

On constructional blocking of metonymies

A cross-linguistic view

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The interaction between metonymy and grammar is commonly understood, in keeping with the classical cognitive linguistic doctrine about cognitive operations motivating linguistic structures, as unilateral – conceptual metaphor and metonymy shaping the grammatical system. However, we argue in this article that one of the possible corollaries of the Equipollence Hypothesis (Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009; Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo Oyón, 2012) covers a truly bilateral interaction between grammatical structures and cognitive processes. The Equipollence Hypothesis is shown to allow for grammatical phenomena facilitating or constraining, i.e. blocking, the application of conceptual metonymies and their expressions across domains of linguistic inquiry. Specifically, we show in four case studies that grammatical constructions may actually pre-empt lexical (and grammatical) metonymy.

Keywords: metonymy, construction, Equipollence Hypothesis, blocking, synonymy, grammar, possessive construction, causative construction

1. Introduction: On the interaction between metonymy and grammar

The interaction between metonymy and grammar is commonly understood, in keeping with the classical cognitive linguistic doctrine about cognitive operations motivating linguistic structures, as unilateral. It is widely assumed that conceptual metonymy, just like conceptual metaphor, shapes the grammatical system of a language in some non-trivial ways. Recent years have seen a marked rise in the interest in the interaction between grammar and metonymy, convincingly showing that metonymic processes are crucially involved in shaping central areas of grammar (cf. Waltereit, 1999; Panther & Thornburg, 1999, 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014; Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal Campo, 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza & Peña Cervel, 2003; Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez Hernández, 2001; Barcelona, 2012; Sweep,

2012; Radden & Dirven, 2007; Brdar, 2007a, as well as the chapters in Panther, Thornburg, & Barcelona, 2009).

The impact of metonymy on grammar is most conspicuous against the background of functional effects that accompany metonymic mappings in the grammatical system. In other words, metonymies make it possible to express certain grammatical distinctions without practically any explicit marking on the lexical items functioning as the metonymic vehicle, but the grammatical, i.e. morphosyntactic, effects of this may be observable in a wider context, e.g. in the presence or absence of the indefinite article and/or plural marker.

This simplified way of looking at things might imply that the relationship between metonymy and grammar is one-way traffic, grammar being infinitely plastic and therefore easily formed by metonymic processes. However, we demonstrate in this article that the interaction between grammar and metonymy is more complex – it is actually bilateral. This means that the grammar of a language, i.e. its particular shape resulting from an interplay of its elements that form an intricate network of relations, may be responsible for the presence or absence of certain types of metonymies.

We first argue in Section 2 that one of the possible corollaries of the Equipollence Hypothesis (Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009; Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo Oyón, 2012) covers a truly bilateral interaction between grammatical structures and cognitive processes. In the four case studies that follow in Section 3 we have shown that grammatical systems can also have a role in determining the availability of individual conceptual metonymies. Specifically, we will show that a range of constructions in a variety of languages, from the morphological (or word-formation constructions) to morphosyntactic constructions, can constrain or block metonymy due to synonymy in a broad sense of the term (including syntactic synonymy in the sense that one construction can block or pre-empt the use of a synonymous construction that would involve metonymy).

Our starting point here is of course Goldberg stating that

C is a CONSTRUCTION iff_{def} C is a form-meaning pair $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions. (Goldberg, 1995, p. 4)

This is echoed in Croft (2001, p. 18), for whom constructions are “pairings of form and meaning that are at least partially arbitrary.”

In the first case study we first examine the OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT metonymy and then continue with its reversal, MATERIAL FOR AN OBJECT MADE OF THE MATERIAL, briefly contrasting English with German, Croatian and Hungarian, both metonymies often being blocked by means of word-formation constructions (suffixations and compounds). We then consider in 3.2 an English

predicative possessive construction that is made possible by a conceptual metonymy. This construction is found in many languages, but in some, like Croatian and Hungarian, its attestations are extremely peripheral to the system, most counterparts in these two languages being realized as a different possessive construction not conducive to metonymic shifts. In 3.3 we focus on the *CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED* metonymy that may be blocked in Hungarian in sentences containing a causative predicate. Finally, in 3.4 we examine the use of impersonal and passive constructions as means of avoiding, i.e. blocking metonymy of the type *WHOLE FOR PART* when names of newspapers are used to refer to individual articles in it. The conclusions following from our case studies are briefly presented in Section 4.

2. The Equipollence Hypothesis and metonymy blocking

According to the Equipollence Hypothesis (Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009; Ruiz de Mendoza & Luzondo Oyón, 2012), one of the methodological pillars of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM), cognitive and linguistic processes found to be at work in one domain of linguistic inquiry are expected to be active in other domains. Conceptual metaphor and metonymy, as two of these processes, have been found to be operational well beyond the level of lexical description, i.e. in grammar proper, too (Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera Masegosa, 2014; Barcelona, 2012). What is more, conceptual metaphor and metonymy may facilitate certain phenomena, but also act as constraining factors in lexical-constructional interaction, effectively preventing certain other phenomena, including grammatical ones (cf. Peña Cervel, 2015).

In addition to these two corollaries of the Hypothesis, we suggest that it could be extended so as to cover a truly bilateral interaction between grammatical structures and cognitive processes in the sense that it is also grammatical phenomena that can facilitate or constrain the application of conceptual metonymy and its expression across domains of linguistic inquiry. Morphosyntactic environment, most notably in the form of various grammatical constructions, provides the necessary context for metonymies to kick in. There would be no metonymic affects on grammar at all without such contexts. It is not metonymy per se that enforces this or that construal, it only functions as a final conceptual switch in a given situation, leading us to a certain interpretation path onto which we are invited by the structural environment, i.e. constructions of all kinds (cf. González-García, 2011).

But there are also several studies showing that the application of a conceptual metonymy at the lexical level can be blocked or preempted by the existence of a certain lexical item that expresses the concept that would have been expressed by the metonymy extending the meaning of another lexical item (Brdar, 2007b, 2009a,

2009b; Brdar & Brdar-Szabó, 2017). This situation resembles what was in morphological theory referred to as pre-emption or blocking by synonymy.

Blocking is a general phenomenon of “non-occurrence of some linguistic form due to the simple existence of another” (Aronoff, 1976, p. 43). In the majority of cases this is due to synonymy, i.e. a potential morphologically complex word is not coined, or, if coined, does not get entrenched, because there is another morphologically simple or complex entrenched form that the new lexeme would be synonymous with. In the following sets of examples, the asterisked affixations could be expected because of analogy, but they are blocked by the existence of simple, already entrenched synonymous forms:

- (1) a. *work* – *worker*
- b. *manage* – *manager*
- c. *steal* – *(*)stealer* – *thief*
- d. *type* – **typer* – *typist*
- (2) a. *ripe* – *unripe*
- b. *bad* – **ungood* – *good*
- c. *big* – **unbig* – *small*

It will be seen that some morphologically complex forms synonymous with some simple forms are not totally blocked. As pointed out by Kiparsky (1983, p. 15),

... *thief* blocks *stealer*, since a thief is someone who steals and by the “Avoid Synonymy” version of the blocking principle, a stealer would be someone who steals and is not a thief, so that the word is blocked because it cannot have a meaning assigned to it. However, someone who steals in certain special senses is not a thief, and as predicted such a person can be called a stealer. Thus a player who steals a base on the pitcher in baseball would be a *base stealer* and not a **base thief*.

It is easy to see the parallel between these metonymies and metonymies at the lexical level that are apparently blocked or preempted by the existence of lexical items expressing concepts that would have been expressed by the putative metonymies. We can illustrate this by means of the OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT metonymy in English. There are numerous instances of this metonymy. In the case of animal names as vehicles the metonymic target is substance/flesh/meat as processed and used as foodstuff:

- (3) *Because turkey is a low – fat, less – expensive alternative to other meats, school lunch programs served **turkey** throughout the year.*¹

1. https://books.google.hu/books/about/The_Turkey.html?id=J0L3PdUtydEC&redir_esc=y (accessed on 19 December 2016).

Although this metonymy may appear fairly productive as far as English is concerned, which is also suggested by terms used in some unification frameworks, such as logical metonymy/polysemy, or regular polysemy, an examination of corpus data reveals a slightly different picture. The fact is that it is not so regularly made use of. Of course, one of the factors diminishing the productivity of this metonymy is the well-known historical incident in the course of which a number of lexical items were borrowed from Norman French that denoted the meat of certain domestic and wild animals, thus effectively blocking the polysemy from obtaining in the case of a series of native Anglo-Saxon items:

- (4) *cow* – *beef*
calf – *veal*
pig – *pork*
sheep – *mutton*
(rein)deer, elk – *venison*

Apparently, English uses lexical substitution as a way of getting around metonymic polysemy. In other words, the application of the metonymy is blocked by the existence of lexemes that denote what the metonymy would have denoted, which means that they would qualify as synonyms. Note that these are the most salient types of meat, and the words in question are relatively frequent. Similarly, *pez* is used in Spanish to refer to the animal in its natural environment, i.e. swimming freely in water, while *pescado* is used to refer to fish when caught and later also used as food:

- (5) *Lo primero que debes hacer con tu pescado fresco es limpiarlo*²
 the first thing to do with your fish fresh is to clean it
 ‘The first thing to do with your fresh fish is to clean it’

The blocking of the OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT metonymy in (4) is not total. The metonymy is available, but the lexemes in question can be used not to denote meat as food, but just the mass of the flesh of the animal in question, as e.g. in a case of roadkill:

- (6) a. *They got out and examined the damage. There was cow all over the front of the bus and barbed wire tangled around the bus’s treads.*³

2. <http://www.ahumadores.cl/como-ahumar-pescado/> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

3. <https://www.fanfiction.net/s/8889751/4/Tyler-Perry-s-How-Did-I-Get-Married> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

- b. *As a kid I lived up in the Norther parts of MI And we hit a Huge buck with are school bus one morning @around 60mph. Was deer All over the place and school bus. Driver was all upset.*⁴
- c. *The presser took place at Spanky's BBQ Joint near Times Square. There was pig all over the place but I don't think former Holyfield boxing promoter Murad Muhammad was going to make an appearance anyway.*⁵

It is interesting to note that a special kind of synonymy in fact seems to go hand in hand with metonymy. Taking as our starting point the threefold distinction between linguistic vehicle, metonymic source and metonymic target, as in Panther (2005, p. 358), we see that in a linguistically manifest metonymic relation, a metonymic source concept (S_1) is related to a metonymic target concept (T_2) by means of a linguistic form (e.g. morpheme, word, phrase, sentence) which is called the linguistic vehicle by Panther (2005, p. 358). In an example such as:

(7) *Self-conscious, the bluecoat pulls his gun out of the ground, destroying the anthill.*⁶

the lexical expression *the bluecoat* is the vehicle normally associated with the source meaning such as 'a blue-coloured coat (that happened to form the most salient part of the Union soldier's uniform during the American Civil War, or of a student at a British charity school)'. This source meaning can be metonymically related to the target meaning of 'a person who wears a blue coat, especially a Union soldier in the Civil War, or a student at a charity school.' In (7) the context makes it clear that the target is a soldier.

