
		5	purity	<i>clean, dirty</i>
		6	gravity	<i>heavy, light</i>
		7	physical property	<i>electric, magnetic</i>
		8	classification	<i>long-stemmed, top-fermented</i>
		9	weather	<i>sticky, rainy, luke [as in 'luke-warm', R.K.]</i>
VI.	BODY-RELATED	1	life	<i>alive, dead</i>
		2	constitution	<i>strong, weak, tough</i>
		3	affliction	<i>ill, blind, tired</i>
		4	desire	<i>hungry, full</i>
		5	sexual inclination	<i>horny, prudish</i>
		6	appearance	<i>ugly, pretty, freckled</i>

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Adjective class		Subclassification		Examples
VII.	MOOD-RELATED	1	mood	<i>happy, sad, mad</i>
		2	stimulus	<i>pleasant, annoying, dreary</i>
VIII.	SPIRIT-RELATED	1	intelligence	<i>clever, stupid, canny, alert</i>
		2	knowledge	<i>expert, inexperienced, acquainted</i>
		3	language characterising	<i>bickery, German</i>
IX.	BEHAVIOUR-RELATED	1	character	<i>proud, faithful, brave, gutless</i>
		2	behaviour	<i>cheeky, courteous, good</i>
		3	discipline	<i>drastic, gentle</i>
		4	skill	<i>agile, clumsy</i>
		5	relation	<i>hostile, friendly</i>
		6	sympathy	<i>liked, unpopular</i>
X.	SOCIAL-RELATED	1	social status	<i>poor, rich, employed</i>
		2	institution	<i>governmental, private, democratic</i>
		3	religion	<i>religious, Christian</i>
XI.	QUANTITY-RELATED	1	countwords	<i>first, second</i>
		2	quantity	<i>a lot, a little</i>
		3	costs	<i>cheap, expensive</i>
		4	return	<i>profitable, fruitless</i>
XII.	RELATIONAL	1	validity	<i>valid, invalid, possible</i>
		2	certainty	<i>certain, unproven, secretive</i>
		3	requirement	<i>necessary, unnecessary</i>
		4	effectiveness	<i>powerful, ineffective</i>
		5	energy requirement	<i>difficult, easy</i>
		6	functioning	<i>faultless, broken</i>
		7	security	<i>dangerous, safe</i>
		8	differentiating	<i>manifold, uniform</i>
		9	orderness	<i>orderly, mazy, symmetrical</i>
		10	linking	<i>loose, related</i>
		11	correlation	<i>even, uneven, measured</i>
		12	comparison	<i>figurative, song-like</i>
		13	accuracy	<i>exact, blurred</i>
		14	completeness	<i>complete, whole, fragmentary</i>
		15	intimacy	<i>empty, naked</i>
		16	reference	<i>respective, aforesaid, indirect</i>
		17	beneficial effect	<i>beneficial, harmful, poisonous</i>

Adjective class		Subclassification		Examples
XIII.	GENERAL	1	comparison	<i>enormous, gigantic, stout</i>
		2	evaluation	<i>good, bad, evil</i>
		3	deviation from norm	<i>bizarre, grotesque</i>

**Table 34:** Semantic classification of adjectives according to Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982: 35-37)<sup>29</sup>

The adjective class GENERAL as proposed by Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982) is problematic. The subclasses 'evaluation' and 'similarity' play a very important role, as will be seen in the following section, and it is regrettable that the authors 'hid' these two subclasses away here.

### 2.5.2 Juxtaposition of the approaches – different types of lexical fields in the corpus

Hundsnurscher & Splett propose approximately three times as many categories as Dixon: 70 as opposed to 23 (sub-) categories. At the same time, however, approximately half of the 70 categories can be found in Dixon's classification and Dixon also proposed categories which cannot be found or are only partly similar to Hundsnurscher & Splett's categories. Dixon's eighth category, 'Similarity' (with examples such as *like, unlike, similar (to), different (from), strange, other*) is missing completely in Hundsnurscher & Splett's approach, as are Dixon's categories 9E ('Human Propensity: Eager': *eager (for), ready (for), prepared (for), willing*) and 10A ('Qualification: Definite': *definite, probable, true*).

Dixon's first category 'Dimension' (with examples such as *tall, small, thin, big, great, wide, narrow, deep*) only partly overlaps with Hundsnurscher & Splett's second categories 'Spatial-dimensional' (II.1) and 'Spatial-form' (II.6). Those adjectives in the corpus for which Dixon's classification is retained all fall into the category of *depth*, cf. below. Dixon's sixth category, 'Value', also only partly overlaps with what Hundsnurscher & Splett propose in categories XII.3 ('Relational-requirement'), XIII.1 ('General-comparative'), XIII.2 ('General-evaluation') and XIII.3 ('General-deviation from norm').

<sup>29</sup> Only one German adjective, *kniefrei* ('above the knee'), which is mentioned as a third example of XII.15, was not included in the above list as its translation could hardly have been considered an adjective in English. All other examples and exemplifications given by Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982) were unproblematic.

On the other hand, Dixon's classification completely lacks the adjectival category 'Social-Related', together with the subclasses X.1 ('Social'), X.2 ('Institutional'), and X.3 ('Religion').

All of Dixon's other categories and subclasses can be found in 38 of Hundsnurscher & Splett's categories and subclasses. The following table summarises the overlaps of the two approaches:

H&S' class	~	Dixon's class	H&S' class	~	Dixon's class	H&S' class	~	Dixon's class
I.1	~	2	V.3	~	2	IX.6	~	(9A)
I.2	~	5	V.4	~	2	XI.1	~	11C
I.4	~	2	V.5	~	2	XI.2	~	11A
I.6	~	2	V.6	~	2	XI.3	~	2
I.7	~	2	V.9	~	(2)	XII.1	~	10B
II.1	~	1	VI.1	~	2	XII.2	~	9D
II.2	~	11B	VI.2	~	2	XII.3	~	6
II.3	~	(2), 11C	VI.3	~	2	XII.5	~	7
II.6	~	1	VII.1	~	9B, 9C	XII.13	~	(10F)
III.2	~	4	VII.2	~	9B, 9C	XII.17	~	9F
III.3	~	10C	VIII.1	~	9F	XIII.1	~	6
IV	~	3	VIII.2	~	(10D), (10E)	XIII.2	~	6
V.2	~	2	IX.1	~	9c, (9D)	XIII.3	~	6

**Table 35:** Overlaps between Dixon's and Hundsnurscher & Splett's categories. '~' means 'overlaps with'. The numbers in brackets signify that Dixon's category only partly fits into Hundsnurscher & Splett's category.

As illustrated by the table, Dixon's first category, 'Dimension', overlaps with two, his sixth ('Value') with four, his ninth ('Human Propensity') with seven, his tenth ('Qualification') and eleventh ('Other semantic types') with four of the other classes, while Dixon's third, fourth, fifth and seventh categories ('Speed', 'Age', 'Colour', 'Difficulty') overlap with one each of Hundsnurscher & Splett's categories. Dixon's second category, 'Physical Property', is the most versatile one and also the one most in need of further subclassification, the exemplary adjectives for this class can be found in fourteen categories of the Hundsnurscher & Splett classification.

More important than an exact overlap of categories and subclasses of the two approaches, however, is that a theoretical framework is found for the present study. Dixon's approach is set far too broadly. His eleven categories incorporate too many semantic features which have to be treated separately in a semantic analysis of the

word class in order to be able to compare and analyse the compatibility or incompatibility of the comparative structure (*comp-element* and *basis of comparison*). On the other hand, one might argue that the German approach is too detailed to allow any statement about possible semantic relations between *comp-element* and *basis of comparison*.

The most sensible solution for the present investigation was to adopt Dixon's approach for statements concerning the possible semantic relations, along with his statements on what kinds of nouns adjectives can and do relate to normally. This approach along with the incorporation of Dixon's approach in aspects where Hundsnurscher & Splett's cannot be applied, for example in matters of *dimension* (i.e. *depth*), *similarity*, *eagerness* and *definiteness*, cf. table below, will come in handy in the following section, when some of the reasons for the semantic discomfort of comparative structures are looked at in detail.

The following table gives both an overview over the different types of adjective classes which occur in the corpus and the mixture of labels used for them. As can be seen, 45 different semantic types of adjectives, altogether 194 tokens, were used in comparative structures in the corpus. 23 of these 193 tokens occur in *Ri3*, 35 in *LLL*, 41 in *R&J*, 33 in *KiL*, 27 in *Tem*, 34 in *He8*.

Adjective class		Subclassification		Occurrences in the corpus						Total
				<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	
I.	PERCEPTIONAL	1	lightness	1						1
		2	colour		2	1		1	1	5
		3	sound			1		1	1	3
		4	taste		1				3	4
		7	touch		1					1
II.	SPATIAL	1	dimension		2	6	3	1	3	15
		2	direction			1				1
		3	localisation			3		1		4
		D.1	depth	1		4		1		6
III.	TEMPORALITY-RELATED	1	time			1				1
		2	age			2	2			4
IV.	SPATIO-TEMPORAL		motion		3	1				4
V.	MATERIAL-RELATED	2	consistence			1	1	1		3
		3	ripeness		1			4	2	7
		5	purity		1					1
		6	gravity					1		1
		9	weather						1	1

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Adjective class		Subclassification		Occurrences in the corpus						Total
				Ri3	LLL	R&J	KiL	Tem	He8	
VI.	BODY-RELATED	1	life				1			1
		2	constitution					1	2	3
		5	sexual inclin.					1	1	2
		6	appearance	2	6	4	2		2	16
VII.	MOOD-RELATED	1	mood	2	1	1	1		2	7
		2	stimulus		1					1
VIII.	SPIRIT-RELATED	1	intelligence		1					1
IX.	BEHAVIOUR-RELATED	1	character	2	3	2	1	2		10
		2	behaviour	1	1	1	3		1	7
		3	discipline		1	2	1	2		6
		4	skill	1					1	2
		5	relation	3	1					4
		D.9E	eagerness		1	1		1		3
X.	SOCIAL-RELATED	1	social status		2	1	2		2	7
XI.	QUANTITY-RELATED	2	quantity	1						1
		3	costs				1		1	2
XII.	RELATIONAL	1	validity					1	1	2
		2	certainty		1	1				2
		3	requirement	1						1
		5	energy requir.	1					1	2
		7	security	1			1			2
		9	orderness					1		1
		11	correlation						1	1
		14	complete-ness	1		1	1			3
		17	beneficial effect	1						1
		D.10A	definiteness	1	3	2	1			7
XIII.	GENERAL	1	comparison		1	1		1	3	6
		2	evaluation	3	1	3	10	6	4	27
		D.8	similarity				2		1	3
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>23</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>193</b>

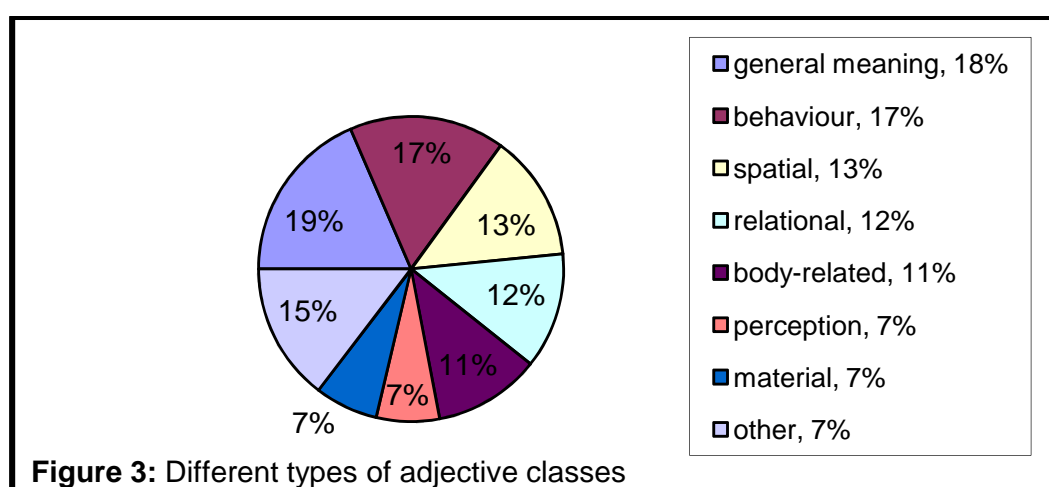
**Table 36:** Overview of different types of adjective classes in the corpus

The above table shows that 36 of the 193 predicative comp-elements in the corpus conveyed a *general meaning* and 32 were *behaviour-related* (18.5% and 16.5%, respectively). 26 items came from the *spatial* (13.4%), 23 from the *relational* (12.3%) and 22 from the *body-related* domains (11.3%). The fields of *perception* and *material* accounted for 14 and 13 instances (6.8% and 6.7%, respectively). The remaining 14.5% were covered by the fields related to *mood* (eight occurrences), *society* (seven items), *time* (five items), *space/time* (four items), *quantity* (three instances) and *spirit* (one occurrence).



Here the problem mentioned above becomes apparent: the majority of predicative comp-elements which had to be attributed to a single class all stem from the category "general meaning", almost 20%. Three quarters of the adjectives which belong to these 20% fall under the category 'evaluation'. While arguments might be found to group the remaining nine adjectives (of comparison and similarity) together in a fused sub-class, the original labelling of the adjective classes was not changed.

The following pie-diagram gives a better overview of the different types of adjective classes in the corpus:



The analysis of the adjectives showed that before the turn of the century, i.e. in the plays *Ri3*, *LLL*, *R&J*, Shakespeare used more spatial, behaviour-related and relational adjectives than after the turn of the century, i.e. in the plays *KiL*, *Tem*, *He8*. After the turn of the century, he used more general and material-related adjectives. He used 17 spatial adjectives in the plays before 1600, but only 9 after 1600; furthermore he used 20 behaviour-related adjectives before and 12 adjectives of this kind after the turn of the century. For relational adjectives, the number is 14 before and nine after, whereas for material adjectives, it is four before and ten after the turn of the century. Finally, after the turn of the century, general adjectives, i.e. such of comparison, evaluation and similarity were used three times as often as before the turn of the century (9 – 27). Neither perceptual (7 – 7) nor body-related adjectives (12 – 10) showed such a difference in frequency. The following table summarizes the findings:

	before 1600	after 1600
Spatial adjectives	17	9
Behaviour-related adjectives	20	12
Relational adjectives	14	9
Material-related adjectives	4	10
General adjectives	9	27
Perceptual adjectives	7	7
Body-related adjectives	12	10

**Table 37:** Frequency of type of semantic adjective class before and after the turn of the century

The analysis also showed that considerably more spatial adjectives are used in the tragedies, and also considerably fewer perceptual and material adjectives. General adjectives were used less often in comedies compared to the other two genres, but adjectives relating to the body, behaviour and relations did not differ significantly in numbers, as the following table shows:

<b>Spatial adjectives</b>	Histories	4	<b>Material adjectives</b>	Histories	3	<b>Perceptual adjectives</b>	Histories	6
	Comedies	5		Comedies	8		Comedies	6
	Tragedies	17		Tragedies	2		Tragedies	2
<b>Behaviour adjectives</b>	Histories	9	<b>Relational adjectives</b>	Histories	9	<b>Body adjectives</b>	Histories	7
	Comedies	12		Comedies	7		Comedies	8
	Tragedies	11		Tragedies	7		Tragedies	7
<b>General adjectives</b>	Histories	11						
	Comedies	9						
	Tragedies	16						

**Table 38:** Types of adjective classes found in specific genres

While appendix 6.1.1 gives a complete list of the lexemes occurring in the corpus as classified here, the following table is intended as a quick reference to show how different lexemes are classified in types of adjective classes:

No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play	No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play
1	light	I.1	<i>Ri3</i>	133	pinch-spotted	I.2	<i>Tem</i>
2	deep	II.D.1	<i>Ri3</i>	134	loud	I.3	<i>Tem</i>
3	fair	VI.6	<i>Ri3</i>	135	thick	II.1	<i>Tem</i>
4	foul	VI.6	<i>Ri3</i>	136	free	II.3	<i>Tem</i>
42	(ridiculous)	VII.2	<i>LLL</i>	100	big	II.1	<i>KiL</i>
43	subtile	VIII.1	<i>LLL</i>	101	compact	II.1	<i>KiL</i>
44	devout	IX.1	<i>LLL</i>	102	long	II.1	<i>KiL</i>
45	proud	IX.1	<i>LLL</i>	103	elder	III.2	<i>KiL</i>
No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play	No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play
65	long	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	160	black	I.2	<i>He8</i>
66	thin	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	161	loud	I.3	<i>He8</i>
67	mov'd	II.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	162	bitter	I.4	<i>He8</i>
68	boundless	II.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>	163	sweet	I.4	<i>He8</i>

**Table 39:** Overview of different lexemes as classified in types of adjective classes

The numbers used here are the same numbers as used in the complete list of lexemes in appendix 6.1.1.

## 2.6 Semantic analysis of comp-element and proposition B

### 2.6.1 Role of proposition A

As was mentioned above, the proposition expressed in the matrix clause ('A') is the most important part of a comparative structure for Quirk et al. (1985: 1127f), and can be represented by the formula 'A = adjective'. In the present study, proposition A does not hold a superordinate position in the comparative structure, the corpus material shows that in almost a third of the cases, 29% or 57 out of 194 instances, proposition A is missing and must be inferred from the context. Proposition A plays a subordinate role because it is the second part of the equation, namely 'adjective = proposition B', cf. above, which allows Shakespeare to be creative.

### 2.6.2 Semantic classification of comp-element

#### 2.6.2.1 Comparisons of equality

The comparative element in the comparisons of equality stem from all eleven semantic types proposed by Dixon. Three of the eleven types of adjectives clearly dominate, making up 70.4% of the occurrences: *dimension* with 28 adjectives (26%), *physical property* and *human propensity* adjectives with 24 occurrences each (22.2%). Eight adjectives come from the field of *value* (7.4%), seven from the field of *qualification* (6.5%). The remaining 15.7% denote *colours* and *speed* (4 occurrences each, 3.7%), *similarity* and *position* (three occurrences each, 2.8%), *age* (two adjectives, 1.8%) and *difficulty* (one adjective, 0.9%).

#### 2.6.2.2 Comparisons of inequality

The comparative element in the comparisons of inequality stem from ten of the eleven semantic types proposed by Dixon. Again, three types of adjectives clearly dominate, making up approximately three quarters of the occurrences (76.8%): *physical property* with 25 adjectives (29%), *value* adjectives with 24 occurrences (28%) and *human propensity* adjectives with 17 occurrences (19.8%). The remaining 23.2% denote *dimension* (seven occurrences, 8.1%), *qualification* (five occurrences, 5.8%), *colour*, *age* and *difficulty* (two occurrences each, 2.3%), *speed* and *quantification* (one adjective each, 1.2%).

#### 2.6.2.3 Conclusion

In short, the vast majority of predicative comparative adjectives in the corpus come from the domains of *physical property* (49 adjectives), *human propensity* (41 adjectives), *dimension* (35 adjectives) and *value* (32 adjectives). *Qualification* adjectives amount to 12, *colour* to six, *speed* to five, *age* to four, *difficulty*, *similarity* and *position* to three each and adjectives of *quantification* occur only once:

Domain	Amount	Domain	Amount	Domain	Amount
<i>physical property</i>	49	<i>qualification</i>	12	<i>difficulty</i>	3
<i>human propensity</i>	41	<i>colour</i>	6	<i>similarity</i>	3
<i>dimension</i>	35	<i>speed</i>	5	<i>position</i>	3
<i>value</i>	32	<i>age</i>	4	<i>quantification</i>	1

**Table 40:** Domains of predicative comparative adjectives in the corpus

### 2.6.3 Dixon's prediction

In order to analyse whether or not proposition B 'complies' with the comp-element semantically, it is necessary to introduce Dixon's semantic approach to English adjectives in more detail, in particular Dixon (1991). According to Dixon, certain words or word classes typically co-occur with or relate to certain other words or word classes. In the case of adjectives, he proposes that

DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, COLOUR and AGE adjectives typically relate to a CONCRETE noun. SPEED can modify<sup>30</sup> a CONCRETE or an ACTIVITY noun. HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives [...] generally relate to a HUMAN noun. DIFFICULTY and QUALIFICATION adjectives tend to refer to an event, and may have as subject an appropriate noun (e.g. *Cyclones are common at this time of year*) or a complement clause. VALUE adjectives may refer to anything [...] SIMILARITY adjectives relate together two things that can be CONCRETE, ABSTRACT or ACTIVITIES (but should normally come from the same category).  
Dixon (1991: 80)

Dixon's semantic classification of nouns is more detailed than the above mentioned categories, but will be summarised only briefly in a table here, as adjectives and not nouns are the focus of this study:

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<sup>30</sup> 'Modify' here is not restricted to the adjective in attributive position, Dixon uses it more in the sense of the verbs 'relate to' and 'refer to'.

Type	Subclass	Sub-subclass	Example
CONCRETE REFERENCE	HUMAN	rank	<i>lady, lieutenant, chief</i>
		social group	<i>nation, army, crowd, company</i>
		kin terms	<i>father, daughter, uncle, wife</i>
	OTHER ANIMATE		[no examples given]
	(BODY AND OTHER) PARTS		[no examples given]
	INANIMATE	flora	[no examples given]
		celestial and weather	<i>sun, wind, shade</i>
		environment	<i>air, water, stone, oil, gold, forest</i>
artefacts		<i>building, market, door</i>	
ABSTRACT REFERENCE	TIME		<i>time</i> itself, as well as words referring to position in time, e.g. <i>future, yesterday</i> , and units of time, e.g. <i>month, moment, night, summer</i>
	PLACE		<i>place</i> , together with words referring to position or direction, e.g. <i>front, edge, north</i> , and to units of measurement, e.g. <i>mile</i>
	QUANTITY		<i>number, amount, age, size, length</i> etc.
	VARIETY		<i>type, character, shape</i> and types of shape such as <i>circle, line</i>
	LANGUAGE		<i>sound, word, sentence, noun</i>
	GENERAL ABSTRACT TERMS		<i>idea, unit, problem, method, result, truth</i>
STATE (AND PROPERTIES)	MENTAL		<i>pleasure, joy, honour, ability, sagacity</i>
	CORPOREAL		<i>ache, strength</i>
ACTIVITIES			<i>war, game, decision, speculation, whipping, sale, play</i>
SPEECH ACTS			<i>question, order, report, description, talk, promise</i>

**Table 41:** Semantic classification of nouns according to Dixon (1991)

Adjectives denoting *position* relate to abstract nouns, particularly from the subclass 'place'. *Quantification*-adjectives relate to concrete nouns.

This means that if the comp-element is an adjective of the *dimension, physical property, colour* or *age* domains, then it should be followed by a proposition B which contains a *concrete noun*, that is a noun which belongs to either of the four subclasses *human, animate, body parts* or *inanimate*. If that should not be the case, then semantic oddity or discomfort could be the effect.

### 2.6.4 Hypotheses regarding Dixon's predictions

My approach to the semantic classification of (predicative) comparative structures seems to be a new one: Dixon's approach to English grammar does not deal with comparative structures. He mentions comparatives and superlatives as being one of the "multitude of elements which may precede the head of an NP" (Dixon 1991: 21) and he also introduces a category of comparing verbs (Dixon 1991: 166f), but does not mention the semantic (or syntactic) aspects of predicative comparative structures at all.

If we recall Quirk et al. (1985: 1127f), a comparison compares proposition A with proposition B via the comparative element. The hidden implication that A = adjective = B [alternatively, for comparisons of inequality: "A > adjective > B" and "A < adjective < B"] allows me to apply to the corpus in certain ways Dixon's semantics of adjectives and their relating to nouns. If proposition A equals (or is more or less than) the adjectival comparative element and is set in relation to proposition B, then it can be assumed that both A and especially B relate to and normally co-occur with certain other words and word classes, as proposed by Dixon's semantic approach to grammar.

## 2.7 Syntactic analysis of proposition B

### 2.7.1 Comparisons of equality

In this sub-group of 108 comparisons in the corpus, occurrences of proposition B are made up of a full sentence 34 times, five times B is a clause (*-ing-*, *to-* and *temp-* clause). Expanded noun phrases (with determiner, determiner and adjective, or with a complement) occur 40 times as proposition B, a single noun in 24 instances. A prepositional phrase occurs twice, while an adverb, a single adjective and an adjective phrase occur once each.

Five instances were found in the comparisons of equality where no proposition B exists in the texts. Of these, a noun can be inferred from the context twice, a *to*-clause twice and a full sentence once. These five inferred instances are provided in the following list:

*My bounty is as boundless as the sea, / My love AS DEEP. (R&J II.2)*

*And if my face were but as fair as yours, / My favor were AS GREAT: be witness this. (LLL V.2)*

*Come, come, thou art as hot a Jack in thy mood as any in Italy, and AS\_SOON MOV'D to be moody, and as soon moody to be mov'd. (R&J III.1)*

*Now I think on't, / They should be good men, their affairs AS RIGHTEOUS. (He8 III.1)*

### 2.7.2 Comparisons of inequality

This sub-group contains 86 comparisons of inequality. Their occurrences of proposition B are made up of a full sentence 32 times, four times B is a clause (*to*- and *temp*-clause). Expanded noun phrases occur 33 times as proposition B, a single noun in 10 instances. A prepositional phrase occurs three times, as well as single adjectives, while an adverb occurs once as proposition B. The following table summarises the above findings:

	Equality	Total	Inequality	Total	Overall
full sentence	34	39	32	36	75
<i>to</i> -clause	2		3		
<i>temp</i> -clause	2		1		
<i>ing</i> -clause	1		--		
expanded noun phrase	40	69	33	50	119
single noun	24		10		
prepositional phrase	2		3		
single adjective	1		3		
adjective phrase	1		--		
adverb	1		1		
<b>TOTAL:</b>	108		86		194

**Table 42:** Syntactic analysis of proposition B

### 2.7.3 Hypotheses regarding the (syntactic) analysis of proposition B

Regarding the overall constituents of proposition B, two hypotheses spring to mind, namely (i) that when proposition B is realised by a sentence or clause, the likelihood of comprehending the expression is relatively high, and (ii) that when



proposition B is 'merely' a noun phrase or prepositional phrase, the likelihood of comprehending the expression is relatively low. Section 2.8.3 shows the results of the following discussion and analysis.

Concerning hypothesis (i), it is possible, but cannot be proved, that a sentence in proposition B was chosen because the comp-element and a single NP in proposition B would not have been comprehensible. That is to say they do not match and would have needed further explanation. It is possible that the semantic discomfort is lower in the case of hypothesis (i) because a sentence can clarify more than just a short phrase.

Concerning hypothesis (ii), an NP or PP was possibly chosen because its combination with the comp-element was an easily comprehensible combination which did not need any further explanation in Shakespeare's time. It remains to be seen whether this is still the case in *PDE*. The 'semantic discomfort' caused by a nominal realisation of proposition B is assumed to be higher.

In relation to the findings in the previous sections, this means that 75 occurrences of proposition B fall under hypothesis (i): 66 full sentences and nine clauses, while 112 occurrences of proposition B fall under hypothesis (ii): 73 expanded noun phrases, 34 single nouns and five prepositional phrases. The remaining five adjective phrases (single A or AP) and two adverbs are most likely to also fall under hypothesis (ii) because they are neither clauses nor full sentences.

In the next section, the semantic domains of the comp-element, which have been analysed and can be found in appendix 6.1, will be checked against the nominal element of proposition B, i.e. the noun which the comp-element relates to.

### *2.8 Results of analysis*

Altogether 109 comparative structures (52 comparisons of equality and 57 comparisons of inequality.) of the 194 predicative comparatives in the corpus did not deviate from Dixon's (1981) prediction, nor were they awkward for other reasons. In 42 of these 109 constructions proposition B was realised by a sentence or clause (38.5%), while 67 were realised by a nominal, prepositional or adjectival phrase or adverb (61.5%). When B is realised by a sentence, there is no limitation to the

internal syntactic structure of the proposition. A nominal realisation of B is sometimes further modified by an attribute or prepositional phrase, seldom by a subordinate clause.

However, 85 comparative structures of the 194 predicative comparatives in the corpus deviated from Dixon's prediction or were difficult for other reasons, as explained in the next sections. 31 of these 85 constructions were realised as a sentence or clause (36%), while 54 were realised by a nominal, prepositional or adjectival phrase or adverb (64%).

The realisation of proposition B as a non-clausal construction is clearly the more dominant and more prototypical one, with only about one-third being realised as a sentence or clause. This is true for both the deviating and non-deviating realisations of proposition B.

### 2.8.1 Comparisons of equality

The sub-group of 108 comparisons of equality was evenly split between constructions which were 'correct' either in complying with Dixon's prediction or in their not being awkward for other reasons.

70 of the 108 comparisons of equality in the corpus were realised as Dixon would have predicted them for *PDE* (64%). That is, an *age* adjective in the comp-element was actually followed by a concrete noun twice, a *colour* adjective three times, a *dimension* adjective 18 times and a *physical property* adjective 16 times. *Speed* adjectives were followed by concrete nouns twice. *Difficulty* and *qualification* adjectives were followed by a noun denoting an event once and three times, respectively. *Human propensity* adjectives related to human nouns 11 times, while *position* adjectives related to an abstract noun twice. The three similarity-adjectives related to the expected two nouns every time.

Since *value* adjectives were predicted to relate to any type of noun, it is not surprising that all nine *value* adjectives were followed by the 'correct' noun in proposition B, for example:

- Ri3* (IV.2): *Gold were as GOOD as twenty ORATORS, / And will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.* (A: value; N: anything)
- LLL* (IV.3): *Sweet lords, sweet lovers, O, let us embrace! / As TRUE we are as FLESH AND BLOOD CAN BE.* (A: qualification; N: event / activity)
- R&J* (IV.5): *The most you sought was her promotion, / For 'twas your heaven she should be advanc'd, / And weep ye now, seeing she is advanc'd / Above the clouds, as HIGH as HEAVEN itself?* (A: position; N: abstract)
- KiL* (I.2): *When my dimensions are as well compact, / My mind as GENEROUS, and my shape as true, / As honest MADAM'S issue?* (A: human propensity; N: human)
- Tem* (V.1): *He is as DISPROPORTION'D in his manners / As in his SHAPE.* (A: dimension; N: concrete)
- He8* (V.1): *'Tis as LIKE you / As CHERRY is to cherry.* (A: similarity; N: concrete / abstract / activities)

The following table gives an overview of the realisations of correct and incorrect predictions:

Dixon's prediction		Realisation of correct prediction	Total
<i>correct</i>	70	<i>age</i> + concrete noun	2
		<i>colour</i> + concrete noun	3
		<i>dimension</i> + concrete noun	18
		<i>physical property</i> + concrete noun	16
		<i>speed</i> + concrete noun	2
		<i>difficulty</i> + event	1
		<i>qualification</i> + event	3
		<i>human propensity</i> + human noun	11
		<i>position</i> + abstract noun	2
		<i>similarity</i> + two nouns	3
		<i>value</i> + any noun	9
<i>incorrect</i>	38		38
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>108</b>		<b>108</b>

**Table 43:** Correctness of Dixon's prediction and realisation

In 36% of the cases, however, proposition B was realised in a different way from that predicted by Dixon's modern analysis (38 comparative structures; these 38 instances deemed incorrect can be found in appendix 6.1.2, examples 4, 11, 13, 18, 20, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39, 45, 48, 49, 50, 55, 60, 64-67, 73-75, 81, 82, 86, 87, 91, 92, 95, 98-101, 103 and 106).

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

A full list of examples can be found in appendix 6.1.2; here only an overview is given, as well as an explanation of the first example with an incorrect prediction: the full quote as it appears in the play is: *And I were so apt to quarrel as thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an hour and a quarter.* (R&J)

No	Play	Proposition A	Complement	Sem. classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
4	R&J	I	apt to quarrel	D9E	AP [A to-clause]	D9E	Qualification	event / activity	as	thou art	S [NP [Pron] V]	0	1
29	LLL	if my face	fair	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	yours	NP [Pron]	1	1
41	Ri3	'Twere	good he were [as dead]	XIII.2	AP [A S]	XIII.2	Value	anything (or compl-clause)	as	living here and you no use of him	rel-clause and S	1	0
52	KiL	proper deformity	horrid	IX.2	A	IX.2	Human Propensity	human	as	in woman	PP	1	0
56	Tem	(the ship)	leaky	V.2	AP [A PP]	V.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	an unstan ch'd wench	S [NP [Det N] VP [V AP[A PP]]]	1	0
95	He8	(perils did abound)	thick	II.1	A	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	as	thought could make them	S [NP [N] VP [aux V N]]	0	1

**Table 44:** Exemplary reading and explanation of appendix 6.1.2 (Predicative comparative structures)

The table is to be read as follows: the first column indicates the number of the example, followed by the name of the play and a quote of proposition A. Next comes the quote of the complement and its semantic classification, followed by a description of its syntactic structure. The next two columns represent the classification according to Hundsnurscher & Splett and Dixon, followed by the prediction Dixon gives of what proposition B should look like. As is inserted before the actual proposition to remind the reader that he is dealing with comparisons of equality, in contrast to comparisons of inequality in appendix 6.1.3. After the proposition comes its syntactic structure. The final two columns indicate whether Dixon's prediction was correct (=1) or incorrect (=0) and whether the meaning of the comparative structure as a whole is comprehensible (yes = 1, no = 0).

Although the compliance with Dixon's prediction of the semantic '(in-) correctness' had been proposed to be an indicator for the semantic discomfort of the constructions, not all of the 38 structures above were odd or noticeable. Therefore, the 108 comparisons of equality were read over again, without Dixon's predictions in mind, to find those comparisons which might be considered awkward, incomprehensible or at least unexpected by a modern reader. This *indirect approach* was undertaken to form a second sub-group of discomforting structures in the corpus. This *indirect approach* is similar to the indirect proof in mathematics: an answer is assumed to be correct, then the proof is carried out with the assumed answer. If the result is correct, then the assumption must be correct to begin with and so proof of this is given through the proof.

The syntax of both sub-groups of occurrences of proposition B was analysed in a next step, including all the comparative structures of equality in the corpus which could possibly be difficult for the modern reader.

In 37 of the original 108 comparisons, the meaning of the structure, or rather the relation between comp-element and proposition B, was classified as being awkward, incomprehensible or at least unexpected from a *PDE* and especially non-native speaker's point of view, whereas the majority of structures (71 instances) were not at all awkward in their relation between comp-element and proposition B. Thus, a relation of 34% : 66% between awkward and non-awkward structures was attested.

<b>Relation between comp-element and proposition B</b>	
<i>awkward</i>	37 <sup>31</sup>
<i>not awkward</i>	71
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>108</b>

**Table 45:** Relation between comp-element and proposition B

Only 19 of the 108 comparisons were both 'wrong' according to Dixon's prediction and awkward in their relation between comp-element and proposition B, cf. appendix 6.1.2, examples 24, 35, 36, 48, 50, 55, 66, 67, 75, 81, 86, 87, 91, 92, 98, 99, 100, 101. Therefore, a total of 56 comparative structures of equality form the group of discomfort-causing structures in the corpus. 19 were 'incorrect' according to Dixon's

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. appendix 6.1.2, examples 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 17, 23, 24, 35, 36, 38, 41, 48, 50, 52, 55, 56, 62, 66, 67, 70, 75, 77, 79, 81, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 92, 98, 99, 100, 101, 106.

prediction, 18 were incorrect because they were 'awkward', and 19 were both 'awkward' and 'incorrect'.

As summarised in section 2.7.2 above, in the comparative structures of equality, proposition B was realised by a clause or sentence 39 times, and 69 times by an (expanded) noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, an (expanded) adjective phrase or an adverb. The 56 unobtrusive constructions required no further analysis. The distribution of the second half, however, was as follows:

<b>Comparisons of equality</b>	<b>Sentence/clause</b>	<b>NP, PP, AP, Adv</b>
(a) prop B ≠ Dixon's prediction	10	9
(b) prop B = awkward meaning	3	15
overlap between (a) and (b)	8	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>21 (37.5%)</b>	<b>35 (62.5%)</b>

**Table 46:** Distribution of comparisons of equality as clauses and phrases

In 19 of the 38 cases proposition B did not comply with Dixon's prediction of what semantic class the noun relating to the comp-element should belong to, and ten were realised by a sentence or clause, whereas nine were realised by a noun or prepositional phrase. Of the 18 cases in which the relation between comp-element and proposition B was awkward, 15 instances of proposition B were realised by a noun, adjective or a noun or prepositional phrase. Only three occurrences of proposition B were realised as sentences. Only eight of the remaining 19 overlapping cases of either type of 'incorrectness', were realised by a sentence or clause, while eleven were realised by a noun or prepositional phrase.

Thus, 21 of 56 awkward occurrences of proposition B were realised as a sentence or clause, as opposed to 35 realisations of proposition B as nominal, prepositional or adjectival phrase or adverb. Again, the non-clausal realisation of proposition B dominates in almost two-thirds (62.5%) of the cases.

2.8.2 Comparisons of inequality

86 comparisons of inequality are under investigation in this section. 27 of these were 'correct' either in complying with Dixon's prediction or in the fact that their relation between comp-element and proposition B was not awkward for other reasons.

In about 80 % of the comparisons of inequality, i.e. 68 cases, occurrences of proposition B were realised as Dixon would have predicted. That is, an *age* adjective in the comp-element was actually followed by a concrete noun twice, a *colour* adjective twice, a *dimension* adjective six times and a *physical property* adjective 20 times. The *speed* adjective was followed by a concrete noun, as was the *quantification* adjective. *Human propensity* adjectives related to human nouns 12 times. Since *value*-adjectives were predicted to relate to any type of noun, it is not surprising that all 24 *value* adjectives were followed by the 'correct' noun in proposition B. A full list of examples can be found in appendix 6.1.3. Here only an overview of the comparisons of inequality is given:

No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of comp-element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
14	<i>Ri3</i>	'Tis		better with me now	XIII.2	AP	D1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	when thou met'st me last where now we meet	temp-clause	1	1
33	<i>LLL</i>	he		fleeter	IV	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	arrows, bullets, wind, thought, swifter things	NP	0	1
51	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Honor's train		longer	II.1	A	IX.1	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	the tale thou dost excuse	S	0	1
66	<i>KiL</i>	Love's feeling		some year elder	III.2	AP	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	this	NP	1	1
80	<i>Tem</i>	(some)		worse	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	any death	NP	1	1
85	<i>He8</i>	I	more	worth	XI.3	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	empty vanities	NP	1	1

**Table 47:** Exemplary reading and explanation of appendix 6.1.3 (Predicative comparative structures)

In 18 instances (ca. 20%), however, proposition B was realised in a different way than predicted by Dixon's analysis for modern English.

Dixon's prediction		Realisation of correct prediction	Total
<i>correct</i>	68	<i>age</i> + concrete noun	2
		<i>colour</i> + concrete noun	2
		<i>dimension</i> + concrete noun	6
		<i>physical property</i> + concrete noun	20
		<i>speed</i> + concrete noun	1
		<i>quantification</i> + concrete noun	1
		<i>human propensity</i> + human noun	12
		<i>value</i> + any noun	24
<i>incorrect</i> <sup>32</sup>	18		18
<b>Total:</b>	<b>86</b>		<b>86</b>

**Table 48:** Correctness of Dixon's prediction and realisation

As in the previous section, the assumption had been that the semantic 'incorrectness' of proposition B would be an indicator for a noticeable, discomfort causing structure. However, only 15 of these 18 comparative structures were odd or noticeable. Therefore, the 86 comparisons of inequality were also read over again to find those comparisons which would be considered odd by a modern reader, cf. appendix 6.1.3, examples 2, 3, 9, 19, 29, 32, 41, 49, 52, 54, 62, 74, 75, 76 and 79.

The majority of structures (71 instances) were completely acceptable in their relation between comp-element and proposition B. In only 15 of the 86 comparisons of inequality was the relation between comp-element and proposition B classified as being awkward, incomprehensible or at least unexpected from a *PDE* point of view. In contrast to the comparisons of equality, the relation between awkward and non-awkward structures is 82.5% : 17.5%.

Relation between comp-element and proposition B	
<i>non-awkward</i>	71
<i>awkward</i>	15
<b>Total:</b>	<b>86</b>

**Table 49:** Relation between comp-element and proposition B

<sup>32</sup> Cf. appendix 6.1.3, examples 2, 16, 19, 23, 24, 33, 38, 42, 45, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 61, 69, 77 and 78.



Also in contrast to the findings in the previous section, only in four of the 86 comparisons was an overlap between the two types of 'incorrectness' of proposition B and the comparative structure as a whole attested. 18 instances were 'incorrect' according to Dixon's prediction, 15 were 'incorrect' because their realisation was awkward, and four were both 'awkward' and 'incorrect'.

The analysis in section 2.7.2 above showed that proposition B in the comparisons of inequality was realised by a clause or sentence 36 times, and 50 times by an (expanded) noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, an (expanded) adjective phrase or an adverb. The 27 unobtrusive constructions mentioned above required no further analysis.

The remaining 29 awkward and/or incorrect structures were distributed as follows:

<b>Comparisons of inequality</b>	<b>Sentence/clause</b>	<b>NP, PP, AP</b>
(a) prop B ≠ Dixon's prediction	4	10
(b) prop B = awkward meaning	6	5
overlap between (a) and (b)	--	4
<b>Total:</b>	<b>10 (34.5%)</b>	<b>19 (65.5%)</b>

**Table 50:** Distribution of comparisons of inequality as clauses & phrases

There were 14 out of 18 cases in which proposition B did not comply with Dixon's prediction of what semantic class the noun relating to the comp-element should belong to; ten of these were realised by a nominal, adjectival, prepositional or adverbial phrase, while four were realised by a sentence or clause. In the eleven cases in which the relation between comp-element and proposition B was awkward, proposition B was a sentence or clause in six instances. Five occurrences of proposition B were realised as noun phrases. All four of the above mentioned overlapping cases of either type of 'incorrectness' were realised as noun phrases.

Thus, eleven of 25 awkward occurrences of proposition B of the comparisons of inequality were realised as a sentence or clause (cf. appendix 6.1.3, examples 23, 24, 38, 51, 53, 62, 69, 74, 75, 76, 78), as opposed to 14 realisations of occurrences of proposition B as nominal, prepositional or adjectival phrase or adverb (cf. appendix 6.1.3, examples 3, 9, 16, 29, 32, 33, 41, 42, 45, 50, 52, 61, 77, 79). This time the non-clausal and clausal realisation of proposition B are fairly similar (44% : 56%).

### 2.8.3 Conclusion

Summarising sections 2.8.1 and 2.8.2 on the 85 incorrect or awkward comparative constructions in the corpus, it was seen that proposition B was realised as a nominal, prepositional or adjectival phrase or adverb in 54 instances (63.5%). In 31 instances of the incorrect or awkward comparative constructions in the corpus, proposition B was realised as a sentence or clause (36.5%). 109 constructions were unobtrusive, 67 of those were realised in a non-clausal way, 42 by clauses/sentences (61.5% : 38.5%).

The results of the above sections also mean that the comparative structures which denote equality (altogether 56) are difficult to comprehend about twice as often as the comparisons of inequality (altogether 29), 66% as opposed to 34%.

Furthermore, there seems to be a correlation between the semantic discomfort caused by the comp-element and the realisation of proposition B as a nominal, adjectival or prepositional phrase in general: in both types of comparison, the realisation of B as a sentence or clause causes only between 35% and 38% of the discomfort, while the main cause for discomfort, between 62% and 65%, is to be found in those constructions realised by non-clausal constructions. The two hypotheses stated in section 2.7.3 above are, therefore, proved to be true.

### 2.9 *Semantic similarity of (problematic) comp-elements*

The following sections analyse whether a correlation can be found between the general awkwardness of the comparative structures singled out in the previous chapters and the semantic features of their respective comp-elements. That is, whether a link can be established between the semantic field of the comp-element and (i) the syntactic structure of proposition B and (ii) the semantic oddity of the whole comparative structure.

### 2.9.1 Analysis of the semantics of comp-element and syntax of proposition B

The analysis of the syntax of proposition B yielded no results whatsoever: the lexical classes of the comp-elements according to the classification following Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982) were, as anticipated before, too diverse. Considering only those classes which contained three or more awkward constructions, i.e. classes D10A, I, II, V-VII, IX, XII, XIII, a similarity of syntactic constructions could only be found in three classes: class II had [NP [Det A N]] twice, class IX had [NP [Det N]] twice and finally, class XII had [S [V NP]] twice. No correlation can thus be established between the syntax of proposition B and the comprehensibility of the comparative structure as a whole.

### 2.9.2 Analysis of the semantics of comp-element and deviant comparative structures

The analysis of the semantics of proposition B was a more difficult task. Because Dixon's analysis and classification of adjectives and nouns are set rather broadly, Hundsnurscher & Splett's classification was reconsidered here for the comp-element. Wherever possible, the terms chosen for B were similar to or the same as the terms proposed by Hundsnurscher & Splett for the classification of the comp-element. A list of the semantics of proposition B can be found in appendix 6.1.

Proposition B was generally syntactically longer than the comp-element and in those instances in which B was realised by a sentence or clause, it was often not the subject which carried the semantic meaning, but the verb, for example in Antonio's speech on the likelihood of Ferdinand being alive after the storm (*Tem* II.1):

*'Tis as impossible that he's [Ferdinand] undrown'd,  
As he [Alonso] THAT SLEEPS HERE SWIMS.*

The pronoun of proposition B refers to Alonso whom Sebastian and Antonio have found asleep, but it is the 'activity' of sleeping that carries the semantic weight in the proposition, not the existence of Alonso's body.

Additionally, in some of the instances in which B was realised by an expanded NP, the semantic weight was put on the adjective, as in Ferdinand's soliloquy (*Tem* III.1) in which he compares Miranda to her father:

*O, she is  
Ten times more GENTLE THAN HER FATHER'S CRABBED;  
And he's compos'd of harshness.*

The comparison would have been a mere evaluation, without the attribute 'crabbed'. It is the attribute 'crabbed', however, which carries the weight: Miranda's gentleness is compared not just to her father, but to the 'crabbed-ness' of Prospero.

To assign the semantic category of proposition B, the semantic 'compatibility' of the comp-element and B were checked, i.e. whether the 'object' in B was compatible with the attribute 'dimension' in the comp-element, for example in *LLL* (V.1), Armado says:

*Pardon, sir, error: he is not quantity enough for that Worthy's thumb, he is  
not so big as THE END OF HIS CLUB.*

The compatibility-check was thus whether 'the end of his club' could actually relate to the dimension / size implied by the comp-element 'big'. Or whether 'the land that feeds us' in *He8* (I.3) correlates with the attribute 'fruitful'.

*Lovell: That churchman bears a bounteous mind indeed,  
A hand as fruitful as THE LAND THAT FEEDS US;  
His dews fall every where.*

As a result of the semantic compatibility check, it can be safely said that proposition B could come from any semantic field if the comp-element came from either of the sub-classes XIII.1 (General-Comparison) or XIII.2 (General-Evaluation), the reason for this being that a factual or internal comparison took place. That is, not only on a syntactic basis, but also on a deeper semantic basis a comparison or an evaluation takes place. A judgment takes place and because judgments are dependent on the speaker or author, the correlation between B and comp-element is never semantically awkward. The observation someone makes and puts into words becomes factual by definition. These cases, i.e. when an evaluation or comparison take place both on a syntactic and a semantic basis, are perhaps the most 'primitive' ones, to borrow Wierzbicka's terminology (1972).

The only exception is perhaps Edgar in IV.1 of *KiL*, who begins his speech with the following words: "Yet better thus, and known to be contemn'd, than still contemn'd and flatter'd." Here, however, the awkwardness arises because of the suddenness and intensity with which this scene begins and also because it does not pick up on Edgar's last appearance in III.6 as Poor Tom.

The second observation to be made is that if both comp-element and B stem from the same lexical domain, as in *He8* (I.2) when the King says:

*Yet see,  
When these so noble benefits shall prove  
Not well dispos'd, the mind growing once corrupt,  
They turn to vicious forms, ten times more UGLY  
Than ever they were FAIR.*

no oddity occurs either, because two semantically equal things are compared with one another, regardless of whether the syntactic structure is one of equality or of inequality.

After these general observations, however, the picture becomes less clear. After thorough study and analysis, the main reason for an awkwardness of a construction seems to be that the comp-element and proposition B are incompatible on a semantic level: the semantics of B does not comply with the semantics of the adjective of that particular construction.

