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EDITOR'S NOTE

Annales Sectio Linguistica was originally a yearbook of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), under the full title of Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Sectio Linguistica. It formed part of a collection of university yearbooks in various disciplines, and served the purpose of making the results of ELTE-based research in linguistics available to an international audience beyond the iron curtain. The first volume of the yearbook appeared in 1970, and a total of 26 volumes were published by 2005. From 1990, financial problems hindered year-by-year appearance.

During the whole period, Annales was edited by Prof. István Szathmári. The articles were written in a variety of languages including English, German, French, Latin, Russian, Spanish, and others. Thematically, they covered the most diverse fields of research on a wide range of languages.

The journal now re-appears with new editorial and advisory boards, and under very different circumstances. Annales Sectio Linguistica continues as a peer reviewed journal published yearly by Tinta Könyvkiadó with the intellectual support of Eötvös Loránd University. The new journal's focus is on the functional description of Hungarian, and its preferred language is English.

The editorial board is grateful to Prof. István Szathmári for decades of work as an editor, and to all former colleagues for their contributions to the journal.

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A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF ADESSIVE *-NÁL/-NÉL* ('AT') AND SUPERESSIVE *-N~-ON/-EN/-ÖN* ('ON') IN HUNGARIAN

GABRIELLA SZILVIA KOTHENCZ

Abstract

*Synchronic studies in the framework of holistic cognitive linguistics have recently yielded convincing results, and the idea of utilizing that framework for purposes of historical linguistics has also emerged (e.g. Blank–Koch eds. 1999). At the moment, no complete studies of that sort are available for the Hungarian language, though Fazakas (2003) presented a brief account of the theoretical possibilities that arise. The present paper discusses a possible area of using cognitive semantics for historical purposes: the study of the semantic system of certain Hungarian case endings. In particular, this study attempts to describe the behaviour of adessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') and superessive *-n~-on/-en/-ön* ('on') from a cognitive semantic perspective, considering diachronic aspects as well.*

1. Introduction

Synchronic studies in functional cognitive semantics have had many conclusive results recently (Langacker 1987, 1991; Lakoff 1987). Thus it would be preferable to use these results in historical language analyses (Blank 1999).

The present study is examining the semantic system of two Hungarian adverbial suffixes (*-nál/-nél* 'at' and *-n ~-on/-en/-ön* 'on'), and their description in the framework of cognitive semantics from a diachronic aspect.

According to functional cognitive theoretical and descriptive results, knowledge of a language cannot be separated from other cognitive skills. Language processes cannot be separated from mental processes and consequently, the meanings of linguistic expressions provide useful information about our conceptual system and the mental operation of language. Most theoreticians in cognitive linguistics suppose that the understanding process (conceptualization and the processing of linguistic expressions) is realised partly by schemas (Gestalts¹) based on life experiences (Lakoff 1987). Spatial and visual information have an eminent role in conceptualization processes, but formal descriptions cannot investigate so deeply the connection between conceptualization and language.

It is important to notice, especially in the case of spatial conceptualization, that the original semantic content (or a part of it) based on experience is preserved in conceptual structures, and it is accessible for conceiving of other abstract situations, processes through metaphorization (Lakoff 1980). In the cognitive theoretical framework, the terms *metaphor*

¹ A Gestalt is a mental image; it represents a typical example of individual things which is necessary for their categorization process. In this process, an image belonging to the phenomenon to be classified is being compared to the already saved mental image (Gestalts) and then it is put into the most appropriate category on the basis of resemblance (Lakoff 1987).

and *metaphorization* are not stylistic means but they refer to one specific method or strategy of processing the input information where one thing is understood in terms of another one.

Every element of a language – including adverbial suffixes – has its own meaning, and its grammatical category is considered as a symbolic item which is not just a simple mapping of the external objective world because the cognitive effort of the speaker/hearer always proceeds through a conceptual categorization (construal, in Langacker’s term, 1991: 294). In the opinion of holistic researchers, the way we express our ideas in a linguistic situation is always subject to perspectivization, since the speaker/hearer is free to choose from his available conceptual schemas. These schemas may be conventionalized in different language communities and so they might generate some differences between languages. Variability within a language and between different languages corresponds to differences in the speakers’ conceptual structures and their perspective when perceiving and conceptualizing a life situation

2. The categories of *Stable* and *Mobile* in expressions of spatial relations

Sándor N. Szilágyi and his students were the first to make some cognitive semantic tests on the Hungarian language at the end of the ‘90s. At the Faculty of Arts of Babes-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár these linguists explored the main semantic characteristics of certain Hungarian postpositions: *rajta* ‘on’ (Galaczi 1995), *alatt/fölött* ‘under/over’ (Somkerekci 1999), *el* ‘away’ (Andor E. 1999), *át* ‘across’ (Imre A. 1999) and *benne* ‘inside’ (Páll 1999)².

During their investigations Sándor N. Szilágyi and his colleagues found that the basic principles of metaphorical conceptualization predominate not only in the mental lexicon but in the grammatical system, too. The semantic network of the analyzed Hungarian postpositions shows large metaphorical extensions, based on their primary spatial meanings. This result is in accordance with the classical cognitive theory of metaphor.

Approaching the semantics of Hungarian postpositions, the terms *stable* (S) and *mobile* (M) have been introduced by the linguists in Kolozsvár. If an object is static and fixed, it is named **stable** (S_o=stable object), but if an object is moveable or moving compared to the stable one, it is called **mobile** (M_o=mobile object). (The difference between stable and mobile objects is not always construed physically, i.e. in space, but it can also refer to temporal or entity relations.³)

Szilágyi and his colleagues define the category of „stable” and „mobile” for the description of spatial relations, whereby the construal of an entity in space is understood in relation to another one. This model is similar to the concept of figure/base (more specifically trajectory/landmark) alignment (cf. Langacker 1987: 231).

² In the Hungarian language some adverbial relations (e.g. *alatt* ‘under’) can be expressed by postpositions:

<i>a</i>	<i>híd</i>	<i>alatt</i>
the	bridge	under
‘under the bridge’		

³ Three kinds of relations can be realized between objects: spatial, temporal and entity. Spatial relations might be the first relation form, from which temporal and entity relations were created by way of metaphorization. Spatial relations express some kind of contact or contiguity in space between things, temporal relations – as the category of time is more abstract – denote contacts in time via metaphorization, and finally, entity relations reflect physical or non-physical contacts between entities and/or objects.

