COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

2. 21. 1. Types heádströng / gráss-greén

The first-word is a sb qualifying the adj. Cbs of the headstrong type have the general basis '(strong) in respect of, with regard to . . .', etc. The relations underlying the cbs are not as manifold as those with compound sbs. In syntactical cbs they could often be rendered by the prepositions of, from, at, against, sometimes to (threadbare, skintight). Pot-valiant means 'v. thanks to the pot'. Examples are airtight, watertight, bomb-proof, damp-proof, fire-proof, hole-proof, waterproof (and other -proof cbs), colorfast, colorblind, snowblind, moonblind, blood-thirsty, book-learned, brainsick, carefree, heartfree, heartsore, heartsick, lovesick, seasick, homesick, pot-valiant, sleep-drunk, earthfast 'fixed in the ground', pennywise and pound-foolish, purse-proud, threadbare, blood-guilty, life-weary, battleworthy, praiseworthy, noteworthy, folk-conscious, music-conscious, tone-conscious (conscious is a vogue second-word in AE, and cbs are formed ad libitum).

2. 21. 2. The relation underlying cbs of the type gráss-gréen is that of emphatic comparison; usually with the implication of highest possible degree. Exs are piping hot, scalding hot, roaring drunk, pig drunk, snow-white, milk-white, purple-red, blood-red, honey-sweet, sky-blue, stock-still, stone-blind, stone-still, stone-deaf, stone-cold, stone-dead, coal-black, pitch-black, pitch-dark. Condensed cpds are mother-naked, brand-new, fire-new 'as new as a piece of iron coming just out of the fire', also cbs such as dog-mad, dog-tired, dog-poor, dog-weary, dog-sick, dog-cheap (the dog-cbs are reduced cpds, so to speak, the implication being 'as mad as a mad dog' etc.). We find individual coinages such as straw-pale, moon-white, moon-still (Thomas Wolfe).

Common are also dimension-denoting adjs as second-words. Exs are kneedeep, skin-deep, breast-high, heaven-high, sky-high, mile-high, nation-wide, world-wide.

2. 21. 3. Both types are OE. Most PE words, however, were coined in the MoE period. Older are steadfast, earthfast (prob. revived, OED has no quotations between 1000 and 1868), toll-free OE, threadbare 1362, watertight 1387. But it should be noted that words with the sfs -ful and -less and the semi-sfs -like and -worthy originated as cpds of the type headstrong. With the exception of -like words (which are not older than the 15th c.) they were still full compounds in OE. For type grass-green we have many more older words: bloodred, grass-green, honeysweet, milkwhite, snow-white are OE. Later are coal-black 1250, stone-dead 1290, nutbrown 1300, stone-blind 1375, stone-hard 1400 (other stone- cbs are MoE), knee-deep 1400, stock-still 1470. Cbs with dog- do not appear before the 16th c., the earliest recorded being dog-cheap 1526. One of the most recent of the second group is nation-wide 1920 (OED Spl.), coined after world-wide 1632. The type has been spreading recently (faculty wide, city wide etc.).

2. 21. 4. Cbs of the *headstrong* type always have forestress, in preadjunctal as well as predicative or isolated position. The stress indication of Webster and Kenyon-Knott (with double stress) for words with *-tight* and *-proof* (airtight, watertight, waterproof) must be a mistake. The second-words have a full stress in explicit contrast only (not watertight but waterproof).

Cbs of the type grass-green have double stress, with the usual stress shifting in preadjunctal position. Cbs with long for a second-word are only used attributively and are therefore always heard with the main stress on the first-word: age-long, day-long, lifelong, night-long, span-long. The idea of highest possible degree also underlies bank-full, brim-full (though the latter is now partly apprehended as a sf formation with -ful), top-full (ep. also the semantically related syntactic cbs crammed full, packed full). In dead tired we have an adj used as primary, in scalding hot the first-word is said to be the vs (OED), but it may as well be the ptc (ep. G kochend heiß, glühend heiß). Otherwise English has no cbs with vbs for first-words (pack full is hardly common beside packed full).

