Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó

# Mónika Dóla & Anita Viszket Conceptualizing cause as background: The [N<sub>mental state</sub>.Poss.Iness]<sub>cause</sub> construction

#### Abstract

In the paper, we argue that expressions like *bánatomban* 'in my grief' and *ijedtében* 'in his/her fright' are instances of a construction in its own right within the Hungarian language system, which is used in text to make predication about the mental state of the Agent subject as a cause for their action. In the first half of the paper, we describe the formal and functional characteristics of the construction. We propose that the construction, which we call  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  or, for ease, the mental-state-as-cause construction, is entrenched for the expression of cause in Hungarian, and that this status imposes several morpho-syntactical and lexical-semantic constraints on the construction and on the sentence. We also argue that in the construction, the possessive morpheme/phrase is subject to grammaticalization. In the second half of the paper, we investigate the cognitiveconceptual profile of the construction as an expression of cause, and we propose that in the construction as a cognitive unit, mental-state-as-cause is conceptualized as *background*.

Keywords: mental state, cause, predicative complement, possession, grammaticalization, conceptual metaphor

#### **1** Introduction

Although expressions like *örömömben* 'in my joy', *mérgedben* 'in your anger', or *irigységében* 'in his/her envy' (1a)–(1c) have been the object of discussion in standard works of Hungarian grammar (e.g., Komlósy 1992, Hegedűs 2004, P. Lakatos 2006), no full account of the phenomenon has yet been given in any model of the Hungarian language.

(1) a. *örömömben* 

joy.Poss1Sg.Iness 'in my joy'

- b. *mérgedben* anger.Poss2Sg.Iness 'in your anger'
- c. irigységében envy.Poss3Sg.Iness 'in his/her envy'

In the paper, we describe the characteristic features of the expressions in question, and we argue for them to be viewed as instances of a construction in its own right within the Hungarian language system. After that, we analyze the cognitive-conceptual profile of the construction as an expression of cause.

# 2 Description of the phenomenon

## 2.1 Earlier accounts

P. Lakatos (2006), following in the footsteps of Keszler's (2000) traditional descriptive grammar, lists expressions like (1a)–(1c) under the category of adverbial syntagmas of cause. The list also includes other nouns with the inessive suffix, but without the possessive morpheme (2a). Although causality is an important element of the expressions in question, it is essential to set them apart from similar expressions since in many respects, they behave differently in the sentence: for instance, while the expressions in (2a) and (2b) stand with the definite article, the one in (2c) cannot stand with it.

(2)	a.	elfárad	а	munkában				
		vp.get-tired.Pr3SgIndef	the	work.Iness				
		's/he gets tired from work	κ'					
	b.	elsárgul	az,	irigységtől				
		vp.go-yellow.Pr3SgIndef	the	envy.Ablat				
		's/he turns green with env	/he turns green with envy'					
	c.	elájul	*а	félelmében				
		vp.faint.Pr3SgIndef	the	fear.Poss3Sg.Iness				
		intended meaning: 's/he f	àints i	n her/his fear'				

In his structuralist-generative work, Komlósy (1992) investigates the expressions at hand within a more special group, which he calls predicative complements. Predicative complements are constituents that, apart from the main predicate of the sentence, make further predications about single arguments in the sentence or about the proposition as a whole (3).

(3) In his resentment, John served the soup cold. (after Komlósy 1992: 411)
 → John served the soup. The soup is cold. John is resentful.

Komlósy (1992) defines five distinctive formal characteristics of expressions like *ijedtében* 'in his/her fright'. First, although they feature the possessive personal suffix and they formally look like "normal" possessive phrases, they can never stand with the definite article (4a) as it is customary for "regular" possessives in Hungarian (4b). This behavior, however, makes them similar to other predicative complements, which can never be referential and which, therefore, must always stand without the definite article, at least in Hungarian. In other words, although "regular" Hungarian possessive phrases allow for the appearance of the article before them even as predicative complements (4b), these expressions can never stand with the definite article (4a).