Several of the 194 predicative comparative structures are awkward for various reasons. Unfortunately, it was not possible to further categorise these awkward constructions. The lexical fields from which the comp-elements came from were too diverse. The following table gives a brief overview of the diversity of the 53 comp-elements in question:

constitution	1	life	1	stimulus	2	motion	2	sound	3
depth	1	localisation	1	behaviour	2	colour	2	social	4
quantity	1	gravity	1	cost	2	dimensional	3	definite	4
energy requirement	1	directional	1	mood	2	completeness	3	character	4
skill	1	discipline	1	taste	2	certainty	3	appearance	5

**Table 51:** Summary of the lexical fields of problematic comp-elements

The lexical fields of the corresponding occurrences of proposition were also very diverse. The five 'appearance' adjectives, for example, were compared with 'material', 'time', 'text', 'object' and 'activity.' Only in the case of the 'social' and the 'mood' adjectives were the propositions 'person' and 'mood' found twice. The assumption that adjectives from certain lexical fields cause more awkwardness than others cannot be verified.

### *2.10 Conclusion*

No correlation between the syntax and semantics of predicative comparative structures could be found. The oddity of about a quarter of Shakespeare's comparisons could neither be linked to a syntactic nor to a semantic discrepancy between the comp-element and proposition B.

However, the above sections showed that comparisons of equality are slightly more difficult for the modern reader to comprehend than comparisons of inequality. Also, those occurrences of proposition B that were presented as longer sentences or clauses posed slightly fewer problems than shorter nominal, prepositional and adjectival phrases. It is believed that the reason for this is rooted in the fact that the longer the explanation following, the more comprehensible and less awkward it is. A shorter realisation of proposition B, which might have been less problematic and more obvious for audiences during Shakespeare's lifetime, poses more problems to the modern reader, possibly because the semantic change that the meaning of this short phrase has undergone over the years makes it less comprehensible now than it used to be.

Odd comparisons can occur in about every field (with the exception perhaps of the semantic subclasses of 'evaluation' and 'comparison', cf. above). The usually quite lengthy analysis which would be necessary destroys the beauty of the comparison which is created because of its compactness, leaving the reader with usually more than just one possible reading. The beauty of Shakespeare's comparative structures is, above all, created by their conciseness.

The following table summarises the distribution of the comparative structures over the corpus:

Play	Comparisons of equality	Comparisons of inequality	Totals
<i>Ri3</i>	11	14	<b>25</b>
<i>LLL</i>	27	9	<b>36</b>
<i>R&amp;J</i>	24	16	<b>40</b>
<i>KiL</i>	16	17	<b>33</b>
<i>Tem</i>	12	15	<b>27</b>
<i>He8</i>	18	15	<b>33</b>
<b>Totals</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>194</b>

**Table 52:** Distribution of comparative structures in the plays

### 3 Attributive transpositions

A total of 613 adjectives in the corpus were transpositions, which will be analysed here. The 613 transpositions are equivalent to 6.07% of the adjectives, or 44.47% of the total number of words the corpus consists of. The following table presents the material provided by the corpus with a normalisation of the frequency per 10,000 words.

Play	Words	Transpositions	Percentage of transpositions / words	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words	Adjectives	Percentage of transpositions / adjectives	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words
<i>Ri3</i>	28,309	153	0.54%	54.05	2,210	6.92%	692.31
<i>LLL</i>	21,033	89	0.42%	42.31	1,535	5.80	579.80
<i>R&amp;J</i>	23,913	129	0.54%	53.95	1,851	6.97	696.92
<i>KiL</i>	25,221	80	0.32%	31.72	1,811	4.42%	441.74
<i>Tem</i>	16,036	69	0.43%	43.03	1,084	6.37	636.53
<i>He8</i>	23,325	93	0.40%	39.87	1,607	5.79%	578.72
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>137,837</b>	<b>613</b>	<b>0.44%</b>	<b>44.47</b>	<b>10,098</b>	<b>6.07%</b>	<b>607.05</b>

**Table 53:** Normalised frequency of transpositions per total number of words and per adjective

In this chapter I will analyse the syntactic and semantic peculiarities of Shakespeare's use of transferred structures and discuss whether they might be related to difficulties in understanding their meaning. The most prototypical and easily noticeable case of transposition, e.g. *the whole ear of Denmark* (*Hamlet* I.5; which should be read as "the ear of the whole of Denmark") was not found in the corpus, unfortunately, but initially triggered the search for transferred structures in

Shakespeare's plays. Transferred structures of the kind *I serve AS GOOD A MAN as you* (*R&J* I.1) or *For the most part such / To whom AS GREAT A CHARGE as little honour / He meant to lay upon* (*He8* Prologue), did not undergo analysis here, because they are regarded "as a transformation derived from the more normal word order 'a + Adj + N' [which] was possible [...] when the adjective was preceded by an intensifier but also when no intensifier was present." (Seppänen 1978: 533) It is a less common word order which might have triggered hypallagic readings in other but similar occurrences.

The main tasks of this chapter are to delimit the meaning of Shakespeare's transferred structures and to classify them according to their syntax and semantics. I shall also attempt to discover whether Shakespeare prefers a specific syntactic position for his transpositions, define those constructions in the corpus which are semantically odd and, finally, analyse them.

After delimiting the terminology used in other studies and presenting the one used in this dissertation, I will continue by presenting previous treatments of Shakespeare's transpositions before presenting means of distinguishing transferred adjectives in the corpus. One possible test method is described as well as the results of the test on a subcorpus which was speciall created for this purpose. Finally, 18 different types of transpositions are described and analysed by exemplary readings, before the problems possibly arising because of these structures are summarised.

### *3.1 Delimiting the problem*

Attributive adjectives quite often do not apply to the head of the noun phrase, although they are part of the noun phrase. That is, they do not actually modify the head of the noun phrase in which they occur. Instead, they seem to be displaced syntactically and to modify a "wrong" noun, as they either refer to another noun in the sentence or even to the semantic feature of another sentence element which must be implied from the context. There are several names for this rhetorical device;



Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 558f) call them "transferred attributives"<sup>33</sup> and give the following examples:

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>a DISCREET cigarette</i>      | – the cigarette itself was not discreet, but the way it was smoked |
| <i>a DRUNKEN brawl</i>           | – the participants in the brawl were drunk                         |
| <i>their INSANE cackle</i>       | – the people cackling (apparently) were insane                     |
| <i>a NUDE photo of the mayor</i> | – the mayor was nude   |
| <i>a QUIET cup of tea</i>        | – the tea-drinking event was quiet                                 |
| <i>your own STUPID fault</i>     | – the person at fault was stupid                                   |

None of these attributives modify the heads of the noun phrases they occur in; the correct relation between the adjective in question and its semantic head needs to be explained for a correct understanding, as "there is considerable variation with respect to how well established adjectives are in this usage" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 558). The above examples and explanations already make clear that several different types of transposition can occur in the English language; Huddleston & Pullum define six types. However, in the present analysis, 14 different types were found and classified.

Huddleston & Pullum's term "transferred attributives" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 259) is appropriate for the phenomenon described, although it might seem a bit vague at first. Though their terminology is appropriate, the definition they give for the term is not: "traditional rhetorical analysis uses the term TRANSFERRED EPITHET or the word HYPALLAGE (from the Greek for 'exchange') for such cases" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 558; emphasis in the original). Although it is true that descriptive adjectives are used in hypallagic expressions, it would be a mistake to think that *transferred epithets* are defined in exactly the same way as *hypallage*.

A first overview of these terms can be found in Burton's (2007) *Silva Rhetoricae*, a web-page devoted to the explanation of literary terms,

[kept] within the classical and Renaissance tradition. This was not monolithic, and I've found many discrepancies, including the terms you are looking at, but I've done my best to provide the most general sense of the terms in question. (Burton, p.c., July 2, 2007)

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. the *Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* for a detailed explanation of the terms 'attribute' and 'attributive'.

The rather short explanation given by the *CamGEL*, above, mixes the definitions of several different rhetorical devices, namely *epithet*, *hypallage*, *enallage* and also *metonymy* and *metaphor*, which must therefore be explained at this point.

Neither Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* from 1589 nor Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* from 1593 were taken into consideration here. While it is almost certain that older, Latin-based books on the use of rhetoric were available to Shakespeare,

there is evidence to prove not only that Shakespeare had a thorough and systematic knowledge of rhetoric and logic but also that he gained this knowledge from the Latin textbooks regularly studied in the Tudor grammar schools and that he employed in the composition of his plays and poems both techniques and materials derived from these Latin texts. Baldwin<sup>34</sup> illustrates Shakespeare's use of particular forms of composition, as for example various forms of the oration described in [...] Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (Joseph 1947: viii)

Neither of these two books might have been available to him and thus might not have influenced his writing. It is to be assumed, however, that what Puttenham<sup>35</sup> and Peacham<sup>36</sup> state can be found in Shakespeare, without the one or the other side having influenced one another. However, Peacham and Puttenham's definitions

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<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Joseph (1947): Baldwin, T.W. (1944). *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*. Urbana.

<sup>35</sup> Puttenham (1589) mentions all the terms under investigation in the present study: Epithets are used "when ye will speake giuing euery person or thing besides his proper name a qualitie by way of addition whether it be of good or of bad it is a figuratiue speech of audible alteration" (Puttenham 1589: 187); they "must be apt and proper for the thing [...] added vnto, and not disagreeable or repugnant." (Puttenham 1589: 193). Metonymy is to be found "where ye take the name of the Author for the thing it selfe; or the thing counteining, for that which is contained, and in many other cases do as it were wrong name to the person or the thing" (Puttenham 1589: 192). Metaphors are used as ornament only and are "the most commendable and most common" figure of speech (Puttenham 1589: 190). The occurrences are "a kinde of wresting of a single word from his owne right signification, to another not so natural, but yet of some affinitie or conueniencie with it" (Puttenham 1589: 189). Enallage is a figure "that worke[s] *auricularly* by exchange, [and was] more obseruable to the Greekes and Latines for the brauenesse of their language, ouer that our is, and for the multiplicite of their grammaticall accidents, or verball affects [...], that is to say, their diuers cases, moodes, tenses, genders, with variable terminations, by reason whereof, they changed not the very word, but kept the word, and changed the shape of him onely, vsing one case for another, or tense, or person, or gender, or number, or moode" (Puttenham 1589: 192).

<sup>36</sup> Peacham (1593) writes that "*MEtaphora* is artificial translation of one word, from the proper signification, to another not proper, but yet nigh and like" (Peacham 1593: 13). "*MEtonymia*, called of the Latines *Transnominatio*, and of some *Hypallage*, it is a forme of speech, wherby the Orator putteth one thing for another, which by nature are nigh knit together." (Peacham 1593: 27). "*EPitheton* [...] is a figure of forme of speech, which ioyneth *Adiectiues* to those *Substantiues*, to whom they do properly belong, and that either to praise or dispraise, to amplifie or extenuate. (Peacham 1593: 143). He does not mention the term *enallage* at all.

might have been available to Abbott when writing his grammar, but as he does not mention the terms in question in his grammar at all, this also remains doubtful.

Unfortunately, the incredible compilation on rhetoric in Renaissance culture by Plett (2004) could not be used either, as it was of virtually no help for the present study. Though quite elaborate in many aspects, it neither covers the transposition of adjectives, nor epithets, enallage or hypallage adjectivi. Neither does it cover the complete span of Shakespeare's literary creation, but only up to the turn of the century.

### 3.2 Definition of "epithet"

The term *epithet* is nowadays almost always used as a synonym to the terms *adjective*, *modifier* or *attribute*, see Huddleston & Pullum in the quotation on page 108, above. However, in its original sense the term *epithet* refers to a trope, "employed solely to adorn and enhance our style without any reference to the meaning" (Quintilian: 8.6.40-43<sup>37</sup>; cf. Russell 2001 & Thayer 1993-2007). As Quintilian states in his *Institutio Oratoria – The education of the orator*, it is an appositum and therefore clearly an ornament which cannot stand by itself: "For if you say, 'The man who destroyed Numantia and Carthage,' it will be an *antonomasia*<sup>38</sup>, whereas, if you add the word 'Scipio,' the phrase<sup>39</sup> will be an *epithet*. An epithet therefore cannot stand by itself." (Quintilian: 8.6.40-43). An epithet is usually considered redundant and it is used for decorative effect in the creation of metaphors, which is why the definition of *metaphor* is also included in this chapter. Quintilian warns the readers that "while style is bare and inelegant without any epithets at all, it is overloaded when large numbers are employed" (Quintilian: 8.6.41); he also warns writers not to use too many adornments because "two epithets directly attached to one noun are unbecoming" (Quintilian: 8.6.43). Epithets are

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<sup>37</sup> The following quotations are given by referring to book, chapter and section of Quintilian's work only, without further referring to either Russell (2001) or Thayer (1993-2007).

<sup>38</sup> *Antonomasia* substitutes something else for a proper name, either by the substitution of an epithet as equivalent to the name which it replaces, or by indicating the most striking characteristics of an individual. (Cf. Quintilian: 8.6.29).

<sup>39</sup> I.e. 'the man who destroyed Numantia and Carthage'.

considered tropes because they add something to the meaning, even if the usage does not always involve change. Quintilian argues logically that this is so because if the epithet were to be "separated from the word to which it belongs, it [would have] a significance of its own and [form] an antonomasia" (Quintilian: 8.6.43).

### 3.3 Problems of definition: "*hypallage*", "*metonymy*", "*enallage*", "*metaphor*"

Although it is necessary to attempt such a differentiation, it is not always easy to draw clear lines between the three terms *hypallage* (from Greek 'interchange', cf. Burton 2007), *metonymy* (from Greek 'change of name', cf. Burton 2007) and *enallage* (from Greek 'change', cf. Burton 2007), even less so when some of the definitions given assume that they are almost the same, cf. Brockhaus (2007). Even Quintilian admitted that it is "a task involving too much minute detail [...] for a work whose aim is not the training of an orator" (Quintilian: 8.6.28).

He states that *metonymy* is the substitution of one name for another and is in effect called *hypallage* by Cicero (Quintilian: 8.6.23). According to Quintilian, it is a device

- (1) "to indicate an invention by substituting the name of the inventor, or a possession by substituting the name of the possessor", e.g. 'Vulcan' for 'fire', a device that
- (2) substitutes "that which contains for that which is contained", as in 'civilised cities' or 'a happy age', a device which describes
- (3) "what is possessed by reference to its possessor", as in 'sixty thousand men were slain by Hannibal' (rather than by his men), or as in 'a sacrilege has been detected' (rather than a sacrilegious man), and finally a device which
- (4) "indicates cause by effect", as in 'headlong anger' or 'cheerful youth'.  
(Quintilian: 8.6.23-27)

Quintilian does not use the term *enallage* for the last type of trope which he describes, but describes it as using, for example, the plural instead of the singular (cf. Burton 2007). Not so much "to enable one thing to be inferred from many", but to merely present a variant form of the word; or, when saying 'golden roof' instead of

'gilded roof', he "diverge[s] a little from the truth, because gilding forms only a part of the roof" (Quintilian: 8.6.28).

Even Webster's (2001) considers the terms *metonymy* and *hypallage* as separate entities, giving them an entrance each: *metonymy* is a "figure of speech consisting of the use of the name of one thing for that of another of which it is an attribute or with which it is associated (as 'crown' in 'lands belonging to the crown')". *Hypallage*, on the other hand, is defined as "an interchange of two elements in a phrase or sentence from a more logical to a less logical relationship (as in 'a mind is a terrible thing to waste' for 'to waste a mind is a terrible thing')". *Enallage* is not mentioned.

An English-French contrastive approach to hypallage and metonymy (Paillard 2002) quotes both the 1979 edition of *Webster's Collegiate* and the 1995 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (cf. Paillard (2002) for the bibliography of these two titles) for definitions of *hypallage*, which then lead him to differentiate between three types of syntactic shifts:

- a syntactic shift (of one) or inversion of (two) elements,
- an added change in syntactic category, typically Adjective for Adverb or vice versa,
- an ellipsis of one term, in which the syntactical element is omitted but semantically implied. (Paillard 2002: 176-7)

These three types already include most of the categories found for *transferred adjectives / transpositions* in the corpus.

*Metonymy* is not clearly defined in Paillard's article, and neither of the occurrences mentioned there are of interest for the present study: Paillard compares instances of metonymy in nominalisations as well as in exocentric and endocentric compounds. *Metonymy* there functions as a vehicle "which names a distinctive part or concrete characteristic of the entity referred to" (Paillard 2002: 180f). He thus uses the term *metonymy* in a similar way to the other definitions given above.

In another study, Rickard (1996) looks at *transferred epithets* in modern English prose, but before defining them as showing

*no logical link between the adjective and the noun it grammatically qualifies, but rather, between the adjective and something else: – a concept lying elsewhere and expressed either by a different noun or by more elaborate contextual means. The concept may even be contextually remote, and this factor may tend to make the connection somewhat opaque for the reader*

(Rickard 1996: 3, emphasis in the original)

he mentions that the concept of *extension of epithets* is the necessary and important preliminary step in order to understand the concept underlying transferred epithets: *extension refers to "a basically logical development of the proper or primary sense"* (Rickard 1996: 3, emphasis in the original) of the adjective-noun combination, resulting for example in different variants and subtypes of metonymy, from the material to the object made from it, from the container to the contents, from the part standing for the whole (or vice versa), the last example representing the subtype synecdoche. Other shifts which may cause the logical development of the primary sense are caused, according to Rickard, by "a shift from concrete to abstract, from active to passive, from subjective to objective, from analogy, from metaphor, or from omission through close and constant association (ellipsis)" (Rickard 1996: 3).

Although Rickard does not offer a dictionary-type definition of the terms *epithet*, *hypallage*, *enallage* and *metonymy*, his opposition of the terms *transferred* and *extended epithet* makes it clear that by *extension* he refers to all types of logical and therefore metonymical development of meaning.

His term, *transferred epithet*, covers most closely what is understood by *transposition* and *transferred adjective* in the present discussion, namely that the adjective does not modify the head noun of the noun phrase as such, but refers to something that is either a non-inherent quality of the noun, to a different noun or even to something that can only be expressed by more contextually elaborate or remote concepts.

The only definition now still missing is that of *metaphor*, a device mostly marked by the use of decorative epithets. Quintilian (8.6.4-10) defines *metaphor* as being "a shorter form of *simile*", in which some object is openly compared to the thing that is being described. In *metaphors*, "a comparison [is] made by referring to one thing as another" (Burton 2007), creating a pleasing and elegant effect (Quintilian 8.6.4-10).

They add to the copiousness of language by the interchange of words, by borrowing and "by succeeding in accomplishing the difficult task of providing a name for everything" (Quintilian 8.6.4). Quintilian names four classes of metaphors, which are often employed unconsciously, namely: substitution of one living thing for another, of inanimate for other inanimate things, inanimate for animate or animate for inanimate things. *Metaphor* is also seen as a figure of speech in which "a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them" (Webster's 2001), as for example in *drowning in money*. One can see that even over several centuries the definition of the term *metaphor* has stayed rather uniform.

To sum up, one can say that neither the definition of *metaphor* nor that of *metonymy* has changed much over time, while the definitions of the terms *hypallage*, *enallage* and *epithet* are to be treated not strictly according to the explanations given above. According to Burton, "enallage was a particularly fascinating term in the Renaissance, covering a host of strategies" (Burton, p.c., July 2, 2007). This can also be seen from the diversity of strategies of transposition within the corpus, as will be seen later. A common denominator needs to be found to avoid any confusion in the terminology.

### 3.4 Terminology used

The term *epithet* is generally avoided here, unless when directly referring to a quotation in which the word is used. The terms used here to refer to adjectives which do not modify the head of the noun phrase in which they occur are:

- *transposition*, when referring to the whole phrase, or
- *transferred adjective*, when referring to the adjective within a transposition.

As already mentioned above, Huddleston & Pullum's (2002: 558) term 'transferred attributives' is a rather appropriate term for the phenomenon researched here, although a minor difference exists between what they consider 'attributives' and my definition of *adjectives* in the present study.

The terms *transposition* and *transferred adjective* include both prenominal and postnominal transpositions and transferred adjectives, which are dealt with in separate sections of this chapter to avoid confusion resulting mainly from the fact that there are 14 and seven types of transpositions, respectively, which coincide in labelling but not in their meaning and reading.

To avoid any confusion, the term *hypallage* is from here on avoided<sup>40</sup>, partly because no coherent definition of the term could be found, but mainly because Shakespeare uses many different types of transpositions, of which sections 9.9 and 9.10 give exemplary readings. The prototypical and also some of the most astounding transpositions analysed there give an example of how Shakespeare used transpositions to make his plays more concise and dense than would have been possible otherwise. I disagree with Long (2004-2007, URL) when he says that "hypallage works best [...], if there is a rather tight connection between the two parts of the sentence, so that the interchange is obvious." Transposition does in fact work best when the interchange is subtle rather than obvious. It is all the more pleasing when the transposition only becomes noticeable to a very attentive reader; the humorous effect is then greater and more effective. Causing slight confusion or at least startling the reader is also of greater effect than a blunt and obvious transposition.

The exemplary readings and classifications in 8.9 and 8.10 are intended to make transparent the difficulties which might arise in the comprehension of such concise structures.

### 3.5 Previous treatment of transpositions in Shakespeare

Scholars have always noticed Shakespeare's use of transpositions, although they might not have explored the topic themselves. The earliest mention is in Helms' dissertation, which he ends with the words "space forbids me to offer some more remarks and illustrations, for instance on some curious cases belonging to the preceding chapter; on As. [adjectives] used adverbially [...]" (Helms 1868: 56).

---

<sup>40</sup> Although the term *hypallage adjectivi* exists in books on literary terms as well and refers there to the types of *transpositions* which are analysed here, any usage of the term *hypallage* is avoided.



### 3.5.1 Abbott

Abbott's grammar (1870<sup>3</sup>) does not mention *hypallage*, *enallage* or *metonymy* at all, but the 'transposition of adjectives'. By that he understands adjectives which are termed postpositioned adjectives in this dissertation. The placement of the adjective after the noun occurs

- in legal expressions such as 'in the *seat royal*' (*Ri3*),
- as in phrases "where a relative clause, or some conjunctive, clause is understood between the noun and adjective", as in 'Filling the whole realm ... with new opinions [that are] *divers and dangerous*' (*He8*),
- when either participles are used as adjectives because "they imply a relative" or adjectives which end in *-ble*, *-ite*, *-t*, *-ive*, or *-al*: *unspeakable*, *past*, *angelical* etc.
- or in cases where the transposition may be expected because (1) the noun is unemphatic and "the adjective is not a mere epithet but essential to the sense", or because (2) French or Latin influence made the transposition common, as in 'by Providence *divine*' (*Tem*), 'as well the fear of harm as harm *apparent*' (*Ri3*), 'a secretary *astronomical*' (*KiL*).  
(Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 306-308)

The only other thing which Abbott states is that adjectives are used quite freely as adverbs. This, he says, is due to the fact that many adverbs used to be formed from adjectives by adding an *-e* to the positive degree, as in "*bright*, adj.; *brighte*, adv." (Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 17f). Over time, the *-e* was dropped while the adverbial use was kept and "hence, from a false analogy, many adjectives (such as *excellent*) which could never form adverbs in *-e*, were used as adverbs", as in '*Thou didst it EXCELLENT*' (*Taming of the Shrew*, i.1.89) (Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 18).

In a later section on prosody, Abbott, rather untypically gives a very straightforward and clear definition for the term *metaphor*, a "transference of relation between one set of objects to another, for the purpose of brief explanation." The two examples he gives, 'the ship *ploughs* (or *is the plough of*) the sea' and 'the winds are the horses that draw *the plough of the sea*.'" (Abbott 1870<sup>3</sup>: 431, emphasis in the original), show that he differentiates between two types of metaphors: fully stated ones and implied metaphors.

### 3.5.2 Schmidt

In the section on grammatical observations of his dictionary, Schmidt mentions the reverse of the above fact, namely that adverbs are used instead of adjectives, for example in 'The best news is that we have *SAFELY* found our king and company' (*Tem*) instead of 'in a safe state; safe' (Schmidt 1902: 1418).

He also treats the *transposition of words* extensively, but not without admitting that it would be a "task of infinite and perhaps unprofitable labour" to trace all of Shakespeare's transpositions of words. For him this is the inversion of the relation "of notions by transferring an epithet from the agent to the object or means of acting, and, in general, to apply to one part of a sentence what strictly belongs to another".

He differentiates four different kinds of such transpositions:

- transposition of epithets from the subject or predicate to the object, as in 'held a late court at Dunstable' (*He8*) instead of 'lately held a court',
- epithets of governing and governed substantives confounded, as 'the world's large tongue' (*LLL*) instead of 'the large world's tongue',
- the manner of logical dependence changed (substantive for adjective and vice versa), as in 'what with our help, what with the absent king' (*1. Henry IV*) instead of 'the absence of the king',
- the whole relation of ideas inverted, as in 'more to know did never meddle with my thoughts' (*Tem*) instead of 'my thoughts never meddled with, cared for, knowing more'. (Schmidt 1902: 1423)

Some more interesting observations on adjectives which do not apply to the head of the noun phrase in which they occur can be found in the section on adjectives performing the office of the first parts of compound nouns, which is actually concerned with adjectives "derived from nouns by means of the suffix *-ed*" (Schmidt 1902: 1415-1418). Before dealing with these adjectives, however, Schmidt argues that because of the non-existence of inflectional endings in English, the connection between adjective and noun was looser in Elizabethan English than in other languages. This, he says, is the reason that some adjectives limit the extent and sphere of the noun rather than expressing a quality or degree. He gives 'a bloody fire' in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* as one of several examples, i.e. a fire which "is not a

fire that has the quality, or increases to the degree, of being bloody, but [...] a blood-fire, a fire in the blood" (Schmidt 1902: 1416).

He sees other examples, like 'murderous shame = shameful murder', 'a separable spite = a spiteful separation', 'swift extremity = extreme swiftness', etc. as the reason that "the relation of the adjective and its noun seems inverted and confounded" (Schmidt 1902: 1417).

### 3.5.3 Obst-Kennedy

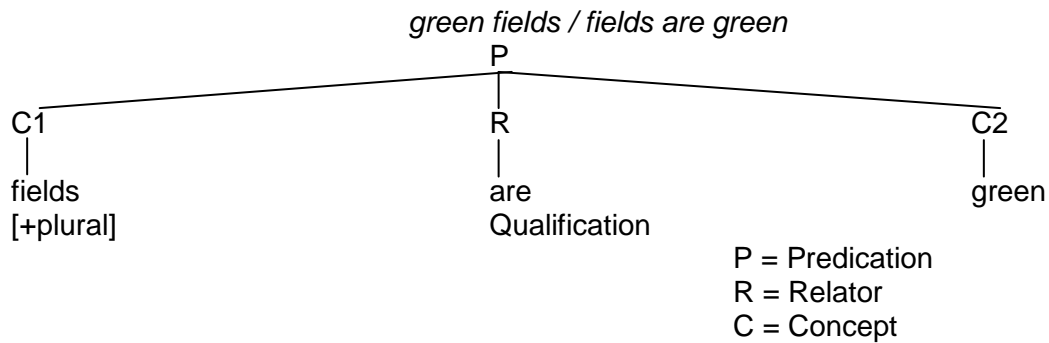
Obst-Kennedy's unpublished thesis is one of the more recent and also one of the latest works concerned with Shakespeare's adjectives. Her intention was to "establish general regularities" on the difficulties a modern reader might have in understanding Shakespeare. One would then be able to use these regularities to "constitute a grammar of meaning and usage for Shakespeare's adjective" and also to "reduce or simplify the entries in any Shakespeare lexicon" (Obst-Kennedy 1976: 1).

Obst-Kennedy attempts to establish these regularities by defining four different types of relational concepts, namely

- Qualification: *A is B*
- Classification: *A is a subtype of B*
- Possession: *A is part of B*
- Location: *A is in/on/under ... B*

which she uses to represent whole predications because "they link two other concepts" (Obst-Kennedy 1976: 7).

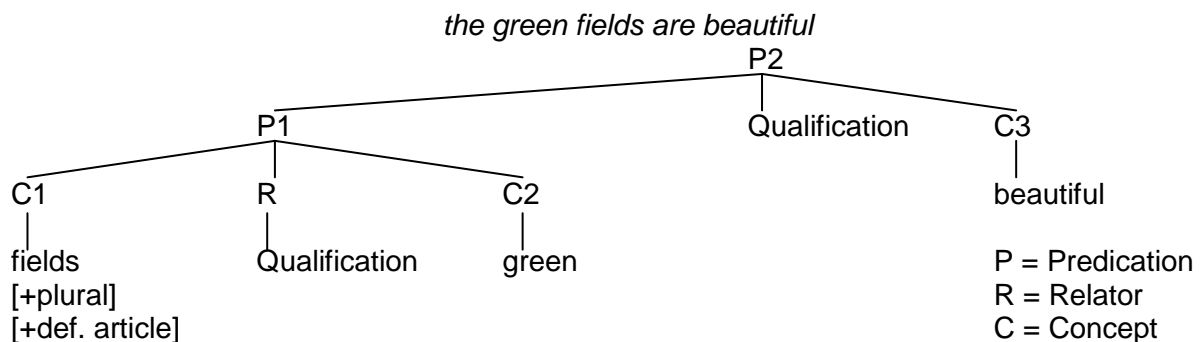
She develops her description starting with the central adjective *green*, which can be used both predicatively and attributively, e.g. *green fields* or *fields are green*. The relational concepts underlying these phrases are the same and can be represented by the following figure:



**Figure 4:** Obst-Kennedy's simple relational concepts

Obst-Kennedy then enlarges this scheme to be able to describe more complex sentences such as *the green fields are beautiful*, which integrates the predication above and thus functions as one of the concepts of the other.

This is represented by the following figure:



**Figure 5:** Obst-Kennedy's complex relational concepts

Obst-Kennedy continues by introducing the terms *ingression* and *causation* (1976: 9). The first one can be rephrased as [Qualification + 'become'], while the latter is again an extension of the first, rephrasable as [Ingression + 'cause']. Examples for these cases are:

- |                |                            |  |
|----------------|----------------------------|--|
| Qualification: | <i>somebody is AWAKE</i>   | [A is B]   |
| Ingression:    | <i>the WAKING princess</i> | [A 'becomes' B, = 'she is becoming awake']                               |
| Causation:     | <i>the WAKENING alarm</i>  | [agent 'causes' A to become B, = 'the alarm causes sb. to become awake'] |

With the aid of these basic tools, Obst-Kennedy attempts to describe cases of semantic discomfort, which are the source of difficulties a modern reader might have in understanding Shakespeare. These are "cases in which the reader of the historical text realises that in a given context the usual modern meaning of a word does not make adequate sense". This incompatibility arises, according to Obst-Kennedy, "when there is a clash between the semantic content of the syntactic form and that of the lexical form" (1976: 11), as for example in: *We send / To know what WILLING RANSOM he will give* (*Henry V*, III.5.62).

The clash becomes apparent because *willing* has the feature [+ human], while *ransom* has the feature [- human]. Obst-Kennedy suggests an interpretative change in the lexical content, such as for example metonymy and metaphor allow, or else an interpretative change in the syntactic content: because *willing* can only ever be a modifier, and thus always needs a noun to accompany it, a matching syntactic head needs to be found. *Willing* requires a qualified object with compatible semantic features" (Obst-Kennedy 1976: 13), which can be found in the concept of 'he', who is willing to give something he possesses as a ransom. The re-interpretation of the passage could be as follows: "We send / To know what RANSOM HE IS WILLING TO GIVE."

These and similar passages are analysed by Obst-Kennedy, partly with only the aid of the four tools mentioned above, partly by introducing further tools. Unfortunately, she is far from being able to establish regularities for all of Shakespeare's adjectives; she merely gives a few examples for which she presents a means of analysis. These analyses are also far from being able to reduce or simplify the entries in any Shakespeare lexicon.

In her analysis of Shakespeare's 'anomalous adjectives' (1976: 30-33), Obst-Kennedy introduces three different types of 'hypallage adjectivi', namely those cases in which

- the adjective is simply "displaced from its natural syntactic position." It is thus an adjective "which can function as modifier for another context noun. This second noun is very often [...] a genitive attribute within the noun phrase", as in *with the DIVINE forfeit of his soul* (*ALL* III.6.33) instead of 'with the forfeit of his divine soul',

- there is no other compatible noun available, in which case "the adjective can be interpreted as belonging to another word-class, for example as a noun modifier", as in *The aged wrinkles in my cheeks* (*Tit* III.1.7) instead of 'wrinkles of age, age-wrinkles',
- "the adjective can be seen as qualifying the whole verbal predicate, that is, in a function compatible with the adverb", as in *which happies those that pay the willing loan* (*Sonn* 6.6) instead of 'that willingly pay the loan.  
(Obst-Kennedy 1976: 30-32)

She adopted Lausberg's (1967<sup>3</sup>, 1990<sup>10</sup>) definitions: "Hypallage generally is the interchange and consequent reversal of the natural relations of any two elements in a predication. Hypallage adjectivi means simply transference of epithets. An attributive adjective does not refer in meaning to the noun it formally modifies", cf. Obst-Kennedy (1976: 33).

Her analysis above must be read with great care, however, as Obst-Kennedy only looked at those uses of modifiers which she assumed were due to "Shakespeare's use [of them as] the result of stylistic choice". Those 'anomalous' uses of modifiers which she counted as "normal at the time" were not included in her study (Obst-Kennedy 1976: 34).

Obst-Kennedy's procedure therefore stands in clear contrast to the present study, which analyses all occurrences of transpositions in the corpus, whether they are the result of Shakespeare's stylistic choice or whether they were normal at the time. If a case of semantic discomfort between adjective and noun can be attested because the adjective does not pass more than the entailment test, cf. section 3.6 below, then the adjective is counted as a *transferred adjective* worth analysing in the present study.

### 3.5.4 Blake

Further confusion is created by Blake's use of the terms *transposed adjectives* and *transferred epithets*. The former is used only for those (i) adjectives which have adverbial function or (ii) adverbs which have the form of adjectives (Blake 2002: 151f), as in

(i) *Whose figure even this INSTANT cloud puts on (He8)* instead of 'instantly' and in

(ii) *Thou didst it EXCELLENT (Taming of the Shrew)* instead of 'excellently'<sup>41</sup>.

On the other hand, the latter is used only in the context of adjectives not modifying the noun with which they occur, but another noun present in the sentence, as for example in *Twelfth Night: a brother's DEAD love*, where "dead refers to *brothers* rather than to *love*" (Blake 2002: 72).

### 3.5.5 Summary of differences in terminology

The following table summarises the findings of the previous sections. The examples from Abbott, Schmidt and Blake, who described the use of adverbs in the forms of adjectives are included in this table, as well as Abbott's use of the terminology *transposition*.

'Transposition' used for the following types of expressions		Abbott	Schmidt	Obst-Kennedy	Blake
Legal expressions	terminology used in the corpus: <i>postnom. adjectives</i>	√	x	x	x
instead of relative/conjunctive clause		√	x	x	x
Participles implying a relative		√	x	x	x
A ending in <i>-ble, -ite, -t, -ive, -al</i>		√	x	x	x
A essential to sense of unemphatic N		√	x	x	x
French or Latin influence		√	x	x	x
Seldom: A is merely an epithet		√	x	x	x
Adv instead of A		√	√	x	√
A instead of Adv	x	√	√	√	
A modifies another context noun	x	√	√	√	
A belongs to another word class	x	√	√	x	
Semantic inversion of A+N-combination	x	√ <sup>42</sup>	x	x	
Relation of A and N is inverted	x	√	x	x	

**Table 54:** Summarizing different usages of 'transposition'

<sup>41</sup> As with Abbott above, transposed adjectives in which adverbs have the form of adjectives are not included in this analysis.

<sup>42</sup> Schmidt says that this is not a type restricted to adjectives, as can be seen in his example: *more to KNOW did never meddle with my thoughts (Tem)* instead of 'my thoughts never meddled with, cared for, knowing more'. This type will not be analysed in the present study.

As can be seen from the table, the few studies that exist on Shakespeare's use of adjectives and which also treat the use of transposition differ greatly in their description of what can be regarded as a *transferred adjective*. In fact, not a single correlation exists in the four different analyses of *transposition*. While some use the same label as I do, they understand something completely different by it. Others, however, use different labels, but come close to my definition of *transposition*.

Schmidt, Obst-Kennedy and Blake describe two types of transposition which were taken as a starting point for the classification of the different types of transpositions which occur in the corpus: 'A instead of Adv' and 'A modifies another context noun'. An analysis of the corpus soon made it clear that several different types of transposition could be found in the corpus, altogether 14 different types. They are explained and analysed in detail in subsection 3.8.

### 3.6 Distinguishing "*transferred adjectives*" in the corpus

Although the discussion in the previous sections yielded no results as to a coherently uniform definition of the terms, it was necessary because many articles and books apply the terms quite liberally without considering the differences at all. Almost all the articles on *hypallage*, such as Rickard (1996) and Paillard (2002), state that it is a syntactic-semantic issue, and that it is sometimes difficult to detect. The authors then go on to describe the peculiarities in meaning of such constructions. Almost no information is ever given on how to detect these constructions, and whether what happens on a semantic level can be explained syntactically.

While ordinary attributive adjectives can be used predicatively with the same sense, there are numerous types of adjectives, such as degree, quantifying, temporal, locational and associative adjectives as well as process-orientated, modal, particularising, expressive and transferred attributives, which cannot occur predicatively without at least a change of meaning (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 553f). These subtypes are semantically rather heterogeneous and seem to refuse a simple classification. However, according to Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 554), a simple test method exists which is said to be useful in the distinction of *transferred attributives*



from other adjectives: these adjectives "pass the entailment test. Results on the other tests are largely negative, except for the *nude photo* type<sup>43</sup>, though some accept modification (*an outrageously drunken brawl, a very quiet cup of tea*)" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 559; emphasis in the original). Regarding the test, Huddleston & Pullum say that

Ascriptive attributive adjectives characteristically have the four properties illustrated summarily for *shy* in [3], whereas most attributive-only adjectives lack one or more of them.

- [3] i ENTAILMENT *X is a shy N* entails *X is an N* (e.g. *Tom is a shy man* entails *Tom is a man*).
- ii SUBSET *A shy N* gives an answer to the question *What kind of an N is X?* (e.g. *A shy man* is an answer to the question *What kind of a man is Tom?*)
- iii MODIFIABILITY *Shy* can itself be modified (e.g. *a very shy man*).
- iv PRO-FORM *Shy* can modify the pro-form *one* (e.g. *Tom is the shy one*). (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 554)

This explanation is in fact the only one that can be found in the literature and naturally the question arises of whether it is a truly essential explanation or merely an attempt to formalise what many authors have managed to do without such a method, namely to find hypallagic structures in texts.

To find out whether their suggestion is a proper means for the detection of hypallagic constructions in a corpus and whether it should be pursued for even larger corpora than the present one, a distinctly smaller subcorpus of 10% of all attributive adjectives, i.e. 668 adjectives, was formed and analysed. By choosing literally every tenth attributive adjective, I avoided selecting those adjectives which she had already thought to occur in 'hypallagic structures' in the previously undertaken classification and therefore received the most objective results possible for the subcorpus. Another procedure would have been to validate the transpositions found in the corpus by applying Huddleston & Pullum's test afterwards. This procedure was not followed, however, because of the apparent danger of proving a possibly wrong subcorpus as being right.

If the results of these 668 randomly chosen adjectives are found to be significant, then these results should be compared to and extrapolated for the whole corpus.

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. the examples given by Huddleston & Pullum (2002) above: *a nude photo of the mayor* – the mayor was nude.

That means that the results of the subcorpus would make a re-classification of my corpus necessary and that Huddleston & Pullum's test method could be applied to larger corpora as well.

Section 3.7 presents an outline of the procedure of Huddleston & Pullum's test method on the subcorpus and provides the reader with the results and applicability of the tests

Sections 3.8 and 3.9 present the results of the analysis undertaken in the present study by means of close readings and analyses of hypallagic structures in pre- and postnominal attributive adjectives in the corpus.

### *3.7 Results of Huddleston and Pullum's test method applied to the subcorpus*

A subcorpus of 668 randomly chosen adjectives was formed and these adjectives were tested according to Huddleston & Pullum's suggestion, i.e. it was assumed that they passed the entailment test, but failed at least one of the other, i.e. the subset, modifiability and pro-form, tests. The following table introduces the results of the findings of the subcorpus; cf. appendix 6.2.1 for a complete list of the randomly chosen adjectives and test results.

No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Sub-set	Modifiability	Pro-form	Trans-position
1	a <i>bloody</i> piteous corse	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
2	a Christian <i>faithful</i> man	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
3	a <i>discontented</i> gentleman	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
4	a <i>drowsy</i> head	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
152	a <i>great</i> feast of languages	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
153	a <i>hateful</i> thing	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
154	a <i>high</i> hope	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
155	a <i>holy</i> parcel of the fairest dames	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
247	a <i>foul</i> thing	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
248	a <i>piteous</i> corse	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
249	a <i>tender</i> thing	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
250	a trifling <i>foolish</i> banquet	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
357	a jewel well <i>worth</i> a poor man's taking	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes

No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-form	Transposition
358	a most <i>poor</i> man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
359	a <i>noble</i> heart	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
360	a <i>poor</i> , infirm, weak, and despis'd old man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
544	the <i>gorgeous</i> palaces	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
545	the green <i>sour</i> ringlets	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
546	the <i>mid</i> season	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
547	the <i>particular</i> accidents	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
651	this <i>naughty</i> earth	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
652	this <i>royal</i> infant	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
653	thy <i>honest</i> truth	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
654	thy <i>religious</i> truth	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes

**Table 55:** Examples of the results of Huddlestons and Pullum's test method applied to the subcorpus

The entailment test answers the question of whether the noun that is being looked at actually is the kind of noun it proposes to be. Naturally, all 668 adjectives yielded positive results to this test.

For the subset test, all adjectives were tested as to whether they answered the question: 'What kind<sup>44</sup> of an N is N?' For example, the phrase *a chaste wife* (*He8* Vision) is an answer to the question 'What kind of N is she?' Hence, if the phrase provided such an answer to the subset-question, then the adjective was counted as having passed the subset test. On the other hand, the phrase *sable-colored melancholy* (*LLL* I.1) does not answer the question 'What kind of an N (= emotion) is the melancholy?' and hence received a negative result on the subtest. Altogether 550 adjectives of the subcorpus passed the subset-test. To explain, melancholy (according to the theory of humour) was seen as an outpouring of black gall. Melancholy was always associated with the colour black, making 'sable-coloured melancholy' a tautology.

In order to pass the modifiability test, the adjectives must be able to be modified by the most typical modifier, *very*, or by other modifiers, cf. 1.4.1. For example, it would be possible to modify *old* in *this old majesty* (*KiL* V.3), but it would not be possible to do so with *houseless* in *your houseless heads* (*KiL* III.4) because either a house

<sup>44</sup> 'Kind' is replaced by the adjective in question in the answer.

exists or it does not. Altogether 415 adjectives of the subcorpus passed the modifiability-test.

Finally, the adjectives were tested on whether they would also be able to modify the pro-form *one*, i.e. whether the noun could be replaced by the prop-word *one* (cf. 1.4.2) *gold*, for example, in *pure gold* (*R&J* V.3) cannot be replaced by the prop-word *one*, whereas it would be possible to do so with *knave* in *scurvy knave* (*R&J* II.4). Altogether 527 adjectives of the subcorpus passed the modifiability-test.

The following table summarises the above findings:

Adjectives which passed the	
- entailment test	668
- subset test	550
- modifiability test	415
- pro-form test	527

**Table 56:** Number of adjectives which passed the proposed tests

542 of the 668 adjectives of the subcorpus were not classified as transpositions because they passed at least two, perhaps all three subtests, as summarised in the following table:

Adjectives which passed the	
- entailment, subset, modifiability and pro-form tests	347
- entailment, subset and pro-form tests	155
- entailment, subset and modifiability tests	25
- entailment, modifiability and pro-form tests	15
<b>Total:</b>	<b>542</b>

**Table 57:** Number of adjectives not classified as transpositions in the subcorpus

Those adjectives that tested negative for all three tests in addition to the entailment test were automatically classified as transpositions. This was the case in 65 instances, i.e. in 9.7% of the 668 adjectives of the subcorpus. As can be seen below, this percentage is not significantly higher than the number of adjectives which can be found by manual checking and close-reading of a corpus.

Adjectives which passed two tests beside the entailment test were not automatically classified as transpositions, but double-checked manually to find out whether they belonged to the '*nude photo*' type that Huddleston & Pullum mentioned. However, none of the 195 adjectives which tested positive for two additional tests

belonged to the '*nude photo*' type that Huddleston & Pullum pointed out as being so very noteworthy.

As the 65 instances mentioned above would not have allowed Huddleston & Pullum's test method to be applied to the present or any larger corpora, those adjectives which passed only one of the other three tests beside the entailment test were classified as transpositions as well, as one could perhaps still argue that the 'results on the other tests are largely negative', cf. above. This procedure yielded better test results: an additional 61 instances were classified as transpositions. This way, altogether 126 adjectives or 18.86% could be classified as transpositions.

The following table summarises the above findings:

Adjectives which passed the entailment test, but failed the	
- subset, modifiability and pro-form tests	65
- subset and modifiability tests	10
- subset and pro-form tests	28
- modifiability and pro-form tests	23
<b>Total:</b>	<b>126</b>

**Table 58:** Number of adjectives classified as transpositions in the subcorpus

Altogether 126 adjectives of the sub-corpus were classified as transpositions after having undergone the test method described by Huddleston & Pullum, as summarised in the following table:

	Number of adjectives in play	Passed entailment test?	Passed subset test?	Passed modifiability test?	Passed pro-form test?	Number of transpositions in play
<i>Ri3</i>	148	148	122	98	110	26
<i>LLL</i>	93	93	73	53	70	21
<i>R&amp;J</i>	110	110	81	72	81	31
<i>KiL</i>	130	130	111	81	107	22
<i>Tem</i>	79	79	67	42	68	12
<i>He8</i>	108	108	96	69	91	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>126</b>

**Table 59:** Summary of Huddleston & Pullum's test method applied to subcorpus

Even though their test method is simple and yielded good overall results, it needs to be criticised in the following points:

Firstly, their tests do not account for cases in which a development of vocabulary occurred, either of the adjective or the noun. One would expect the detectability of these cases as well.

Secondly, the focus of their four-stepped tests lies on the nouns, not the adjectives, although it tries to detect transpositions of adjectives.

Thirdly, their four tests include a change between the indefinite and definite article (the entailment and subset tests ask for 'a' man, while a definite article is needed for the pro-form test). This change is possible in some constructions, but not for all nouns. Again, this is not a criterion for adjectives, but for aspects (countability) of the noun in the phrase.

In addition, the pro-form test assumes a quasi-human or at least animate property of the noun. Naturally, some of the tested phrases with inanimate head nouns will yield a negative result, although they might not be transpositions at all. Reading the longer phrase is needed to detect whether the adjectives in these inanimate noun phrases are actually transpositions or not. Once one has to start reading longer phrases for some noun phrases, one might as well do so for the whole corpus. Because of this, some adjectives are labelled transpositions, which are at least doubtful, such as *the plain truth* (*He8* V.2), while others, such as *good my lord* (all plays) are excluded.

Finally, Huddleston & Pullum regard and test X = NP [(Det) A N]-constructions, i.e. constructions of equality. Their tests are not applicable without alterations for (i) postnominal APs, as they would yield mostly negative results: instead, one has to test these postnominal adjectives as if they were used pronominally, or (ii) for adjectives in noun phrases which do not occur in equivalent constructions, e.g. if different, more complex verbs are used or if they occur in exclamations without any verbs at all.

In summary, one can say that Huddleston & Pullum's suggestion shows a possible method for the detection of hypallagic constructions in isolated complex noun phrases, as it enables readers to find this semantic feature by means of a four-step test. It is indeed a 'simple test method', but not really practical and rather time-consuming.

Huddleston & Pullum's test also attempts a syntactic explanation for what happens to these transferred adjectives on a semantic level. However, their test does not allow readers to discover which type of transposition the data belongs to. Their test method is one that regards adjectives within noun phrases in isolation but not in their wider context, which is necessary for the relevant deciphering of possible transferred constructions. This, of course, is one of the downfalls of their test method, as a fifth step or look at the adjectives is necessary to classify the different types of transpositions. Huddleston & Pullum's test is not considered an acceptable way of distinguishing transferred from normal adjectives within a large corpus: even in such a small corpus as the present one, it is a tedious task having to look at each adjective-noun combination four times in isolation before having to look at a third of the adjectives (the '*nude photo*' type) a fifth time in a wider context. One also needs to mention that Huddleston & Pullum only point out this type of transposition as being worth mentioning, possibly ignoring the fact that at least 13 other types of transpositions exist.

