

# SUFFIXATION AND WHAT ELSE? A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE HUNGARIAN DEVERBAL SUFFIX -Ó.

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## Abstract

*Unlike other areas of grammar, the category of affixes is a yet unexplored area of the cognitive linguistic description of Hungarian grammar. The present study intends to start to fill this gap and provides a cognitively plausible account of the Hungarian deverbal suffix -Ó. By adopting a combined approach of corpus and cognitive linguistics, the paper attempts to answer the following questions. 1. In exactly which ways do -Ó constructions reflect cognitive construals? 2. How is the semantic structure of the suffix -Ó structured by meaning extensions? 3. What is and what is not metonymical in this semantic structure? And finally, 4. On which levels of constructional organisation can metonymic patterns of meaning construal be identified? After a thorough corpus and cognitive linguistic analysis of data extracted from the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (Oravecz–Váradi–Sass 2014), the paper comes to the general conclusion that the semantic map of -Ó is structured by metonymic meaning extensions of different sorts. While the functions of -Ó resulting from these meaning extensions proved to be straightforward cases of word-formation metonymies (ACtIoN FoR AGENT, ACtIoN FoR LoCAtIoN, ACtIoN FoR oBJECt INVOLVED IN tHE ACtIoN, AND ACtIoN FoR CHARACTERICs), the core meaning of the present participial -Ó constructions was interpreted as 1. as a secondary action in a multiple action scenario as well as 2. a reference-point helping in the identification of the agent. Furthermore, the metonymic extensions are represented in all three levels of meaning construal: 1. on the level of individual constructions 2. on the level of constructional schemas, and 3. also in the semantic structure of the affix itself. Bearing all this in mind, the author argues for the flexibility of coding and construal contrary to the perceived arbitrariness of grammar.*

**Keywords:** affixational word-formation, conceptual metonymy, cognitive grammar, token frequency, type frequency, constructional schemas

## 1. Introduction

Research on word-formation metonymies attracts a rapidly growing attention within the cognitive linguistics enterprise. Iconic manifestations of this interest include articles such as Dirven (1999), Panther and Thronburg (2001, 2003), Schönefeld (2005), Ungerer (2007), Janda (2011) and Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2014a). Its central position within the cognitive linguistics paradigm is reflected by the fact that current debates on the topic were hosted by *Cognitive Linguistics* (22/2, 25/2). A possible reason for this heavy interest towards word-formation metonymies is that this phenomenon can be postulated as an organic synthesis of two main research areas of cognitive linguistics, namely: 1. the description of grammar in terms of cognitive construals and 2. metonymy studies.

On the one hand, the recognition of language as a main representation of how humans interpret the world and make sense of experiences (Kövecses 2006) opened up a radically new perspective on the description of grammar (as opposed to the generativist tradition). Instead of postulating an autonomous language module, a foundational goal of cognitive linguistics, or more specifically cognitive grammar, is “to explain linguistic phenomena in terms of general cognitive strategies” (Langacker 1987: 12–13) such as categorisation, prototype effects, mental spaces, image schemas, figure-ground alignment, generalisation, schematisation, analogy and by means of figurative meaning extensions via metaphor, metonymy and conceptual integration. An especially relevant increment of this cognitively plausible view of grammar in the context of the present paper is the recognition that just like morphologically simple and complex words, their lower constituents (e.g. suffixes) as well as higher levels of linguistic organisation (e.g. syntactic and discourse patterns) are also representations of cognitive construals, and as such, they are considered as meaningful symbolic units, however schematic this meaning might be. Moreover, just like lexical units, they also have the capability to exhibit polysemy. Along this path, the initially lexeme-centered cognitive linguistic descriptions started to push their boundaries above and below the lexeme level by explaining discourse strategies and syntactic patterns as well as inflectional morphology as representations of general cognitive meaning-making mechanisms.

On the other hand, from the late 1990’s, accelerating interest in metonymy resulted in a “metonymy turn of a kind” (Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2014a) within the field of cognitive linguistics. Not only has metonymy been recognised as a fundamental conceptual operation (Kövecses–Radden 1998, Radden–Kövecses 1999), but it has also proved to be just as ubiquitous as metaphor (Radden 2005). This growing attention towards metonymy (represented in monographs like Panther–Radden (1999), Barcelona (2000), Dirven and Pörings (2002), Benczes et al. (2011), Brdar (2007) Thornburg–Barcelona (2009) shed light on many inherent problems and hidden complexities in metonymic meaning-making, most of which are centered around the difficulties in setting limits on the notion of conceptual metonymy.

Interestingly, in research on word-formation metonymies, these hidden complexities in metonymic meaning-making seem to be present in high density and as such, it can be considered as a “veterinarian’s horse” of metonymy studies. Here the need for a proper definition of metonymy – i.e. *where does it begin and stop*<sup>1</sup>, or what is the focal point in the emergence of metonymy from weaker forms of reference-point phenomena (cf. Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2014a, 2014b) and Langacker (1993) for a contrasting view) – seems to be especially decisive in uncovering both similarities and differences between word-formation metonymies and lexical metonymies. Considering this, in the following I will briefly touch upon two such definition-oriented problems that have serious implications in the study of metonymy in affixational word-formation.

### 1.1. The broad vs. the strict definitions of metonymy and their implications in affix polysemy

Those who rely on the broader definition of metonymy, which is the quasi adoption of the Langackerian idea (Langacker 1993: 29–35; Langacker 1999: 199) of the equality of metonymy

<sup>1</sup> This phrasing is intended to evoke the titles of two influential definition-related studies on metonymy (namely Paradis 2004, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2014a).

and reference-point phenomena, argue for the pervasiveness of metonymic patterns in affixational word-formation. In these accounts (Colman–Anderson 2004, Basilio 2006, Janda 2010, 2011, Nessel 2010) practically the base of the suffixation is interpreted as the metonymic source domain and the morphologically complex derivation (i.e. the suffixation itself) is interpreted as the metonymic target. As an example, Janda (2011) identifies the Russian suffixation *saxarnica* (lit. ‘sugar’-nica) ‘sugar-bowl’ and the Czech suffixation *květináč* (lit. ‘flower’-áč) ‘flower-pot’ respectively as instances (and products) of the CONTAINED FOR CONTAINER conceptual metonymy, where the bases *saxar* and *květin* serve as source domains, the suffixations *saxarnica* and *květináč* as the targets and the suffixes *-nica* and *-áč* serve the contexts for the metonymic relationship (Janda 2011: 360).

By contrast, those who intend to limit the notion of metonymy to an overtly unmarked meaning shift from one reading of the symbolic unit (i.e. the suffixation in our case) to another (see Panther–Thornburg 2001, 2003, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2014a, 2014b) evaluate the idea of word-formation metonymy in the previous sense (i.e. in the sense of Nessel (2010), Janda (2011), etc.) as a broad overgeneralisation of the notion of conceptual metonymy which seriously threatens the explanatory power of metonymy itself.<sup>2</sup> This, however, does not mean that the narrow view of metonymy would deny the existence of metonymic patterns in affixational word-formation. Instead, the consensus over the existence of affix polysemy directs our attention to another source of ambiguity, namely on which levels of constructional organisation metonymical meaning construal takes place.

## 1.2. Different views on the operation of metonymy along the levels of constructional organisation

As a case of affix polysemy in a strict sense, Janda (2011) and Nessel (2010) argue that in the case of affixational word-formation, metonymy operates on the suffix. As such, they identify suffixes with the strong capability to exhibit metonymic patterns, some of which are claimed to accommodate fifteen or sixteen metonymies.<sup>3</sup> In Janda’s (2011: 375) taxonomy, such strongly polysemous word-formation devices are called *versatile suffixes*. Similarly, Panther and Thornburg (2001, 2003) also argue for the suffix-level representation of metonymy, in spite of the fact that they argue against the overt markedness of metonymy. In addition to and clearly separated from metonymies operating within the suffix, they also identify metonymic and metaphoric processes operating on the base. By contrast and following from the strict definition of metonymy (that is, the morpholexical invariance involved in metonymic meaning construal), Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2014a,b) (in line with Bybee (2006, 2010)) argue that metonymy in word-formation takes place primarily on the level of individual constructions as a result of 1. idiomatisation due to entrenchment and consequently 2. the

<sup>2</sup> This latter view of metonymy in word-formation shows a higher degree of congruency with other, theoretically groundbreaking studies on metonymy such as Barcelona (2000) and Benczes et al. (2006).

<sup>3</sup> “However, most suffixes are much less specific and some can signal a wide variety of metonymy patterns. (...) Multiple metonymy patterns are common among suffixes: Norwegian has up to eleven metonymies for a given suffix, and the figures for Russian and Czech are fifteen and sixteen respectively (for more detail, see Section 3.4). The point is that a word-formational affix can be highly non-specific in terms of identifying the relevant metonymy. Affixes are sublexical and abstract, and in terms of metonymy they often under-specify the relationship involved.” (ibid. 361)

post-hoc emergence<sup>4</sup> of metonymy in suffixations, which in turn 3. can trigger analogical changes and schema-level abstractions. Consequently, they reject the idea of the suffix-level representation of metonymy patterns; instead, it is argued that similarly to lexical metonymies, an extension is carried out from one meaning of the suffixation to another. Finally, and as a third approach, Basilio (2006) does not even take the challenge of the precise identification of source and target or the position of metonymy patterns along the levels of constructional organisation.

