

APOSTROPHIC PATTERNS IN HUNGARIAN CONTEMPORARY POPULAR MUSIC LYRICS

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Abstract

There is a decades-long tradition of linguistic and literary research into Hungarian-language song lyrics, in which the systematic work of the ELTE DiAGram Stylistic Research Group has been a key factor. In this context, the present research aims to investigate contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics with the aim of providing a more comprehensive picture of contemporary music lyrics as lyrical discourses through the apostrophic patterns found in these lyrics and the socio-cultural relations and attitudes represented in the apostrophic discourses. The qualitative study, which analyses 27 Hungarian-language popular music lyrics, also attempts to identify possible genre schemas along the characteristics of the apostrophic patterns. By characterising the sample, the analytical procedure also highlights subtle distinctive features of different genres of lyrical texts, thus providing a perspective beyond the investigation of popular music lyrics.

Keywords: genre, apostrophe, popular music, lyrics, sociocultural situatedness

1. Introduction

In addition to canonical lyrical works, there is also a growing academic interest in non-canonical lyrical texts, with a decades-long tradition of linguistic and literary studies of popular music lyrics. Findings about the linguistic functioning of apostrophe, which plays an essential role in the formation of lyrical discourse situations, has been recently extended by the results of the first studies of pop song and alternative song texts, and the ELTE DiAGram Stylistic Research Group is systematically investigating the characteristics of popular music lyrics and slam poetry texts, while also supporting the corpus-based analysis of these text groups by building the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry (see Horváth–Simon–Tátrai 2022).

The present research aims to investigate contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics to provide a more comprehensive picture of contemporary music lyrics as lyrical discourses through the apostrophic patterns found in them and the socio-cultural relations and attitudes construed in the apostrophic discourses. The study draws on both recent theoretical insights on the subject and recent linguistic work on other lyrical genres of music, such as hit song lyrics, popular dance music lyrics, alternative lyrics and folk song lyrics. The qualitative study, which analyses 27 Hungarian-language pop music lyrics, also attempts to identify possible genres along the characteristics of apostrophic patterns as adequate and productive starting points for interpretation.

For laying out the theoretical background (2), we discuss the issues of apostrophicity and genre in relation to music lyrics, and then briefly describe the research material and methodology

(3). In the analytical chapter, the research questions are presented along the lines of the characteristics of apostrophic patterns in the sample (4) and their relation to the socio-cultural relations enacted (4.1) before a special section is devoted to the relation of mental states construed in texts to social relations (4.2), followed by a presentation of the genre patterns emerging in the sample (4.3). The paper concludes with a summary.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Apostrophicity of music lyrics

If lyric poetry is understood as a discursive category, we can arrive at an extended interpretation of the concept that takes it to apply not only to a characteristic group of canonised literary texts, but also to popular music lyrics. Indeed, the context-dependent orientation in song lyrics as lyrical discourses is as much the result of the use of fictional apostrophic acts as in canonical lyrical works (see Frye 1957; Culler 1981, 2015). Apostrophe, understood as a turning away from the actual addressee of discourse, often, and in lyric texts typically, initiates discourse not with an addressee who can actually be addressed directly, but with entities with whom it would not be possible to do so without the embodied and discursive grounding of linguistic cognition. The essential features of fictional acts of apostrophe, which are crucial for the discursivity of lyric poetry, are as follows (cf. Tátrai 2015, 2018; Simon–Tátrai 2021: 138–142).

(i) Prototypical lyric discourses can be characterised by a discursive schema whereby a fictional, direct (face-to-face) interactional, apostrophic discourse is constructed in parallel with the actual discourse. The fictive participants of this discourse direct their attention to a directly (perceptually) observable referential scene.

(ii) Apostrophic acts embedded in lyrical discourse create the specific possibility for entities otherwise accessible to linguistic cognition as third person to be constructed as second person. They thus become participants in a system of social relations, with whom it is possible not only to establish interpersonal contact, but also to observe things and events in the world together in the context of intersubjective attention and with whom it is possible to coordinate actions in relation to these.

(iii) In the fictional apostrophe, the utterer of the lyric discourse provides an opportunity to express and influence not only emotions but also other mental states, in the context of intersubjective attention. Participants in fictional apostrophic discourse can share their beliefs of the world and align their own desires and intentions with those of others.

It means that the utterer of the lyric discourse, by applying apostrophe, also creates a fictional joint attentional scene, characterised by the direct interaction of the participants on the one hand, and by the directly observed referential scene on the other. Thus, the addressee of a lyric discourse does not simply have to create the intersubjective context of the actual joint attentional scene of which he or she has become a participant along with the author of the lyric work. In doing so, he must also activate contextual knowledge that derives from his understanding of the intersubjective context of the fictional joint attentional scenes that are created by the apostrophic act (cf. Simon–Tátrai 2021). Thus, the essential question that can be raised in relation to the apostrophicity of lyric discourse is: from where and how are (i) the physical world of the referential scene's participants, with its spatial and temporal relations, (ii) the social world, with its socio-cultural relations, and (iii) the mental world, with their mental states, construed in lyric discourse?