In about the same amount of time, a researcher would be able to look at the adjectives of the complete corpus in their respective larger contexts and decide on their status of transposition. This classification would automatically include a close-reading of the sentence, clause or passage in which the adjectives were used by Shakespeare, thus enabling the researcher to classify the respective adjectives into different types and subtypes with little additional effort. Therefore, Huddleston & Pullum's test method was not pursued for the whole corpus in the present study, as it did not actually provide a simplification of the analysis and classification.

### 3.8 Different types of prenominal transpositions

Altogether 613 adjectives of the 6676 attributive adjectives, 309 prenominal and 304 postnominal attributive adjectives, were classified as transpositions, that is about 9.18%, not much fewer than Huddleston & Pullum's test method had come up with, cf. above. The transposition of the adjectives did not follow the same schemes and there are also more and different types than those proposed by older studies on Shakespeare's transposed adjectives.

Altogether 14 different types of prenominal and three different types of postnominal transpositions could be found in the corpus, which will be presented in the sections below. Table 60 gives an overview of the corpus findings:

Prenominal Transpositions	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ri3</b>	<b>LLL</b>	<b>R&amp;J</b>	<b>KiL</b>	<b>Tem</b>	<b>He8</b>	<b>Totals</b>
	I	12	7	4	13	5	8	<b>49</b>
	II	16	2	8	1	2	7	<b>36</b>
	III	21	1	7	4	1	3	<b>37</b>
	IV	10	3	8	6	1	9	<b>37</b>
	V	3	3	3	1	0	2	<b>12</b>
	VI	14	3	11	1	3	2	<b>34</b>
	VII	6	0	1	0	0	0	<b>7</b>
VIII	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	<b>1</b>
Prenominal Transpositions	<b>Type</b>	<b>Ri3</b>	<b>LLL</b>	<b>R&amp;J</b>	<b>KiL</b>	<b>Tem</b>	<b>He8</b>	<b>Totals</b>
	IX	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	X	4	3	1	2	4	2	<b>16</b>
	XI	11	0	15	5	2	0	<b>33</b>
	XII	4	1	1	3	1	6	<b>16</b>
	XIII	0	0	1	1	1	0	<b>3</b>
XIV	13	1	6	2	3	2	<b>27</b>	
Postnominal Transpositions	I	11	16	13	8	13	10	<b>71</b>
	II	26	37	41	22	21	29	<b>176</b>
	III	1	12	9	10	12	13	<b>57</b>
<b>Totals</b>		<b>153</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>613</b>

**Table 60:** Summary of different types of transpositions

The types were found during the close readings of the ambiguous cases of classification. It became apparent that they all required a different reading to disambiguate the meaning of the noun phrase. The following sections describe the



different types of transpositions and also present the results the corpus provided as well as the deciphering needed or proposed for the separate types of transpositions. The discussion of the results will show whether strategies or tendencies for strategies can be postulated which would help a modern reader to disambiguate passages which are difficult to comprehend because of the concise structures used by Shakespeare.

### 3.8.1 Type I: "*good my lord*"

15.9% of the prenominal transpositions, altogether 49 instances, fell into the category of syntactic interchange of adjective and possessive determiner (TYPE I): no specific quotes of the type "*good my + N*" are given as this type occurs frequently in all plays. All of these instances occurred in forms of address. Busse (2006) analyses in a detailed manner the vocatives in Shakespeare's plays. She focuses "on the meanings of vocatives in Shakespeare's dramatic work, [dealing] with the meanings and functional potential of Shakespeare's vocatives for construing [...] the interpersonal, textual, and experiential [...] as interpersonal, textual, and experiential markers" (Busse 2006: 1). Her dissertation develops new categories of vocatives and offers detailed insights into the messages and relationships illustrated via the different forms of address. Her corpus consists of 17 plays (only *LLL* is not included in her corpus), containing 99 of my TYPE I transpositions (Busse 2006: 466-487).

Almost all transpositions were formed with the possessive determiner in the first person singular between the adjective and the head noun, as in *good MY lord (Tem)*, but only once with the possessive determiner in the second person (*good YOUR Graces, Heß*). Variation within the adjectives and nouns was only very slight: *good* was the adjective used in 27 instances, followed by *sweet* in five and *dear* in four and *only* in two instances. *Gracious, poor, strange, full, long, old, blunt, fair* and *light* occurred with one instance each. Variation within the head nouns was slightly higher: *grace, obedience, bedfellow, prank knave, intent, child, will, kiss, mother, foot, year, sleeper, widow, house, lady* and *maze* were used once each, while *liege* and *friend* twice each, *loss* three times; *lord* was used 25 times. No distinction was made here whether the head nouns were used in the singular or plural, as this was of no

importance for the study. The two additions to *lord*, *Cardinal* and *of Derby*, were also ignored here.

The distribution over the corpus was as follows: *Tem* contained only two TYPE I transpositions, *R&J* contained four, *LLL* seven and *He8* eight transpositions each. Almost half of the transpositions were found in only two plays: *Ri3* contained 12 and *KiL* 13 transposed adjectives.

TYPE I inversions often occurred in emotionally agitated situations and were almost formulaic in their tone; other typical examples are *o sweet my mother* (*R&J*), or *so sweet a bedfellow* (*He8*). A complete list of the examples can be found in Appendix 6.2.2.

A subtype of the first type of inversion was found in constructions such as *so good a woman*, in which no emotionality was present. The inversion occurred because of the intensification of the adjective. This form of intensification was probably chosen for reasons of metre: *such a good woman* (´x x´x ´x x) vs. *so good a woman* (x ´x x ´x x).

The following table summarises the findings:

	Inversion of adjective and noun	Adjectives used		Nouns used	
		<i>good</i>	others	<i>lord</i>	others
<i>Ri3</i>	12	6	6	6	6
<i>LLL</i>	7	2	5	1	6
<i>R&amp;J</i>	4	1	3	1	3
<i>KiL</i>	13	10	3	10	3
<i>Tem</i>	5	2	3	2	3
<i>He8</i>	8	6	2	5	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>

**Table 61:** Summary TYPE I prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.2 Type II: "the French journey"

The second type of transpositions occurs relatively frequently (11.7%), and is most often found in adjectives denoting origin. Most of the time, these adjectives are better represented by a prepositional phrase denoting direction or location. Thus, 'French' in *the FRENCH journey* (*He8* I.2) should be read as 'the journey to France'; the *FRENCH ambassador* (*He8* II.4) is the 'ambassador from France' or the 'ambassador to France', *an old Roman coin* (*LLL* V.2) is 'an old coin from Rome' etc. Other examples

are *this royal presence* (*Ri3*) or *this princely presence* (*Ri3*). A complete list of the examples can be found in Appendix 6.2.2.

TYPE II transpositions, together with TYPE VII transpositions, could also be seen as a subtype of TYPE III transpositions, in which there is no second noun present which the transferred adjective could modify.

The distribution of TYPE II transpositions over the corpus was as follows: *R&J* contained eight, *He8* contained seven, while both *Tem* and *LLL* contained two transpositions each and *KiL* one transposition. More than a third, i.e. 16 adjectives, were found in *Ri3*. The following table summarises the findings:

Adjective used instead of prepositional phrase						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
16	2	8	1	2	7	36

**Table 62:** Summary TYPE II prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.3 Type III: "a noble troop of strangers"

TYPE III transpositions, in which the adjective does not modify the head noun with which it occurs, but rather the head of a noun phrase in the immediate context, are the first of the two types of transpositions noticed by Schmidt, Obst-Kennedy and Blake. They occur relatively frequently in the corpus: 37 out of 309 prenominal transpositions, i.e. 12% of all prenominal transpositions, belong to this class. The second noun which the adjective actually modifies is often but not always present in the form of a genitive, as in *thy heavy mother's womb* (*Ri3* I.3), instead of 'thy mother's heavy womb', or else in the form of a prepositional phrase, as in *a noble troop of strangers* (*He8* I.4), instead of 'a troop of noble strangers' or the even more complicated 'a troop of strangers of noble origin'. Other examples are *by God's holy mother* (*Ri3*) or *greasy Joan does keel the pot* (*LLL*). A complete list of the examples can be found in Appendix 6.2.2.

Quite in contrast to TYPE II transpositions, metre is hardly ever the cause for TYPE III transpositions. In *thy héavy móther's wómb*, for example, the iambic metre (x'x x'x x'x) also works well when the passage is rephrased as 'thy móther's héavy wómb'.

Examples like *false Fortune's frown* (*KiL* V.3, which could also be a TYPE III transposition) show quite clearly that sometimes more than two readings are

possible. If one reads the quote as meaning 'Fortune shows or has a false frown', because 'fortune' has the semantic property [-animate], then it is read as a transposition. If, however, the quote is read as 'fortune' serving as a personification, then 'fortune' does have the property [+animate], then 'fortune' can be 'false' (meaning 'misfortune' or 'bad fortune') and no transposition exists here.

The distribution of TYPE III transpositions over the corpus was as follows: *Tem* and *LLL* contained only one TYPE III transposition, *He8* contained three, *KiL* contained four and *R&J* contained seven 6 transpositions each, while almost two thirds, i.e. 21 adjectives, were found in *Ri3*. The following table summarises the findings:

Adjective in front of 'wrong' of two existing nouns						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
21	1	7	4	1	3	<b>37</b>

**Table 63:** Summary TYPE III prenominal transpositions

#### 3.8.4 Type IV: "he this instant cloud puts on"

Transpositions of TYPE IV are also relatively common (12%) in the corpus. It is one of the two types which were also noticed by Schmidt, Obst-Kennedy and Blake. In this type, the adjective modifying the noun actually serves the function of an adverb, modifying the whole verb phrase. An adverbial confusion seems to take place while the semantic features do not seem to cause any problem. The example above is prototypical in that it is not possible to simply quote the NP, *this instant cloud* (*He8* l.1), to be able to explain or rephrase the meaning of the NP. Instead, only when the whole sentence is quoted does the paraphrase make sense; in *he this INSTANT cloud puts on*, the adjective 'instant' actually carries the meaning of an adverb like 'instantly, immediately', that is the sentence should read: 'he puts on this cloud instantly'. One of the possible reasons that caused this transposition can be found in the iambic metre. The metre of '*hé this ístant clóud puts ón*' requires emphasis to be put on every second syllable  $-(x)'x\ x'x\ x'x\ x'x$ . The 'natural' emphasis of the deciphered passage, '*hé púts on this clóud ístantly*' would not match the metre at all, but rather be like this: 'x 'xxx 'x 'xxx. Other examples are *my present aid* (*Ri3*), or *a late court* (*He8*). A complete list of the examples can be found in Appendix 6.2.2.

It can be reasonably assumed for about a third (15 cases) of TYPE IV transposition that Shakespeare chose them because of the metre. The other occurrences cannot be ascribed to reasons of metre because they occur in prose passages, cf. Spevack (1968).

Another example of this category: *and why you answer / This present summons?* (*KiL* V.3; a TYPE IV transposition) is also a good example to show, cf. above, that often more than one reading is possible. This quote could be read as 'why do you answer this new/current summons?' or as 'why do you answer this summons immediately?' The first reading here would thus not be a transposition. No contextual clues exist in this passage as to which reading is the correct or more likely one.

The distribution over the corpus was as follows: *Tem* contained only one TYPE IV transposition, *LLL* contained three, *KiL* six, and *Ri3* eight transpositions. Almost half of TYPE IV transpositions were found in *He8* (nine transpositions) and *R&J* (ten transpositions). The following table summarises the findings:

Adjective instead of adverb						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
10	3	8	6	1	9	<b>37</b>

**Table 64:** Summary TYPE IV prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.5 Type V: "that former fabulous story"

This fifth type of transposition, in which a combination of two adjectives is used before the head noun, is not a very common type with only 12 occurrences (3.9%). At the beginning of the research, it was even assumed that there would be no occurrence of transpositions belonging to TYPE V in the corpus.

In most of the cases in the corpus, two adjectives in front of a noun were classified as two adjectives in sequence. Sometimes, however, the first of the two adjectives had to be analysed as functioning as an adverb. This latter interpretation is also one that is sometimes used for Shakespeare's compounds, for example in *new-sad*, which could be read as 'new and sad' or as 'newly sad', i.e. 'sad again', cf. section 4.4.2 below.

For examples such as *that former fabulous story* (*He8* I.1), it is more obvious that the first adjective actually functions as an adverb, i.e. 'formerly fabulous'; similarly with *marvellous well for the pen* ('marvellously well', *LLL* IV.2). The interpretation of Shakespeare's compounds as [Adv+A]-combinations is nothing particularly noteworthy of Shakespeare's style and can be found in other *EModE* texts as well, cf. Nevalainen (1999) and Rissanen (1997 and 1999). The slightly different meaning of the two types of interpretation is hardly noticeable. Other examples are *a pretty pleasing pricket* (*LLL*) or *a gracious ag'd man* (*KiL*). A complete list of the examples can be found in Appendix 6.2.2.

The distribution over the corpus was as follows: *Tem* contained no TYPE V transposition, *KiL* only one and *He8* only two. *Ri3*, *LLL* and *R&J* contained three transpositions each.

The following table summarises the findings:

Adjective+adjective instead of adverb+adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
3	3	3	1	0	2	12

**Table 65:** Summary TYPE V prenominal transpositions

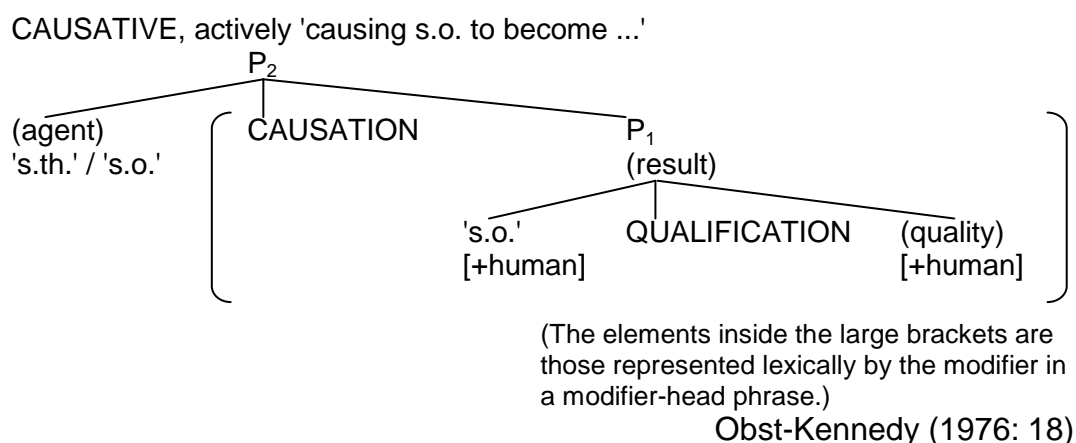
### 3.8.6 Type VI: "fearful dreams"

TYPE VI transpositions form a special category of transpositions: here the adjective does not modify the head noun either, but not so much because this would not be possible, *hopeful* ['full of hope'] would theoretically be able to modify *lady* in *She's the HOPEFUL lady of my earth* (*R&J* I.2), but because something inherent in the meaning of the head noun causes another noun to be 'full of hope' that is, it is actually another noun in the context onto which the hope is projected. In this case, it is the lady who causes somebody else to be full of hope because of her actions. Schmidt (1902) does not list such a reading for the adjectives in question.

Another example with an inanimate head noun should help to clarify this. In *I have pass'd a miserable night, / So full of FEARFUL dreams* (*Ri3* I.4), it is obviously not the dreams that are full of fear, but the person who dreamt them. The subject did not sleep well that night because the dreams the person had had frightened him, i.e.

caused him or her to be 'full of fear'. These adjectives, which are not very frequent in the corpus, are called *causative adjectives*. Other examples are *mortal poison (Ri3)* or *hateful day (R&J)*. A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.2.

Both Obst-Kennedy (1976) and Hope (2003) mention causative adjectives in their work, but only Obst-Kennedy attempts an interpretation of the phenomenon:



**Figure 6:** Obst-Kennedy's attempt to interpret causative adjectives

As the suffix *-ful* has undergone a change of meaning from 'causing someone / something to be full' to 'being full of something' in *PDE*, the normal *PDE* interpretation would not fill the NP with a correct sense.

Adjectives of the semantic field of "fear" seem to be especially prone to falling into this sixth category. The distribution of TYPE VI transpositions over the corpus was as follows: *KiL* contained only one, *He8* two, *Tem* and *LLL* three transpositions each. However, more than two thirds of TYPE VI transpositions were found in *R&J*, which contained eleven, and *Ri3*, which contained 14 transpositions. Eleven percent of the prenominal transpositions belong to TYPE VI. The following table summarises the findings:

Causative adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
14	3	11	1	3	2	<b>34</b>

**Table 66:** Summary TYPE VI prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.7 Type VII: "*the envious slanders of her false accusers*"

This type of transposition is very infrequent and includes adjective-noun combinations in which the two adjectives of the complex noun phrase (here: NP [Det A N PP [Prep Det A N]]) are interchanged; the exemplary quote, taken from *Ri3*, should therefore be read as "the false slanders of her envious accusers", i.e. because the accusers are envious of the Countess Richmond, they come up with a defamatory statement to discredit her. Other examples are *in the swallowing gulf / Of dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion (Ri3)* or *his ancient knot of dangerous adversaries (Ri3)*. A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.2.

The distribution of TYPE VII transpositions over the corpus was as follows: 2.3% of the prenominal transpositions belonged to this type, with *R&J* containing one occurrence and *Ri3* six. Neither *LLL*, *KiL*, *Tem* nor *He8* contained any transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

Two adjectives interchanged in front of two nouns						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
6	0	1	0	0	0	7

**Table 67:** Summary TYPE VII prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.8 Type VIII: "*the absent king*"

In this type of transposition, the adjective which is used in the noun phrase should actually be interpreted as if it were from a different word class. Both Schmidt (1902) and Obst-Kennedy (1976) notice this phenomenon: Schmidt labels it as a change of logical dependence, while Obst-Kennedy says that the adjectives in this phenomenon can be interpreted as belonging to, and thus functioning as, another word class.

Adjectives in these constructions replace the corresponding noun plus dependent prepositional phrase, as in *the ABSENT king* (Schmidt's example is taken from *The first part of Henry IV*) instead of 'the absence of the king' or in *the AGED wrinkles in my cheeks* (Obst-Kennedy's example is taken from *Titus Andronicus*.) instead of 'wrinkles of age, age-wrinkles'.



I assumed that TYPE VIII inversions were actually more frequent in the corpus than they turned out to be: only one occurrence could be found in *KiL*, *in this hard house* – and whether this can be seen as a transposition at all remains doubtful. I also assume that these inversions are difficult to find for a modern reader because *PDE* accepts the semantic usage of more adjectives than were perhaps acceptable in *EModE*. That means that a modern reader cannot realise the transposition intended by Shakespeare because the inversed usage is acceptable today.

Adjective instead of noun						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
0	0	0	1	0	0	1

**Table 68:** Summary TYPE VIII prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.9 Type IX: "murderous shame"

Schmidt also mentions another type of transposition, in which the "manner of logical dependence is changed" and adjectives are used for substantives and substantives for adjectives (Schmidt 1902: 1424). Schmidt gives the following examples: *murderous shame* instead of 'shameful murder' (*The Second Part of Henry the Sixth*), *a separable spite* instead of 'a spiteful separation' and *swift extremity* instead of 'extreme swiftness'<sup>45</sup>.

TYPE IX transpositions occurred very infrequently in the corpus (only once, in *this passionate humour* (*Ri3*)) because the semantic relation between adjective and noun is not discomfoting. Thus, when checking the data, neither the reader's discomfort nor the test method suggested by Huddleston & Pullum, above, yielded any results as to whether any TYPE IX transpositions occurred in the corpus.

Inverted relation between adjective and noun						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
1	0	0	0	0	0	1

**Table 69:** Summary TYPE IX prenominal transpositions

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<sup>45</sup> The last two examples could not be found in the electronic version of the *Riverside Shakespeare* (Directmedia Publishing GmbH 2002).

### 3.8.10 Type X: "a walking fire"

This type of semantic transposition is relatively infrequent, with only 5.2% of the prenominal transpositions falling into this category. In these constructions, the internal semantic features of both adjective and noun are antonymous, thus creating a discomfort. Because a fire cannot actually walk, a feature reserved for animate objects, not inanimate ones, the phrase *a walking fire* (*KiL* III.4) creates discomfort; one could possibly interpret the phrase as meaning 'a fire which is coming closer or is expanding'.

Only one example of TYPE X could be found in *R&J*, two in *KiL* and *He8* each, three in *LLL* and four each in *Ri3* and *Tem*. The following table summarises these findings, while a complete list of examples can be found in appendix 6.2.2:

<b>Antonymic internal semantic features of adjective and noun</b>						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
3	3	1	2	4	2	16

**Table 70:** Summary TYPE X prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.11 Type XI: "loving hate"

The semantic incompatibility which makes up this transpositions occurs relatively frequently, with 10.7% of the prenominal transpositions falling into this category. It steps out of line, however, because it is the *immediate* semantic features of adjective and noun which are antonymous (in contrast to the internal semantic features of TYPE X), and also because no reading can be found which extends the concise and complex structure of the A+N-combination to a longer and less complex structure, as is the case with all the other types of transpositions.

With TYPE XI transpositions, adjective and noun remain separate entities, thus creating a 'contradictio in adjecto' (cf. Wilpert 1964<sup>4</sup>), i.e. a paradox. Shakespeare uses these combinations of adjectives and nouns, in which the immediate semantic features of the two are antonymous, to have his characters express something which is emotionally so complex and confusing that the characters can only cope with the situation when contradicting themselves.

In the following quote, for example, Romeo has just met Juliet for the first time and fallen in love with her immediately. His upbringing and the dispute between the

Capulets and the Montagues, however, does not allow him to confess to his love in public. He is confused and confesses his impossible love to Juliet to his friend Benvolio (*R&J*, I.1):

*Here's much to do with hate, but more with love.  
 [...] O LOVING HATE!  
 O any thing, of nothing first [create]!  
 O HEAVY LIGHTNESS, serious vanity,  
 Misshapen chaos of well[-seeming] forms,  
 Feather of lead, BRIGHT SMOKE, COLD FIRE, SICK HEALTH,  
 Still-waking sleep, that is not what it is!  
 This love feel I, that feel no love in this.*

Other examples are *thy edgeless sword* (*Ri3*) or *an honourable villain* (*R&J*). A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.2. The distribution of this type is interesting, as almost half (15 transpositions) of the occurrences can be found in *R&J* and another third (11 transpositions) in *Ri3*. *KiL* and *Tem* contain five and two transpositions, respectively, while *LLL* and *He8* do not contain any TYPE XI transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

Antonymic immediate semantic features of adjective and noun						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
11	0	15	5	2	0	33

**Table 71:** Summary TYPE XI prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.12 Type XII: "a constant woman to her husband"

This type of semantic transposition is relatively infrequent, with only 5.2% of the prenominal transpositions falling into this category. In Type XII transpositions, a pronominal adjective is used instead of the required postnominal adjective: the transposed adjective itself is postmodified by a prepositional phrase, which normally requires the whole AP to be in postposition. So, instead of *a constant woman to her husband* (*He8* III.1), the phrase should read *a woman constant to her husband*, which in turn requires the reader to imply a relative clause to grasp the whole meaning of the phrase. Other examples are *lend favourable ear to our requests* (*Ri3*) or *a [dearer] father in my love* (*KiL*). A complete list of the examples can be found in

appendix 6.2.2. Neither the *OED* (2007), Schmidt (1902) nor Crystal & Crystal (2002) note any 'irregular' use of the construction.

Only one instance could be found in *LLL*, *R&J* and *Tem*, three in *KiL*, four in *Ri3* and six in *He8*. The following table summarises the findings:

Prenominal instead of postnominal adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
4	1	1	3	1	6	16

**Table 72:** Summary TYPE XII prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.13 Type XIII: "*that makes ingrateful man*"

As can be seen from the table below, this type of transposition also occurs very infrequently: it occurred only once each in *R&J* (III.2, *spread thy close curtain*), *KiL* (III.2, *that makes ingrateful man*) and in *Tem* (V.1, *to make the dear loss*) and only seems to occur with complex transitive verbs. The frequency of this type accounts for only 0.9% of all prenominal transpositions. Here, a pronominal adjective is used although the copular verb of the longer VP requires a copular adjective, i.e. *make* requires *ingrateful* to be used as a copular adjective. The reading of this type of transposition should thus be "this happening makes the man ingrateful".

The following table summarises the findings:

Prenominal instead of copular adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
0	0	1	1	1	0	3

**Table 73:** Summary TYPE XIII prenominal transpositions

### 3.8.14 Type XIV: "*your waiting vassals*"

In TYPE XIV transpositions, an adjective is used instead of a more complex relative clause, clearly a means of making a phrase more dense and concise. Had a relative clause been used, which must be used to decipher the meaning, a much longer construction would have been the result. The exemplary phrase, *your waiting vassals* (*Ri3* II.1), should therefore read "your vassals who are waiting for you". Crystal & Crystal (2002) explain *vassal* as 'servant, slave, subject, wretch, creature' through

which one would need an underlying relative clause, whereas Schmidt (1902) lists *waiting-vassal* as a compound meaning 'attendant'. Other examples are *a cruel nature and a bloody* (*He8*) or *o brawling love* (*R&J*). A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.2.

TYPE XIV transpositions are relatively infrequent as well, with only 8.7% of the adjectives in question falling into this category: only one occurrence was found in *LLL*, two in *KiL* and *He8*, three in *Tem*. Twice as many were found in *R&J* and half of TYPE XIV transpositions (13 instances) were found in *Ri3*. The following table summarises the findings:

<b>A instead of relative clause</b>						
<b><i>Ri3</i></b>	<b><i>LLL</i></b>	<b><i>R&amp;J</i></b>	<b><i>KiL</i></b>	<b><i>Tem</i></b>	<b><i>He8</i></b>	<b>Total</b>
13	1	6	2	3	2	<b>27</b>

**Table 74:** Summary TYPE XIV prenominal transpositions

### 3.9 Different types of postnominal transpositions

It was assumed at the beginning of the investigation that postnominal attributive adjectives, because their position in the NP attracts a reader's attention, would be particularly prone to transferred adjectival usage. According to Huddleston & Pullum (2002), however, only 'attributive adjectives' (i.e. prenominal adjectives according to my classification) can be transposed or transferred. As my study deals with means of conciseness and the problems arising out of these concise structures, all 304 postnominal adjectives were automatically seen as being used in transpositions and were therefore included, classified and analysed in the present study. The postnominal adjectives could be categorized into four different types of transpositions. The separate types are analysed in the following sections. As noted in chapter 1.5.1, above, postnominal adjectives are usually regarded as reduced relative clauses today (cf. Ferris 1993). This is the case in two of the three existing types in the corpus, and they are therefore similar to TYPE XIV of the prenominal transpositions described before.

Fischer proposed that these types of noun-adjective combinations split the topic of the noun phrase, so that the noun in question stands in contrast to other nouns which are not characterised by the postposed adjective, cf. 1.5.1, above (Fischer 2001).

Fischer's semantic approach holds true for all three types of postnominal transpositions in the corpus.

The following sections describe the different types of postnominal transpositions in the corpus. Even though two of the three types can be deciphered as relative clauses, the formula behind the constructions is more complex, which is why they were classified as different types.

### 3.9.1 Type I: "*fiend angelical*"

In TYPE I transpositions, the order of adjective and noun is reversed, so instead of *fiend angelical* (*R&J* III.2), one should read the phrase as 'angelical fiend', or even as 'a fiend resembling an angel' (cf. Schmidt 1902: 39). It would also have been possible to classify the natural order of the construction as a (prenominal) transposition, namely as TYPE X, in which the internal semantic features are antonymous. Other examples of TYPE I constructions are *Thursday next* (*R&J*) or *a thing divine* (*Tem*). A complete list of examples can be found in appendix 6.2.3.

The distribution of this relatively frequent type (20.01%) was as follows: *KiL* contained five, both *Ri3* and *He8* contained nine transpositions. *Tem* contained ten, while *R&J* contained 12 and *LLL* 16 transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

Order of adjective and noun reversed						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
9	16	12	5	10	9	61

**Table 75:** Summary TYPE I postnominal transpositions

#### 3.9.1.1 Subtype – "*a rarity most beloved*"

Postnominal transpositions which fell into the category of *a rarity most beloved* (*KiL* IV.3) belong to a small (3.29%) subtype of Type I transpositions. Here, the order of adjective and noun is also reversed, but in this type, the adjective occurs in the comparative or superlative. The phrase above should thus be read as 'a much loved rarity'. Schmidt (1902) has 'something excellent' for *rarity* (Schmidt 1902), and so the

phrase could also be read as 'something excellent which is loved very much'. Other examples are *by accident most strange* (*Tem*) or *a third more opulent* (*KiL*).

The distribution over the corpus was as follows: there were no transpositions of this subtype in *LLL*, both *R&J* and *He8* contained one transposition, *Ri3* contained two and both *KiL* and *Tem* contained three transpositions of this subtype. The following table summarises the findings:

Noun plus comparative / superlative adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
2	0	1	3	3	1	10

**Table 76:** Summary SUBTYPE I.1 postnominal transpositions

Altogether, there were 71 instances of TYPE I and SUBTYPE I.1 postnominal transpositions in the corpus, with eight occurring in *KiL*, ten in *He8*, eleven in *Ri3*, 13 in both *Tem* and *R&J*. Sixteen instances were found in *LLL*. Almost a quarter of the transpositions, i.e. 23.35%, fell into this category.

Inversed order of noun and adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
11	16	13	8	13	10	71

**Table 77:** Summary (SUB-)TYPE I postnominal transpositions

The following two types of postnominal transpositions, with their respective subtypes, both require some kind of relative clause for the reading of the passage. They differ, however, in that a comparative clause can be found in the description of the formula of TYPE III transpositions, while more than half of the transpositions (57.90%) belong to the second type of transposition, which requires a relative clause both in the formula description and the reading.

### 3.9.2 Type II: "a horn added"

TYPE II transpositions formed their transpositions by using a postnominal adjective instead of a much longer relative clause in which the relative clause consists of the verb and adjective only, as in *a horn added* (*LLL* V.1). Thus the reading of the above example should be 'a horn which is added'.

The reading of the postnominal construction in this elliptical example is possible because of the context of the situation:

Moth:           What is a, b, spelt backward, with the horn on his head?  
Holofernes Ba, *pueritia*, with a horn added.

Again, as in TYPE XIV of the prenominal transpositions, a construction which does not use a relative clause is more dense and concise than would otherwise be the case. Other examples are *thy deeds inhuman and unnatural (Ri3)* or *fair ladies mask'd (LLL)*. A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.3.

The distribution of this relatively frequent type (29.93%) was as follows: both *Ri3* and *Tem* contained 12 transpositions. *KiL* contained 13, while *R&J* contained 18, *He8* 12 and *LLL* contained 20 transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

Noun plus relative clause including an adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
12	20	18	13	12	17	<b>92</b>

**Table 78:** Summary TYPE II postnominal transpositions  
3.9.2.1 Subtype 1 – "*something deeper*"

The difference between the subtype *something deeper (KiL III.1)* and TYPE II transpositions lies in the fact that a compounded indefinite pronoun ('something', 'nothing') is used instead of a proper noun in the construction. Other examples are *into something rich and strange (Tem)* or *a thing divine, for nothing natural (Tem)*. A complete list of examples can be found in appendix 6.2.3.

The distribution of this relatively infrequent subtype (3.62%) was as follows: both *Ri3* and *He8* contained no transpositions. *LLL* contained one, while both *KiL* and *R&J* contained two and *Tem* five transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

Indefinite pronoun plus relative clause including an adjective						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
0	1	2	2	5	0	<b>10</b>

**Table 79:** Summary SUBTYPE II.1 postnominal transpositions



3.9.2.2 Subtype 2 – "*purple fountains issuing from your veins*"

This second subtype of TYPE II transpositions forms its transpositions by using a postnominal adjective phrase (AP) instead of a much longer relative clause, as in *purple fountains issuing from your veins* (*R&J* I.1). Thus, the reading of the above example should be 'blood [i.e. purple fountains, cf. Schmidt 1902] which is coming from his veins'. Because of the AP used in the original, the relative clause consists of verb plus AP which again consists of an adjective plus a more complex prepositional phrase: NP = N [A+N] VP [V+AP [A+PP]]. The *OED* (2007) lists this example as being a transfigurative use of fountain:

fountain: *c. transf.*  
 1599 Shakespeare *Romeo & Juliet* i.i.82 With purple fountenes  
 issuing from your veins

Other examples of TYPE II transpositions are *a fire sparkling in lovers' eyes* (*R&J*) or *some blood drawn on me* (*KiL*). A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.3.

The distribution of this rather frequent subtype (24.34%) was as follows: *Tem* and *KiL* contained less than ten transpositions, *He8* contained 12 transpositions. *Ri3* contained 14, *LLL* 16 and *R&J* 21 transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

Noun plus relative clause including an adjective phrase						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
14	16	21	7	4	12	74

**Table 80:** Summary SUBTYPE II.2 postnominal transpositions

Altogether, there were 176 instances of TYPE II, SUBTYPE II.1 and SUBTYPE II.2 postnominal transpositions in the corpus, with 21 occurring in *Tem*, 22 in *KiL*, 26 in *Ri3*, 29 in *He8*, 37 in *LLL* and 41 in *R&J*. More than half of the postnominal transpositions, i.e. 57.89%, fell into this category.

Noun plus relative clause						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
26	37	41	22	21	29	176

**Table 81:** Summary (SUB-)TYPE II postnominal transpositions

3.9.3 Type III: "*youth so apt to pluck a sweet*"

TYPE III transpositions are different from TYPE II transpositions in that the formula which can be postulated for their reading states that the phrase should be read as an NP in which the noun is followed by a comp-clause plus an AP, which here consists of a (postintensified) adjective and an infinitive, as in *youth so apt to pluck a sweet* (LLL IV.3): NP [N + VP [V<sub>comp-clause</sub> + AP [A<sub>int</sub> + V<sub>inf</sub>]]]. The comp-clause in this combination has to be realised by a relative clause, so that the above example should be read as 'a youth who is apt (Schmidt 1902: 'inclined' / 'ready'; OED 2007: 'of persons: Customarily disposed, given, inclined, prone') enough to pluck (Schmidt 1902: 'to pick') a sweet (Schmidt 1902: 'something pleasing and delightful')'. Other examples are *tutors not so careful* (*Tem*) or *authority so weighty* (*He8*). A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.3.

The distribution of this relatively frequent type (14.14%) was as follows: *Ri3* contained only one transposition and *R&J* seven, while *LLL*, *KiL* and *He8* contained eight transpositions each. Only *Tem* contained more than ten transpositions of this type. The following table summarises the findings:

Noun plus comparative clause plus noun phrase						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	Total
1	8	7	8	11	8	43

Table 82: Summary TYPE III postnominal transpositions

3.9.3.1 Subtype – "*a hump as big as a young cock'rel's stone*"

This relatively infrequent subtype of TYPE III transpositions differs from TYPE III transpositions in that the formula which can be postulated for their reading states that the phrase should in fact be read as an NP in which the noun is followed by a comp-clause plus a noun phrase, which consists of a determiner, an adjective, a noun in the possessive case and a head noun, as in *a hump as big as a young cock'rel's stone* (*R&J* I.3): NP [N + V<sub>comp-clause</sub> NP [Det A N<sub>poss</sub> N]]. The comp-clause in this combination has to be realised by a relative clause, so that the above example should be read as 'a hump which is as big as a young cock'rel's stone'. Leisi (1997: 172) notes that 'stone' meaning testicle is hardly ever used in the singular in

Shakespeare's plays. He also reads a pun with the Philosophers' Stone ('Stein der Weisen').

Other examples of this subtype are *with one as old [as you]* (*Tem*) or *and one as great as you are* (*He8*). A complete list of the examples can be found in appendix 6.2.3.

The distribution of this relatively infrequent subtype (4.61%) was as follows: no transpositions were found in *Ri3*; *Tem* contained one, while *R&J* and *KiL* each contained two transpositions. *LLL* contained four, while *He8* contained five transpositions. The following table summarises the findings:

<b>Noun plus comparative clause plus adjective phrase</b>						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	<b>Total</b>
0	4	2	2	1	5	<b>14</b>

**Table 83:** Summary SUBTYPE III.1 postnominal transpositions

Altogether, there were only 57 instances of TYPE III and SUBTYPE III.1 postnominal transpositions in the corpus, with one occurring in *Ri3*, nine in *R&J* and ten in *KiL*. *LLL* and *Tem* both contained 12 and *He8* contained 13 transpositions. Less than a fifth of the postnominal transpositions, i.e. 18.75%, fell into this category:

<b>Noun plus comparative clause</b>						
<i>Ri3</i>	<i>LLL</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	<i>KiL</i>	<i>Tem</i>	<i>He8</i>	<b>Total</b>
1	12	9	10	12	13	<b>57</b>

**Table 84:** Summary (SUB-)TYPE III postnominal transpositions

### 3.10 Conclusion

Altogether 17 different strategies for disambiguating passages which are difficult to comprehend have been introduced in the previous sections. Although only 9.18% of the adjectives in the corpus were analysed here, because of concise structures used by Shakespeare in 613 cases, this investigation was necessary because not all of the different types of transpositions pose the same level of difficulty to the modern reader, as summarised below.

3.10.1 Prenominal transpositions

Table 81 gives an overview and summarises the different types of prenominal transpositions which occurred in the corpus and have been described before:

Type	Example	Formula / Definition	Reading
I	<i>GOOD my lord</i>	interchange of A and Det	my good lord
II	<i>the FRENCH journey</i>	A instead of PP	the journey to France
III	<i>a NOBLE troop of strangers</i>	A in front of wrong of two Ns	a troop of strangers of noble origin
IV	<i>he this INSTANT cloud puts on</i>	A instead of Adv	he instantly puts this cloud on
V	<i>that FORMER FABULOUS story</i>	A+A instead of Adv+A	that formerly fabulous story
VI	<i>FEARFUL dreams</i>	causative A	dreams causing fear
VII	<i>the ENVOIOUS slanders of his FALSE accusers</i>	two As interchanged in front of two Ns	the false slanders of his envious accusers
VIII	<i>the ABSENT king</i>	A instead of N	the absence of the king
IX	<i>MURDEROUS shame</i>	inverted relation of A and N	shameful murder
X	<i>a WALKING fire</i>	antonymous internal semantic features of A&N	a fire coming closer / which expands
XI	<i>HEAVY lightness</i>	antonymous immediate semantic features of A&N	→ no extension of NP possible, separate translation needed
XII	<i>a CONSTANT woman to her husband</i>	pre- instead of postnominal adjective	a woman constant to her husband
XIII	<i>that makes INGRATEFUL man</i>	pronominal instead of copular adjective	makes man ingrateful
XIV	<i>your WAITING vassals</i>	relative clause	vassals who are waiting for you

**Table 85:** Summary of the different types of prenominal transpositions

Transpositions of the first type are rather harmless and will cause no problems whatsoever. They are, if at all, similar to stage directions, telling the actors that the lines to come are to be spoken with a considerable amount of agitation in the voice, as they often occur in emotionally agitated situations and are somewhat formulaic in their tone.

Transpositions which fall into the second, third and fourth category are most likely to go unnoticed. While they might not become apparent to readers unfamiliar with (*EModE*) rhetorical devices, an attentive reader might find amusement and possibly

great pleasure in the beauty of the images created by the transpositions. To speak with Joseph's words:

One may read Shakespeare's plays, or see them produced, with attention to any or all these facets of his art. They give pleasure at many levels, as great music does. One who recognises in the intricate web of harmonic and melodic progressions the chord structures and rhythmic design, and notes the fine gradation and coloring, experiences a deeper and keener delight in music than one who does not perceive these things; he enjoys not only what the untrained listener enjoys but also a detailed intellectual perception of the relation of parts to parts and to the whole. Similarly, to cultivate the alert attentiveness to patterns of sound and movement and the expert analysis of thought-relations habitual to educated Elizabethans quickens the responsiveness requisite to a full appreciation of Shakespeare's plays. (Joseph 1947: 289)

The fifth type of transpositions might also go unnoticed because there is only a slight, if any, difference in the interpretation of the two adjectives as being in sequence or as one modifying the other.

Greater difficulties are likely to arise in transpositions of the sixth (*fearful dreams*) and seventh type (*this hungry churchyard*). While there might be no difference in the particular scene described above (TYPE VI) whether the knight induces fear or feels it, in principle the difference between the two interpretations is so great that the meaning of a phrase changes completely, which also means that the interpretation of the scene will eventually become difficult or even wrong. The nature of TYPE VII transpositions is such that because of the seemingly nonsensical meaning of the phrase, an increasing number passages might be challenging to the modern reader.

Neither TYPE VIII nor TYPE IX transpositions are likely to cause an impact on comprehension. Besides being very infrequent, the adjectives of TYPE VIII seem to have developed in the direction of *PDE* usage and TYPE IX transpositions do not cause problems because they do not create semantic discomfort. Though inverted in order, the semantic relation between A and N is intact in TYPE IX and the transposition might therefore go unnoticed.

It might be argued that adjectives which belong to TYPE X and TYPE XI actually belong to the same category. The major difference between them is, however, that TYPE X constructions will cause no problem to readers, while TYPE XI constructions are so paradoxical that it is rather difficult to deduce any meaning at all. Only if one

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looks at the wider context of the passages in which these constructions occur, does the meaning, or rather the state of mind of the speaker, become clear. TYPE XII as well as TYPE XIII and TYPE XIV transpositions are not likely to cause any problem in comprehension: all three types are easily decipherable in the corpus and not even uncommon in *PDE* literature.

More examples, listed by type and play, can be found in table 85; Appendix 6.2.2 gives a complete overview of prenominal transpositions:

No	Quote	Play	Type	No	Quote	Play	Type
1	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	200	the <i>dread</i> summit	<i>KiL</i>	6
13	<i>good</i> my knave	<i>LLL</i>	1	201	his <i>dread</i> trident	<i>Tem</i>	6
20	<i>good</i> my friend	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	204	most <i>dread</i> liege	<i>He8</i>	6
24	<i>dear</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1	206	<i>deep</i> oblivion	<i>Ri3</i>	7
37	as <i>strange</i> a maze	<i>Tem</i>	1	212	this <i>hungry</i> churchyard	<i>R&amp;J</i>	7
42	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>He8</i>	1	213	this <i>hard</i> house	<i>KiL</i>	8
50	a <i>drunken</i> slaughter	<i>Ri3</i>	2	214	this <i>passionate</i> humor	<i>Ri3</i>	9
64	this <i>royal</i> presence	<i>Ri3</i>	2	215	<i>black</i> scandal	<i>Ri3</i>	10
66	a <i>married</i> ear	<i>LLL</i>	2	219	a <i>double</i> tongue	<i>LLL</i>	10
68	a <i>ghostly</i> confessor	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2	222	that <i>black</i> word 'death'	<i>R&amp;J</i>	10
76	old <i>fond</i> eyes	<i>KiL</i>	2	223	bare, <i>fork'd</i> animal	<i>KiL</i>	10
77	the <i>heavy</i> offer	<i>Tem</i>	2	225	a <i>harmless</i> fairy	<i>Tem</i>	10
86	a <i>good</i> day's work	<i>Ri3</i>	3	229	a <i>fair</i> assembly	<i>He8</i>	10
107	<i>greasy</i> Joan doth keel the pot	<i>LLL</i>	3	231	a <i>holy</i> descant	<i>Ri3</i>	11
108	a <i>sudden</i> day of joy	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3	242	an <i>honorable</i> villain	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
115	a <i>brave</i> night to cool a courtezan	<i>KiL</i>	3	257	<i>black</i> angel	<i>KiL</i>	11
119	<i>good</i> wombs	<i>Tem</i>	3	262	<i>brave</i> utensils	<i>Tem</i>	11
120	a <i>noble</i> troop of strangers	<i>He8</i>	3	264	by the <i>stealing</i> hours of time	<i>Ri3</i>	12
123	a <i>breathing</i> while	<i>Ri3</i>	4	268	it is a <i>fairer</i> name than French crown	<i>LLL</i>	12
133	and <i>quick</i> Berowne	<i>LLL</i>	4	269	doing <i>damned</i> hate upon thyself	<i>R&amp;J</i>	12
136	a <i>seeming</i> man	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4	270	a [ <i>dearer</i> ] father in my love	<i>KiL</i>	12
144	have follow'd your <i>sad</i> steps	<i>KiL</i>	4	273	as <i>good</i> a thing	<i>Tem</i>	12
150	bring thee to the <i>present</i> business	<i>Tem</i>	4	274	a <i>constant</i> woman to her husband	<i>He8</i>	12
151	a <i>late</i> court	<i>He8</i>	4	280	spread thy <i>close</i> curtain	<i>R&amp;J</i>	13
160	a <i>marv'lous</i> proper man	<i>Ri3</i>	5	281	that makes <i>ingrateful</i> man	<i>KiL</i>	13
163	a <i>pretty</i> pleasing pricket	<i>LLL</i>	5	282	to make the <i>dear</i> loss	<i>Tem</i>	13
166	the <i>lazy</i> puffing clouds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	5	283	accursed and <i>unquiet</i> wrangling days	<i>Ri3</i>	14
169	a <i>gracious</i> aged man	<i>KiL</i>	5	296	a <i>double</i> power	<i>LLL</i>	14
170	that <i>former</i> fabulous story	<i>He8</i>	5	297	a [ <i>damned</i> ] saint	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14
172	a <i>blushing</i> shame-fac'd spirit	<i>Ri3</i>	6	303	the <i>sweet</i> and bitter fool	<i>KiL</i>	14

No	Quote	Play	Type	No	Quote	Play	Type
186	<i>dread</i> prince of plackets	<i>LLL</i>	6	305	in <i>lust</i> y stroke	<i>Tem</i>	14
189	a <i>fearful</i> point	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6	309	my <i>guiltless</i> blood	<i>He8</i>	14

**Table 86:** Examples of prenominal transpositions

TYPE III transpositions are possibly the most prototypical type of transposition, or perhaps those types of transpositions which come closest to what classical 'hypallage' is about, the logical interchange of syntactic elements. In all transpositions the adjective does not directly modify the head noun of the noun phrase. This may be because the adjective does not stand in front of the noun but in front of the determiner (TYPE I), because the adjective is used instead of a longer and possibly more complex prepositional phrase (TYPE II), because the adjective actually modifies the verb phrase rather than the noun phrase (TYPE IV), because the first of two adjectives which occur in an NP is a modifier of the second adjective rather than two adjectives in sequence (TYPE V), because the head noun is not the noun which the adjective modifies, but rather the agent which causes another noun to feel or experience what the adjective expresses (TYPE VI), because the meaning of the adjective has changed so much over time that either its reference can be said to be in another, non-contextual noun or that its meaning does not give the NP a sensible meaning (TYPE VII), because the adjective functions as a noun to which the original head noun has to be added by means of a genitive or prepositional phrase (TYPE VIII), or because the syntactic-semantic relation of adjective and noun within the NP is inverted (TYPE IX), because the semantic features of adjective and noun are antonymic (TYPE X) and (TYPE XI), because a prenominal adjective is used instead of postnominal (TYPE XII) or copular adjective (TYPE XIII), or because instead of a relative clause an adjective is used (TYPE XIV).

But only in TYPE III transpositions does a logical interchange of the syntactic elements involved occur: only here does the adjective not modify the head of the NP, but instead a context noun to which it logically belongs. Nevertheless, all types of transposition are an interesting field of study because they might give an insight into the development of figurative language over the centuries. That is, if the study of what might have triggered certain newer literary images should be of interest, this kind of study would be now possible for this corpus of Shakespeare's plays because

the tagged adjectives in the corpus are now available in electronic form. A simple search function would be able to find all adjectives classified as hypallage (/hyp) or otherwise semantically noteworthy (/spe).

What can be said of the corpus-based analysis, however, is that TYPES I, IV, V, IX, XI, XII and XIII are particularly likely to startle the reader, while TYPES II, III, VI, VII, VIII, X and XIV, in addition to the startling factor, are likely to have been used because Shakespeare was in need of a more concise structure than the deciphered reading allows.