In sure-fire AE 1918, we have an inverted cpd, the second element of which is not, however, felt to be connected with the word fire.

As for the difference in stress between the two types, we have the exact parallel in German: epds such as *sorgenfrei*, *farbenblind* have forestress while *schneeweiß*, *stocksteif* and others of the 'grass-green' type have double stress in absolute or final position and forestress in preadjunctal position.

2. 22. Types áll-áble / sélf-adáptive

The type headstrong has a parallel in the type self-adaptive. The adj is qualified by the pronoun self. The general denominator of the notional relation underlying the cb is '... in respect of the self'. Exs are self-assertive, -conscious, -defensive -destructive, -elective, -evident, -existent, -forgetful, -glorious, -improvable, -important, -luminous, -pleased, -righteous, -satisfied, -secure, -sufficient and many others. The relation which is, as a matter of course, excluded is the one of emphatic comparison which underlies the type grass-green. Syntactically the relations would be rendered by various prepositions.

The pronoun all, in literary usage, may qualify an adj with the meaning 'wholly, altogether, infinitely', as in all-able, all-holy, -bitter, -black, -content, -complete, -fair, -glorious, -just, -merciful.

The type goes back to OE. To this period belong all-holy and almighty. But most of the cbs now in use were coined after 1600.

Self-adaptive and all-able have level stress.

2.23.1. Types ícy-cóld / deáf-múte / Ánglo-Nórman / Ánglo-Frénch¹

Type icy-cold 'cold in an icy way'. The first adj is the subjunct of the second. Exs are red-hot, white-hot, red-ripe 'fully ripe', worldly-wise, lukewarm. Many cbs denote color, the first-word indicating the nuance, as in

¹ Cp. Anna Granville Hatcher, Modern English Word-Formation and Neo-Latin. A study of the origins of English (French, Italian, German) copulative compounds. Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore 1951.

dark-blue, dark brown, light blue, light green, blue-black, bluish-gray, reddish brown, whitish brown, whity-brown | Roman-Catholic, Scotch-Irish, German-Jewish, German-, Irish-, Swedish- etc. American.

2. 23. 2. Type deaf-mute 'deaf and mute'. These additive (copulative) cpds are rare as far as set cpds are concerned. Bitter-sweet, shabby-genteel and deaf-mute are common, but other cbs are either formed ad hoc or individual coinages formed for stylistic purposes. Shakespeare has many, as honest-true, heavy-thick, odd-even, proper-false, fortunate-unhappy, valiant-young. Other cbs are sweet-sick, real-unreal, haunting-strange, far-faint (Thomas Wolfe), noble-good (Galsworthy). Technical cbs are numerous today: phonetic-semantic, social-economic, allegoric-didactic, tonal-verbal etc. (Hatcher 148).

With ethnic adjs, cbs are frequent. They denote mutual relation (treaty, war or otherwise), as the Prussian-Austrian war, the German-Russian war, the Swedish-Danish relations etc. Another use is represented by cbs like an English-Greek dictionary (always with dictionary as second element).

2. 23. 3. The types Anglo-Norman and Anglo-French are parallel to the two preceding types, differing from them in that they are coined on a Neo-Latin basis.

The type Anglo-Norman ('pert. to the Normans or their language in England') represents subordinative cpds, the first-word being the subjunct of the second-word: Anglo-French (-Latin), Indo-European, Indo-Chinese, Anglo-Danish 'pert. to the Danes in England', Anglo-Indian and other ethnic names (reference is chiefly to language or descent) are the only representative group, though some of the cbs of the concavo-convex type below may be analysed as subordinative epds, too.

2. 23. 4. Type Anglo-French 'English and French, pertaining jointly to the English and French'.

Additive relation is the most frequent. However, the exact relation is often understood from the context only. Exs of ethnic cbs are Anglo-American (-French, -German, -Russian etc., etc.) treaty, agreement, relations or the like. Other possible first-words are Franco-, Graeco-, Russo-, Sino-, Turko-, Gallo-, Indo-.