In examining music lyrics, we rely on a detailed interpretation of contextualisation as a dynamic process of context formation, according to which contextualisation as an integral part of joint attention (cf. Tomasello 1999), by mobilising background knowledge that seems relevant to

the participants' perspectives, allows for easier processing and more effective understanding of the whole or bounded parts of the referential scene (see Tátrai 2020).

In this context, we emphasise the perspectival character of contextualisation and provide a particular interpretation of context-dependent vantage points according to which, in the intersubjective grounding of the referential scene, (i) the spatio-temporal position of the speaker in the physical world of the context, in which the participants interpret each other as physical entities, (ii) the socio-cultural situatedness of the speaker in the social world of the context, in which the participants understand each other as social entities, and (iii) the stance of consciousness of the speaker in the mental world of the context, in whose relational system the participants interpret each other as mental agents, function as context-dependent vantage points.

2.2. About the genre of lyrics

Above, we have argued that the application of fictional apostrophic discourse is a general feature of lyric discourse, including popular music lyrics, which plays an essential role in the formation of lyric discourse situations. At the same time, it should be stressed that the study of the arrangement of apostrophic patterns may also be relevant for the description of the specificity of individual lyric genres, and thus of the specificity of the genres of light music song lyrics (see Simon–Tátrai 2021).

As with discourses in general, lyric discourses are instantiations of types, or are themselves types, and thus initiators of the formation of typical discourses. It means that the dynamic interrelationship between schema and realisation, already emphasised in Bakhtin's (1986) concept of speech genre, can be exploited in the description of the relationship between discourses and discourse types (genres).

Bakhtin's theory is related to those text typological concepts that treat text types as natural, realistic categories of linguistic activity, intuitively accounted for and operated by communities of speakers (see Kocsány 1989). Thus, Bakhtinian theory implements an approach to genres as systematic expectation (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 331–338) by interpreting genres as knowledge on the one hand and as motivating factors in the social meaning construal that takes place in particular communities on the other. However, this does not mean that knowledge of genres determines the realisation of discourses. On the one hand, the formation of types is initiated by concrete discursive instantiations that are recognised as similar to each other. On the other hand, instantiations, by conforming or not (or not fully) conforming to the type, also have an impact on it. In the former case they reinforce it, in the latter case they modify it.

According to the concept of functional cognitive linguistics, the types that interact with realisations in the construal can be described as categories or schemas that are activated as shared knowledge of the participants in the discourse. Thus, it is also useful to understand genres as discursive categories, i.e. as open, prototypical systems of expectations that have more prototypical and less prototypical instances. However, genres can be understood not only as prototype-based categories, but also as schemas. They are discursive schemas that are produced by the processing of specific discourses and whose activation is required by the processing of specific discourses. As with schemas in general (see Langacker 1987: 130; Tolcsvai Nagy 2017), genres are created by setting aside the structural differences of the actual discourses experienced, leaving only the common points and reformulating them at a higher level of abstraction. As a result, genres, like schemas in general, are much less detailed than the specific experiences that produced them. Furthermore, genres as schemas are holistic structures of co-occurring features: when a detail of one is recalled, the whole schema is activated. Genres, understood as discursive schemas, are therefore generic structures that help us process new information on the basis of earlier experiences (see Simon 2017: 159–163; Tátrai 2017; cf. Steen 2011).

2.3. Research questions

The present research draws directly on various recent works on non-canonical lyric discourse that have already shown nuanced results on apostrophic patterns in certain non-canonical lyric genres.

Imre (2017) concludes, based on the hit lyrics of the 2000's, that popular texts are not characterised by the development of more than one fictional apostrophic discourse. And Tátrai's (2015) study of alternative song lyrics suggests that these lyrics rely on more complex apostrophic patterns than hit lyrics. Krizsai (2024a), examining dance song lyrics, finds that in that genre, apostrophic fiction creates participant positions that are highly schematised in terms of sociocultural situatedness. Krizsai (2024b), on the other hand, points out in the context of folk songs about love that in some groups of folklore genres the texts – exploiting the possibilities of autofiction – can even refer to concrete real events.

Based on these previous findings, our study, which aims at a qualitative analysis of the most popular Hungarian popular music lyrics of recent years, formulates the following research questions.

- Q1) What complexity of apostrophic patterns can be identified in contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics?
- Q2) What socio-cultural relations and attitudes do these texts present in the apostrophic fiction?
- Q3) What genre schemas can be used to interpret the analysed lyrics?