(4) a	<ul> <li>Mari (*a) bánatában</li> <li>Mary (*the) grief.Poss3Sg.Iness</li> <li>'In her grief, Mary burst out crying</li> <li>→ Mari burst out crying. Mary is in</li> </ul>	,	
b	. (A) megfázása	miatt Mari otthon maradt. because-of Mary at-home stay.Past3SgIndef cold.'	

Second, the "subjects" of these expressions – just like the "subjects" of all predicative complements – must always be referential; i.e., the constituents that they make predications about must always stand with the definite article in Hungarian (5a). (It must be noted though that the referential nature of the "subject" is only a requirement in neutral sentences, i.e., sentences that contain no heavily stressed preverbal contrastive focused constituent (5b).)

(5)	a.	*Kislány	bánatában	sírva	fakadt.			
		little-girl	grief.Poss3Sg.Iness	cry.PTCP	burst.Past3SgIndef			
	b.	KISLÁNY	fakadt	sírva	bánatában,	nem	KISFIÚ.	
		little-girl	burst.Past3SgIndef	cry.PTCP	grief.Poss3Sg.Iness	not	little-boy	
	'It was some LITTLE GIRL that burst out crying, not some LITTLE BOY.'							

Third, a distinguishing feature of the expressions under discussion is that they always relate to the subject of the sentence (6b), with whom they always show grammatical agreement for person and number. This is in contrast to other predicative complements, including "regular" possessive expressions, which are referentially free, cannot determine the morphological form of the subject, and do not show agreement with it (6a–6a"). In addition, while in "regular" possessive phrases the position for a possessor is filled with a pronounced or unpronounced possessor (6a–6a"), the position for a possessor in these expressions can never be filled (6b–6b").<sup>1</sup>

(6)	a.	Α	megfázása	miatt	Mari otthon	maradt.
		the	vp.have-cold.NOM.Poss3Sg	because-of	Mary at-home	stay.Past3SgIndef
'Mary stayed at home because of her cold.'						

- a'. A megfázásom miatt Mari otthon maradt. the vp.have-cold.NOM.Poss1Sg because-of Mary at-home stay.Past3SgIndef
- a''. Az én megfázásom miatt Mari otthon maradt. the I vp.have-cold.NOM.Poss1Sg because-of Mary at-home stay.Past3SgIndef 'Mary stayed at home because of my cold.'

Komlósy (1992) notes that there is another type of predicative free adjuncts also formed on a nominal base with a personal possessive suffix and the inessive case suffix, whose position for a possessor cannot be filled, either. This type includes expressions like *röptében* (fly.Nom.Poss3Sg.Iness, 'while in the air'), *futtában* (run.Nom.Poss3Sg.Iness, 'hastily'), or *siettében* (hurry.Nom.Poss3Sg.Iness, 'hurriedly') etc., i.e., movementnouns formed with a very unique derivational process (with the -(Vt)t nominalizer, which must always be followed by a personal possessive suffix). These expressions, unlike our expressions, cannot be further complemented and are referentially free.

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b.		<i>bánatában</i> grief.Poss3		<i>sírva</i> cry.PT	СР	<i>fakad</i> burst	<i>dt.</i> .Past3SgIndef	
	'In her g	grief, Mary b	ourst out o	crying.'				
b'.	*Bánate	omban	Mari	sírva		fakad	dt.	
	grief.Po	ss1Sg.Iness	Mary	cry.PTC	CP	burst	.Past3SgIndef	
b".	*Az én	bánatomba	in	Mari	sírva		fakadt.	
	the I	grief.Poss3	Sg.Iness	Mary	cry.P	TCP	burst.Past3SgIndef	
	*'In my	grief, Mary	burst out	crying.'				

Fourth, in neutral sentences these expressions may appear in the preverbal zone, where they take the position before the quantifier (7a-7a'). This sentence position is unusual for predicative complements relating to single arguments, which is what the expressions under analysis are: normally, these cannot appear preverbally amongst such topic-like elements as, for example, the subject and / or the adverb of time.<sup>2</sup> In addition, rather uniquely for constituents without an article, these expressions may also stand postverbally in neutral sentences (7b). Finally, if the expression appears in the preverbal zone after the quantifier, the sentence will be stressed (focused), where the exact expression is the heavily stressed preverbal contrastive focused constituent (7c).