Scientific nomenclature makes extensive use of the type to denote various relations based on the general notion of two elements combined, as in concavo-convex, concavo-concave, plano-concave, politico-economical. Cbs are possible ad libitum, first-words may be given: convexo-, oblongo-, historico-, serio-, dramatico-, economico-, plano-.

The latinizing types are now more or less avoided, except in strictly scholarly (geographical, ethnological, linguistic) parlance. With the idea of 'international relations' the -o form still seems to be predominant, but here also the tendency is probably in favor of the native type, especially when minor international problems are concerned (for an attempt at a description of the various tendencies today see Hatcher 153—159).

2. 23. 5. The word-order in subordinative cpds is clear: the second-word is the basic part which is modified by the first-word. It would not be possible to change the word order of *Anglo-Norman*, as in *Anglo-Norman* language, without changing the meaning of the cb. With cbs of the additive type the case is different. The logical connection would not have been different if the

⁴ Marchand, The categories

word-order in Anglo-French were inverted. The preference given to Anglo- as first-word is not due to logical necessity. On the other hand, first-words in -o of ethnic names are restricted. Americo-, Germano-, for instance, are hardly used, nor does a latinizing first-word exist for Japanese, so Japanese will always have the role of a second-word, while the notion 'English' always comes first in the first-word Anglo-, even when an -o form of the second-word exists (as in Anglo-Russian war).

For the native-coined cbs, word order is partly determined by psychological factors, the predominant element being named first. This will be the reason for the word-order in *German-Russian war* (as Germany started the war). In cbs of the type an *English-Greek dictionary* the word-order is not free: the language forming the basis, i.e. the language which is translated, comes first.

All cbs have level stress (with the exception of the word bitter-sweet which has forestress).

2. 23. 6. Both Anglo-Norman and Anglo-French go back to Latin ethnic adjs of the type Gallo-Graecus 'Gaul of Greece' (itself influenced by the Greek type Syro-Phoinix 'Phoenician of Syria'). This type was newly started in Modern Latin and has given rise to corresponding types in the modern vernacular languages. The determinative ethnic type is quite infrequent in English before the mid-eighteenth century (Hatcher 152), the earliest instances being Gallo-Greek 1601 and Anglo-Saxon 1610 (Hatcher 198, f. 60). The additive Neo-Latin type (Gallo-Belgicus 'Gallic and Belgic') arose from the determinative one. The originally ethnic pattern assumed an extension of reference at the hands of 16th c. lexicographers by whom it was used in coinages of the type Lexicon Graeco-Latinum. The next step was the extension of reference to bilingual texts in general where the additive idea suggested itself predominantly. As for non-ethnic adjs of the type concavo-convex (see 2. 23. 4), Miss Hatcher assumes influence of the Renaissance word comico-tragicus, itself based on Plautus' tragicomoedia (see Hatcher p. 70 and p. 133 ff.).

In English, the additive type Anglo-French does not occur before the 19th c., the chief period of productivity being the second half of the century, but in Italian and French, the type is older (see Hatcher 151). It is with technicalscientific adjs that additive cbs start in Modern Latin and, under its influence, in the modern vernacular languages. English instances are theologico-moral 1644, historico-cabbalistical 1652, physico-mechanical 1661 and many more (see Hatcher 133). Almost at the same time, coinages begin to be made on a native basis (type phonetic-semantic, see 2.23.2). The first cbs occur, though only sporadically, in the second half of the 17th c. (chiefly terms of natural sciences), as planeconvex 1668, medical-physical 1684. A few more were coined in the 18th c., but the type is not really productive before 1800, and even then the -o type remains stronger. Towards the end of the 19th c., adjs from other than the natural sciences occur (social and economic sciences etc.), as animal-human 1884, divine-human 1892, social-political 1884 (see Hatcher 146—148). As for the 'dictionary' type (see 2. 23. 2), I find English-German Dictionaries attested for 1740 in OED, so this type cannot have sprung form the latinizing type Anglo-French, as Miss Hatcher says (156), but is probably the result of combinations of the type phonetic-semantic.