3. Methods and material

Our study included 27 Hungarian contemporary popular music lyrics taken from the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry (Horváth–Simon–Tátrai 2022) song lyrics subcorpus. We selected the 3 most played songs of each year of the 9 years (2014 to 2022) processed in the subcorpus, based on data from streaming platforms.

Manual annotation of the apostrophic patterns was carried out to inform the qualitative analysis. During the annotation, person annotation was performed in elementary scenes with < > markers in a simple text editor, and the annotation labels were entered between < > markers following the text string. We annotated the first and second-person singular and the first and second-person plural (with labels 1sg, 2sg, 1pl and 2pl), and indicated, next to both the speaker and the addressee position, who (could be) the speaker and the addressee in each line of text, in case either participant could be identified or delimited in any way. We have also included here the relevant comments related to the annotated unit.

4. Results

In the sample of 27 lyrics, we found 15 that form a single fictional apostrophic discourse. In 10 texts, more diverse apostrophic patterns appear: either because more than one addressee is addressed (in 3 texts), or because there is an alternation between the construction of the same entity as the addressee and as the third-person actor in the scene being observed, i.e. the same entity is addressed more than once (in 4 texts); and 3 texts show even more complex apostrophic patterns. In 2 only the first-person singular construction of the speaker is used, not the second-person singular designation of the addressee. These 2 lyrics consist exclusively of first-person singular utterances in which there is no second-person singular addressee, i.e. in which the linguistic elaboration of the addressee does not take place. This does not, of course, mean that the events made accessible and their framing do not imply a potential addressee, as example (1) shows. Even without indicating the addressee, the example presupposes an intimate relationship between the discourse partners, the socio-cultural situation enacted (*ködös a múltam* 'foggy the past.PX.1SG', *nincs otthonom* 'is.NEG home.PX.1SG') being essentially intimate in nature.

- (1) Nem tudja senki, hogy honnan jöttem,
 hogy hányszor volt sötét az ég fölöttem.
 Ködös a múltam, nem ismeri senki,
 nincs otthonom, nincs hova visszamenni.
 (Follow the Flow: Nem tudja senki)

'Nobody knows where I came from,
how many times the sky has been dark above me.
My past is hazy, no one knows,
I have no home, no place to go back to.'

9 of the texts that open the only one apostrophic discourse can be considered very similar to the hit song lyrics of the twenties in terms of the socio-cultural relations they put on stage (cf. Imre 2017). Example (2a) shows that in fictional apostrophic discourse, the members of a relationship – typically romantic – are also discourse partners: the selves that are construed is one of the lovers, and the addressee is the other one. There are also texts in the sample that share the same apostrophic pattern as in example (2a), but the social relationship observed in the discourse of apostrophic fiction is not romantic in nature. The social relations and roles construed are detailed in 4.1, but it is also significant for a more general characterisation of the sample that in 6 of the 15 texts opening a single apostrophic discourse the speaker has a loose, intimate, even explicitly rough, conflictual relationship with the addressee, in some of which (3 texts) the addressee is lexically elaborated, for example by addressing him/her as a 'bro' (*tesó*), as illustrated in example (2b).

(2a) Te vagy a legnagyobb hős a világon:
én a királynőd és te a királyom.
Hova is rejtsem el a szívem tőled,
nehogy a végén majd összetörjed.
(Honeybeast: A legnagyobb hős)

'You are the greatest hero in the world:
I am your queen and you are my king.
Where can I hide my heart from you,
lest it ends up broken.'

(2b) Látom, hogy nem tetszik az új rap,
és akkor mondd mi a fasz van?
Mi a fasz van itt tesó?
(BSW: Yaay)

'I see you don't like the new rap
So tell me then what the fuck is going on?
what the fuck is going on here bro?'

A total of 10 texts show a more complex pattern in terms of apostrophic addressees. (3a) gives an example of one of these groups. In the lines quoted in (3a), two distinct addressees are present, the speaker addressed as 'you' (*te*) in the verse and as 'Daddy' (*Apu*) in the refrain.¹ The same person represented as the apostrophic addressee with second-person singular forms and as the object of attention with third-person singular forms is illustrated in (3b): the girl, the object of interest of the first-person singular utterance in the first and second lines of the cited text, becomes accessible through third-person singular constructions (*beül 'in.sit.3SG'*, *viszi a haját 'blow.3SG the hair.PX.3SG.ACC'*), but is also observed in the third line as the speech partner addressed by the pronoun *téged* ('you.ACC').

¹ While this paper does not attempt a systematic analysis of the possible interpretations of the lyrics, it is worth noting that the passage quoted from Apuveddmeg also points to the poetic potential of the lyrics. According to one possible interpretation of the passage, it is the partner addressed as you who turns to Daddy in the refrain, and the text can thus be understood as a parent-child interaction.