We see that the relationship of synonymy may obtain between the metonymic vehicle associated with (S), which is linguistically manifest, and the lexeme that is conventionally associated with the metonymic target (T), which of course cannot be linguistically manifest. In order to make this more accessible, we enrich the above diagram by further specifying some elements, while omitting some other elements that are not of central concern. Most importantly, we introduce the lexeme that is conventionally associated with the metonymic target concept, and also rename the source meaning and the target meaning as metonymic source concept (C_1) and metonymic target concept (C_2), respectively. For ease of exposition, in Figure 2 we replace Panther's solid arrow indicating contingent associative/contiguous

4. <http://www.speedguide.net/forums/showthread.php?129191-I-almost-got-my-deer-early-this-year> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

5. <https://www.boxing247.com/weblog/archives/112511> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

6. https://books.google.hu/books/about/Film_Directing_Shot_by_Shot.html?id=tNkNacuK-8poC&redir_esc=y (accessed on 19 December 2016).

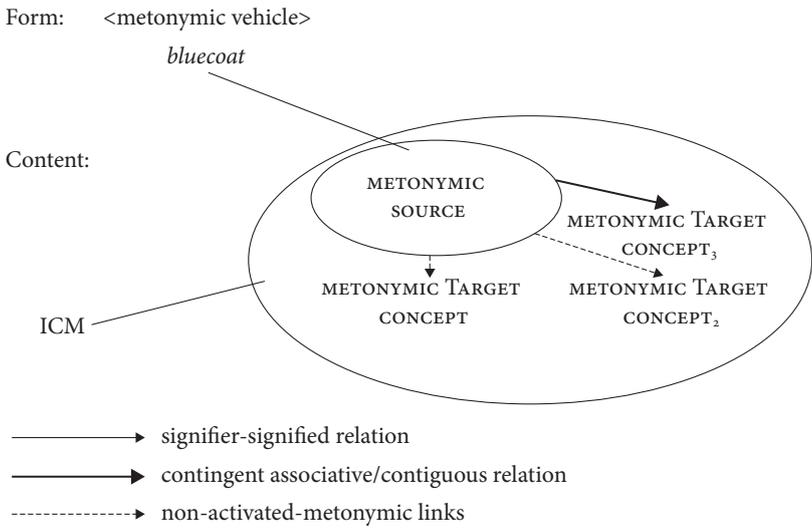


Figure 1. The basic metonymic relation (Panther, 2005, p. 358)

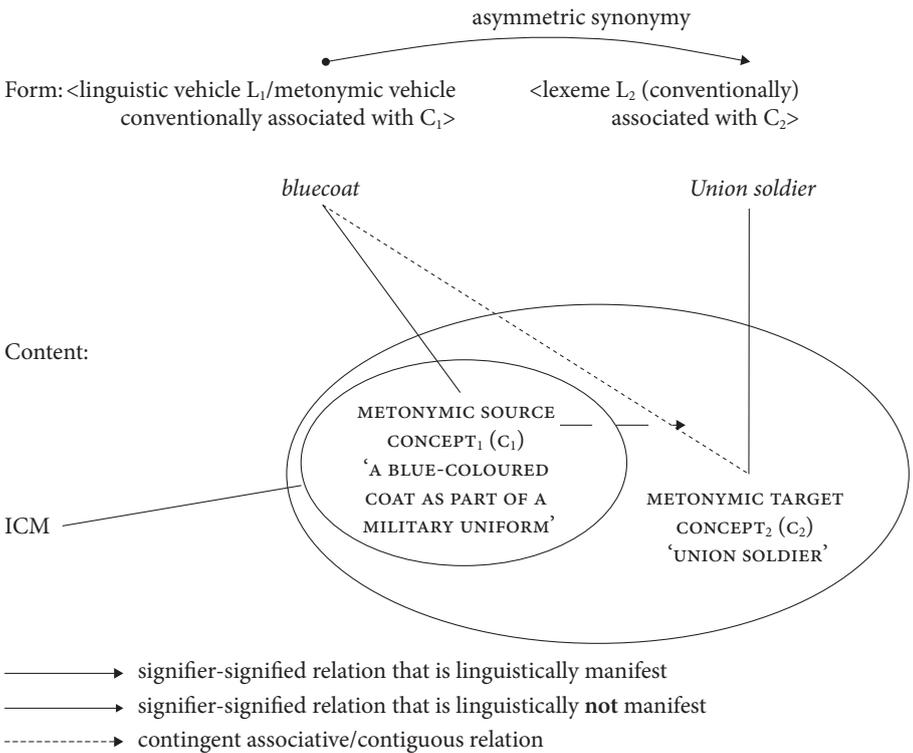


Figure 2. The basic metonymic relation modified

relationship with a dashed one. Further, we indicate that the relationship of synonymy may obtain between the metonymic vehicle associated with (C_1), which is linguistically manifest, and the lexeme that is conventionally associated with the metonymic target (C_2), which is often linguistically not manifest, though it may be made manifest in the context if the meaning of the metonymy is resolved (which explains the solid line linking L_2 and C_2).

The relationship between L_1 and L_2 may be characterized as an asymmetric type of synonymy (cf. Bierwiazzonek, 2007). The point is that L_1 , the metonymic vehicle, e.g. *wheels* or *sail* can function as a synonym of L_2 , i.e. of *car* or *ship*, respectively, but the relation does not hold the other way round. It would be odd to say that *car* is a synonym of *wheel*, or that *ship* is a synonym of *sail*. Similarly, the *sax* can function as a synonym for the *saxophonist*, but trying to use the latter as a synonym for the former would not always produce acceptable results. It is acceptable in an example such as *The saxophonist sounded simply wonderful on this summer night in Georgia*, but then, assuming that the saxophonist is not used literally, but metonymically, it does not have the instrument as its target, but the music played by the musician. So this would be a pair of metonymies exhibiting asymmetric synonymy. We could provide a huge number of examples like the ones above, but it is interesting that no blocking by synonymy takes place here in spite of the fact that the metonymic targets are associated with some well-entrenched morphologically simple lexemes.

So, if metonymies are in some cases, though not always, blocked in the lexicon by the availability of certain potentially synonymous lexical items, we could then also suppose that this is also reflected in other domains in the sense that these same cognitive processes that can be blocked in the lexicon can also be blocked or preempted in other domains. This third corollary of the Equipollence Hypothesis could be formulate as follows:

Metonymies, lexical and grammatical ones alike, can be blocked in the grammatical system by certain grammatical structures or constructions available in the system.

In Section 3 we examine some such cases of metonymy being blocked by constructions entrenched in the system.

3. Constructional blocking of metonymy

3.1 Metonymy blocked by word-formation constructions:

The case of OBJECT-MATERIAL metonymies

Our starting point in the present section is that morphologically complex words such as prefixations, suffixations, compounds, reduplications, etc., or their various

combinations, should be considered instances of constructions *sui generis*. Their immediate constituents have their own meaning that can be more or less specific, as the case may be. However, the meaning of morphologically complex words is generally less than perfectly compositional. What is more, complex words are infrequently polysemous, due to metaphorical and metonymic extensions, which makes their meaning even less compositional and predictable. In light of this and considering the fact that the borderline between word-formation constructions and syntactic constructions is not discrete, it is obvious that affixations, compounds, reduplications, etc. fall within the scope of what Goldberg (1995) considers constructions in the most general sense. Goldberg (2006, p. 5) explicitly states that “All levels of grammatical analysis involve constructions: learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully general phrasal patterns.” Goldberg exemplifies this on some complex words as well.

According to Booij (2015, p. 189), word-formation patterns can “be considered constructions at the word level, and the individual complex words that instantiate these patterns are (morphological) constructs.” Similarly, Onysko and Michel (2010, p. 9) see the output of word-formation “as constructional schemas and patterns that emerge in usage-based mental networks.”

The term “animal grinding” has been used to refer to specific cases of the phenomenon variably called logical metonymy, logical polysemy, or regular polysemy, i.e. to those cases in which one and the same label can be used to refer holistically to the animal species or specimen as well as to the flesh of the animal in question, not necessarily conceived of as foodstuff, i.e. as meat of that animal, as in (3)–(5) above. In cognitive linguistics this is treated as a subtype of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, specifically as the OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT metonymy within the *Constitution ICM* (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 32). The lexical item labelling the concept of the whole animal stands here only for a particular aspect of the whole animal, i.e. its bodily substance/flesh/meat as processed and used as foodstuff. Even literally, the substance that we use as food is only part of the whole animal’s body, as animals are skinned, boned, etc., and usually it is not the whole carcass that is meant, but rather some smaller portion of it.

