Syntactic reduplicative constructions in Hungarian (and elsewhere): Categorization, topicalization and concessivity rolled into one

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Abstract

The present article deals with clause-initial syntactic reduplications involving verbs, adjectives and nouns in Hungarian. Structurally, they appear to be cases of left-dislocation of a copy of a predicate, their function being contrastive topicalization. After outlining the scope of the phenomenon of reduplication in the system of the present-day Hungarian language, we turn to the so-called contrastive topicalization reduplication construction (CTR) in Hungarian and demonstrate that there are several subtypes of this construction, all of which lend themselves to concessive interpretation. In explaining how concessivity arises, we start from their categorizing function. We argue that what all these constructions of variable size and form have in common is dynamic, online categorization, i.e. they set up mental spaces that either narrow or widen a category, placing the events, properties and participants in the centre of the category, or at its very periphery (within a category, or even outside the category). This cluster of Hungarian constructions is also contrasted with similar reduplication phenomena on the syntactic-lexical continuum in a number of languages, such as so-called Contrastive Focus Reduplication, the Echo reduplication, and (S)hm-Reduplication. It is also demonstrated how their concessive interpretation is made possible by a series of metonymic inferences involving parts of frames and whole frames. By pulling together various strands of research in cognitive linguistics, i.e. research on grammatical constructions, information structure, metonymy and categorization, we show how they can fruitfully inform each other in accounting for complex linguistic phenomena, and thus contribute towards achieving conceptual unification in the sense of Langacker (1999: 24).

Key words: syntactic reduplication, contrastive-topicalization construction, Hungarian, concessive, metonymy, categorization

1. Introduction

In this paper we focus on syntactic reduplications in Hungarian exemplified in (1). These constructions involve major word classes in Hungarian, i.e. verbs, adjectives and nouns:

(1) a. **Főz-ni főz**, de azt inkább ne edd meg.
   cook-INF cooks but that rather not eat.IMPER PREF
   '(S)he cooks alright, but you'd better not eat that'

b. ... **ház-nak nem ház, szobor-nak lehet szobor**,
   house-DAT not house sculpture-DAT could sculpture

   de nem látom mögötte a szándékot...
   but not see behind.it the intention
   'As for houses, it is not a house, as for sculptures, it could be one, but I don't see any intention behind it'

Structurally, they appear to be cases of left-dislocation of a copy of a predicate, their function being contrastive topicalization. Note that the dative affix is added to the copy of the non-verbal predicate (adjective or noun), while verbs appear in the infinitive. This contrastive topicalization reduplication construction has not been discussed in much detail in Hungarian linguistics. It is invoked in some generative studies (Komlósy 1994; Viszket 2002, 2003; Kádár 2006) dealing with argument structure as a means of testing the subject status of some predicative adjective and noun phrases in atmospherical copular constructions (such as *Hideg van* 'It is cold', lit.: cold is.), but has not merited attention in its own right. In this article we approach it is a testing field for exploring the possibility of achieving conceptual unification in cognitive linguistics in the sense of Langacker (1999: 24).

In Section 2 of this paper, we outline the scope of the phenomenon of reduplication in Hungarian in general, including lexical reduplication and syntactic reduplication. In Section 3 we focus on the contrastive topicalization reduplication construction (CTR) in Hungarian and demonstrate that there are several subtypes of this construction. In Section 4 we consider how their concessive interpretation arises. We focus in particular on their categorizing function. We argue that what all these constructions of variable size and form have in common is dynamic, online categorization, i.e. they set up mental spaces that either narrow or widen a category, placing the events, properties and participants in the centre of the category, or at its very periphery (within a category, or outside the category). This cluster of Hungarian constructions is contrasted with similar reduplication phenomena on the syntactic-lexical continuum in a number of languages, such as the so-called Contrastive Focus Reduplication, the Echo reduplication, and *(S)hm*-Reduplication. In Section 5, we consider how the concessive interpretation is made possible by a series of metonymic inferences involving parts of frames and whole frames. This is followed by a brief summary of main findings and conclusions in Section 6.