- (3a) A nyaklánc a fejemet húzza le,
hát rajtad meg mi ez a gúnya, te?
[...]
Apu, vedd meg nekem a várost,
automata váltós
kocsival szelném a dombokat!
(WellHello: Apuveddmeg)

'The necklace is pulling my head down,
what's that mockery on you, ha?
[...]
Daddy, buy me the city,
I'd drive up the mountains
in a car with automatic transmission!'

- (3b) Ha beül a kocsimba, esküszöm, hogy a fékre nem lépek,
úgy viszi a haját a szél.
Én leszek, aki ma téged hazakísér,
ó, hazakísér, ó, hazakísér.
(Valmar x Szikora Robi: Úristen)

'If she gets in my car, I swear I won't step on the brakes,
The wind blows your hair so amazing.
I'll be your ride home today,
oh I'll see you home, oh I'll see you home'

The particularly complex apostrophic patterns in the 3 texts do not simply mean that there are multiple apostrophic addressees or that the same entity is addressed more than once. Example (4) shows that the first-person singular nominal *fülem* ('ear.PX.1SG') and the first-person plural pronoun *mienk* ('ours') are involved in the construction of a community in time ('90-es évek 'the 90s') and with cultural components (dressing, acting). The pattern that can be observed in the text is that the self, represented as a member of the community, speaks about the community to the community, as it were, constituting their own story; one of the two apostrophic turns that can be observed is addressed to a member of this community (*én a kezemen pörgök, te meg a fejedem* 'I'm spinning on my hands and you're spinning on your head'), while the second, *tudod* ('know.2SG'), is directed to a speech partner who is not a member of the community.

- (4) úgy terjedt a break, mint a veszedelem.
Én gondoltam, ma magam odateszem,
én a kezemen pörgök, te meg a fejedem
[...]
Nagytalpú cipők meg hülye hajak,
óriás karika a fülem alatt.
Ne legyünk büszkék, de a mienk volt
a '90-es évek tudod, ilyen volt,
lehangolt, leláncolt, de varázsolt,
de 2000 mindennel leszámolt.
(Majka: Mindenki táncol)

'break dance spread like the devil
I thought I'd show my skills today
I'm spinning on my hands and you're spinning on your head

[...]
 Big-soled shoes and stupid hair
 A giant hoop in my ear
 Don't be proud but it was ours
 The 90's, you know, was like this
 Depressed us, chained us down, but it was magical
 But then 2000 has done away with everything'

4.1. Discursive relations and socio-cultural situatedness

In the lyrics studied, there is a great variety not only in the patterns of apostrophe, but also in the social roles and relationships construed in the apostrophic discourse. Of course, the apostrophic discourses opened and the social relations cannot be rigidly separated, since the act of apostrophe, the designation of the (fictitious) discourse partners, cannot be independent of the fact that the possibility of displaying social relations between the discourse partners is different from the possibility of displaying them between the speaker and a character who is the object of attention. The following examples illustrate how social relations and socio-cultural roles become accessible in texts.

- (5a) Újra felteszem a kérdést, meg a pontot az i-re,
 én gondolok rád, te is gondolsz, de kire?
 (Majka x Curtis: Csak te létezel)

'I'm asking the question again and I end it all:
 I'm thinking of you, you are also thinking, but of who'

- (5b) csajod engem néz, néz, néz,
 pedig mindent alápakoltál.
 (Dzsúdló feat. Lil Frakk: Lej)

'Your girl is looking, looking, looking at me
 Even though you gave everything to her'

- (5c) Minta gyerek vagyok, veled csak egy gond, a spanod falumba osztani jár.
 Kifosztod az OTP-t meg a vegyesboltot, de nem tudsz beoltani már.
 (Ekho: Costa Rica)

'I'm a good guy, there is only one problem with you, your dude spreads in my village
 You rob the bank and the grocery store, but you cannot humiliate me anymore'

Example (5a) shows a romantic relationship, typical of both dance song lyrics and hit lyrics, but it is not only the social closeness but also the resulting conflict between the speaking partners that is thematised. In the line *gondolok rád, te is gondolsz, de kire* ('I'm thinking of you, you are also thinking, but of who') the act of questioning can be applied to the love affair: the possibility that the addressee is thinking of a third person, not construed as a discourse partner, is formulated from the first-person singular perspective of the utterer. This brings into focus not only the confrontation in the context of the love relationship, but also the possible states of consciousness of the discourse partners.