The noun is now reclassified in grammatical terms as a concrete, but non-count, or mass noun (this phenomenon is called partial conversion in Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985). This contrasts with the majority of animals denoting nouns used in their primary sense, where they are countable, capable of overtly indicating plural at both token and type/species level (though there are some well-known exceptions, e.g. *fish*, which is capable of taking plural only at the type/species level).

While names of some animals can also be used metonymically in German to refer to their processed meat, there is a productive pattern of the replacement of metonymy by means of a compound noun of the type N + N, with *Fleisch* ('meat') as the second constituent, i.e. as the compound head:

- (8) *Schweinefleisch* 'pork', lit. 'pig-meat', *Rindfleisch* 'beef' lit. 'cattle-meat', *Schafsfleisch* 'mutton' lit. 'sheep-meat', *Ziegenfleisch* 'goat-meat', *Kaninchenfleisch* 'rabbit-meat'

Metonymic reclassification is more acceptable if we have an ostensive context in which a dish made out of the meat of one of these animals is contrasted with dishes made of the meat of other animals.

Hungarian is in this respect very similar to German, i.e. it has compounds with *hús* 'meat' as the second constituent, i.e. as the compound head:

- (9) *sertéshús* 'pig-meat', *marhahús* 'cattle-meat', *borjuhús* 'veal' lit. 'calf-meat' *birkahús* 'sheep-meat', *kecskehús* 'goat-meat'

A language such as Croatian, which unlike Germanic languages or Hungarian hardly uses compounding as a word formation process, resorts to other syntactic or morphological means. First of all, for all cases of animals that are, culturally speaking, less usual or unusual as potential foodstuffs, there is the phrasal expression *meso (od) X_{gen}* 'meat of X'. However, the most important strategy is suffixation, with a cluster of related suffixes, *-ina*, *-tina* and *vina*, used to derive names of meat of various animals:

- (10) a. *govedina* 'beef'
 b. *svinjetina* 'pork', *prasetina* 'piglet meat', *teletina* 'veal', *ovčestina* 'mutton', *koz(l)etina* 'goat meat', *guščetina* 'goose meat', *piletina* 'chicken meat', *konjetina* 'horse meat', *jeletina* 'deer meat', *jaretina* 'kid meat', *janjentina* 'lamb meat', *zečestina* 'rabbit meat', *nojetina* 'ostrich meat'
 c. *tunjevina* 'tuna meat', *veprovina* 'boar meat', *kitovina* 'whale meat', *jele-novina* 'deer meat'

It is interesting to note that affixations for the meat of almost any animal can be coined by using one of these suffixes if necessary, e.g. *dabrovina* 'meat of beaver' (from *dabar* 'beaver'), *medvjedovina* 'meat of a bear' (from *medvjed* 'bear'), *tigrovina* 'meat of a tiger' (from *tigar* 'tiger'), *zmijetina* 'meat of a snake' (from *zmija* 'snake'), *slonetina* 'meat of an elephant' (from *slon* 'elephant'), i.e. it is at least as productive as reclassification in English.

Metonymic conversion is also possible in Croatian and seems to be more acceptable in the case of (smaller) fish and quarry:

- (11) *Pastrvu volim, al' šarana nema šanse da ću pojesti ...*⁷
 'I like trout, but I would no way eat carp'

The metonymic conversion is more viable here because it is difficult to conceptualize the flesh, i.e. the meat of smaller fish types, separately from the whole animal. In view of the size of chunks of their flesh that are available and which still bear some relatively obvious resemblance to the fairly well-articulated body of the whole fish, they simply fail to qualify as amorphous enough, which might be among requirements for their reclassification as mass nouns. In other words, their meat is not considered to be different enough to be conceptually divorced from the animal name by means of suffixations in Croatian.

This pattern of blocking metonymy due to the existence of suffixed nouns⁸ denoting exactly what the metonymy of the type in question would do has been shown to be systematically appealed to in other Slavic languages, such as Slovenian, Russian, and Polish in Brdar (2009). The suffixes in question can occasionally also be used to produce nouns denoting not just meat but other materials produced from animals, such as their fat, and even referents that fall somewhere between materials and objects, such as fur. What is more, there is another way of denoting internal organs of animals and some less valuable cuts by pluralizing the noun in question, as in Croatian *plućica* 'lungs', *jetrica* 'liver', *nogice* 'trotters', *rebrica* 'ribs', which also effectively blocks metonymy.

We now turn to the reversal of this metonymy, i.e. to the MATERIAL FOR AN OBJECT MADE OF THE MATERIAL metonymy. One of the commonest examples is *paper* as used in (12). In its basic meaning the lexeme refers to 'a substance made from wood pulp, rags, straw, or other fibrous material, usually in thin sheets, used to bear writing or printing, for wrapping things, etc.'⁹ In (12) we find that *paper* can denote a whole gamut of objects made from this substance. In the first example of this selection it is used in a more narrow sense of 'sheet/peace/leaf of the material called paper,' while (12b) is about a piece of paper containing a written or printed statement, i.e. about a document. In (12c) *paper* refers to a piece of written school-work or a set of examination questions to be answered at one session, or the written answers to these questions; in (12d) it is 'an essay read at an academic lecture or seminar, or published in an academic journal', and in (12e) is a copy of a newspaper:

7. <http://forum.roda.hr/threads/75751-Kakvu-ribu-jedete> (accessed on 7 February 2015).

8. These suffixations are not metonymies or products of metonymic processes, contra Janda (2011), as discussed in Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2013, 2014).

9. <http://www.wordreference.com/definition/paper>.

- (12) a. *Holmes took a **paper** from his pocket and laid a ten pound note upon the table.*¹⁰
- b. *She handed **the paper** back to the man and said, “I can’t read that.”*¹¹
- c. *Two minutes later, Jimmy handed **his paper** in to the teacher. “Jimmy, how could you possibly be finished with the assignment already?”*¹²
- d. *When they asked Busemann about it, “his face lit up” and he said, “Oh, you remember, I read **a paper** on it at the Volta Conference in 1935”.*¹³
- e. *Easily read **a paper** on a crowded bus, train, or plane with this trick ...*¹⁴

Lexemes for metals, which are inherently non-count, can also be used metonymically to refer to a whole range of objects made of that metal. *Lead* can be used to refer to ‘any of various, often graphitic compositions used as the writing substance in pencils,’¹⁵ and also to a thin stick of that material. Further, it may be used instead of the lexeme *bullet*, ‘a metal projectile for firing from a rifle, revolver, or other small firearm, typically cylindrical and pointed, and sometimes containing an explosive,’¹⁶ because it used to be made from lead in the past. The word is also used as a short form of lead weight suspended on a line used to make soundings. In the specialised jargon of printing *lead* is ‘A thin strip of metal used to separate lines of type.’¹⁷

Let us now consider the following series of examples with *gold*, *silver* and *bronze*, and their counterparts in various languages. The MATERIAL FOR OBJECT MADE OF THE MATERIAL metonymy is attested in a wide variety of languages, though there may be some differences from language to language concerning the

10. https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/d/doyle/arthur_conan/d75re/chapter11.html (accessed on 19 December 2016).

11. https://books.google.hu/books?id=GYwwN1hNttwC&pg=PT2&lpg=PT2&dq=Protect+and+Defend:+A+Thriller&source=bl&ots=T0wVv9I2AP&sig=RiCP-woccxg7brwwWcAgoaOuHedY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiHma_Py_3RAhVGORQKH50AfMQ6AEIMzAF#v=onepage&q=Protect%20and%20Defend%3A%20A%20Thriller&f=false (accessed on 19 December 2016).

12. <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=1466972165> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

13. http://dbpedia.org/page/Adolf_Busemann (accessed on 19 December 2016).

14. <http://www.realsimple.com/home-organizing/how-to-fold-a-broadsheet-newspaper> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

15. <https://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=lead>.

16. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/bullet>.

17. <https://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=lead>.

range of objects that can be denoted using the noun that inherently denotes a type of material. Lexemes denoting metals/alloys such as *gold*, *silver* and *bronze* are commonly used to denote prize medals¹⁸ made from these materials. Cf. some examples from English (13), Croatian (14), German (15), Hungarian (16), and Spanish (17):

- (13) *To have won one gold medal and two silvers in those Games was not only phenomenal, it was historic.*¹⁹
- (14) a. ... *osvojio je svoje deveto olimpijsko zlato ...*²⁰
 won AUX his ninth Olympic gold
 ‘... has won his ninth Olympic gold’
 b. ... *i ova bronca pravi je podvig.*²¹
 and this bronze real is feat
 ‘but even this bronze is a real feat’
- (15) a. *Unsere Mannschaft hat nicht Gold verloren, sondern*
 our team has not gold lost but
 *Silber gewonnen*²²
 silver won
 ‘*Our team has not lost gold but won silver*’
 b. *Denis Kudla hat in der Klasse bis 85 kg Bronze gewonnen*²³
 Denis Kudla has in the class up-to 85 kg Bronze won
 ‘Denis Kudla won bronze in the 85 kg class’

18. One of the etymologies suggested for *medal* is based on a diachronic chain of metonymies. It is claimed to derive from Latin *medalia*, which is claimed to come from the Vulgar Latin *metallea* meaning ‘metal coin.’ This in turn comes from Latin *metallum*, which is said to be a latinisation of the Greek word *metallon*, meaning ‘mine.’