The native additive type deaf-mute is apparently also partly influenced by the Neo-Latin type Anglo-French. With cbs of anglicized Latin words of the type phonetic-semantic the case looks pretty clear. But modern literary and poetic usage may be a spontaneous rise as well as Shakespeare's use of the type (by Miss Hatcher ascribed to imitation of the OGr type glykýpikros). Inspiration from a scientific type does not look plausible. At any rate, the type has never been common. The oldest word, bittersweet 1386, is formed after the just mentioned Greek word. Apart from this word and Shakespeare's coinages, all cbs date from the 19th c. or later.

The type icy-cold does not seem to be older than LME, the earliest cbs I have found being red-hot 1375, lukewarm 1398, wordly-wise c 1400, light-green 1420. The dark- cbs arise in the 18th c. (see OED dark a. 3 c).

Types heart-breaking / scafaring

form compound participial adjs with a vb/object or vb/subjunct (adverbial complement) as an underlying theme (for analysis see 2.1.4). The types are essentially MoE, with occasional older words such as wayfaring OE (now arch.), seafaring 1200, wind-waving 1300 (next inst. 1848, poet.). Old English knew a literary type lond-būend which was, however, almost exclusively used for the formation of agent sbs. They were chiefly translations of Latin words such as terricola, agricola and did not "live longer than down to the 13th c." (Kärre 232)1.

The type heart-breaking is the stronger of the two. Cbs are practically unlimited. Exs are heart-piercing, heart-rending, breath-taking, awe-inspiring, freedom-loving, fact-fronting, degree-conferring, earth-shaking, God-fearing, lifegiving, mind-filling, soul-stirring, soul-sickening etc., etc.

The word painstaking is exceptional in that the first-word has the plural

form; on the other hand, pains is often construed as a singular.

The type sea-faring forms cpds based on the relation 'predicate plus adverbial complement' (chiefly one of place, rarely of time, but also a few others). Exs are wayfaring, seafaring, sea-going, ocean-going, picture-going, sea-roving, earth-wandering, glass-gazing (Sh) 'preening oneself in a mirror' / night-blooming, summer-flowering, day-flying | law-abiding | Axis-sympathizing.

The stress pattern is -/- though occasionally some speaker will pronounce the word heart-breaking with double stress. The stress is then influenced by emotion. The same emotive stressing may be heard in the pronunciation of the corresponding G word (herzzerreißend), but the majority of speakers will avoid it.

Note: In this connection it is interesting to note that the corresponding German type herzzerreißend is a syntactic group. Cp. such groups as seine leises Grauen erregende Gestalt, einen das ganze Haus aus dem Schlummer reißenden Auftritt etc. The stress pattern is not affected thereby, the ptc is always weakly stressed.

Types áll-beáring / sélf-ádvertising

The first-word is a pronoun in the types all-bearing and self-advertising. Exs of cbs, which are based on a predicate/object relation, are all-affecting,

¹ K. H. Kärre, Nomina agentis in Old English. Diss. Uppsala 1915 (Uppsala univ. årsskr. 1915).

-arranging, -binding, -blessing, -destroying, -embracing, -pervading, -tolerating etc. These cbs have a literary or poetical character. The cpd all-wielding is OE, but otherwise "no examples of this combination occur much before 1600" (OED).

Exs of cbs with self- are self-boasting, -destroying, -giving, -knowing, -killing,

-pleasing a.o., all having a literary character. The type is MoE.

With self- we have, however, a stronger type based on a subject/predicate relation, as in self-loading (gun). These cbs are 19th c. and later and all technical terms, applied to devices, apparatuses, self- having the meaning 'automatically'. Exs are self-adjusting, -charging, -closing, -filling, -inking, -registering, -propelling etc., etc.

In well-meaning, well-wishing, ill-boding, ill-willing and occasional other cbs (see OED) we also have a predicate/object relation, the first-words having the

function of primaries.

2. 26. Type eásy-góing

Cbs of this type are made up of a first participle determined by an adj (for the analysis see 2.1.4). In Old English there existed a few poetic cbs such as cwic-lifigende, dēop-hycgende, hēah-sittende which obviously did not represent a current pattern (Carr does not treat the type). In Late Middle English we meet with occasional coinings such as far-casting 'cunning' 1387, hyghe strowtyng 'highswelling' 1398, but the type grows common in MoE only. We include cbs with well, ill, and far which have at all times been both adjs and advs.