Example (5b) illustrates a less common apostrophic discourse representation of the romantic relationship: the discourse partners are not members of a couple in love, i.e. not the utterer who is manifesting and initiating a potentially intimate relationship to the addressee, the *csaj* ('chick'). Rather, the discourse partners are interpreted as potential rivals: the utterer who has his eye on the girl and the addressee is the girl's current partner. Thus, in the apostrophic discourse, it is not the

members of the love relationship who are constructed as interlocutors, but those who are confronted along the lines of their relationship with the girl, similar to (5c), in which a conflictual relationship is also thematized in the apostrophic discourse. The apostrophic turn away, especially the address, can thus be seen as a kind of verbal provocation. Not only does the apostrophic fiction imitate certain potential real discourses, but the turning towards, the initiation of discourse is also a linguistic expression of a problem, even an explicit initiation of verbal confrontation, as can be seen, for example, in the line of the example from (5c), *nem tudsz beoltani már* 'you cannot humiliate me anymore'.

- (6) Csak az álomban érhetlek el,
de kattan a vekker, és vége lesz.
Nem akarom, hogy fájjon, nem akarom, hogy bántson,
nem akarom, hogy vétkezzen.
(Azahriah, Desh: *Mind1*)

'I can only reach you in my dream
but the alarm clock rings and it's all over.
I don't want it to cause pain, I don't want her to hurt,
I don't want her to commit a sin.'

In cases in which a single apostrophic discourse does not encompass the whole of the lyrics, or in which there are several apostrophic addressees, we see a more nuanced, detailed, indirect representation of the social relations than, for example, the second person confrontational verbal contact in the singular. In the first line of example (6), the construal of the discourse partners designated by the verbal form *érhetlek el* ('reach.POT.1SG/SUBJ/.2SG/OBJ/ PREV') and their intimate and essentially discursive relationship is reconstructed the third and fourth lines. The objectified vantage point is still in the first-person singular (*akarom* 'want.1SG'), but the beloved one is not present as a discourse partner but as an observable entity (*bántson, vétkezzen* 'hurt.IMP.3SG, commit.sin.IMP.3SG'). This apostrophic pattern, i.e. that the members of the (romantic) relationship are not discourse partners in the whole lyrics, was previously observed mostly in alternative lyrics (cf. Tátrai 2015).

In texts that initiate more than one apostrophic turn away, not only is there a repeated discourse of one addressee, but also different addressees, as can be seen in the previous example (3a) from the lyrics *Apuveddmeg* by WellHello. In these cases, the associative relations and roles of the discourse partners are mostly obvious, or at least clearly delimited. However, in addition to several distinct recipients, even designated by an address (e.g. *Apu* 'Daddy'), there are also examples where a switch between recipients, a new apostrophic turn away, is not marked. In these cases, the designation of a new discourse partner can be inferred from the different social relations. In such texts, shared knowledge and actions become observable that cannot be linked to a single person by mobilising a schematic knowledge of the world. The quoted lyrics of the band Halott Pénz (7) are a striking example.

- (7) A lelkem koravén, a testem még fiatal,
a vállamra dőlj rá, és mondd el, mi a baj.
Szerelem, pénz vagy a szülőkkel van gáz?
A fater nem bankár, a csajod nem sorstárs, ácsi!
A gondokat most falhoz kell vágni,
és élni egy percig, mint ha nem lenne holnap,
ha nem lenne holnap, kérnék egy tollat,
a nyelvemre írnád a számod fel.
Egy csókkal a bánatom szántod fel,
a szívünket ma este cseréljük el,
vagy hitelre megkapod alacsony kamatra az enyém, ha kell.
(Halott Pénz: Van valami a levegőben)

'My soul is old, my body is still young,
 lean on my shoulder and tell me what's wrong.
 Is it love, money or trouble with parents?
 Your dad's not a banker, your girlfriend's not a soulmate, wait!
 The problems must now be thrown against the wall,
 and live for a minute as if there were no tomorrow
 if there were no tomorrow, I would ask for a pen,
 you'd write your number on my tongue.
 With a kiss you plough my sorrow,
 Let's exchange our hearts tonight
 Or I'll give you mine on credit at low interest'

In (7), the bolded second-person singular anchored linguistic expressions (*dőlj, mondd, csajod* 'fall.IMP.2SG, tell.IMP.2SG, chick.PX.2SG') articulate an addressee with whom the speaker is in a familiar, or at least loose, relationship, the apostrophic turn away being initiated by an empathic act of problem-sharing. The underlined second-person singular expressions (*írnád, számod, szántod, megkapod* 'write.COND.2SG, number.PX.2SG, ploug.1SG, get.2SG'), however, point to an addressee other than the first, with whom the speaker initiates a romantic relationship, and the plural first-person constructions also present the speaker and the addressee as a conceptual unit. This interpretation may naturally follow from the heteronormative approach to romantic relationships in the lyrics, but even under a different interpretation, the first apostrophic addressee, the friend, and the second addressee, whose phone number the declarant would ask for, are not necessarily identical.