(7) a. <i>Imre bánatában</i> Imre sorrow.Poss3Sg.Iness	<i>mindig</i>		nk.Pr3SgDef	magát.
'Imre, in his sorrow, always	•		IIK.I 1552DCI	5011.7 100
-	e mindig	-		magát.
sorrow.Poss3Sg.Iness Imr			k.Pr3SgDef	self.Acc
'In his sorrow, Imre always	drinks hims	elf legless.'		
b. Imre mindig leissza		magát	bánatában	
Imre always down.drink	.Pr3SgDef	self.Acc	sorrow.Pos	s3Sg.Iness
'Imre always drinks himself	legless in h	is sorrow.'		
c. Imre mindig BÁNATÁB.	4N	issza	le	magát.
Imre always sorrow.Pos				self.Acc
'It's in his sorrow that Imre	always drin	ks himself le	egless.'	

The fifth characteristic feature is again a unique one: mental-state-as-cause constructions always contain an element of causality. They express the subject's state of mind or change of state, and at the same time, they present it as the underlying cause for the new situation, i.e., the subject's actions. In his argument for the importance of the causality element, Komlósy (1992) demonstrates that if the semantics of the verb unables the interpretation of the situation as one caused by the subject, e.g., with static verbs (8a) or non-Agent subjects (8b), the use of the expression will render non-grammatical sentences.

(8)	a.	*Mari	bánatában	beteg	volt.
		Mary	grief.Poss3Sg.Iness	ill	be.Past3SgIndef
	b.	*Mari	ijedtében	meglátta	Pétert.
		Mary	fright.Poss3Sg.Iness	vp.see.Past3SgDef	Peter.Acc

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Those predicative complements that make predication about the proposition of the sentence as a whole may appear in the preverbal zone, before the quantifier (Komlósy 1992).

In sum, Komlósy (1992) defines the expressions under discussion as a special subgroup of predicative complements. As predicative free adjuncts, they express the subject's state of mind or change of state, and they present it as the underlying cause for the subject's actions. The most unique feature of this subgroup is the personal possessive suffix. Although the presence of this morpheme makes the expressions look like "regular" possessive phrases, in actual text they display a behavior different from what is customary for other possessives. They do not allow for the appearance of the definite article before them, their position for a possessor cannot be filled with a pronoun (either pronounced or unpronounced, as is customary in Hungarian), and they always relate to the subject of the sentence, with whom they must always show agreement through their personal possessive suffix.

### 2.2 The mental-state-as-cause construction

Based on the findings of the above-reviewed earlier accounts of the phenomenon, we conclude that expressions like *bánatában* 'in his/her grief' form a special group within the Hungarian language system. As for form, they consist of a noun and two suffixes: a personal possessive suffix and the inessive case suffix *-ban/ben*. In neutral sentences, their preferred position is in the preverbal zone, before the quantifier position, but they can also appear postverbally. As for function, the expressions act as predicative complements that relate to the subject of the sentence: they predicate the mental state of the subject of the sentence, and they also predicate that this mental state is the cause for the subject's action or change of state expressed in the main verb.

This special meaning/function imposes several restrictions on various constituents of the sentence and on the behavior of the expressions. First, they do not allow the definite article to appear before them, and their position for a possessor cannot be filled. Second, the noun in the expression must express the mental state of the subject of the sentence, which must be referential and must be an Agent, and with whom the expression must show agreement in person and number, through its personal possessive suffix. Third, the caused situation must be an action, an event or a change of state: the main verb of the sentence must be dynamic. If these requirements are not met, the sentence will be ill formed (4a), (5a), (8a), (8b), or the expression with the same morphosyntactical buildup will stop functioning as a mental-state-as-cause construction: it may be an argument of the verb, expressing circumstance other than cause (9).

(9) *Félelmében barátja is osztozott.* fear.Poss3Sg.Iness friend.Poss3Sg also share.Past3SgIndef 'His/her friend also shared in his/her fear.'