Good- (fine-, nice-, odd- etc.) looking, hard-working, high-flying, high-sounding, sweet (-strange etc.) -smelling, quick-cooking, wide-spreading, far-reaching, far-seeing, well-sounding, ill-faring, ill-judging a.o.

2. 27. 1. Type mán-máde

A second participle is determined by a sb. Though the type has been alive since the OE period (cf. e.g. handworth, goldhroden), the type is somewhat rare in Germanic languages (see Carr 205—209). The corresponding German type is late (see Carr 206) and very weak (see Henzen 67). Its productivity has been most in evidence in the MoE period, esp. since the 19th c. Most words, for instance, with the first-words earth, god, man, iron, and, quite naturally, machine date from the 19th c., while woe- words were frequent in 17th and 18th c. literature (see OED s.v. woe).

No PE word seems to be older than ME (hand-wrought c 1000, next 1881 is obviously a revival). Exs are moss-grown 1300, woe-begone 13.. (woe-beseen 1390, woe-bested 1470), moth-eaten 1377, wind-driven 1387, worm-eaten 1398, iron-branded 1400, book-learned 1420. More recent are frost-bitten, hunger-bitten, wind-bound, wind-shaken, storm-beaten, tongue-tied, god-made, home-bred, home-born, homespun, heaven-born, hidebound (16th c.), god-begotten, god-inspired, god-forbidden, awestruck, sun-baked, sun-dried, earthbound, hand-made (17th c.), spellbound, skinbound, wayworn, heartfelt (18th c.), conscience-stricken 1819, horror-stricken 1805, poverty-stricken (Dickens) 1844, god-forsaken 1856. Cbs are practically unlimited today, especially as technical terms. A few instances of quite recent cbs are factory packed, war-battered, government owned, seaborne, airborne, carrierborne, communist infiltrated.

Participial cpd adjs are chiefly based on a passive verbal nexus. The most frequent underlying concept is that of the passive participle determined by a converted subject (as in man-made 'made by man'). It is the regular concept underlying cbs with all- and self-. But there are also other verbal nexus relations. The determinant may be a subjunct, standing to the pt in the syntactic relation of an adverbial complement.

Instrumental relation underlies moss-grown and star-spangled, but iron-clad is 'clad in iron', diamond-cut may be 'cut into the shape of a d.' or 'cut with facets like a d.'. Similar is table-cut (said of a diamond) 'cut in the form of a table', custom-built AE, custom-made AE mean 'built, made to the customer's order'. Is death-doomed 'doomed to d.' or 'by d.'? Shard-torn is 'torn to shards', safety tested is 'tested for safety'.

- 2. 27. 2. A somewhat larger group is represented by the type word homebred where the underlying notion is that of place. Exs are home-made, homespun, hill-born, world-renowned, heart-felt, heaven-born, home-born, sea-born, London-trained.
- 2. 27. 3. There is a small group of cpds characterized by the type word crést-fàllen, prob. to be analysed as 'with the crest fallen'. I have no exs earlier than the close of the 16th c.: crest-fallen, chap-fallen = chop-fallen, jaw-fallen, heart-broken, tip-tilted, obs. trade-fallen 'bankrupt', oil-dried (lamp, Sh), hip-shot 'having the hip shot, i.e. out of joint'.

The second-word of bed-ridden is orig. not a ptc, but a ME extension of OE rida 'rider'. It was analysed as 'confined to bed, at the mercy of the bed, dominated, governed by the bed' and has attracted priest-ridden, class-ridden, germ-ridden a.o.

2. 28. 1. Types áll-abhórred / sélf-bórn

Participles may also be determined by the pronouns all and self. The pronouns function as converted subjects.

all-abhorred, all-admired, all-dreaded. The type is much weaker than type all-bearing and, according to OED, rare before Shakespeare.

self-born 1587 (the earliest quotation in OED), self-abased, self-appointed, self-elected, self-governed, self-made, self-possessed, self-taught a.o.