19. Brdar (2007a, p. 80).

20. <http://sport-hr.com/oi-atletika-deveto-zlato-boltu-pobjede-stefanidi-i-cheruiyot/> (accessed on 1 February 2017).

21. <http://net.hr/sport/ostali-sportovi/blanka-vlasic-donijela-hrvatskoj-desetu-medalju-hrvatska-rekorderka-uz-velike-bolove-dosla-do-bronce/> (accessed on 1 February 2017).

22. <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/news/sport/olympia-loewnicht-gold-verloren-silber-gewonnen-dpa.urn-newsml-dpa-com-20090101-160821-99-168014> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

23. <http://nachrichten.rocks/2016/08/16/ringen-ueberraschung-olympia-neuling-kudla-holt-bronze-3/amp/> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

- (16) a. *Hosszú Katinka a harmadik arany után is kritikus:...*²⁴
 Hosszú Katinka the third gold after too critical
 ‘Katinka Hosszú is critical even after her third gold’
 [<http://www.blikk.hu/sport/egyeni/hosszu-katinka-kritikaja-amit-lehetett-ma-elrontottam/vc45c24>]
- b. *Ezüstöt nyert az olimpián, otthon ki is végezhetik*²⁵
 silver won the Olympics at-home PREF even execute-3PL
 ‘He won a silver at the Olympics but he could be executed at home’
- (17) *Maria Espinoza ganó plata para México en Taekwondo*²⁶
 Maria Espinoza won silver for Mexico in taekwondo
 ‘Maria Espinoza has won a silver for Mexico in taekwondo’

Other types of objects may also be referred to metonymically by using names of metals, e.g. sculptures made of bronze:

- (18) *The figurine could of course have been cast in one of the local Corinthian colonies, but the possibility also exists that this rudimentary small bronze was cast in Corinth itself.*²⁷
- (19) *Je li taj hohštapler vidio ikada jednu jedinu egipatsku broncu?*²⁸
 ‘Has that conman ever seen a single Egyptian bronze?’

Gold, silver and bronze can have additional derived uses motivated by the metonymy under scrutiny. They can be used in the sense of ‘gold/silver/bronze coin’ (which is further metonymically extended to mean ‘price of something’):

- (20) *The only US gold coins that he has are a 1883 \$20, an 1898 \$10, an 1897 \$5 and some silvers that we still need to sort through.*²⁹

24. <http://www.blikk.hu/sport/egyeni/hosszu-katinka-kritikaja-amit-lehetett-ma-elrontottam/vc45c24> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

25. <http://www.origo.hu/olimpia-2016/atletika/20160822-olimpia-rio-2016-atletika-maratonfut-as-az-etio-p-feyisa-lilesa-tiltakozasa.html> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

26. <http://www.telemundodeportes.com/juegos-olimpicos-rio-janeiro-2016/disciplinas/taekwondo> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

27. https://books.google.hu/books/about/Corinth_the_Centenary_1896_1996.html?id=r0Kmb-V8k4bgC&redir_esc=y (accessed on 19 December 2016).

28. Miroslav Krleža: *Povratak Filipa Latinovicza*.

29. http://www.coincommunity.com/forum/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=7501 (accessed on 19 December 2016).

Metonymic conversion is in such cases not an option in Croatian. It uses either a phrase consisting of an adjective derived from the word for the metal in question as the premodifier of the noun *novčić* ‘coin’, e.g. *zlatni novčić* ‘gold coin’, or a noun derived from the adjective related to the noun denoting a metal and a suffix (-*ik* or -*jak*) is used, e.g. *zlatnik* ‘gold coin’ or *srebrnjak* ‘silver coin’ and *bakrenjak* ‘copper coin’. This is again an instance of blocking the metonymy in Croatian by means of a word-formation construction. Slovenian and Polish show a similar picture, cf. Slovenian *srebrni/zlati kovanec* ‘silver/gold coin vs. *srebrnik/zlatnik* ‘silver/gold-SUFF’, and Polish *srebrna moneta* ‘silver coin’ vs. *srebrnik* ‘silver-SUFF’.

Silver, sometimes pure, but more usually as alloy, i.e. mixed with other metals, is used to produce a range of jewelry and valuable household items. Even the artifacts made from materials other than silver but which have a silver coating or plating layer on object are referred to as *silver(s)*:

- (21) a. *Too much polishing can wear down the finish on some silvers. Items which are coated or plated should be washed by hand often and polished only once or twice per year. As long as silver is cleansed regularly and stored properly, there's no need to polish silver more than once a year.*³⁰
- b. *Dip your silvers (jewellery, cutlery, etc.) in water used for boiling potatoes. Wash with soap after an hour. This will bring back the sparkle.*³¹

Both Croatian and Slovenian have a suffixed collective noun expressing the concept of silver household objects, *srebrnina*, which means that metonymy is blocked here, too.

To sum up this section, we can say that we have seen ample evidence that word-formation constructions, primarily suffixations, but also compounds, can be used in various languages to block OBJECT and MATERIAL metonymies. Of course, blocking need not be always total and binding.

3.2 Predicative possessive constructions

Among adjectival predicates in English that exhibit semantically unusual subjects we also find some peculiar possessive constructions:

30. <https://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20070202145333AApVEJn> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

31. http://cooking-tips4u.blogspot.hu/2008_06_01_archive.html (accessed on 19 December 2016).

- (22) a. *Seeing how self-deformed he was, fat but elegant; short of leg and ham, on platform shoes...*³²
 b. *The family of gods, all quite short in the legs and long in the trunk, was very tolerant about these abuses.*³³
 c. *He was so amiable, reddish of hair, and ruddy of skin,...*³⁴
 d. *He was already dry of throat and hot of eye.*³⁵
 e. *Owing to the vision of the pink light I was firm of purpose...*³⁶
 f. *... and because I am hard of hearing on the right side...*³⁷

These constructions look just like ordinary copular constructions with predicative adjectives followed by prepositional complements introduced by prepositions such as *of* or *in*. The schematic structure of the construction is COP_ADJ_PREP_NP. We find a large number of adjectives that follow the copula in this type of construction. They can be grouped according to their meaning into those denoting colours (*reddish, ruddy, white*), size adjectives (*big, broad, wide, short, long*, etc.), adjectives denoting strength (*strong, weak, faint*, etc.), behaviour/emotion (*humble, sad, wild, fierce, meek, light*), appearance (*elegant, lithe, weird, stout*), etc.

The head of the NP following the preposition agrees semantically with the predicative adjective, which accounts for a large number of possible combinations. One and the same noun can agree with more than one group of adjectives:

- (23) *strong*
weak
faint
heavy
light
meek
wild } *of heart*

32. Bellow, Saul: *Humboldt's Gift*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982, p. 284.

33. Bellow, Saul: *Henderson the Rain King*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985, p. 181.

34. White, Patrick: *Voss*. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1986, p. 132.

35. White, Patrick: *Voss*. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1986, p. 266.

36. Bellow, Saul: *Henderson the Rain King*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985, p. 105.

37. Bellow, Saul: *Henderson the Rain King*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985, p. 16.

On the other hand, we note that an adjective can be compatible with more than one nominal head:

- (24) *strong of* {
- build, frame, stature, body, organism*
 - mind, spirit, soul, character, will, intent, head*
 - determination, purpose*
 - faith, belief*
 - limb, arm, leg, hand, jaw, bone, forehead, lung, back, muscle, flesh,*
 - wing*
 - heart, stomach, nerve(s)*
 - tongue, voice, word*
 - eye, ear, nose*
 - grip*
 - health*

Comparable constructions are found in Romance, Germanic, Slavic and Semitic languages:

Spanish:

- (25) a. *Interpretado por Conrad Veidt, amplio de hombros, delgado de caderas,...*³⁸
 ‘Played by Conrad Veidt, broad of shoulders, slim of hips ...’
- b. ... *no soy redonda de cara y tengo ojos grandes y nariz prominente ...*³⁹
 ‘... I am not round of face and I have big eyes and a prominent nose’
- c. *¿Cómo [sic] vestirme si soy bajo de estatura?*⁴⁰
 ‘How to dress if I am short of stature?’

38. <http://laperiferiaeselcentro.blogspot.hu/2007/04/el-gabinete-del-doctor-caligari.html> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

39. <http://www.cienporcienguapa.com/2009/05/17/cortes-de-pelo-2010-flequillo/> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

40. <http://www.lafiebredelamoda.com/vestir-bien-hombre/para-hombres-bajitos> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

- d. *Su porte era muy notable: bajo de estatura, en extremo débil de conformación...*⁴¹
 ‘His bearing was very remarkable: low in stature, extremely weak in shape ...’
- e. *Y procuraba ver a Jesús, quién [sic] fuese; mas no podía, a causa del gentío, porque era pequeño de estatura.*⁴²
 ‘And he tried to see Jesus, whoever he was; But he could not, because of the crowd, because he was small in stature.’

Portuguese:

- (26) *Era largo de ombros e musculoso...*⁴³
 ‘He was broad of shoulders and muscular ...’

French:

- (27) a. *Sylvie est noire de cheveux...*
 ‘Sylvie is black of hair’ [König & Haspelmath, 1989, p. 563]
- b. *Sylvie est jolie de yeux.*
 ‘Sylvie is pretty of eyes’ [Frei, 1972]
- c. *Tu es définitivement une femme forte de coeur...*⁴⁴
 ‘You are definitely a woman strong of heart ...’
- d. *une fille belle de peau*
 ‘a girl beautiful of skin’ [Siloni, 2000, p. 315]

Italian:

- (28) a. *Fabio era più alto, bianco di pelle e chiaro di capelli, con gli occhi azzurri ...*⁴⁵
 ‘Fabio was taller, white of skin, with fair hair and blue eyes’
- b. *Era largo di spalle e di torace ...*⁴⁶
 ‘He was broad of shoulder and chest’

41. http://bocos.com/borrow_espanol/borrow_53_cap_es.htm (accessed on 19 December 2016).