The following table presents the distribution of the 14 different types of hypallagic transposition in the corpus:

Play	Type of prenominal transposition														Total	Attributive adjectives
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV		
<i>Ri3</i>	12	16	21	10	3	14	6	0	1	4	11	4	0	13	115	1579
<i>LLL</i>	7	2	1	3	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	24	992
<i>R&amp;J</i>	4	8	7	8	3	11	1	0	0	1	15	1	1	6	66	1190
<i>KiL</i>	13	1	4	6	1	1	0	1	0	2	5	3	1	2	40	1183
<i>Tem</i>	5	2	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	4	2	1	1	3	23	697
<i>He8</i>	8	7	3	9	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	6	0	2	41	1035
<b>Totals</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>6676</b>

Table 87: Summary of distribution of 14 types of prenominal transpositions

### 3.10.2 Postnominal transpositions

The following table summarises the different types of postnominal transpositions which occur in the corpus; more examples for each type can be found in appendix 6.2.3:

Type	Example	Formula / Definition	Reading
<b>I</b>	<i>fiend ANGELICAL</i>	order of A+N reversed	a seemingly angel-like fiend
<b>I.1</b>	<i>a rarity most BELOVED</i>	N + A <sub>com/sup</sub>	a most beloved rarity
<b>II</b>	<i>a horn ADDED</i>	N + rel-clause [A]	a horn which is added
<b>II.1</b>	<i>something DEEPER</i>	something + rel-clause [A]	something that is deeper
<b>II.2</b>	<i>blood COMING from his veins</i>	N + rel-clause [AP [A PP]]	blood which is coming from his veins



## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

Type	Example	Formula / Definition	Reading
III	<i>youth so APT to pluck a sweet</i>	N + comp-clause + AP [A <sub>Mod</sub> InfP]	a youth who is apt enough to pluck a sweet
III.1	<i>a hump as BIG as a young cock'rel's stone</i>	N + comp-clause + NP [Det A N <sub>Gen</sub> N]	a hump which is as big as a young cock'rel's stone

**Table 88:** Different types of postnominal transpositions in the corpus

More examples of postnominal transpositions, listed by type and play, can be found in table 88; Appendix 6.2.3 gives a complete overview of postnominal transpositions:

No	Quote	Play	Type	No	Quote	Play	Type
1	a quarrel <i>just</i> and reasonable	<i>Ri3</i>	1	170	a sea-change into something <i>rich</i> and strange	<i>Tem</i>	2.1
10	a doubt presence <i>majestical</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	174	[her] face <i>defac'd</i> with scars of infamy	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
26	and Romeo <i>dead</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	188	a lemon <i>stuck</i> with cloves	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
38	a brother <i>noble</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1	204	a cup <i>clos'd</i> in my true love's hand	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
43	a thing <i>divine</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1	224	did him service <i>improper</i> for a slave	<i>KiL</i>	2.2
53	a courtier <i>beggarly</i>	<i>He8</i>	1	231	deck'd the sea with drops <i>full salt</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2.2
62	a quarrel most <i>unnatural</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1.1	236	[a woman] never yet <i>branded</i> with suspicion	<i>He8</i>	2.2
64	a madness most <i>discreet</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1.1	248	all circumstances well <i>considered</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	3
65	[Cordelia ... That are ...] forsaken, and most <i>lov'd</i> despis'd	<i>KiL</i>	1.1	249	youth so <i>apt</i> to pluck a sweet	<i>LLL</i>	3
68	a thing most <i>brutish</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1.1	257	[Juliet ...] warm and new <i>kill'd</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
73	a pardon to the soldiers <i>fled</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2	264	a letter guessingly <i>set down</i>	<i>KiL</i>	3
84	[Dismask'd ladies] are angels [vailing] clouds, or roses <i>blown</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2	272	a mark so <i>bloody</i> on the business	<i>Tem</i>	3
104	an alligator <i>stuff'd</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2	283	a man <i>sorely</i> tainted	<i>He8</i>	3
121	a buoy almost too <i>small</i> for sight	<i>KiL</i>	2	291	courses as <i>swift</i> as thought	<i>LLL</i>	3.1
134	a clear life <i>ensuing</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2	295	a hump as <i>big</i> as a young cock'rel's stone	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3.1
146	a secret to your ear much <i>weightier</i> than this work	<i>He8</i>	2	298	'gainst a head so old and <i>white</i> as this	<i>KiL</i>	3.1
163	something else more <i>plain</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2.1	299	with a heart as <i>willing</i> as bondage e'er of freedom	<i>Tem</i>	3.1
164	for nought so <i>vile</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.1	300	a hand as <i>fruitful</i> as the land that feeds us	<i>He8</i>	3.1
168	something <i>deeper</i>	<i>KiL</i>	2.1				

**Table 89:** Examples of postnominal transpositions

Although it can be argued that postnominal transpositions should not be regarded as hypallagic constructions at all, cf. section 1.5.2, the analysis of these structures revealed that they are nevertheless used as means of achieving conciseness. Neither of the different types described above pose any difficulty in understanding, however, and they do not startle the reader as much as prenominal transpositions do. Because of this, they seem to lack the stylistic beauty of the other types of concise structures used by Shakespeare.

The investigation showed that most of the postnominal transpositions are to be read as reduced relative clauses, in cases of heavy modification by either a reduced relative clause or a reduced comparative clause. In addition, the order of adjective and noun can be reversed as well.

The following table presents the distribution of the three different types of postnominal transposition in the corpus:

Play	Type of transposition			Totals	Attributive adjectives
	I	II	III		
<i>Ri3</i>	11	26	1	<b>38</b>	1579
<i>LLL</i>	16	37	12	<b>65</b>	992
<i>R&amp;J</i>	13	41	9	<b>63</b>	1190
<i>KiL</i>	8	22	10	<b>40</b>	1183
<i>Tem</i>	13	21	12	<b>46</b>	697
<i>He8</i>	10	29	13	<b>52</b>	1035
<b>Totals</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>6676</b>

**Table 90:** Summary of distribution of three types of postnominal transpositions

The analysis showed that different strategies could be postulated to help a modern reader disambiguate transposed passages which might be difficult to comprehend. Almost all problems which exist in the comprehension of Shakespeare's adjectival constructions are due to hypallagic transpositions, i.e. those constructions in which an adjective did not directly refer to the noun it occurred with.

#### 4 Predicative and attributive compound structures

The total of 326 adjectives in the corpus which were compounds will be analysed here. The *Riverside Shakespeare* (Directmedia GmbH 2002 & Evans 1974 [1997<sup>2</sup>]) altered the Folio Edition in one instance only: *The steepe vprising of the hill* (Folio, LLL) was changed into *The steep-up rising of the hill* (Riverside, LLL). *steep-up* was not counted as a compound.

The 326 compounds are equivalent to 3.22% of the adjectives, or 0.23% of the total number of words. The following table presents the material provided by the corpus with a normalisation of the frequency per 10,000 words. It is noticeable that *He8* contains significantly fewer compounds than the other five plays, i.e. merely 0.07% (in relation to the number of words) in comparison to 0.25-0.29% in the other five plays.

Play	Words	Com- pounds	Percentage of com- pounds / words	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words	Adjec- tives	Percentage of com- pounds / adjectives	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words
<i>Ri3</i>	28,309	73	0.25%	25.78	2,210	3.30%	330.31
<i>LLL</i>	21,033	62	0.29%	29.47	1,535	4.03%	403.90
<i>R&amp;J</i>	23,913	59	0.24%	24.67	1,851	3.18%	318.74
<i>KiL</i>	25,221	75	0.29%	29.73	1,811	4.14%	414.13
<i>Tem</i>	16,036	39	0.24%	24.32	1,084	3.59%	359.77
<i>He8</i>	23,325	18	0.07%	7.71	1,607	1.12%	112.00
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>137,837</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>0.23%</b>	<b>23.65</b>	<b>10,098</b>	<b>3.22%</b>	<b>322.83</b>

**Table 91:** Normalised frequency of compounds per total number of words and per adjective

In this chapter I will analyse the syntactic and semantic structures of Shakespeare's use of compound adjectives and discuss in what way they might be related to difficulties in understanding their meaning. The main tasks of this chapter are thus to delimit the meaning of Shakespeare's compounds and to classify them according to their syntax and semantics. I shall also attempt to verify hypotheses which arise in the course of the present investigation, find out whether Shakespeare prefers a specific syntactic position or a specific genre for his compounds, define those constructions in the corpus which are semantically odd and, finally, analyse these constructions.

After presenting the definition of compounds and placing the study of Shakespeare's compounds in an *EModE* context, I will continue by presenting the morpho-syntactic classification of Shakespeare's compounds and the problems arising with this before briefly outlining aims and findings of both older and more recent studies on Shakespeare's language.

### 4.1 Definition and quality of compounds

The use of adjectival compounds enables a speaker or author to present new information in a highly compact and integrated form and manner (cf. Biber et al. 2000: 533), while leaving the task of deciphering its meaning to the reader. By using adjectival compounds in attributive and predicative position, the author or speaker avoids having to explain (non-) permanent features of a head noun at great length. Compounds thus enable the author to concisely describe such features by using fewer lexemes, which might create ambiguity, either coincidental or intended.

In general, the definition of what was classified as a compound coincides with Quirk et al.'s (1985: 1567) definition: a compound is a lexeme consisting of two or more bases which functions both grammatically and semantically as a single word.

However, the present study only covers those adjectival compounds in the corpus which were hyphenated, which conforms with Biber et al.'s proposition that this is a more objective indicator of the compound status of two lexemes (Biber et al. 2000: 533), but contrasts with Bauer's (2003<sup>2</sup>: 134), Nevalainen's (1999: 408) and others' comments that English compounds may or may not be hyphenated.

#### 4.1.1 Shakespeare's compounds and the *EModE* context

Shakespeare's compounds have not been the target of many corpus-linguistic studies so far. When they have been studied, the classification and analysis were usually based on morpho-syntactic, but not syntactic-semantic grounds. Nevalainen (1999), for example, investigates a three-hundred year period between 1476 and 1776 and comes to the conclusion that the compounds, and particularly those of the

type [N + A] were most commonly used by *EModE* authors in the decades around 1600. They form only the second largest group in my corpus. Such obvious peaks of occurrences of compounds are bound to occur at some point of time, but it is to be assumed that a micro-analysis of about two decades in one author's career compared to twenty decades in several writers' careers will reveal different facts. Such a peak, as mentioned by Nevalainen, does not need to become apparent in data covering only a tenth of the time span.

Nevalainen (1999: 408) notes that Marchand (1969) and Quirk et al. (1985) come to the conclusion that "internally most compounds can be understood as telescoped clauses, [which are] motivated in terms of the syntactic-semantic functions of their constituent elements" and explains that these telescoped clauses include the following relations:

Subject-Verb	<i>fleabite</i>	(1570)	'a flea bites' => S + V,
Verb-Object	<i>book-seller</i>	(1527)	'x sells books' => V + Obj. and
Verb-Adverbial	<i>night-fishing</i>	(1653)	'(x) fish at night' => V + Adv

Unfortunately, all three examples she gives here are only noun-compounds and she does not include adjectival compounds, so they can serve as examples of my analysis which follows. In addition, the first example should, from my point of view, be analysed as 'bite by a flea', i.e. as: NP [N PP [Prep NP' [Det N]]], cf. analysis below.

Although she notes these possible, internally motivated, structures of *EModE* compounds, she nevertheless presents the reader with a morpho-syntactic reading of the adjectival compounds in her corpus (Nevalainen 1999: 417-419). This is done, presumably, because compounds "are expected to have a meaning which can be related to *but not directly inferred* from their component parts" (Nevalainen 1999: 408, my emphasis; cf. Plag (2006) for a more general analysis). As the following investigation will show, it is indeed possible to infer the meaning of an overwhelmingly large number of Shakespeare's compounds, 321 out of 326, from their component parts. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that what is today regarded as a compound, often with an idiomatic meaning, was in Shakespeare's time considered a 'simple' combination of the respective words. The unitary meaning of the combination in question was often established in the centuries after their first usage, which is why an inference of the meaning of Shakespeare's compounds from the component parts is possible today.

4.1.2 Morpho-syntactic definitions of compounds: a comparison of different approaches

It was assumed that Nevalainen's (1999: 417-419) description of *EModE* compounds would be suitable for my corpus without having to greatly adapt her classification. It was rather surprising that Nevalainen's proposal for the classification of *EModE* compounds was less adequate for the corpus than Bauer's (1983), see below, who analyses *PDE* compounds. A total of 28 compounds were still unclassified after having applied Nevalainen's model to the corpus; these fell into seven different types of compound-classes. The table below describes the additional types needed for Nevalainen's classification of *EModE* compounds to be applicable to my corpus.

Additional Types	Example
Prep + V(ed/ing)	<i>sub-contracted</i>
V(ed) + N	<i>carv'd-bone</i>
V(ed) + Ved	<i>slip-shod</i>
Ving + A	<i>flattering-sweet</i>
N + N	<i>foot-cloth</i>
A + N	<i>fresh-brook</i>
Det + V / A / N	<i>first-born</i>

**Table 92:** Additional types of compounds necessary to complete Nevalainen's (2002) classification of *EModE* adjectival compounds

An adequate syntactic description of Shakespeare's adjectival compounds was made possible by applying Bauer's 12-fold model of the description of adjectival compounds to the compounds of my corpus: in *PDE* adjectival compounds, *nouns* are combined with adjectives, verbs and other nouns. *Verbs* are combined with adjectives, nouns, particles and other verbs; *adjectives* are combined with nouns, verbs and other adjectives. Finally, *adverbs* are combined with adjectives and particles with nouns (Bauer 1983: 209-212).

Apart from the [A+A]-combinations (142 occurrences), the category with the most lexemes, [N+A]-combinations ranked second highest, with 126 occurrences in the classification of Shakespeare's compounds. The corpus contained five other types of Bauer's classification of adjectival compounds, while another five categories could

not be found in the corpus. The following table presents the existing compound types with their respective occurrences.

Bauer's Classification	Number in corpus	Example	Percentage
(i) N + A	126	<i>action-taking</i>	38.7%
(ii) V + A	--	--	--
(iii) A + A <sup>46</sup>	142	<i>bare-gnawn</i>	43.6%
(iv) Adv + A	33	<i>ever-angry</i>	10.1%
(v) N + N	11	<i>crab-tree</i>	3.4%
(vi) V + N	1	<i>tell-tale</i> <sup>47</sup>	0.3%
(vii) A + N	8	<i>carv'd-bone</i>	2.4%
(viii) particle + N	1	<i>without-book</i>	0.3%
(ix) N + V	--	--	--
(x) V + V	--	--	--
(xi) A/Adv + V	--	--	--
(xii) V + particle	--	--	--

**Table 93:** Bauer's (1983) classification of compounds applied to the corpus

Four compounds could not be classified by means of Bauer's model. As they were all made up of phrasal or prepositional verbs, this was the name given to that eighth syntactic category, cf. Claridge (2000) for a detailed discussion on *EModE* phrasal and prepositional verbs.

New Classification	Amount in corpus	Example	Percentage
underlying phrasal / prepositional verb (PPV)	4	<i>pent-up,</i> <i>bemocked-at,</i> <i>seal'd-up,</i> <i>unlook'd-for</i>	1.2%

**Table 94:** Remaining four compounds with underlying phrasal/prepositional verb

Neither Nevalainen nor Bauer give any information on how the syntactic categories can be used for a semantic reading of the compounds, i.e. how the two parts of the compounds can be related to each other. As my investigation shows, however, the order of the parts of the compounds is of great importance for the analysis of Shakespeare's compounds.

<sup>46</sup> Bauer *explicitly* mentions that participles can make up the adjectival part of a compound: "[the] compounds [in this case A+A, RK] can be categorized formally according to whether or not they contain participles [...]. Recent examples are *double-helical*, *large-statured*, *open-ended*, *ready-made*" (1983: 210).

<sup>47</sup> A classification of *tell-tale* as [V+O] would also have been possible.

Both Nevalainen and Bauer state, for example, that the compound *heart-sick* (*R&J* III.3) consists of [N + A], but fail to state that the second part of the compound has to be used first in the analysis ('a sick heart'), while in *hollow-hearted* (*Ri3* IV.2, 'a hollow heart'; Bauer would read it as [A+A], Nevalainen as [A/Adv+Ved]), the first element of the compound has to be used first in the analysis and the second element even needs to be converted into a noun for the analysis, cf. sections 4.3 and 4.4 below for a detailed explanation.

### *4.2 Aims and findings of previous studies*

#### 4.2.1 Aims of older Shakespeare studies on compounds

While the possible prepositional readings of Shakespeare's compounds, i.e. the insertion of a preposition which is not present in the compounds, was the major concern of the older scholars Helms (1868), Abbott (1870<sup>3</sup>), Schmidt (1902) and Franz (1909<sup>2</sup>), this part of the deciphering process is relatively unproblematic for the modern reader because the use of certain prepositions together with certain adjectives, verbs or nouns is more or less fixed in *PDE*.

Helms (1868: 47-56) for example analysed the whole NP as a unit and not just the AP in isolation, thereby immediately interpreting the meaning of the adjectival compound in relation to the head noun. His classification of ten different types of compounds is based on the formation and composition of the two parts of the compounds, followed by examples of the respective type and an attempt at analysis, all of which are noted down in an abbreviated form. Instead of giving a complete treatment of their analyses, I have summarized both Helms' and Franz' in the following two tables, as their classifications are not detailed and modern enough to help understanding Shakespeare's use of compounds.



Type / Formation		Example	Analysis
1	A is placed before a N, <i>-ed</i> added to N, conversion into A	<i>He is tender-bodied</i>	'provided with' a tender body
2	First part of compound is a noun	<i>Fire-eyed fury</i>	relation of resemblance, [her] fury resembles a fire
3	Determinative (or first) word is a numeral used adjectivally	<i>[Sth. is] four-legged</i>	'provided with' four legs
4	Object of participle present of an objective verb forms the first part	<i>Heart-breaking story</i>	'noun determines primitive word', e.g. 'the story breaks somebody's heart'
5	Primitive (or second) word is a participle, present or past, determinative is an A which often has the signification of an adverb	<i>Elvish-marked hog</i>	Noun has property of determinative, e.g. 'the hog is marked like an elf'
6	Primitive word is a participle, present or past, determinative word is an adverb	<i>Ever-burning hell</i>	Noun has property of determinative, e.g. 'hell is always burning'
7	Primitive word is participle, present or past, determinative a noun	<i>All-honoured Brutus</i>	Noun stands in relation of an adverbial phrase to determinative; participle II expresses a passive sense, the active agent is expressed by the first word.
8	Primitive word is preposition required by the past participles (first word)	<i>Pent-up guilt</i>	(not numerous in Shakespeare) [no further comment given by Helms, RK]
9	Phrases consisting of several words, the last of which is a participle I or II	<i>Not-to-be-endured riots</i>	[no further comment given by Helms, RK]
10	Primitive word is real A which governs a case with(out) preposition	<i>Key-cold figure</i>	Preposition is cast off, the object (sometimes the adverb) is placed before primitive word

**Table 95:** Helms' (1868) classification and analysis of compounds

Franz, on the other hand, proposes only four different types for the classification of the compounds, the relation and analysis of which should be made clear by using a preposition or any other type of description (Franz 1909: 142-44). He classifies the compounds according to their first element only, noun or adjective, and then tries to find a suitable description of the relation between the two.

Type	Example	Analysis
1 Noun + Adjective	<i>life-weary</i> – 'weary of life'	Combination can be made clear by case-relation
2 Noun + Present Participle	<i>pity-pleading</i> – 'he pleads pity'	Object relation can be made out
3 Adjective + Adjective	<i>fresh-new</i> – 'unpractised'	Meaning is intensified by synonymy of the two adjectives
4 Adjective + Past Participle	<i>rich-left</i> – 'inheriting great wealth'	Predicative delimitation of the verbal element (state or [partly] reached goal] is inherent to meaning

**Table 96:** Franz' (1909<sup>2</sup>) classification and analysis of compounds

#### 4.2.2 Findings of newer Shakespeare studies on compounds

In the literature of this century there is not much to be found which sheds sufficient light on Shakespeare's use of adjectival compounds, except perhaps the following quote by Hope (2003):

It is worth noting that these compounds almost always occur in predicative position [...] rather than inside the noun phrase as pre-head modification. This is probably because they are unusual and therefore likely to require careful processing. (Hope 2003: 58)

Hope follows Abbott's (1870<sup>3</sup>) description of Shakespeare's language and refers only to [A+A]-compounds, in which the first part acts as an adverbial extension to the head word. Other adjectival compound structures are not discussed either in Abbott's nor in Hope's grammar, thus falsely implying that other structures do not exist.

Blake is rather vague in his comments on Shakespeare's compounds and merely proposes that (i) Shakespeare uses nonce-compounds, (ii) *all*-compounds are frequently used, (iii) new compounds are formed by N+V-structure, (iv) compounds are formed with infinitives or intensifiers, (v) they are formed from the participle of a phrasal verb or intensifier and present-participle and are the main cause of difficulties in understanding as their lexical relationship towards each other cannot be made clear enough and (vi) compounds with participles as second elements may be striking (Blake 2002: 69-71).

The search for the correct preposition might have been the best analysis of Shakespeare's works in Helms' and Franz' times, and the vast amount of literature on Shakespeare might have led Hope and Blake not to study in depth, and comment on, the use of adjectival compounds.

A thorough semantic analysis of Shakespeare's compounds is therefore urgently needed as the compounds are indeed "unusual at times and do need careful analysis and processing", as Hope suggested above. The classificational attempts above, following Bauer on a morpho-syntactic level, although not sufficient to present the reader with the tools necessary for actually deciphering the meaning of the compounds, were an important step in defining the problem(s) which might arise with Shakespeare's compounds in *PDE*.

Quite in contrast to what Nevalainen says (1999: 408) above, *EModE* and, for the present study, Shakespeare's compounds need to be dissected into smaller lexical and syntactic units to find whether their meaning can, indeed, be directly inferred from their component parts.

### 4.3 A new approach to Shakespeare's compounds

#### 4.3.1 Proposition of a lexical reading

Initially, my classification of the compounds followed Bauer (1983), and thus was done according to the syntactic forms which the elements actually consisted of. Accordingly, most compounds were classified as [A+A] combinations (43.6%), closely followed by [N+A] combinations (38.7%).

One major shortcoming of Bauer's (1983) classification of adjectival compounds was that the compounds are classified according to the word classes of the two lexemes of which they consist. That is, the compounds are classified according to the underlying morpho-syntactic structures, which is useful for describing a compound's formal structure. However, for the actual lexical analysis of compounds, Shakespeare's or other writers', it is necessary to find appropriate formulae to describe the syntactic structure of the compound's meaning. What is needed here is a lexical reading based on or presented by syntactic notions.

As was noted earlier by Nevalainen (1999: 408), however, most compounds do have an internal structure which can be expanded like a telescope to derive the underlying lexical meaning of the compound in question. She presented the internal readings of three nominal compounds, but did not pursue such a lexical reading any further, neither for compound nouns, verbs nor adjectives.

For this study, a morpho-syntactic description of Shakespeare's compounds is regarded as being less useful than a syntactic-semantic analysis and description, which can actually explain which functions the particular parts of a compound serve.

In order to be able to analyse the compounds as 'telescoped phrases' and find different formulae for them, the meaning of the compounds in the corpus was first of all checked in Schmidt's (1902) and Crystal & Crystals' (2002) glossaries. In a second step, I tried to express the same meanings of the respective compounds by using the constituents which the compound consisted of, either the literal or an extended, metaphorical meaning. That is, I attempted to express the meaning of the compounds independently of the corresponding head noun by using the syntactic-semantic functions of their constituent elements. I speak of a 'compound-inherent' analysis wherever the meaning was reproducible by using the lexemes the compounds consist of.

For example, Bauer (1983) would analyse the compound *care-craz'd* in *care-craz'd mother* (*Ri3* III.7), as a [N+A]-combination because *care* and *craz'd* would be categorised as noun and adjective, respectively, on a morpho-syntactic basis. My proposition, as already mentioned earlier, however, is that it would be more helpful to find a lexical formula which helps to represent the underlying meaning and structure of the compound. In the case of *care-craz'd*, for which Alexander (1929) lists *crazy* as 'decrepit, weak', so that the passage reads as 'broken, worn-away with care', the meaning of the compound can be represented by *AP [A<sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N<sub>1</sub>]]*. The lower case numbers refer to the function of the respective part of the compound, i.e. A<sub>1</sub> = *craz'd* functions as an adjective in the reading, while N<sub>2</sub> = *care* functions as a noun. The next section explains this concept and the terminology in more detail.

The whole compound is analysed as an AP in which the second lexeme of the compound, *craz'd*, functions as an adjective followed by a prepositional phrase which in turn consists of a preposition and a noun, i.e. the first lexeme of the compound, *care*. The reading of the compound would thus be:

*AP [A<sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N<sub>1</sub>]]*: "[the mother is] crazy because of [her] care [for the child]"

The importance of a lexical reading can perhaps be made even clearer when *care-craz'd* is compared to *heart-sick* (*R&J* III.3) and *fire-new* (*Ri3* I.3): all three compounds are traditionally categorised as [N+A]-compounds, even though the underlying semantics and syntax are not at all the same for all three compounds. The respective readings for the second and the third examples would be as follows:

*NP [A<sub>2</sub> N<sub>1</sub>]*: "a sick heart" (this could also be read as 'sick at heart', i.e. [AP [A Prep N].) and

*AP [A<sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N<sub>1</sub>]]*: "new/fresh from the fire".

It is to be assumed that the morpho-syntactic classification by Bauer and the lexical one which I propose do not coincide in many cases with Bauer's ten types which were summarised above. A large overlap between the two types of classification would indeed be surprising, as Bauer's system of classification does not contain the possible functions of the two or more lexemes the compounds can consist of.

### 4.3.2 Explanation of new terminology

It soon became obvious, however, that the order of the two parts of the compounds played an important role in deciphering their meaning. The terminology was more difficult to define, as this had not been attempted before.

Almost all the compounds in the corpus, with only thirteen exceptions, can be analysed so that either the first or the second part of the compound comes first in the interpretation of the AP, i.e. it becomes clear whether the first or the second part of the compound functions as a modifier in contrast to a more fundamental role of the other part of the compound. The terms used for the two types of compounds, both of

which are further subclassified, are synthetic and analytic compounds, respectively. Marchand's (1969) and others' definition of *synthetic compounds* is not the basis for my study, as he reserves the term *synthetic compounds* for "combinations whose second elements are deverbal derivations from verbs which form a direct syntagma with the determinant (e.g. *watch-mak-er*, *heart-break-ing*). Traditionally called synthetic compounds (G. *Zusammenbildungen*), they are in reality nothing but derivations from a verbal nexus." (Marchand 1969: 15).

Although the following definition and classification, proposed by Rossi in her analysis (1993/4), could not be found elsewhere in the literature, it is the one followed here as it best summarises the underlying idea behind my new-coined terminology.

AGGETTIVI COMPOSTI SINTETICI. Sono quegli aggettivi composti prima dalla parte modificante e poi dalla parte fondamentale. [...] AGGETTIVI COMPOSTI ANALITICI. Sono quegli aggettivi composti da parole autonome, unite secondo un criterio sintattico-analitico. Prima c'è l'elemento fondamentale e poi il modificante." (Rossi, 1993/4: 336; *synthetic vs. analytic compounds*, my emphasis).

My grouping is thus one in which the analysis of the two elements of the compounds is either *synthetic*, the first part of the compound needs to come first in the analysis, or the opposite, *analytic*, the second part of the compound needs to come first in the analysis.

The following table summarises how many compounds in each play belong to the four categories proposed above and how many compounds occurred in which play.

Play	Synthetic Compounds	Analytic Compounds	One superfluous part	Not classifiable	Compounds
<i>Ri3</i>	17	52	4	--	73
<i>LLL</i>	16	44	1	1	62
<i>R&amp;J</i>	14	43	1	1	59
<i>KiL</i>	20	51	2	2	75
<i>Tem</i>	15	22	1	1	39
<i>He8</i>	6	12	--	--	18
<b>Total:</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>326</b>

**Table 97:** Compounds per category per play

### 4.4 Corpus findings: results and discussion

#### 4.4.1 General findings

Generally speaking, the compounds in the corpus could be subdivided into two major and two minor, almost irrelevant, groups. The two minor groups contained only 14 compounds altogether: five were compounds whose meaning could not be presented compound-inherently, as their meaning was unclear, as in *My father, PARTI-EY'D? World, world o world!* (KiL IV.1), or a phonetic pun on a different word was intended, e.g. *[this SIR-]REVERENCE love* (R&J I.4), 'save your reverence', or a *child to an old man: which is WIT-OLD* (LLL V.1), a pun on 'cuckold'. These five compounds belong to the group of the most problematic compounds in the corpus, cf. below.

The remaining nine compounds belonged to the group in which one part of the compound was quasi-redundant for the analysis of its *PDE* meaning; the groups can be represented as

- 1.) N<sub>head</sub> is Adv<sub>1</sub> – *FULL-FLOWING stomach* (KiL V.3): 'the stomach is full',  
or  
*SUCH-LIKE valor* (Tem III.3): 'the valor is so' and
- 2.) N<sub>head</sub> is N<sub>2</sub> / (Adv) V<sub>2</sub> – *FIERY-FOOTED steeds* (R&J III.2): 'steeds are (fast) footed',  
or  
*SELF-SAME thing* (LLL I.2): 'the thing is the same'.

In the second group, the compound *fiery-footed* must be read as "N is fast footed"; in this reading the first part of the compound, *fiery-* cannot be used in the analysis of the meaning of the compound. No connotation or denotation of the first part of the compound, *fiery-*, is broad enough (cf. below, *honey* => 'sweet') to accommodate the adverb 'fast', used here in the interpretation.

In the same group, *self-same* occurs five times, where *self-* could be omitted in the deciphering; at most, the first part of this compound can be seen as functioning as an intensifier, meaning 'exactly the same'. For an inherent analysis, *self-* is superfluous, although, were the corpus larger, this subgroup might be more diverse and an analysis of the intensifying function of either part of a compound would need to be undertaken.

### 4.4.2 Synthetic vs. analytic compounds in the corpus

#### 4.4.2.1 Synthetic compounds

The group of synthetic compounds consisted of 88 lexemes, which could be sub-classified into six different syntactic groups, according to the function the lexemes played in the interpretation of their meaning. When analysed independently of the head of the NP, the compounds could be interpreted as either NPs, APs, VPs, PPs or AdvPs.

When the compound itself was read as an NP, which was the case 44 times, the first part of the compound acted as either determiner, as in *four-inched*, or as an adjective, as in *great-bellied*, while the second functioned as a 'new' head noun in this interpretation: *FOUR-INCHED bridges (KiL III.4)* are 'bridges which are four inches long/wide', while *GREAT-BELLIED women (He8 IV.1)* are 'women who have a great belly', i.e. are pregnant. This means that the respective compound itself has to be deciphered as an NP which can be connected to the original head noun, here *bridges* and *women*, by means of a relative clause.

In 20 cases, the compound functioned as an AP and the phrase either consisted of an adverb plus an adjective, as in *EVER-ANGRY bears (Tem I.2)*, an adjective plus a prepositional phrase, *RED-HOT steel (Ri3 IV.1)*, an adjective followed by a *to*-infinitive, *HARD-RUL'D king (He8 III.2)* or of an adjective and another adjective, *NEW-SAD soul (LLL V.2)*. Schmidt (1902) reads *new-sad*, as well as *new-made* (cf. below), as being adverbial. Following Helms (1868) and Bauer (1983), I have included the example in the AP [A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>] reading.

When the compound had to be read as a VP, in 14 cases, the first part usually functioned as the verb, while the second part was added as a noun, *TELL-TALE<sup>48</sup> women (Ri3 IV.4)*, as a particle, *UNLOOKED-FOR sport (R&J I.5)*, or as a preposition plus a noun, *CARV'D-BONE flask (LLL V.2)*. In an additional five cases, the first part functioned as a noun, e.g. *BEAUTY-WANING and distressed widow (Ri3 III.7)*. In one instance of this last subgroup the head of the *ORIGINAL* noun phrase, *bear*, was absolutely necessary for the correct reading of the compound, i.e. the compound

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<sup>48</sup> Meyer suggests the more simple of 'V+O' for *tell-tale*.



could not be regarded independently of the head noun: *CUB-DRAWN bear* (*KiL* III.1), 'the cub is drawn/taken from the bear'.

In one case, the second part functioned as the verb and the first as an adverb, *NOT-TO-BE-ENDURED riots* (*KiL* I.4). The compounds *not-to-be-endured* (*KiL*), *hard-a-keeping* (*LLL*) and *world-without-end* (*LLL*) could also be regarded as syntactic pieces instead of compounds. They were here classified as compounds because they describe attributes of the head noun in a very condensed form.

When the compound was read as a PP, which was the case in nine instances, such as *WITHOUT-BOOK prologue* (*R&J* I.4), *OUT-SHINING beams* (*Ri3* I.3), the preposition needed to be inserted either to that part of the compound *which was a noun or to that part which was a verb*, while the following NP could be interpreted as either of the three possible NPs introduced above:

- 1.) determiner plus noun, as in *THREE-HOURS wife* (*R&J* III.2),
- 2.) adjective plus noun, as in *FRESH-BROOK mussels* (*Tem* I.2), or
- 3.) noun plus another noun, as in *FRUIT-TREE tops* (*R&J* II.2).

Finally, one compound was read as an AdvP consisting of two adverbs in coordination: *she could stand HIGH-LONE* (*R&J* I.3) 'she could stand high (up) and alone'.

For clearer demonstration, the following table summarises and exemplifies the categories introduced above. The required reading of the whole compound is recorded in the second column, while the third column presents the possible sub-categories to the main reading. The fourth column gives an example of this category and the fifth the number of lexemes belonging to this category.

	Required reading	Possible sub-categories of main reading	Example	Number of lexemes
1	NP	NP [Det <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>three-pil'd</i> ( <i>LLL</i> V.2)	4
2		NP [A <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>foul-fac'd</i> ( <i>Ri3</i> III.7)	40
3	AP	AP [Adv <sub>1</sub> A <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>ever-angry</i> ( <i>Tem</i> I.2)	12
4		AP [A <sub>1</sub> and A <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>childish-foolish</i> ( <i>Ri3</i> I.3)	4 <sup>49</sup>
5		AP [A <sub>1</sub> prep N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>red-hot</i> ( <i>Ri3</i> IV.1)	2
6		AP [A <sub>1</sub> to-Inf <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>hard-rul'd</i> ( <i>He8</i> III.2)	2

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<sup>49</sup> Schmidt (1902) reads *new-sad*, as well as *new-made* (cf. below), as being adverbial. Following Helms (1868) and Bauer (1983), I included the example in the AP [A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>]-reading in the dissertation.

	Required reading	Possible sub-categories of main reading	Example	Number of lexemes
7	VP	VP [V <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>tell-tale (Ri3 IV.4)</i>	1
8		VP [V <sub>1</sub> particle <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>unlooked-for (R&amp;J I.5)</i>	4
9		VP [V <sub>1</sub> prep N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>carv'd-bone (LLL V.2)</i>	2
10		VP [Adv <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>not-to-be-endured (KiL I.4)</i>	1
11		VP [N <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>beauty-waning (Ri3 III.7)</i>	6
12	PP	PP [Prep <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>without-book (R&amp;J I.4)</i>	2
13		PP [Prep <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>out-shining (Ri3 I.3)</i>	1
14		PP [Prep NP [Det <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	<i>three-hours (R&amp;J III.2)</i>	1
15		PP [Prep NP [A <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	<i>fresh-brook (Tem I.2)</i>	2
16		PP [Prep NP [N <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	<i>fruit-tree (R&amp;J II.2)</i>	3
17	AdvP	AdvP [Adv <sub>1</sub> Adv <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>high-lone (R&amp;J I.3)</i>	1
	<b>Total</b>			<b>88</b>

**Table 98:** Synthetic compounds

#### 4.4.2.2 Analytic compounds

The largest group of compounds, the group of analytic compounds, consisted of 224 lexemes, which could be sub-classified into four different groups, according to the function the parts of the compound played in its interpretation: they could be analysed, independently of the head of the NP, in 29 cases as APs, an overwhelming 165 times as VPs, 18 times as NPs and 12 times as PPs. The independent analysis was possible, and therefore legitimate, in all but one case.

When the compound was read as an AP, the phrase was analysed as an adverb plus an adjective, *it [dream] is too FLATTERING-SWEET to be substantial (R&J II.2)*<sup>50</sup>, 'sweetly flattering', or as an adjective plus a prepositional phrase, *WORLD-WEARIED flesh (R&J V.3)*, 'weary of the world', or of a comparative structure in which an adjective was compared to a noun, *HELL-BLACK night (KiL III.7)*, 'as black as night'.

<sup>50</sup> With reference to the *OED*, Meyer (p.c., October 11, 2011) points out that *flatter* means 'treat with praise', 'encourage with hopes', which would render *flattering-sweet* as 'very gratifying'.

When the compound was read as a VP, the second part always functioned as the verb, while the first part was added as part of a prepositional phrase, *AMBER-COLORED raven* (LLL IV.3), a noun, *EARTH-TREADING stars* (R&J I.2), or as an adverb, *NEW-MADE grave* (R&J IV.1).

When the compound itself functioned as an NP, the second part of the compound acted either as an adjective followed by a noun, *HEART-SICK groans* (R&J III.3), or as a noun which was followed by a prepositional phrase, *IRON-WITTED fools* (Ri3 IV.2), by *to*-infinitive, *ALL-LICENS'D Fool* (KiL IV.4) or by a verb, *BUNCH-BACK'D toad* (Ri3 I.3). In this last category, one instance occurred in which the head of the ORIGINAL NP, *thunder*, was absolutely necessary for the correct reading of the compound, i.e. the compound could not be regarded independently of the head noun:

*DREAD-BOLTED thunder*NP = [N<sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N<sub>head</sub>] V<sub>1</sub>], i.e. 'bolts of thunder are dreaded'. (KiL IV.7)

Lastly, the compound could be understood as a PP in which the second part functioned as the preposition and the first as the noun, e.g. *CHILD-LIKE office* (KiL II.1). One could, however, also argue that *child-like* is a single lexeme with *like* being the determinatum of the adjective *child-like*.

Again, for clearer demonstration, the following table summarises and exemplifies the categories introduced above. The required reading of the whole compound is recorded in the first column, while the second column presents the possible sub-categories of the main reading. The third column gives an example of this category and the fourth the number of lexemes which belong to this category.

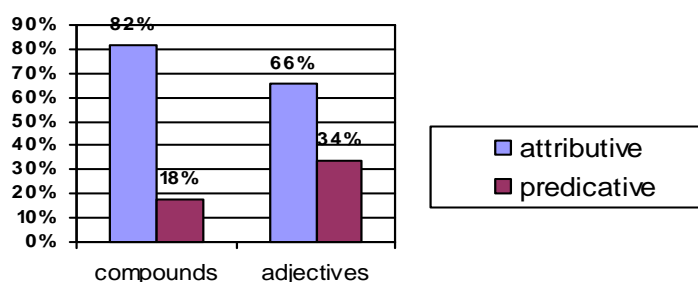
Required reading	Possible sub-categories of main reading	Example	Number of lexemes	
1	AP	AP [Adv <sub>2</sub> A <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>flattering-sweet</i> (R&J II.2)	1
2		AP [A <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>world-wearied</i> (R&J V.3)	12
3		AP [as A <sub>2</sub> as N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>hell-black</i> (KiL III.7)	16

Required reading	Possible sub-categories of main reading	Example	Number of lexemes	
4	VP	VP [V <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>amber-colored</i> (LLL IV.3)	42
5		VP [V <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>earth-treading</i> (R&J I.2)	30
6		VP [V <sub>2</sub> Adv <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>new-made</i> (R&J IV.1) <sup>51</sup>	93
7	NP	NP [A <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>heart-sick</i> (R&J III.3)	2
8		NP [N <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>iron-witted</i> (Ri3 IV.2)	12
9		NP [N <sub>2</sub> to do Adv <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>all-licens'd</i> (KiL IV.4)	1
10		NP [N <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>bunch-backed</i> (Ri3 I.3)	3
11	PP	PP [Prep <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>child-like</i> (KiL II.1)	12
<b>Total</b>			<b>224</b>	

**Table 99:** Analytic compounds

#### 4.4.3 Preference of syntactic position

With 81.9% of the compounds occurring in attributive position and only 18.1% in predicative position, Shakespeare clearly prefers the one syntactic position over the other: 267 compounds occurred attributively, as opposed to 59 compounds in predicative position. Shakespeare's preference of adjective position in the whole corpus is somewhat less striking: of the 10,098 adjectives, 66% occur attributively and 34% predicatively, in line with Biber et al.'s (2000) findings in their *Grammar of Spoken and Written English*:



**Figure 7:** Syntactic distribution of compounds and adjectives

The reason for Shakespeare's clear preference for attributive compounds might be found in the explanation that predicative adjectives generally denote characteristics

<sup>51</sup> Schmidt (1902) reads *new-made*, as well as *new-sad* (which would be classified as AP [A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>]), as being adverbial.

of the head noun, while attributive adjectives express more labile states. Compounds especially enable an author to present new ideas in an extremely condensed form, leaving the task of deciphering the meaning of the newly coined expression to the reader. Adjectival compounds in attributive position thus enable an author to concisely describe non-permanent features of a noun: the meaning of the compound in *this neighbor-stained steel* (*R&J* I.1), i.e. that the sword [steel] is red from [= i.e. stained by, cf. Schmidt 1909<sup>2</sup>] the blood of countrymen, is not only presented in a condensed manner by using the compound, but the reason for the discolouring of the steel, the fact that the countrymen's blood is on the sword, is also precisely described through the use of the adjectival compound.

#### 4.4.4 Preference of specific genres

At first, my data seemed to lead to the conclusion that there is a preference for the usage of compounds in the tragedies, as Shakespeare uses 134 compounds in his tragedies (41%), 102 in the comedies (31%) and even fewer, 91, in the histories (28%). The normalised occurrence showed, however, that the preference was not towards a single genre, but rather towards a particular play.

The number of compounds was almost equal in the comedies and tragedies, with 27.51 and 27.27 per 10,000 words, respectively. In the histories Shakespeare uses ten compounds per 10,000 words, less than in the other two genres: 17.62 compounds in the histories compared to an average of 27.39 in the other two genres.

Genre	Number of compounds	Percentage	Normalised occurrence / 10,000
Histories	91	28%	17.62
Comedies	102	31%	27.51
Tragedies	134	41%	27.27

**Table 100:** Compounds in relation to genre

The two histories in the corpus consist of a play for which the sole authorship by Shakespeare is doubted. Literary scholars have attempted, whether or not satisfactorily from a corpus-linguistic point of view remains open, to prove that *He8* was a collaboration of two playwrights. This dissertation cannot and will not go into detail on the topic of authorship, but it can at least point out apparent peculiarities to be considered in other studies on this topic.

The distribution of the compounds over the corpus is surprising: the overall percentage of adjectives in all plays was about 7.32%, cf. above. The average number of compounds within the group of adjectives in the corpus is 3.22%. The only odd play seems to be *He8* with a rather low percentage of adjectival compounds (1.12%), while the other five plays range between a 'low' of 3.18% and a 'high' of 4.14%. That is they contain on average 3.3 times as many compounds as *He8*.

The  $\chi^2$ -test was thus undertaken to reveal whether similarities and differences between the three genres exist. The test showed that the  $\varphi$ -value was not significant for the comparison between comedies and tragedies, but a significant difference could be attested when testing histories against tragedies and histories against comedies:

histories vs. comedies:  $\chi^2 = 9.68$      $\varphi = 0.0018$     → statistically significant  
histories vs. tragedies:  $\chi^2 = 10.47$      $\varphi = 0.0012$     → statistically significant

These statistically significant results led to further tests which revealed that neither the comedies nor the tragedies show significant differences in the use of adjectival compounds. A comparison between the two latest plays in the corpus (*Tem* and *He8*) and also between the two histories (*Ri3* and *He8*) revealed statistically significant differences in Shakespeare's use of compounds:

*He8* vs. *Tem*     $\chi^2 = 18.06$      $\varphi = 0.000021$     → statistically significant  
*He8* vs. *Ri3*     $\chi^2 = 23.66$      $\varphi = 0.0000012$     → statistically significant

These results again support the impression that *He8* might be worth a separate study. To further verify this impression, the tragedies and comedies were tested for significance against the early history, *Ri3*, only. The  $\chi^2$ -test revealed no significant results.

When testing *He8* against the other five plays, however, the  $\phi$ -value was so small that it could not be represented by the computer:

*He8* vs. rest of corpus  $\chi^2 = 30.29$   $\phi = 0.00000\dots$  → statistically significant

This last test gave the clearest and most obvious results, proving that the use of compounds in *He8* differs significantly from their use in the other plays in the corpus.

Hope (1994), Hoy (1962), Farnham (1916), Fleay (1886) and Spedding (1850) have previously tested *He8* for sole or joint authorship, cf. McMullan (2000: 180ff) for a full bibliography. The outcome of their studies was that certain scenes can be attributed more or less clearly to either Shakespeare or Fletcher. Fleay (1886) also introduced Massinger as a possible co-author of scenes of the play, cf. McMullan (2000:180ff).

Even if a closer study of morphological, syntactic and semantic features of these eighteen compounds in future research should not allow a conclusion regarding features typically used by Shakespeare in the other plays, it can already be said that of the eighteen compounds in *He8*, six occur in scenes attributed to Fletcher, while twice the number, 12, occur in scenes attributed to Shakespeare.

A closer look at the actual features should be able to prove, however, whether the language, i.e. the use of adjectives, in these scenes comply with the usage typically attributed to Shakespeare and, also, whether the remaining scenes do not do so. It is doubtful, however, if this is possible on the basis of only one feature.

#### 4.4.5 Verification of hypotheses

In the course of the previous chapters several hypotheses were postulated which will here be verified or refuted.

Hope, for example, proposed that [A+A]-combinations "almost always occur in predicative position" (cf. Hope 2003: 7). With 142 lexemes in the corpus, these combinations amount to almost half of the compounds under investigation here, namely 43.5%. However, less than a quarter of these [A+A]-combinations, i.e. 21.1%

or 30 of these compounds occurred in predicative position. Hope's statement is thus wrong.

Blake stated that compounds with *all-* as their first element are frequently used, a proposition that cannot be verified from the corpus material, as it contains only seven compounds beginning with *all-*, that is 2.14%.

The fact that compounds whose second elements end in *-ed* or *-ing* are the main cause of difficulty because their lexical relationship towards each other is unclear, i.e. whether they carry an active or a passive meaning, could only be partly verified. The analysis showed that in general when one part of the compound had to be rephrased as part of a verbal construction, the tense became clear from the ending of the second part of the compound. This general rule of thumb was broken only rarely, for example in *hard-rul'd king* (*He8* III.2), 'the king is hard to rule'.

A definite statement seems unjustified, however, as these compounds form a relatively small group in the corpus. Of the 99 difficult compounds, 61 ended in *-ed*, and only 26 in *-ing*. The remaining twelve compounds do not have a participial ending. There thus seems to be a tendency that compounds whose second part has a participial ending might pose more problems when a reader encounters them.

A re-analysis of Bauer's morpho-syntactic classification on a syntactic-semantic basis showed that my classification and Bauer's coincide in only about 12% of the cases. This is not surprising because one of my subgroups, which contains the most tokens (VP), and also the two smaller categories, PP and AdvP, is not part of Bauer's system of classification. The comparison of only those of Bauer's categories in which compounds are actually analysed in the same way shows that 38.88% of the tokens are analysed the same way in Bauer's and in my system.

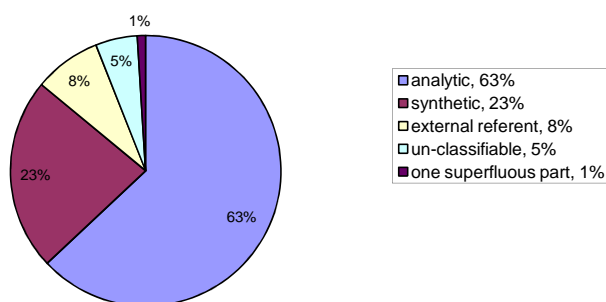
### *4.5 Description and analysis of semantically odd constructions*

Altogether, 99 compounds or 30.3% of the compounds were classified as being semantically odd or difficult to comprehend for the modern reader, having used the annotations in *The Arden Shakespeare* (McMullan 2000) as well as the *OED* (Oxford University Press 2007) as a main reference. The number of problematic compounds is not equivalent to the number of compounds which refused classification and



analysis in the previous sections, although these belong to that group as well. The following sections divide the different difficulties into larger groups. Sometimes, when an odd structure could have been put into more than one group, it was put into the one which was felt to be most representative of the problem.

