### **Complex Idiom Modification**

#### Sascha Bargmann

Goethe University Frankfurt

International Conference on Advance in Education, Humanities and Language (ICEL)

October 25, 2023

This talk is based on Bargmann et al. (2021) and the introductory chapter of Bargmann (2019).

# Introduction

What exactly is an idiom?

What exactly is an idiom?

#### **Definition:**

An *idiom* is an expression that

What exactly is an *idiom*?

#### **Definition:**

An *idiom* is an expression that

a) consists of at least two words and

What exactly is an *idiom*?

#### **Definition:**

An *idiom* is an expression that

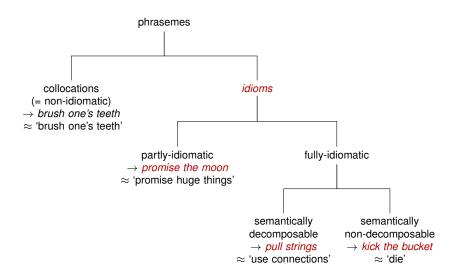
- a) consists of at least two words and
- b) has a meaning that cannot be compositionally derived from the meanings that the same words have outside of the expression.

What exactly is an *idiom*?

#### **Definition:**

An *idiom* is an expression that

- a) consists of at least two words and
- b) has a meaning that cannot be compositionally derived from the meanings that the same words have outside of the expression.
  - **b)** distinguishes idioms from collocations, like *brush one's teeth*, but includes fully-idiomatic idioms, like *pull strings* ('use connections'), and partly-idiomatic idioms, like *promise the moon* ('promise huge things').



There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

#### There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

decomposable, e.g. jump on the bandwagon ≈ 'join a movement'
 idiomatically combining expression (ICE) in Nunberg et al. (1994)

#### There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

- decomposable, e.g. jump on the bandwagon ≈ 'join a movement'
   idiomatically combining expression (ICE) in Nunberg et al. (1994)
- ▶ non-decomposable, e.g. *tighten one's belt* ≈ 'economize'
  - idiomatic phrase (IP) in Nunberg et al. (1994)

#### There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

- ▶ decomposable, e.g. jump on the bandwagon ≈ 'join a movement' – idiomatically combining expression (ICE) in Nunberg et al. (1994)
- Non-decomposable, e.g. tighten one's belt ≈ 'economize' - idiomatic phrase (IP) in Nunberg et al. (1994)

However, both types allow for modifiers (Ernst 1981):

#### There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

- ▶ decomposable, e.g. jump on the bandwagon ≈ 'join a movement' – idiomatically combining expression (ICE) in Nunberg et al. (1994)
- ▶ non-decomposable, e.g. tighten one's belt ≈ 'economize' - idiomatic phrase (IP) in Nunberg et al. (1994)

#### However, both types allow for modifiers (Ernst 1981):

(1) a. In spite of its conservatism, many people were eager to jump on the horse-drawn Reagan bandwagon.

#### There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

- ▶ decomposable, e.g. jump on the bandwagon ≈ 'join a movement' – idiomatically combining expression (ICE) in Nunberg et al. (1994)
- Non-decomposable, e.g. tighten one's belt ≈ 'economize' - idiomatic phrase (IP) in Nunberg et al. (1994)

#### However, both types allow for modifiers (Ernst 1981):

- (1) a. In spite of its conservatism, many people were eager to jump on the horse-drawn Reagan bandwagon.
  - b. With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci *belts*.

#### There are two types of fully-idiomatic idioms:

- ▶ decomposable, e.g. jump on the bandwagon ≈ 'join a movement' – idiomatically combining expression (ICE) in Nunberg et al. (1994)
- ▶ non-decomposable, e.g. tighten one's belt ≈ 'economize' – idiomatic phrase (IP) in Nunberg et al. (1994)

#### However, both types allow for modifiers (Ernst 1981):

- (1) a. In spite of its conservatism, many people were eager to jump on the horse-drawn Reagan bandwagon.
  - b. With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci *belts*.
- ⇒ Neither type is without internal structure.