42. <https://www.bibliatodo.com/biblia/Version-moderna-1929/lucas-19-3> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

43. John le Carré: *O illustre colegial*, transl. by Teixeira de Aguilar. Alfargide: Dom Quixote, 2014.

44. <http://don.fondationduchudequebec.ca/Pages/Campaigns/Campaign.aspx?campaign=433> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

45. <http://libri.freenfo.net/9/9005010.html> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

46. <http://yniwovacibu.xpg.uol.com.br/vt3h652dp92j23.html> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

Romanian:⁴⁷

- (29) ... *căci era mic de statură...*
 because was little of stature
 ‘because he was small of stature’

Danish:

- (30) ... *fordi han var lille af Vækst.*⁴⁸
 because he was little of growth
 ‘because he was small of stature’

Norwegian:

- (31) ... *for han var liten av vekst.*⁴⁹
 because he was little of growth
 ‘because he was small of stature’

Swedish:

- (32) ... *ty han var liten till växten.*
 for he was little to growth
 ‘because he was small of stature’ [<http://sv.bibelsite.com/luke/19-3.htm>]

Hebrew:

- (33) *ha-yalda hayta šxorat eynayim*
 def-girl.F.SG was black.F.SG eyes.F.PL
 ‘The girl had black eyes’ [Rothstein, 2014, p. 48]

Akkadian:

- (34) *rabbītam libbi*
 great heart.GEN
 ‘great of heart’ (Reiner, 1984, p. 1)

Arabic:

- (35) *imra’at-un jamīl-at-u-l-wajh-i*
 woman.F.SG-NOM beautiful-F.SG-NOM-DEF-face-GEN
 ‘a woman with a beautiful face’ (Kremers, 2005, p. 1)

47. This is a Romanian translation of Luke 19,3 (<https://www.wordproject.org/bibles/ro/42/19.htm>), corresponding to the Spanish Example (25) e. Comparable examples from Danish (30), Norwegian (31) and Swedish (32) describe the same Biblical scene.

48. http://runeberg.org/dkbibbel/42_19.html (accessed on 20 December 2016).

49. <http://no.bibelsite.com/luke/19-2.htm>.

A closer scrutiny of this construction reveals, however, a number of unexpected properties. Note that a sizeable number of NPs occurring as the complement of prepositions denote body parts and are countable, though occurring in the singular (*hand, leg, eye, throat*, etc.). In light of this we might expect some sort of determiner, possibly a possessive one, but as a rule we find zero article, which testifies to their special idiom-like character.

Even more importantly, while there is apparently a sort of semantic agreement between the adjective and the NP in the complement, there is less semantic agreement between the subject of the sentence and the predicative adjective. This is not so obvious in some cases, e.g. while *ruddy* inherently collocates with nouns like *face* and *complexion*, or perhaps *lips* and *cheeks*, and can therefore follow them in the predicative position, it can also be found in this position following a noun denoting a human, with or without a PP complement:

(36) *The young man was ruddy, probably another Irishman, he thought.*⁵⁰

However, note that *chestnut* as a colour adjective can be used without any PP only when it is predicated of horses, but when it is predicated of humans, it must be followed by the PP *of hair*:

(37) a. *What a horse! He was chestnut with a handsome face (unusual in Gelderlandes)...*⁵¹

b. *The models in the book are freckled of face and chestnut of hair, like human Irish setters.*⁵²

The adjectival predicates refer here in fact to some qualities that characterize NPs that are introduced by the preposition and not directly their subject NPs. Subject NPs are possessors of what is denoted in the PP. The possessed items are more or less inalienable, either concrete nouns referring to body parts, or parts of certain objects, or, on the other hand, abstract nouns denoting physical bodily faculties, such as senses, or some inherent and fairly stable aspects of one's personality. In some cases, the NP denotes literally a body part, but the body part in question metonymically stands for a faculty (e.g. *tongue* in *swift/quick of tongue* stands for speech faculty, cf. Radden, 2001; cf. also ... *when a man is keen of ear or keen of eye they simply wipe him out,...*).

50. <https://books.google.com/books?isbn=1503517233> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

51. <https://books.google.hu/books?isbn=1483430391> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

52. <http://www.racked.com/2015/8/27/9200677/a-color-me-beautiful-life> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

Occasionally, the subject is also inanimate:

- (38) a. *The most numerous were the tall stately merchantmen, broad in the beam and with capacious holds, driven by sails ...*⁵³
 b. *Our room was high of ceiling and elaborate of molding and had an ensuite bathroom, which was nice.*⁵⁴

We could claim that the predicate that primarily characterizes the possessed undergoes a metonymic shift that may be termed *ATTRIBUTE OF PART FOR THE ATTRIBUTE OF THE WHOLE* (an instance of a more general metonymic model according to which a part stands for a whole) and is now applied to the possessor with which it may have been semantically more or less incompatible. Cf. the case of *heavy*, which can of course be predicated of animate subjects, but then has a meaning utterly different from the one intended in the following examples:

- (39) a. *Tomorrow, heavy of heart, I was going to the Prado...*
 b. *At first he was rather heavy of expression and I thought he might be looking for trouble,...*

These examples are similar to what Langacker (1991, 1999) calls active zone phenomena. In a more traditional approach to metonymy, the referential expression *the piano* in (40) would be considered to be an instance of metonymy, *piano* standing for ‘the sound of piano:’

- (40) *She heard the piano.*

Langacker (1990a, p. 190) defines active zone as those portions of a trajectory or landmark that participate directly in a given relation. While for some relational predicates the active zone of the trajectory and/or landmark may be actually be the whole, in (40) it is not the piano as a whole that can be heard, so it is clear that the relational predicate *hear* applies only to a subpart of the whole. Similarly, for a relational predicate like *bite* in:

- (41) *Your dog bit my cat.*

the active zone of the trajectory and/or landmark is limited to a proper subpart of the whole, such that

53. Attenborough, D. (1987). *The first eden: The Mediterranean world and man*. Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown and Co. (p. 166).

54. <http://melle.ca/2010/07/scotland-day-6-7-ayr-and-culzean-castle/> (accessed on 19 December 2016).

... certain portions of the dog (notably the teeth and jaws) are directly and crucially involved in the biting, and others (e.g. the tail and pancreas) hardly at all. By the same token, only some (unspecified) portion of the cat enjoys the privilege of directly participating in the action. (Langacker, 1999, p. 62)

It will be seen that the predicative possessive constructions discussed in this section are very similar to (40) and (41), e.g. it is not the whole subject NP that is reddish and/or ruddy in (22c), only certain portions of the whole denoted by the subject whole are involved specifically, the hair and skin, respectively. Interestingly, the active zone, i.e. the intended target of the metonymic shift, is obligatorily specified in the majority of our examples by means of prepositional phrases. Otherwise, ambiguity, or even obscurity of expression, might ensue. A similar phenomenon of specification of active zones by means of noun-incorporation is discussed in Tuggy (1986).

One of the interesting twists in Langacker's analysis is that, while he explicitly talks about the metonymic nature of the active zone phenomena (Langacker, 1999, p. 62), he goes on to suggest that the trajectors and the landmarks, i.e. subjects and objects, involved in the active zone phenomena may have literal meaning and that it is the meaning of the predicative expression that gets shifted, i.e. adjusted to accommodate its semantic argument, and incorporates the 'literal' argument as its active zone. In (40) the meaning of *heard* is thus claimed to shift to 'Subj *heard the sound* of Obj,' according to which aspect of the source is activated.

While the fact that the predicative adjective gets a "slightly" different reading speaks in favour of the assumption that it is the adjective that undergoes a metonymic shift, it is also possible to assume that the subject NP, or the possessor, undergoes a metonymic shift of the type POSSESSOR FOR THE POSSESSED, similar to the analysis of the raising constructions in Langacker (1995), where the NP arguments, and not the predicative expressions, are said to undergo a metonymic shift. There are a number of reasons why the latter analysis is preferable, i.e. why the examples we focus on here are instances of referential rather than predicational metonymy.

Langacker (1999, p. 62) observes that active zone phenomena:

... represent one way of resolving a tension inherent in the choice of central clausal participants. Determining which entities are to be made explicit and prominent as a subject or object usually involves a conflict between two competing desiderata: that of being precise and accurate in regard to which entities actually participate in the profiled interaction; and that of focusing attention on entities that are inherently salient or of primary interest.

We could add to this that subject NPs followed by the predicative possessive construction also have an important role in maintaining topic-continuity and discourse cohesion by making it possible to get around switching between various topics

associated with different conceptual layers. This situation is similar to what CAPITAL FOR GOVERNMENT metonymies can do, as demonstrated in Brdar (2007c) and Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2009).

It is tempting to think of this construction with the specification of the active zone in the PP complement as a result of a merger of the ascriptive construction with another marginal possessive construction (e.g. *to be of no value*, *to be of importance*, etc.). This would then motivate the choice of the most frequent preposition, i.e. *of*. The predicative possessive construction retains the basic template of the ascriptive construction, but is extended by a PP complement, turning its predicate into what Curme (1931), Mathesius (1961) and Vachek (1961) call centrifugal predicate, where the semantic core of the predicate is displaced from the finite verb to some nonverbal elements (predicative adjectives, nouns, etc.). Centrifugal predicates are a subtype of what Hopper (1991) calls Multiple Articulated Verbal Expressions (MAVE) or Dispersed Verb (1997), such as *take violent evasive action*, *make a turn*, *heave a sigh of relief*, *begin V-ing/to V*, etc. Hopper claims that when speakers use such expressions they do not just engage in reporting events but rather in “the rhetorical construction of events through speech acts of narrating and reporting” (Hopper, 1991, p. 411). Hopper (1997, p. 241) notes that simple or unit verbs “suggest a distant perspective on events, and dispersed verbs a close-up, involved perspective.” The former predicates are associated with an objective and integrated (or holistic) perspective, the latter with subjective and involved perspective. Hopper goes on to claim that

... the use of the unit verb for a distal perspective is perhaps iconic, and the dispersed verbs for close-up where there is more detail might have something to do with what Langacker calls “granularity”, the degree of resolution imparted or subtracted as distance from the object contracts or expands.