A re-analysis of the compounds, trying to assign these 99 difficult lexemes to the type of analysis needed for the understanding (*synthetic* vs. *analytic*), revealed that analytic compounds seem to pose most problems in comprehensibility: 63% of the 99 compounds were analytic compounds, 23% were synthetic, 8% needed an external referent, 5% belonged to the 'unclassifiable'-group and 1% belonged to the irrelevant group in which one part of the compound was superfluous.



**Figure 8:** Analysis of compounds

Recalling results presented earlier in this chapter, i.e. how many compounds are either synthetic, analytic, with a quasi-redundant element and not classifiable, and comparing these results to the ones just observed reveals the following fact. The percentage of the compounds whose syntactic-semantic structure causes difficulty is almost identical: 28% of the analytic and 25% of the synthetic compounds were difficult in their semantic structure. This means that almost no difference in the level of difficulty between the two types of compounds can be found.

The difficulties which might arise (for students of English as a foreign language<sup>52</sup> or non-adult native speakers) in the understanding of Shakespeare's compounds might do so for two reasons. On the one hand, the meaning of the compound itself or of parts of the compound might be problematic: these problems make up 44.4% and

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<sup>52</sup> A didactic approach to the question where students need help in comprehending Shakespeare's texts is planned for the future.

are termed 'vocabulary problems' in the following section. On the other hand, the meaning or semantic features of the compound in relation to its head noun might be problematic. These difficulties can arise in 55.6% of the problematic cases and can be further analysed as being caused by metonymy, incompatibility of the semantic features of compound and noun, metaphor and finally by the fact that an inanimate head noun is modified by an adjective with animate properties (cf. attributive transpositions).

### 4.5.1 Vocabulary problems

44 instances could be difficult because of vocabulary problems. These instances might be further divided into whether the first (ten items) or the second part (15 items) or the whole compound (19 items) might pose problems to the reader. Although this differentiation is possible, the reason for misinterpretation is usually one of the following four: the vocabulary used by Shakespeare is no longer commonly used in *PDE* (*NIMBLE-PINION'D doves*, *R&J* II.5), a specific meaning that is needed to interpret the compound or parts of it might not be known or common today (*SOBER-SUITED matron*, *R&J* III.2), the word is a nonce-formation whose exact meaning is unclear (*My father, PARTI-EY'D: World, world, o world!* – *KiL* IV.1) or special cultural knowledge of the Elizabethan era is needed to understand the correct meaning of the compound (*THREE-SUITED [...] knave*, *KiL* II.2).

First part unclear	Second part unclear	Whole compound unclear
- <i>I am not AGUE-proof</i> ( <i>KiL</i> IV.6)	- <i>rash-LEVIED strength</i> ( <i>Ri3</i> IV.3)	- <i>NIMBLE-PINION'D doves</i> ( <i>R&amp;J</i> II.5)
- <i>My name is lost, by treason's tooth bare-gnawn and CANKER-bit</i> ( <i>KiL</i> V.3)	- <i>love-DEVOURING death</i> ( <i>R&amp;J</i> II.6)	- <i>WELL-LIKING wits</i> ( <i>LLL</i> V.2)
- <i>CRAB-tree staves</i> ( <i>He8</i> V.3)	- <i>curious-KNOTTED garden</i> ( <i>LLL</i> I.1)	- <i>WRONG-INCENSED peers</i> ( <i>Ri3</i> II.1)

First part unclear	Second part unclear	Whole compound unclear
- <i>Who would believe that there were mountaineers, / DEW-lapped, like bulls, whose throats had hanging at'em / Wallets of flesh (Tem III.3)</i>	- <i>Thy wit shall not go slip-SHOD (KiL I.5)</i>	- KINGLY-POOR flout (LLL V.2)
- <i>her hat PENTHOUSE-like (LLL II.1)</i>	- <i>head-LUGGED bear (KiL IV.2)</i>	- DAUGHTER-BEAMED eyes (LLL V.2)
- <i>And be not PEEVISH-fond in great designs (Ri3 IV.4)</i>	- <i>tear-FALLING pity (Ri3 IV.2)</i>	- ONE-TRUNK-INHERITING slave (KiL II.2)
- <i>SOBER-suited matron (R&amp;J III.2)</i>	- <i>tender-HEFTED nature (KiL II.4)</i>	- THREE-SUITED [...] knave (KiL II.2)
- <i>'Tis she is SUB-contracted to this lord (KiL V.2)</i>	- <i>up-STARING hair (Tem I.2)</i>	- WORSTED-STOCKING [...] knave (KiL II.2)
- <i>And, CLAMOR-moistened, then she started (KiL IV.3)</i>	- <i>well-GOVERN'D youth (R&amp;J I.5)</i>	- SIR-REVERENCE love (R&J I.4)
- <i>FIERY-footed steeds (R&amp;J III.2)</i>	- <i>well-KNIT Sampson (LLL I.1)</i>	- <i>My father, PARTI-EY'D: World, world, o world! (KiL IV.1)</i>
	- <i>wide-CHOPP'D rascal (Tem I.1)</i>	- <i>Offer'd by a child to an old man: which is WIT-OLD (LLL V.1)</i>
	- <i>We are shame-PROOF, my lord (LLL V.2)</i>	- FOOT-CLOTH horse (Ri3 III.4)
	- <i>white-LIVER'D runagate (Ri3 IV.4)</i>	- POINT-DEVISE companions (LLL V.1)
	- <i>milk-LIVER'D man (KiL IV.2)</i>	- GALLANT-SPRINGING [...] Plantagenet (Ri3 I.4)
	- <i>lily-LIVER'D [...] rogue (KiL II.2)</i>	- HARD-RUL'D king (He8 III.2)
		- PENT-UP guilts (KiL III.2)
		- GREEN-SICKNESS carrion (R&J III.5)
		- MIRTH-MOVING jest (LLL II.1)
		- SINGLE-SOL'D jest (R&J II.3)

**Table 101:** Different types of vocabulary difficulties that can arise

One could also argue that although *penthouse-like* in *her hat PENTHOUSE-like* (LLL II.1) is most likely a nonce formation, its formation is analogous to *child-like*. For this example, arguments can be found that it is a single lexeme where *like* is merely the

determinatum of the adjective *child-like*, hence *penthouse-like* could also be seen as a single lexeme, with *like* being the determinatum of the adjective *penthouse-like*.

### 4.5.2 Problematic features of compounds in relation to their head nouns

As mentioned above, the second type of problem that can arise in Shakespeare's compounds forms the larger group, with 55.6% of the problems. The problems in this category can be further specified as being caused by metonymy, by the incompatibility of the semantic features of compound and noun, by metaphor and finally by the fact that an inanimate head noun is modified by an adjective with animate properties. The following sections describe these subcategories.

#### 4.5.2.1 Metonymic reference

In eight of the 99 instances an external referent is necessary to decipher the true meaning of the compound; this external referent can be inferred from the context and usually refers to a person, hence the classification into metonymic reference. The defragmentation and interpretation of these compounds sometimes calls for a copular verb, for the verb which occurs together with the compound, while most other compounds in the corpus were decipherable by the use of *have* or *be* in the rephrasing, or of a noun which had to be implied from the context.

A copular verb is used in the defragmentation and interpretation at times, e.g. in *SHORT-GRASSED green* (*Tem* IV.1), which means that the 'green (the meadow) is (over-) grown with short grass', while an external noun is needed for the interpretation of *THIN-BELLIED doublet* (*LLL* III.1, 'the doublet is for a PERSON with a thin belly'), or *CHILD-CHANG'D father* (*KiL* IV.7, 'the BEHAVIOUR changes the father into a child'). Only in the case of *DEATH-PRACTIC'D Duke* (*KiL* IV.6) could the dummy subject which was needed not be inferred from the context of the play.

<i>love-performing night</i> (R&J III.2)	<b>someone</b> performs love at night
<i>death-practic'd Duke</i> (KiL IV.6)	<b>someone</b> has plotted to kill the duke
<i>dew-dropping south</i> (R&J I.4)	<b>something</b> drops dew towards the south
<i>child-changed father</i> (KiL IV.7)	<b>the behaviour</b> of the father has changed him into a child
<i>star-cross'd lovers</i> (R&J Prol.)	<b>the love</b> of the lovers is crossed by the stars, i.e. unfortunate
<i>short-grass'd green</i> (Tem IV.1)	<b>the meadow</b> is grown with short grass
<i>neighbor-stained steel</i> (R&J I.1)	the blade is stained <b>by the blood</b> of countrymen (cf. Schmidt 1902)
<i>thin-bellied doublet</i> (LLL III.1)	doublet is <b>for a person</b> with a thin belly

**Table 102:** Metonymic/external reference needed

Schmidt (1902) has "threatened with death by stratagems" as an explanation for *death-practic'd Duke* (KiL IV.6); Crystal & Crystal (2002) have "whose death has been plotted".

#### 4.5.2.2 Semantic properties of adjective and noun

In another eight instances, the semantic properties of the compound and the noun do not coincide. The adjective (or the noun, depending on the perspective) nowadays requires a different head (or modifier) than the one that is actually used by Shakespeare.

The *AMBER-COLOR'D raven* (LLL IV.3) is probably the most prominent example in the corpus. The compound describes a noun whose colour should be light-brownish. The noun that follows, however, *raven*, is the 'prototype of a black bird', so to speak.

The respective sentence in which the example occurs clarifies the meaning of the noun phrase in question here: "An *amber-color'd raven* was well noted." Berowne's comment that an *amber-colour'd raven*, that is (Dumaine's) Katherine, is easily identified can now be understood better: a raven is, among other things, a symbol of chattriness. Katherine's hair, which was described by Dumaine as being *amber-colored* in the sentence before, enables the reader to identify the *amber-colored* in Berowne's sentence as standing for Kate, who can then be identified as a chatty person.

In most of the other seven instances in this category, the meaning of the noun phrase can be deciphered in a similar way. Nevertheless, these instances strike the

reader as being semantically odd because adjective and noun do not match and also because the reader needs to activate knowledge of mythology and symbolism or of previously read passages, and it is not often the case that the immediately preceding sentence clarifies the odd structure:

<i>amber-color'd raven</i> (LLL IV.3)	a raven is black, the compound denotes a lighter colour
<i>dove-feather'd raven</i> (R&J III.2)	a raven does not have the same feathers (neither in colour nor in structure) as a dove
<i>filthy-mantled pool</i> (Tem IV.1)	a pool has a level surface on which something can be filthy; 'mantle' means 'covered on all sides'
<i>long-experienc'd time</i> (R&J IV.1)	time can be experienced for a long while, but it cannot actively experience something else, as an agent
<i>many-colored messenger</i> (Tem IV.1)	a person seldomly has different colours of skin; the adjective must refer to the clothing
<i>mortal-living ghost</i> (Tem IV.4)	a ghost does not live, let alone like a human being
<i>new-fangled shows</i> (LLL I.1)	an inanimate object, a show, cannot be distracted by new things or even fond of novelties
<i>sharp-tooth'd kindness</i> (KiL II.4)	the noun implies gentleness, which the adjective does not provide

**Table 103:** Semantic properties of the compound and the noun do not coincide

#### 4.5.2.3 Metaphoric reading

In ten instances, either the first or the second part of the compound might pose difficulties because adjective and noun may only make sense in combination with one another when the part in question is read metaphorically.

These compounds might be semantically odd to the reader because, again, the combination of adjective and noun is problematic: the compound *dove-drawn*, in *and her son DOVE-DRAWN with her* (Tem IV.1), for example, could in fact refer to something which doves can pull, if only the object were small enough. As the head noun to which this predicative compound refers is a male (adult) person, however,

the combination sounds odd until the oddness can be solved by reading *dove* as metaphorically representing 'love'.

The meaning of the compounds can sometimes be implied from the lexical field from which that lexeme is derived, for instance in *GREY-EY'D morn* (*R&J* II.3) or *HONEY-TONGUED Boyet* (*LLL* V.2). The analysis calls for a rephrasing of the second part as a verb: in the case of *ey'd*, the verb from the lexical field to be used is 'look', while for *tongued* it is 'speak'. For *honey*, the corresponding adverb necessary for rephrasing the compound does not exist and hence one from the larger lexical field, 'sweetly', has to be used. A metaphorical reading might be problematic to those readers who are not used to the metaphorical use of Shakespeare's language.

Quote	Meaning
<i>GREY-EY'D morn</i> ( <i>R&amp;J</i> II.3)	OED (2007): grey-eyed, a. - applied poetically to the early morning.
<i>WIDE-SKIRTED meads</i> ( <i>KiL</i> I.1)	(OED 2007): skirted, ppl. a. – having a skirt, edge, or border of a specified kind, as dewy-, long-, sky-, wide-, willow-skirted.
<i>HONEY-TONGUED Boyet</i> ( <i>LLL</i> V.2)	(OED 2007): honey-tongued, a. – speaking sweetly, softly, or winningly; mellifluous; using honeyed discourses.
<i>and her son DOVE-DRAWN to her</i> ( <i>Tem</i> IV.1)	(OED 2007): Combinations. a. attrib., as dove-hut, -messenger, -monger, -pinion, -taker, etc.; instrumental, as dove-drawn, adj.; similitive and parasynthetic, as dove-form, -green, -grey, -soft, -white; dove-feathered, -footed, -robed, -winged, adjs.
<i>Nor are those EMPTY-HEARTED whose low sounds / Reverb no hollowness</i> ( <i>KiL</i> I.1)	empty here means 'without courage' (no reference was found in the OED)
<i>WEAK-HEARTED enemies</i> ( <i>He8</i> III.2)	(OED 2007): weak-hearted, a. – lacking fortitude, faint-hearted.
<i>BELLY-PINCHED wolf</i> ( <i>KiL</i> III.1)	(OED 2007): belly-pinched, a. –pinched with hunger
<i>PUPPY-HEADED monster</i> ( <i>Tem</i> II.2)	something that is inherent in the character/behaviour of a puppy is implied, here e.g. 'stupid' (no reference was found in the OED).
<i>WASPISH-HEADED son</i> ( <i>Tem</i> IV.1)	OED (2007): waspish, a.1 – quick to resent any trifling injury or affront; irascible, petulantly spiteful.

Quote	Meaning
<i>DOG-HEARTED daughters</i> ( <i>KiL</i> IV.3) <sup>53</sup>	OED (2007): dog-hearted: instrumental, parasyntetic, and similitive, as dog-bitten, -drawn, -driven, -gnawn, -hated adjs.; dog-bright, -eyed, -footed, -furred, -haired, -hearted [...]. [i.e. Something that is inherent in the character of dogs is implied here.]
<i>GLASS-GAZING [...] rogue</i> ( <i>KiL</i> II.2)	OED (2007): glass-gazing, a – given to contemplating oneself in a mirror.

**Table 104:** First or second part of compound to be read metaphorically

#### 4.5.2.4 Premodification of 'inanimate' head noun by adjective with 'animate' properties

In 29 of the almost one hundred difficult cases, the semantic oddness might arise because the non-human and usually inanimate head nouns of the NP (e.g. *thunder*, *war*, *spirit*, *peace*) are premodified by a compound which attributes human qualities to the noun, e.g. *ALL-SHAKING thunder* (*KiL* III.2), *GRIM-VISAG'D war* (*Ri3* I.1), *SHAME-FAC'D spirit* (*Ri3* I.4), *SMOOTH-FAC'D peace* (*Ri3* V.5). The meaning of the compound itself can be deciphered along the lines of '[the noun] shakes everyone/-thing, has a grim face, has a face full of shame, has a smooth face'.

As in other examples, the last compound is not difficult to comprehend in itself, its simplest meaning being 'the face is smooth', 'the [noun] has a smooth face', and thus calls for an animate head noun. It is the fact that the adjectival compound is combined with the inanimate head noun *peace*, which surprises the reader. However, once a personified reading was applied to the instances in this group, the noun phrases were less difficult. Shakespeare follows a tradition already found in Old English texts such as *Beowulf* when using these metaphoric constructions. The originality of his individual usages is nevertheless very striking.

<sup>53</sup> Schmidt (1902) has 'unfeeling, inhuman' for the example *DOG-HEARTED daughters* (*KiL* IV.3).



<p>personified reading necessary for deciphering of [A+N]-combination</p>	<p><i>ALL-CHEERING sun (R&amp;J I.1), ALL-ENDING day (Ri3 III.1), ALL-SEEING heaven (Ri3 II.1), ALL-SEEING sun (R&amp;J I.2), ALL-SHAKING thunder (KiL III.2), ALL-TELLING fame (LLL II.1), BLACK-BROW'D night (R&amp;J III.2), HELL-GOVERN'D arm (Ri3 I.2), SMOOTH-FAC'D peace (Ri3 V.5), DARK-EY'D night (KiL II.1), EAGLE-SIGHTED eye (LLL IV.3), EARTH-TREADING stars (R&amp;J I.2), GENTLE-SLEEPING peace (Ri3 I.3), GREY-EY'D morn (R&amp;J II.3), GRIM-VISAG'D war (Ri3 I.1), ILL-BESEEMING beast (R&amp;J III.3),</i></p>
<p>personified reading necessary for deciphering of [A+N]-combination</p>	<p><i>ILL-BESEEMING semblance (R&amp;J I.5), DEAD-KILLING news (Ri3 IV.1), ILL-DISPERSING wind (Ri3 IV.1), ILL-DIVINING soul (R&amp;J III.5), MORTAL-STARING war (Ri3 V.3), OPEN-EY'D conspiracy (Tem II.1), PARTI-COATED presence (LLL V.2), SEAL'D-UP counsel (LLL III.1), SHAME-FAC'D spirit (Ri3 I.4), SHARP-TOOTH'D kindness (KiL II.4), SMOOTH-FAC'D peace (Ri3 V.5), WELL-SPOKEN days (Ri3 I.1), WOE-WEARIED tongue (Ri3 IV.4)</i></p>

**Table 105:** Personified reading of [A+N] combinations

#### 4.6 Conclusion

The previous chapter first presented how the term compound is defined in *PDE* (Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 2000), before it attempted to use systems of classification for *EModE* (Nevalainen 1999) and *PDE* compounds (Bauer 1983) for the application to the corpus. After a brief overview of older and more recent studies of Shakespeare's language, the conclusion was reached that a new approach in the analysis of Shakespeare's compounds was needed. This new approach of classification of the compounds into *synthetic* and *analytic* compounds was then presented, explained and discussed.

The corpus findings of the present investigation allowed me to verify or refute hypotheses proposed by other scholars and to prove clearly that Shakespeare prefers using compounds in attributive rather than predicative position. Furthermore, the data seem to suggest that Shakespeare prefers using compounds in tragedies and comedies rather than in the histories. Closer analysis showed, however, that there was no difference in the use of compounds in plays clearly attributed to him while the play which is thought by some to be a joint venture by Fletcher and Shakespeare contained considerably fewer compounds.

The results of the present analysis were limited to the question of why the majority of the compounds (68.7%) were analytic: the corpus did not provide me with sufficient data to find out whether the analytic reading of the compounds was necessary because of the use of the noun to which the compounds were related.

Although a pattern in the reading can be found, as shown above in sections 4.2 and 4.3, a prediction of the outcome of necessary analysis is impossible. The advantage of the new classification is that it actually shows the order in which the compounds have to be read. If one part of the compound needs to be changed into another word class, the new analysis and classification reflect this change and provide the reader with a closely definable set of possible readings.

In a final section, the present chapter presented and analysed compound constructions which could be regarded as semantically odd in *PDE*. These odd constructions were described in detail by assigning them to one of the two possible difficulties that might occur: antiquated vocabulary or problematic features of the compound in relation to its head noun. The problematic cases in the second group could be further analysed into whether a case of metonymy or metaphor was to be deciphered by the reader, whether the semantic properties of the adjective and noun did not coincide with each other, or whether it was the fact that the inanimate head noun was modified by an animate adjectival compound which caused the problems in comprehension.

## 5 Summary and outlook

In this dissertation, I have analysed three different types of adjectives and discussed how they were used as means of conciseness and whether they were the cause for difficulties in the understanding of phrases in which they occurred. The main tasks of this dissertation were to delimit the meaning of Shakespeare's comparative, transferred and composed structures and to classify them according to their syntax and semantics. I have attempted to verify hypotheses which arose in the course of the investigation, to delimit those constructions in the corpus which are semantically odd and, finally, to analyse these constructions.

After a description of the corpus, I presented a definition of what was to be regarded as an adjective in the corpus and which functions and positions adjectives occurred in. In the second part of this dissertation, I analysed comparative structures, transpositions and compounds and for each gave outlines of the aims and findings of older and more recent studies on Shakespeare's adjectives before presenting my own syntactic-semantic classifications of Shakespeare's concise adjective structures and analysing these structures.

Altogether 1,133 adjectives in the corpus were analysed in the present study. The 1,133 adjectives are equivalent to 11.22% of the total number of adjectives in the corpus, or 0.82% of the total number of words. The following table presents the material provided by the corpus with a normalisation of the frequency per 10,000 words.

Play	Words	Ana-lysed adjectives	Percentage of analysed adjectives / words	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words (analysed As / words)	Adjectives in the corpus	Percentage of analysed adjectives / total number of adjectives	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words (analysed / total number of adjectives)
<i>Ri3</i>	28,309	249	0.88%	87.96	2,210	11.27%	1126.70
<i>LLL</i>	21,033	186	0.08%	76.07	1,535	12.12%	1211.72
<i>R&amp;J</i>	23,913	229	0.96%	95.76	1,851	12.37%	1237.17
<i>KiL</i>	25,221	188	0.75%	74.54	1,811	10.38%	1038.10
<i>Tem</i>	16,036	136	0.85%	84.81	1,084	12.55%	1254.61
<i>He8</i>	23,325	145	0.62%	62.17	1,607	9.02%	902.30
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>137,837</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>0.82%</b>	<b>82.20</b>	<b>10,098</b>	<b>11.22%</b>	<b>1122.00</b>

**Table 106:** Normalised frequency of analysed adjectives per total number of words and per adjective in the corpus

The analysis showed that more than one fifth of the concise structures (229 instances) occurred in *R&J* alone. Almost 664 out of 1,133 adjectives were found in *Ri3*, *LLL* and *R&J*, which means that almost two thirds of the concise structures occurred in the plays which Shakespeare wrote before the turn of the century, i.e. 58.61%. The plays which were written after 1600 contained 469 out of 1,133 concise structures or 41.39%.

The following table gives an overview of the total numbers of comparisons, transpositions and compounds analysed in the corpus, of their occurrence in each play, as well as of the total number of concise structures analysed per play, the percentage of the structures in question and their normalised frequencies per 10,000 words.

Play	Comparisons	Transpositions	Compounds	Total number of concise structures	Percentage of concise structures / analysed adjectives	Normalised frequency per 10,000 words (concise structures / analysed adjectives)
<b>Ri3</b>	23	153	73	249	21.98%	2,198.70
<b>LLL</b>	35	89	62	186	16.42%	1,641.66
<b>R&amp;J</b>	41	129	59	229	20.21%	2,021.18
<b>KiL</b>	33	80	75	188	16.59%	1,659.31
<b>Tem</b>	28	69	39	136	12.00%	1,200.35
<b>He8</b>	34	93	18	145	12.80%	1,279.79
<b>Totals</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>613</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>1133</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>10,000.00</b>

**Table 107:** Summary of analysed adjectives

It can be seen from this table as well that the histories taken together contained about one third (34.77% or 3,476.49 occurrences in 10,000 words), while both the comedies and the tragedies taken together contained slightly less than a third and slightly more than a third (28.47% or 2,842.01 occurrences and 36.80% or 3,680.49 occurrences, respectively) of the adjectival structures analysed. A preference towards a specific genre could not be proven by these results as they were not significant. It was proven by the results of the analysis, however, that the number of concise structures in *He8* is significantly higher or lower than those of the other plays: ( $X^2=7,018$  (df=1),  $p<0.001$ ).

Future research will have to show whether the findings of the present investigation can be applied to all of Shakespeare's plays, i.e. whether the different types of comparative, transferred and compounded structures found in the corpus can be found in the other plays as well and if so, whether they can also be analysed in the same way.

## 6 Appendix

### 6.1 Predicative comparative structures

#### 6.1.1 Overview of different lexemes classified in types of adjective classes

No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play	No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play
1	light	I.1	<i>Ri3</i>	42	(ridiculous)	VII.2	<i>LLL</i>
2	deep	II.D.1	<i>Ri3</i>	43	subtile	VIII.1	<i>LLL</i>
3	fair	VI.6	<i>Ri3</i>	44	devout	IX.1	<i>LLL</i>
4	foul	VI.6	<i>Ri3</i>	45	proud	IX.1	<i>LLL</i>
5	miserable	VII.1	<i>Ri3</i>	46	upright	IX.1	<i>LLL</i>
6	miserable	VII.1	<i>Ri3</i>	47	wanton	IX.2	<i>LLL</i>
7	bold	IX.1	<i>Ri3</i>	48	bound	IX.3	<i>LLL</i>
8	triumphant	IX.1	<i>Ri3</i>	49	dear	IX.5	<i>LLL</i>
9	bad	IX.2	<i>Ri3</i>	50	willing	D.9.E	<i>LLL</i>
10	fit	IX.4	<i>Ri3</i>	51	prodigal	X.1	<i>LLL</i>
11	dear	IX.5	<i>Ri3</i>	52	rich	X.1	<i>LLL</i>
12	precious	IX.5	<i>Ri3</i>	53	sure	XII.2	<i>LLL</i>
13	precious	IX.5	<i>Ri3</i>	54	receiv'd	D.10.A	<i>LLL</i>
14	little	XI.2	<i>Ri3</i>	55	true	D.10.A	<i>LLL</i>
15	importing	XII.3	<i>Ri3</i>	56	true	D.10.A	<i>LLL</i>
16	easy	XII.5	<i>Ri3</i>	57	great	XIII.1	<i>LLL</i>
17	safe	XII.7	<i>Ri3</i>	58	better	XIII.2	<i>LLL</i>
18	full	XII.14	<i>Ri3</i>	59	white	I.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>
19	blameful	XII.17	<i>Ri3</i>	60	hoarse	I.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>
20	true	XII.D.10A	<i>Ri3</i>	61	big	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
21	better	XIII.2	<i>Ri3</i>	62	big	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
22	good	XIII.2	<i>Ri3</i>	63	big	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
23	worse	XIII.2	<i>Ri3</i>	64	long	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
24	black	I.2	<i>LLL</i>	65	long	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
25	white	I.2	<i>LLL</i>	66	thin	II.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
26	sweet	I.4	<i>LLL</i>	67	mov'd	II.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>
27	soft	I.7	<i>LLL</i>	68	boundless	II.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>
28	big	II.1	<i>LLL</i>	69	high	II.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>
29	slender	II.1	<i>LLL</i>	70	low	II.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>
30	fleet	IV	<i>LLL</i>	71	deep	D.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
31	swift	IV	<i>LLL</i>	72	deep	D.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
32	swift	IV	<i>LLL</i>	73	deep	D.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
33	ripe	V.3	<i>LLL</i>	74	wide	D.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
34	pure	V.5	<i>LLL</i>	75	tardy	III.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>
35	beauteous	VI.6	<i>LLL</i>	76	old	III.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>
36	beautiful	VI.6	<i>LLL</i>	77	young	III.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>
37	fair	VI.6	<i>LLL</i>	78	swift	IV	<i>R&amp;J</i>
38	fair	VI.6	<i>LLL</i>	79	addle	V.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>
39	fair	VI.6	<i>LLL</i>	80	fair	VI.6	<i>R&amp;J</i>
40	fair	VI.6	<i>LLL</i>	81	fair	VI.6	<i>R&amp;J</i>
41	keen	VII.1	<i>LLL</i>	82	pale	VI.6	<i>R&amp;J</i>

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No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play	No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play
83	pale	VI.6	<i>R&amp;J</i>	131	like	D.8	<i>KiL</i>
84	moody	VII.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	132	like	D.8	<i>KiL</i>
85	fierce	IX.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	133	pinch-spotted	I.2	<i>Tem</i>
86	inconstant	IX.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	134	loud	I.3	<i>Tem</i>
87	unwieldy	IX.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	135	thick	II.1	<i>Tem</i>
88	bound	IX.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>	136	free	II.3	<i>Tem</i>
89	gentle	IX.3	<i>R&amp;J</i>	137	deep	D.1	<i>Tem</i>
90	apt	D.9.E	<i>R&amp;J</i>	138	leaky	V.2	<i>Tem</i>
91	rich	X.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	139	fresh	V.3	<i>Tem</i>
92	secret	XII.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	140	fresh	V.3	<i>Tem</i>
93	full	XII.14	<i>R&amp;J</i>	141	fresh	V.3	<i>Tem</i>
94	true	D.10.A	<i>R&amp;J</i>	142	fresh	V.3	<i>Tem</i>
95	true	D.10.A	<i>R&amp;J</i>	143	heavy	V.6	<i>Tem</i>
96	glorious	XIII.1	<i>R&amp;J</i>	144	stronger	VI.2	<i>Tem</i>
97	better	XIII.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	145	stinging	VI.5	<i>Tem</i>
98	good	XIII.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	146	afraid	IX.1	<i>Tem</i>
99	worser	XIII.2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	147	serious	IX.1	<i>Tem</i>
100	big	II.1	<i>KiL</i>	148	gentle	IX.3	<i>Tem</i>
101	compact	II.1	<i>KiL</i>	149	gentle	IX.3	<i>Tem</i>
102	long	II.1	<i>KiL</i>	150	willing	D.9.E	<i>Tem</i>
103	elder	III.2	<i>KiL</i>	151	impossible	XII.1	<i>Tem</i>
104	old	III.2	<i>KiL</i>	152	disproportion'd	XII.9	<i>Tem</i>
105	harder	V.2	<i>KiL</i>	153	great	XIII.1	<i>Tem</i>
106	dead	VI.1	<i>KiL</i>	154	better	XIII.2	<i>Tem</i>
107	gross	VI.6	<i>KiL</i>	155	better	XIII.2	<i>Tem</i>
108	hideous	VI.6	<i>KiL</i>	156	great	XIII.2	<i>Tem</i>
109	mad	VII.1	<i>KiL</i>	157	worse	XIII.2	<i>Tem</i>
110	ponderous	IX.1	<i>KiL</i>	158	worse	XIII.2	<i>Tem</i>
111	duteous	IX.2	<i>KiL</i>	159	worse	XIII.2	<i>Tem</i>
112	generous	IX.2	<i>KiL</i>	160	black	I.2	<i>He8</i>
113	horrid	IX.2	<i>KiL</i>	161	loud	I.3	<i>He8</i>
114	kind	IX.3	<i>KiL</i>	162	bitter	I.4	<i>He8</i>
115	poor	X.1	<i>KiL</i>	163	sweet	I.4	<i>He8</i>
116	poor	X.1	<i>KiL</i>	164	sweet	I.4	<i>He8</i>
117	cheap	XI.3	<i>KiL</i>	165	great	II.1	<i>He8</i>
118	safe	XII.7	<i>KiL</i>	166	long	II.1	<i>He8</i>
119	full	XII.14	<i>KiL</i>	167	thick	II.1	<i>He8</i>
120	true	D.10.A	<i>KiL</i>	168	fresh	V.3	<i>He8</i>
121	better	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	169	fruitful	V.3	<i>He8</i>
122	better	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	170	clear	V.9	<i>He8</i>
123	better	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	171	strong	VI.2	<i>He8</i>
124	better	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	172	strong	VI.2	<i>He8</i>
125	better	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	173	covetous	VI.5	<i>He8</i>
126	convenient	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	174	foul	VI.6	<i>He8</i>
127	sharp	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	175	ugly	VI.6	<i>He8</i>
128	worse	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	176	happy	VII.1	<i>He8</i>
129	worse	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	177	merry	VII.1	<i>He8</i>
130	worse	XIII.2	<i>KiL</i>	178	terrible	IX.2	<i>He8</i>

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No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play
179	subtile	IX.4	<i>He8</i>
180	flowing	X.1	<i>He8</i>
181	rich	X.1	<i>He8</i>
182	worth	XI.3	<i>He8</i>
183	impossible	XII.1	<i>He8</i>
184	easy	XII.5	<i>He8</i>
185	even	XII.11	<i>He8</i>
186	great	XIII.1	<i>He8</i>

No	Adjective	Semantic classification	Play
187	great	XIII.1	<i>He8</i>
188	great	XIII.1	<i>He8</i>
189	better	XIII.2	<i>He8</i>
190	better	XIII.2	<i>He8</i>
191	righteous	XIII.2	<i>He8</i>
192	worser	XIII.2	<i>He8</i>
193	like	D.8	<i>He8</i>





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### 6.1.2 Comparisons of equality

No	Play	Proposition A	Comp- element	Sem- clas- sifica- tion	Structure of comp- element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Predic- tion ok?	Mea- ning ok?
1	<i>LLL</i>	(Our masking)	(ridiculous)	VII.2	A	VII.2	Value	anything (or compl- clause)		love is full of unbefitting strains	S [NP [N] VP [V AP [A PP]]]	1	0
2	<i>R&amp;J</i>	and yet thy (Benvolio's) head	addle	V.2	AP [A PP]	V.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	an egg for quarreling	NP [N]	1	1
3	<i>LLL</i>	--	all wanton	IX.2	A	IX.2	Human Propen- sity	human	as	a child	NP [Det N]	1	0
4	<i>R&amp;J</i>	I	apt to quarrel	D9E	AP [A to- clause]	D9E	Qualifica- tion	event / activity	as	thou art	S [NP [Pron] V]	0	1
5	<i>Ri3</i>	no news	bad	IX.2	A	IX.2	Value	anything (or compl- clause)	as	this	NP [N PP]	1	1
6	<i>LLL</i>	(Rosaline)	beauteous	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	ink	NP [N]	1	0
7	<i>R&amp;J</i>	he (waggoner)	big	II.1	A	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	a round worm	NP [Det N]	1	0
8	<i>R&amp;J</i>	a bump (on Juliet's forehead)	big	II.1	A	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	a young cock'rel's stone	NP [Det N]	1	0
9	<i>LLL</i>	he (Hercules, i.e. the page?)	big	II.1	A	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	the end of his club	NP [Det N PP]	1	1
10	<i>He8</i>	he (Duke of Buckingham)	black	I.2	A	I.2	Colour	concrete noun	as	besmear'd in hell	NP [N]	1	1
11	<i>LLL</i>	thy love	black	I.2	A	I.2	Colour	concrete noun	as	ebony	NP [N]	0	1
12	<i>Ri3</i>	(the causer of the timeless deaths)	blameful	XII.17	A	XII.1 7	Human Propen- sity	human	as	the executioner	NP [Det N]	1	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	Comp- element	Sem- clas- sifica- tion	Structure of comp- element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Predic- tion ok?	Mea- ning ok?
13	<i>R&amp;J</i>	My bounty	boundless	II.3	A	II.3	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	the sea	NP [Det N]	0	1
14	<i>KiL</i>	Man's life	cheap	XI.3	A	XI.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	beast's	NP [N PP]	1	1
15	<i>He8</i>	proofs	clear	V.9	A	V.9	Colour	concrete noun	as	founts in July when we see each grain of gravel	NP [N PP temp-clause]	1	1
16	<i>KiL</i>	my dimensions	compact	II.1	A	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	honest madam's issue	NP [A N(Gen) N]	1	0
17	<i>KiL</i>	she (Cordelia)	dead	VI.1	A	VI.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	earth	NP [N]	1	0
18	<i>LLL</i>	he (Rosalind's Russian)	dear	IX.5	A	IX.5	Human Propen- sity	human	as	precious eyesight	NP [A N]	0	1
19	<i>Ri3</i>	I hold my life	dear	<b>IX.5</b>	A	IX.5	Human Propen- sity	human	as	you do yours	S [NP [Pron] V]	1	1
20	<i>R&amp;J</i>	My love	deep	D1	A	D1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	--	--	0	1
21	<i>R&amp;J</i>	'Tis (the hurt)	deep	D1	A	D1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	a well	NP [Det N PP]	1	1
22	<i>Ri3</i>	he (Edward)	deep in that sin	D1	AP [A PP]	D1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	I	NP [Pron]	1	1
23	<i>Tem</i>	he (Caliban)	disproportion'd in his manners	XII.9	AP [A PP]	XII.9	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	in his shape	PP	1	0
24	<i>KiL</i>	(Oswald?)	duteous to the vices of thy mistress	IX.2	A	IX.2	Human Propen- sity	human	as	badness would desire	NP [N]	0	0
25	<i>He8</i>	(penance)	easy	XII.5	A	XII.5	Difficulty	event / activity	as	a downbed would afford it	S [NP [Det N] VP [V PP]]	1	1
26	<i>He8</i>	a soul	even	XII.11	AP [A PP]	XII.1 1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	a calm	NP [Det N]	1	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	Complement	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
27	<i>LLL</i>	(Rosaline)	fair	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	a text B in a copy book	NP [Det A N]	0	1
28	<i>LLL</i>	(Kate)	fair	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	day	NP [N]	1	1
29	<i>LLL</i>	if my face	fair	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	yours	NP [Pron]	1	1
30	<i>Tem</i>	Thou (Ariel)	free	II.3	A	II.3	Dimension	concrete noun	as	mountain winds	NP [A N]	1	1
31	<i>Tem</i>	my doublet	fresh	V.3	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	the first day I wore it?	S [NP [Det A N rel-clause]	0	1
32	<i>Tem</i>	our garments	fresh	V.3	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	when we first put them on in Afric	temp-clause	0	1
33	<i>Tem</i>	our garments	fresh	V.3	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter	temp-clause	1	1
34	<i>He8</i>	a hand	fruitful	V.3	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	the land that feeds us	NP [Det N rel-clause]	1	1
35	<i>KiL</i>	a poor old man (Lear himself)	full of grief	XII.14	A	XII.14	Dimension	concrete noun	as	age	NP [Det A N(Gen) N]	0	0
36	<i>R&amp;J</i>	thy head (Ben's)	full of quarrels	XII.14	A	XII.14	Dimension	concrete noun	as	an egg is full of meat	NP [Det N PP]	0	0
37	<i>Ri3</i>	The precedent	full	XII.14	A	XII.14	Dimension	concrete noun	as	long a-doing	NP [A N]	1	1
38	<i>KiL</i>	my mind	generous	IX.2	A	IX.2	Human Propensity	human	as	honest madam's issue	NP [A N(Gen) N]	1	0
39	<i>R&amp;J</i>	he (Romeo)	gentle	IX.3	A	IX.3	Human Propensity	human	as	a lamb	S [NP [Det N] VP [aux V N]	0	1

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

No	Play	Proposition A	Comp- element	Sem- clas- sifica- tion	Structure of comp- element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Predic- tion ok?	Mea- ning ok?
40	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Thou (Juliet)	glorious to this night [...]	XIII.1	AP [A PP]	XIII.1	Value	anything (or compl- clause)	as	is a winged messenger of heaven unto the white- upturned wondring eyes of mortals that fall back to gaze on him [...]	S [VP1 [V] NP [Det A N PP] VP2 [PP rel- clause]]	1	1
41	<i>R&amp;J</i>	'Twere	good he were [as dead]	XIII.2	AP [A S]	XIII.2	Value	anything (or compl- clause)	as	living here and you no use of him	rel-clause and S	1	0
42	<i>Ri3</i>	Gold	good	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything (or compl- clause)	as	twenty orators	NP [Det N]	1	1
43	<i>LLL</i>	my favor	great	XIII.1	A	XIII.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	--	--	1	1
44	<i>He8</i>	her ashes	great in creation	XIII.1	AP [A PP]	XIII.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	herself	NP [Pron]	1	1
45	<i>Tem</i>	(a loss)	great to me	XIII.1	AP [A PP]	XIII.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	late	Adv	0	1
46	<i>Tem</i>	I begot of him (brother) a falsehood in its contrary	great	XIII.1	A	XIII.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	my trust was	S [NP [Det N] V]	1	1
47	<i>He8</i>	one	great in fame	XIII.1	AP [A PP]	XIII.1	Dimensio n	concrete noun	as	she (Elizabeth) was	S [NP [Pron] V]	1	1
48	<i>He8</i>	and one (man)	great	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	you are	S [NP [Pron] VP [aux V(cop) N AP [A PP]]]	0	0

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

No	Play	Proposition A	Complement	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
49	<i>KiL</i>	The crows and choughs [...]	gross	VI.6	A	VI.6	Human Propensity	human	as	beetles	NP [N]	0	1
50	<i>Tem</i>	My mean task	heavy	V.6	AP [A PP]	V.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	odious	A	0	0
51	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(Juliet)	high	II.3	A	II.3	Position	abstract-place	as	heaven itself	NP [N Pron]	1	1
52	<i>KiL</i>	proper deformity	horrid	IX.2	A	IX.2	Human Propensity	human	as	in woman	PP	1	0
53	<i>Tem</i>	'Tis	impossible that he's (Ferdinand) undrown'd	XII.1	AP [A to-clause]	XII.1	Qualification	event / activity	as	he that sleeps here swims	S [NP [Pron] VP [V PP]]	1	1
54	<i>He8</i>	'Tis	impossible [...] to scatter them (the rascals)	XII.1	AP [A to-clause]	XII.1	Qualification	event / activity	as	'tis to make 'em sleep on May-day morning	S [NP [Pron] VP [V to-clause]]	1	1
55	<i>LLL</i>	The tongues of mocking wenchs	keen	VII.1	A	VII.1	Human Propensity	human	as	is the razor's edge invisible	S [VP1 [V] NP [Det N(Gen) N] VP2 [A]]	0	0
56	<i>Tem</i>	(the ship)	leaky	V.2	AP [A PP]	V.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	an unstanched wench	S [NP [Det N] VP [V AP[A PP]]]	1	0
57	<i>He8</i>	'Tis (baby)	like you	D8	AP [A NP]	D8	Similarity	concrete / abstract / activities	as	cherry is to cherry	S [NP [N] VP [V PP]]	1	1
58	<i>KiL</i>	she (Regan)	like this (similar to Gonerill?)	D8	A	D8	Similarity	concrete / abstract / activities	as	a crab does to a crab	NP [Det N]	1	1
59	<i>KiL</i>	for though she (Regan)	like this (similar to Gonerill?)	D8	A	D8	Similarity	concrete / abstract / activities	as	a crab's like an apple	S [NP [Det N] VP [V PP]]	1	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	Complement	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
60	<i>R&amp;J</i>	my short date of breath	long	II.1	A	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	as	is a tedious tale	S [V NP [Det A N]]	0	1
61	<i>KiL</i>	'twould not ha' bin	long	II.1	AP [A PP]	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	as	'tis by a vortnight	S [NP [Pron] VP [V Adv]]	1	1
62	<i>He8</i>	(a noise)	loud and to as many tunes	I.3	A	I.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	the strouds make at sea in a stiff tempest	S [NP [Det N] VP [V PP PP]]	1	0
63	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Thou (Romeo)	low	II.3	A	II.3	Position	abstract-place	as	one dead in the bottom of a tomb	NP [N AP [A PP PP]]	1	1
64	<i>KiL</i>	he (Lear)	mad	VII.2	A	VII.2	Human Propensity	human	as	the vex'd sea	NP [Det A N]	0	1
65	<i>He8</i>	He (Wolsey?)	merry	VII.1	A	VII.1	Human Propensity	human	as	[...] good company, good wine, good welcome, can make good people	S [NP [A N, A N, A N] VP [aux V NP]]	0	1
66	<i>R&amp;J</i>	and	moody to be mov'd	VII.1	AP [A to- clause]	VII.1	Human Propensity	human	as	--	--	0	0
67	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(thou = Benvolio)	mov'd to be moody	II.2	AP [A to- clause]	II.2	Human Propensity	human	as	--	--	0	0
68	<i>KiL</i>	a head	old and white	III.2	A	III.2	Age	concrete noun	as	this (his own head)	NP [N]	1	1
69	<i>R&amp;J</i>	she	pale	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	any clout in the versal world	NP [Det A N]	1	1
70	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(a bloody, piteous corse)	pale	VI.6	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	ashes	NP [Det N PP]	1	0

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

No	Play	Proposition A	Complement	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
71	<i>KiL</i>	If thou	poor for a subject	X.1	AP [A PP]	X.1	Value	anything (or complement clause)	as	he's for a king [th'] art poor enough	S [NP [Pron] VP [V PP]]	1	1
72	<i>KiL</i>	(I = Kent)	poor	X.1	A	X.1	Value	anything (or complement clause)	as	the King	NP [Det N]	1	1
73	<i>Ri3</i>	and it (life)	precious to me	IX.5	A	IX.5	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	'tis now	S [NP [Pron] VP [V PP]]	0	1
74	<i>Ri3</i>	(my life)	precious to me	IX.5	AP [A PP]	IX.5	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	'tis now	S [NP [Pron] VP [V Adv]]	0	1
75	<i>LLL</i>	(Princess)	prodigal of all dear grace	X.1	AP [A PP]	X.1	Human Propensity	human	as	nature was in making graces dear	S [NP [N] VP [V PP N A]]	0	0
76	<i>LLL</i>	(my maiden's honor)	pure	V.5	A	V.5	Value	anything (or complement clause)	as	the unsallied lily	NP [Det A N]	1	1
77	<i>LLL</i>	you	receiv'd	D10A	A	D10A	Human Propensity	human	as	you shall deem yourself lodged	S [NP [Pron] VP [V N]]	1	0
78	<i>He8</i>	their affairs	righteous	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Human Propensity	human	as	--	--	1	1
79	<i>LLL</i>	the deer	ripe	V.3	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	the pomewater	NP [Det N]	1	0
80	<i>Ri3</i>	(some men)	safe	XII.7	A	XII.7	Human Propensity	human	as	thou and I	NP [Pron and Pron]	1	1
81	<i>R&amp;J</i>	he (Romeo)	secret and so close, so far from sounding and discovery	XII.2	AP [A PP]	XII.2	Human Propensity	human	as	is the but bit with an envious worm	S [VP1 [V] NP [Det N] VP2 [AP [A PP]]]	0	0
82	<i>LLL</i>	your waist	slender	II.1	A	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	as	my wit	NP [Det N]	0	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	Comp- element	Sem- clas- sifica- tion	Structure of comp- element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Predic- tion ok?	Mea- ning ok?
83	<i>He8</i>	(I)	strong	VI.2	A	VI.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	shore of rock	NP [N PP]	1	1
84	<i>LLL</i>	(love?)	subtile	VIII.1	A	VIII.1	Human Propen- sity	human	as	Sphinx	NP [N]	1	0
85	<i>He8</i>	he (Cardinal Wolsey)	subtile and as prone to mischief	IX.4	AP [A that- clause]	IX.4	Qualifica- tion	event / activity	as	he is able to perform it	S [NP [Pron rel-clause] V]	1	1
86	<i>LLL</i>	(it)	sure	XII.2	AP [A PP]	XII.2	Human Propen- sity	human	as	bark on tree	S [NP [N] VP [aux V]]	0	0
87	<i>He8</i>	(the Cardinal)	sweet	I.4	A	I.4	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	summer (to those men that sought him)	NP [N]	0	0
88	<i>LLL</i>	(love?)	sweet and musical	I.4	A	I.4	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	bright Apollo's lute	NP [A N(Gen) N]	1	1
89	<i>R&amp;J</i>	She (nurse)	swift in motion	IV	A	IV	Speed	concrete / activity	as	a ball	AP [A PP]	1	0
90	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(I'll be)	swift	IV	A	IV	Speed	concrete / activity	as	lead	NP [N]	1	1
91	<i>LLL</i>	love	swift	IV	A	IV	Speed	concrete / activity	as	thought in every power	NP [N PP]	0	0
92	<i>R&amp;J</i>	too swift (love)	tardy	III.1	A	III.1	Speed	concrete / activity	as	too slow	AP [Adv A]	0	0
93	<i>He8</i>	they (hearts of princes)	terrible	<b>IX.2</b>	A	IX.2	Value	anything (or compl- clause)	as	storms	NP [N]	1	1
94	<i>Tem</i>	Thou (Caliban)	thick	II.1	A	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	honeycomb	NP [N]	1	1
95	<i>He8</i>	(perils did abound)	thick	II.1	A	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	thought could make them	S [NP [N] VP [aux V N]]	0	1