2. On reduplication

It is very often the case that two diametrically opposed principles or tendencies can be observed in many areas of human activity, and language is no exception in this regard. There are two such opposed tendencies in language concerning the repetition of identical or similar segments. On the one hand, there is a tendency to avoid such segments in adjacent position because they result in cacophony. This was termed the Horror Aequi Principle by Brugmann (1895: 146ff). It has been noted to be at work in morphology (cf. Plank 1981: 149ff, and Dressler 1977: 41, who calls it Haplology Constraint).

On the other hand, there is also a widespread tendency to repeat similar or identical segments. In fact, as Aitchison (1994: 16) puts it, "[i]n one sense, the whole of linguistics can be regarded as the study of repetition, in that language depends on repeated patterns." This seems to be reinforced by the interaction of two central elements of a folk model of language. First, there is the belief that words are containers for meanings, based on the conduit metaphor. Secondly, there is the belief that there is an iconic relationship between the form and the content, viz. that by using more words, we also convey more meaning. This iconic principle of quantity may even be seen as consequence of the conduit metaphor: the more containers (i.e. words) we use, the more meaing we convey.

As far as the form of what is repeated is concerned, we find a whole range of structures on a continuum. Some of these are clearly cases of syntactic structures, the repetition taking place here at the level of a clause element or phrase, while some are clearly morphological structures, the repetition apparently taking place at the level of word, or below it. The former have often been referred to as cases of syntactic repetition, iteration, re-iteration, doubling, recurrence, and sometimes also as syntactic reduplication (Gil 2005). The latter, morphological or lexical reduplications, are referred to as reduplications proper. Moravcsik (1992: 323) defines reduplication, i.e. reduplicative construction (RC) as "a pattern where the double or multiple occurrence of a sound string, syllable, morpheme, or word within a larger syntagmatic unit is in systematic contrast with its single occurrence, with the iterated elements filling functionally non-distinct positions."

2.1. Lexical reduplication in Hungarian

There are several types of lexical reduplications in Hungarian. Total reduplication can copy the entire base in an exact manner, i.e. without any modification. See the following examples of total reduplication of adjectives and adverbs for intensification:

(2) a. sok-sok [many-many] 'very many'
     b. alig-alig [hardly-hardly] 'with great difficulty'
     c. néha-néha [sometimes-sometimes] 'very seldom'
     d. messze-messze [distant-distant] 'very distant'

It is, however, also possible that the whole base is copied but that some parts get modified, i.e. replaced by something, and/or that some elements are added to the

base in the copy. This may be referred to as inexact total reduplication. These come in two main types.

The first type is characterized by onset alternation whereby an initial segment of the base (not including any vowel) is replaced by a different segment in the copy (which again does not contain any vowel), which results in phonological overlap between the rest of the constituents, hence their being labelled as rhyming(-motivated) reduplications:

(3) tarka-barka 'very colourful, from tarka 'colourful'

In the second type, we observe vowel antiphony, i.e. a vowel alternation pattern similar to ablaut, hence the label ablaut-motivated reduplications. Such reduplicated adjectives expressing intensity are also found in Hungarian. In some cases both constituents end in suffix -(V)s, which is elsewhere used to derive adjectives from nouns. The pattern seems to be still productive. See some examples:

(4) a. rissz-rossz 'very bad', from: rossz 'bad'
    b. fidres-fodros 'very much curled, curly', from: fodor 'wave, curl'
    c. gidres-gödrös 'full of pits and holes', from: gödör 'pit'
    d. girbegörbe, girbegurba 'full of curves' from: görbe 'curve'
    e. dimbes-dombos 'hilly, have a wavelike appearance', from: domb 'hill'
    f. gizgazos/gizes-gazos 'very weedy, overgrown with wee', from: gaz 'weed'

Partial reduplication copies only a part of the base with or without any further modification and subsequent addition. The former may be called exact partial reduplication, the latter inexact partial reduplication. See some Hungarian examples of the former:

(5) icipici, icilipicili, iciripiciri, icur-picur 'very small', from: pici 'small'

What is reduplicated need not always be a free form, i.e. a word. The base for reduplication can also be a bound form, i.e. a bound morpheme, either inflectional or derivational. Kiefer (1995-96) discusses the reduplication of verbal prefixes in Hungarian to indicate iterativity:

(6) A   város.ká-ban sétálva   **be-be-**néztünk   a   templom-ok-ba,...
    the little-town-in walking   REDUP-PREF-looked   the church-PL-into
    'While walking in the little town, we went into and took a look at several churches'

2.2. Syntactic reduplication in Hungarian

Now that we have shown that lexical reduplication is well attested in Hungarian let us turn to syntactic reduplication. The effect of syntactic repetition is often claimed to be almost purely communicative or rhetoric, viz. we can overcome interruptions in discourse (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 58ff), or place more emphasis on what is repeated, as in (2):

(7)   He fell silent! He fell silent! He fell silent! (Watt 1968: 118)

As shown by Keevallik (2001) for Estonian, such reduplications can also be part of ritualized exchanges, indicating (dis)confirmation/(dis)agreement, etc.

The function of the syntactic reduplicative construction in Hungarian illustrated in (8), discussed by Nádas (2004), who lists over 40 such pairs of verbs, is apparently to express intensification:

(8)   Hát **kér-ve   kér-ünk** titek-et
       well ask-ADV ask-1PL 2PL-ACC
       'We beg you very much'

The first form is realized as a non-finite form, i.e. a deverbal adverb derived from the stem by the suffix –*va/ve*, followed by the inflected form of the same verb, literally 'asking(ly) ask'.

However, syntactic reduplications can also be used to draw more attention to certain parts of an utterance and their relation, a phenomenon which can be observed in a cross-linguistic perspective. A number of languages have special topic-marking constructions containing reduplicated verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. What Lindström (1999) describes as contrastive reduplication of syndetically joined adjectives, as exemplified in Swedish and Polish in (9) and (10), respectively, is also topicalization reduplication:

(9)   - Du har en ny   blus
          you have a new blouse
          'You have a new blouse'
       - **Ny   och ny**, jag koepte den I vaaras
          new and new   I   bought this in spring
       'New, well, I bought it last spring'

(10)   **Nowa jak nowa**, kupiłem   je   w zesłym roku
        new   like new   bought   her   in last   year
        'New, well I bought it last year'

Consider also the Yiddish construction that is referred to in literature as tautological infinitive (Finkin 2010: 18). Apparently, the second verb can be negated as well, as in (11) b. These constructions often carry an overtone of certainty or intensification.

(11)   a. **geyn geh** ikh   (Finkin 2010: 18)
          'as for going, I go'

       b. **shad-n   shad**   es nit   (http://www.forward.com/articles/3213/)
          harm-INF harms   it NEG
          'It certainly won't hurt'

In some cases, the fronted verb is back-formed especially for this purpose. See the following example in which the stem of the finite verb receives the infinitive affix and is then followed by the verb itself:

(12)   **Iz-n   iz** er a soykher,   un **handl-en handelt** er mit tvue
         be-INF is he a merchant   and deal-INF   deals   he with grain
         (Jacobs, Prince, and van der Auwera 1994: 414)
'As for what he is, he is a merchant, and as for what he deals in, he deals in grain'

3. Hungarian contrastive topicalization reduplication construction (CTR)

Constructions similar to those in (11-12) can also be found in Hungarian, with or without negation. They function as topicalization devices (which seem to be overtly marked by the addition of the dative suffix -*nak/-nek* to nouns and adjectives), but they also express certainty and/or intensification, as can also be seen in idiomatic translations following the glosses below. We will refer to these as simple constructions. Consider some examples with reduplicated verbs and adjectives:

(13)   a. **Árt-ani árt,** mert   teli van koffein-nel...
       hurt-INF   hurt because full is caffeine-with
       'It is certainly harmful because it is full of caffeine'
       (http://www.gyakorikerdesek.hu/egeszseg__egyeb-kerdesek__933264)

       b. Biztosat nem ígér-het-ünk,   de talán érdemes elgondolkodni
       certainty   NEG promise-can-1PL but perhaps rewarding think
       az elmélet-en -   **árt-ani nem árt**
       DEF   theory-about harm-INF NEG harms
       'We can't guarantee anything with certainty, but it is worthwhile to think about the theory — it certainly won't hurt'

   (14) a. **Elfárad-ni elfáradt**, miután egész nap beszéltem vele.
        get.tired-INF got.tired after   whole day talked   with.him
        'S/he got tired alright, after I had talked with him all day long'

       b. Mert **jó-nak jó,** az vitathatatlan...
       because good-DAT good that undisputed
       'Because it is quite good, that's beyond doubt'

Most of the time, however, clauses with these reduplicative constructions are accompanied by another clause in a contrastive-concessive context, as shown by our initial examples in (1), or in (15) below. These are the type of constructions that the present article will focus on.