(Hopper, 1997, p. 243)

This means that the construction we focus on here offers a construal of the situation that is “infested” with, or filtered through, the speaker’s personal point of view. This would mean that an utterance such as *John is short of legs* need not be just a statement of objective facts, but also involve an element of assessment or judgement, potentially leaving room for its relativization, unlike *John’s legs are short* or *John has short legs*, which are more likely to be statements of facts (to the best of one’s knowledge). Note that Waltereit (1999, p. 245), discussing example (27b), remarks that that particular sentence:

... really says something about Sylvie’s eyes, but it is the entire person that appears in the subject position. We are dealing with a kind of PART-WHOLE metonymy in which a part (the eyes) is replaced by a whole (the entire person).

The fact that “the entire person appears in the subject position” actually cracks the door open for the relativization of the force of the utterance – the combination of the metonymic subject NP with a relatively incongruent predicative expression makes it possible, if necessary, to paraphrase it by explicitly invoking the intended target by means of expressions such as *John’s legs*, as a first step towards taking back or relativizing the statement. All this seems to indicate that we have here a case of subjectivity, if not strictly in the Langackerian sense of the term (Langacker, 1990b), but then at least some elements of the subjectivity as understood by Traugott (1982, 1989).

There are, however, languages that do not make much, if any, use of this type of construction.⁵⁵ Thus, there are only a few comparable constructions with adjectival predicates and possessor subjects apart from some idiomatic constructions restricted in terms of their distribution in German, Croatian and Hungarian.

German boasts some possessive constructions with abstract possessed entities in addition to the few with body parts:

- (42) a. ... *ein Ritter, tapfer von Gemüth und schön von Gestalt*
 INDEF knight bold of mind and handsome of stature⁵⁶
 b. *Das Shirt ist in den Schultern eng.*⁵⁷
 DET shirt COP in DET shoulders narrow

Croatian (43) and Hungarian (44) data are similar to the examples in (42) b. Again, the specification of the active zone is a rule:

- (43) ... *da je brz na jeziku.*⁵⁸
 that COP quick on tongue
 ‘that he is quick of tongue’
 (44) ... *az én fiam elég széles vállban.*⁵⁹
 DET me boy-my wide shoulder-in
 ‘My boy is rather wide of shoulder’

55. Brdar, Brdar-Szabó, Gradečak-Erdeljić, and Buljan (2001) show that Croatian generally prefers centripetal, dynamic, verbal predicates, while Germanic languages exhibit more centrifugal, non-dynamic and verbo-nominal predicates.

56. https://books.google.hu/books?id=NsUBAAAAYAAJ&hl=&source=gbs_api&redir_esc=y. (accessed on 4 February 2017).

57. <https://www.deerberg.at/at/> (accessed on 4 February 2017).

58. <http://www.jutarnji.hr/arhiva/prvi-je-milanovicev-mandat-tek-sada-poceo/3931668/> (accessed on 4 February 2017).

59. <https://www.kerdezd.eu/kereses?q=Hanyas+ruhakat+hord> (accessed on 4 February 2017).

Further, there are either predicative constructions with copula verb followed by a partitive expression (Croatian Example (45)), comparable to the *be of X* possessive construction in English, or morphologically complex predicative adjectives (Hungarian Example (46)) comparable to English adjectives of the type *blue-eyed*:

- (45) *Ravnatelj je široke ruke.*⁶⁰
 director COP broad-GEN hand-GEN
 ‘The director was broad-handed’
- (46) *Nem bőkezű a kormány.*⁶¹
 not broad-handed DEF governemnt
 ‘The government is not broad-handed’

In sum, it seems that German, Croatian and Hungarian do not exhibit many instances of the POSSESSOR FOR THE POSSESSED metonymy as they lack the possessive adjectival construction. Alternatively, we could say the presence of some other constructions (those illustrated in (45) and (46)) preempts this metonymy.

3.3 The CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED metonymy and causative constructions

3.3.1 *The anatomy of this metonymy*

The CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED metonymy is one of the stock examples of metonymy (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 40). Consider the following examples:

- (47) a. *Well, let me tell you I hit the median strip...*⁶²
 b. *Then in mid-January I was in passenger seat on the freeway and a Mercedes rear ended me...*⁶³
 c. *In 1946, Karajan gave his first post-war concert in Vienna with the Vienna Philharmonic...*⁶⁴

60. <http://www.rijekadanas.com/ravnatelj-edita-ispeglao-karticu-s-preko-50-000-eura/> (accessed on 6 March 2017).

61. http://www.ma.hu/adougyek.hu/47139-1-p/Megsem_lesz_olyan_jo_az_adovaltozas_mint_amit_a_kor-many_iger. (accessed on 6 March 2017).

62. <https://books.google.hu/books?isbn=0595289436> (accessed on 4 February 2017).

63. www.mattygoldberg.com/blog (accessed on 4 February 2017).

64. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herbert_von_Karajan accessed on 24 November 2016).

- d. Dubbed “Stormin Norman,” **Schwarzkopf** defeated Saddam Hussein and cemented US power over Kuwait.⁶⁵
- e. In any case, **Nixon** bombed Hanoi during Paris talks...⁶⁶
- f. **Pep Guardiola** defeats **Mourinho** to paint Manchester blue...⁶⁷
- g. After all the text was able to be moved up, down or side to side as needed I printed the letter on blank white paper...⁶⁸
- h. In 1739, on taking the degree of Master of Arts, **Blair** printed his thesis, “*De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturae*”...⁶⁹
- i. **Bill Gates** buys Facebook
Microsoft will buy a 1.6 percent stake in Facebook and agreed to sell ads for Facebook overseas...⁷⁰

In some of the examples the controlled is an inanimate object (the car, the printer), while it is some animate collective noun in the majority of cases (armed forces, corporation, orchestra, team, etc.). As for the choice of the controller, the person in question must be a figure outstanding against the background of the controlled collective, so that, for example, a novice football coach would not be a good metonymic choice for any club, unlike Guardiola or Mourinho. On the other hand, the collective must be such that it lends itself easily to control. Thus, even Ban Ki-moon would not be a good enough controller in the case of the UN.

It seems that this metonymy is not necessarily a unitary phenomenon. In some of the examples the subject can be metonymically interpreted as standing for the person mentioned and one of its possessions that at the same time is being “controlled” or used by the person, as in (47a and b). Example (47g) is very similar, but while the replacement of the metonymic vehicle in (47a and b) with the the lexical item associated with the target concept, i.e. *the car*, is perfectly natural, it would be odd in (47g): ?*The printer printed the letter*. In (47c, d and e), *Karajan*, *Schwarzkopf* and *Nixon* control a group of people with whom they do something together, i.e.

65. <https://revivers.wordpress.com/page/35/> (accessed on 4 February 2017).

66. <https://www.strategypage.com/militaryforums/89-26399-page4.aspx> (accessed on 5 February 2017).

67. <https://glitznglamourmagazine.wordpress.com/2016/09/11/man-u-1-2-man-city-pep-guardiola-defeats-mourinho-to-paint-manchester-blue-watch/> (accessed on 4 February 2017).

68. <https://www.biggerpockets.com/forums/87/topics/42007-printing-my-own-yellow-letter> (accessed on 24 November 2016).

69. <https://books.google.hu/books?id=QFwLAAAAYAAJ> (accessed on 24 November 2016).

70. <http://affiliatetip.com/bill-gates-buys-facebook/> (accessed on 24 November 2016).

give a concert, defeat the enemy, and perform bombing, with an orchestra, an army, and the air forces, respectively, as the controlled.

Note that in (45c and d), and also probably in (45f), the controlled do not perform without the controller, which means that here we actually have something like CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED-CUM-CONTROLLER metonymy, and not simply CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED. In (47e), however, the controller, Nixon, does not take part in the event of bombing directly, i.e. it is in theory possible for him to be directly involved (just like it is in theory possible that he does it alone), but it is not very likely to be understood in this way. Note that in (47f), the subject is not involved in the event at all, but has other people do the job. Finally, what (47e and h) have in common is an element of causativity, i.e. the subjects gave orders/made arrangements for something to happen, and can therefore be paraphrased by means of the causative have: *X had Y V Z*, or *X had T V-ed*. It has been suggested in the literature that such examples could be analysed either as cases of referential metonymy, where an NP undergoes a metonymic shift of the type CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED, or as cases of predicational metonymy, where the predicative expression, here *bomb*, acquires a causative interpretation, 'cause X to bomb Y' (Stallard, 1993; Ziegeler & Lee, 2009).⁷¹

In the rest of this case study, we concentrate on such cases of metonymy of the type CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED proper that involve causation. We first consider some cross-linguistic equivalents of examples like (47e), and consider what the observed situation means for the interplay between grammar and metonymy.

3.3.2 CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED/causative metonymy across languages

Let us start with some examples of counterparts of *Nixon bombed Hanoi* from the COGMOD database:⁷²

Spanish:

(48) *Nixon bombardeó Hanoi.*

Catalan:

(49) *Nixon va bombardejar Hanoi.*

71. Note that Stefanowitsch (2015) argues that constructions like (47) e. cannot be satisfactorily accounted for in either way.