In sum, the great deal of ambiguity regarding these issues, the sharply contrasting views and conceptions as well as the intensity of such debates show that the above questions and problems are far from being settled. Additionally, previous research on the topic (i.e. affix polysemy in particular and word-formation metonymy in general) has suffered from a number of shortcomings. 1. First of all, no study has yet strived to look at the correlations between idiomaticisation (i.e. metonymical meaning construal in our case) and the dynamics of language use in contemporary corpus data, despite massive evidence for the high degree of intertwining of the emergence of meaning shifts with the dynamicity of language use in the usage-based literature (e.g. Barlow–Kemmer 2000, Langacker 2000, Bybee 2006, Taylor 2012). In terms of data collection, studies on word-formation metonymy mainly rely on either the grammar book approach or the mere inventory of suffixation patterns instead of using naturally-occurring corpus data.<sup>5</sup> 2. Second, although cross-linguistic diversity is a relevant issue within this field (e.g. preference for conversion vs. preference for affixation), all the above cited studies investigate Indo-European languages. As such, in terms of the canonic (basic-level) categories of language typology, all of the studied languages belong to the same type of fusional languages. Considering this, it is suggested that research on languages other than fusional ones would be especially beneficial as it would give a more accurate picture of diversity in word-formation metonymies. Moreover, agglutinating languages seem to be especially suitable for the study of affix polysemy since the high frequency of affixational word-formation patterns (as opposed to other means of word-formation such as conversion) is one of their typological features (Comrie 1987).

## 2. Aims

Bearing all this in mind, I wish to contribute to the research on affix polysemy in particular and word-formation metonymies in general. In order to uncover some metonymic patterns in Hungarian word-formation, the deverbal suffix *-Ó* will be the case in point. Such investigation is especially needed if we consider that unlike other areas of grammar, the grammatical category of affixes is a yet unexplored area<sup>6</sup> of the cognitive linguistic description of

<sup>4</sup> “However, we believe that appearances are deceiving and that what is referred to as polysemy or polyfunctionality of affixes is the result of a generalisation over a number of individual cases of polysemy of specific morphologically complex words. In other words, it is a post-factum type of phenomenon. On more theoretical grounds, there are reasons not to assume that metonymies (or metaphors) invariably extend the meaning of an affix detached from its bases and the affix is then added to certain bases to produce new lexemes with the given meaning.” (ibid. 317–318.)

<sup>5</sup> For an exception, see Hartmann (2015) who provides a proper corpus analysis on the German deverbal suffix *-ung* from a diachronical perspective.

<sup>6</sup> For the only exception, see Fekete (2013) who investigates the *-stul/stül* suffix which can be posited onto the borderline between inflectional and derivational morphology.

Hungarian grammar.<sup>7</sup> This lack of attention is even more striking in the light of the above claims on the richness of agglutinative languages in affixes. Having a rich system of derivational affixes (see e.g. Kiefer and Laasko 2014: 486–489) makes Hungarian especially suitable for the study of affix-polysemy.

Based on all this, the aim of the present study is to study some important features of affix polysemy in general and to provide a cognitive linguistic description of the Hungarian verbal suffix *-Ó* in particular by answering the following questions:

1. In exactly which ways do *-Ó* constructions reflect cognitive construals?
2. How is the semantic structure of the suffix *-Ó* structured by meaning extensions?
3. What is and what is not metonymical in this semantic structure? And finally:
4. On which levels of constructional organisation can metonymic patterns of meaning construal be identified? That is, can we talk about affix polysemy in a strict sense in the case of *-Ó*?

### 3. Methodology

The present paper adopts a combined approach of corpus and cognitive linguistics. Data were collected from three sources: 1. As a starting point, the most widely-used Hungarian comprehensive grammar books were consulted, with Velcsov (1968) and Lengyel (2000) representing a descriptive framework and Laczkó (2000) and Kiefer (1998) representing a generativist approach. 2. Natural usage-based data was culled from the personal (*személyes*) subcorpus of the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (henceforth HGC, Oravecz–Váradi–Sass 2014). The choice of this subcorpus was justified by two considerations. Firstly, its size (it contains 338,600,000 tokens in contrast to the total amount of 1,532,933,778 tokens in HGC) makes it possible to conduct quantitative and qualitative analyses at the same time. Secondly and most importantly, the lack (or very low percentage) of patterns of everyday language use in HGC, i.e. the dominance of literary texts and newspapers, was kept in mind. It is assumed that the subcorpus compiled from forum texts exhibits patterns of language use that are closer to the everyday registers and as such, shows a more balanced picture of language use (in contrast to the other, literary works and newspaper articles-dominated modules of HGC). Thirdly, in order to account for patterns of *-Ó* neologisms in language use, the “fabulous linguists’ playground” (Taylor 2012: 17), *Google* was also consulted.

As to the issue of metonymy-identification in the course of the analysis: complexities in the task of identifying metonymies in discourse are reflected by the fact that (up to my knowledge, at least) for this purpose there are no such conventionally used methods or criteria established as they exist for the identification of metaphor (MIP or MIPVU). Thus in the course of the analysis I will simply rely on the following, widely accepted<sup>8</sup> definition of conceptual metonymy: “Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity,

<sup>7</sup> This, however, does not amount to a complete lack of usage-based accounts regarding affixational word-formation in Hungarian. In the framework of functional linguistics and natural morphology, Ladányi (2007) serves as a valuable input for the cognitive linguistic study of the field.

<sup>8</sup> The conventional acceptedness of this definition is also reflected by the fact that both Panther and Thornburg (2001), (2003), Janda (2011) and Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2014a) consider it as a starting point for metonymy analysis.

the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM” (Kövecses–Radden 1998: 39).

#### 4. Cognitive construals behind the semantic matrix of -Ó

Hungarian comprehensive grammars agree that the deverbal suffix -Ó is a highly polyfunctional one and they are also quasi-consistent<sup>9</sup> in the identification of its functions. In terms of thematic roles, it is used in:

- a) present participles e.g. *álló* (*áll* ‘to stand’)+ -ó → ‘standing’), *létező*<sup>10</sup> (‘existing’)
- b) adjectives denoting characteristics e.g. *forró* (‘hot’), *különböző* (‘different’)
- c) agent nouns, either occasional or professional, e.g. *olvasó* (‘reader (of a book)’), *hozzászóló* (‘commenter’) and *író* (‘writer’), *szerző*<sup>11</sup> (‘author’) respectively
- d) instrument nouns, e.g. *rugó* (‘spring’), *riasztó* (‘alarm’)
- e) purpose location nouns e.g. *háló(szoba)* (‘bedroom’), *parkoló* (‘parking area’)
- f) complex event nouns e.g. *esküvő* (‘wedding’), *lakásavató* (‘flat warming party’)

The hierarchy of these functions in terms of their evolvment<sup>12</sup> can be seen in Figure 1. Here the spatial distance among the given functions represents their grammatical (and – as will be seen later – also their conceptual) distance from the base.

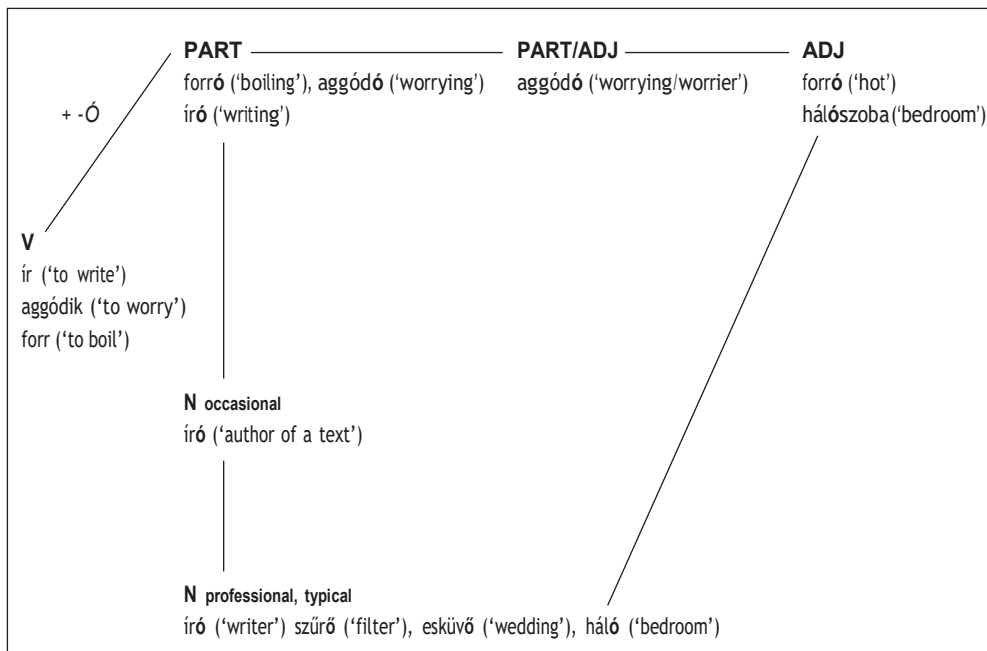
<sup>9</sup> There are only two considerable differences in the assignment of the functions in the different accounts.