What is remarkable in the quoted passages is not only the social relations of the discourse partners in the apostrophic discourse and their various performances, but also the detailed elaboration of their mental states. Nor can this be dissociated from the apostrophic patterns indicated above, i.e. the fact that the way in which the addressee is designated, or at least the lack of designation, goes hand in hand with a more detailed elaboration of the vantage point of the utterance, the construction of the self in objective scenes. The following examples illustrate this, the representation of mental states, and through them the elaboration of the self in detail.

4.2. Mental states in lyrics, with special attention to the utterer

The social relations observed in the apostrophic patterns of the examples cited are often accompanied by the foregrounding of mental states. For example, mental states are brought into joint attention by the verb *can* in (1) and (4) and by *gondol* ('think'), *néz* ('look') and *tud* ('know') in examples (5a–c). The relation of the mental states of the interlocutors' own and each other's mental states to their social relations is illustrated in (5a), the citation from *Bennem csak te létezel*, in which the negotiation of a romantic relationship is essentially a function of the manifested mental states of the self and of the assumed mental states of the addressee, specifically of who is thinking about whom. Thus, the elaboration of the mental states of the discourse partners can contribute to the complexity of the social relations, as it allows for more nuanced and complex relations to emerge in the relation of mind, while the (fictive) utterer's position marks his own position as an adequate perspective for knowledge and assumptions about the addressee. The assumption of the consciousness of an apostrophic addressee also allows for a more detailed elaboration of the utterer's vantage point by the states of mind that it attributes to the addressee.

(8a) Azt is megértem, amit te nem értesz,
 ezért az életem nem hasonlít a tiédhez.
 (Majka x Curtis x Király Viktor: Füttyös)

'I also understand [or: I have also lived to see] what you can't understand,
 therefore my life is not like yours.'

- (8b) Azt mondd, tudod, mi kell, / de te nem fogod fel!
 Honnan is tudhatnád, / Ja! / ha te nem voltál lenn?
 (Manuel: Messziről jöttem)

'You say you know what it takes but you just can't get it!
 How could you know when you ain't been down there?'

In examples (8a) and (8b), the relationship between the interlocutors is mainly shaped in the light of the mental abilities and knowledge they attribute to each other. That is, the addressee typically knows something differently or not from the source of the speaker, whereas authentic, meaningful, reliable knowledge and experience are attributed to the speaker.

- (9a) Az életem egy kalandregény,
 a társam a magány, a szeretőm a remény.
 Úgy megpróbálnám a szerencsém,
 de a balszerencse szerelmes belém.
 A szívem a motor, még várjon a pokol,
 most szólok, hogy kicsit kések.
 Hogy hova sodort az élet
 elmondom majd, ha visszatérek.
 (Follow the Flow: Maradok távol)

'My life is an adventure novel,
 my partner is loneliness, my lover is hope.
 I'd like to try my luck,
 But bad luck is in love with me
 My heart is the engine, hell awaits,
 I'm just telling I'll be a little late
 Where life has taken me
 I'll tell you when I get back'

- (9b) A zenémtől sírnak a csajok,
 a zenémre szívnak a rajok,
 a sikeremtől sírnak a nagyok,
 de leszárom mennyit rak rá még az élet,
 mert egyedül haladok.
 Egyedül csináltam, egyedül vagyok.
 (Missh: Sok a gond)

'My music makes girls cry,
 My music makes the coolheads smoke (weed),
 My success makes the boss cry,
 But I don't give a shit how much more life has to put it on
 Cause I'm on my own
 I did it alone, I'm alone.'

Examples (9a) and (9b) illustrate how in first-person singular construals the self engages in self-interpretation without a specific designation of an addressee, by staging its socio-cultural situation. In (9a), this can be seen not only in the first-person nominals (*társam*, *szeretőm*, *szívem* 'partner.PX.1SG, lover.PX.1SG, heart.PX.SG1'), but also in the verbal actions (*szólok*, *elmondom* 'speak.1SG, tell.1SG'), which can be interpreted as a kind of fictional self-narration. Similarly, (9b) lists the defining identity components of the self in first-person nominals (*zeném*, *sikerem* 'music.PX.1SG', success.PX.1SG'),

from which the schema of the successful creative or performing artist emerges. In examples (9a) and (9b), the social position of the speaker is elaborated not only by the lack of addressee, but also by lexical elements (*a társam a magány, a balszerencse szerelmes belém* 'my partner is loneliness, bad luck is in love with me' and *egyedül haladok, egyedül vagyok* 'I walk alone, I'm alone'). The apostrophic pattern and the constructed social role thus support the elaboration of the self as a discourse partner. In similar texts, the enacted manifestation is typically isolated in a social position, as in (8a–8b) and (9a–9b), while the schematic construction of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour specific to a musical subculture can also be observed in this way, as in examples (2b) and (5a–5c).