The stable/mobile alignment certainly has non-spatial semantic extensions, for instance:

- (1) Az *asztal alatt van a labda.*
 the table under is the ball.
Stable object (S_o) **Mobile object (M_o)**
 'The ball is under the table.'

In sentence (1), the reference point is the stable object (*asztal* 'table'). The postposition (*alatt* 'under') has the effect of focusing the speaker/hearer's attention to the entity considered as the reference point. Two objects are denoted by nouns in the sentence, and the postposition marks the one to the referent of which the speaker/hearer relates the other object. This means that the postposition has a special role, namely to identify the reference point for the speaker/hearer, which cannot be on the mobile object in any case.

This statement can be checked easily if we try to describe this spatial relation between the ball and the table in a different way by the following sentence, in a grammatically correct but semantically marked way:

- (2) A *labda felett van az asztal.*
 the ball over is the table
Mobile object (M_o) **Stable object (S_o)**
 'The table is over the ball.'

In sentence (2), the reference point and the stable object do not coincide; therefore the speaker/hearer can find that sentence very strange or non-conventional. Thus the sentence *Az asztal alatt van a labda* 'The ball is on the table.' is perfectly acceptable, but the sentence *A labda felett van az asztal* 'The table is over the ball.' is non-conventional, although both sentences express the same spatial relation. In the speaker/hearer's interpretation process the stable object is always the reference point to which the participants in the conversation can relate other movable objects.

It is necessary to note that the terminology of Szilágyi is very similar to that of Langacker (1987: 231), because the terms „mobile” and „trajector” or „stable” and „landmark” mean basically similar concepts, although these are not only concepts for standing and moving things but abstract conceptualizations as well.

Like other agglutinative languages where the word meaning can be modified by adding different and multiple endings or affixes to the word, the Hungarian language expresses spatial, temporal and entity relations by way of using adverbial suffixes which can be added to different parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, numbers, pronouns, etc). The adverbial suffixes added to nouns are case endings at the same time. Nominal case signals the function a noun fulfils in a sentence or phrase, such as the subject, direct or indirect object. In English, these roles are generally the same but unmarked (with the exception of pronouns). In the Hungarian language, a word has to be marked according to its role using special endings, similarly to Latin.

The relation of the stem and affix was heavily discussed by certain linguistic theories and schools. In the opinion of linguists (including Anderson 1992, Katamba 1993, Beard 1995, Stump 2001 and Spencer 2001) supporting the "word-based" theory, an affix is only a formal item or trace for abstract grammatical processes where words have meaning but affixes do not. Other linguists (Langacker 1987, 1991, Carstairs-McCarthy 1992, Kostic et al. 2003, Aronoff et al. 2005 and Enger 2005) suppose that both affixes and stems are meaningful, and they are on a par from the "morpheme-based" theory's perspective.

The current study is based on the "morpheme-based" theory, according to which the stem and the affix are in a semantic relationship, and the stem elaborates one schematic substructure of the affix. Thus, an affix is dependent semantically, i.e. it is relational, but a stem is autonomous. In Langacker's term, there is a special relationship between a stem and an affix, where a stem is the landmark, and the affix is the trajector (Langacker 1987).

As previously shown in sentence (1), adverbial suffixes designate the stable object out of the two related ones, because the suffix is always attached to the S_o -word in the sentence.

In order to construct a spatial relation, at least two entities are needed which are in an asymmetric relation: one of them is the static object (here referred to as 'stable'), and the other is the movable or moving one (termed 'mobile' in what follows). If a third thing, object or person assists for these two objects to be in contact then that relation is trichotomic, and the mediator thing, object or person is called the actor (A), for instance:

- (3) The boy threw off a pencil from the table.
 A M_o S_o

Just like the objects in the spatial relationship (S_o and M_o), the relation-marking adverbial suffixes can also be separated into two categories, namely **stable suffixes** (S_s =stable suffix) and **mobile suffixes** (M_s =mobile suffix).

Stable suffixes express the notion of „staying at one point in space/time" and they do not refer to events that involve any kind of movement. They designate one point or period in space and time, and show simple spatial, temporal or substantive relations. Mobile suffixes, by contrast, refer to the existence, realisation and termination of continuous movement and dynamic relations.

3. The nature of adverbial suffixes

In several languages, relationships between cognitive categories are reflected in different ways. These differences are particularly typical for grammatical expressions of spatial and temporal relations, as in some languages affixes and postpositions are used, while in others mainly prepositions. The use of grammatical forms shows various speaker/hearer viewpoints on the interpretation of events in the world, and different strategies of coding/decoding actions, objects and entities in the language.

Since movements and actions normally have directions and orientations when compared with objects and entities, verbs (the typical part of speech to denote movements and actions) can have spatial and temporal factors in their semantic structures. Nevertheless, some languages (mainly agglutinative ones) express spatial and temporal relations by way of affixes and postpositions added to the words which typically refer to objects and entities (nouns). In a phrase which includes a noun, a verb and an adverbial suffix, the adverbial suffix as a grammatical form to express a spatial relation is attached to the noun:

(4) Hungarian: [õ] a könyvtár+**ba** ment.
the library + to went
noun + adv.suff. verb

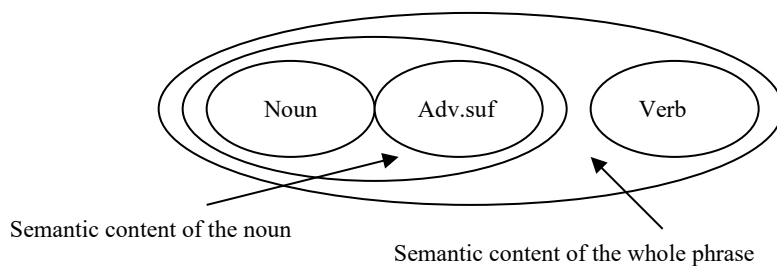
‘(S/he) went to the library.’

(5) Finnish: [hän] meni kirjasto+**on**.
went library + to
verb noun + adv. suff.