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No	Play	Proposition A	Comp- element	Sem- clas- sifica- tion	Structure of comp- element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Predic- tion ok?	Mea- ning ok?
96	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(fantasy)	thin of substance	II.1	AP [A PP]	II.1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	the air and more inconstant than the wind	NP [Det N] and AP [A(comp) than NP [Det N]]	1	1
97	<i>Ri3</i>	Think you I	triumphant	IX.1	A	IX.1	Human Propen- sity	human	as	I am	S [NP [Pron] VP [V A, A and A]	1	1
98	<i>LLL</i>	(we)	true	D10A	A	D10A	Qualifica- tion	event / activity	as	flesh and blood can be	S [NP [N and N] VP [aux V]	0	0
99	<i>KiL</i>	my shape	true	D10A	A	D10A	Qualifica- tion	event / activity	as	honest madam's issue	NP [A N(Gen) N]	0	0
100	<i>R&amp;J</i>	my man	true	D10A	A	D10A	Qualifica- tion	event / activity	as	steel	NP [N]	0	0
101	<i>Ri3</i>	If King Edward	true and just	D10A	A	D10A	Qualifica- tion	event / activity	as	I am subtle, false and treacherous	S [NP [Pron] V]	0	0
102	<i>LLL</i>	but old folks	unwieldy, slow, heavy, and pale	IX.2	A	IX.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	as	lead	NP [N]	1	1
103	<i>LLL</i>	(Kate)	upright	IX.1	A	IX.1	Human Propen- sity	human	as	the cedar	NP [Det N]	0	1
104	<i>LLL</i>	his (Boyet) teeth	white	I.2	A	I.2	Colour	concrete noun	as	whalë's bone	NP [N(Gen) N]	1	1
105	<i>R&amp;J</i>	nor (the hurt)	wide	D1	A	D1	Dimen- sion	concrete noun	as	a church-door	NP [Det N]	1	1
106	<i>Tem</i>	(a husband) with a heart	willing	D9E	A	D9E	Human Propen- sity	human	as	bondage e'er of freedom	NP [N Adv PP]	0	0
107	<i>LLL</i>	I	willing to grapple	D9E	AP [A PP]	D9E	Human Propen- sity	human	as	he was to board	S [NP [Pron] VP [aux V PP N]]	1	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	Com- element	Sem- clas- sifica- tion	Structure of comp- element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	as	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Predic- tion ok?	Mea- ning ok?
108	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(thou = Friar L.)	young	III.2	A	III.2	Age	concrete noun	as	I	NP [Pron]	1	1

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### 6.1.3 Comparisons of inequality

No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
1	<i>He8</i>	(the good trial)		a little happier	VII.1	AP	VII.1	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	my wretched father	NP	1	1
2	<i>Tem</i>	We	less	afraid to be drown'd	IX.1	AP	I.4	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	thou art	S	0	0
3	<i>LLL</i>	(Thou)	more	beautiful	VI.6	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	beauteous	A	1	0
4	<i>KiL</i>	Court holy-water in a dry house		better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	remuneration	NP	1	1
5	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Here		better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	any man's	NP	1	1
6	<i>KiL</i>	I		better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	the open air	NP	1	1
7	<i>KiL</i>	(It =Gardon)		better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	this rain-water out o'door	NP	1	1
8	<i>R&amp;J</i>	His (Romeo's) face		better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	thou art now	S	1	1
9	<i>Tem</i>	(You know not that I	<b>more</b>	<b>better</b>	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	Prospero, master of a full poor cell,	NP	1	0
10	<i>Tem</i>	(He = Sebastian's brother)	no	better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	the earth he lies upon	S	1	1
11	<i>He8</i>	Love and meekness		better	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	ambition	NP	1	1
12	<i>KiL</i>	Thou		better in a grave	XIII.2	AP	IX.1	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	to answer with thy uncover'd body this extremity of the skies	to-clause	1	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
13	<i>He8</i>	(It)		better to be lowly born and range with humble livers in content	XIII.2	AP	IX.3	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	to be perk'd up in a glist'ring grief and wear a golden sorrow	to-clause	1	1
14	<i>Ri3</i>	'Tis		better with me now	XIII.2	AP	D1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	when thou met'st me last where now we meet	temp-clause	1	1
15	<i>R&amp;J</i>	'Tis	no	bigger	II.1	A	I.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	an agot-stone	NP	1	1
16	<i>KiL</i>	He	no	bigger	II.1	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	his head	NP	0	1
17	<i>Tem</i>	She (Queen Mab, midwife of fairies)	a thousand-fold more	bitter	I.4	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	'tis sweet at first t'acquire	S	1	1
18	<i>Ri3</i>	She		bolder	IX.1	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	my Lord Hastings	NP	1	1
19	<i>R&amp;J</i>	No man	(more )	bound more	IX.3	AP	IX.4	Qualification: Definite	event / activity	than	a madman is	S	0	0
20	<i>LLL</i>	(I)	more	bound to you	IX.3	AP	IV	Speed	concrete / activity	than	to your fellows	PP	1	1
21	<i>KiL</i>	I	more	convenient for my hand	<b>XIII.2</b>	AP	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	for your lady's	PP	1	1
22	<i>He8</i>	(Edmund)	more	covetous of wisdom & fair virtue	VI.5	AP	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	this pure soul shall be	S	1	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
23	<i>He8</i>	Saba	no more	deep	D1	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	your consent gives strength to make it fly	S	0	1
24	<i>R&amp;J</i>	I (Juliet)		deeper	D1	A	V.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	e'er plummet sounded	S	0	1
25	<i>LLL</i>	I'll	more	devout	IX.1	A	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	this in our respects (and met your love as merriment)	NP	1	1
26	<i>Ri3</i>	We		easier	XII.5	A	IX.3	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	it was?	S	1	1
27	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Is my beaver (visor of the helmet)	far more	fair	VI.6	A	IX.1	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	she (moon)	NP	1	1
28	<i>LLL</i>	Thou (sun or Juliet)	<b>more</b>	<b>fairer</b>	VI.6	A	IX.1	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	fair	A	1	1
29	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(that) one		fairer	VI.6	A	XI.2	Quantification	abstract noun	than	my love	NP	1	0
30	<i>Ri3</i>	Thou		fairer	VI.6	A	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	tongue can name thee	S	1	1
31	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(Thou art)	more	fierce and inexorable far	IX.1	AP	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	empty tigers or the roaring sea	NP	1	1
32	<i>Ri3</i>	The time and my intents		fitter for that place	IX.4	AP	I.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	earth	NP	1	0
33	<i>LLL</i>	he		fleeter	IV	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	arrows, bullets, wind, thought, swifter things	NP	0	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
34	<i>He8</i>	Their conceits have wings	no less	flowing	X.1	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	Marchioness of Pembroke	NP	1	1
35	<i>Ri3</i>	(The King's Majesty)		fouler	VI.6	A	IX.3	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	heart can think thee	S	1	1
36	<i>Ri3</i>	he that slew them (the babes)		fouler	VI.6	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	he is	S	1	1
37	<i>He8</i>	(Thou art)		fresher	V.3	A	VI.5	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	before	Adv	1	1
38	<i>He8</i>	it (the slander)		fresher	V.3	A	IX.1	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	e'er it was, and held for certain	S	0	1
39	<i>Tem</i>	(Their garments)	ten times more	gentle	IX.3	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	her father's crabbed	S	1	1
40	<i>Tem</i>	She	more	gentle, kind,	IX.3	A	IX.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	of our human generation you shall find many, nay, almost any	S	1	1
41	<i>He8</i>	Their manners (the islanders')		greater	II.1	A	IX.3	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	this	NP	1	0
42	<i>KiL</i>	(the ensuing evil)	<b>more</b>	<b>harder</b>	V.2	A	V.2	Difficulty	event / activity	than	the stones whereof 'tis rais'd	NP	0	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
43	<i>KiL</i>	(They = the people of the hard house)	more	hideous when thou shows't thee in a child	VI.6	AP	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	the sea-monster	NP	1	1
44	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(thou fiend) (=Goneril or Albany)	more	hoarse	I.3	A	I.3	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	mine with repetition of my Romeo's name	NP	1	1
45	<i>Ri3</i>	I (Juliet)	no less	importing	XII.3	A	IX.1	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	our general good	NP	0	1
46	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(we are come in deep designs)	more	inconstant	IX.1	A	VII.1	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	the wind	NP	1	1
47	<i>KiL</i>	fantasy		kinder to his father	IX.3	AP	VII.1	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	my daughters got 'tween the lawful sheets	S	1	1
48	<i>Ri3</i>	Gloucester's bastard son	ten times	lighter	XII.5	A	I.2	Colour	concrete noun	than	my looks	NP	1	1
49	<i>Ri3</i>	my heart		little less in love	XI.2	AP	IX.1	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	is the doting title of a mother;	S	0	0
50	<i>He8</i>	A grandam's name		longer	II.1	A	X.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	his foreskirt	NP	0	1
51	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Honor's train		longer	II.1	A	IX.1	Human Propensity - Clever	human	than	the tale thou dost excuse	S	0	1

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No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
52	<i>Tem</i>	The excuse that thou dost make in this delay		louder	I.3	A	I.7	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	the weather, or our office	NP	1	0
53	<i>Ri3</i>	They	more	miserable by the life of him	VII.1	AP	VI.5	Human Propensity - Happy	human	than	I am made by my young lord and thee	S	0	1
54	<i>Ri3</i>	Let her (future wife of Richie)	more	miserable by the life of thee	VII.1	AP	D10 A	Qualification - Definite	event / activity	than	thou hast made me by my dear lord's death	S	0	0
55	<i>R&amp;J</i>	And be thy wife		older when you have found him	III.2	AP	XI.3	Value	anything	than	he was when you sought him	S	1	1
56	<i>Tem</i>	Romeo	more	pinch-spotted	I.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	pard or cat o'mountain	NP	1	1
57	<i>KiL</i>	(my goblins)	more	ponderous	IX.1	A	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	my tongue	NP	1	1
58	<i>LLL</i>	My love	less	proud to hear to tell my worth	IX.1	AP	II.1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	you much willing to be counted wise In spending your wit in the praise of mine	S	1	1
59	<i>LLL</i>	I	more	rich	X.1	A	X.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	rich taffata	NP	1	1
60	<i>R&amp;J</i>	Beauties	more	rich in matter	X.1	AP	XII.3	Value	anything	than	in words	PP	1	1
61	<i>He8</i>	Conceit		richer	X.1	A	D1	Dimension	concrete noun	than	my base accusers	NP	0	1
62	<i>KiL</i>	I		safer to fear too far	XII.7	AP	X.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	trust too far	S	1	0



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No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of comp-element	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
63	<i>Tem</i>	(It)	more	serious	IX.1	A	VI.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	my custom	NP	1	1
64	<i>KiL</i>	I		sharper to have a thankless child	XIII.2	AP	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	a serpent's tooth is	S	1	1
65	<i>LLL</i>	(It)	more	soft and sensible	I.7	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	are the tender horns of cockled snails	S	1	1
66	<i>KiL</i>	Love's feeling		some year elder	III.2	AP	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	this	NP	1	1
67	<i>Tem</i>	I	more	stinging	VI.5	A	III.2	Age	concrete noun	than	bees that made 'em	NP	1	1
68	<i>Tem</i>	Each pinch	no	stronger	VI.2	A	X.1	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	a nutshell	NP	1	1
69	<i>He8</i>	Are you not		stronger	VI.2	A	XII.7	Qualification - Sure	event / activity	than	you were	S	0	1
70	<i>Ri3</i>	The ship		sweeter	I.4	A	XIII.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	they (actually) were	S	1	1
71	<i>R&amp;J</i>	thy babes	more	true	D10A	A	III.2	Age	concrete noun	than	those that have [more] coying to be strange	NP	1	1
72	<i>LLL</i>	I'll (Juliet)		truer	D10A	A	VI.2	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	truth itself	NP	1	1
73	<i>Tem</i>	You		truer	D10A	A	I.4	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	you purpos'd	S	1	1
74	<i>He8</i>	(thou)	ten times more	ugly	VI.6	A	XII.5	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	ever they were fair	S	1	0
75	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(They)		whiter	I.2	A	IX.3	Human Propen. - Clever	human	than	new snow upon a raven's back	S	1	0

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

No	Play	Proposition A	more or less	Comp.-element	Sem-classification	Structure of complement	H/S	Dixon	Dixon's prediction	than	Proposition B	Structure of proposition B	Prediction ok?	Meaning ok?
76	<i>R3</i>	(the wings of night)	not	worse	XIII.2	A	VI.6	Physical Property	concrete noun	than	wretched Clarence did	S	1	0
77	<i>KiL</i>	they		worse	XIII.2	A	D10 A	Qualification – Definite	event / activity	than	brutish	A	0	1
78	<i>KiL</i>	(ling'ring perdition)		worse	XIII.2	A	D10 A	Qualification - Definite	event / activity	than	e'er I was	S	0	1
79	<i>KiL</i>	(some of you present here)		worse	XIII.2	A	I.2	Colour	concrete noun	than	murther to do upon respect such violent outrage	NP	1	0
80	<i>Tem</i>	(some)		worse	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	any death	NP	1	1
81	<i>Tem</i>	'Tis		worse	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	devils	NP	1	1
82	<i>Tem</i>	I	no	worse	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	now they are	S	1	1
83	<i>R&amp;J</i>	(he = villain)		<b>worser</b>	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	Tybalt's death	NP	1	1
84	<i>He8</i>	(some word there was which was)		worse	XIII.2	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	the sacring bell	NP	1	1
85	<i>He8</i>	I	more	worth	XI.3	A	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	empty vanities	NP	1	1
86	<i>KiL</i>	My wishes		yet better thus, and known to be contemn'd	XIII.2	AP	XIII.2	Value	anything	than	still contemn'd and flatter'd	S	1	1

## 6.2 Attributive transpositions

### 6.2.1 Huddleston & Pullum Subcorpus

No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
1	a <i>bloody</i> piteous corse	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
2	a Christian <i>faithful</i> man	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
3	a <i>discontented</i> gentleman	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
4	a <i>drowsy</i> head	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
5	a <i>golden</i> set	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
6	a <i>good</i> direction	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
7	a <i>miserable</i> night	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
8	a <i>passing</i> pleasing tongue	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
9	a <i>pleasing</i> cordial	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
10	a <i>pretty</i> foot	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
11	a <i>quiet</i> sleep	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	1	no
12	base <i>lackey</i> peasants	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
13	a <i>sweeter</i> and a lovelier gentleman	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
14	a thousand <i>heavy</i> times	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	1	no
15	a <i>virtuous</i> visor	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
16	<i>aery</i> succeeders of [intestate] joys	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
17	all <i>expedient</i> duty	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
18	an <i>inward</i> toil	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
19	another secret <i>close</i> intent	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
20	<i>best</i> advantage	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
21	<i>cold</i> fearful drops	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
22	<i>courageous</i> friends	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
23	<i>current</i> gold	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
24	<i>dead</i> happiness	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
25	<i>deep</i> designs	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
26	dull <i>unmindful</i> villain	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
27	<i>fair</i> humility	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
28	<i>fair</i> sun	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
29	<i>false-boding</i> woman	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
30	<i>foul</i> deformity	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
31	<i>gentle</i> uncle	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
32	God's <i>holy</i> Mother	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
33	good or <i>bad</i> news	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
34	<i>good</i> Catesby	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
35	<i>good</i> lords	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
36	<i>good</i> Sir John	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
37	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
38	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
39	<i>good</i> comfort	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
40	<i>good</i> luck	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
41	<i>good</i> time	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
42	<i>great</i> designs	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
43	<i>guilty</i> fear	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
44	her subject <i>low</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
45	<i>high</i> account	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
46	his <i>accustom'd</i> health	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
47	his <i>honey</i> words	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
48	his <i>own</i> bastardy	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
49	his <i>proud</i> adversaries	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
50	his <i>unlawful</i> bed	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
51	his <i>watchful</i> soul	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
52	<i>ill-beseeming</i> beast	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
53	in doom <i>perpetual</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
54	<i>insinuating</i> Jacks	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
55	<i>just</i> proportion	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
56	<i>kind</i> Hastings	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
57	<i>lewd</i> complaints	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
58	<i>living</i> woe	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
59	my <i>dear</i> cousin	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
60	my <i>good</i> nuncle Gloucester	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
61	my <i>gracious</i> lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
62	my <i>lovely</i> Edward's death	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	1	no
63	my <i>noble</i> lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
64	my <i>poor</i> eyes	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
65	my <i>poor</i> son	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
66	my <i>young</i> lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
67	<i>next</i> day	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
68	<i>noble</i> lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
69	<i>noble</i> Buckingham	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
70	<i>upright</i> , just, and true-disposing God	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
71	every <i>dangerous</i> shot	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
72	our <i>dear</i> Redeemer	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
73	<i>old</i> sullen playfellow	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
74	one <i>bloody</i> trial of sharp war	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
75	<i>orient</i> pearl	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
76	our <i>chiefest</i> horse	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
77	our <i>duteous</i> citizens	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
78	our <i>small</i> power	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
79	our <i>true</i> blood	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
80	<i>piteous</i> massacre	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
81	poor <i>key-cold</i> figure of a holy king	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
82	<i>private</i> conference	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
83	<i>red-hot</i> steel	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
84	<i>royal</i> fruit	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
85	<i>sanctuary</i> men	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
86	<i>sharp</i> war	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
87	<i>short</i> summers	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
88	so <i>dear</i> a loss	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
89	so <i>much</i> grace	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
90	some <i>certain</i> dregs	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
91	some <i>little</i> breath	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
92	some <i>other</i> shape	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
93	such <i>hideous</i> cries	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
94	that <i>deadly</i> eye of thine	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
95	that excellent <i>grand</i> tyrant of the earth	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
96	that <i>idle</i> weeds	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
97	her <i>best</i> days	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
98	the <i>bleeding</i> witness of my hatred	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
99	the deep-revolving <i>witty</i> Buckingham	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	1	no
100	the <i>doting</i> title of a mother	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
101	the <i>envious</i> slanders	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
102	the <i>fearfull'st</i> time	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
103	the <i>gentle</i> babes	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
104	the <i>golden</i> prime	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
105	the <i>melancholy</i> flood	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
106	the most replenished <i>sweet</i> work of Nature	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	1	no
107	the <i>murd'rous</i> knife	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
108	the <i>other</i> side	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
109	the <i>purple</i> sap	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
110	the <i>rotten</i> mouth of death	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
111	the <i>separated</i> Council	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
112	the <i>testy</i> gentleman	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
113	the <i>untainted</i> virtue	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
114	the <i>very</i> noise	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
115	the <i>watery</i> moon	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
116	the <i>western</i> shore	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
117	the <i>wretched'st</i> thing	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
118	their <i>lawful</i> suit	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
119	<i>such-like</i> toys	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
120	these <i>sad</i> designs	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
121	this <i>cold</i> corpse	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
122	this <i>divided</i> friendship	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
123	this <i>fond</i> exploit	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
124	this <i>good</i> fellow	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
125	this <i>holy</i> man	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
126	this little <i>prating</i> York	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
127	this <i>poisonous</i> bunch-back'd toad	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
128	this <i>princely</i> heap	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
129	this <i>sore</i> agony	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
130	this <i>united</i> league	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
131	this <i>virtuous</i> prince	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
132	those <i>tender</i> babes	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
133	thy <i>broken</i> faith	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
134	thy <i>dismal</i> seat	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
135	thy <i>foul</i> throat	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
136	thy <i>happy</i> days	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
137	thy <i>noble</i> deeds	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
138	thy treacherous blade	<i>Ri3</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
139	no <i>apparent</i> likelihood of breach	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
140	Warwick's <i>youngest</i> daughter	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
141	<i>weeping</i> queens	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
142	whose <i>ugly</i> and unnatural aspect	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	0	no
143	<i>wise</i> , and (no doubt) right royal [gentleman]	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
144	your <i>embowell'd</i> bosoms	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
145	your moody <i>discontented</i> souls	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
146	your <i>noble</i> self	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	1	1	no
147	your <i>royal</i> house	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no



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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
148	your <i>willing</i> swords	<i>Ri3</i>	1	1	0	1	no
149	roses <i>blown</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
150	a <i>dark</i> night	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
151	a <i>faithful</i> lover	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
152	a <i>great</i> feast of languages	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
153	a <i>hateful</i> thing	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
154	a <i>high</i> hope	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
155	a <i>holy</i> parcel of the fairest dames	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
156	a <i>kissing</i> traitor	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
157	a <i>light</i> condition	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
158	a <i>little</i> fault	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
159	a <i>merry</i> note	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
160	a <i>mortal</i> eye	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
161	a <i>true</i> man	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
162	a <i>well-accomplish'd</i> youth	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
163	an <i>amber-color'd</i> raven	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
164	an <i>earthly</i> tongue	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
165	an <i>old</i> decree	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
166	an <i>old</i> play	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
167	<i>base</i> authority	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
168	beauties no <i>richer</i> than rich taffata	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
169	<i>deadly</i> sin	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
170	<i>fair</i> friendship	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
171	<i>gentle</i> lady	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
172	<i>great</i> Hercules	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
173	<i>great</i> thanks	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
174	heaven's <i>fiery</i> eye	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	1	no
175	<i>idle</i> toys	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
176	<i>lamentable</i> cases	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
177	<i>loose</i> love	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
178	loves <i>mistook</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
179	<i>married</i> men	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
180	mine <i>own</i> heart	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
181	most <i>barbarous</i> intimation	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
182	most <i>royal</i> couplement	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
183	most <i>tender-smelling</i> knight	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
184	my <i>conquering</i> might	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
185	my <i>incony</i> Jew	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
186	my <i>maiden</i> honor	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
187	my <i>tough</i> signior	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
188	no <i>better</i> treasure	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
189	o [wood] <i>divine</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
190	o sweet <i>Maria</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
191	one <i>loving</i> kiss	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	0	no
192	<i>past</i> care	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
193	<i>perjur'd</i> men	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
194	<i>sable-colored</i> melancholy	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
195	<i>simple</i> wits	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
196	so sweet a kiss	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
197	some <i>merry</i> mocking lord	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
198	something else more <i>plain</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
199	<i>stirring</i> spirit	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
200	such <i>bedecking</i> ornaments of praise	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
201	such <i>public</i> shame	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
202	<i>sudden</i> breaking out of mirth	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
203	<i>sweet</i> Cupid	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
204	<i>sweet</i> madam	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
205	<i>sweet</i> fellowship	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
206	<i>sweetest</i> lady	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
207	<i>tender</i> juvenal	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
208	that <i>loose</i> grace	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
209	that <i>superfluous</i> case	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
210	the <i>best</i> ward	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
211	the <i>bold</i> wag	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
212	the <i>grosser</i> manner	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	1	no
213	the <i>head</i> lady	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
214	the <i>holy</i> suit	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
215	the <i>huge</i> army of the world's desires	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
216	the <i>incens'd</i> Worthies	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	1	1	no
217	the <i>little</i> gate	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
218	the <i>next</i> occasion	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
219	the right <i>Promethean</i> fire	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
220	the <i>rude</i> multitude	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	0	no
221	the <i>smallest</i> branch	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
222	the two <i>learned</i> men	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
223	the <i>wide</i> fields	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
224	their damask sweet commixture <i>shown</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
225	things <i>hid</i> and barr'd ... from common sense	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
226	this austere <i>insociable</i> life	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
227	this <i>wimpled</i> , whining, purblind, wayward boy	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
228	<i>thrice-worthy</i> gentleman	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
229	thy <i>curious-knotted</i> garden	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
230	thy <i>own</i> wish	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
231	too <i>much</i> rubbing	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	0	no
232	<i>universal</i> plodding	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
233	<i>unpruned</i> , untrained [...] fashion	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
234	<i>untrained</i> [...] fashion	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
235	vildly <i>compiled</i> , profound simplicity	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
236	vows for thee <i>broke</i> deserve not punishment	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
237	<i>well-liking</i> wits	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
238	her shoe ... / <i>guided</i> by her foot	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
239	one as <i>old</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
240	your print <i>impressed</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
241	<i>worse</i> fools	<i>LLL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
242	a <i>beauteous</i> flow'r	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
243	a <i>better</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
244	a <i>fair</i> assembly	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
245	a <i>fearful</i> point	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
246	a <i>flow'ring</i> face	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
247	a <i>foul</i> thing	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
248	a <i>piteous</i> corse	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
249	a <i>tender</i> thing	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
250	a trifling <i>foolish</i> banquet	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
251	a very <i>tall</i> man	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
252	a <i>worse</i> [name]	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
253	a <i>young</i> cock'rel's stone	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
254	an <i>envious</i> worm	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
255	an <i>honorable</i> villain	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
256	and Juliet, dead before, <i>warm</i> and new kill'd	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
257	<i>backward</i> turning	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
258	<i>blessed</i> sanctuary	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
259	<i>bloody</i> Tybalt	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
260	<i>brief</i> sounds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	1	no
261	<i>cloudy</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
262	<i>come</i> Lammas-eve	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
263	damned <i>guilty</i> deeds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
264	<i>dear</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
265	<i>dim</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
266	<i>earth-treading</i> stars	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
267	<i>fair</i> coz	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
268	<i>fair</i> maid	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
269	<i>fearful</i> hooks	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
270	for beauty <i>starv'd</i> with her severity	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
271	fresh <i>fennel</i> buds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
272	<i>gentle</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
273	<i>good</i> Benvolio	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
274	<i>good</i> fellow	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
275	<i>good</i> nurse	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
276	<i>good</i> den	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
277	<i>good</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
278	<i>good</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
279	<i>good</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
280	green <i>earthen</i> pots	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
281	<i>happy</i> mothers	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
282	<i>harsh</i> discords	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
283	<i>heart-sick</i> groans	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
284	her <i>scarlet</i> lip	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
285	his <i>light</i> feathers	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
286	his <i>native</i> progress	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
287	<i>hollow</i> perjury	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
288	<i>holy</i> palmers	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
289	honest <i>good</i> fellows	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
290	<i>honest</i> gentleman	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
291	<i>limping</i> winter	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
292	<i>lusty</i> gentlemen	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
293	<i>mean</i> time	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
294	my <i>aching</i> bones	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
295	my <i>betossed</i> soul	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
296	my heart's <i>dear</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
297	my <i>sweet</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
298	my <i>true</i> love's hand	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
299	<i>brawling</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
300	<i>loving</i> hate	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
301	my <i>buried</i> ancestors	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
302	<i>old</i> Capulet	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
303	our <i>good</i> meaning	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
304	<i>poor</i> living corse	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
305	<i>poor</i> sacrifices	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
306	<i>preposterous</i> and frantic outrage	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
307	<i>pure</i> gold	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
308	<i>quivering</i> thigh	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
309	<i>respective</i> lenity	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
310	<i>scurvy</i> knave	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
311	<i>strong</i> proof of chastity	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
312	such <i>sweet</i> flesh	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
313	<i>sweet, sweet, sweet</i> nurse	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
314	<i>tatt'red</i> weeds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
315	that same <i>ancient</i> vault	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
316	that <i>vast</i> shore	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
317	the <i>best</i> friend	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	1	no
318	the childhood of our joy with blood <i>removed</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
319	the <i>dark</i> night	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
320	the <i>eastern</i> clouds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
321	the <i>farthest</i> east	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
322	the <i>garish</i> sun	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
323	the <i>joiner</i> squirrel	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
324	the <i>life-weary</i> taker	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
325	the moonshine's <i>wat'ry</i> beams	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
326	the <i>new</i> form	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
327	the precious treasure of his eyesight <i>lost</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
328	the <i>traitor</i> murderer	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
329	the <i>white-upturned</i> wond'ring eyes	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
330	the <i>youngest</i> [one] of that name	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
331	their <i>stol'n</i> marriage-day	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
332	their <i>true</i> descent	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
333	these masterless and <i>gory</i> swords	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
334	this day's <i>black</i> fate	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
335	this <i>fair</i> corse	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
336	this same <i>wayward</i> girl	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
337	those eyes [ <i>shut</i> ]	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
338	thou <i>desperate</i> pilot	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
339	too <i>great</i> oppression	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
340	<i>treacherous</i> revolt	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
341	<i>true</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
342	<i>true</i> shrift	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
343	two <i>blushing</i> pilgrims	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
344	<i>unbruised</i> youth	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no
345	<i>vain</i> fantasy	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
346	whose <i>dear</i> sake	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
347	yellow [ <i>chapless</i> ] skulls	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	0	1	no



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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
348	you <i>green-sickness</i> carrion	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
349	<i>young</i> affection	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
350	<i>young</i> waverer	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
351	your <i>last</i> embrace	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1	1	1	1	no
352	a <i>certain</i> course	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
353	a <i>dull</i> , stale, tired bed	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
354	a <i>good</i> man's fortune	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
355	a <i>grac'd</i> palace	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
356	a <i>great</i> wheel	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
357	a jewel well <i>worth</i> a poor man's taking	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
358	a most <i>poor</i> man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
359	a <i>noble</i> heart	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
360	a <i>poor</i> , infirm, weak, and despis'd old man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
361	a <i>provoking</i> merit	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
362	a <i>reprovable</i> badness	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
363	a <i>smug</i> bridegroom	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
364	a <i>strange</i> fellow	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
365	a very <i>foolish</i> fond old man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
366	a <i>wild</i> field	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
367	a <i>wise</i> man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
368	all <i>modest</i> haste	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
369	<i>all-shaking</i> thunder	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
370	<i>better</i> service	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
371	<i>black</i> angel	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	1	no
372	<i>condemned'st</i> wretches	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
373	<i>dear</i> sister	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
374	<i>detested</i> kite	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
375	<i>ancient</i> amities	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
376	<i>dreadful</i> trade	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
377	<i>false</i> Fortune's frown	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
378	<i>filthy</i> worsted-stocking knave	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	0	no
379	<i>foreign</i> casualties	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
380	free and <i>patient</i> thoughts	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
381	<i>further</i> settling	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
382	<i>garden</i> water-pots	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
383	<i>gilded</i> butterflies	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
384	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
385	<i>good</i> sir	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
386	<i>good</i> service	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
387	<i>great</i> ones	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
388	his <i>banish'd</i> son	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
389	his <i>dog-hearted</i> daughters	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
390	his <i>flaw'd</i> heart	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
391	his <i>grey</i> beard	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
392	his <i>own</i> shadow	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
393	his poor <i>old</i> eyes	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
394	his <i>strong</i> arms	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
395	<i>indistinguish'd</i> space	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
396	man's <i>sworn</i> spouse	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
397	men so disorder'd, so debosh'd and <i>bold</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
398	<i>mighty</i> business	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
399	mine <i>own</i> conception	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
400	<i>molten</i> lead	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
401	my <i>friendly</i> knave	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
402	my <i>good</i> lord	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
403	my <i>good</i> brother	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
404	my <i>grey</i> beard	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
405	my <i>noble</i> lord	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
406	my <i>rising</i> heart	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
407	my snuff and <i>loathed</i> part of nature	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
408	my <i>white</i> head	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
409	my <i>worst</i> estate	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
410	no <i>foul</i> play	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
411	no <i>likely</i> wars	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
412	no <i>poor</i> knight	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
413	no <i>vicious</i> blot	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
414	<i>noble</i> philosopher	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
415	o <i>dear</i> son Edgar	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
416	o my <i>good</i> lord	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
417	<i>one-trunk-inheriting</i> slave	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
418	our <i>basest</i> beggars	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
419	our last and <i>least</i> [joy]	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
420	our <i>mild</i> husband	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
421	<i>plenteous</i> rivers	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
422	<i>poor</i> Cordelia	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
423	<i>poor</i> naked wretches	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
424	<i>poor</i> Tom	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
425	<i>poor</i> Turlygod	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
426	right <i>noble</i> Burgundy	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
427	robes and <i>furr'd</i> gowns	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
428	<i>small</i> respects	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
429	so <i>many</i> fathom	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
430	<i>special</i> cause	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
431	<i>supposed</i> Earl of Gloucester	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
432	<i>sweet</i> marjorum	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
433	th' <i>entire</i> point	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
434	th' <i>other</i> [side]	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
435	that [ <i>dearn</i> ] time	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
436	that <i>blind</i> traitor	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
437	that <i>good</i> effects	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
438	the [ <i>bleak</i> ] winds	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
439	the <i>bastard</i> son of Gloucester	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
440	the <i>confined</i> deep	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
441	the <i>dear</i> father	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
442	the <i>foul</i> fiend	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
443	the <i>fretful</i> elements	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
444	the <i>great</i> gods	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
445	the <i>lamentable</i> change	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
446	the lowest and most <i>dejected</i> thing of fortune	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
447	the <i>maidenl'est</i> star	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
448	the <i>noble</i> and true-hearted Kent	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
449	the <i>old</i> and miserable King	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
450	the <i>old</i> man's death	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
451	the <i>open</i> night	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
452	the <i>sound</i> man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
453	the <i>stelled</i> fires	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
454	the <i>superfluous</i> and lust-dieted man	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
455	the <i>sweet</i> face of heaven	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
456	the <i>swimming</i> frog	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
457	the <i>very</i> wanderers	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
458	the <i>winged</i> vengeance	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
459	their great stars <i>thron'd</i> and set high	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
460	their <i>precious</i> stones	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
461	these <i>hard</i> hearts	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
462	these <i>white</i> flakes	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
463	thine <i>own</i> breeches	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	1	1	no
464	this <i>hard</i> house	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
465	this <i>old</i> majesty	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
466	this <i>tough</i> world	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
467	thy <i>best</i> consideration	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
468	thy <i>strange</i> mutations	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
469	thy victor-sword and <i>fire-new</i> fortune	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
470	very pregnant and <i>potential</i> spirits	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
471	what <i>poor</i> judgment	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
472	<i>wide-skirted</i> meads	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
473	yond <i>tall</i> anchoring bark	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
474	you base <i>football</i> player	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
475	you whoreson <i>cullionly</i> barber-monger	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	0	no
476	your <i>concealing</i> continents	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	0	1	no
477	your <i>fit</i> welcome	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	1	no
478	your <i>houseless</i> heads	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
479	your <i>own</i> behalf	<i>KiL</i>	1	1	1	0	no
480	your <i>professed</i> bosoms	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
481	your <i>sweet</i> sway	<i>KiL</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
482	a <i>bald</i> jerkin	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
483	a <i>brave</i> monster	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
484	a <i>cloven</i> pine	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
485	a <i>full</i> poor cell	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
486	a <i>good</i> wager	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
487	a maze <i>trod</i> indeed	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
488	a most <i>high</i> miracle	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
489	a most <i>strange</i> story	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
490	a <i>mov'd</i> sort	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
491	a <i>new</i> man	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
492	a <i>poor</i> drunkard	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
493	<i>absolute</i> Milan	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
494	any <i>other</i> house	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
495	barren place and <i>fertile</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
496	<i>celestial</i> liquor	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
497	<i>dear</i> friend	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
498	<i>dusky</i> Dis	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
499	<i>ever-harmless</i> looks	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
500	<i>excellent</i> dumb discourse	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
501	<i>fair</i> issue	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
502	<i>flat</i> meads	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
503	<i>foul</i> speeches	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
504	<i>full</i> many a lady	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
505	<i>good</i> angels	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
506	<i>good</i> warrant	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
507	<i>great</i> Juno	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
508	hence his ambition <i>growing</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
509	her <i>blind</i> boy's scandall'd company	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
510	her <i>earthy</i> and abhorr'd commands	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
511	her <i>grand</i> hests	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
512	her more <i>potent</i> ministers	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
513	her <i>waspish-headed</i> son	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
514	<i>highest</i> Queen of state	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
515	his <i>bold</i> head	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
516	<i>holy</i> Gonzalo	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
517	<i>honorable</i> man	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
518	<i>hourly</i> joys	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
519	<i>human</i> hearing	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
520	its <i>sweet</i> air	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
521	<i>long</i> heath	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
522	<i>merry</i> fooling	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
523	mine <i>own</i> library	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
524	most <i>ignoble</i> stooping	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
525	much <i>more</i> ease	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
526	my <i>dearest</i> love	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
527	my <i>drunken</i> butler	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
528	my <i>false</i> brother	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
529	my <i>old</i> brain	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
530	my <i>princely</i> trunk	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
531	my <i>valiant</i> master	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
532	no <i>greater</i> father	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
533	<i>worthy</i> Stephano	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
534	<i>old</i> lord	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
535	<i>pricking</i> goss	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
536	<i>rich</i> ends	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	0	no
537	<i>several</i> women	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
538	some <i>fresh</i> water	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
539	<i>spungy</i> April	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
540	<i>strange</i> bedfellows	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
541	that <i>foul</i> conspiracy	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
542	the <i>curl'd</i> clouds	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
543	the <i>fraughting</i> souls within her	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
544	the <i>gorgeous</i> palaces	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
545	the green <i>sour</i> ringlets	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
546	the <i>mid</i> season	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
547	the <i>particular</i> accidents	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	1	0	yes



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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
548	the <i>poor</i> monster	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
549	the <i>prime</i> duke	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
550	the <i>very</i> instant	<i>Tem</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
551	their <i>own</i> fear or sloth	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
552	these <i>sweet</i> thoughts	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
553	this <i>blue-ey'd</i> hag	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
554	this <i>misshapen</i> knave	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
555	thou <i>jesting</i> monkey	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
556	thou <i>scurvy</i> patch	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
557	thou <i>wondrous</i> man	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
558	thy <i>saffron</i> wings	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	0	1	no
559	a heart as <i>willing</i> as bondage e'er of freedom	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
560	your <i>good</i> hands	<i>Tem</i>	1	1	1	1	no
561	a <i>black</i> mouth	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
562	a <i>bold</i> brave gentleman	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
563	a <i>broken</i> basket	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
564	a courtier <i>beggarly</i>	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
565	a <i>deep</i> envious one	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
566	a gentle, <i>noble</i> temper	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
567	a <i>giant</i> traitor	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
568	a hand as <i>fruitful</i> as the land that feeds us	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
569	a <i>learned</i> man	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
570	a long <i>motley</i> coat	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
571	a loyal and <i>obedient</i> subject	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
572	a man sorely <i>tainted</i>	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
573	a ripe and <i>good</i> one	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
574	a <i>royal</i> train	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
575	a <i>serious</i> mind	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
576	a <i>shrewd</i> turn	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
577	a <i>single</i> voice	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
578	a <i>speeding</i> trick	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
579	a sufferance <i>panging</i>	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
580	all the <i>choicest</i> music of the kingdom	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
581	an honest <i>country</i> lord	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
582	an <i>ill</i> opinion	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
583	an <i>unbounded</i> stomach	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
584	an <i>untimely</i> ague	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
585	as <i>free</i> a soul	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
586	<i>bounteous</i> Buckingham	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
587	by his person more <i>worthy</i> this place than myself	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
588	<i>Christian</i> care	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
589	<i>demure</i> confidence	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
590	doctors <i>learn'd</i>	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
591	<i>empty</i> vanities	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
592	<i>envious</i> tongues	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
593	<i>good</i> Griffith	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
594	<i>good</i> lady	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
595	<i>good</i> Master Porter	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
596	<i>good</i> health	<i>He8</i>	1	0	1	0	yes
597	<i>good</i> morrow	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
598	<i>good</i> morrow	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
599	<i>gracious</i> madam	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
600	his <i>good</i> opinion	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
601	his <i>noble</i> jury	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
602	his <i>own</i> hand	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
603	his <i>royal</i> self	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
604	<i>lazy</i> knaves	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
605	<i>little</i> England	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
606	<i>low</i> steps	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
607	many <i>grievous</i> [...] complaints of you	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
608	more miseries and <i>greater</i>	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
609	most <i>learned</i> reverend sir	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
610	my <i>good</i> and gracious Lord of Canterbury	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
611	my <i>good</i> lord	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
612	my <i>good</i> Lord Cardinal	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
613	my little <i>good</i> Lord Cardinal	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
614	my most <i>malicious</i> foe	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
615	my <i>other</i> comforts	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	1	yes
616	<i>new</i> customs	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
617	no <i>other</i> herald	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
618	this so noble and so <i>fair</i> assembly	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	0	no
619	our <i>own</i> natures	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
620	<i>cruel</i> men	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
621	<i>poor</i> man	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
622	<i>proud</i> lord	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
623	<i>quick</i> consideration	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
624	<i>sick</i> interpreters	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
625	so good, so <i>noble</i> , and so true a master	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	0	no
626	so <i>rude</i> behavior	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	0	no
627	some <i>strange</i> India	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
628	such a <i>compounded</i> one	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
629	<i>sweet</i> lady	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
630	that <i>old</i> noble lady	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
631	the articles <i>collected</i> from his life	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
632	the <i>brown</i> wench	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
633	the <i>fair</i> conceit	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
634	the <i>fore-recited</i> practices	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
635	the <i>good</i> man	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
636	the <i>great</i> seal	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
637	the high and <i>mighty</i> Princess of England	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
638	the <i>highest</i> point	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
639	the <i>late</i> voyage	<i>He8</i>	1	0	1	1	no
640	the <i>learned</i> ones	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
641	the <i>noble</i> spirits	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
642	the <i>plain</i> truth	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
643	th' <i>beneficial</i> sun	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
644	the same <i>full</i> state	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
645	the <i>sharp'st</i> kind of justice	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
646	the <i>strong</i> course	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
647	their <i>fair</i> cheeks	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no

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No	Quote	Play	Entailment	Subset	Modifiability	Pro-Form	Transposition
648	these <i>fair</i> ladies	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
649	this <i>great</i> care	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
650	this just and <i>learned</i> priest	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
651	this <i>naughty</i> earth	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
652	this <i>royal</i> infant	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
653	thy <i>honest</i> truth	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
654	thy <i>religious</i> truth	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	0	yes
655	'tis a burden too <i>heavy</i> for a man	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	0	no
656	these <i>fair</i> ladies	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
657	<i>true</i> beauty	<i>He8</i>	1	0	0	0	yes
658	two <i>noble</i> partners	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
659	two the most <i>remark'd</i> i'th'kingdom	<i>He8</i>	1	1	0	1	no
660	your <i>fair</i> conduct	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	0	no
661	<i>wretched</i> lady	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
662	you <i>rude</i> rascals	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
663	<i>young</i> maid	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
664	your <i>best</i> graces	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
665	your <i>great</i> goodness	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
666	your <i>high</i> person	<i>He8</i>	1	0	1	1	no
667	your <i>own</i> quiet	<i>He8</i>	1	0	1	1	no
668	your <i>soft</i> cheveril	<i>He8</i>	1	1	1	1	no
	<b>Total</b>						<b>126 transpositions</b>



6.2.2 Prenominal transpositions

No	Quote	Play	Type
1	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1
2	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1
3	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1
4	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1
5	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Ri3</i>	1
6	<i>good</i> my Lord of Derby	<i>Ri3</i>	1
7	I have been <i>long</i> a sleeper	<i>Ri3</i>	1
8	so <i>dear</i> a loss	<i>Ri3</i>	1
9	so <i>dear</i> a loss	<i>Ri3</i>	1
10	so <i>dear</i> a loss.	<i>Ri3</i>	1
11	so <i>old</i> a widow	<i>Ri3</i>	1
12	'twas <i>full</i> two years	<i>Ri3</i>	1
13	<i>good</i> my knave	<i>LLL</i>	1
14	<i>good</i> my liege	<i>LLL</i>	1
15	is <i>only</i> my intent	<i>LLL</i>	1
16	so <i>sweet</i> a kiss	<i>LLL</i>	1
17	<i>sweet</i> my child	<i>LLL</i>	1
18	<i>sweet</i> my lord	<i>LLL</i>	1
19	too <i>blunt</i> a will	<i>LLL</i>	1
20	<i>good</i> my friend	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
21	o <i>sweet</i> my mother	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
22	<i>poor</i> my lord	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
23	so <i>light</i> a foot	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
24	<i>dear</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
25	<i>good</i> my friends	<i>KiL</i>	1
26	<i>good</i> my liege	<i>KiL</i>	1
27	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
28	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
29	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
30	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
31	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
32	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
33	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
34	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
35	<i>gracious</i> my lord	<i>KiL</i>	1
36	of <i>other</i> your new pranks	<i>KiL</i>	1
37	as <i>strange</i> a maze	<i>Tem</i>	1
38	<i>full</i> many a lady	<i>Tem</i>	1
39	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Tem</i>	1
40	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>Tem</i>	1
41	so <i>fair</i> a house	<i>Tem</i>	1

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No	Quote	Play	Type
42	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>He8</i>	1
43	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>He8</i>	1
44	<i>good</i> my lord	<i>He8</i>	1
45	<i>good</i> my Lord Cardinal	<i>He8</i>	1
46	<i>good</i> my lords	<i>He8</i>	1
47	<i>good</i> your Graces	<i>He8</i>	1
48	is <i>only</i> my obedience	<i>He8</i>	1
49	so sweet a bedfellow	<i>He8</i>	1
50	a <i>drunken</i> slaughter	<i>Ri3</i>	2
51	a <i>dying</i> debt	<i>Ri3</i>	2
52	a <i>quiet</i> sleep	<i>Ri3</i>	2
53	<i>dead</i> happiness	<i>Ri3</i>	2
54	<i>desperate</i> sorrow	<i>Ri3</i>	2
55	his <i>royal</i> presence	<i>Ri3</i>	2
56	<i>living</i> woe	<i>Ri3</i>	2
57	reconcile me to his <i>friendly</i> peace	<i>Ri3</i>	2
58	some <i>patient</i> leisure to excuse myself	<i>Ri3</i>	2
59	that never slept a <i>quiet</i> hour with thee	<i>Ri3</i>	2
60	the <i>late</i> request	<i>Ri3</i>	2
61	the <i>melancholy</i> flood	<i>Ri3</i>	2
62	the <i>royal</i> day	<i>Ri3</i>	2
63	this <i>princely</i> presence	<i>Ri3</i>	2
64	this <i>royal</i> presence	<i>Ri3</i>	2
65	with <i>guilty</i> fear	<i>Ri3</i>	2
66	a <i>married</i> ear	<i>LLL</i>	2
67	a <i>married</i> ear	<i>LLL</i>	2
68	a <i>ghostly</i> confessor	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
69	a <i>grave</i> man	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
70	a <i>pretty</i> age	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
71	a <i>whispering</i> tale	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
72	my <i>ghostly</i> confessor	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
73	my <i>heavy</i> son	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
74	o <i>serpent</i> heart	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
75	you have <i>dancing</i> shoes	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2
76	old <i>fond</i> eyes	<i>KiL</i>	2
77	the <i>heavy</i> offer	<i>Tem</i>	2
78	with <i>old</i> cramps	<i>Tem</i>	2
79	a <i>prepar'd</i> place in the choir	<i>He8</i>	2
80	<i>killing</i> care and grief of heart	<i>He8</i>	2
81	the <i>French</i> journey	<i>He8</i>	2
82	the King's <i>late</i> scruple	<i>He8</i>	2
83	the <i>noble</i> troops	<i>He8</i>	2
84	your <i>envious</i> courses	<i>He8</i>	2