## Ernst (1981)

There are at least **three types** of idiom modification:

There are at least **three types** of idiom modification:

1. Internal modification

There are at least **three types** of idiom modification:

- 1. Internal modification
- 2. External modification

There are at least **three types** of idiom modification:

- 1. Internal modification
- 2. External modification
- 3. Conjunction modification

There are at least **three types** of idiom modification:

- Internal modification
- 2. External modification
- 3. Conjunction modification

→ Context and world knowledge narrow down the interpretative options on the basis of the meaning of the adjective and the internal semantic structure of the idiom.

There are at least **three types** of idiom modification:

- Internal modification
- 2. External modification
- 3. Conjunction modification

→ Context and world knowledge narrow down the interpretative options on the basis of the meaning of the adjective and the internal semantic structure of the idiom.

For further discussion of modification in idioms, see also Stathi (2007), Cserép (2010), McClure (2011), Sailer (2017), and others.

#### Internal modification

The <u>modifier</u> modifies the idiomatic meaning of the idiom's noun, which is only possible in semantically decomposable idioms:

#### Internal modification

The <u>modifier</u> modifies the idiomatic meaning of the idiom's noun, which is only possible in semantically decomposable idioms:

- (2) In spite of its conservatism, many people were eager to *jump on the* horse-drawn Reagan *bandwagon*.
  - $\sim$  to join the outdated Reagan movement

#### **External modification**

The <u>modifier</u> modifies the idiom as a whole and, therefore, allows for an adverbial paraphrase:

#### **External modification**

The <u>modifier</u> modifies the idiom as a whole and, therefore, allows for an adverbial paraphrase:

- (3) He came apart at the political seams.
  - $\sim$  Politically, he came apart at the seams.

come apart at the seams ≈ 'fail'

## **Conjunction modification**

The <u>modifier</u> modifies the literal meaning of the idiom's noun in an extra proposition, while the idiom is still understood in its idiomatic meaning:

## **Conjunction modification**

The <u>modifier</u> modifies the literal meaning of the idiom's noun in an extra proposition, while the idiom is still understood in its idiomatic meaning:

(4) In spite of the treatment the other refugees received from the rescue party in the desert, he *bit his* thirst-swollen *tongue* and kept to himself.

bite one's tongue ≈ 'stop oneself from saving sth.'

## Conjunction modification

(5) Malvolio deserves almost everything he gets, but ... there is that little stab of shame we feel at the end for having had such fun *pulling his* <u>cross-gartered</u> *leg* for so long.

from Ernst (1981), context: review of a production of the Shakespearean play Twelfth Night

(5) Malvolio deserves almost everything he gets, but ... there is that little stab of shame we feel at the end for having had such fun *pulling his* <u>cross-gartered</u> *leg* for so long.

from Ernst (1981), context: review of a production of the Shakespearean play *Twelfth Night* 

*s*<sub>1</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's <del>cross-gartered</del> leg.

(5) Malvolio deserves almost everything he gets, but ... there is that little stab of shame we feel at the end for having had such fun *pulling his* <u>cross-gartered</u> *leg* for so long.

from Ernst (1981), context: review of a production of the Shakespearean play Twelfth Night

*s*<sub>1</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's <del>cross-gartered</del> leg.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'We playfully deceived Malvolio.'

(5) Malvolio deserves almost everything he gets, but ... there is that little stab of shame we feel at the end for having had such fun *pulling his* <u>cross-gartered</u> *leg* for so long.

from Ernst (1981), context: review of a production of the Shakespearean play Twelfth Night

*s*<sub>1</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's <del>cross-gartered</del> leg.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'We playfully deceived Malvolio.'

s<sub>2</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's cross-gartered leg.

(5) Malvolio deserves almost everything he gets, but ... there is that little stab of shame we feel at the end for having had such fun *pulling his* <u>cross-gartered</u> *leg* for so long.

from Ernst (1981), context: review of a production of the Shakespearean play Twelfth Night

- *s*<sub>1</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's <del>cross-gartered</del> leg.
- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'We playfully deceived Malvolio.'
  - *s*<sub>2</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's cross-gartered leg.
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Malvolio had a cross-gartered leg.'