1. Laczkó (2000) distinguishes an occasional instrument category or function as well. 2. The older, descriptive grammar books, such as Velcsov (1968) make reference to an archaic, nowadays already unproductive patient noun (*nomen patientis*) function as well. They mention examples like *szántó föld* (‘plough land’) and *költő pénz* (‘spending-money’). Based on corpus data, however, a much more straightforward example of this schema suggests itself: in the personal corpus of HGC *adó* ‘tax’ (derived from the verb *ad* ‘give’) is by far the most frequent type of all the -Ó nouns with a token frequency of 1287. Furthermore, a higher degree of diversity is manifested in how these different accounts relate the many functions of -Ó to each other (i.e. whether the focus is on the overlaps and contiguity between them (like in Velcsov 1968) or rather on the criteria for their clear delineation (as in Kiefer 2000, Laczkó 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Examples are taken from the 10 most frequent types of -Ó nouns in each category (e.g. agent noun, instrument noun, etc.) in the personal subcorpus of the HGC.

<sup>11</sup> The suffix -Ó comes in two variants: the back-voweled -ó and the front-voweled -ő.

<sup>12</sup> This model of evolvment is also supported by the etymology of the examples respectively in Benkő (1967-1984) and also supported by diachronic descriptions of -Ó (such as A. Jászó 1991, Károly 1956). As to this latter: the fact that the suffix arose during the Uralic period and as such, even its polyfunctionality had been emerged far before the first written documents of Hungarian, raise serious difficulties in providing a proper, unambiguous description of the historical development of the functions of -Ó. For a more detailed summary of such complexities (see Tóth-Czifra 2016).



**Figure 1:** Function of suffixations in -Ó. (source: own construction.)

As the term *deverbal* suggests, -Ó constructions have verbs as bases. At the same time, in many cases the present participle -Ó constructions give rise to both adjectives and nouns via conversion, exhibiting the word-formation patterns  $[V+ -\acute{O}]_{\text{part}} \rightarrow [V+ -\acute{O}]_{\text{adj}}$  e.g. *forró* <sub>part</sub> ('boiling')  $\rightarrow$  *forró* <sub>adj</sub> ('hot') or  $[V+ -\acute{O}]_{\text{part}} \rightarrow [V+ -\acute{O}]_{\text{adj}}$  e.g. *író* <sub>part</sub> ('a writing person')  $\rightarrow$  *író* <sub>noun</sub> ('writer'). Furthermore, another portion of -Ó nouns are the result of ellipsis from a compound/phrase in which the -Ó component first acquires an adjectival meaning, as in *folyo vyz* (transcr. *folyó víz*, 'flowing water', Jók.K 140,)  $\rightarrow$  *folyó* ('river') or *hálószoba* ('bedroom')  $\rightarrow$  *háló* ('bedroom').<sup>13</sup>

As to the development of these functions of -Ó, Laczkó (2000: 402) argues against the deductibility of functions e) and f) (that is, the instrumental and complex event -Ó nouns) from the other functions of -Ó. With this incompatibility in mind, he postulates another -Ó suffix which shows a 'fake homonymy' (*álhomonim*) relationship to the original present participial -Ó. Contrary to this approach, in the following a more coherent, network model of the suffix -Ó will be outlined. Instead of fake homonymy, it is argued that these seemingly diverse functions are conceptually related as they result from systematic-metonymic meaning extensions.

Based on its above summarised polyfunctionality, it can be put forward that the deverbal suffix -Ó is a polysemous symbolic unit. In order to account for the semantic map of -Ó, the first step is the identification of the central sense of the suffix which serves as a basis of its meaning extensions. Notice that the map of functions in Figure 1 already suggests how these seemingly diverse functions are conceptually related.

<sup>13</sup> For a third possibility, that is, the direct derivation of -Ó nouns from verbs, see section 5.

#### 4.1. The core meaning of suffixations in *-Ó* as a reference-point phenomenon

In line with the diachronic development of the suffix, the present participle meaning or function seems to be the primary one. Here the suffixation is considered as a composite structure (Langacker 1987) resulting from mutual elaboration (with emergent properties) between the base verb and the suffix. This composite structure as a symbolic unit serves 1. to designate a secondary action in a multiple action scenario (again, in the sense of Langacker 1987) and also 2. as a reference point helping in the identification of an agent.

- (1) *A cikket író diákok jól le lettek dorongolva.*  
 ('The students who wrote the article were harshly scolded.')

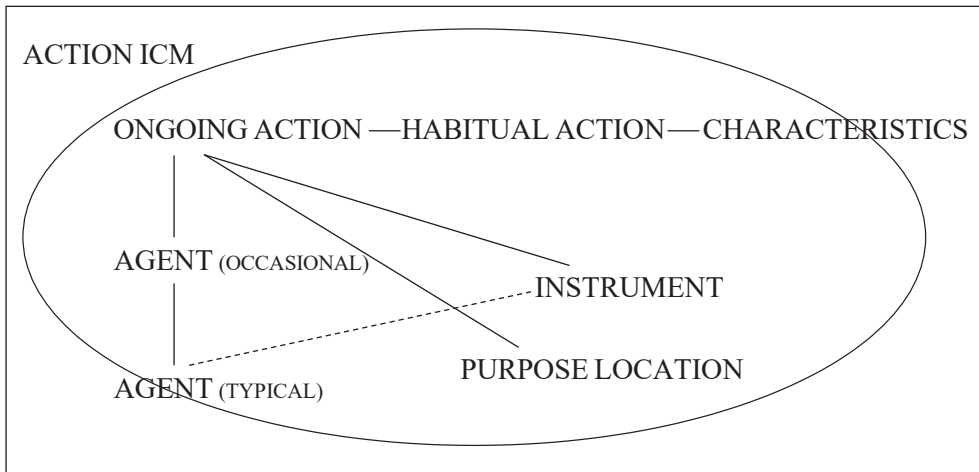
Sentence (1) shows a random present participle example from the HGC.<sup>14</sup> What can be seen here is a complex scenario, consisting of two actions: the scolding of the students as the primary one and the writing of the article by the students as the secondary one. As such, (1) is an instantiation of figure ground alignment where the action expressed by the finite verb form serves as a figure, since it is more salient than the secondary action expressed by the *-Ó* construction, which serves as a ground. On the other hand, the *-Ó* construction becomes the salient element if we restrict the scope of analysis to the NP, i.e. to the *cikket író diákok* ('the students who wrote the article') part. Within the scope of the NP, the *-Ó* construction has a referential function (in the sense of Ruiz de Mendoza and Velasco 2002). That is, the secondary action is salient enough to clearly identify or designate the agent(s) in a particular context. In another words, it serves as a reference-point (Langacker 1999: 199) to the agents, i.e. to the particular students in question. This feature of present participle *-Ó* constructions shows similarity to referential metonymies, such as *ham sandwich* in the sentence *The ham sandwich wants the bill* (just to refer to a classic, extensively studied example). There is however a decisive difference between present participle *-Ó* constructions and *ham sandwich* in terms of metonymic meaning-making. In the case of *ham sandwich*, apart from providing reference to the agent (i.e. to clearly identify it in a particular context), it also **stands for** the agent. Such a *stand for* relationship is not present in the case of present participle *-Ó* constructions, such as *író* in (1). In conclusion: such *-Ó* constructions are not exhibiting metonymic patterns. Instead, they 1. designate a secondary action/event in a complex scenario. 2. serve as a reference point for the identification of the agent(s). Although I am aware that *-Ó* constructions do not necessarily profile actions in a strict sense, I will henceforth refer to this core meaning (or source meaning) as ACTION in cognitive terms.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> All the further examples are also taken from the personal subcorpus of HGC.

<sup>15</sup> This decision stands in contrast with Langacker (2008), who claims that only finite verbs can exhibit temporal relations, and as such can serve as ACTION source domains, while other verb forms, e.g. the gerund *-ing*, are processed by summary scanning, consequently they lose their temporality. Contrary to this explanation in this paper the non-finite present participle *-Ó* constructions are considered as temporal (although not prototypically temporal) relations for three reasons. First, these constructions show a *relative temporality* as they are isochronic with the primary temporal relation expressed by the finite verb form. Second, they also show an *inner temporality* or *inner temporal* structure i.e. aspect as they express ongoing, continuous actions and finally, because of the controversial nature of the sequential vs. summary scanning dichotomy. For a detailed discussion on this latter, see Broccias and Hollmann (2007). Also, for a detailed argument for the temporality of present participial *-Ó* constructions in terms of profiling, see Tóth-Czifra (2016).



This present participle sense then, i.e. the actual, physical ongoing action can serve as a source domain and can provide mental access to other thematic roles. These thematic roles are accommodated within an ACTION ICM, and as such, meaning extensions from the action core sense carried out within the ACTION ICM – are clearly metonymic in nature. Figure 2 illustrates these metonymic mappings that motivate the figurative meanings of *-Ó* constructions.<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 2:** The semantic map of the Hungarian deverbial suffix *-Ó*.