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No	Quote	Play	Type
85	your <i>late</i> censure	<i>He8</i>	2
86	a <i>good</i> day's work	<i>Ri3</i>	3
87	by Christ's <i>dear</i> blood for our grievous sins	<i>Ri3</i>	3
88	by God's <i>holy</i> Mother	<i>Ri3</i>	3
89	by the <i>holy</i> Mother of our Lord	<i>Ri3</i>	3
90	<i>cold</i> friends	<i>Ri3</i>	3
91	if with <i>dear</i> heart's love	<i>Ri3</i>	3
92	in the <i>deep</i> bosom of the ocean	<i>Ri3</i>	3
93	make the <i>blessed</i> period of this peace	<i>Ri3</i>	3
94	my <i>true</i> heart's love	<i>Ri3</i>	3
95	on <i>pure</i> heart's love	<i>Ri3</i>	3
96	that <i>sour</i> ferryman	<i>Ri3</i>	3
97	the army of <i>great</i> Buckingham	<i>Ri3</i>	3
98	the troubler of the <i>poor</i> world's peace	<i>Ri3</i>	3
99	the <i>usurping</i> helmets of our adversaries	<i>Ri3</i>	3
100	this <i>guilty</i> homicide	<i>Ri3</i>	3
101	this <i>heavy</i> mutual load of moan	<i>Ri3</i>	3
102	this heavy <i>mutual</i> load of moan	<i>Ri3</i>	3
103	this <i>true</i> breast	<i>Ri3</i>	3
104	thy <i>heavy</i> mother's womb	<i>Ri3</i>	3
105	with store of <i>childish</i> drops	<i>Ri3</i>	3
106	within the <i>guilty</i> closure of thy walls / Richard [was killed]	<i>Ri3</i>	3
107	<i>greasy</i> Joan doth keel the pot	<i>LLL</i>	3
108	a <i>sudden</i> day of joy	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
109	<i>brief</i> sounds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
110	<i>empty</i> tigers and the roaring sea	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
111	empty tigers and the <i>roaring</i> sea	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
112	my heart's <i>dear</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
113	my <i>naked</i> weapon	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
114	the <i>lazy</i> finger of a [maid]	<i>R&amp;J</i>	3
115	a <i>brave</i> night to cool a courtezan	<i>KiL</i>	3
116	our daughters' <i>several</i> dowers	<i>KiL</i>	3
117	out-frown <i>false</i> Fortune's frown	<i>KiL</i>	3
118	the gods to their <i>dear</i> shelter take thee	<i>KiL</i>	3
119	<i>good</i> wombs	<i>Tem</i>	3
120	a <i>noble</i> troop of strangers	<i>He8</i>	3
121	in <i>sweet</i> music is such art	<i>He8</i>	3
122	the Queen's <i>great</i> nephew	<i>He8</i>	3
123	a <i>breathing</i> while	<i>Ri3</i>	4
124	<i>brutish</i> wrath	<i>Ri3</i>	4
125	for <i>false</i> forswearing and for murther too	<i>Ri3</i>	4
126	my <i>present</i> aid	<i>Ri3</i>	4
127	the <i>secret</i> mischiefs	<i>Ri3</i>	4

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No	Quote	Play	Type
128	the <i>silent</i> hours	<i>Ri3</i>	4
129	the <i>speedy</i> haste	<i>Ri3</i>	4
130	use <i>careful</i> watch, choose trusty [sentinels]	<i>Ri3</i>	4
131	with French nods and <i>apish</i> courtesy	<i>Ri3</i>	4
132	your <i>willing</i> swords	<i>Ri3</i>	4
133	and <i>quick</i> Berowne	<i>LLL</i>	4
134	<i>free</i> breath	<i>LLL</i>	4
135	which <i>shallow</i> laughing hearers	<i>LLL</i>	4
136	a <i>seeming</i> man	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
137	by <i>backward</i> turning	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
138	<i>cruel</i> Death hath catch'd it from my sight	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
139	<i>hasty</i> powder fir'd	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
140	if you with <i>patient</i> ears attend	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
141	shall free thee from this <i>present</i> shame	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
142	what <i>early</i> tongue so sweet saluteth me?	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
143	with <i>speedy</i> help	<i>R&amp;J</i>	4
144	have follow'd your <i>sad</i> steps	<i>KiL</i>	4
145	his <i>constant</i> pleasure	<i>KiL</i>	4
146	his <i>speedy</i> taking off	<i>KiL</i>	4
147	that little <i>seeming</i> substance	<i>KiL</i>	4
148	this <i>present</i> summons	<i>KiL</i>	4
149	with <i>best</i> meaning	<i>KiL</i>	4
150	bring thee to the <i>present</i> business	<i>Tem</i>	4
151	a <i>late</i> court	<i>He8</i>	4
152	call him to <i>present</i> trial	<i>He8</i>	4
153	doing <i>daily</i> wrongs	<i>He8</i>	4
154	<i>gentle</i> peace	<i>He8</i>	4
155	give it <i>quick</i> consideration	<i>He8</i>	4
156	held <i>current</i> music too	<i>He8</i>	4
157	they should find <i>easy</i> penance	<i>He8</i>	4
158	to make this <i>present</i> summons	<i>He8</i>	4
159	whose figure even this <i>instant</i> cloud puts on	<i>He8</i>	4
160	a <i>marv'llous</i> proper man	<i>Ri3</i>	5
161	a <i>marv'llous</i> <i>proper</i> man	<i>Ri3</i>	5
162	a <i>marv'llous</i> proper man	<i>Ri3</i>	5
163	a <i>pretty</i> pleasing pricket	<i>LLL</i>	5
164	a <i>pretty</i> <i>pleasing</i> pricket	<i>LLL</i>	5
165	shallow <i>laughing</i> hearers	<i>LLL</i>	5
166	the <i>lazy</i> puffing clouds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	5
167	the <i>lazy</i> <i>puffing</i> clouds	<i>R&amp;J</i>	5
168	their <i>grave</i> beseeming ornaments	<i>R&amp;J</i>	5
169	a <i>gracious</i> aged man	<i>KiL</i>	5
170	that <i>former</i> fabulous story	<i>He8</i>	5

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No	Quote	Play	Type
171	that former <i>fabulous</i> story	<i>He8</i>	5
172	a <i>blushing</i> shame-fac'd spirit	<i>Ri3</i>	6
173	a thousand <i>fearful</i> wracks	<i>Ri3</i>	6
174	<i>dread</i> curse	<i>Ri3</i>	6
175	God's <i>dreadful</i> law	<i>Ri3</i>	6
176	I have dream'd a <i>fearful</i> dream	<i>Ri3</i>	6
177	into the <i>blind</i> cave of eternal night	<i>Ri3</i>	6
178	<i>mortal</i> poison	<i>Ri3</i>	6
179	my <i>fearful</i> head	<i>Ri3</i>	6
180	of <i>fearful</i> adversaries	<i>Ri3</i>	6
181	so full of <i>fearful</i> dreams	<i>Ri3</i>	6
182	this <i>willful</i> silence	<i>Ri3</i>	6
183	unscarr'd of <i>bleeding</i> slaughter	<i>Ri3</i>	6
184	<i>unworthy</i> slaughter	<i>Ri3</i>	6
185	with <i>bloody</i> daggers	<i>Ri3</i>	6
186	<i>dread</i> prince of plackets	<i>LLL</i>	6
187	nimble, <i>stirring</i> spirit	<i>LLL</i>	6
188	visit the <i>speechless</i> sick	<i>LLL</i>	6
189	a <i>fearful</i> point	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
190	accurs'd, unhappy, wretched, <i>hateful</i> day	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
191	accurs'd, <i>unhappy</i> , wretched, <i>hateful</i> day	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
192	accursed, unhappy, <i>wretched</i> , <i>hateful</i> day	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
193	from <i>fearful</i> hooks	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
194	his <i>fearful</i> date	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
195	o <i>happy</i> dagger	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
196	such <i>mortal</i> drugs	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
197	the <i>fearful</i> hollow of thine ear	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
198	the <i>fearful</i> passage	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
199	this <i>mortal</i> hurt	<i>R&amp;J</i>	6
200	the <i>dread</i> summit	<i>KiL</i>	6
201	his <i>dread</i> trident	<i>Tem</i>	6
202	out of this <i>fearful</i> country	<i>Tem</i>	6
203	the <i>dread</i> rattling thunder	<i>Tem</i>	6
204	most <i>dread</i> liege	<i>He8</i>	6
205	my most <i>dread</i> sovereign	<i>He8</i>	6
206	of <i>dark</i> forgetfulness and <i>deep</i> oblivion	<i>Ri3</i>	7
207	of <i>dark</i> forgetfulness and <i>deep</i> oblivion	<i>Ri3</i>	7
208	his <i>ancient</i> knot of dangerous adversaries	<i>Ri3</i>	7
209	his <i>ancient</i> knot of <i>dangerous</i> adversaries	<i>Ri3</i>	7
210	the <i>envious</i> slanders of her <i>false</i> accusers	<i>Ri3</i>	7
211	the <i>envious</i> slanders of her <i>false</i> accusers	<i>Ri3</i>	7
212	this <i>hungry</i> churchyard	<i>R&amp;J</i>	7
213	this <i>hard</i> house	<i>KiL</i>	8

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No	Quote	Play	Type
214	this <i>passionate</i> humor	<i>Ri3</i>	9
215	<i>black</i> scandal	<i>Ri3</i>	10
216	for <i>fair</i> England's sake	<i>Ri3</i>	10
217	or <i>breathing</i> stones	<i>Ri3</i>	10
218	that <i>bottled</i> spider	<i>Ri3</i>	10
219	a <i>double</i> tongue	<i>LLL</i>	10
220	his <i>several</i> mistress	<i>LLL</i>	10
221	Navarre had notice of your <i>fair</i> approach	<i>LLL</i>	10
222	that <i>black</i> word 'death'	<i>R&amp;J</i>	10
223	bare, <i>fork'd</i> animal	<i>KiL</i>	10
224	here comes a <i>walking</i> fire	<i>KiL</i>	10
225	a <i>harmless</i> fairy	<i>Tem</i>	10
226	the <i>ignorant</i> fumes	<i>Tem</i>	10
227	this <i>obedient</i> steel	<i>Tem</i>	10
228	your <i>harmless</i> fairy	<i>Tem</i>	10
229	a <i>fair</i> assembly	<i>He8</i>	10
230	with <i>maiden</i> flowers	<i>He8</i>	10
231	a <i>holy</i> descant	<i>Ri3</i>	11
232	a <i>jolly</i> thriving wooer	<i>Ri3</i>	11
233	a jolly <i>thriving</i> wooer	<i>Ri3</i>	11
234	a <i>living</i> death	<i>Ri3</i>	11
235	<i>false</i> traitors	<i>Ri3</i>	11
236	<i>gentle</i> villain	<i>Ri3</i>	11
237	<i>gentle</i> villain	<i>Ri3</i>	11
238	<i>sharp</i> war	<i>Ri3</i>	11
239	thy <i>edgeless</i> sword	<i>Ri3</i>	11
240	thy <i>edgeless</i> sword	<i>Ri3</i>	11
241	<i>wild</i> grief	<i>Ri3</i>	11
242	an <i>honorable</i> villain	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
243	<i>beautiful</i> tyrant	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
244	<i>bright</i> smoke	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
245	<i>cold</i> fire	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
246	in <i>mortal</i> paradise	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
247	my <i>ghostly</i> father	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
248	o <i>heavy</i> lightness	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
249	o <i>loving</i> hate	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
250	<i>sick</i> health	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
251	such <i>sweet</i> sorrow	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
252	<i>sudden</i> haste	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
253	the [elf-]locks in <i>foul</i> sluttish hairs	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
254	the <i>gentle</i> sin	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
255	<i>wolvish</i> ravening lamb	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11
256	<i>wolvish</i> <i>ravening</i> lamb	<i>R&amp;J</i>	11

## A linguistic study of Shakespeare's adjectives

No	Quote	Play	Type
257	<i>black</i> angel	<i>KiL</i>	11
258	our last and <i>least</i> [daughter]	<i>KiL</i>	11
259	our <i>pleasant</i> vices	<i>KiL</i>	11
260	this <i>under</i> globe	<i>KiL</i>	11
261	with <i>noble</i> anger	<i>KiL</i>	11
262	<i>brave</i> utensils	<i>Tem</i>	11
263	that <i>good</i> mischief	<i>Tem</i>	11
264	by the <i>stealing</i> hours of time	<i>Ri3</i>	12
265	<i>divided</i> Councils	<i>Ri3</i>	12
266	lend <i>favorable</i> ear to our requests	<i>Ri3</i>	12
267	the <i>inclusive</i> verge	<i>Ri3</i>	12
268	it is a <i>fairer</i> name than French crown	<i>LLL</i>	12
269	doing <i>damned</i> hate upon thyself	<i>R&amp;J</i>	12
270	a [ <i>dearer</i> ] father in my love	<i>KiL</i>	12
271	a <i>dear</i> thing	<i>KiL</i>	12
272	your <i>needful</i> counsel to our businesses	<i>KiL</i>	12
273	as <i>good</i> a thing	<i>Tem</i>	12
274	a <i>constant</i> woman to her husband	<i>He8</i>	12
275	a <i>seemly</i> answer	<i>He8</i>	12
276	in <i>full</i> seeming	<i>He8</i>	12
277	my <i>living</i> actions	<i>He8</i>	12
278	she had all the <i>royal</i> makings of a queen	<i>He8</i>	12
279	so <i>good</i> a lady	<i>He8</i>	12
280	spread thy <i>close</i> curtain	<i>R&amp;J</i>	13
281	that makes <i>ingrateful</i> man	<i>KiL</i>	13
282	to make the <i>dear</i> loss	<i>Tem</i>	13
283	accursed and <i>unquiet</i> wrangling days	<i>Ri3</i>	14
284	<i>accursed</i> and <i>unquiet</i> wrangling days	<i>Ri3</i>	14
285	<i>false</i> Clarence	<i>Ri3</i>	14
286	<i>false</i> , <i>fleeting</i> , <i>perjur'd</i> Clarence	<i>Ri3</i>	14
287	<i>good</i> stars	<i>Ri3</i>	14
288	our <i>loving</i> brother	<i>Ri3</i>	14
289	the <i>bloody</i> dog	<i>Ri3</i>	14
290	the <i>fearfull'st</i> time	<i>Ri3</i>	14
291	this <i>dark</i> monarchy	<i>Ri3</i>	14
292	this <i>foul</i> swine	<i>Ri3</i>	14
293	this most <i>needful</i> note	<i>Ri3</i>	14
294	with two <i>deep</i> divines	<i>Ri3</i>	14
295	your <i>waiting</i> vassals	<i>Ri3</i>	14
296	a <i>double</i> power	<i>LLL</i>	14
297	a [ <i>damned</i> ] saint	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14
298	a <i>winning</i> match	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14
299	<i>accurs'd</i> , <i>unhappy</i> , <i>wretched</i> , <i>hateful</i> day	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14

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No	Quote	Play	Type
300	her <i>borrowed</i> grave	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14
301	o <i>brawling</i> love	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14
302	such a <i>feeling</i> loss	<i>R&amp;J</i>	14
303	the <i>sweet</i> and bitter fool	<i>KiL</i>	14
304	this [ <i>dread</i> ] exploit	<i>KiL</i>	14
305	in <i>lusty</i> stroke	<i>Tem</i>	14
306	so rare a <i>wond'ered</i> father and a wise	<i>Tem</i>	14
307	two most <i>rare</i> affections	<i>Tem</i>	14
308	a cruel nature and a <i>bloody</i>	<i>He8</i>	14
309	my <i>guiltless</i> blood	<i>He8</i>	14

6.2.3 Postnominal transpositions

No	Quote	Play	Type
1	a quarrel <i>just</i> and reasonable	<i>Ri3</i>	1
2	a quarrel just and <i>reasonable</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
3	harm <i>apparent</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
4	her subject <i>low</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
5	I fear no uncles <i>dead</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
6	in doom <i>perpetual</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
7	inductions <i>dangerous</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
8	the throne <i>majestical</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
9	thy deeds inhuman and <i>unnatural</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1
10	a doubt presence <i>majestical</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
11	a light condition in a beauty <i>dark</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
12	a metal heavy, <i>dull</i> , and slow	<i>LLL</i>	1
13	a metal heavy, dull, and <i>slow</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
14	a soul <i>feminine</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
15	and violets <i>blue</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
16	by favors <i>several</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
17	figures <i>pedantical</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
18	for youth <i>unmeet</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
19	is not lead a metal <i>heavy</i> , dull and slow	<i>LLL</i>	1
20	o [wood] <i>divine</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
21	some mistress <i>fine</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
22	taffata phrases, silken terms <i>precise</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
23	the numbers <i>true</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
24	the weary beds of people <i>sick</i>	<i>LLL</i>	1
25	their damask <i>sweet</i> commixture shown	<i>LLL</i>	1
26	and Romeo <i>dead</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
27	fiend <i>angelical</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
28	from an inch narrow to an ell <i>broad</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
29	'gainst Thursday <i>next</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
30	in penalty <i>alike</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
31	many for many virtues <i>excellent</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
32	o God's lady <i>dear</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
33	on Thursday <i>next</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
34	on Thursday <i>next</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
35	on We'n'sday <i>next</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
36	the punto <i>reverso</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
37	things <i>true</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1
38	a brother <i>noble</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1
39	a sectary <i>astronomical</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1
40	in a country <i>new</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1
41	mastiff, greyhound, mongril <i>grim</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1

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No	Quote	Play	Type
42	on 's body <i>cold</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1
43	a thing <i>divine</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
44	an enemy to me <i>inveterate</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
45	and observation <i>strange</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
46	believe things <i>certain</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
47	by Providence <i>divine</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
48	for mischiefs <i>manifold</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
49	for mischiefs manifold, and sorceries <i>terrible</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
50	no occupation, all men <i>idle</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
51	none, man, all <i>idle</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
52	of the salt <i>deep</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1
53	a courtier <i>beggarly</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
54	her ashes <i>new</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
55	my brethren <i>mortal</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
56	no judge <i>indifferent</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
57	of disposition <i>gentle</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
58	the business <i>present</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
59	thy parts sovereign and <i>pious</i> else	<i>He8</i>	1
60	thy parts <i>sovereign</i> and pious else	<i>He8</i>	1
61	your high profession <i>spiritual</i>	<i>He8</i>	1
62	a quarrel most <i>unnatural</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1.1
63	this deluge most <i>unnatural</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	1.1
64	a madness most <i>discreet</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	1.1
65	[Cordelia ... That are ...] forsaken, and most <i>lov'd</i> despis'd	<i>KiL</i>	1.1
66	a rarity most <i>beloved</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1.1
67	a third more <i>opulent</i>	<i>KiL</i>	1.1
68	a thing most <i>brutish</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1.1
69	by accident most <i>strange</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1.1
70	the surge most <i>swoll'n</i>	<i>Tem</i>	1.1
71	a prince most <i>prudent</i>	<i>He8</i>	1.1
72	a daughter <i>call'd</i> Elizabeth	<i>Ri3</i>	1.1
73	a pardon to the soldiers <i>fled</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
74	by life <i>usurp'd</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
75	for my service <i>done</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
76	his apparent open guilt <i>omitted</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
77	on the Lord's <i>anointed</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
78	that Englishman <i>alive</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
79	the particular accidents <i>gone</i> by	<i>Ri3</i>	2
80	thy deeds <i>inhuman</i> and unnatural	<i>Ri3</i>	2
81	to some <i>alive</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2
82	with lies well <i>steel'd</i> with weighty arguments	<i>Ri3</i>	2
83	with odd old ends <i>stol'n</i> forth of holy writ	<i>Ri3</i>	2
84	[Dismask'd ladies] are angels [vailing] clouds, or roses <i>blown</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2



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No	Quote	Play	Type
85	a man [...] <i>planted</i>	LLL	2
86	beauties no <i>richer</i> than rich taffata	LLL	2
87	daisies <i>pied</i>	LLL	2
88	fair ladies <i>mask'd</i>	LLL	2
89	friends <i>lost</i>	LLL	2
90	great things <i>labouring</i>	LLL	2
91	in manner and form <i>following</i>	LLL	2
92	in manner and form <i>following</i>	LLL	2
93	loves <i>mistook</i>	LLL	2
94	men <i>worthy</i> enough to present them	LLL	2
95	Pompey <i>surnam'd</i> the Big	LLL	2
96	prove plagues to men <i>forsworn</i>	LLL	2
97	speeches <i>penn'd</i>	LLL	2
98	the liker you; few <i>taller</i> are so young	LLL	2
99	their form <i>confounded</i>	LLL	2
100	things <i>hid</i> and barr'd ... From common sense	LLL	2
101	with a horn <i>added</i>	LLL	2
102	with visages <i>display'd</i>	LLL	2
103	with your print <i>impressed</i>	LLL	2
104	an alligator <i>stuff'd</i>	R&J	2
105	and Juliet bleeding, <i>warm</i> and newly dead	R&J	2
106	and Juliet, dead before, <i>warm</i> and new kill'd	R&J	2
107	and vice sometime by action <i>dignified</i>	R&J	2
108	beauty too <i>rich</i> for use	R&J	2
109	I come hither <i>arm'd</i> against myself	R&J	2
110	death <i>mistern'd</i>	R&J	2
111	my friend <i>profess'd</i>	R&J	2
112	no poison <i>mix'd</i>	R&J	2
113	such vile matter so fairly <i>bound</i>	R&J	2
114	the measure <i>done</i>	R&J	2
115	the precious treasure of his eyesight <i>lost</i>	R&J	2
116	those eyes [ <i>shut</i> ]	R&J	2
117	thy dear love <i>sworn</i> but hollow perjury	R&J	2
118	to his foe <i>suppos'd</i>	R&J	2
119	to these arms untalk'd of and <i>unseen</i>	R&J	2
120	to these arms <i>untalk'd</i> of and unseen	R&J	2
121	with his sword <i>prepar'd</i>	R&J	2
122	a buoy almost too <i>small</i> for sight	KiL	2
123	a jewel well <i>worth</i> a poor man's taking	KiL	2
124	a man more <i>sinn'd</i> against than sinning	KiL	2
125	a sight most <i>pitiful</i> in the meanest wretch	KiL	2
126	an eye <i>discerning</i>	KiL	2
127	and fathers <i>declin'd</i>	KiL	2

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No	Quote	Play	Type
128	fifty men <i>dismiss'd</i>	<i>KiL</i>	2
129	horns <i>welk'd</i> and waved like the [enridged] sea	<i>KiL</i>	2
130	that very dogs <i>disdain'd</i>	<i>KiL</i>	2
131	the battle <i>done</i>	<i>KiL</i>	2
132	the night <i>gone</i> by	<i>KiL</i>	2
133	their great stars <i>thron'd</i> and set high	<i>KiL</i>	2
134	with shadowy forests and with champains <i>rich'd</i>	<i>KiL</i>	2
135	a clear life <i>ensuing</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
136	a maze <i>trod</i> indeed	<i>Tem</i>	2
137	like this insubstantial pageant <i>faded</i> / leave not a rack behind	<i>Tem</i>	2
138	each pinch more <i>stinging</i> than bees that made 'em	<i>Tem</i>	2
139	had but this fish <i>painted</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
140	hence his ambition <i>growing</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
141	means much <i>weaker</i> than you may call to comfort you	<i>Tem</i>	2
142	much business <i>appertaining</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
143	no harm <i>done</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
144	their weapons <i>drawn</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
145	thy shape <i>invisible</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
146	within which rift <i>imprison'd</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2
147	a secret to your ear much <i>weightier</i> than this work	<i>He8</i>	2
148	a sufferance <i>panging</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
149	a thing <i>inspir'd</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
150	a threepence <i>bow'd</i> would hire me	<i>He8</i>	2
151	a woman lost among ye, <i>laugh'd</i> at, scorn'd	<i>He8</i>	2
152	a woman lost among ye, <i>laugh'd</i> at, <i>scorn'd</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
153	by his person more <i>worthy</i> this place than myself	<i>He8</i>	2
154	doctors <i>learn'd</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
155	my wishes more <i>worth</i> than empty vanities	<i>He8</i>	2
156	no creature <i>living</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
157	no English soul more <i>stronger</i> to direct you than yourself	<i>He8</i>	2
158	no man <i>living</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
159	of wisdom <i>o'ertopping</i> woman's pow'r	<i>He8</i>	2
160	the greatest monarch now alive	<i>He8</i>	2
161	the most unhappy woman <i>living</i>	<i>He8</i>	2
162	'tis a burden too <i>heavy</i> for a man	<i>He8</i>	2
163	two the most <i>remark'd</i> i'th'kingdom	<i>He8</i>	2
164	something else more <i>plain</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2.1
165	for nought so <i>vile</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.1
166	I come hither <i>arm'd</i> against myself	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.1
167	something stale and <i>hoar</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.1
168	something <i>stale</i> and hoar	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.1
169	something <i>deeper</i>	<i>KiL</i>	2.1
170	with something <i>rich</i> about me	<i>KiL</i>	2.1

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No	Quote	Play	Type
171	a sea-change into something <i>rich</i> and strange	<i>Tem</i>	2.1
172	a thing divine, for nothing <i>natural</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2.1
173	into something rich and <i>strange</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2.1
174	i'th' name of something <i>holy</i>	<i>Tem</i>	2.1
175	[her] face <i>defac'd</i> with scars of infamy	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
176	[her] royal stock <i>graft</i> with ignoble plants	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
177	a clout <i>steep'd</i> in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
178	a thing <i>devised</i> by the enemy	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
179	any time <i>recourse</i> unto the Princes	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
180	at nine months <i>old</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
181	at two hours <i>old</i>	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
182	each hour's joy <i>wrack'd</i> with a week of teen	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
183	in the seat <i>royal</i> of his famous isle	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
184	like trees <i>bedash'd</i> with rain	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
185	on thy cousins <i>smothered</i> in the Tower	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
186	the substance of ten thousand soldiers <i>armed</i> in proof	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
187	these famish'd beggars <i>weary</i> of their lives	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
188	with bright hair <i>dabbled</i> in blood	<i>Ri3</i>	2.2
189	a lemon <i>stuck</i> with cloves	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
190	a month <i>old</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
191	a month <i>old</i> at Cain's birth	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
192	as a congruent epitheton <i>appertaining</i> to thy young days	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
193	but a month <i>old</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
194	but the one half of an entire sum <i>disbursed</i> by my father	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
195	his eyes <i>enchanted</i> with gazes	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
196	not five weeks <i>old</i>	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
197	things hid and <i>barr'd</i> ... From common sense	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
198	three-farthing <i>worth</i> of silk	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
199	vows for thee <i>broke</i> deserve not punishment	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
200	where her shoe ... <i>Guided</i> by her foot	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
201	with two pitch-balls <i>stuck</i> in her face for eyes	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
202	with your arms <i>cross'd</i> on your thin[-bellied] doublet	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
203	with your print impressed, <i>proud</i> with his form	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
204	your letters <i>full</i> of love	<i>LLL</i>	2.2
205	a cup <i>clos'd</i> in my true love's hand	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
206	a fire <i>sparkling</i> in lovers' eyes	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
207	a sea <i>nourish'd</i> with loving tears	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
208	a smoke <i>made</i> with the fume of sighs	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
209	by my maidenhead at twelve year <i>old</i>	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
210	delight <i>writ</i> there with beauty's pen	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
211	for beauty <i>starv'd</i> with her severity	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
212	from an inch <i>narrow</i> to an ell broad	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2
213	like mandrakes' <i>torn</i> out of the earth	<i>R&amp;J</i>	2.2

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No	Quote	Play	Type
214	my reputation <i>stain'd</i> with Tybalt's slander	R&J	2.2
215	no Cupid <i>hoodwink'd</i> with a scarf	R&J	2.2
216	of a despised life <i>clos'd</i> in my breast	R&J	2.2
217	of Tybalt <i>deaf</i> to peace	R&J	2.2
218	that vast shore [ <i>wash'd</i> ] with the farthest sea	R&J	2.2
219	the very pin of his heart <i>cleft</i> with the blind bow-boy's butt-shaft	R&J	2.2
220	their toes <i>unplagu'd</i> with corns	R&J	2.2
221	this vault a <i>feasting</i> presence full of light	R&J	2.2
222	wantons <i>light</i> of heart	R&J	2.2
223	with blood <i>removed</i> but little from her own	R&J	2.2
224	with purple fountains <i>issuing</i> from your veins	R&J	2.2
225	did him service <i>improper</i> for a slave	KiL	2.2
226	horns welk'd and <i>waved</i> like the [enridged] sea	KiL	2.2
227	some blood <i>drawn</i> on me	KiL	2.2
228	take the indispos'd and sickly <i>fit</i> for the soul man	KiL	2.2
229	the post <i>unsanctified</i> of murtherous lechers	KiL	2.2
230	undivulged crimes <i>unwhipt</i> of justice	KiL	2.2
231	with swine and rogues <i>forlorn</i> in short and musty straw	KiL	2.2
232	deck'd the sea with drops <i>full</i> salt	Tem	2.2
233	riches <i>ready</i> to drop upon me	Tem	2.2
234	there's nothing <i>ill</i>	Tem	2.2
235	three years <i>old</i>	Tem	2.2
236	with a charm <i>join'd</i> to their suff'red labour	Tem	2.2
237	[a woman] never yet <i>branded</i> with suspicion	He8	2.2
238	a cure <i>fit</i> for a king	He8	2.2
239	a woman <i>lost</i> among ye, laugh'd at, scorn'd	He8	2.2
240	by your power <i>legative</i> within this kingdom	He8	2.2
241	for high feats <i>done</i> to th' crown	He8	2.2
242	for your great graces <i>heap'd</i> upon me	He8	2.2
243	in a long motley coat <i>guarded</i> with yellow	He8	2.2
244	scholars <i>allow'd</i> freely to argue for her	He8	2.2
245	the articles <i>collected</i> from his life	He8	2.2
246	things <i>done</i> without example	He8	2.2
247	to all princes <i>living</i> with her	He8	2.2
248	two women <i>plac'd</i> together	He8	2.2
249	all circumstances well <i>considered</i>	Ri3	3
250	youth so <i>apt</i> to pluck a sweet	LLL	3
251	a mark marvellous well <i>shot</i>	LLL	3
252	a message well <i>sympathiz'd</i>	LLL	3
253	a set of wit well <i>played</i>	LLL	3
254	a time methinks too <i>short</i>	LLL	3
255	Priscian a little <i>scratch'd</i>	LLL	3
256	prologue vildly <i>penn'd</i>	LLL	3

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No	Quote	Play	Type
257	with eyes best <i>seeing</i>	LLL	3
258	[Juliet ...] warm and new <i>kill'd</i>	R&J	3
259	a word ill <i>urg'd</i>	R&J	3
260	and Juliet bleeding, warm and newly <i>dead</i>	R&J	3
261	hasty powder <i>fir'd</i>	R&J	3
262	knees humbly <i>bowed</i>	R&J	3
263	o trespass sweetly <i>urg'd</i>	R&J	3
264	of healths five fadom <i>deep</i>	R&J	3
265	a letter guessingly <i>set down</i>	KiL	3
266	a thing so <i>monstrous</i>	KiL	3
267	great stars thron'd and <i>set high</i>	KiL	3
268	men so disorder'd, so <i>debosh'd</i> and bold	KiL	3
269	men so <i>disorder'd</i> , so debosh'd and bold	KiL	3
270	men so disorder'd, so debosh'd and <i>bold</i>	KiL	3
271	their precious stones new <i>lost</i>	KiL	3
272	with man so <i>poor</i>	KiL	3
273	a mark so <i>bloody</i> on the business	Tem	3
274	a spirit too <i>delicate</i>	Tem	3
275	and one so <i>strong</i>	Tem	3
276	dukedom <i>large</i> enough	Tem	3
277	princess no worse <i>issued</i>	Tem	3
278	the dukedom yet <i>unbow'd</i>	Tem	3
279	thine own acquisition worthily <i>purchas'd</i>	Tem	3
280	tutors not so <i>careful</i>	Tem	3
281	with eyes wide <i>open</i>	Tem	3
282	with foreheads villainous <i>low</i>	Tem	3
283	with weeds so <i>loathly</i>	Tem	3
284	a man <i>sorely</i> tainted	He8	3
285	authority so <i>weighty</i>	He8	3
286	corrupt minds procure knaves as <i>corrupt</i> to swear against you	He8	3
287	her dignities so <i>dear</i>	He8	3
288	men so <i>noble</i>	He8	3
289	things <i>done</i> well	He8	3
290	this man so <i>complete</i>	He8	3
291	your foe so <i>hot</i>	He8	3
292	courses as <i>swift</i> as thought	LLL	3.1
293	one show <i>worse</i> than the King's and his company	LLL	3.1
294	wings <i>fleeter</i> than arrows	LLL	3.1
295	with one as <i>old</i>	LLL	3.1
296	a hump as <i>big</i> as a young cock'rel's stone	R&J	3.1
297	in shape no <i>bigger</i> than an agot-stone	R&J	3.1
298	'gainst a head so <i>old</i> and white as this	KiL	3.1
299	'gainst a head so old and <i>white</i> as this	KiL	3.1

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No	Quote	Play	Type
300	with a heart as <i>willing</i> as bondage e'er of freedom	<i>Tem</i>	3.1
301	a hand as <i>fruitful</i> as the land that feeds us	<i>He8</i>	3.1
302	a soul as <i>even</i> as a calm	<i>He8</i>	3.1
303	and one as <i>great</i> as you are	<i>He8</i>	3.1
304	another heir as <i>great</i> in admiration as herself	<i>He8</i>	3.1
305	proofs as <i>clear</i> as founts in July	<i>He8</i>	3.1

### 6.3 Classification of predicative and attributive compound structures

#### 6.3.1 Synthetic compounds

	Types of compounds in this category		Lexemes in this category	No of lex's
1	NP	NP [A <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	bare-headed, black-brow'd, black-fac'd, blue-ey'ed, brazen-faced, dark-ey'd, dull-brained, empty-hearted, foul-fac'd, great-bellied, green-sickness, grey-ey'd, grim-visag'd, hard-hearted, hollow-hearted, honest-hearted, hot-bloodied, humble-visag'd, lily-liver'd, low-spirited, many-colored, milk-liver'd, precious-juiced, round-womb'd, short-grass'd, shrill-gorg'd, single-sol'd, smooth-fac'd, smooth-fac'd, strong-bas'd, strong-fram'd, strong-jointed, thin-bellied, true-hearted (2x), weak-hearted, white-handed, white-liver'd, wide-chopp'd, worsted-stocking	40
2		NP [Det <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	three-headed, four-inched, three-pil'd, three-suited	4
3	AP	AP [Adv <sub>1</sub> A <sub>2</sub> ]	ever-angry, ever-esteemed, ever-gentle, ever-harmless, half-blooded, loving-jealous, not-of-the-newest, o'er-great, peevish-fond, senseless-obstinate, thrice-double, thrice-worthy	12
4		AP [A <sub>1</sub> and A <sub>2</sub> ]	childish-foolish, flat-long, new-sad, silver-white	4
5		AP [A <sub>1</sub> prep N <sub>2</sub> ]	red-hot, red-hot	2
6		AP [A <sub>1</sub> to-Inf <sub>2</sub> ]	hard-a-keeping, hard-rul'd	2
7		VP	VP [V <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	tell-tale
8	VP [V <sub>1</sub> particle <sub>2</sub> ]		bemock'd-at, pent-up, seal'd-up, unlooked-for	4
9	VP [V <sub>1</sub> prep N <sub>2</sub> ]		carv'd-bone, open-ey'd	2
10	VP [N <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]		beauty-waning, belly-pinched, cub-drawn, tongue-tied (2x), white-upturned	6
11	VP [Adv <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]		not-to-be-endured	1
12	PP	PP [Prep <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	without-book, world-without-end (eigentlich: PP [Prep <sub>2</sub> V <sub>3</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ])	2
13		PP [Prep NP [A <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	fresh-brook, wild-geese	2
14		PP [Prep NP [N <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	crab-tree, fruit-tree, south-west	3
15		PP [Prep NP [Det <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	three-hours	1
16		PP [Prep <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	out-shining	1
17	AdvP	AdvP [Adv <sub>1</sub> Adv <sub>2</sub> ]	high-lone	1
	<b>Total</b>			<b>88</b>

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### 6.3.2 Analytic compounds

	Types of compounds in this category		Lexemes in this category	No of lex's
1	AP	AP [Adv <sub>2</sub> A <sub>1</sub> ]	flattering-sweet	1
2		AP [A <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	ague-proof, care-craz'd, fire-new, fire-new, fire-new, life-weary, point-devise, sea-sick, sea-sick, shame-proof, weeping-ripe, world-wearied	12
3		AP [as A <sub>2</sub> as N <sub>1</sub> ]	hell-black, key-cold, kingly-poor, rocky-hard, savage-wild, silver-sweet, snow-white, snow-white, stone-hard, wholesome-profitable, wind-swift, daughter-beamed, eagle-sighted, hell-hated, sun-beamed, sun-beamed	16
4	VP	VP [V <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	amber-colored, canker-bit, child-changed, clamor-moistened, cloud-capp'd, cock-shut, dead-killing, death-darting, death-mark'd, dove-drawn, dove-feather'd, ear-bussing, ebon-color'd, elvish-mark'd, fen-suck'd, filthy-mantled, fire-ey'd, glass-gazing, hag-born, head-lugged, hell-govern'd, lass-lorn, lust-dieted, mortal-living, neighbor-stained, new-fangled, night-walking, pinch-spotted, pole-clipt, sable-colored, sea-swallowed, self-misused, self-subdued, slip-shod, snail-pac'd, spell-stopped, star-cross'd, stock-punish'd, tempest-tossed, toad-spotted, wave-worn, woe-wearied	42
5		VP [V <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	action-taking, all-cheering, all-ending, all-seeing, all-seeing, all-shaking, all-telling, best-moving, death-practic'd, dew-dropping, earth-treading, health-giving, heart-burning, heart-sorrowing, heart-strook, ill-dispersing, ill-divining, love-devouring, love-performing, mirth-moving, night-watch, oak-cleaving, one-trunk-inheriting, saint-seducing, self-cover'd, self-drawing, side-piercing, sight-outrunning, tear-falling, thought-executing	30



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	Types of compounds in this category		Lexemes in this category	No of lex's
6		VP [V <sub>2</sub> Adv <sub>1</sub> ]	bare-gnawn, clean-timber'd, curious-knotted, deep-revolving, deep-search'd, dry-beaten, easy-borrowed, fair-spoken, fairest-boding, false-boding, first-born (actually: [V2 Det1]), fore-recited, fore-vouch'd, full-charg'd, gallant-springing, gentle-sleeping, grey-coated, high-blown, high-borne, high-engender'd, high-grown, high-judging, high-reaching, high-rear'd, high-swoll'n, honey-tongued, humble-mouth'd, ill-beseeming, ill-beseeming, ill-shap'd, light-foot, long-during, long-experience'd, long-ingraff'd, long-usurped, mortal-staring, ne'er-changing, never-surfeited, new-appearing, new-born, new-delivered, new-devis'd, new-heal'd, new-made, new-made, nimble-pinion'd, parti-coated, rash-levied, sharp-ground, sharp-pointed, sharp-provided, sharp-tooth'd, short-liv'd, short-liv'd, silly-ducking, simple-answer'd, slow-gaited, small-knowing, sober-suited, soon-speeding, sour-ey'd, still-closing, still-lasting, still-soliciting, still-vex'd, still-waking, sudden-bold, swift-winged, tender-hefted, tender-minded, tender-smelling, thrice-renowned, to-and-fro-conflicting, true-derived, true-disposing, true-love, up-staring, well-accomplish'd, well-advised, well-apparell'd, well-arm'd, well-beloved, well-educated, well-favor'd, well-govern'd, well-knit, well-learned, well-liking, well-seeming, well-spoken, well-spoken, wide-skirted, wrong-incensed	93
7	NP	NP [A <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	heart-sick, top-proud	2
8		NP [N <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	iron-witted, dog-hearted, shame-fac'd, puppy-headed, waspish-headed, self-will'd, marble-hearted, venom'd-mouth'd, foot-cloth, rye-straw, maiden-widowed, dove-house	12
9		NP [N <sub>2</sub> to do Adv <sub>1</sub> ]	all-licens'd	1
10		NP [N <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> ]]	bunch-back'd, bunch-back'd, dread-bolted	3
11	PP	PP [Prep <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	child-like, Christian-like, fish-like, gentleman-like, penthouse-like, rebel-like, saint-like, serpent-like, squire-like, star-like, villain-like, wife-like	12
<b>Total</b>				<b>224</b>

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### 6.3.3 Compounds in which one part is superfluous

	<b>Types of compounds in this category</b>	<b>Lexemes in this category</b>	<b>No of lex's</b>
1	N <sub>head</sub> is Adv <sub>1</sub>	full-flowing, such-like, such-like	3
2	N <sub>head</sub> is N <sub>2</sub> / (Adv) V <sub>2</sub>	fiery-footed, self-same, self-same, self-same, self-same, self-same	6
<b>Total</b>			<b>9</b>

### 6.3.4 Non-classifiable compounds

	<b>Lexemes in this category</b>	<b>Attempt of interpretation (cf. Crystal &amp; Crystal 2002)</b>	<b>No of lex's</b>
	sub-contracted	[contracted or married a second time]	1
	wit-old	[~ a cuckold, a pun on cuckold, a man who knows that his wife is infidel]	1
	party-ey'd	[unclear meaning, with eyes of mixed colours, bleeding]	1
	dew-lapped	[having folds of skin under the chin, like a cow]	1
	sir-reverence	[save your reverence; to soften an offensive remark or a dubious subject]	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>5</b>

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## 8 Zusammenfassung der Dissertation auf Deutsch

Die vorliegende Dissertation untersucht ein aus sechs Stücken bestehendes Shakespeare-Korpus. Nach einer Beschreibung des Korpus und den sich aus dem Anwenden neuerer Theorien auf Texte aus dem 16. Jahrhundert ergebenden Problemen folgt eine Definition, welche Worte in dem Korpus als Adjektiv angesehen werden, sowie eine detaillierte Abgrenzung zu anderen Wortklassen; sodann beschreibt und analysiert die Arbeit drei Adjektivkonstruktionen (Vergleiche, Transpositionen und Komposita), die von Interesse sind, da sie, entgegen dem Elisabethanischen Ideal einer ausschweifenden Sprache, sprachlich knapp verfasst sind und dadurch dem modernen Leser besonders ins Auge fallen.

Die schwierigste Aufgabe der Untersuchung ist es, ein frühneuenglisches Korpus mit modernen Auffassungen von Syntax und Semantik in Übereinstimmung zu bringen. Um diese Aufgabe zu bewältigen, wurden die grammatischen Modelle von Quirk u.a. (1985) und Huddleston & Pullum (2002) als Basis genommen. Eine vollständige Beschreibung der Sprache Shakespeares ist aber aufgrund der alten Textvorlage nicht immer möglich, so dass eine ausführlichere Beschreibung und Terminologie notwendig wurde.

Die Verwendung von Adjektiven in Shakespeares Stücken und deren Analyse ist bisher vernachlässigt worden. Die erste Studie, die sich, wenngleich mitnichten ausführlich und vollständig, mit dem Thema befasst, ist die Dissertation von George Helms aus dem Jahre 1868. Die wesentlich bekanntere Grammatik Abbotts aus dem Jahre 1870 bietet die Basis für viele andere und auch neuere Studien über Shakespeares Sprache, so z.B. Schmidt (1902), Franz (1909<sup>2</sup>), Blake (2002), Crystal & Crystal (2002) sowie Hope (2003). Die vorliegende Arbeit kann weder eine intensive Analyse dieser Werke noch eine Analyse der zahllosen literarischen und linguistischen Studien über die Werke Shakespeares bieten, greift aber auf die oben genannten Ansätze zurück, um die eigene korpuslinguistische Untersuchung und Ergebnisse zu untermauern oder auch um die Ergebnisse der Autoren zu widerlegen.

Die Sprache Shakespeares ist quasi seit Entstehung seiner Werke für die Forschung interessant (vgl. Schabert 2004<sup>4</sup>), doch eine statistische Analyse seiner Adjektivverwendung und der eventuell vorhandenen Verständnisschwierigkeiten für

einen heutigen Leser ist bisher aus den verschiedensten Gründen so gut wie nicht vorgenommen worden. Die vorliegende Arbeit versucht daher in diesem Sinn einen kleinen Beitrag zu leisten.

Das Korpus besteht aus sechs Stücken, die so ausgesucht wurden, dass jeweils zwei Stücke Komödien, Tragödien und Historien sind und aus Shakespeares früher, mittlerer und später Schaffensperiode (1592 – 1613) stammen:

<b>Titel</b>	<b>Datum</b>	<b>Typus</b>	<b>Abkürzung</b>
<i>The Tragedy of Richard the Third</i>	1592-1593	Historie	<i>Ri3</i>
<i>Love' Labour's Lost</i>	1594-1595	Komödie	<i>LLL</i>
<i>The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet</i>	1594-1595	Tragödie	<i>R&amp;J</i>
<i>The Tragedy of King Lear</i>	1605-1606	Tragödie	<i>KiL</i>
<i>The Tempest</i>	1611-1612	Komödie	<i>Tem</i>
<i>The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth</i>	1612-1613	Historie	<i>He8</i>

**Tabelle i:** Titel, Datum und Typus des im Korpus verwendeten Stücke

Das Korpus besteht aus 137.837 Wörtern (vgl. Spevack 1968), von denen 10.098 Lexeme als Adjektive klassifiziert wurden, also ca. 7,35%. In der folgenden Tabelle ist das linguistische Material des Korpus mit einer Normalisierung der Adjektivhäufigkeit auf 10.000 Wörter dargestellt:

<b>Stück</b>	<b>Wortzahl</b>	<b>Adjektivzahl</b>	<b>Adjektiv/Wort-Verhältnis</b>	<b>Normalisierte Häufigkeit pro 10.000 Wörter</b>
<i>Ri3</i>	28.309	2.210	7,80	780,67
<i>LLL</i>	21.033	1.535	7,29	729,80
<i>R&amp;J</i>	23.913	1.851	7,74	774,05
<i>KiL</i>	25.221	1.811	7,18	718,05
<i>Tem</i>	16.036	1.084	6,75	675,97
<i>He8</i>	23.325	1.607	6,88	688,96
<b>Gesamt:</b>	<b>137.837</b>	<b>10.098</b>	<b>7,32</b>	<b>732,60</b>

**Tabelle ii:** Überblick über das Korpusmaterial und normalisierte Häufigkeiten

Das Korpus, vorliegend in Form von der ungetaggtten *Riverside Shakespeare* Ausgabe (Directmedia Publishing GmbH 2002), wurde von mir eigenständig manuell getaggt, nachdem zunächst die von Crystal & Crystal (2002) als Adjektive klassifizierten Lexeme mit Hilfe eines PERL-Programms innerhalb des Korpus vorklassifiziert worden waren. Da es im Englischen jedoch sein kann, dass ein Wort mehreren Wortklassen zugehörig ist, war eine manuelle Klassifizierung unerlässlich,



um auch all jene Lexeme zu klassifizieren, die zwar nicht typischer Weise als Adjektive gelten, aber in diesem Korpus adjektivisch gebraucht wurden.

Die digitale *Nameless Shakespeare* Ausgabe (Burnard 2004), die mir leider erst Ende 2004 zur Verfügung stand, konnte nicht mehr als Grundlage meiner Korpusmarkierung dienen, wohl aber zur Überprüfung. Offensichtliche Unterschiede in der Klassifizierung meines Korpus und den Klassifizierungen der *Nameless Shakespeare* Ausgabe können durch die nachfolgenden Ausführungen erläutert werden oder sind schlichtweg auf Fehler meinerseits zurückzuführen, die auch bei der sorgfältigsten und doppelten Überprüfung nicht zu vermeiden sind.

Da sich das Englisch im Elisabethanischen Englisch stark wandelt und auch verschiedene Wörter im Vergleich zu damals heutzutage als andere Wortarten verwendet werden können, wurden im Korpus alle Lexeme, die potentieller Weise als Adjektiv verwendet wurden, hier: *potential adjectival force*, in der ersten Klassifizierungsrunde als Adjektiv (<adj>) getaggt, um sie zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt leichter im Korpus wiederfinden zu können. In den nachfolgenden Klassifizierungsrunden wurden sie mit syntaktischen und semantischen Tags versehen, die durch die nachfolgende Tabelle erklärt werden:

Verwendetes Tag nach <adj>	Lesart der Abkürzung	Beispiele aus <i>KiL</i>
/att	pränominales Adjektiv	<i>this young&lt;adj/att&gt; fellow's mother</i>
/pos	postnominal Adjektiv	<i>a sectary astronomical&lt;adj/pos&gt;</i>
/pre	prädikatives Adjektiv nach <i>be</i>	<i>I am sick&lt;adj/pre&gt;</i>
/cop	Adjektiv nach Kopular- oder anderen Verben	<i>[it] seems pleasant&lt;adj/cop&gt; to him</i>
/com	Komparativstruktur	<i>the freer&lt;adj/com&gt; course</i>
/sup	Superlativstruktur	<i>[it] was most requir'd&lt;adj/sup&gt;</i>
/nou	nominales Adjektiv	<i>Gloucester's bastard&lt;adj/nou&gt; son</i>
/prp	Partizip Präsens	<i>the [warring&lt;adj/.../prp&gt;] winds<sup>54</sup></i>
/pap	Partizip Perfekt	<i>his banish'd&lt;adj/.../pap&gt; son</i>
/int	intensiviertes Adjektiv	<i>this high illustrious&lt;adj/.../int&gt; prince</i>
/two	Kompositumstruktur	<i>and fire-new&lt;adj/.../two&gt; fortune</i>
/cal	in Anrede verwendetes Adjektiv	<i>our dearest&lt;adj/.../cal&gt; Regan</i>
/nat	Nationalität beschreibendes Adjektiv	<i>a British&lt;adj/.../nat&gt; man</i>

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<sup>54</sup> Die eckigen Klammern werden von Directmedia (2002) verwendet um Lexeme zu kennzeichnen, die nicht in allen Shakespeare-Ausgaben vorkommen.