72. This is a multilingual database (<http://cogmod.lexicom.es/admin.php>) compiled within the LEXICOM research project (www.lexicom.es), at the heart of which lies the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM).

Italian:

(50) *Nixon bombardò Hanoi.*

Romanian:

(51) *Nixon a bombardat Hanoi-ul.*

Hungarian:

(52) a. *Nixon bombázta Hanoiit.*
Nixon bomb-PAST-3SG Hanoi-ACC

b. *Nixon bombáztatta Hanoiit.*
Nixon bomb-CAUS-PAST-3SG Hanoi-ACC
'Nixon had Hanoi bombed'

In addition to what we have seen in other languages, Hungarian can also use a causative verb, as in b., marked by the affix *-(t)at/-(t)et*. It is obvious that in (52b) neither the NP, *Nixon*, nor the predicate, *bombáztatta*, can be interpreted metonymically. In other words, the use of the morphological causative construction blocks metonymy.

The use of this construction is wide-spread in Hungarian to draw a distinction between situations which describe the usual sort of events, as in (53a) where the speaker talks about a situation in which probably a dentist pulled out his/her tooth, on the one hand, and situations where the subject is normally not expected to do something him/herself, but nevertheless does what is denoted by the verb, on the other hand, as in (53b):

(53) a. *Kihúzáttam a fogamat.*
out-pull-CAUS-PAST-1SG DEF tooth-POSS.1.SG-ACC
'I have had my tooth pulled out'

b. *Kihúztam a fogamat.*
out-pull-PAST-1SG DEF tooth-POSS.1.SG-ACC
'I have pulled out my (own) tooth'

In one of the most bizarre moments of NHL, Éric Bélanger, a Canadian former professional ice hockey player, who played for the Washington Capitals in 2010, took a high stick to the mouth from the Montreal Canadiens defenceman Marc-André Bergeron during one of the playoff games, which resulted in Bélanger losing nine teeth. Moments after the hit, the game telecast showed Bélanger on the bench removing a loose tooth from his mouth, using just his fingers and a piece of gauze. This highly unusual situation was described in Croatian media as follows:

- (54) *Igrač Washington Capitalsa Eric Belanger tijekom sedme utakmice doigravanja protiv Montreala dobio je palicom u lice.*

the player of Washington Capitals, Eric Belanger during the 7th playoff game against Montreal got hit in face by a stick

*Izvadio si je zub i vratio se na led.*⁷³
 out-pull-PAST1SG REFL-DAT AUX tooth-ACC and returned to the ice

That the subject himself performs what is denoted by the verb is signalled here by *si*, the reflexive pronoun in the dative case. Otherwise, if the verb were not accompanied by the reflexive, the subject could have been interpreted as performing the activity, probably on someone else, or as having it performed (upon him/herself).

One of the problems with causative paraphrases of (47e) in English, and one of the pieces of evidence against the predicative metonymy analysis, as pointed out by Kabakčiev (2000, p. 106), is that sentences like (47e) are factive, i.e. they entail that bombing was ordered and that it actually took place, while the causative paraphrase only entails the ordering, but leaves open whether the event of bombing took place or not. This problem is absent from the morphological causative constructions in Hungarian, as they have a factive reading comparable to (47e). This Hungarian causative construction is actually far more frequently used than non-causatives of the type in (53b). This is also confirmed by the fact that causative constructions were offered as most appropriate Hungarian translations of (47e) by roughly 75% of native speakers in an informal translation test.

What we have seen in this case study is that the referential metonymy of the type CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED may be blocked in Hungarian if the predicate contains a causative predicate formed by the addition of a causative suffix. Of course, an analysis of such cases as containing a predicational metonymy where the predicative expression acquires a causative interpretation, 'cause X to bomb Y' is out of question due to the presence of the causative suffix.

3.4 Papers in papers

As we have seen in 3.1, the noun *paper* can be used metonymically in many ways, among these were '(a copy of) a newspaper' and 'an essay read at an academic lecture or seminar, or published in an academic journal.' In this section we focus on the use of names of newspapers and academic articles as references in combination with verbs of communication.

73. <http://www.24sata.hr/sport/hokejas-washingtona-sjeo-na-klupu-i-izvadio-si-zub-171248/komentari> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

Among the stock examples used to illustrate the referential function of metonymy of the type **WHOLE FOR PART** are names of newspapers such as:⁷⁴

- (55) a. *But when Bush and Rumsfeld met Wednesday morning in the Oval Office, the President told Rumsfeld he was particularly upset that no one had told him the photos of the abuses were in circulation, even though Pentagon officials knew that CBS had obtained them, the senior White House official told the Washington Post*⁷⁵
- b. *An injunction banning the Guardian from naming a former royal servant was lifted by agreement at the High Court today after the newspaper said it had no intention of repeating allegations about him.*

Indeed, the phenomenon seems to be wide-spread in cross-linguistic terms, as shown by the following examples from a variety of languages, such as Croatian (56), Hungarian (57), Dutch (58), German (59), and Spanish (60):

Croatian:

- (56) *Stručnjaci s kojima je Vjesnik kontaktirao glede aktualnih zbivanja na informatičkom polju drže da ...*
 ‘Experts whom *Vjesnik* contacted about current trends in computer world think that ...’

Hungarian:

- (57) *A New York Times a hírrel kapcsolatban megjegyzi, hogy több Irakban szolgáló magas rangú amerikai tiszt kételkedik abban, hogy a biztonsági állapotok lehetővé tennének egy jelentős létszámú csapatcsökkentést.*
 ‘*New York Times* remarks concerning the news that a number of American high-posted military officers stationed in Iraq doubt that the present security situation makes possible a considerable troops number reduction’

Dutch:

- (58) *De Amerikaanse krant New York Times meldde zaterdag dat Jones een cheque van 7350 dollar heeft gestuurd naar Victor Conte...*
 ‘The American paper *New York Times* reported on Saturday that Jones issued a cheque on \$7,350 to Victor Conte ...’

74. Examples (55) to (60) are taken over from Brdar, Kučanda, Gradečak-Erdeljić, and Milić (2005).

75. *The Houston Chronicle*, May 6, 2004, 1.

German

- (59) *Mit einer Entscheidung sei bis Ende des Monats zu rechnen, berichtete die Zeitung Hürriyet.*
 ‘A decision is expected by the end of the month, reported the paper *Hürriyet*.’

Spanish:

- (60) *The Sunday Times afirma que la policia militar se dispone a llevar ante los tribunales...*
 ‘*The Sunday Times* confirms that the military police intends to bring to court ...’

However, a closer look reveals that there are certain differences between languages concerning the range of entrenched uses of such metonymies. Names of newspapers can be used in English in a number of ways, to refer to the newspaper as an institution (61), to the contents of the paper, i.e. to an article in it (62), to the company that owns and publishes the newspaper (63), to the newspaper as printed matter (64), as well as to a journalist writing for a given newspaper (65):

- (61) *Anthony Howard, the political commentator, used to say that Alastair Hetherington, the then editor of the Manchester Guardian, for whom Cooke was writing from 1945 to 1952, was growing exasperated by him.*⁷⁶ (NEWSPAPER FOR INSTITUTION)
- (62) *The Washington Post reported today that after Moose made his statement, a police spokeswoman said the chief meant what he said and that it should “make sense” to the person who left the message.*⁷⁷ (NEWSPAPER FOR ARTICLE IN THE NEWSPAPER)
- (63) *When the Guardian bought the Observer...*⁷⁸ (NEWSPAPER FOR COMPANY)
- (64) *Get The Times for 20p.*⁷⁹ (NEWSPAPER FOR A COPY OF THE NEWSPAPER)
- (65) *A third story, less sensational, unfolded recently as The Times arrived to talk to Bashir about his bizarre but epic coexistence with the army and his hopes for the future.*⁸⁰ (NEWSPAPER FOR A JOURNALIST)

76. <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2004/03/30/1080544479109.html> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

77. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-143711/Police-sniper-message.html> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

78. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/melanie-phillips-truth-justice-and-the-melanie-way-752256.html> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

79. <http://www.couponwatch.co.uk/students-get-times-for-20p> (accessed on 20 December 2016).

80. *The Times*, 21 July 2005.

Checking these various senses of metonymically used names of newspapers we find that some of these are lacking in certain languages. Most conspicuously, Croatian and Hungarian do not seem to allow the use of names of newspapers to refer to journalists at a newspaper taken collectively, and particularly not to refer to a single journalist.

There are, however, some more subtle differences, too. One of these, the focus of the present section, concerns the use of the names of newspapers to refer to pieces of writing, i.e. articles that serve as the source of information, as in (62). This is related to, but also different in several respects from, the metonymy operative in what Li and Panther (2014) call the ‘Author (date)’ construction, found in scientific discourse. Metonymic uses of names of papers of the type found in (62) are interesting in their own right, as we seem to have here a metonymic chain, specifically a double, or a two-tiered metonymy, a phenomenon which normally goes unrecognized due to the ease of metonymic inferencing and reasoning, and which has therefore only recently come to the fore of metonymy research. First of all, there is a WHOLE FOR PART link between the newspaper as an institution and one of its issues, i.e. to a collection of articles physically realized as a number of multiple physical copies of printed matter. Secondly, the same type of mapping takes place shifting the reference from the issue as whole to a specific article in it. Such uses of newspaper names that happen to exhibit metonymic chaining are also interesting from a cross-linguistic point of view, as the comparison of what we find in English media discourse with the practices and conventions found in the comparable type of discourse in other languages reveals a great deal of overlap, but also some discrepancies.