#### 4.2. From ONGOING ACTIONS to PROFESSIONAL AGENTS

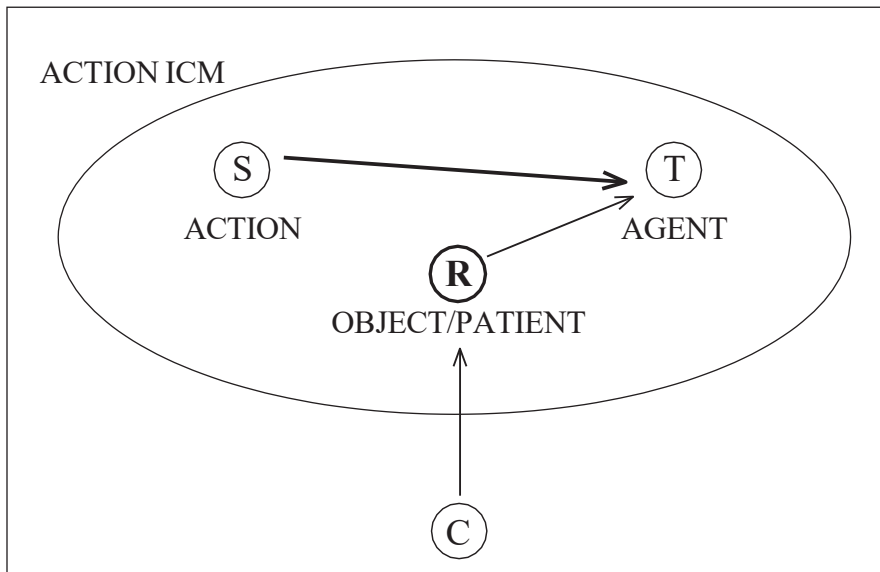
One line of meaning extension leads towards THINGS and HUMAN AGENTS. In cases where there is an action that is typical or habitual (or permanent) for an agent, this particular agent can be accessed or conceptually construed via this actual, ongoing, typically physical action, exhibiting therefore the ACTION FOR THE AGENT generic level metonymy. Exactly this happens in (2).

- (2) a. *A level írója még 2 hónap múlva se kapott választ.* ('The writer of the letter hasn't received any answer for 2 months')  
 b. *A legjobb reklámot egy író találta ki.* ('The best commercial was invented by a writer.')

(2a) and (2b) are however on different degrees/levels of idiomaticity. In (2a) a non-professional (i.e. occasional) agent is present and as such, here the ACTION FOR THE NON-PROFESSIONAL AGENT sub-metonymy is instantiated. This level of meaning extension exhibits a lower degree of conceptual and grammatical autonomy than (2b) where the metonymic target is a professional agent. In terms of conceptual construal, in (2a) the target *író* ('writer') is more closely tied to a given instantiation of the ACTION ICM (in this case the ÍRÁS/WRITING ICM.), as it is elaborated in relation to another entity of this specific action scenario, namely the OBJECT/PATIENT ELEMENT of it in terms of a possessive relationship. As such, here the (un)typical

<sup>16</sup> Function f), that is, the complex event meaning of *-Ó* constructions is missing from here. The lack of this extended meaning from Figure 2 is explained at the end of the section.

possessor, the letter serves as a reference-point for the identification of its possessed entity, its writer within the ACTION ICM. In other words, just as in the case of (1), here the reference-point phenomenon is present as well.<sup>17</sup> This conceptual construal is illustrated in Figure 3, where the bold line represents the metonymic mapping between the ACTION as a source and the NON-PROFESSIONAL AGENT as the target, while the simple arrow represents the reference-point relation. The third arrow indicates the perspective itself, i.e. the relationship between the conceptualiser/viewer and the reference-point.



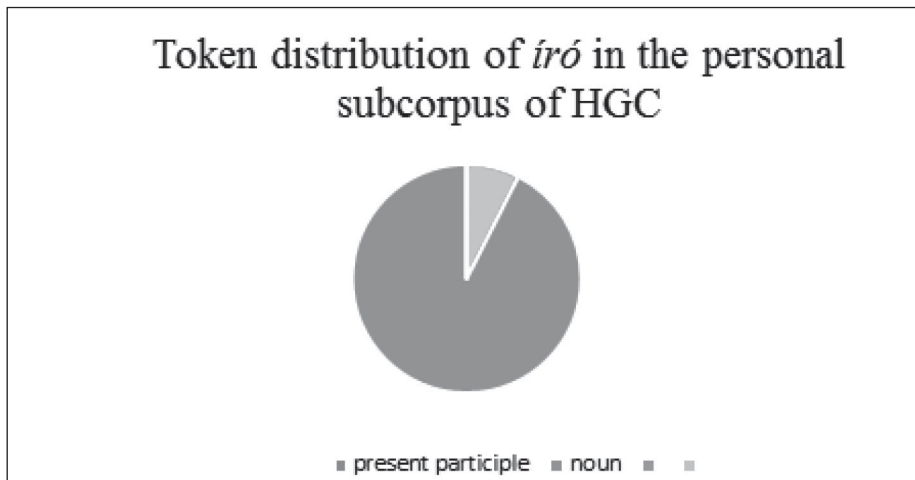
**Figure 3:** PATIENT serving as a reference-point for NON-PROFESSIONAL AGENT within the ACTION ICM.

By contrast, the target for *író* ('writer') in (2b) is a PROFESSIONAL AGENT who is a conceptually autonomous being (as entities denoted by nouns generally are).<sup>18</sup> First, its autonomy is reflected by the fact that based on our culturally conditioned knowledge (or cultural model) on the target, i.e. people who make their living from writing, *író* in this sense is capable of evoking a rich cognitive content. Consequently, many elements of this cultural model (in the sense of Kövecses (2006) and the encyclopedic view of meaning (see Langacker 1987)) are independent already from the action of WRITING. For instance, apart from writing they also participate in literary events, such as dedication events), give interviews, or eventually are requested to create commercials, as in our case in (2b). All this conceptual richness and independence from the particular action of writing is missing from (2a), where the profiled entity in the target is much less elaborated, as it is restricted to a random person who writes a letter. Accordingly, the target of (2a) is closely tied to the given situation.

<sup>17</sup> For a detailed analysis of possessive constructions as reference points see Langacker (1993, 1995) and Taylor (1996). With regard to the Hungarian possessive constructions see Tolcsvai Nagy (2013: 255–267).

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion on conceptual autonomy with regard to word-class categories, see Radden–Dirven (2007), Langacker (2000).

In sum, what can be seen between (2a) and (2b) is a gradual meaning shift (involving the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC and ACTUALITY FOR POTENTIALITY generic level metonymies) from an actual, situation-tied relationship to a conceptually and grammatically independent entity which does not necessarily involve a specific instantiation of the ACTION ICM (in this case, that of WRITING) anymore. Corpus data shows that this metonymic meaning shift is well-entrenched in language use: as Table 1 shows, in the personal subcorpus of HGC, the proportion of *író* as a noun vs. *író* as a present participle is 807 to 65. As such, *író* is the fifth most frequent -*Ó* agent noun, following *újságíró* (*újság* ‘newspaper’ + *író* → ‘journalist’) which is a compound with *író* in its head.



**Table 1:** Token distribution of the suffixation *író* in the personal subcorpus of HGC.

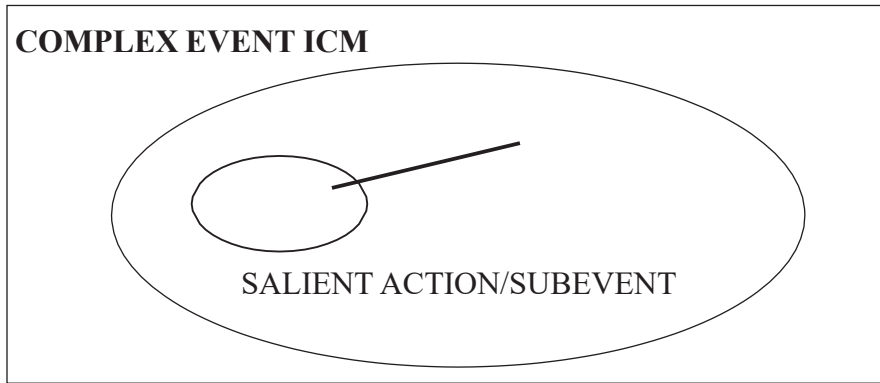
Naturally, the fact that *író* in (2a) and (2b) are on different levels of conceptual autonomy and idiomatisation is also reflected in their grammatical behavior: while the idiomatised, institutionalised PROFESSIONAL AGENT -*Ó* construction loses the argument structure of its base verb completely, in 2a. the Patient argument of the verb *ír* (*ír – levelet* ‘to write – a letter’) is present in the form of a possessive relation (*a levél írója* ‘the writer of the letter’).<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the ACTION FOR AGENT metonymy, the core meaning of -*Ó* constructions is also capable to account for INSTRUMENTS<sup>20</sup> (e.g. *riasztó* ‘alarm’), PURPOSE LOCATIONS (e.g. *háló(szoba)* ‘bedroom’) and COMPLEX EVENTS (e.g. *esküvő* ‘wedding’), exhibiting therefore the ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT, ACTION FOR PURPOSE LOCATION and ACTION FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies, respectively. This latter however is missing from Figure 2. The reason for that is very

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed discussion on the grammatical representation (or linguistic coding) of the stages of this word-class/conceptual category change, see Kiefer (1998) and Laczkó (2000). The changes in the syntactic behavior of these suffixations as a result of word-class category change (e.g. losing argument structure) however calls into question the per definitionem unmarkedness of metonymic meaning making. Although morpholexical invariance is beyond question, the syntactic changes still can be interpreted as a sign of markedness. This is especially considerable with the lexicogrammar continuum in mind.