(6) Japanese: [anohito wa] toshokan+**ni** ikimashita.
library + to went
noun + adv.suff. verb

The phrase structures in (4) – (6) can be demonstrated schematically in Figure 1:

Figure 1
Relationships between the verb, noun and adverbial suffix
from the structural point of view



As shown, the meaning of the noun and the adverbial meaning of the noun and the adverbial suffix is represented together, in the same frame. But the semantic perspective suggests that in the conceptual system there are different relationships between the noun, the verb and the adverbial suffix. If we consider other languages, we can find that these different relationships are clearer and more directly reflected than in Hungarian/Finnish/Japanese, and not only expressed by affixes, but prepositions, too:

(7) English: [he] went **to** the library.
verb prepos. noun

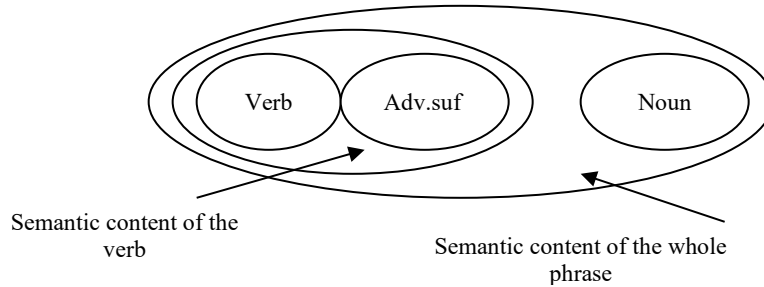
(8) German: [er] ging **in** die Bibliothek
went to the library
verb prepos. noun

(9) Russian: [on] poshol **v** biblioteku
went to library
verb prepos. noun + inflexion (-u)⁴

⁴ This process is harder to demonstrate in the Russian language, because this language is mixed (it is fusional, with some agglutinative characteristics). Here the inflexion (-u) and preposition (-v) together participate in the structure. The prepo-

From a cognitive linguistic perspective, adverbial suffixes may be seen to have different relations to the verb and the noun, as demonstrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2
Relationships between the verb, the noun and the adverbial suffix
from the cognitive point of view



In Figure 2, the verb and the adverbial suffix mutually draw upon each other's meaning, even though the suffix is attached to the noun in the oral realization.

4. Classification of three-way adverbial suffixes

From a diachronic aspect, the key to understanding the operation of adverbial suffixes is the historical three-way system of spatial relations in Hungarian and the distinction based on the type of spatial relation.⁵

sition conflating several spatial parameters is represented together with the verb, but a suffix is added to the noun as well, to denote feminine gender. Reference of gender is added to the nouns, therefore the suffix includes a gender parameter.

⁵ In traditional grammars, by the category 'orientation', the Hungarian language is characterized by a three-way opposition. E.g. in case of orientations 'to/at/from', 'at' is the starting/central point for defining the other two directions ('to' and 'from'):

alá/alatt/alól 'to under/under/from under'

elé/előt/előle 'to the front of/in front of/ from the front of'

felé/-felől 'toward/-/from'

fölé/fölött/fölül 'to over/over/from over'

To a certain extent, this opposition is relevant for the case system,

-ba/-ban/-ból 'into/in/from in'

-ra/-on/-ról 'onto/on/from on'

-hoz/-nál/tól 'to/at/from'

and for certain adjectival pro-forms:

ide/itt/innen 'to here/here/from here'

oda/ott/onnán 'to there/there/from there'

hova/hol/honnan 'where to/where/where from (Kornai 1994: 77–78).

Figure 3
Classification of adverbial suffixes in the three-way system of spatial relations
(Korompay 1992)

Three-way system of spatial orient. Type of relations	Where?	Where to?	Where from?
Internal spatial relation	<i>-ban/-ben</i> ('in')	<i>-ba/-be</i> ('into')	<i>-ból/-ből</i> ('out of')
Closer external spatial relation	<i>-n/-on/-en/-ön</i> ('on')	<i>-ra/-re</i> ('onto')	<i>-ról/-ről</i> ('from the surface of sg')
Less close external spatial relation	<i>-nál/-nél</i> ('at')	<i>-hoz/-hez/-höz</i> ('to')	<i>-tól/-től</i> ('from')

What does „closer” and „less close” mean in a spatial relationship? How can we interpret them and what is the basis for comparison? These groups are not defined precisely enough, thus some corrections should be made drawing on findings from cognitive semantics:

Figure 4
Classification of suffixes with the three-way system of spatial relations
by the cognitive semantics

Three-way system of spatial orientations Type of relations		S _s (=stable suffix)	M _s (=mobile suffix)	
		Being in sg	Getting closer to sg (+)	Getting away from sg (-)
Contact relation	INTERNAL	<i>-ban/-ben</i> ('in')	<i>-ba/-be</i> ('into')	<i>-ból/-ből</i> ('out of' i.e. 'from+in')
	EXTERNAL	<i>-n--on/-en/-ön</i> ('on')	<i>-ra/-re</i> ('onto')	<i>-ról/-ről</i> ('from the surface of sg' i.e. 'from+on')
Uncertain-contact relation		<i>-nál/-nél</i> ('at')	<i>-hoz/-hez/-höz</i> ('to')	<i>-tól/-től</i> ('away from')

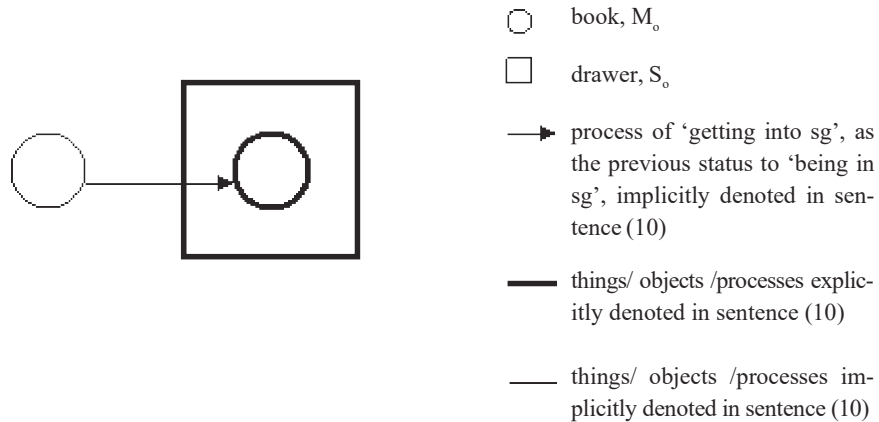
The previous three categories have been merged into two groups: **contact relations** and **uncertain-contact relations** can be distinguished. Within the category of contact relations there are external and internal relations. Internal relations are characterized by their ability to refer not only to spatial relations, but (via metaphorization) to temporal and entity relations, too. In such a case, there is a relationship between S_o and M_o on the external or internal surfaces, physically realized. E.g.:

- (10) A M_o a S_o van.
 the könyv the fiókban is
 'The book is in the drawer.'