The unique characteristics described above authorize the expressions at hand to be regarded as instances of a construction in its own right within the Hungarian language system. We call this construction  $[N_{mental \ state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  or, for practical reasons, the mental-state-as-cause construction.

As a further evidence for the construction status, we argue that the phenomenon involves a process of grammaticalization,<sup>3</sup> whereby the possessive contained in the expression loses in syntactic freedom and semantic complexity (Lehmann 1985). Although the surface realization of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Grammaticalization is defined here "as the development from lexical to grammatical forms, and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms", where "lexical or less grammaticalized linguistic expressions are pressed into service for the expression of more grammatical functions" (Heine & Song 2011, 590).

the construction, i.e., the fact that it contains a possessive morpheme, makes it look like "regular" Hungarian nominal possessive forms with a case suffix, it behaves unlike those (see above). The personal suffix is, in fact, grammaticalized in the construction, in the following sense. The semantic content of possession as represented in the morpheme is shifted from a more concrete and more easily accessible meaning (e.g., kinship and part/whole relations, or ownership) to a less concrete and less easily accessible meaning content: qualia (Heine and Song 2011: 590). Mental state is presented as possessum, and the person marker serves to ground the mental state to the Agent subject – see (10a) versus (10b).

(10)a.	Félelemből	megtámadtam.		
	fear.Elat	vp.attack.Past1SgDef		
	'I attacked him/her of	out of fear.'		
b.	Félelmemben	megtámadtam.		
	fear.Poss1Sg.Iness	vp.attack.Past1SgDef		
'In my fear, I attacked him/her.'				

In parallel, the possessive morpheme and the possessive phrase also lose in syntactic freedom. The possessive suffix must obligatorily show agreement in person and number with the subject of the sentence, while the possessive phrase cannot stand with the definite article, and it "loses" its position for a possessor, furthermore, the expression can only relate to the subject of the sentence.

Finally, we propose that the  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction is, in fact, entrenched (Langacker 1987) for the expression of cause in Hungarian. We suggest that the special arrangement of the linguistic elements in the construction has by now acquired a status in Hungarian speakers' mind whereby it automatically activates a cause-reading. The  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction as a cognitive unit encodes the conceptualization of cause, and this conceptualization is what actually imposes the above-mentioned constraints on the behavior of the construction in text. The next section is devoted to the conceptualization of cause in the construction.

# **3** The construction as a conceptual metaphor

In her semantic-functional grammar of Hungarian as a second language, Hegedűs (2004) discusses the expressions in our focus under cause–effect relationships. She offers an attractive classification of adverbials that may be used in Hungarian simple sentences to express causality (Table 1), classifying the adverbials' case suffixes under the categories of *source* (where from?), *container* (where?), and *goal* (where to?).

Where from?	Where?	Where to?
<u>Hanyagság<b>ból</b></u> nem tanulta meg a	<u>Fájdalm<b>ában</b></u> jajgatott.	<b>Bele</b> betegedett <u>a bánat<b>ba</b></u> .
leckéjét.	'S/he was shrieking in her/his	'S/he went sick with (lit. <i>into</i> )
'Out of sloppiness, he didn't	pain.'	grief.'
do his homework.'	<u>Zavar<b>ában</b></u> a vonaljegyeket	
	tépdeste.	
	'S/he was tearing up the tickets	
	in her/his embarrassment.'	

Table 1. Selection of case suffixes for cause–effect relationships (after Hegedűs 2004: 185)

According to Hegedűs (2004), in Hungarian simple sentences, cause is most often expressed with the help of case endings belonging to the *where from*? group – that is, cause is most often conceptualized as *source* or *motion from*. However, in the mental-state-as-cause construction, cause is conceptualized as *being in a container*. In fact, certain mental-state nouns can be used both with the elative and with the inessive case suffix, as predicative complements expressing cause (11a)-(11d).