   (15) a. **Olvas-ni olvas-t-am**,   de   igen bonyolultnak tűnt   nekem...
        read-INF read-PAST-1SG but   really complicated seemed to.me
        'True, I have read about it, but it seemed very complicated to me'

       b. **Új-nak új,**   de nem az   enyém.
       new-DAT new   but not DEF mine
       'True, it is new, but it is not mine'

We will refer to constructions like these as extended constructions. They contrast with the simple contrastive constructions, illustrated in (13-15), which lack a contrastive-concessive context. The conjunction linking the two clauses is most commonly *de* 'but', but we also find *bár* 'though' and *csak* 'only':

(16) a. Az viszont aggaszt, hogy egyre kevesebbet eszik, **bár in-ni iszik**.
   that however worries that ever less eats though drink-INF drinks
   'However, I am worried by the fact that he eats less and less, though he drinks alright'

   b. **Jó-nak jó** a kód, csak van egy kis hibája:...
   good-DAT good DEF code only is one little fault
   'The code is OK, only there is a little fault'

There are two subtypes of extended reduplication constructions with contrastive-concessive meaning. In one type, the contrastive topicalization reduplication (CTR) is found in the "main" clause (1, 15, 16b). In the second type, CTR is found in the "adversative" clause introduced by the conjunction (16a, 17). The negation can occur either within CTR, or in the other clause, regardless of which is introduced by a conjunction:

(17) Nálunk nem volt hiszti, **de alud-ni nem aludt**.
   at.our.place NEG was hysterical but sleep-INF NEG slept
   'He wasn't hysterical at our place, but he didn't sleep'

The two can also be combined:

(18) Most is alszik, **enni nem nagyon evett, de inni iszik**
   now too is-sleeping eat-INF NEG a-lot ate but drink-INF drink
   rendesen.
   alright
   'S/he is sleeping at the moment, s/he did not eat a lot but as for drinking, s/he drinks alright'

4. Whence concessive meaning?

4.1. Comparison, categorization and reduplication

Let us now try to explain how this contrastive-concessive interpretation can arise with reduplicative constructions. Before we tackle this issue, we should point out a number of other facts that clearly transpire from actual usage. First of all, it seems to be accepted wisdom that contrastive-concessive meaning implies some sort of comparison. Thus, Izutsu and Izutsu (2011), who make use of the viewing arrangement framework introduced by Langacker (1991, 1993, 2000) in their discussion of contrastive and concessive contexts, speak of two situations in the same viewing frame or on-stage region that are compared. The two situations are directly compared by the viewer in the case of contrastive meaning, while in the case of concessive meaning they claim that the two are compared indirectly via the viewers' background assump-

tions, though they do not elaborate how these general or specific background assumptions arise.

As shown by some of our examples, the contrast giving rise to concessive interpretation is less than obvious (cf. examples 15a. and b.), and is apparently of a more dynamic type: working assumptions arise and are modulated on-line as they are based on metonymic inferencing work triggered by the material occurring in unfolding discourse.

When we consider the following examples, it is quite obvious that Hungarian speakers are very much concerned with comparison when using CTR constructions:

(19) a. ***Meggyógyul-ni meggyógyul-t****, ha lehet   így nevez-ni, mert   egész*
get.well-INF   got-well-3SG if   possible thuscall-INF   because whole
élet-é-ben   hypoton   lesz,...
life-POSS-in   hypotonic   will.be
'He got well, if one can put it that way, because he will be hypotonic all his life'

b. ***Rossz-nak   nem   rossz***, ***jó-nak   nem   jó***. *Olyan   átlagos...*
bad-DAT   NEG   bad   good-DAT   NEG   good sort.of   average
'It's not on the bad side, not on the good side. It is sort of average'