In sentence (10), the book (mobile object, M_o) is in physical contact with one or more internal sides of the drawer (stable object, S_o). The adverbial suffix as a special 'guide' for the speaker/hearer indicates the stable object, in order to define the reference point, according to the *cognitive map* of spatial relations. The theory of Cognitive Map is suggested by Edward Tolman (1948), who described the cognitive map as an internal representation that

guides all the elements of behaviour, including conceptualization as well. Based on his results, it can be assumed that users of a language create and apply such kind of maps when they conceptualize spatial relations. This cognitive map of spatial relations includes the most important information about spatial orientations with relationships between objects and/or entities in a very compressed and simplified form.

Figure 5
The cognitive 2D-map of spatial relations in sentence (10)



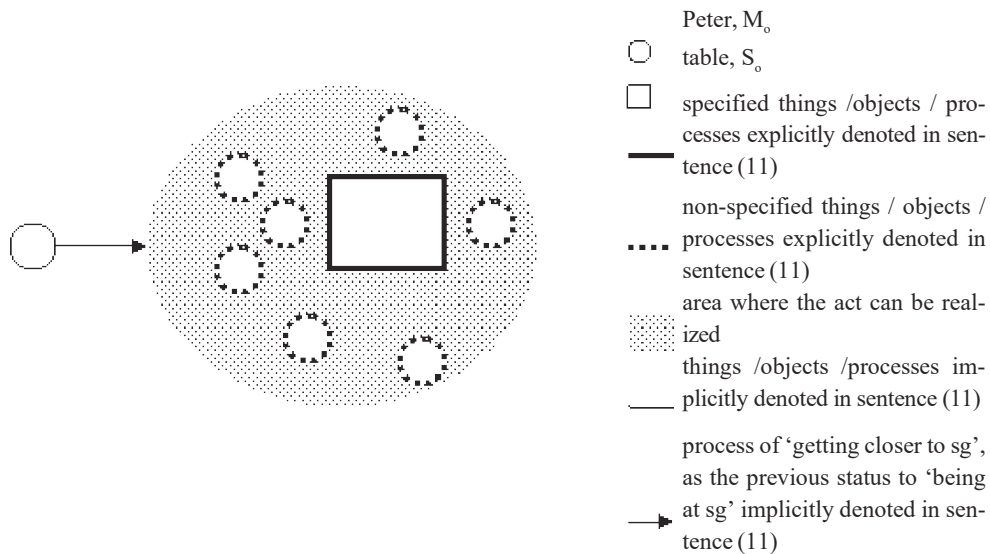
As shown in Figure 5, the stable object (drawer) contains the mobile object (book), i.e. internal physical contact has been established between them. Explicit information is marked in bold. In Figure 5, this means that the book is inside the drawer, this is the status of ‘being inside something’. But there are also pieces of implicit information as preconceptions regarding the connecting process between the objects, because if the mobile object is included in the stable one, then the act of ‘border crossing’ must have happened as the mobile object changed into the status of ‘being inside something’.

Uncertain-contact relationships show that S_o and M_o are in contact with each other, but their physical contact may not always be realized. This uncertainty is very important, because it means that the speaker/hearer has incomplete information about the actual situation.

	M_o		S_o	
(11)	Péter	az	asztalnál	áll.
	Peter	the	table+ at	stands
	‘Peter is standing at the table.’			

In sentence (11), it is unsure where exactly Peter as the mobile object is in the space around the table (stable object). We do not even know whether or not there is some physical contact between the stable object (*asztal* ‘table’, S_o) and the mobile object (Péter, M_o). The speaker/hearer cannot or would not like to give sufficient information about the situation, and the adverbial suffix *-nál/-nél* ‘at’ receives an extra function: to express this intention of the speaker/hearer, showing his partly informed knowledge. Therefore, adverbial suffixes of uncertain-contact relations contain non-specified information about the spatial relations.

Figure 6
The cognitive 2D-map of spatial relations in sentence (11)



As shown in Figure 6, because of the lack of sufficient information, no fixed and exact position is defined for the mobile object (Peter), only a larger area where it may be located. What could be the reason of this uncertainty? In order to find the answer, the conceptual category system of adverbial suffixes will be presented in the next part, and then two stable suffixes, the adessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') and the superessive *-n~ -on/-en/-ön* ('on') will be investigated.

5. Characteristics of three-way adverbial suffixes

According to theories of cognitive semantics, conceptualization is based on the experiences of users of a language (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987). This means that objects, entities, acts and relations occurring in our world are specially coded in languages. For instance, relations between spatial orientations are reflected in the meaning of adverbial elements (e.g. suffixes).

If we decode this knowledge hidden in a language, then we can get some information about the nature of conceptualization.

In order to understand the main difference between the use of adverbial suffixes symbolizing contact and uncertain relations, it is necessary to investigate the main difference between them: the presence or absence of uncertainty.

Contact relations show that the speaker/hearer is sure about the exact relationship between two objects or entities, while uncertain-contact relations indicate that there is only a possibility for contact, but its realization is not certain. But where does the uncertainty come from? Most probably, it comes from the lack of complete information. Therefore, we have to study what kind of information is needed to define spatial relations.

5.1. Characteristics of three-way adverbial suffixes classified into contact relations

A spatial relation specifies how an object is located in space in relation to a reference object which becomes the reference point for the language user. Since the reference object (stable object / landmark) is usually larger than the object (mobile object / trajector) referred to, the latter is often represented by a smaller circle.