(11)a.	Irigységből	elloptad?!
	envy.Elat	vp.steal.Past2SgDef
	'Did you steal it out of envy?	!'
b.	Irigységedben	elloptad?!
	envy.Poss2Sg.Iness	vp.steal.Past2SgDef
	'Did you steal it in your envy	?!,
с.	Gyávaságból	hazudtam.
	coward.ness.Elat	lie.Past1SgIndef
	'I lied out of cowardice.'	-
d.	Gyávaságomban	hazudtam.
	coward.ness.Poss1Sg.Iness	lie.Past1SgIndef
	'In my cowardice, I lied.'	-

Apart from the obvious structural difference that the elative construction cannot take the possessive personal suffix while the inessive construction must always feature it, the functional difference between the two constructions is rather subtle and presumably conceptual. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) offers a possible explanation for this difference (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory claims that *cause* and *motion* are inseparable in the human mind (Woźny 2013): *cause* is often conceptualized as *force*, i.e., something powerful enough to make a *change*, and *change* is often viewed as *motion* (Cserép 2014: 265). In addition, humans experience *cause–effect* relationships in time, as *antecedent–consequence* relationships (Hegedűs 2004: 185), and conceptualize time as *motion in space*. Based on this, it seems plausible why the conceptualization of cause can be encoded in *source* or *motion from* endings in (the Hungarian) language. As for mental states, CMT proposes that "emotional states are very commonly conceptualized as containers" (Cserép 2014: 265). In addition, due to the general experience that humans respond to their emotions or to the fact that humans attribute mental states and actions/behavior (theory of mind), emotions are also often conceptualized as forces (Kövecses 2014: 16–17; Martsa 2007: 209). As a result, the conceptualization of mental states as causes can also be encoded in *container* or *where*? endings in (the Hungarian) language. This is in line with CMT, which claims that concepts are not tied to source domains on a one-and-only basis; one target domain may be linked to several source domains (Andor 2004: 371).

Hypothetically, we can infer that the elative case suffix *-ból/ből*, due to its dynamism and direction (*motion from*), is indeed a more plausible way of expressing cause than the inessive *-ban/ben* ending, which, due to its static nature, lends itself more to the expression of condition (*being in a container*). It is only through association (condition as cause) that the inessive case suffix may have come to express cause with mental-state nouns. And maybe this is exactly why it "needs" the possessive suffix in Hungarian: to disambiguate its two uses of when it predicates condition (12a) and when it predicates condition as cause (12b).

(12)a. Haragban vannak.
wrath.Iness be.Pr3PlIndef
'They are on bad terms.'
b. Haragjukban összeverekedtek.

(

b. Haragjukban osszeverekeatek. wrath.Poss3Pl.Iness vp.fight.Past3PlIndef 'In their rage, they got into a fight.'

Again hypothetically, with time and through frequent use with the meaning element of causality, the formation with the possessive morpheme may have become "taken" for the expression of mental-state-as-cause. Finally, by now, it has become a much more productive way (13b), (13d) of expressing mental-state-as-cause than the elative version (13a), (13c). The latter is more productive with a narrower range of mental states such as stable, inner-personality-quality type emotions (11a), (11c) and knowledge and thoughts (13e), (13g), and other non-mental-state nouns.

(13)a.	*Feszültségből		ordítani	kezd	ett.	
	tenseness.Elat		scream.Inf	start.	Past3SgIndef	
b.	Feszültségében		ordítani	kezd	ett.	
	tenseness.Poss3	Sg.Iness	scream.Inf	start.	Past3SgIndef	
	'In her/his tense	eness, s/he sta	arted to scream.		-	
с.	*Depresszióból	Į	megölte		magát.	
	depression.Elat		vp.kill.Past3S	gDef	self.Acc	
d.	Depressziójába	n	megölte	-	magát.	
	depression.Poss	3Sg.Iness	vp.kill.Past3S	gDef	self.Acc	
	'In her/his depre	ession, s/he k	tilled herself/him	mself.	,	
e.	Hirtelen	elhatáro	ozásból		lemondott.	
	sudden	decision	.Elat		resign.Past3SgIndef	
	lit. 'S/he_resign	ed_out of_a	_sudden_decisi	ion.'		
	'His/her resigna	tion was his	/her sudden dec	ision.	,	
f.	*Hirtelen	elhatáro	ozásában		lemondott.	
	sudden	decision	.Poss3Sg.Iness		resign.Past3SgIndef	
g.	Milyen	megfontolå	isból		döntött	így?
	what-kind	consideration	on.Elat		decide.Past3SgIndef	SO
	lit. 'Out of_what	t_considerat	tion_did_s/he_o	decide	_that way?"	
	'What made him	n/her decide	that way?			
h.	*Milyen	megfontold	isában		döntött	így?
	what-kind	consideration	on.Poss3Sg.Ine	SS	decide.Past3SgIndef	SO