(5) Malvolio deserves almost everything he gets, but ... there is that little stab of shame we feel at the end for having had such fun *pulling his* <u>cross-gartered</u> *leg* for so long.

from Ernst (1981), context: review of a production of the Shakespearean play Twelfth Night

- *s*<sub>1</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's <del>cross-gartered</del> leg.
- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'We playfully deceived Malvolio.'
  - *s*<sub>2</sub>: We pulled Malvolio's cross-gartered leg.
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Malvolio had a cross-gartered leg.'
  - p<sub>1</sub> & p<sub>2</sub>: 'We playfully deceived Malvolio, and Malvolio had a cross-gartered leg.'

## tighten one's belt + Gucci

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to tighten their Gucci belts.

from Ernst (1981)

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci belts.

from Ernst (1981)

 $s_1$ : Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gucci belts.

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci *belts*.

from Ernst (1981)

 $s_1$ : Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gueci belts.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci *belts*.

from Ernst (1981)

 $s_1$ : Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gueci belts.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'

s<sub>2</sub>: Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gucci belts.

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci belts.

- *s*<sub>1</sub>: Oil companies<sub>i</sub> have to tighten their<sub>i</sub> Gucci belts.
- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'
- $s_2$ : Oil companies, have to tighten their, Gucci belts.  $\rightarrow_{lit}$  'Oil companies' Gucci belts' (co-indexation resolved)

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci belts.

- *s*<sub>1</sub>: Oil companies<sub>i</sub> have to tighten their<sub>i</sub> Gucci belts.
- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'
- $s_2$ : Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gucci belts.
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$  'Oil companies' Gucci belts' (co-indexation resolved)
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Oil companies have Gucci belts.'

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci belts.

- *s*<sub>1</sub>: Oil companies<sub>i</sub> have to tighten their<sub>i</sub> Gucci belts.
- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'
- $s_2$ : Oil companies, have to tighten their, Gucci belts.
- $\rightarrow_{\textit{lit}}$  'Oil companies' Gucci belts' (co-indexation resolved)
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Oil companies have Gucci belts.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'Oil companies are rich.'

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci belts.

- $s_1$ : Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gueci belts.
- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'
- $s_2$ : Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gucci belts.  $\rightarrow_{lit}$  'Oil companies' Gucci belts' (co-indexation resolved)
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Oil companies have Gucci belts.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'Oil companies are rich.'
  - p<sub>1</sub> & p<sub>2'</sub>: 'Oil companies have to economize, and oil companies are rich.'

(6) With the recession, oil companies are having to *tighten their* Gucci belts.

from Ernst (1981)

s<sub>1</sub>: Oil companies; have to tighten their; Gucci belts.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Oil companies have to economize.'

s<sub>2</sub>: Oil companies, have to tighten their, Gucci belts.

'Oil companies' Gucci belts' (co-indexation resolved)

 $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Oil companies have Gucci belts.'

 $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'Oil companies are rich.'

 $p_1 \& p_{2'}$ : 'Oil companies have to economize, and oil companies are rich.'

#### NB:

 $\rightarrow$  lit

Literal and idiomatic meanings can simply be retrieved from the lexicon  $\rightarrow$  direct access Figurative interpretations and inferences are based on literal meanings  $\rightarrow$  indirect access

(7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.

(7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.

*s*<sub>1</sub>: Hugo Chávez<sub>i</sub> kicked the<sub>i</sub> <del>golden</del> bucket.

(7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.

*s*<sub>1</sub>: Hugo Chávez; kicked the; <del>golden</del> bucket.

→ id p<sub>1</sub>: 'Hugo Chávez died.'

(7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.

*s*<sub>1</sub>: Hugo Chávez<sub>i</sub> kicked the<sub>i</sub> <del>golden</del> bucket.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Hugo Chávez died.'

*s*<sub>2</sub>: *Hugo Chávez*<sub>i</sub> *kicked* the *i* golden bucket.

- (7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.
  - s<sub>1</sub>: Hugo Chávez<sub>i</sub> kicked the<sub>i</sub> <del>golden</del> bucket.
  - $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Hugo Chávez died.'
    - s<sub>2</sub>: Hugo Chávez, kicked the, golden bucket.
  - $\rightarrow_{lit}$  'Hugo Chávez's golden bucket' (co-indexation resolved)

- (7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.
  - s<sub>1</sub>: Hugo Chávez<sub>i</sub> kicked the<sub>i</sub> <del>golden</del> bucket.
  - $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Hugo Chávez died.'
    - s<sub>2</sub>: Hugo Chávez, kicked the, golden bucket.
  - $\rightarrow_{lit}$  'Hugo Chávez's golden bucket' (co-indexation resolved)
  - $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Hugo Chávez had a golden bucket.'