c. ***Jó-nak   jó***   *de   nem   elég   jó.*
good-DAT   good but   NEG   enough   good
'It is good, but it is not good enough'

d. *Még   nem   irányított   top csapatot.* ***Rossz-nak nem rossz****, de   jó   se.*
yet   NEG   managed   top team   bad-DAT   NEG   bad   but goodneither
Inkább   zsákbamacská-nak   nevezné-m.
rather   a.pig.in.a.poke-DAT   would.call-1SG
'He has not yet managed a top team. He is not bad really, but he is not good either. I'd rather call him a pig in a poke'

e. ***Rossz-nak   nem   rossz***, *de ha mindent   átlagolunk, valóban   egy*
bad-DAT   NEG   bad   but if everything average   really   a
közepesre   jön   ki...
medium   comes out
'He is not really bad, but if we take everything into account, he comes out as medium'

In order to check this claim about an intimate link between comparison and CTR constructions, we did an informal Google survey using the construction *"jónak jó"* as the exact query term (enclosed by quotation marks). This returned 95,300 hits. Refining this by adding the comparative form of the adjective, i.e. *jobb* 'better', following the former expression but outside the quotes, we got 49,900 results, which is 52.3% of the total hits without the comparative. The presence of the comparative form somewhere in the context, relatively close to the target construction containing the positive form of the adjective, seems to be a fairly reliable signal of speakers drawing some sort of comparison.

But we also see that speakers often exhibit uncertainty in their qualifications, i.e. they shift ground, and are sometimes uneasy about where to put a situation and in which conceptual "box". In other words, they seem to be negotiating the categories to which the situations should be assigned, as well as their membership in these categories.

In fact, when we consider cross-linguistic data, we realize that there are a number of reduplicative constructions in many languages that must be placed on the continuum somewhere between lexical and syntactic reduplication that are primarily concerned with categorization, i.e. they either place the referent in the centre of a conceptual category, or outside it, narrow or extend a category so that it may (or may not) accommodate other referents as well.

The syntactic type of reduplication characteristic of American English that Ghomeshi, Jackendoff, Rosen and Russell (2004) call Contrastive Focus Reduplication apparently restricts the interpretation of the reduplicated element from a more general, as in (20) a., or from a more specialized, sharply delimited reading to the prototypical one, as in (20) b.:

(20) a. I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the **SALAD-salad**.
b. I had a **JOB-job** once. [a real 9-to-5 office job, as opposed to an academic job]
c. Oh, we are not **LIVING-TOGETHER-living-together**.

Apart from its discourse function of focusing, the reduplicative construction at the same time narrows the denotation of salad in (20) a. to specifically green salad as opposed to salads in general, due to the fact that *salad* can function as its own hyponym.

As pointed out by Kimper (2008), Bengali has a construction that has just the opposite effect: the Echo Reduplication widens the class of referents denoted by the reduplicated element so as to include other, similar kinds of entities:

(21) a. kalo makorša 'black spiders'
kalo makorša ṭalo makorša 'black and such spiders, i.e. spiders of colours similar to black'

b. kʰub patla šari 'very thin sari'
kʰub patla šari ṭub patla šari 'very thin and such sari' (Fitzpatrick-Cole 1996)

The Echo Reduplication Construction in Kannada, which copies the second syllable of the word for 'door' in an inexact form and adds it to the verb, (Lidz 2001), is very similar in its effect:

(22) a. baagil-annu **much-gich-**   ide- e   anta heLaa-beeDa
      door-ACC   close-RED-PAST- 1SG that say-PROH
      'Don't say that I closed the door or did related activities'

Finally, there is the so-called *shm*-reduplication in English, which generally conveys pejoration, but may also call into question the referent's belonging to a category:

(23) a. **laptop, shmaptop**
     b. **Baby-shmaby**. He's already 5 years old.