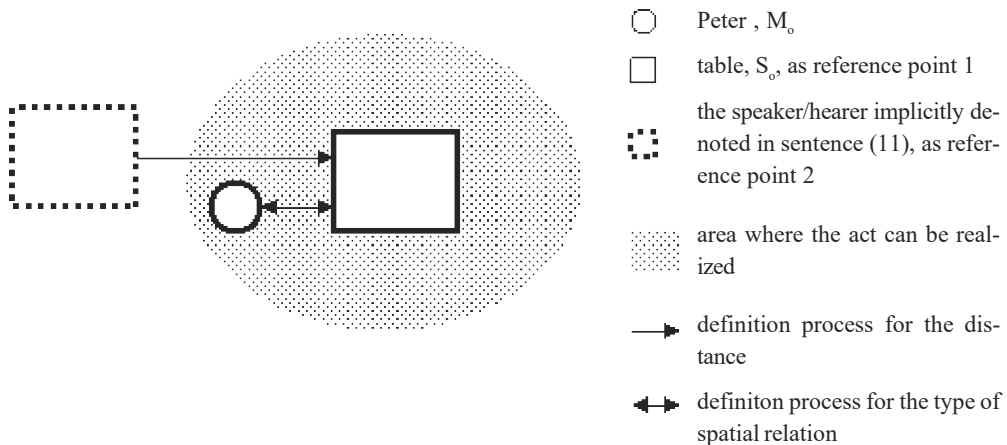
In order to define a spatial relation in the easiest way, at least two objects are needed. The speaker/hearer considers the relation between the two objects, where the reference point is always construed as the stable object – see sentence (1), i.e. **only one reference point** is used for defining the contact relation ($S_o - M_o$).

5.2. Characteristics of three-way adverbial suffixes classified into uncertain-contact relations

When using adverbial suffixes belonging to uncertain-contact relations, the speaker/hearer considers not only the relationship between the stable and mobile objects, but also the spatial position of the mobile object related to him and the stable object, i.e. **two reference points** (the speaker/hearer and S_o) are used for defining these spatial contacts. For example, in sentence (11) (*Péter az asztalnál áll* ‘Peter is standing at the table’), the speaker/hearer considers the relationship between the table (reference point 1) and Peter, and the spatial position of Peter in the space between the speaker himself (reference point 2) and the table:

Figure 7

Reference points in spatial relations expressed by sentence (11) /2D/



In general, defining the type of a spatial relation is much faster and easier than giving the exact calculation for the distance between objects/entities, which would require the use of measures as well. Therefore, in actual conversations the speaker/hearer cannot define these distances, they can only arrive at a rough estimation. Insufficient information, thus, causes the uncertainty which is reflected in the linguistic expressions.

6. The categorization of three-way adverbial suffixes

In cognitive semantics, the concept of metaphor has been re-interpreted. Metaphorization is not a literary or rhetoric term here, but a way in which we understand unknown and/or abstract ideas (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987).

As we know from the history of the Hungarian language, three-way adverbial suffixes were originally individual words and only later became suffixes via grammaticalization (Korompay 1992), these elements should be categorized by their meanings despite the fact that their forms have changed and that they lost their syntactic autonomy.

Figure 8

The cognitive category system of three-way adverbial suffixes /3D/

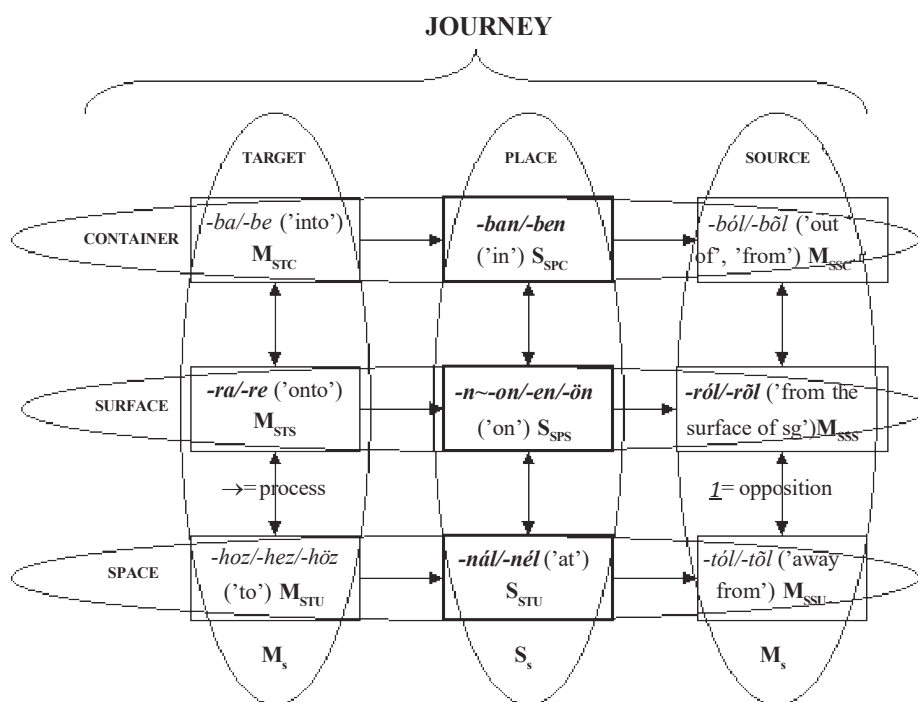


Figure 8 shows the categorization of three-way adverbial suffixes. As can be seen, all suffixes belong to the main conceptual category of JOURNEY. Inside this conceptual area, there are six sub-categories (TARGET, PLACE, SOURCE, CONTAINER, SURFACE, SPACE), to which nine three-way adverbial suffixes are related. In the centre of the 3D-system, there are stable suffixes (inessive *-ban/-ben*, superessive *-n~on/en/ön* and adessive *-nál/-nél*), to which mobile suffixes are compared (see the case of stable and mobile objects in Section 2).

Horizontally, we can see the processes between the suffixes which are parts of one complex act (journey in the metaphorical sense), completing each other, but vertically, suffixes are in opposition.