4.3. Genre issues in the studied lyrics: break-up and rap schemas

The patterns of apostrophic fiction and the social relations and mental states represented within them in the sample under study reveal similar and less similar constellations to earlier popular music texts. The sample is partly composed of texts that open up a single apostrophic discourse, of a romantic nature, but which in any case thematise close and intimate relationships, in which the primary intention is to declare relationships and to shape them. The romantic relationship may be explicitly conflictual in nature, and the negotiation may be aimed at breaking the relationship. In this context, accountability and mistrust may be expressed through the mental states attributed to the speaker and his or her partner.

(10) Általad sebzett lélekkel
nézek most szembe a tényekkel.
Jól tudom, most már nem mellettem ébredsz fel.
A szíved már máshol jár,
miért csókol egy másik már?
Mondd, miért így ért véget a mesénk?
(Lofti Begi x Burai Krisztián: Háborgó mélység 2)

'With a soul wounded by you
Now I face the facts.
I know you won't wake up next to me anymore.
Your heart is elsewhere,
Why is another kissing (you) now?
Tell me, why did our story end this way?'

In example (10) we see the above-mentioned intention to shape relationship. In addition to the representation of the current mental state of the self (*most nézek szembe a tényekkel* 'now I face the facts' and *jól tudom* 'I know well'), the intention to engage the addressee in discourse is also done with the interrogative *miért* 'why' and imperative the verb form *mond* (tell.IMP.2SG). In the lyrics, in relation to the romantic relationship, there is a party to the conflict who is not, however, present as a speech partner, but as an entity (*egy másik* 'another') observable by the participants in the apostrophic discourse.

In addition, as we have already pointed out, the texts under study also show apostrophic patterns in which the representation of the vantage point of utterer is more detailed than the elaboration of the social relation. The first-person singular utterances of the self stylize the modes of utterance of the well-defined cultural milieu of rap (cf. Iványi 2024, K. Molnár 2024), making available a kind of autofictional history of the self. The stylised manifestation and autofiction in the narration of the self may also call into question the adequate way of interpreting the lyric as lyric discourse: in some texts, we can observe a detailed elaboration of the self that may point to the possibility of fluctuation between the real and the fictive discourse, and thus to the marking of sociocultural relations of the speech partners in the context of real and fictive discourses. The phenomenon that

apostrophic turn aways are complex while texts can also refer to concrete events that have taken place is more likely to be encountered in relation to folklore genres (see Krizsai 2024b).

(11) senki nem tudja, hogy ki voltam,
kinevettek, mégis toltam,
nem érdekeltek, én mondtam.
Most nézd a nevemet, hol van!
Igen, én vagyok a srác, aki YouTube-on nyomja,
(Missh: Sok a gond)

'no one knows who I was,
I was laughed at, yet I pushed,
I didn't care about them, I just kept talking.
Now look where my name is!
Yes, I'm the guy who's pushing it on YouTube.'

In text (11), cultural references that appear link the fictional manifestation not only to a musical subculture, but also to different settings, in the quoted excerpt for example to a video sharing platform. Such references to reality can also initiate an interpretation of the discourse partners of lyric discourse beyond fiction.

In the sample, however, these described constellations, the rupture texts and the rap-like texts stylising the self as a lone street fighter and successful performer, are not present as rigid categories, but rather as possible interpretative schemas. There are varied instances in the texts of the co-elaboration of the love affair and the speaker's vantage point, i.e. of texts simultaneously living with a break-up theme and a rap-like stylization of the self.

(12) De senki, senki nem jött úgy, mint te,
senkit nem szerettem így, senki nem fogott így meg.
És talán soha nem is fogok, és én ezt is elfogadom,
csak már nem akarom ezt, mert én nem bírom ezt.
(BSW: Mióta elhagytál)

'But no one, no one came like you,
no one I loved like you, no one touched me like you.
And maybe I never will, and I accept that,
I just don't want it anymore, because I can't take it.'

(13) Miért hazudtad azt nekem,
hogy nem számít a színem?
Tudtad, barna a szemem,
sosem változik bennem.
[...]
Engem négyévesen megszólított az Isten,
egy igazi fegyvert adott a kezembe.
Tudtam, csak ő vigyázhat rám,
többet gyakoroltam vele, mint egy samuráj.
(Pápai Joci: Origo)

'Why did you lie to me
that my colour doesn't matter?
You knew I had brown eyes,
they never change in me.'

[...]
 God spoke to me when I was four,
 and gave me a real weapon.
 I knew only he could protect me,
 I practiced with it more than a samurai.'