<sup>20</sup> As the dashed line indicates in Figure 2, INSTRUMENTS can be also interpreted as metaphoric meaning extensions from PROFESSIONAL AGENTS.

simple: unlike ACTION FOR AGENT, ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT and ACTION FOR PURPOSE LOCATION, the ACTION FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy is a PART FOR WHOLE type of metonymy, in which a salient subevent/action of the complex event provides mental access to the whole complex event (consisting of a series of subevents). This conceptual operation is represented in Figure 4.



**Figure 4:** PART FOR WHOLE mapping giving rise systematically to COMPLEX EVENT  $-Ó$  constructions.

Interestingly, the salience of these  $-Ó$  constructions comes from the fact that their bases are performatives (in the sense of Austin 1962) almost exclusively, such as *esküvő* (*esküszik* ‘to take an oath’ +  $-ó$  → ‘wedding’), *keresztelő* (*keresztel* ‘to baptise’ +  $-ő$  → ‘baptiser/christening’), *köszöntő* (*köszönt* ‘to toast sb’ +  $-ő$  → ‘gratulatory event’). The salience of these subevents therefore lies in the fact that without performing them, the complex events cannot come into existence or they are not considered valid. (A wedding without taking an oath to be a husband/wife is not a wedding, a baptiser without the act of baptising is not a baptiser, etc.) In the case of complex event  $-Ó$  constructions with non-performative verbs in their bases e.g. *találkozó* (*találkozik* ‘to meet’ +  $-ó$  → ‘meeting’), it can be argued that these are more recent developments which were triggered by analogy from the ones with performatives in their base.

### 3.3. From ONGOING ACTIONS to CHARACTERISTICS

The other line of meaning extension leads towards adjectival meanings, that is, from TEMPORAL RELATIONS towards ATEMPORAL RELATIONS. In cognitive terms: first, a TYPICAL, HABITUAL ACTION is accessed through the ACTUALLY OCCURRING/HAPPENING ACTION (as it is illustrated in Figure 2) exhibiting the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC as well as the ACTUALITY FOR POTENTIALITY generic level metonymies. This metonymic shift can be further extended towards the more abstract category of GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, which does not involve the actually occurring action anymore. Example (3) shows an instantiation of this metonymic chain (cf. Figure 5).

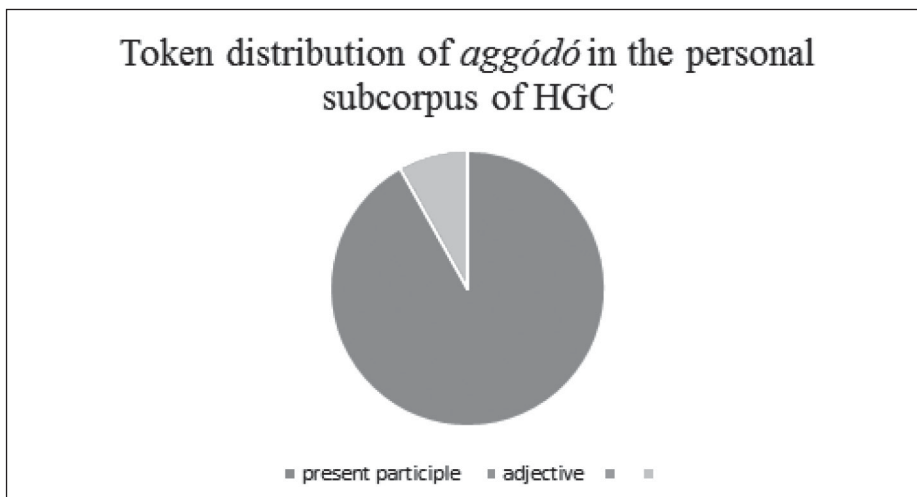


**Figure 5:** Metonymic chain giving rise to adjectival  $-Ó$  constructions.

- (3) a. *Az idős bácsi mellett ott állt **aggódó** felesége is.*  
 ('Next to the elderly man there stood his worrying wife, too.')
- b. *A gondos és **aggódó** anya a kapuban várta egyetlen fiát.*  
 ('The thoughtful and worried mother was waiting for her only son on the doorstep.')
- c. *Az Ikkrek odaadó, törődő, **aggódó** stb..*  
 ('Geminis are affectionate and caring, and they are genuine worriers.')

In contrast to (3a) where *aggódó* exhibits the core meaning of *-Ó* constructions, i.e. it involves an ongoing action closely tied to a given situation, in (3c) a meaning shift is represented ranging from the temporal relation of an actually occurring, ongoing action toward an atemporal relation type of characteristics. Here the same stabilisation process is at work as it was seen in the case of (2b). That is, just like the PROFESSIONAL AGENT *író* in (2b), here *aggódó* 'worrying' as an ATEMPOAL RELATION becomes an inherent feature of an agent, and as such, it acquires independence from a particular situation (such as standing next to another person and worrying, as in (3a)). Unlike (3a) and (3c), where the elaboration of the *-Ó* constructions is quite straightforward, (3b) exhibits a high degree of ambiguity between the senses of the core meaning, the ONGOING ACTION and the lower form of its meaning extension, the HABITUAL ACTION of *aggódó*. As such, here not even the context proves to be sufficient enough to disambiguate between this here and now versus the TYPICAL, HABITUAL ACTION reading of the construction. This example points on the gradual nature of this meaning shift, with meaning shifts in *aggódó* presenting a slow transition from the core meaning to higher degrees of extension.

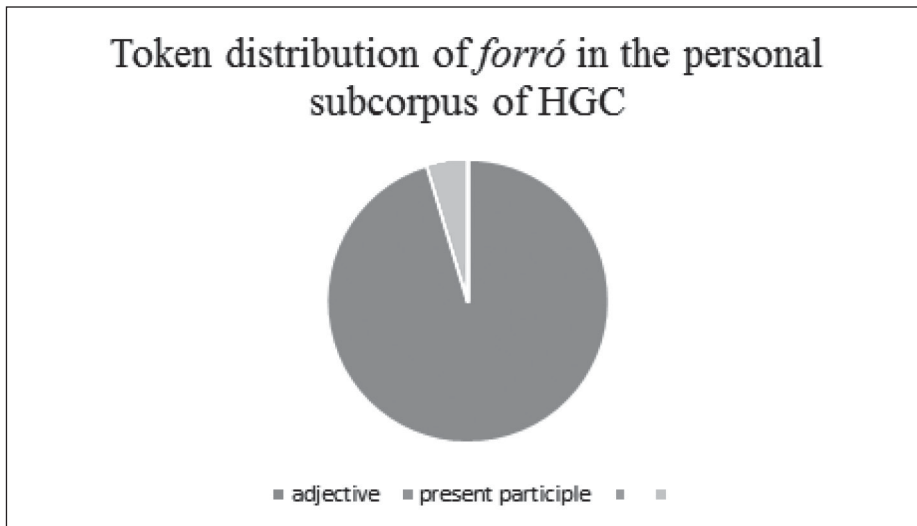
In sum, what can be seen is that the line of meaning extension in the construction *aggódó* ranges from the ACTUALLY OCCURRING ACTION (which can be equated with the present participial function of *-Ó* constructions) towards the clearly adjectival target of CHARACTERISTICS. Nevertheless, corpus data shows that the parts of this cline are not equally frequently elaborated i.e. not equally typically present in language use. Table 2 sheds light on the asymmetry in the use of *aggódó* as a present participle and as an adjective respectively.



**Table 2:** Token distribution of *aggódó* in the personal subcorpus of HGC.

In naturally occurring language use, *aggódó* dominantly instantiates/tends to instantiate the core meanings (ONGOING ACTION) or low-level meaning extension (TYPICAL/PERMANENT ACTION). This dominance is represented in the fact that *aggódó* as a present participle exhibited 113 tokens in the corpus, while the higher level of meaning extension (CHARACTERISTICS, represented in the word-class category of adjectives) was instantiated only 10 times. Consequently, what can be concluded from frequency data is that although *aggódó* has the full potential to be elaborated on any point in the meaning extension cline ranging from ongoing ACTIONS to CHARACTERISTICS, in language use a clear preference is present for the lower parts of the cline. As such, *aggódó* proves to be a better candidate for being a present participle than an adjective.

Now let us see by contrast an instance of *-Ó* constructions that is dominantly used as an adjective and let us see in which ways it deviates from the patterns of meaning construal represented in *aggódó*. Our example is *forró* ('hot') in example (4). As Table 3 shows, *forró* was used 980 times as an adjective but only 48 times as a participle. This clearly points on the established, lexicalised status (Pusztai 2011: 412) of the metonymic meaning shift in the construction.