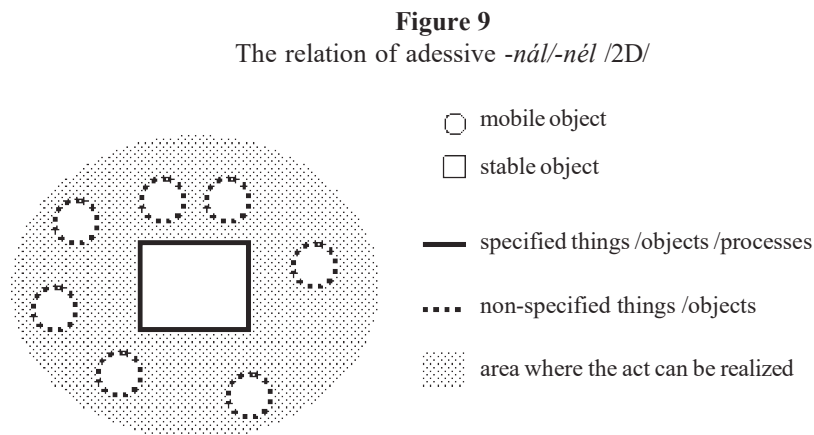
7. The meaning of inessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') and superessive *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on') as semantically opposite pairs

Having seen that a spatial orientation can be defined in space only in relation to another one, this method can be applied for defining the meaning of adverbial suffixes as well, i.e. comparing their meanings to each other and studying them in opposite pairs. In the following part I will give a short presentation of this method, comparing the adessive suffix *-nál/-nél* ('at') and the superessive *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on') to each other, using theories of language history and cognitive semantics.

7.1. The meaning of *-nál/-nél* ('at')

The adessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') is a stable suffix for expressing uncertain contacts, to which the metaphor of SPACE and PLACE can be related. This means that the concept of 'being in not-close contact', i.e. 'keeping a short distance (i.e. space) between the objects' is included in the meanings of *-nál/-nél* ('at').

Therefore, the meaning of *-nál/-nél* ('at') is 'being at something', 'being definable in relation to something without physical contact', as it can be seen in Figure 9 below:



As this is an uncertain-contact suffix, the exact place of the mobile object is defined only in the actual situation by the speaker/hearer, by use of two reference points. For this reason, the objects marked by the circles are only possibilities for the location of the mobile object. In Figure 9, there is a specific area (in the dotted grey background) which is located around the stable object.

As known from research on language history, the suffix *-nál* comes from the adverb *nál* 'proximity/nearness' used in the Ugrian (or Uralian) period of the Hungarian language. This word was formed from the Ugrian basic word **na*⁶ 'proximity/nearness' with *-l* as an ancient ablative suffix. We can find similar examples in other Finno-Ugrian languages, the most interesting for our analysis is the Samoyed yur. *nā* 'to', *nāna* 'at'/'with' (TESz).

The meaning 'with' in the above-mentioned Samoyed example suggests that the word *nál* could mean not only 'proximity/nearness' but also 'being close to sg/sy' i.e. 'being **with** sg/sy

⁶ Supposed basic form of the word from the Uralic period.

by non-physical contact, keeping a short distance – SPACE – between the objects', despite the fact that the suffix *-nál/-nél* is not used for expressing the meaning 'with' today.

This idea is confirmed by the other form of the adessive suffix as well (*-nél*), because the first occurrence of *-nél* in Hungarian written documents (Jókai Codex 1416 a./1466) is an element of the postpositional composite structure *nélkül* 'without'. This postposition is composed of two morphs, *-nél* and *-kül*, from which *-nél* might mean 'with' and *-kül* (today: 'external') should mean 'out'.

However, the word *nál* is not used in Hungarian today, as it became a suffix via grammaticalization, but supposedly this process did not totally delete the semantic pole of the word and its meanings could be preserved in the suffix, too. Based on this idea and using the theories of cognitive semantics, meanings of *-nál/-nél* can be given as follows:

Meanings of *-nál/-nél* ('at'):

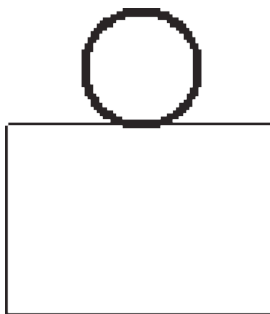
- a) Non-exact or non-defined circumstances
- b) Metaphor of PLACE WITH SPACE
- c) Being with sg/sy by non-physical contact, keeping a short distance
- d) Non-limited status in movement
- e) Pre-supposing of realized process of 'getting closer to sg/sy'
- f) Uncertain contact with M_o

7.2. The meaning of *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on')

This suffix refers to external contacts including the metaphor of 'being on the surface of sg'. The superessive *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on') assigns 'being on something by physical contact without border-crossing events on S_o 's body', thus M_o only touches it on the surface.

Figure 10

Relations of *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on') /2D/



Meanings of *-n ~-on/-en/-ön* ('on'):

- a) There is external contact without restriction
- b) Metaphor of SURFACE with PLACE
- c) Moving without obstacles
- d) Prediction and result of events without border-crossing
- e) S_0 touches the surface of M_0 on surface, this relation can be turned with 90° and 180° in the space

In the conceptual and grammatical system, three-way adverbial suffixes are represented in oppositional pairs, and they designate and construe spatial, temporal and entity relations compared to each other. In the opposition between adessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') and superessive *-n ~-on/-en/-ön* ('on'), the focus is on the difference of uncertainties of the contact as shown in the next phrase:

(12) *a sínnél van* – 'sg is at the rails'

The adessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') means 'being at sg with short distance (i.e. space)', where the uncertain contact shows the non-limited status in movement, because S_0 has uncertain contact with M_0 . Therefore, it is not sure whether physical contact is realized between them, but M_0 is somewhere around S_0 .

(13) *sínen van* – 'sg is on the rails'

This phrase, besides its direct meaning, metaphorically expresses that 'some case is under way with an expected positive end'. In this phrase the superessive *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on') means straight moving without obstacles in space when it refers to things and objects on the surface of a stable object. In this relation, S_0 comes into contact with M_0 but only externally. The abstract meaning of this phrase: 'getting to somewhere by a continuous movement (without obstacles)', i.e. 'getting to be successful'.

8. Conclusions

This study aimed to show the semantic system of adverbial suffixes in the three-way system of spatial relations in the Hungarian language, mainly with two suffixes: the adessive *-nál/-nél* ('at') and the superessive *-n~on/-en/-ön* ('on'). The analysis was completed within the framework of holistic cognitive semantics with a diachronic orientation.