Returning to the difference between the alternatives in (11a)-(11b) and (11c)-(11d), in line with CMT, it may be described as follows: although both versions express the mental state of the Agent subject as a cause for their action, and although this mental state is conceptualized in both versions as *container*, in the elative construction, cause is conceptualized as *motion out of a container*, while in the  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction, it is conceptualized as *being in a container*. Thus, mental-state-as-cause conveys more dynamism in the former version than in the latter one, where it is profiled similar to static conditions. We propose, therefore, that in the elative construction, mental-state-as-cause is conceptualized as *dynamic force*, while in the  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction, it is conceptualized as a *dynamic force*, while in the  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction, it is conceptualized as a *dynamic force*.

*background*-type of cause is posited in the intersection of *condition*, on the one hand, and *cause as dynamic force*, on the other hand.

The idea that the  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction portrays mental-state-as-cause as *background*, i.e., as something halfway between *condition* and *cause as dynamic force*, is also supported by the "question–answer" test. In this test drawing on the "questioning"-strategy used in traditional approaches to grammar, we make questions about the sentence and we answer them with the appropriate constituents of the sentence. As (14) demonstrates, although we know that we must use a *why*? question for the mental-state-as-cause construction,<sup>4</sup> we cannot answer it by repeating the constituent as it appears in the sentence: we can only answer with a *because*-clause in which we make predication about the mental state of the subject as their condition.

- (14) *Megalázottságában Gabi lehajtotta a fejét.* humiliation.Poss3Sg.Iness Gabi vp.bow.Past3gDef the head.Poss3Sg.Acc 'In her humiliation, Gabi bowed her head.'
- → Miért hajtotta le Gabi a fejét? ' 'Why did Gabi bow her head?'
- → \*Megalázottságában. \*'In her humiliation.'
- → Mert megalázottnak érezte magát. / Mert megalázott volt.
   'Because she felt humiliated.' / 'Because she was humiliated.'

In addition, the proposition above is further supported by a number of borderline cases, where the  $[N_{mental state}$ .Poss.Iness]<sub>cause</sub> construction partly expresses condition, and partly cause – occasionally even with illness/symptom-nouns (15a), non-Agent subjects (15b), and static verbs with the modifier *csak* 'just' (15c)–(15d).

(15)a.	Lázában	félrel	beszélt.	
	fever.Poss3Sg.Iness	aside-speak.Past3SgIndef		
	'In her/his fever, s/he talked nonsense.'			
b.	Rémületében	félt		megszólalni.
	terror.Poss3Gg.Iness	be-sc	ared.Past3Sg.Def	vp.speak.Inf
	'In her/his terror, s/he was scared to speak up.'			
с.	Rettegésében	csak	ült	szótlanul.
	dread.Poss3Sg.Iness	just	sit.Past3Sg.Indef	word.without.ly
	'S/he just sat there speechless in dread.'			
d.	Meglepetésében	csak	nézett.	
	surprise.Poss3Sg.Iness		just	look.Past3Sg.Indef
	'S/he was just staring in surprise.'			

In these examples, the "question–answer" test works even less: there is not even a "good" question word or phrase to use. One might try several different options, e.g., *when?*, *why?*, *how?*, *feeling what?*, only to find that in actual fact none of them seems to be a truly good solution alone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In fact, this test also highlights the unscientific nature of the traditional *questioning*-technique in parsing: we only know what question to ask (*why?*) because we already know that the constituent expresses cause in the sentence.