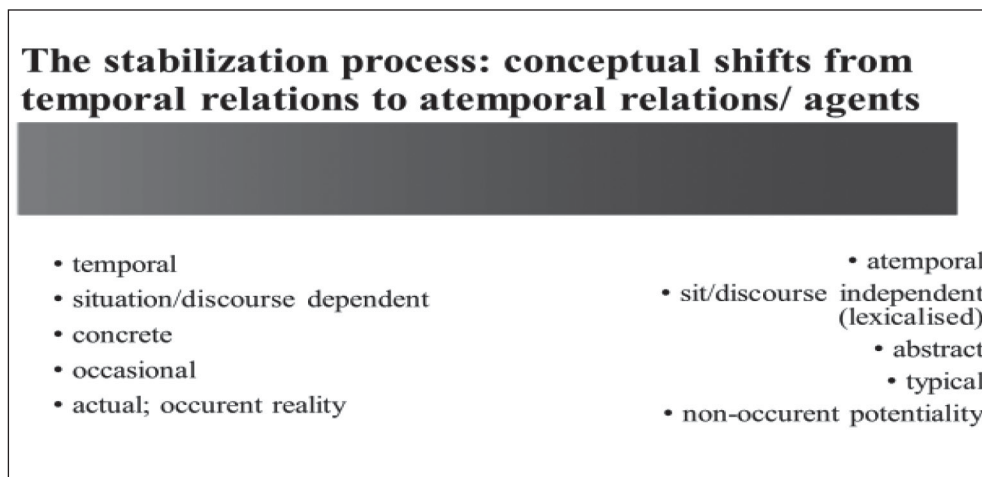
**Table 3:** Token distribution of *forró* in the personal subcorpus of HGC.

- (4) *Ó, azok a régi, hosszú, forró nyarak!*  
 ('Oh, those old, long, hot summers!')

In Hungarian, the word for the concept of HOT (*forró<sub>adj</sub>*) derives from that for BOILING (*forró<sub>part</sub>*). This concept, however, lost its direct connection to boiling liquids, since we use it in all cases when referring to high temperature. In (4), for example, for the hot temperature in the summer. Notice that due to the established, lexicalised status of this meaning shift, there was no need to show the further elaborations of *forró* in other contexts, since in contrast to *aggódó*, context has a negligible impact on the existence of this lexically fixed meaning shift. Interestingly, due to this lexical fixedness and the dominance of the adjectival sense of

*forró*, in the course of lexicalisation it became detached from its original and etymological prior source meaning. As a result, for its original source meaning, i.e. in reference to boiling liquids, *forró* is not used anymore. Instead, for actually boiling liquids another expression, *forrásban van/forrásban levő* ('it is in boiling'), is preferred.<sup>21</sup> Here therefore – unlike in straightforward cases of metonymy, the source domain – in our case the action itself, i.e. boiling – is not activated or present anymore. This is what Panther and Thornburg (2002) and Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2014b) calls post-metonymies where “the concept that was the metonymic source is no longer present synchronically as part of the lexeme’s meaning” (Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2014b: 317). Their independence from an actual situation, such as boiling water, puts this type of meaning extension outside of the ACTION ICM circle (as it is represented in Figure 2).<sup>22</sup>

In sum, the degrees of meaning extension in the different elaborations of the construction *aggódó* in (3) and the lexicalised meaning shift represented in *forró* in (4) show parallels with *író* constructions in (2).



**Figure 6:** The stabilisation process in the semantics of *-Ó* constructions along the line of meaning extensions.

First, as it is summarised in Figure 6, all these cases of metonymic meaning shifts reflect a stabilisation process leading from tied-to-situation type of relations expressing actual,

<sup>21</sup> Evidence for this preference is supported by a random sample (n=50) from one of the biggest Hungarian online recipe collections, *mindmegette.hu*. Out of the 50 recipes in 37 cases the actually boiling water was referred to by the term *forrásban lévő víz* ‘water in [the state of] boiling’, while *forró* was used only 13 times. Although this pattern clearly shows the detachment of the lexical entry *forró* from its source meaning, it is far from being representative.

<sup>22</sup> Again, the scope of the present paper does not allow for a detailed discussion on the effects of this stabilisation process in terms of their grammatical coding (e.g. as a sign of conceptual autonomy, adjectival *-Ó* constructions can occupy a nominal complement position etc.). For the criteria on differentiating between adjectival and present participle constructions see, again, Laczkó (2000) and Kiefer (1998). For a cognitive grammar approach towards these criteria, see Tóth-Czifra (2016).

ongoing reality to atemporal relations being independent from one given situation and making use of the general-level conceptual metonymies SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC and ACTUALITY FOR POTENTIALITY. Second, in line with this stabilisation process, an increasing degree of conceptual autonomy from the resulting ACTION ICM can be detected. As a result, well-entrenched instances of higher-level meaning shifts, as in the professional agent *író* and in *fórró*, have the capability for reaching out, i.e. become independent from this ACTION ICM. Third and finally, frequency data points on the influential role of the dynamics of language use in the process of idiomatisation. As can be seen, level of entrenchment has a serious impact on the manifestations of metonymic meaning construal. In the case of constructions with a low-level entrenchment, such as *aggódó*, we saw that metonymic meaning shifts were unfolding as a slow transition from the core meaning towards higher levels of meaning extension. By contrast, in heavily entrenched instances of figurative meaning construal (e.g. in *fórró*), metonymy took a more radical form, namely it came in the form of post metonymies. These results suggest that this complex relationship between idiomatisation (lexicalisation, grammaticalisation) and language use is well worth studying in the context of *-Ó* constructions.

### 5. Does such a thing as affix polysemy in a strict sense exist in *-Ó*?

After modelling the semantic matrix of *-Ó* constructions and identifying the metonymic patterns in the discourse functions of *-Ó*, there is one more important question remaining to be answered, namely, on exactly which levels of meaning construal metonymy operates. Can we talk about affix polysemy in the sense of metonymic meaning shifts directly represented in the semantic structure of the affix as well, or is it restricted for specific *-Ó* constructions (such as *író*, *fórró*, *aggódó*)?

Notice that previous scholarship on word-formation metonymies is far from being unambiguous in this respect. A brief survey on the different views on the scope of metonymy in affixational word-formation was outlined in the Introduction. In our case, examples in (2)–(4) suggest that metonymic meaning shifts are limited to particular constructions in isolation, instantiating therefore cases of idiomatisation due to entrenchment. Consequently, these instances of metonymic thought could be considered as a bunch of individual cases of conversion which show no difference from conversion patterns in morphologically simple lexemes (such as *drink*<sub>noun</sub> → *to drink*<sub>verb</sub>).

In the following, however, I will argue for a more systematic account of the scope of metonymy in affixation. Namely, I attempt to outline a schema-based account for polysemy in *-Ó* constructions which yields a multi-layered representation of metonymic patterns operating on all 3 levels of meaning construal: 1. on the level of particular instantiations of *-Ó* construction schemas (such as *fórró* or *író*), 2. on the schema level, be it a high-level schema (e.g. [V+*-Ó*]<sub>part</sub> → [V+*-Ó*]<sub>adj</sub>) or a more elaborated, lower-level schema (e.g. [N+*álló*] ‘Nproof’) and finally, 3. in the internal semantic structure of the affix *-Ó*.

#### 5.1. From individual instances to schema-level representation of polysemy: The role of analogy in schema establishment

As it was already touched upon (see footnote 12), the fact that *-Ó* constructions – moreover, all its meaning extensions – were established around the Uralic period of the development of Hungarian, i.e. far before the appearance of the first written documents in Old Hungarian, causes serious difficulties in describing their historical development in terms of the consecutive



steps of the emergence of the above outlined metonymic patterns.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, there are reasons to assume that the establishment of metonymic patterns follows a general evolutionary path of grammaticalisation (as it is outlined e.g. in Bybee 2006) in that analogy had an important role in the emergence of systematic meaning extensions, that is, in the emergence of generic- and specific-level constructional schemas (Langacker 2000) from individual constructions.

First, again, because of the early emergence of the affix it is not easy to define exactly which constructions served as starting points for meaning extensions and to identify the initial instantiations/cases of analogy. Instead, at this point only potential patterns of analogy can be outlined, serving as a hypothesis for a more thorough diachronic corpus study. As an example, it can be put forward that the character trait *törvényisztelő* ('low-abiding'), *jogkövető* ('law-abiding' again) and *istenhívő* ('believer') are results of analogical coining on the basis of *istenfélő*, which is one of the earliest *-Ó* construction<sup>24</sup> that clearly exhibits an adjectival sense, i.e. the HABITUAL/PERMANENT ACTION FOR CHARACTERISTICS metonymy.<sup>25</sup> All these constructions denote behavior patterns as characteristics that show a high degree of conformity to a given social-moral maxim (God's laws or the law/legal canon).