I investigated the meanings of three-way adverbial suffixes, and made a proposal on their cognitive category, together with the related conceptual domains and cognitive metaphors. From the nine three-way adverbial suffixes, two (*-nál/-nél* 'at' and superessive *-n~on/-en/-ön* 'on') were analysed semantically and a possible explanation for their origin was suggested. It was found that in the semantic system of adessive *-nál/-nél* the original meaning 'with' can be assumed, which justifies its relation to the metaphorical uses of SPACE and PLACE (i.e. short distance).

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ON THE HUNGARIAN VERBAL PARADIGM WITH THE SUFFIX *-IK*. A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

JUDIT SCHULTZ

Abstract

In this paper I would like to discuss the -ik paradigm (associated prototypically with passive, reflexive, reciprocal and middle voice in Hungarian) in the framework of functional semantics based on Langacker's meaning and composite structure model and the prototype theory. After summarizing the theories of traditional historical linguistics, I propose a new possible explanation of the paradigm by concentrating on the procedure of attention shift. By focusing on the starting point of the paradigm, the 3rd person singular -ik element, I highlight the causes of the semantic changes of the paradigm, its appearance in new verbal groups as compared to its original function, on the basis of the hypothesis that the -ik element has not only inflectional but also derivational properties. I conclude my study by outlining possible directions of future research, including questions and problems about the afore-mentioned hypothesis; the relationship between the -ik element and other derivatives; the concerns of aspectuality; and particularly the question of the middle voice, as developed in Suzanne Kemmer's monography (1993).

1. Introduction

In this paper I would like to offer a new approach to investigating the *-ik* paradigm, its birth and changes throughout the history of the Hungarian language, within the framework of functional cognitive linguistics. Langacker's semantic and composite structure model and the prototype theory allow us to answer the questions about the paradigm's birth and semantic changes. I attempt to explain the birth of the paradigm (at any rate of the paradigm's basic element, the 3rd person singular *-ik*) with the help of a metonymic semantic procedure referred to as attention shift. My hypothesis is that the *-ik* element as the basis of a new paradigm has not only inflectional but also derivational properties; its derivational properties allowed the paradigm to occur in different verbal groups in the course of the history of Hungarian.

This paper does not attempt to answer all the questions it raises, rather it reports on interim results of an ongoing research project. But I think it is important to raise these questions because they may bring us closer to understanding the functioning of this extraordinary paradigm.

1.1. Verbal inflections in the Hungarian language

The properties and relations of finite verbs are represented by inflectional elements (suffixes) in Hungarian. Not only are the morphemes for denoting tense and mood added to the base form of a verb but person and number are also expressed this way. In the Hungarian language three (or more precisely two and a half) paradigms exist to express number and person relations: the definite one, the general one (they are full paradigms), and the defective *-ik* paradigm. Their historical evolution is closely connected to each other and to the problem of marking the object as well. The defi-

nite paradigm is used in the case of transitive verbs when their object is definite (e.g. *Péter a húga naplóját olvassa* ‘Peter is reading his sister’s diary.’). The general paradigm is used with intransitive verbs (*Péter fut* ‘Peter is running.’), and with transitive verbs with an indefinite object (*Péter egy könyvet olvas* ‘Peter is reading a book.’). These two paradigms are complete, i.e. they have their own conjugations in every person, number, mood and tense (see Table 1 for the conjugation of verbal paradigms). They represent a total opposition to each other.

The third paradigm is the so-called *-ik* paradigm. It is not complete, namely it does not have its own suffixes in every number and tense (in past and future tenses and in the plural the verbs take the general paradigm’s suffixes). In respect of form, it can be distinguished from the other two paradigms; however, its function is harder to define, it is associated prototypically with the passive, reflexive, reciprocal and middle voices. The current descriptive grammars define its function as identical to the general paradigm; on the standpoint of historical linguistics see 3.3. The *-ik* paradigm may be used both with intransitive verb and transitive ones with indefinite objects, thus it is indeed synonymous with the general paradigm. In contrast, the *-ik* paradigm cannot occur with any intransitive or transitive verbs without an object. Nowadays, only 4% of Hungarian verbs can be conjugated in this way. The general and the *-ik* conjugations are interchangeable only in one direction: the *-ik* conjugated verbs may appear with the suffixes of the general paradigm in each person, mood and tense, except for third person singular, declarative mood, present tense. (Moreover, from the 16–17th century there has been a tendency in the Hungarian language to replace the morphemes of the *-ik* paradigm by the morphemes of the general paradigm.) Nevertheless, the morphemes of the *-ik* paradigm cannot occur on non-*-ik* verbs. For example, the present tense first person singular in declarative mood form of the verb *eszik* may and does appear in language use both in the forms of *eszem valamit* (‘I am eating something’, with the suffix of the *-ik* paradigm) and *eszek valamit* (with the same meaning, with the suffix of the general paradigm). (The question of whether both forms are “appropriate” would lead to the question of norms, an issue that is beyond the scope of the present article. Suffice it to state that native speakers know, use and understand both versions.) Still, non-*-ik* verbs like *olvas* are only used in the form of *olvasok valamit* ‘I read something’, but **olvasom valamit* is odd for native speakers. It is important to note that in dictionaries, the lexical forms of the verbs are given in the general conjugation in present tense third person singular in declarative mood, but *-ik* verbs represent an exception: the lexical forms of these verbs are given in *-ik* conjugation in the third person singular, in present tense in declarative mood.

	general paradigm	definite paradigm	-ik paradigm
S/1	-k <i>írok</i> ‘I write (sg)’	-m <i>írom</i> ‘I write (that)’	-m <i>úszom</i> ‘I swim’
S/2	-sz/ l <i>írsz</i> ‘you write (sg)’	-d <i>írod</i> ‘you write (that)’	-l <i>úszol</i> ‘you swim’
S/3	Ø <i>ír</i> ‘he/she writes (sg)’	-ja/-i <i>írja</i> ‘he/she writes (that)’	-ik <i>úszik</i> ‘he/she swims’
P/1	-Unk <i>írunk</i> ‘we write (sg)’	-jUk <i>írjuk</i> ‘we write (that)’	– <i>úszunk</i> ‘we swim’
P/2	-tOk <i>írtok</i> ‘you write (sg)’	-játok/-itek <i>írjátok</i> ‘you write (that)’	– <i>úsztok</i> ‘you swim’
P/3	-nAk <i>írnak</i> ‘they write (sg)’	-ják/-ik <i>írják</i> ‘they write (that)’	– <i>úsznak</i> ‘they swim’