Verwendetes Tag nach <adj>	Lesart der Abkürzung	Beispiele aus <i>KiL</i>
/hyp <sup>55</sup>	Adjektiv in hypallagischer Struktur	1.) <i>Myself could else out-frown false&lt;adj/.../hyp&gt; Fortune's frown</i> <sup>56</sup> 2.) <i>and why you answer / This present&lt;adj/.../hyp&gt; summons</i> <sup>57</sup>
/spe	anderweitig bemerkenswertes Adjektiv	1.) <i>in a country new&lt;adj/.../spe&gt;</i> <sup>58</sup> 2.) <i>'tween asleep and wake&lt;adj/.../spe&gt;</i> <sup>59</sup>

**Tabelle iii:** Im Korpus verwendete Tags

Bevor jedoch die Analyse der drei oben erwähnten Adjektivkonstruktionen erfolgen konnte, war es unabdingbar, die Wortklasse "Adjektiv" zu definieren und sie von den anderen Wortklassen möglichst genau abzugrenzen, um eine größtmögliche Validität des Korpus sicherzustellen.

Sowohl Quirk u.a. (1985: 402f), Biber u.a. (2000: 505f) und Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 528) als auch andere Verfasser sind sich darüber einig, wann ein Wort ein Adjektiv ist. Die Definition ist ein Mix aus vier morphologischen, syntaktischen und semantischen Kriterien. Um ein Adjektiv zu sein, muss das Lexem

- in attributiver Funktion vorkommen können,
- in prädikativer Funktion vorkommen können,
- steigerbar sein; entweder durch das Anhängen von *-er* und *-est* oder durch Voranstellen von *more* und *most*,
- durch das Adverb *very* modifizierbar sein.

Eine Unterscheidung ist an dieser Stelle zu fällen zwischen *Adjektiven (A)* und *Adjektivphrasen (AP)*. Der erste Terminus ist klassischer Weise reserviert für das Vorkommen einfacher, d.h. allein vorkommender Adjektive. Er wird in dieser Arbeit, im Gegensatz zu Huddleston & Pullum (vgl. z.B. 2002: 96), synonym verwendet zu

<sup>55</sup> Kapitel 3 erläutert die Unterschiede zwischen den Termini 'Hypallage' und 'Transferiertes Adjektiv' im Detail; als kurze Erläuterung diene der Hinweis, dass 'Hypallage' den Austausch zweier Wörter bezeichnet, durch den sich die Bedeutung ändert.

<sup>56</sup> Anstatt: "*Myself could else out-frown Fortune's FALSE frown*"; vgl. Kapitel 3 für eine ausführliche Besprechung.

<sup>57</sup> Anstatt: "*and why you answer / This summons PRESENTLY*"; vgl. Kapitel 8 für eine ausführliche Besprechung.

<sup>58</sup> *New* steht hier postnominal aufgrund eines Reims mit *adieu* in der vorhergehenden Zeile. Dies könnte für eine spätere Betrachtung von Bedeutung sein, daher der Zusatz /spe.

<sup>59</sup> *Awake* wird seit dem 13. Jahrhundert im Englischen verwendet und war auch Shakespeare bekannt: ebenfalls in *KiL* verwendet er *He's scarce awake<adj/pre>*. Die Frage ist also, warum dies in diesem Zitat nicht der Fall ist, daher der Zusatz /spe.

Modifikator (*modifier*). Der zweite Terminus hingegen wird in der Regel, und so auch in dieser Arbeit, verwendet für komplexere Strukturen, in denen (i) mehrere Adjektive in Reihung vorkommen, (ii) das Adjektiv selbst durch eine längere Konstruktion modifiziert wird (*heavy modification*), (iii) das Adjektiv in einer diskontinuierlichen Modifikation verwendet wird oder (iv) das Adjektiv selbst durch ein Adverb prä- oder postmodifiziert wird, z.B.:

- (i) *within a DULL, STALE, TIRED bed (KiL)*
- (ii) *I find it not FIT FOR YOUR O'ERLOOKING (KiL), with purple fountains ISSUING FROM YOUR VEINS (R&J)*
- (iii) *it is a FAIRER name THAN FRENCH CROWN (LLL)*
- (iv) *a VERY HONEST-HEARTED fellow (KiL)*

Wenn man dem Hinweis Bibers u.a. (2000: 67) folgt, dann ist ein Wort dann ein Nomen, wenn es "the typical nominal slot of the head of a noun phrase (e.g. preceded by determiners or adjectives; followed by an *of*-phrase or relative clause)" füllt. Weiterführend bedeutet dies auch, dass, zumindest im vorliegenden Korpus, ein Wort dann potentiell ein Adjektiv (*potential adjective, PA*<sup>60</sup>) ist, wenn es die typische Adjektivposition im Kopf einer *AP* füllt. Die Klassifikation von Lexemen im Korpus als Wort mit einer *potential adjectival force*, also als Adjektiv, war aufgrund der syntaktischen Veränderungen, die sich im Laufe der Zeit ergeben haben, nicht immer ein leichtes Unterfangen. Die Abgrenzungen zu anderen Wortklassen und somit auch die Auflistung der schwierigen Lexeme, die entweder in die Analyse aufgenommen wurden oder nicht, sind daher von großer Bedeutung.

Im Gegensatz zu Adjektiven können Determinatoren, die in drei Untergruppen unterteilt werden können (Prä- und Post- sowie zentrale Determinatoren) und die Referenz eines Nomens spezifizieren, nicht in Kombination mit anderen Determinatoren vorkommen. Sogenannte *semi-determiners*, laut Biber u.a. (2000: 280) die Worte *certain, other, next, last, former, latter, same* und *such*, von denen Meyer (2000) die ersten Vier als 'normale' Determiner klassifiziert, werden oftmals als Adjektive bezeichnet, obwohl sie nur marginale *adjectival force* besitzen, da sie zwar keine beschreibende Bedeutung haben, wohl aber als zur genaueren Spezifizierung von Nomen dienen. Es liegt daher nahe, dass es eine Überlappung zwischen

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<sup>60</sup> Dieser Terminus ist adaptiert von Gleby (2002) und bezieht sich auf all die Korpus-Beispiele, in denen ein Lexem in einer Position vorkommt, die im heutigen Englisch typischer und möglicher Weise von einem Adjektiv eingenommen werden kann.

periphären Adjektiven und (Semi-) Determinatoren geben könnte, dass also sowohl Determination und Modifikation ein Nomen zu einer kompletten Nominalphrase erweitern könnten. Die Modifikation steht dem Nomen jedoch syntaktisch gesehen näher, aber hierarchisch gesehen ist sie der Determination unterlegen, da diese nicht optional ist und nur die Determination eine Nominalphrase zu einer solchen macht. Meyers Untersuchung machte die Klassifizierung der Lexeme des Korpus jedoch nicht unbedingt leichter, da das Determinatoren- und Modifikatoren-System im Frühneuenglischen im Vergleich zum heutigen Englisch noch nicht so eindeutig ausgeprägt war. Abweichungen von Meyers Vorschlägen sind hauptsächlich darin begründet, dass ein Bedeutungswandel der Lexeme angenommen wurde.

Unproblematisch in ihrer Klassifizierung waren die folgenden Lexeme, die entweder gar nicht im Korpus vorkamen oder nicht als Adjektive verwendet wurden: *all, some, each, either, half, any, both, all of, no, every, another, plenty, additional, numerous, a few, most, many a, such a*. Multiplikatoren, Demonstrativpronomen, Possessivpronomen, Ordinal- und Kardinalzahlen, bestimmte und unbestimmte Artikel wurden ebenfalls von der Adjektivklassifizierung ausgenommen, vgl. Tabelle 5 der Dissertation.

Problematisch und abweichend von den Vorschlägen Meyers (2000), Meyer (2001), der LGSWE (2000), CamGEL (2002) hingegen war die Klassifizierung der folgenden Lexeme: *enough, own, several, certain, many, much, more, less, such, other, former, latter, little, same, last* und *next*. Abweichungen ergaben sich typischer Weise dann, wenn das Lexem zwischen einem prototypischen Determinator und einem Nomen oder zwischen einem prototypischen Determinator und einem Zahlwort stand. In 24,6% der Fälle (368 von 1.496 Lexemen) wich meine Klassifizierung der obigen Lexeme von den Vorschlägen ab; diese wurden aus den folgenden Gründen dennoch als Adjektive klassifiziert:

Das Lexem wurde als Adjektiv klassifiziert,	Anzahl der Adjektivlexeme:
wenn es zwischen einem Determinator und Nomen stand:	<i>other</i> (49/117) <sup>61</sup> , <i>own</i> (96/122)
wenn es in prädikativ Position vorkam:	<i>enough</i> (5/33), <i>many</i> (9/87), <i>much</i> (29/200)
wenn es pränominal vorkam und intensiviert war:	<i>more</i> (25/377), <i>less</i> (7/42), <i>least</i> (5/23)
wenn es Teil eines Kompositums war:	<i>same</i> (5/49)
wenn es pränominal vorkam:	<i>last</i> (21/58), <i>next</i> (18/33)
wenn die Bedeutung synonym zu <i>short</i> bzw. <i>small</i> war:	<i>little</i> (62/106)
Das Lexem wurde immer als Adjektiv klassifiziert, im Gegensatz zu den Vorschlägen von <i>CamGEL</i> und <i>LGSWE</i>	<i>former</i> (4/4), <i>latter</i> (2/2)
Das Lexem wurde immer als Adjektiv klassifiziert, da weitere Untersuchungen zur eindeutigen Determinator-Abgrenzung nötig wären:	<i>several</i> (17/20), <i>certain</i> (19/30)

**Tabelle iv:** Abweichungen in der Klassifizierung im Vergleich zum heutigen Englisch

Im Gegensatz zu Adjektiven können Nomen von Adjektiven modifiziert werden und sind auf Determinatoren als Teil der NP angewiesen. Zählbare Nomen unterscheiden zwischen Ein- und Mehrzahl und Nomen mit einem *non-fused head* (vgl. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 536f) können als Subjekt, Objekt, Prädikativkomplement vorkommen, während Adjektive dies nicht können. Nominalisierte Adjektive, z.B. *poor* in *they are the poorest* (He8), werden im Korpus im Gegensatz zu Quirk u.a. (1985: 421-424) nicht als Adjektive klassifiziert; Kombinationen mit dem Ersatz- oder Füllwort *one* und Nomen, die als attributive Modifikatoren verwendet werden, hingegen schon, da sie in Positionen vorkommen, die typischer Weise Adjektiven vorbehalten sind und somit eine gewisse *adjectival force* aufweisen.

Besonders schwierig erwies sich die Klassifikation von Partizipien, also Lexemen, die auf *-ing* oder *-ed*<sup>62</sup> enden, die andere Untersuchungen in der Regel vermeiden, vgl. z.B. Meurman-Solin (1997). Wörter mit einer Partizipialendung können (i) Partizipien Präsens oder Perfekt sein, wenn sie mit dem Hilfsverb *be* vorkommen oder (ii) Teil eines "complex-intransitive clause containing an adjectival passive as

<sup>61</sup> Zur Erklärung: *other* kam 117 Mal im Korpus vor, davon wurden 49 Fälle als Adjektiv klassifiziert, weil sie zwischen einem Determinator und Nomen vorkamen.

<sup>62</sup> Die Notation *-ed* beinhaltet stets auch die unregelmäßigen Partizipialformen, wie *-en*, einen Vokalwechsel im Verb oder Ersatzformen.

predicative complement" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1436) sein, d.h. sie können sowohl verbal als auch adjektivisch verwendet werden. All die Partizipialformen, die im Korpus attributiv vorkamen, wurden automatisch als Adjektiv klassifiziert, egal ob sie aktiv oder passiv (vgl. Marchand 1966) verwendet wurden.

Da ein Partizip, so Poutsma (1919: 130) oder auch Curme (1947: 265), von Natur aus teilweise als Adjektiv und teilweise als Verb fungieren kann, ist ihm eine Zwischenstellung zwischen eben diesen beiden Wortklassen zuzuweisen. Die grammatikalische Funktion kann häufig nur durch den Kontext erschlossen werden. Poutsma schlägt auch vor, dass beide Partizipialformen (Präsens und Perfekt) reine Adjektive sind, wenn "any time association is absent from the speaker's or writer's mind", wie z.B. in *LLL* (II.1):

*I am less proud to hear you tell my worth  
Than you much WILLING to be counted wise  
In spending your wit in the praise of mine.*

Dieser Einschätzung schließe ich mich an und erkläre im Folgenden Möglichkeiten zwischen den verbalen und adjektivischen Verwendungen von Wörtern, die auf *-ing* bzw. *-ed* enden.

Ob eine Partizipialform verbal (also passiv) oder adjektivisch gebraucht wird, ist nicht immer eindeutig zu bestimmen. Quirk u.a. (1985: 414f) geben z.B. folgendes Beispiel und Interpretationen:

*The man was offended.*

In a *participial* interpretation, the focus is on the process of offending; whereas in an *adjectival* interpretation, the focus is on the state resulting from the process.

*CamGEL*, *CGEL* und *LGSWE* schlagen zehn grammatikalische Tests vor, mit Hilfe derer prädikativ verwendete Partizipialformen eindeutiger bestimmt werden können. Durch die syntaktischen Testmethoden (1-6) ließ sich ungefähr ein Drittel der Fälle eindeutig klassifizieren. Durch die konsekutive Anwendung verschiedener Tests zusammen mit den semantischen Testmethoden (7-10) ließen sich ca. drei Viertel der in Frage kommenden Partizipialformen eindeutig klassifizieren. Alle Formen, die sich nach dieser äußerst aufwendigen Prozedur nicht als eindeutig verbal oder adjektivisch klassifizieren ließen, wurden von der Klassifizierung als Adjektive ausgeschlossen, da es entsprechend viele Argumente für die Klassifizierung als Verben gegeben hätte. Insgesamt wurden 2.181 Partizipialformen als Adjektive

klassifiziert, davon hatten 440 Formen eine präsentische, 1.741 Formen eine perfektische Endung, standen also in einer Relation von ca. 20% zu 80%.

Ausgeschlossen vom Korpus bzw. der weiteren Untersuchung wurden Partizipialkonstruktionen,

- die durch die Adverbien *well*, *much* usw. modifiziert wurden, da diese nur Verben, nicht aber Adjektive modifizieren können,
- die in einem Satz vorkamen, in dem die Partizipialform durch ein (direktes) Objekt komplementiert wurden, da auf Partizipialadjektive nur Präpositionalphrasen folgen können (vgl. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1439),
- in denen ein Verbkomplement im Satz vorkam, wie z.B. in *He8: There is staying / A gentleman, sent from the King, to see you*,
- die durch eine *by*-Phrase komplementiert wurden, da diese ganz eindeutig Teil einer passiven, also verbalen Konstruktion ist. In Analogie dazu wurden Lexeme, deren Komplemente durch *of-*, *from-*, *with-* oder *through-* Phrasen eingeleitet wurden, ebenfalls von der Untersuchung ausgeschlossen (vgl. Peitsara 1993: 219 und Rissanen 1999: 263),
- die mit der negativen Vorsilbe *un-* versehen waren, die aber nicht durch eine der anderen Testmethoden eindeutig klassifiziert werden konnten,
- die als sogenannte *short passives* (vgl. Biber u.a. 2000: 943) angesehen wurden.

Zur weiteren Untersuchung wurden diejenigen Lexeme klassifiziert, die

- durch *very*, *too* oder ähnliche Modifikatoren modifiziert wurden,
- auf ein Kopularverb wie *be*, *feel*, *seem*, *appear* usw. folgten (vgl. Gleby 2002: 85),
- auf das Hilfsverb *be* folgten, wenn dies durch ein anderes Kopularverb ersetzt werden konnte (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1437),
- in einer Kompositumstruktur vorkamen,
- in einer syntaktischen Koordination mit einem typischen Adjektiv vorkamen,
- im heutigen Englisch eine spezielle Bedeutung haben, wie z.B. *engaged* in *We're ENGAGED (to be married)*, vgl. CamGEL 2002.

Schließlich sind noch Adjektive abzugrenzen von Adverbien, eine sehr heterogene Kategorie, die Adjektive, Verben und andere Adverbien modifizieren können. Adverbien können nicht prädikativ vorkommen und solche Adverbien, die auf *-ly* enden, können nicht modifizierend vor Nomen stehen. In manchen Fällen konnte nur durch die Ersatzprobe eindeutig festgestellt werden, ob es sich bei dem betreffenden Lexem um ein Adjektiv oder ein Adverb handelte, insbesondere dann, wenn die typische *-ly*-Endung für Adverbien z.B. aus stilistischen Gründen weggelassen wurde. Durch solche Weglassungen können manche Konstruktionen im Korpus als

[VP + NP {A+N}] anstatt als [VP {V+Adv} + N] gelesen werden, wodurch eine Hypallage entsteht, die wiederum zu Schwierigkeiten im Verständnis aufgrund der scheinbar falschen Bedeutung führen kann. Wurde das *-ly* weggelassen, wurde das Lexem nicht als Adjektiv klassifiziert, wenn es in einer Konstruktion vorkam wie *His leg is too big for Hector's. – More calf, CERTAIN* (LLL), da es einer eindeutigen Adverb-Konstruktion wie in *Certainly, sir, I can* (Tem) zu sehr ähnelte.

Der Koordinationstest wurde zur eindeutigen Klassifizierung angewendet, wenn in einer NP verschiedene Modifikatoren zwischen Determiner und Nomen vorkamen, von denen das erste Wort entweder als Adverb (intensivierende Struktur: [Adv+A]) oder als Adjektiv (sequentielle Struktur: [A+A]) angesehen werden konnte.

Aufgrund der vorigen syntaktischen Überlegungen und Abgrenzungen zu anderen Wortarten unterscheidete ich im vorliegenden Korpus zwischen zwei Funktionen von Adjektiven, nämlich der *attributiven* und der *prädikativen*. Diese beiden Funktionen können weiterhin aufgrund der jeweiligen Position der Adjektive unterschieden werden: im Falle der attributiven Funktion kommen die Adjektive entweder *pränominal* oder *postnominal* vor, im Fall der prädikativen Funktion kommen sie entweder *nach dem Hilfsverb 'be'* oder *nach Kopular- und anderen Verben* vor.

Die pränominalen Adjektive bilden mit 63% (6.372 Vorkommnisse) die größte Gruppe der im Korpus zu untersuchenden Adjektive, während die postnominalen Adjektive mit nur knapp 3% (304 Vorkommnisse) die kleinste Gruppe bilden. Die prädikativen Adjektive nach dem Hilfsverb *be* machen die zweitgrößte Gruppe aus (ca. 28% bzw. 2.784 Vorkommnisse), die prädikativen Adjektive nach Kopular- und anderen Verben die zweitkleinste (ca. 6% bzw. 642 Vorkommnisse).

Die Hauptkapitel der Dissertation untersuchen drei verschiedene Möglichkeiten der adjektivischen Verdichtung, zunächst *prädikative Komparativstrukturen*, sodann *attributive Transpositionen* und schließlich im Korpus existierende *Kompositumstrukturen*, die sowohl *attributiv als auch prädikativ* vorkommen; die folgende Tabelle gibt eine Übersicht über die jeweils untersuchten Strukturen des weiteren Kapitels der Dissertation:



<b>Untersuchte Adjektivstruktur:</b>	<b>Ri3</b>	<b>LLL</b>	<b>R&amp;J</b>	<b>KiL</b>	<b>Tem</b>	<b>He8</b>	<b>Gesamt</b>
Prädikative Vergleichsstrukturen	33	27	33	40	36	25	<b>194</b>
Attributive Transpositionen	153	89	129	80	69	93	<b>613</b>
Attributive und prädikative Kompositumstrukturen	73	62	59	75	39	18	<b>326</b>
<b>Anzahl der untersuchten Strukturen:</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>1133</b>

**Tabelle v:** Übersicht über die Anzahl der untersuchten Strukturen pro Stück

Knapp 1,92% der Adjektive im Korpus wurden als prädikative Vergleichsstrukturen klassifiziert, als Vergleiche der Gleichheit (*as ... as*-Strukturen; hier: *comparisons of equality*) und als Vergleiche der Ungleichheit (*more / less ... than*-Strukturen; hier: *comparisons of inequality*<sup>63</sup>).

Bevor eine syntaktische und semantische Analyse der Vergleichsstrukturen möglich war, musste zunächst überlegt werden, aus welchen Teilen ein Vergleich im Englischen besteht. Quirk u.a. (1985) sagen dazu, dass der Standard des Vergleichs das wichtigste zu analysierende Element der vergleichenden Struktur ist. D.h. dass das adjektivische Element, mit dem sowohl das erste als auch das zweite Nomen des Vergleichs verglichen werden (hier: *proposition A* und *proposition B*), von zentraler Rolle ist. Für die spätere semantische Analyse von Vergleichsstrukturen ist es dabei egal, ob es sich die Vergleichsstrukturen *equal* oder *inequal* sind: die semantische Akzeptanz und Vorhersehbarkeit des *comp-elements* (d.h. des Adjektivs im jeweiligen Vergleich) und der *proposition B* werden durch die Art des Vergleichs nicht beeinflusst. *Proposition A* hingegen ist relativ unwichtig und in meinem Korpus teilweise sogar nicht existent. Sprachliche Verdichtung wird allein durch die unerwartete Kombination von *comp-element* und *proposition B* erreicht und zeugt von der sprachlichen Kreativität des Autors. Aufgrund dieser Kombinationen gelingt es Shakespeare, in der Leser- oder Zuschauerschaft ungewohnte Bilder hervorzurufen, die die Stücke zum Leben erwecken, da sie von der sprachlichen Norm abweichen. Es sind eben diese Abweichungen, bei denen eine tiefere Analyse der Interaktion zwischen Syntax und Semantik nötig wird.

Prädikative *comparisons of equality*, die hier zunächst dargestellt werden, kommen 108 Mal vor, prädikative *comparisons of inequality* kommen 86 Mal vor.

<sup>63</sup> Aufgrund der geringen Anzahl von Vergleichen zu einem niedrigeren Standard (*less ... than*), werden diese und Vergleiche zu einem höheren Standard (*more ... than*) unter dem Begriff *comparisons of inequality* zusammengefasst.

Die *comparisons of equality* werden im Korpus auf zweierlei Arten realisiert; durch *as ... as* (91 Mal), wobei im sowohl das erste als auch das zweite *as* nicht immer realisiert wird, weil es entweder aus dem Kontext erschlossen werden kann oder weil ein Charakter einen anderen unterbricht, und durch *so ... as* (17)<sup>64</sup>. Im Gegensatz dazu muss eine *comparison of inequality* immer vollständig sein. Im Korpus werden zwei Drittel dieser Vergleiche werden durch Inflektion, ein Drittel durch Periphrase gebildet. Nur vier der 82 *comparisons of inequality* weisen beide Bildungen auf, weitere vier waren Vergleiche zu einem niedrigeren Standard.

Für die semantische Analyse von Shakespeares Vergleichsstrukturen wurden die Herangehensweisen von Dixon (1982, 1991), Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004) sowie Hundsnurscher & Splett (1982) als Grundlage für die semantische Klassifizierung der Adjektive verwendet, die jedoch dem Korpus angepasst werden mussten. Die Herangehensweise von Dixon u.a. ist zu breitgestreut und seine Kategorien umfassen zu viele verschiedene semantische Funktionen, die hier jedoch separat behandelt werden müssten; die Kategorisierung von Hundsnurscher & Splett hingegen scheint zu detailliert, um das semantische Verhältnis zwischen *complement* und Vergleichsbasis beschreiben zu können. Die beiden Kategorisierungen wurden miteinander verbunden und folgende Ergebnisse konnten für das Korpus festgestellt werden: 19% der Vergleichsstrukturen drücken eine allgemeine Bedeutung aus (Vergleich, Ähnlichkeit, Einschätzung), 16% beziehen sich auf das Benehmen (Charakter, Benehmen, Disziplin, Fähigkeit, Beziehung, Eifer), 13% auf räumliche Begebenheiten (Dimension, Richtung, Ort, Tiefe), 12% auf Relationen (Validität, Sicherheit, (energiebezogene) Notwendigkeiten, Geborgenheit, Ordnung, Zusammenhänge, Vollständigkeit, positive Auswirkung, Bestimmtheit). 11% der Vergleichsstrukturen beziehen sich auf den Körper (Leben, Beschaffenheit, sexuelle Neigung, Erscheinung), 7% auf Wahrnehmung (Helligkeit, Farbe, Geräusch, Geschmack, Berührung) ebenso wie auf Material (Konsistenz, Reife, Reinheit, Schwerkraft, Wetter). Die restlichen 15% beziehen sich auf die Einheiten Zeit, Alter, Bewegung, Stimmung, Antrieb, Intelligenz, sozialer Status, Menge und Kosten.

Die prädikativen Vergleichsstrukturen im Korpus sind vor allem (157/194) den Kategorien *physical property*, *human propensity*, *dimension* und *value* zuzuordnen.

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<sup>64</sup> Sieben dieser Vergleiche kommen in verneinter Form vor. Verneinungen werden in dieser Arbeit nicht näher betrachtet.

Dixon (1981) geht davon aus, dass bestimmte Adjektivarten mit bestimmten Nomenarten korrelieren; sollte diese Korrelation nicht realisiert werden, ist davon auszugehen, dass auch im Korpus bedeutungstechnisch merkwürdige Konstruktionen auffallen würden. Die Analyse ergab, dass 109 von 194 Vergleichsstrukturen der Dixon'schen Vorhersage folgten und semantisch nicht auffielen. 38,5% der Vorkommnisse der *proposition B* wurden durch einen Satz oder eine Phrase, 61,5% durch eine realisiert. 85 von 194 Vergleichsstrukturen (36% als Satz oder Phrase, 64% als Nominal-, Präpositional- oder Adjektivphrase oder Adverb realisiert) wichen jedoch von der Annahme Dixons ab. *Comparisons of equality* im Korpus waren doppelt so schwer zu verstehen wie *comparisons of inequality*; semantisches Unbehagen konnte auch dann manifestiert werden, wenn *proposition B* auf ein *comp-element* und als Nominal-, Adjektiv- oder Präpositionalphrase realisiert wird. Eine Korrelation zwischen der Syntax und Semantik der prädikativen Vergleichsstrukturen konnte nicht festgestellt werden.

Knapp 6,00% der Adjektive im Korpus wurden als attributive Transpositionen klassifiziert, die in vierzehn verschiedene pränominalen und drei verschiedene postnominalen Typen untergliedert werden konnten. Unter Transpositionen bzw. transpositionale Phrasen werden im Korpus diejenigen Konstruktionen verstanden, in denen das Adjektiv nicht den Kopf der Nominalphrase modifiziert, der es eigentlich syntaktisch zuzuordnen ist. Um zu dieser präzisen Definition zu gelangen, wurde zunächst ältere Terminologie, d.h. verschiedene Definitionen der Stilmittel "Epithet", "Hypallage", "Metonymie", "Enallage" und "Metapher" vor- und einander gegenüber gestellt. Es gibt tatsächlich einige wenige Untersuchungen, die sich bereits mit dem Thema der Adjektivtransposition (wenngleich unter teilweise anderen Bezeichnungen) beschäftigt haben, nämlich Abbott (1870<sup>3</sup>), Schmidt (1902), Obst-Kennedy (1976) und Blake (2002). Eine Gegenüberstellung der unterschiedlichen Herangehensweisen zeigte jedoch, wie unübersichtlich und dadurch unvergleichbar diese Analysen bisher waren. Einig sind sich alle jedoch bisher darin gewesen, dass hypallagische Konstruktionen eine syntaktisch-semantische Angelegenheit und teilweise nur sehr schwer zu entdecken sind. Wie und ob diese Konstruktionen systematisch nachgewiesen werden können und ob auf syntaktischer Ebene erklärbar ist, was auf semantischer Ebene passiert, behandeln nur Huddleston &

Pullum (2002: 553f). Sie schlagen eine relativ einfache Testmethode vor, die sich jedoch in der Umsetzung als sehr umfangreich, vielschichtig und dadurch kompliziert erwies: Adjektivtranspositionen (hier: *transferred adjectives*) unterscheiden sich von anderen Adjektiven dadurch, dass sie den "Entailment-Test" bestehen, während die anderen drei Tests in der Regel negativ ausfallen. Die vier Eigenschaften, die ein attributives Adjektiv charakteristischer Weise aufweist, stellen Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 554) anhand des Wortes *shy* vor:

- i ENTAILMENT *X is a shy N* entails *X is an N* (e.g. *Tom is a shy man* entails *Tom is a man*).
- ii SUBSET *A shy N* gives an answer to the question *What kind of an N is X?* (e.g. *A shy man* is an answer to the question *What kind of a man is Tom?*)
- iii MODIFIABILITY *Shy* can itself be modified (e.g. *a very shy man*).
- iv PRO-FORM *Shy* can modify the pro-form **one** (e.g. *Tom is the shy one*).

Um zu überprüfen, ob diese Testmethode in der Praxis wirklich anwendbar ist, wurde ein Subkorpus erstellt, das aus zehn Prozent *aller* attributiven Adjektive bestand, die in den sechs Stücken vorkamen. Diese 668 Adjektive wurden willkürlich ausgewählt und sodann mit Hilfe der von Huddleston & Pullum vorgeschlagenen Tests vier Mal hintereinander untersucht. Insgesamt wurden durch diese Testmethode 126 Adjektive des Subkorpus als Transpositionen klassifiziert:

	Adjektiv- anzahl	Entailment Test ok?	Subset Test ok?	Modifiability Test ok?	Pro-form Test ok?	Anzahl der Transpositionen
<i>Ri3</i>	148	148	122	98	110	26
<i>LLL</i>	93	93	73	53	70	21
<i>R&amp;J</i>	110	110	81	72	81	31
<i>KiL</i>	130	130	111	81	107	22
<i>Tem</i>	79	79	67	42	68	12
<i>He8</i>	108	108	96	69	91	14
<b>Gesamt</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>668</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>126</b>

**Table vi:** Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse der Testmethode nach Huddleston & Pullum für das Subkorpus

Ein tatsächlicher Vorteil in der Verwendung der Testmethode nach Huddleston & Pullum konnte nicht festgestellt werden, v.a. da die Methode zu zeitintensiv war und ein 'manuelles Tagging' ähnliche Ergebnisse erzielte. Die insgesamt 613 attributiven Transpositionen konnten insgesamt 18 unterschiedlichen Typen zugeordnet werden, die in der folgenden Tabelle dargestellt und erklärt werden:

	Typ	Erläuterung	Ri3	LLL	R&J	KiL	Tem	He8	Gesamt
Pränominal Transpositionen	I	Inversion von A und N	12	7	4	13	5	8	49
	II	A anstatt von PP	16	2	8	1	2	7	36
	III	A steht vor dem 'falschen' von zwei N	21	1	7	4	1	3	37
	IV	A anstatt Adv	10	3	8	6	1	9	37
	V	A + A anstatt Adv+A	3	3	3	1	0	2	12
	VI	Kausatives A	14	3	11	1	3	2	34
	VII	Zwei A vor zwei N vertauscht	6	0	1	0	0	0	7
	VIII	A anstatt N	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	IX	Verhältnis zwischen A und N vertauscht	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	X	Antonymisch inhärente Bedeutung von A + N	4	3	1	2	4	2	16
	XI	Antonymisch ähnliche Bedeutung von A + N	11	0	15	5	2	0	33
	XII	Pränominales statt postnominales A	4	1	1	3	1	6	16
	XIV	A anstatt Relativsatz	13	1	6	2	3	2	27
	Postno-minale Transpositionen	I	Reihenfolge von A und N vertauscht	11	16	13	8	13	10
II		N + Relativsatz mit A	26	37	41	22	21	29	176
III		N + Komparativsatz	1	12	9	10	12	13	57
<b>Gesamt</b>			<b>153</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>613</b>

**Tabelle vii:** Übersicht über die unterschiedlichen Arten von Transpositionen im Korpus

Die verschiedenen pränominalen Transpositionen wurden anhand der folgenden Beispiele erklärt: Typ I – *good my lord*, Typ II – *the French journey*, Typ III – *a noble troop of strangers*, Typ IV – *this instant cloud*, Typ V – *that former fabulous story*, Typ VI – *fearful dreams*, Typ VII – *this hungry churchyard*, Typ VIII – *the absent king*, Typ IX – *murderous shame*, Typ X – *a walking fire*, Typ XI – *heavy lightness*, Typ XII – *a constant woman to her husband*, Typ XIII – *ingrateful man* und Typ XIV – *your waiting vassals*. Die verschiedenen postnominalen Transpositionen wurden anhand der folgenden Beispiele erklärt: Typ I – *fiend angelical*, Typ II – *a horn added* und Typ III – *youth so apt to pluck a sweet*.

Knapp 3,00% der Adjektive im Korpus (326 Adjektive) wurden als attributive oder prädikative Komposita klassifiziert. Bevor die syntaktischen und semantischen Strukturen in Beziehung gesetzt werden konnten zu eventuell auftretenden Schwierigkeiten im Bereich des Verständnisses aus Sicht heutiger Leser, mussten diese zunächst klassifiziert werden. Es war Ziel der Untersuchung, auf Basis einer morphologisch-syntaktischen Klassifizierung Aussagen darüber treffen zu können, welche Strukturen Schwierigkeiten bereiten könnten, um diese dann zu analysieren. Komposita erlauben es dem Schriftsteller bzw. dem Sprecher, neue Information äußerst kompakt (vgl. Biber u.a. 2000: 533) darzustellen, es aber gleichzeitig dem Leser bzw. Zuhörer zu überlassen, diese Information zu entziffern. Durch die Verwendung von attributiven und prädikativen Komposita ist es Shakespeare möglich, auf sprachlich verdichtende Art und Weise auszudrücken, was andernfalls nur durch ausführliche sprachliche Umschreibungen dargestellt werden könnte. Durch die Verwendung von adjektivischen Komposita zur Modifikation des Nomens kommt es allerdings auch zu Konflikten, wenn etwa die semantischen Merkmale des Adjektivs nicht kompatibel sind mit denen des Nomens, wie z.B. wenn Metonymie oder Methaphern vorliegen oder ein Nomen mit dem Merkmal [-menschlich] von einem Kompositum mit dem Merkmal [+menschlich] modifiziert wird.

Shakespeares Kompositastrukturen wurden bisher aus linguistischer Sicht eher vernachlässigt und mussten sich, wenn überhaupt, eher einer morpho-syntaktischen als einer syntaktisch-semantischen Klassifizierung unterziehen. Allgemein betrachtet sind Komposita Teleskopsätze, die motiviert sind "in terms of the syntactic-semantic

functions of their constituent elements" (Nevalainen 1999: 408). Diese Teleskopsätze beinhalten die Relationen

Subjekt – Verb	fleabite	(1570)	'a flea bites' => S + V
Verb – Objekt	book-seller	(1527)	'x sells books' => V + Obj.
Verb – Adverbial	night-fishing	(1653)	'(x) fish at night' => V + Adv

Obwohl Nevalainen diese syntaktisch-semantische Funktionen darstellt, arbeitet sie sodann die morpho-syntaktischen Lesarten der Strukturen heraus, da sie davon ausgeht, dass Komposita "are to have a meaning which can be related to but not directly inferred from their component parts" (Nevalainen 1999: 408). Die vorliegende Dissertation schafft es jedoch, in 321 von 326 Fällen die Bedeutung der Kompositastrukturen aus den Einzelteilen herauszuarbeiten, d.h. die beiden Teile der Komposita aufeinander zu beziehen, wobei sich die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Teile im Kompositum als von großer Bedeutung herausstellte. Die Untersuchung ergab jedoch, dass zwar die Reihenfolge der Teile in der Bearbeitung von Bedeutung ist, es aber keine bereits eingeführte Terminologie dafür gab. Daher wurde die Überlegungen eine eher unbekanntes Linguistin für meine Arbeit adaptiert. Sie beschreibt das Phänomen *synthetischer* (zunächst muss der erste, dann der zweite Teil des Kompositums beachtet werden) und *analytischer* (zunächst muss der zweite, dann der erste Teil des Kompositums beachtet werden) Kompositastrukturen.

Diese neue Lesbarkeit mag vielleicht auch dadurch möglich gewesen sein, dass Komposita aus heutiger Sicht aus einem Lexem mit zwei oder mehr Basis-Lexemen bestehen, die grammatikalisch und semantisch als einzelnes Wort oder gar als Idiom betrachtet werden (vgl. Quirk u.a. 1985: 1567), in Shakespeares Zeit aber als einfache Verknüpfung zweier Worte galten. Da sich die Gesamtbedeutung oft erst Jahrhunderte nach der ersten Verwendung etablierte, könnte es möglich sein, dass dies der Grund ist, warum eine syntaktisch-semantische Lesart aus heutiger Sicht überhaupt funktionieren kann.

In der Untersuchung der Kompositastrukturen stellte sich heraus, dass die Klassifizierung und Beschreibung Nevalainens (1999: 417-419), die sich explizit auf das Frühneuenglische bezieht, weitaus weniger auf das Korpus anwendbar war als die Klassifizierung durch Bauer (1983), die sich jedoch auf das heutige Englisch bezieht. Durch Nevalainens Modell blieben 28 Komposita unklassifiziert, mit Hilfe von Bauers Modell, das 12 verschiedene Klassen vorschlägt, jedoch nur vier:

<b>Bauers Klassifizierung:</b>	<b>Anzahl im Korpus</b>	<b>Beispiel</b>	<b>Prozentualer Anteil</b>
(i) N + A	126	<i>action-taking</i>	38,7%
(ii) V + A	---	---	---
(iii) A + A	142	<i>bare-gnawn</i>	43,6%
(iv) Adv + A	33	<i>ever-angry</i>	10,1%
(v) N + N	11	<i>crab-tree</i>	3,4%
(vi) V + N	1	<i>tell-tale</i>	0,3%
(vii) A + N	8	<i>carv'd-bone</i>	2,4%
(viii) Partikel + N	1	<i>without-book</i>	0,3%
(ix) N + V	---	---	---
(x) V + V	---	---	---
(xi) A/Adv + V	---	---	---
(xii) V + Partikel	---	---	---
<b>Zunächst ohne Klassifizierung, dann jedoch:</b>	<b>Anzahl im Korpus</b>	<b>Beispiel</b>	<b>Prozentualer Anteil</b>
underlying phrasal / prepositional verb (P/PV)	4	<i>unlook'd -for</i>	1,2%

**Tabelle viii:** Klassifizierung der Kompositastrukturen im Korpus

Da Bauers Klassifizierung sich ebenfalls 'nur' auf die morphosyntaktischen Strukturen bezieht und dadurch auch nur eine formale Beschreibung von Komposita ist, war es notwendig, eine geeignete Formel bzw. geeignete Formeln zu finden, mit Hilfe derer es möglich ist, die Bedeutung eines Kompositums auf syntaktischer Ebene darzustellen. Bauer analysiert z.B. das Kompositum *care-craz'd* in *care-craz'd mother* als eine [N+A]-Kombination, da er *care* als Nomen und *craz'd* als Adjektiv klassifiziert. Hilfreicher wäre es meiner Meinung nach jedoch, eine syntaktische Formel zu finden, die die Bedeutung, d.h. die verwendete Lesart des Kompositums darstellen kann. Im obigen Beispiel wäre das z.B.:

*care-craz'd* AP [A<sub>2</sub> PP [Pre N<sub>1</sub>]] "[the mother is] crazy because of [her] care [for the child]"

wobei sich die tiefgestellten Zahlen auf den jeweiligen Teil des Kompositums beziehen, also A<sub>2</sub> = *craz'd*, N<sub>1</sub> = *care*.

Die Notwendigkeit einer solchen Lesart kann vielleicht noch stärker verdeutlicht und hervorgehoben werden, wenn man die Komposita *care-craz'd*, *heart-sick* und *fire-new* miteinander vergleicht. Alle drei Komposita werden traditioneller Weise beschrieben als [N+A]-Kombinationen, die darunterliegenden semantischen Strukturen sind jedoch nur in *care-craz'd* und *fire-new* gleich:



<i>care-craz'd</i>	AP [A <sub>2</sub> PP [Pre N <sub>1</sub> ]]	"[the mother is] crazy because of [her] care [for the child]"
<i>heart-sick</i>	NP [A <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	"a sick heart"
<i>fire-new</i>	AP [A <sub>2</sub> PP [Pre N <sub>1</sub> ]]	"new / fresh from the fire".

Die Unterteilung und Klassifizierung der Adjektive in synthetische und analytische Komposita ergab, dass die analytische Lesart fast drei Mal so oft vorkommt wie die synthetische (224 : 88). Lediglich vierzehn Komposita konnten anhand dieser Lesart nicht klassifiziert werden, da sie einen überflüssigen Teil enthielten (neun Mal; z.B. durch inhaltliche Dopplung der beiden Elemente) oder schlichtweg nicht auf diese Art und Weise klassifizierbar waren (fünf Mal).

Die folgenden beiden Tabellen dienen der vereinfachten Darstellung der äußerst komplexen Erarbeitung der synthetischen und analytischen Kategorien. Die erste Spalte stellt die benötigte Lesart dar, während die zweite auf mögliche Unterkategorien eingeht. Die dritte Spalte gibt ein Beispiel für die Lesart und die letzte die Anzahl der Lexeme, auf die diese Kategorisierung zutrifft:

Benötigte Lesart	Mögliche Unterkategorien	Beispiele	Anzahl der Lexeme	
1	NP [Det <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>three-pil'd</i> (LLL V.2)	4	
2		NP [A <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>foul-fac'd</i> (Ri3 III.7)	40
3	AP [Adv <sub>1</sub> A <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>ever-angry</i> (Tem I.2)	12	
4		AP [A <sub>1</sub> and A <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>childish-foolish</i> (Ri3 I.3)	4
5		AP [A <sub>1</sub> prep N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>red-hot</i> (Ri3 IV.1)	2
6		AP [A <sub>1</sub> to-Inf <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>hard-ru'l'd</i> (He8 III.2)	2
7	VP [V <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>tell-tale</i> (Ri3 IV.4)	1	
8		VP [V <sub>1</sub> particle <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>unlooked-for</i> (R&J I.5)	4
9		VP [V <sub>1</sub> prep N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>carv'd-bone</i> (LLL V.2)	2
10		VP [Adv <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>not-to-be-endured</i> (KiL I.4)	1
11		VP [N <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>beauty-waning</i> (Ri3 III.7)	6
12	PP [Prep <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>without-book</i> (R&J I.4)	2	
13		PP [Prep <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>out-shining</i> (Ri3 I.3)	1
14		PP [Prep NP [Det <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	<i>three-hours</i> (R&J III.2)	1
15		PP [Prep NP [A <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	<i>fresh-brook</i> (Tem I.2)	2
16		PP [Prep NP [N <sub>1</sub> N <sub>2</sub> ]]	<i>fruit-tree</i> (R&J II.2)	3
17	AdvP [Adv <sub>1</sub> Adv <sub>2</sub> ]	<i>high-lone</i> (R&J I.3)	1	
<b>Gesamt</b>			<b>88</b>	

**Tabelle ix:** Synthetische Komposita

Benötigte Lesart	Mögliche Unterkategorien	Beispiele	Anzahl der Lexeme	
1	AP	AP [Adv <sub>2</sub> A <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>flattering-sweet</i> (R&J II.2)	1
2		AP [A <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>world-wearied</i> (R&J V.3)	12
3		AP [as A <sub>2</sub> as N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>hell-black</i> (KiL III.7)	16
4	VP	VP [V <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>amber-colored</i> (LLL IV.3)	42
5		VP [V <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>earth-treading</i> (R&J I.2)	30
6		VP [V <sub>2</sub> Adv <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>new-made</i> (R&J IV.1)	93
7	NP	NP [A <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>heart-sick</i> (R&J III.3)	2
8		NP [N <sub>2</sub> PP [Prep N <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>iron-witted</i> (Ri3 IV.2)	12
9		NP [N <sub>2</sub> to do Adv <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>all-licens'd</i> (KiL IV.4)	1
10		NP [N <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> ]]	<i>bunch-backed</i> (Ri3 I.3)	3
11	PP	PP [Prep <sub>2</sub> N <sub>1</sub> ]	<i>child-like</i> (KiL II.1)	12
<b>Gesamt</b>			<b>224</b>	

**Tabelle x:** Analytische Komposita

Die Untersuchung des Korpus ergab zum einen, dass Shakespeare ganz eindeutig die attributive Position von Komposita der prädikativen vorzieht (81,9% : 18,1%), zum anderen, dass Shakespeare für die Verwendung von Komposita Tragödien (41%) den Komödien (31%) und Historien (28%) vorzieht. Die Untersuchung der normalisierten Häufigkeiten ergab zusätzlich, dass insbesondere *He8* eine besonders geringe Anzahl von Komposita aufweist, wodurch sich eine Analyse der gemeinsamen Autorschaft (Shakespeare-Fletcher) eventuell gestützt werden könnte.

Insgesamt wurden 99 der 326 Komposita (30,3%) als semantisch bemerkenswert klassifiziert, wobei sich diese Zahl nicht unbedingt mit der Anzahl der nicht-klassifizierbaren Adjektive deckt. Eine erneute Analyse ergab, dass Schwierigkeiten im Verständnis aus zwei Hauptgründen bestehen: in 44,4% der Fälle ergaben sich diese Schwierigkeiten aus veränderten Bedeutungen, wobei entweder der erste Teil (10 Beispiele), der zweite Teil (15 Beispiele) oder das ganze Kompositum (19 Beispiele) unklar blieben. In 55,6% ergaben sie sich aus den Merkmalsunterschieden zwischen Kompositum und dem dazugehörigen Kopf der Nominalphrase. Letztere entstehen durch Metonymie (8 Beispiele), wobei der externe Bezug in der Regel durch den Kontext hergestellt werden kann und sich auf eine Person bezieht. Sie entstehen durch die Unvereinbarkeit der semantischen Merkmale (8 Beispiele), da z.B. die Farbe eines Raben schwarz ist, im Korpus jedoch als bernsteinfarben bezeichnet wird (*amber-color'd raven*) und durch Metaphern (10 Beispiele), wobei

entweder der erste oder der zweite Teil des Kompositums Schwierigkeiten bereiten kann und nur lesbar wird, wenn die beiden Teile als zusammengehörig und metaphorisch gelesen werden. Das größte Schwierigkeitspotential ergibt sich schließlich aus der Tatsache, dass ein [-menschlich] Nomen durch ein [+menschlich] Adjektivkompositum modifiziert wird, wodurch sich ein Bezug zu den attributiven Transpositionen herstellen lässt. Diese Gruppe umfasst 29 Beispiele.

Ein möglicher Vorteil der neu entwickelten und vorgestellten syntaktisch-semantischen Lesart von Kompositastrukturen im Korpus besteht darin, dass dem Leser durch diese deutlich gemacht wird, in welcher Reihenfolge das Kompositum zu entziffern ist; sollte sich einer der beiden Teile einer Änderung der Wortklasse unterziehen müssen, so wird dies durch die vorgestellte Analyse und Klassifikation ebenso deutlich wie das 'Werkzeug', das ihm zur Entzifferung zur Verfügung steht.

Insgesamt wurden 1.133 Adjektivkonstruktionen (11.22%) des 10.098 Adjektive umfassenden Korpus genauer analysiert. Durch die Analysen der drei verschiedenen Adjektivkonstruktionen konnte festgestellt werden, dass ein Fünftel der sprachlichen Verdichtungen in *Romeo und Julia* vorkamen, einem sehr emotionalen Stück, das unter anderem den Mangel an Zeit der Liebenden füreinander thematisiert. Insgesamt fast 60% der Verdichtungen fanden sich in den drei Stücken *Richard III*, *Love's Labour's Lost* und *Romeo und Julia*, d.h. in den Stücken, die vor 1600 geschrieben wurden. Die restlichen 40% der Verdichtungen entstanden nach 1600. Die Verwendung der sprachlichen Verdichtungen verteilt sich relativ ebemäßig zu je einem Drittel auf die drei verschiedenen Genres. Die Präferenz eines speziellen Genres für sprachliche Verdichtungen konnte ebenso wenig festgestellt werden wie die besondere Häufung oder Ablehnung gegen diese Strukturen bei einem einzelnen Stück.



## 9 Lebenslauf

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### Persönliche Daten

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