In example (12), the speaker's vantage point is elaborated in detail in the context of love disappointment, and although there are several apostrophic turns to the other member of the romantic relationship, the focus is on the effect of the change in the social relationship on the speaker, rather than on the relationship itself or the addressee. In this way, the example shows the characteristics of both the break-up and the self-stylizing texts, which are not, however, sharply separated in the overall textual structure.

Example (13), on the other hand, shows a solution in which the self-display becomes prominent in a particular part of the lyrics, while in other places it is less pronounced. The variety of the text sections is supported by the performance style, so that the last four lines of text (13) can be interpreted as a kind of rap insertion, whereby in the stylised articulation of the self the artist's position as a creator and as a performer is put on stage through a fictional I-narration that can be evaluated as remarkably detailed and complex in comparison to prototypical lyric poetry.

This kind of staging of the self (as a successful musical creator or performer), which is also an essential feature of the rap music subculture, raises the possibility of a continuum between the fictional manifestation in the act of apostrophe and the actual speaker, the artist.

5. Conclusion

This paper has aimed at a more detailed study of apostrophic patterns in Hungarian contemporary popular music lyrics. Based on functional cognitive theoretical foundations and recent literature background on the issue, we sought answers to three research questions in a sample of lyrics from the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry subcorpus. To ground the qualitative study, we carried out a manual annotation of a sample of 27 texts.

Our first question was about the complexity of the apostrophic patterns identified in contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics (Q1). We found the same contemporary popular text pattern as in the hit song lyrics of the 2000's, the formation of a single fictional apostrophic discourse in 9 texts with a romantic relationship as their theme. In 6 other texts we have observed this pattern with the display of a socio-cultural situation that is not very typical of the hit song lyrics: we find it important to point out that in some of the texts that display a romantic relationship, this relationship is also strongly confrontational. Apostrophic addressees are not present in 2 texts. The more complex apostrophic patterns previously shown mainly in alternative lyrics were found in 10 texts. These patterns can be divided into three groups: texts in which the apostrophic addressee is addressed more than once, while also appearing as the third-person singular character in the text (4 pcs); in which more than one apostrophic addressee is addressed (3pcs); and a group of texts (3 pcs) with even more complex apostrophic patterns.

Our second question (Q2) concerned the socio-cultural relations and attitudes in these patterns. The relationships in the sample are schematised in a similar way to the popular dance song lyrics, i.e. potentially anyone can be a participant. However, in addition to the romantic relationship, a kind of familiar, loose relationship, *spanság* ('brotherhood'), and explicitly confrontational attitudes also appear. The latter can also be seen in romantic relationships in terms of the intentions to shape the relationship, which can be interpreted mainly in the light of the mental states of the discourse partners. Verbal confrontation, provocation also occurs in the apostrophic fiction (questioning, critical comment). In some of the texts, the representation of socio-cultural relations and attitudes results in a very detailed elaboration of the speaker's vantage point, often accompanied by the representation of the mental states of the self. The elaboration of the self often includes the

thematization of the isolated social situation and the successes of the performer or creator. It is from this stylised speaker's vantage point that the autofictional narrative of the self is often developed in great detail.

The apostrophic patterns observed in the study, the sociocultural roles and attitudes made available in them, and the mental state markers that support the elaboration of social relations, all emerge in a constellation that supports the interpretation of the texts analysed in terms of two different genre schemas. In response to our third question (Q3), on the genres along which the texts can be interpreted, two distinct patterns emerge. On the one hand, there is the schema of break-up lyrics, similar to that of dance song lyrics and hit song lyrics, typically (but not exclusively) consisting of a single apostrophic discourse, representing the conflict between the speaking partners in a romantic relationship. On the other hand, there are the rap-like lyrics, which reconstruct the schema of dance lyrics and hit lyrics in a more definitive way, initiating verbal confrontation between rival speech partners, emphasising the elaboration of the self in detail, and often exploiting the possibilities of autofiction. The latter, by the very nature of autofiction, also highlights the complex relationship between fictional and real discourse. In addition to these two distinct genre schemas, the sample also includes the complex apostrophic patterns already observed in alternative texts, which are predominantly involved in the elaboration of one of the two socio-cultural attitudes mentioned above. This does not, of course, imply the primacy of the schema of the hit song lyrics or the rap lyrics, but merely that contemporary popular music texts show a variety of patterns of apostrophic discourse that are fundamental to lyricism and that cannot be interpreted in terms of a single genre schema. An adequate interpretation of contemporary popular music lyrics requires the mobilisation of knowledge of several genres.

The main conclusions of the present research on Hungarian contemporary popular music lyrics, beyond the characterisation of the sample, may open up a new perspective because the results suggest that the procedure may be able to reveal subtle distinctive features of different genres of lyric poetry, even in heterogeneous samples.

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