While still keeping this cross-linguistic perspective, but coming closer to verb redu-
plication with contrastive-concessive meaning, we point to a Spanish construction il-
lustrated in (24), which is very similar to our Hungarian constructions. This produc-
tive topicalization pattern of Spanish, studied by Valenzuela, Hilferty and Garachana
(2005), consists of three parts:

(24) **Llor-ar llor-ar**, <u>no   lloró,</u>   <u>pero hizo   muchos pucheros.</u>
     cry-INF cry-INF NEG   cried   but made many   poutings
     'She didn't really cry, but she made a lot of poutings'

The first part (in bold), consisting of two infinitives, two nouns, two adjectives, etc.
introduces the topic, the second part (double wavy underlining) is a comment, while
the third part (double underlining) is an explanation. The topic part refers back to
some relevant piece of old information. The utterance in (24) may be a reply to a
questions such as 'Did she cry when we left?'

In their insightful analysis, Valenzuela, Hilferty and Garachana point out that, at the
same time, the topic part alludes to an expected prototypical or ideal state of affairs,
i.e. the girl was expected to be crying when we left. The middle part, the comment as-
serts the actual, but unexpected, state of affairs. The relationship between the two is
one of contrast. The third part, the explanation, actually introduced by a coordinator
expressing contrast, specifies how close the actual state of affairs comes to the ex-
pected one. The whole construction thus acquires a concessive flavour. Valenzuela,
Hilferty and Garachana claim that this construction serves a double function. It in-
troduces a topic, but at the same time it is a hedge with regard to the old information
via judgment of the comment as being within or outside the category stated in the
topic. This is even more obvious in the following example:

(25) **Corr-er,   corr-er**, no   corría, pero sí   andaba   muy   deprisa
     run-INF   run-INF NEG   ran.3SG but yes   walked.3SG very   quickly
     'He wasn't exactly running, but he was certainly walking rather   quickly.'
     (Valenzuela, Hilferty and Garachana 2005: 209)

While this combination of topicalization by syntactic reduplication, concessivity and
categorization may at first seem remarkable, it appears to be found in a wide variety
of languages. Consider first an example from Riau Indonesian (Gil 2005: 57):

(26) **Kecil-kecil** punya cewek   itu
     small-small have   girl   DEM.DEM.DIST
     [About his little brother]
     'Even though he's small, he's got girlfriends'

Haller (2004: 129) and Tournadre (1996: 204) discuss the so-called conative con-
struction in Themchen Tibetan and Lhassa Tibetan, respectively, implying that
someone tried to do something, but it did not happen. The construction is also based
on verb reduplication, the first verb is a causative or agent-related, while the second
is either resultative or imperative-modal. Finally, while discussing one of the redupli-

cative constructions in Japanese that involve verbs, adjectives or nouns, viz. the X *koto wa* X construction, Okamoto (1990: 253) states that this construction is "typically (but not always) used parenthetically as a concessive preface to the main assertion, which points out a value contrary to the value stated in the preface."

4.2. The role of metonymic inferences

Now that we have demonstrated the intimate link between reduplication and categorization, and in some cases concessivity, in a cross-linguistic perspective, let us take a closer look at some Hungarian examples and demonstrate the role of metonymic inferences in the online construction and manipulation of categories in comparison. For reasons of space, we will only consider one type of extended CTR construction, with CTR in the "main" clause, followed by a "concessive" clause introduced by *de*. We believe that the analysis largely applies to the other type as well.

Starting from the formal makeup of CTR construction, we see that the copy, which is the first element, is not grounded, i.e. it is in the infinitive or marked by the dative suffix. The base, on the other hand, is grounded, i.e. it is a finite verb, capable of taking person, tense and number suffixes, or an adjective, or a noun, capable of taking suffixes indicating agreement in number or plural and/or possessive markers, respectively. This contrast between grounded and ungrounded is in our opinion significant.

The ungrounded instance, the copy, which precedes the grounded one, introduces the topic, and activates a mental space containing an Idealised Cognitive Model (ICM) of the category involving the situation described by the verb, adjective or noun in question, together with a series of inferences that are invited. We will refer to this space below as the "ideal space," for short. The ICM in question, may actually comprise several component models, i.e. it may be a domain matrix with a number of categories and metonymic links operating within the matrix. The copy thus provides the baseline for the first round of comparison.