Second, the strength of analogy in *-Ó* constructions is clearly illustrated by the fact that apart from straightforward cases of analogous meaning shift carried out via conversion (as previously pointed out with regard to *törvényisztelő* and *jogkövető*), analogy gave rise even to backformations. As an example, the adjective *apró* 'very small' has an Old-Turkish origin, and its base verb *aprit* has never existed as a regular base for *apró*. Instead, it is a result of the recategorisation or remotivation of the borrowed adjective *apró* according to the very productive to a  $[V+Ó]_{\text{part}} \rightarrow [V+-Ó]_{\text{adj}}$  word-formation pattern. As a result, *apró* became considered as a regular *-Ó* adjective, and as such, it received an analogously coined, fake base verb *aprit* (see Benkő 1967: 233) on the basis of the already existing  $[V\text{it}]+[-Ó] \rightarrow [V+Ó]_{\text{part}} \rightarrow [V+-Ó]_{\text{adj}}$  patterns, such as *taszít* ('to repulse')  $\rightarrow$  *taszító* ('unattractive'), *segít* ('to help')  $\rightarrow$  *segítő* ('helping/helper'). The same remotivation process is reflected by the emergence of the archaic verb *gyarlik* ('to commit something bad'), as it is also a backformation from a false *-Ó* construction, in this case from *gyarló*, ('fallible') which also has an Old-Turkish origin (Benkő 1967).<sup>26</sup> The fact that analogy was at work even in backformations clearly points out the strength of analogical formations in the development of *-Ó* constructions.

<sup>23</sup> For a historical corpus-based study see, again, Tóth-Czifra (2016).

<sup>24</sup> The oldest accessible instance of *istenfélő* is dated as early as 1590, in the first full Hungarian translation of the Holy Bible (Károli 1590). The frequent use of the construction in Bible translations and codices could have significantly helped the construction to gain entrenchment.

<sup>25</sup> Here, of course, the need for more thorough corpus studies is beyond question.

<sup>26</sup> In the case of these analogously recategorized, fake *-Ó* adjectives it would be especially interesting to conduct an experiment with the same procedure as in Wheeler and Schumsky (1980) or Nordquist (2004). As such subjects would have given a list of words and their task would be to slice them off in line with their morphological constituents. The results would shed light on whether these fake *-Ó* adjectives are still represented mentally as  $[V+-Ó]_{\text{adj}}$  constructions.

## 5.2. The establishment of constructional schemas along the lines of extension and elaboration

What follows from the above subsection is that analogy has the capability of triggering more systematic meaning shifts on the basis of individual suffixations/constructions.<sup>27</sup> These systematic meaning shifts are then becoming abstracted and represented in the forms of constructional schemas (Langacker 2000). It can be argued, for instance, that from the analogous coinings of *istenfélő*, *istenhívő*, *törényszéltelő* and *jogkövető*, a schema (although with limited productivity) of BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS COMPLYING WITH CONVENTIONAL SOCIAL-MORAL MAXIMS can be abstracted which in turn has the capability to give rise to other instances with the same generic meaning. Opposite to this subschema of *-Ó* adjectives, the more elaborated [N*sértő*] ('N hurting') schema with the meaning of BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS NOT COMPLYING WITH CONVENTIONAL SOCIAL-MORAL MAXIMS is also observable in language use. Instantiations of this schema from the personal subcorpus of HGC can be found in in Table 5.

Types	English translation	Number of tokens
törvénsértő	'malfeasant'	159
jogsértő	'injurious'	46
alkotmányosértő	'unconstitutional'	38
kegyeletsértő	'impious'	18
becsületsértő	'libelous'	16
jogszabálysértő	'malfeasant'	13
szabálysértő	'malfeasant'	10
határsértő	'invader'	7
fülsértő	'grating, earsplitting'	8
szeméremsértő	'pornographic'	4
bankitioksértő	'hurting banking secrecy'	3
államtitoksértő	'hurting state secret'	2
titoksértő	'hurting a secret'	2
szabályzat-sértő	'malfeasant'	2
légtérsértő	lit. 'airspace hurting'	2
dobhártyasértő	'grating, earsplitting'	2
törvény/alkotmányosértő	'unconstitutional/malfeasant'	1
szimmetriasértő	'symmetry hurting'	1
személyiség-sértő	'personality threatening'	1
rágalmazó-becsületsértő	'calumnious'	1
normasértő	'norm hurting'	1

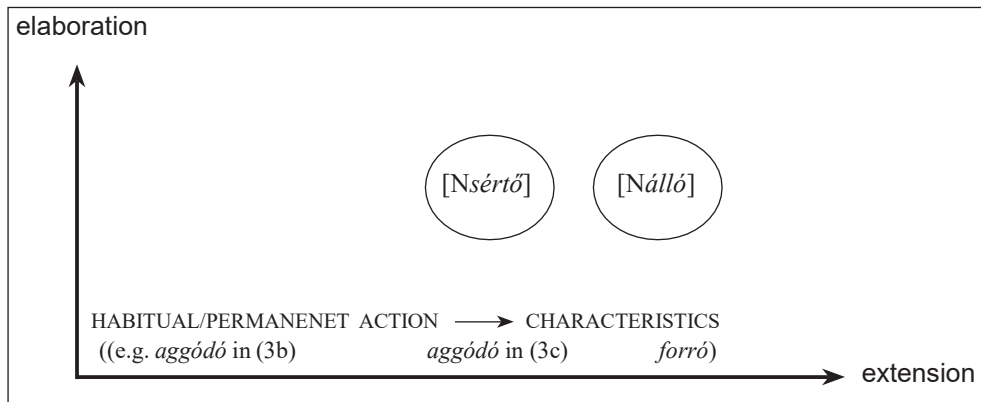
<sup>27</sup> Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2014b) outline very briefly the same procedure regarding the polysemy of the Croatian place suffixation *-iste*.

Types	English translation	Number of tokens
netikettsértő	‘hurting the norms of netiquette’	1
közszeméremsértő	‘pornographic’	1
kissebségsértő	‘minority hurting’	1
irodalomsértő	lit. ‘literature hurting’	1

**Table 4:** Types instantiating the constructional subschema [Nsértő].

Table 4 shows that 1. many of the coinings are highly synonymous and 2. the [Nsértő] subschema shows a higher degree of productivity<sup>28</sup> than the BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS COMPLYING WITH CONVENTIONAL SOCIAL-MORAL MAXIMS subschema.<sup>29</sup>

Such constructional schemas “are able to capture the commonalities of specific expressions at any linguistic level” (Benczes 2010: 234). Figure 7 gives us an insight on the arrangement of -Ó constructions in terms of their resulting schemas. Nevertheless, it is limited to the adjectival -Ó constructions and it is far from exhaustive.<sup>30</sup>



**Figure 7:** Generic-level schemas and some of the subschemas of -Ó adjectives in terms of extension and elaboration.<sup>31</sup>

Here, in addition to the generic-level meaning extensions of the  $[V+Ó]_{\text{part}} \rightarrow [V+-Ó]_{\text{adj}}$  schema and the [Nsértő] subschema, another subschema is presented in order to illustrate correlations of the two axes, extension and elaboration. The subschema [Nálló] ‘Nproof’ is at the same level of elaboration as [Nsértő], however, it gives rise to instances with a closer-to-adjectival meaning (e.g. *golyóálló* ‘bulletproof’ (45), *vízálló* ‘waterproof’ 38). That is, unlike the behavioral patterns of *törvénytértő*, *jogstértő* etc., they are prototypical instances of CHARACTERISTICS.

<sup>28</sup> The term productivity is used in the sense of Bybee (2006, 2008, 2010), and as such, it is a phenomenon having to do with type frequency, i.e. the capability of a particular schema to motivate novel instances.

<sup>29</sup> This finding is in line with Bybee’s markedness theory.

<sup>30</sup> A comprehensive account of all the subschemas of -Ó constructions is far beyond the scope of the present paper.)

<sup>31</sup> This figure was inspired by Benczes (2010).

In sum, the schema-level analysis revealed that apart from the individual  $-\acute{O}$  constructions, metonymic meaning shifts are also abstracted into schemas as well, at different levels of extension and elaboration.

### 5.3. The emergence of a direct $-\acute{O}_{\text{noun}}$ affix: evidence for the affix-level representation of metonymical meaning extensions

So far, it has been demonstrated that 1. metonymic meaning construal starts out from individual constructions (such as *istenfélő*). 2. These individual constructions trigger similar changes by analogy and as such motivate similar meaning shifts. 3. From these analogous constructions, constructional schemas can be abstracted on different levels of extension and elaboration. In sum, it was demonstrated that metonymy operates both on the level of individual constructions and on the level of constructional schemas. The only question therefore remaining to be answered is whether we can identify these metonymic shifts within the semantic structure of the affix  $-\acute{O}$ , and if so, how such absorption has been carried out in the course of language use.

In the following, evidence will be shown to demonstrate how polysemy is represented in the semantic structure of the affix as well. On the exact way in which such semantic absorption is carried out in the course of language use, Taylor (2012) gives us an insight. “To know the word [or any other symbolic unit] involves knowing the contexts in which the word is used, where ‘contexts’ refers, not to the situations in the world which speakers wish to talk about, but the linguistic context in which the word is used” (ibid. 160). To put it in a more abstract way: “knowing the construction consists in knowing its established instances and their conventional semantic and pragmatic values” (ibid. 30). Accordingly, in the case of composite structures such as  $-\acute{O}$  constructions, the established patterns of figurative use also become part of the semantic representation of their components (that is, in the semantic representation of their base and their suffixes respectively).