(7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.

```
Hugo Chávez; kicked the; golden bucket.
```

- p<sub>1</sub>: 'Hugo Chávez died.'  $\rightsquigarrow$ id
  - Hugo Chávez, kicked the, golden bucket.
- 'Hugo Chávez's golden bucket' (co-indexation resolved)  $\rightarrow$  lit
- p<sub>2</sub>: 'Hugo Chávez had a golden bucket.'  $\rightarrow$  lit
- $p_{2'}$ : 'Hugo Chávez was rich.'  $\rightsquigarrow$  inf

- (7) Venezuela's Friend of the Working Class, Hugo Chávez, kicked the golden bucket with an estimated net worth of 2 billion dollars.
  - s<sub>1</sub>: Hugo Chávez; kicked the; <del>golden</del> bucket.
  - $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Hugo Chávez died.'
    - *s*<sub>2</sub>: Hugo Chávez, kicked the, golden bucket.
  - $\rightarrow_{lit}$  'Hugo Chávez's golden bucket' (co-indexation resolved)
  - $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'Hugo Chávez had a golden bucket.'
  - $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'Hugo Chávez was rich.'
    - p<sub>1</sub> & p<sub>2'</sub>: 'Hugo Chávez died, and Hugo Chávez was rich.'

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon *bit the* <u>blood-spattered</u> <u>dust</u> along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

s<sub>1</sub>: Liberty bit the <del>blood-spattered</del> dust.

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon *bit the* <u>blood-spattered</u> *dust* along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

 $s_1$ : Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

s<sub>1</sub>: Liberty bit the <del>blood-spattered</del> dust.

 $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'

 $\rightsquigarrow$  inf

 $p_{1'}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued.'

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

 $s_1$ : Liberty bit the <del>blood-spattered</del> dust.

 $\leadsto_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'

 $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{1'}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued.'

*s*<sub>2</sub>: Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

```
s_1: Liberty bit the <del>blood-spattered</del> dust.
```

- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{1'}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued.'
  - *s*<sub>2</sub>: Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'The dust was blood-spattered.'

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

```
s<sub>1</sub>: Liberty bit the <del>blood-spattered</del> dust.
```

- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{1'}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued.'
  - *s*<sub>2</sub>: Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.
- $\rightarrow_{lit}$   $p_2$ : 'The dust was blood-spattered.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'The ground/location was blood-spattered.'

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

```
s<sub>1</sub>: Liberty bit the <del>blood-spattered</del> dust.
```

- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{1'}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued.'
  - $s_2$ : Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.
  - p<sub>2</sub>: 'The dust was blood-spattered.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'The ground/location was blood-spattered.'
- $\sim_{inf}$   $p_{2''}$ : 'People lost their lives.' (not far-fetched in the above context)

 $\rightarrow$  lit

(8) It was the great Trinity of the French Revolution, and you can still see it carved in stone over town halls and elsewhere in France: 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. But the greatest of these, it turns out, is 'Equality'. 'Liberty' soon bit the blood-spattered dust along with 'Fraternity' as the drive to the unattainable goal of 'Equality' took over as it was bound to do.

```
s_1: Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.
```

- $\rightsquigarrow_{id}$   $p_1$ : 'Liberty died.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{1'}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued.'
  - $s_2$ : Liberty bit the blood-spattered dust.
  - p<sub>2</sub>: 'The dust was blood-spattered.'
- $\rightsquigarrow_{inf}$   $p_{2'}$ : 'The ground/location was blood-spattered.'
- $\sim_{inf}$   $p_{2''}$ : 'People lost their lives.' (not far-fetched in the above context)
  - $p_{1'}$  &  $p_{2''}$ : 'Liberty was no longer pursued, and people lost their lives.'

 $\rightarrow$  lit

# Conclusion

**1.** There is a main proposition  $p_1$ , which includes the meaning of the idiom but not the meaning of the additional adjective.