There is no denying that practically all the instances of the metonymies under investigation found in English can be matched with relatively direct counterparts in Croatian, i.e. NPs used metonymically in the same way. Cf. the following Croatian examples exhibiting the availability of all these types of metonymic mappings:⁸¹

- (66) *Vjesnik je doista institucija, a institucije se doista ne ukidaju* (NEWSPAPER FOR INSTITUTION)
 ‘Vjesnik is indeed an institution, and institution are not really abolished’
- (67) *Kad je već Anto Kovačević tužio Večernji, Jutarnji list i Vjesnik u vezi “slučaja Šekelja”,...* (NEWSPAPER FOR INSTITUTION)
 ‘Now that Anto Kovačević sued *Večernji, Jutarnji list* and *Vjesnik* because of the Šekelja case,...

81. Examples (66) to (69) are taken over from Brdar et al. (2005).

- (68) *Čim zora zarudi, oni žurno ustaju i jure kupiti Jutarnji list i Večernjak.* (NEWSPAPER FOR AN ISSUE)
 'At dawn, they quickly get up and rush to buy *Jutarnji list* and *Večernjak*'
- (69) *Rodakinja Bekićevih s kojom je razgovarao Feral tvrdi kako...* (NEWSPAPER FOR A JOURNALIST)
 'A relative of the Bekić family to whom *Feral* talked claims that ...'

Examples like (69) are, however, far less common than those from (64) to (66).

As an interesting twist, however, we find that in addition to such metonymic counterparts, we also find a whole range of alternative renderings in Croatian that at first blush do not appear to be metonymic at all. Specifically, we find impersonal constructions with an implicit 3rd person singular subject and the verb that is made reflexive by the addition of *se*, while the name of the newspaper appears within a prepositional phrase:⁸²

- (70) a. *U najnovijem Glasu Koncila tvrdi se da je hrvatska država obezglavljena...*
 'In the latest (issue of) *Glas Koncila* it is claimed that the Croatian state is without a head ...'
- b. *Prema pisanju lista, do sastanka je došlo vrlo naglo.*
 'According to the writing of the paper, the meeting happened all of a sudden.'
- c. *G. Neier je tom prilikom, prema tekstu u Vjesniku, iznio mišljenje da....*
 'According to a text in *Vjesnik*, Mr Neier expressed an opinion on that occasion that ...'

Summing up the various structural realizations, we note three conspicuous features – the use of prepositions, the use of impersonal constructions, and the use of lexical items making clear reference to an article, such as verbs of linguistic action, either implying written or spoken communication, or the nominalized forms of these verbs of linguistic action. Of course, these structural features are often combined in a single structure.

In order to find out how significant these alternative possibilities are, we examined the newspaper section of the *Croatian national corpus*, searching for all instances of newspaper names from a given set. As might have been expected, only a fraction of the material thus retrieved contained examples of the phenomenon under investigation, i.e. names of newspapers used to refer to secondary sources of information in newspaper articles. All the cases of reporting the source by means of

82. These are very similar to locative expressions discussed in Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2003) and Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2009), but they can hardly be considered metonymic here as they explicitly mention the target.

a noun phrase (e.g. *Jutarnji list piše da...* ‘*Jutarnji list* writes that ...’) are metonymic, i.e. they form a part of the total mass of metonymic uses.

Reversing now the contrastive perspective, i.e. starting from Croatian and proceeding towards English, we realize that there is another interesting aspect here. While the paraphrase possibilities found in Croatian are structurally available in English too and may be relatively frequent in certain types of discourse, they do not appear to be the favoured expression in the media discourse in the function that is under investigation here. Some are possible there, while some others are decidedly odd.

As for the lexical items referring to linguistic action, the choice in English seems to be more removed from the literal reference to a written source. Most frequently, we find verbs such as *report*, *claim*, *argue*, etc., but *write* is far less common than its counterpart in Croatian. This specific collocation is predominantly found in non-journalistic discourse, though not impossible:

- (71) *The Herald writes that “shortfall of free seats” has prompted airlines to offer more non-flight rewards in their frequent-flier programs – rewards that can be redeemed for items ranging from cookware to NASCAR rides to snowmobile excursions.*⁸³

The combination of *to write* with a prepositional phrase making reference to an article in the paper is equally rare, the second example being from a Pakistani daily:

- (72) a. *The move “highlights the strategic gulf between network US carriers and the rapid growth of low-fare rivals,” the Financial Times writes in a report carried by MSNBC.*⁸⁴
 b. *The people of Pakistan deserve a “good explanation” for the Bajaur air strike, which they have not received from their leaders and it was, therefore, for President George Bush to have provided it, the New York Times writes in its lead editorial on Saturday.*⁸⁵

What is most conspicuously absent in English-language newspapers is the use of full-blown impersonal constructions, in any combination with the other two devices, comparable to (63b) in Croatian:

- (73) a. *It is *written/??argued/??claimed in the/an article in...*
 b. *It is *written/??argued/??claimed in [NEWSPAPER NAME] that...*

83. *USA Today*, 3 April 2006.

84. *USA Today*, 20 January 2006.

85. *Daily Times*, 29 January 2006.

Widening the contrastive perspective by including Hungarian in the comparison with English and Croatian, we become aware of the fact that the same types of replacement are found both in Hungarian and in Croatian, and they have an equally important role in Hungarian. In short, it seems that impersonal constructions, which are incompatible with metonymies in this type of context, are constructions that Croatian and Hungarian prefer over the synonymous active constructions.

A number of questions arise now: Why should Croatian and Hungarian bother to have such roundabout paraphrases if they can avail themselves of canonical nominal metonymies? And why should English be disinclined to use such replacements? Our claim is that the facts about preferences observed above are not incidental, but motivated by a complex interplay of cognitive, grammatical (structural), and discourse-pragmatic factors. There can be no doubt that the application of metonymic mappings is constrained here. Some earlier corpus-based studies on the availability of metonymically used proper names in the language of media, specifically of the CAPITAL-FOR-THE-GOVERNMENT type, show that this type of metonymy is not infrequent in Hungarian and Croatian, but not as ubiquitous as in English and German (cf. Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2003). A detailed analysis reveals that part of the contrasts can be attributed to the fact that English and German metonymically used names of capitals are often rendered in Hungarian and Croatian as locative prepositional phrases in impersonal constructions, as shown in the following examples from Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2003, p. 94):

- (74) *Iz Londona je službeno zanijekano da je krajnje*
 from London-GEN AUX officially denied that AUX ultimate
odredište tankera bio Gibraltar, što je prije objavljeno.
 destination tanker been Gibraltar which AUX earlier published
 ‘It was officially denied in London that the ship’s ultimate destination was Gibraltar, contrary to what had been claimed earlier’
- (75) *Moszkvában most úgy látják,...*
 Moscow-in now thus see-3PL
 ‘It is thought now in Moscow ...’

The same pattern of apparent replacement of metonymically used names of capitals has been found in a number of other pro-drop languages that have elaborate agreement systems as well as productive impersonal constructions, such as Polish, Russian, Slovenian, Spanish and Italian (cf. Brdar & Brdar-Szabó, 2009). This fits the more general pattern of replacement of metonymically used names of capitals found in other areas in Croatian and Hungarian in which metonymies are underused, as shown in Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2004). It is argued there that some construction types with locative subjects in English lend themselves to an analysis in terms

of metonymy of the type PARTICIPANT-FOR-SITUATION, while their counterparts in Croatian and Hungarian are again impersonal constructions with locatives as non-metonymic adverbials. Cf. some examples:

- (76) a. *Bilo je strašno vruće na trgu.*
 COP AUX terribly hot on square
 'It was terribly hot in the square'
- b. *Na trgu je strašno vruće.*
 on square COP terribly hot
- c. **Trg je strašno vruć.*
 square COP terribly hot

As we have seen, the application of the metonymy type WHOLE FOR PART when names of newspapers are used to refer to individual articles in the newspaper is seriously constrained here and that impersonal and passive constructions are routinely chosen as means of avoiding, i.e. blocking, that metonymy.

4. Some concluding remarks about the blocking of metonymy by grammar

In the four cross-linguistic case studies above we have demonstrated somewhat unexpected forms of the interaction between metonymy and grammar. They were not the usual sort of interaction whereby a cognitive process shapes the surface grammar of a language. In what we have presented here, constructions of the surface grammar seem to constrain or block metonymy due to synonymy in a broad sense of the term (including syntactic synonymy obtaining when one construction can block or pre-empt the use of a synonymous construction that would involve metonymy). In the first case study we compare the availability of OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT metonymy and its reversal, MATERIAL FOR AN OBJECT MADE OF THE MATERIAL, briefly contrasting English with German, Croatian and Hungarian. Both metonymies are most regularly blocked by means of word-formation constructions in Croatian. The same is true of German and Hungarian, too. A predicative possessive construction, made possible by a conceptual metonymy, has been found to be very productive in English and in Romance languages, in contrast to Croatian and Hungarian, where its attestations are extremely peripheral to the system, most counterparts in these two languages being realized as a different possessive construction not conducive to metonymic shifts. In 3.3 we have demonstrated that the CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED metonymy may be blocked in Hungarian in sentences containing a causative predicate. Finally, in 3.4 we have

studied the use of impersonal constructions as means of avoiding, i.e. blocking, metonymy of the type *WHOLE FOR PART* when names of newspapers are used to refer to individual articles in it.

In sum, in keeping with what we consider to be a corollary of the Equipollence Hypothesis, it could be either the presence, or the absence of an entity in the construction of a language that shapes the productivity of certain metonymies. This means that the relationship between grammar and metonymy can be quite complex and that it often involves genuine two-way traffic. What is more, it is often a whole cluster of interrelated structural facts that can work in unison so as to formally align potential metonymic source expressions and thus facilitate or, conversely, pre-empt the application of a given metonymy.

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