The same process can be identified in the grammaticalisation of  $-\acute{O}$ . As it was touched upon previously, the meaning extensions in  $-\acute{O}$  constructions analyzed so far are carried out either via conversion (e.g. *aggódó<sub>part</sub>* → *aggódó<sub>adj</sub>*) or via ellipsis from an  $[[V+-\acute{O}]_{\text{adj}}+N]$  construction (e.g. *hálószoba* ‘bedroom’ → *háló* ‘bedroom’). However, the comprehensive grammars Velcsov (1968) and Laczkó (2000)<sup>32</sup> also mention a third possibility for the  $-\acute{O}$  nouns. They point out that not all of the  $-\acute{O}$  nouns are the result of conversion or ellipsis from the present participial or adjectival senses, but rather some of them are directly derived from verbs via the addition of the affix  $-\acute{O}$ , exhibiting therefore an alternative word-formation pattern:  $[V+-\acute{O}]_{\text{noun}}$ . As can be seen, this involves the skipping of the intermediate stages of word-formation, and consequently the establishment of a direct, deverbal  $-\acute{O}$  producing nominal  $-\acute{O}$  constructions. Figure 8 illustrates this pattern for this direct derivation of  $-\acute{O}$  nouns together with the already familiar patterns of conversion and ellipsis.

<sup>32</sup> An important difference between these two accounts is that Laczkó (2000) argues for a fake homonymy relationship between the present participle  $-\acute{O}$  and the deverbal noun  $-\acute{O}$ . By contrast, Velcsov (1971) puts the emphasis on the way in which the direct deverbal noun  $-\acute{O}$  affix had emerged from the frequent exploitation of part→noun conversion. Furthermore, in her account these two word-formation patterns giving rise to  $-\acute{O}$  nouns are co-present in synchronic language use. The present paper adopts this latter view, since neologisms (e.g. *lépésszámláló készülék* ‘pedometer device’ → *lépésszámláló* ‘pedometer’) show evidence for the present-day productivity of ellipsis and conversion as well.

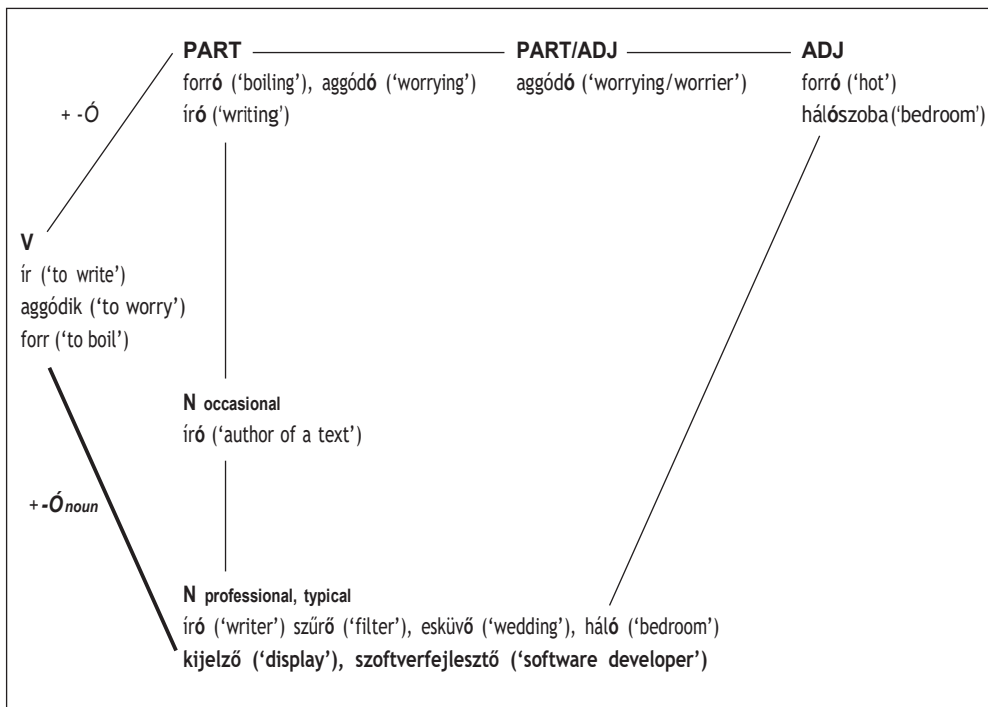


Figure 8: Word-formation patterns giving rise to *-Ó* noun constructions.

Velcsov's (1968: 38) examples for *-Ó* nouns resulting from this direct affixation include *szereplő* ('character'), *könyvelő* ('accountant'), (*csecsemő*)*gondozó* ('nurse, caretaker'), although she presents no etymological evidence for the direct emergence of these *-Ó* nouns. Instead of such dubious cases, in the following I wish to show evidence for the existence of a direct deverbal noun *-Ó* suffix in the form of *-Ó* neologisms. Due to the (relative) availability of their etymological history, it can be clearly detected whether they underwent intermediate stages of derivation (such as conversion or ellipsis) or are the result of direct addition of an *-Ó<sub>N</sub>* suffix.

The recently emerged agent noun *szoftverfejlesztő* ('software developer') seems to be a good candidate representing this direct development.<sup>33</sup> A Google search shows no collocations for this construction (i.e. no such coinings as *szoftverfejlesztő szakember* ('a software developer professional' are available). Furthermore, no present participle use of the construction is available. As an example for instrument nouns produced by direct affixation, *kijelző* ('display') is the case in point. It shows similar properties as *szoftverfejlesztő*, in that it is available neither in collocations, nor as a present participle. This clearly indicates that it could not have emerged either via conversion or via ellipsis.

All in all, the emergence of a direct *-Ó<sub>noun</sub>* affix clearly shows how patterns of metonymic meaning shifts became represented in the semantic structure of the affix itself. This affix-level representation in the intrenchment of metonymic construal has led to the emergence

<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, however, this could be a direct translation from *software developer* as well.

of a new, figurative *-Ó* noun affix, homonymic with the present particle *-Ó* and existing as autonomous affix in the Hungarian affix system.

## 5. Conclusion

The aim of the present paper was to study some important features of affix polysemy in general and to provide a cognitively plausible account of the Hungarian deverbal suffixations in *-Ó* in particular by answering the following questions:

1. In exactly which ways *-Ó* constructions reflect cognitive construals?
2. How is the semantic structure of the suffix *-Ó* structured by meaning extensions?
3. What is and what is not metonymical in this semantic structure? And finally:
4. On which levels of constructional organisation can metonymic patterns of meaning construal be identified? That is, can we talk about affix polysemy in a strict sense in the case of *-Ó*?

With respect to questions 1–3, the corpus and cognitive analysis shed light on the metonymic nature of meaning construals represented in the semantic structure of *-Ó*. From the ONGOING ACTION core sense (which is coded grammatically as present participle) two lines of meaning extensions could be identified, both exhibiting metonymic chains. On the one hand, this core meaning provides mental access to THINGS and HUMAN AGENTS via the conceptual metonymies ACTION FOR AGENT (either occasional or professional, e.g. *író*), ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT (e.g. *riasztó*), ACTION FOR PURPOSE LOCATION (e.g. *háló(szoba)*) and ACTION FOR COMPLEX EVENT (e.g. *esküvő*). On the other hand, another line of meaning extension leads towards adjectival meanings, that is, from TEMPORAL RELATIONS towards ATEMPORAL RELATIONS. In cognitive terms: first, a TYPICAL, HABITUAL ACTION is accessed through the core meaning ONGOING ACTION, exhibiting the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC as well as the ACTUALITY FOR POTENTIALITY generic level metonymies (e.g. *aggódó*). This metonymic meaning shift can be further extended towards the more abstract domain of CHARACTERISTICS (e.g. *forró* ‘hot’). All these metonymic shifts are accommodated in an ACTION ICM. While the functions of *-Ó* produced by these meaning extensions proved to be straightforward cases of word-formation metonymies, in its core meaning, the present participial *-Ó* construction was interpreted 1. as profiling a secondary action in a multiple action scenario and 2. as a reference-point helping in the identification of the agent.

With regard to the fourth question, evidence was shown for a multi-layered representation of metonymic patterns. It was demonstrated how such patterns are at work in all three levels of meaning construal, namely 1. on the level of the particular instantiations of *-Ó* construction schemas (such as *forró* ‘hot’ or *író* ‘writer’), 2. on the schema level, be it a high-level schema (e.g.  $[V+-Ó]_{\text{part}} \rightarrow [V+-Ó]_{\text{adj}}$ ) or a more elaborated, lower-level schema (e.g.  $[N+álló]$  ‘Nproof’), and finally, 3. in the internal semantic structure of the affix *-Ó*.

Apart from providing answers for the above questions, the cognitive and corpus analysis revealed a significant amount of hidden complexities in the emergence of metonymic patterns giving rise to *-Ó* constructions. These hidden complexities are waiting to be explored.

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