The grounded base that follows opens another mental space. Note now that this second token of the reduplicated lexical item is realized in our Hungarian constructions as a finite verb or an inflected adjective/noun, which makes it reasonable to see this second mental space as a reality space. While the first token introduces the topic and activates an idealized model of a category, the second token, due to the presence or absence of an explicit negative element, actually asserts or denies that the ICM of the category in the first mental space applies. It applies if the reduplicative construction contains no negation. Conversely, it does not apply if it contains a negation. In the former case, the ideal space and the reality space are coextensive, in the latter the reality space falls outside the ideal space. In other words, the former construction asserts that a soemthing falls within a given category, while the latter constructions implies that something is outside a conceptual category.

Let us illustrate this on example (1). The reduplicated verb here is *főz* 'cook'. Just like its English counterpart, it presents us with a case of vertical polysemy, claimed to be based on metonymy by Koskela (2011). This verb functions as its own hyperonym: it

can be used in a general sense, as a cover term for 'prepare food', or in a more specific sense, in which its co-hyponyms are *süt* 'bake', *párol* 'sauté', etc.

Further, just like cook, *főz*, which basically denotes a process, also invites inferences about its end product or result. Due to the ACTION-FOR-(ASSESED)-RESULT metonymy (Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco 2003), we normally infer that rationally behaving humans cook in order to finish the process, i.e. to produce a meal. Note that the demonstrative pronoun in the accusative case, *azt*, should not make any sense at all, strictly speaking, unless metonymic inferences are at work here "at lightning speed" (Barcelona 2003). It is only possible here as a conceptual anaphora (cf. Stirling 1996). On top of that, we may add that the least that we expect when we say a meal is cooked is that it is edible, i.e. fit for human consumption, even though it need not be very tasty.

What is more, although the verb is normally understood as indicating an actual event, here it must be construed as having habitual interpretation, made possible by the PRESENT/ACTUAL-FOR-HABITUAL metonymy (Panther and Thornburg 1999). Together with the inferences about the outcome of the activity and the quality of the outcome, we may safely assume that another ICM is activated here, i.e. the COOK ICM.

Let us now turn to the remaining part of the extended constructions. If a negation is not found in the reduplicative construction, but in the second part, introduced by one of the conjunctions (let us call it the *de* part for convenience), it explicitly cancels one of the invited inferences, i.e. part of the expectations. As a consequence, the situation related to the reduplicated item is now shifted to the very inside periphery of the category (instead of being somewhere between average/normal and the very centre). The same seems to be true if there is only an implicit negative element capable of cancelling an inference. In our example, the fact that the speaker warns the addressee not to eat **it**, means that he cancels the inference about the edibility, if not about the quality, of the end result of the activity. As a result, we are prompted to recategorize the implicit subject/agent (of cooking) as a poor cook, and her/his activity of cooking as poor, i.e. we shift towards the margin of the conceptual category (though we still stay within it). See Diagram 1.

Diagram 1. Shift from the centre towards the margin of the category cooking

Conversely, if the CTR construction contains a negation, the *de* part may explicitly resurrect one (or possibly several) of the inferences cancelled en bloc in the previous part.

(27)　**Főz-ni　nem　főz**, de tej-et　　　tudott neki　　　melegít-eni,
　　　cook-INF NEG　cook but milk-ACC　　could him/her-for warm-INF
　　　a　　tápszer-t　　　mai napig　ő　csinálja meg　hajnal-ban,...
　　　DEF baby.food-ACC　up.to.day　he　makes　PREF　morning-in
　　　'He does not cook but he knew how to warm the babyfood, and he still prepares it in the morning...'

Here, apparently we play with the double meaning of *főz*, in the CTR, its more specific sense is negated, but the *de* part asserts the subject prepares food for the baby in other ways that we are invited to consider as being close to what cooking amounts to. As a consequence, the situation related to the reduplicated item is now shifted to the outside periphery of the category (i.e. it is now adjacent to the category, almost extending it, instead of clearly being outside of it), as shown in Diagram 2.