Finally, the possible translations for (15a)–(15d) are also suggestive of a *background*-type conceptualization of mental-state-as-cause in the  $[N_{mental state}$ .Poss.Iness]<sub>cause</sub> construction. Sentence (15a), for instance, could be translated into English both as 'S/he talked nonsense because s/he had fever' (cause) and also as 'Sick with fever, s/he talked nonsense' (condition). Furthermore, (15c) and (15d) cannot feature the possessive pronoun (e.g., \*'S/he was just staring *in* his/her surprise'), as opposed to all other English translations in this paper, which highlights the problem from a different angle.

In English, a similar construction to  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  is available for the expression of mental-state-as-cause, where the mental-state noun stands with the preposition *in* and (in lack of sufficient data, presumably optionally) with a possessive pronoun (16a)–(16b).

(16)a. In embarrassment, Jane covered her face.

b. In her embarrassment, Jane covered her face.

Without analyzing the English construction(s), we raise the following questions: Are the short and the long *in*-prepositional phrases (PP) interchangeable (e.g., *in fury* vs. *in my/your/his etc. fury*) in the expression of mental-state-as-cause? Is there any difference between them? What is the function of the possessive pronoun in the long *in*-PP? How do the *in*-PPs behave compared to adverbs of manner (e.g., *Embarrassedly, Jane covered her face*), participles (e.g., *(Being) Embarrassed, Jane covered her face*) and adverb clauses of cause (e.g., *Jane covered her face because she was embarrassed*)? Is it possible that these expressions present a cline between condition and cause? We leave these questions to further research. Here, we only wish to point out some of the problems that the construction also presents in English. We also wish to raise the idea that the curious case of the two English *in*-PPs with mental-state nouns might support our proposal that in the  $[N_{mental state}.Poss.Iness]_{cause}$  construction, mental-state is profiled as *background*, sharing the features of both cause and condition.

#### 4 Conclusions

In the paper, we established that Hungarian expressions like megdöbbenésében 'in his/her astonishment' and izgalmamban 'in my excitement' behave in the sentence as predicative complements that both predicate the mental state of the Agent subject and that this mental state is the cause for the subject's action or change of state expressed in the main verb. We described the morpho-syntactical and lexical-semantic restrictions that this special meaning/function imposes on the expressions themselves and on the sentences in which they appear. We argued that in the expressions, the possessive morpheme/phrase is subject to grammaticalization in that it loses in syntactic freedom and semantic complexity. Based on our findings, we proposed that these expressions should be viewed as instances of a construction in its own right within the Hungarian language system. We called this construction the mental-state-as-cause construction or [N<sub>mental</sub> state.Poss.Iness]<sub>cause</sub>. We formulated that this particular construction is, in fact, entrenched for the expression of cause in Hungarian: as a cognitive unit, it encodes the conceptualization of cause, and it is this conceptualization that imposes the various constraints on the behavior of the construction in text. Finally, we proposed that in the construction, the concept of mental-state is metaphorically defined and conceptualized as *being in a container* and, due to the theory of mind, it is also conceptualized as *force*. As a result of this "double-sidedness", mental-state-ascause is conceptualized in the  $[N_{mental state}]$ . Poss. Iness $]_{cause}$  construction in the intersection of condition and cause as dynamic force, as *background*.

The findings of the paper point towards several topics to be addressed in the future. Possible directions for future research include the assessment of the boundaries of the construction. What mental states are relevant for the  $[N_{mental state}]_{cause}$  construction? What is the scope of nouns that the construction can feature? How can we describe the role of pragmatics in the relationship between the mental state and the caused situation? Much research also remains to be done on the productivity of the construction. Last, but not least, it would be worth looking at similar constructions in other languages, both to broaden and to deepen our understanding of the phenomenon.

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Mónika Dóla and Anita Viszket University of Pécs, Department of Linguistics H-7624 Pécs Ifjúság útja 6. {dola.monika, viszket.anita}@pte.hu