2. 28. 2. The basic stress pattern -/- is regular only with all- and self- cbs. Many cbs of the type man-made are, however, always heard with forestress (e.g. moth-eaten, spellbound, frost-bitten | homespun, heart-felt, heart-broken). For the speech-feeling they have obviously syncretized to a higher degree than e.g. home-made, home-bred, custom-built, government-owned, factory-packed which have more of an ad hoc character and therefore show the double-stress pattern (in predicative position). Cpds of the type crest-fallen always have forestress.

2. 29. 1. Type high-born

Historically speaking, the type *high-born* combines several older syntactic types: 1) the first-word is historically an adverb, as in *new-born*; 2) the first-word is historically an adj used as subjunct, as in *fresh-clad*; 3) the first-word

is historically an adj used as a predicate complement, as in dead-born. OE adjs formed their adverbs in -e (heard/hearde, $d\bar{e}op/d\bar{e}ope$). But adverbs were not distinct from the adjs when the adj ended in -e ($cl\bar{e}ne$, $d\bar{e}ore$ are both adj and adv), and there were others, as $h\bar{e}ah$ 'high' which were adjs as well as advs. The loss of adverbial -e in ME obliterated all distinction between adjs and advs. This fusion of various morphological types paved the way for the establishing of a derivative pattern. For several centuries back, English has had a type of adjective compound consisting of a second participle determined by an adj, which is the only fact relevant to synchronic analysis. The underlying concept may often defy an undisputed analysis, a fact we have observed with other epd types, too. In high-born, low-born the first-words may be considered as predicatives or as subjuncts, and similar difficulties arise for other ebs.

The oldest examples which are in use today date from the ME period: newborn 1300, new-clad 1300, high-born 1300 (but the next quotation in OED is from 1728), dead-born 1330, free-born 1340, new-sown 1375, hard-set 1387, high-set 1382 (next quotation from 1631). But the formative power of the wf type does not really start before the second half of the 16th c., and most present-day cpds are much more recent.

Clean-cut, clean shaven, deep cut, deep drawn, deep read, deep seated, deep set, far gone, far fetched, foreign built, fresh clad, fresh oiled, high set, high strung, low bred, modern built, new found, new laid, still born, true born, widespread, ready made.

2. 29. 2. Most of the cpds whose second-word is a second ptc have a passive meaning. This is practically the rule with transitive verbs. Exs of cbs with ptcs of transitive vbs that have an active meaning are few in number. One group are cbs with spoken for a second-word, the earliest recorded (of the whole group) being fair-spoken and well-spoken (1460), followed by broad-, civil-, free-, plain-, out-, short-, soft-. Other cbs are well-read, best-read (read alone, first recorded 1586, is no longer in use), well-behaved, better behaved (the OED has one quotation for behaved alone; as a transitive vb, behave is extinct now), hard-bitten 'given to hard biting'. Though the word is no cpd, we may mention learned here. In OE and ME the vb learn had the meaning 'teach', so learned is orig. 'taught, instructed', but was subsequently apprehended as the ptc of learn in present-day meaning and attracted studied (1530) and perh. also read (see above). Cp. also G ein gelernter Arbeiter, ein studierter Mann, ein belesener Mensch. Other exs are far gone, new come, high flown.

Second participles of intransitive vbs occur as early as OE. The only cb that has come down to our day is new-come. The other cbs used today are MoE: high-flown, crest- (jaw-, chap-, chop-) fallen, well-traveled, far-traveled, untraveled (traveled is first recorded 1413), well-judged, its opposite ill-judged. In recent American journalese we find cbs such as star-turned, debutante-turned. We have, however, ME cbs with locative particles for a first-word, such as by-gone, by-past, while ingrown is rec. from the 17th c. For the present-day speech-feeling short-lived and long-lived belong in the group, though, historically, the second-word is life plus -ed, with the voiceless fricative voiced (therefore still often pronounced [laivd], see Jesp. VI. 24. 12 and Linguistica 378f.).