Diagram 2. Shift from outisde towards the periphery of the category cooking
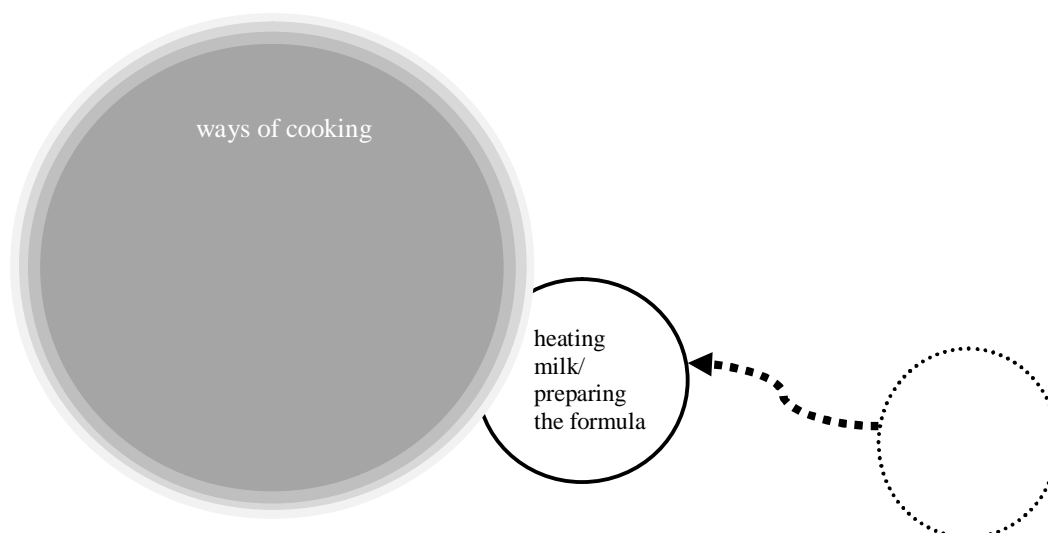
The concessive meaning arises due to the fact that, in spite of the reality space being claimed not to intersect with the ideal space, we, so to say, smuggle in some parts of it into the ideal category. This is even more obvious in the last example below, where the subject *főz* is seen as a prototype of domestic chores, or as a metonymic cover-all for them, cleaning being one of them:

(28)　Hát **főz-ni　　nem　főz,**　de　takarít.
　　　well　cook-INF　NEG　cooks　but cleans
　　　'Well, s/e doesn't cook, but cleans up'

Additionally, the ICM of a domestic-minded person is activated. Denying it still leaves room for the subject's behaviour of performing cleaning to be classified within the category, and the subject as belonging to the category of a domestic-minded person, even if not a prototypical one.

5. Concluding remarks

We hope to have demonstrated in previous sections the interaction of topicalization, metonymic inferencing, and categorization in the construction of concessive meaning in some types of the so-called contrastive topicalization reduplication construction (CTR) in Hungarian. We have first argued that what all these constructions of variable size and form have in common is dynamic, online categorization, i.e. they set up mental spaces that either narrow or widen a category, placing the events, properties and participants in the centre of the category, or at its very periphery (within a category, or even outside the category). We have then shown how their concessive interpretation is made possible by a series of metonymic inferences involving parts of frames and whole frames.

This cluster of Hungarian constructions is also contrasted with similar reduplication phenomena on the syntactic-lexical continuum in a number of languages, such as so-called Contrastive Focus Reduplication, the Echo reduplication, and *(S)hm*-Reduplication, which apparently also have a categorizing function. It would be interesting to consider whether categorization can be seen as one of the archetypal, or major, functions of reduplications in a typological perspective. A no less interesting question remaining for future research is whether this sort of analysis can also be applied to similar constructions in other languages, i.e. how wide-spread is this phenomenon of concessive interpretation arising via categorization.

At a most general, metatheoretical level, the present paper can also be seen as an exercise in demonstrating that cognitive linguistics is still, in spite of its rapid diversification, still capable of achieving conceptual unification in the sense of Langacker (1999: 24). The gist of it is that a theoretical framework should strive to offer a common conceptual basis for the description of the whole gamut of phenomena that come within its purview. In other words, as wide a range of phenomena as possible should be accounted for using a limited set of theoretical constructs. This is far more desirable than having specialized methodologies, conceptual apparatus, and terminologies for individual phenomena or clusters of phenomena. In this paper, we try to pull together various strands of by now specialized and compartmentalized research in cognitive linguistics. Specifically, we demonstrate that research on grammatical constructions, information structure, metonymy and categorization can fruitfully inform each other in accounting for complex linguistic phenomena.

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