- 1. There is a main proposition  $p_1$ , which includes the meaning of the idiom but not the meaning of the additional adjective.
- **2.** There is a secondary proposition  $p_2$ , which can take on two forms:

- 1. There is a main proposition  $p_1$ , which includes the meaning of the idiom but not the meaning of the additional adjective.
- **2.** There is a secondary proposition  $p_2$ , which can take on two forms:
  - 'X has a(n) A N.'

- 1. There is a main proposition  $p_1$ , which includes the meaning of the idiom but not the meaning of the additional adjective.
- 2. There is a secondary proposition  $p_2$ , which can take on two forms:
  - 'X has a(n) A N.'
  - 'The N is A.'

- 1. There is a main proposition  $p_1$ , which includes the meaning of the idiom but not the meaning of the additional adjective.
- **2.** There is a secondary proposition  $p_2$ , which can take on two forms:
  - 'X has a(n) A N.'
  - 'The N is A.'
- 3. Sometimes, further steps are necessary:

- 1. There is a main proposition  $p_1$ , which includes the meaning of the idiom but not the meaning of the additional adjective.
- 2. There is a secondary proposition  $p_2$ , which can take on two forms:
  - 'X has a(n) A N.'
  - 'The N is A.'
- 3. Sometimes, further steps are necessary:
  - Non-literal reinterpretation(s) of 'X has a(n) A N' / 'The N is A.'

▶ The interpretation of the idiom excluding the additional adjective  $(p_1)$ , which potentially requires a figurative/metaphorical reinterpretation  $(p_{1'})$ , and the literal interpretation of the idiom's object noun phrase including the adjective  $(p_2)$  are both still fairly straightforward.

- $\triangleright$  The interpretation of the idiom excluding the additional adjective  $(p_1)$ , which potentially requires a figurative/metaphorical reinterpretation  $(p_{1})$ , and the literal interpretation of the idiom's object noun phrase including the adjective  $(p_2)$  are both still fairly straightforward.
- The main challenge resides in (the analysis of) potentially necessary reinterpretations of  $p_2$ .

- ▶ The interpretation of the idiom excluding the additional adjective  $(p_1)$ , which potentially requires a figurative/metaphorical reinterpretation  $(p_{1'})$ , and the literal interpretation of the idiom's object noun phrase including the adjective  $(p_2)$  are both still fairly straightforward.
- ▶ The main challenge resides in (the analysis of) potentially necessary reinterpretations of  $p_2$ .
- ▶ Overall, the conjunction modification data suggest that the distinction between decomposable and non-decomposable idioms might not be as categorical as Nunberg et al. (1994) initially thought see Bargmann and Sailer (2018) for further discussion.

#### References I

- Bargmann, S.: 2019, Chopping Up Idioms: Towards a Combinatorial Analysis, PhD thesis, Goethe-University Frankfurt a.M.
- Bargmann, S., Gehrke, B. and Richter, F.: 2021, Modification of literal meanings in semantically non-decomposable idioms, *in* B. Crysmann and M. Sailer (eds), *One-to-Many Relations in Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics*, Language Science Press, Berlin, pp. 245–279.
- Bargmann, S. and Sailer, M.: 2018, The syntactic flexibility of semantically non-decomposable idioms, *in* M. Sailer and S. Markantonatou (eds), *Multiword Expressions: Insights from a Multi-lingual Perspective*, Language Science Press, Berlin, pp. 1–29.
- Cserép, A.: 2010, Premodification in idioms, *Argumentum* **6**, 100–112.
- Ernst, T.: 1981, Grist for the linguistic mill: Idioms and 'extra' adjectives, *Journal of Linguistic Research* **1.3**, 51–68.
- McClure, S.: 2011, Modification in non-combining idioms, Semantics and Pragmatics 4, 1–7.
- Nunberg, G., Sag, I. and Wasow, T.: 1994, Idioms, *Language* **70.3**, 491–538.
- Sailer, M.: 2017, The multi-dimensional semantic of kinegrams. Paper presented at EW-HPSG, Paris, March 2017.
- Stathi, K.: 2007, A corpus-based analysis of adjectival modification in German idioms, in C. Fellbaum (ed.), Idioms and Collocations: Corpus-based Linguistic and Lexicographic Studies, Continuum, London / New York, pp. 81–108.