Table 1: The Hungarian verbal paradigms (cf. Keszler ed. 2000, Kiss–Pusztai eds. 2003)

The verbal paradigm with *-ik* has been studied relatively rarely in Hungarian linguistics over the last few decades. As regards its study from a historical aspect, it was last dealt with in detail in the dissertation of Magdolna R. Hutás (1972), and by Erzsébet E. Abaffy (1978 and 1992). Of the descriptive grammars, *Magyar grammatika* (Keszler ed. 2000) and *Új magyar nyelvtan* (É. Kiss – Kiefer – Siptár 2003) discuss the paradigm, but they do not distinguish the paradigm with *-ik* from the other two paradigms beyond their formal characteristics. Kiefer's *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan* (Kiefer ed. 2000) does not even discuss the paradigm with *-ik*, it concentrates only on the main rules of inflection, and regarding those rules the authors' opinion is that the *-ik* paradigm is not different from the other two paradigms. In addition to the characteristics of the form, however, it is useful to examine the functional characteristics, which make the paradigm with *-ik* unique in the Hungarian language.

1.2. The structure of the paper

In the following sections, I will first review the theories of classical historical linguistics before turning to the possibilities and problematic issues raised by the line of research which examines the emergence and functional changes of the paradigm with *-ik* within the framework of functional cognitive linguistics. This framework makes it possible to examine the instantiations of the paradigm as it functions within a clause (cf. Langacker 1987). By applying the continuum-principle (of lexicon, morphology and syntax, cf. Langacker 1987), some features of the paradigm, for which there is no explanation in the traditional structural approach, can also be studied. Such a characteristic feature is, for instance, that the paradigm appears only on certain groups of verbs (e.g. the reciprocals). The dynamic approach, which makes no distinction between synchrony and diachrony, presents the complete history of the paradigm in unity. After the presentation of the framework and the current results of my research, I will point out possible directions for further research in this field.

It has to be noted that although the expression 'the paradigm with *-ik*' is adopted in the title, this paper deals mainly with the 3rd person singular *-ik* form. The reason for this is that the most important characteristics of the paradigm are mostly linked to this element, and it is also the starting point of the emergence of the paradigm. Moreover, currently it can be regarded as the only stable element of the paradigm. I think that this feature results exactly from the typical derivative-like content of the paradigm. The other elements of the paradigm will hopefully also be the subject of further research.

2. The views of the classical historical linguistics

2.1. The birth and history of the paradigm with *-ik* is closely connected to the problem of the markedness of the grammatical (direct) object.¹ At the beginning of the Proto-Hungarian age² it was only the definite object that had a marker, originally an *-m* element (during the Proto-Hungarian age it changed to *-t* by unit-change). There was only one verbal paradigm (its suffixial elements were grammaticised from personal pronouns) to denote person and

¹ The Hungarian language recognizes a 'direct' object in definite and indefinite versions. Instead of 'indirect' object, there are nominals with adverbial case endings.

² The periods of Hungarian historical linguistics: Proto-Hungarian age (from the beginning of the Hungarian language till 895; there are no linguistic records from this period); Old Hungarian age (895–1526), Middle Hungarian age (1526–1772), New Hungarian age (1772–1920) and Newer Hungarian age (1920–).

number of the subject. The simplest transitive sentences comprised a verb, a subject (unmarked) and an object (marked only if it was definite):

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-----------|---------|
| (1) | Asszony | kenyeret | vág. |
| | woman | bread.ACC | cut.3SG |
| | S | O | V |
| | ‘Woman cuts the bread.’ | | |
| | | | |
| (2) | Asszony | kenyér | vág. |
| | Woman | bread | cut.3SG |
| | S | O | V |
| | ‘Woman cuts a bread.’ | | |

The lack of the indefinite object’s marker caused no problem because of the rigid SOV word order. But when word order was no longer restricted, marking the indefinite object was immediately necessary. The formation of the paradigm with *-ik* can be regarded as a kind of answer to this problem, in the following way.

In sentence (3)a. according to the SOV word order *emberek* is the subject and *fa* is the object.

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|------|-----------|
| (3) a. | Emberek | fa | török. |
| | man.PL | tree | break.3PL |
| | S | O | V |
| | ‘men break a tree.’ | | |

With the disappearance of rigid word order, the syntactic (and semantic) functions would have to be made unambiguous in three ways:

- a) by marking the indefinite object particularly,
- b) by developing an inflectional morpheme or even paradigm referring to the object,
- c) by developing a class of middle verbs derived from transitive ones.

During the historical development of the language the *-t* object marker began to designate the indefinite object too (a). In the verbal inflection there also appeared a new line of morphemes aside the existing one, and from that time both the original paradigm, which became later the definite paradigm, and the new one, the general paradigm had the same function to refer to the definiteness of the object (b). But these two processes demanded a long period of time to be accomplished.

However, middle verbs existed already in the proto-Hungarian language. The main characteristic of this verb class is that no Agent is allowed to appear with the verb. The subject position was filled by the Patient in these sentences.

The historically primary transitive sentence, *Emberek fa török* changed as follows: by dropping the Agent (for example because it is known from the context) the sentence turned into *Fa török* ‘(sys/sgs) break tree’. Actually, this sentence *Fa török* had originally an OV word order. But in this case *fa* can be identified also as subject in singular person, by the analogy of sentences with intransitive verbs and SV word order (*Eső es* ‘rain falls’; *Ég dörög* ‘sky thunders’). Consequently, the semantic structure of the verb *török* was transformed into

the middle voice: *Fa török* ‘tree breaks’. The third person plural *-ik* morpheme changed too and became third person singular, and at the same time the formal exponent of the middle voice (c).

(3) a.	Emberék man.PL S	fa tree O	>	török. break.3PL V	(3) b.	Fa tree O	török. break.3PL V
	‘Men break a tree.’						
(3) b.	Fa tree O	török. break.3PL V	>	(3) c.	Fa tree S	török. break.3SG V	‘(A/the) tree breaks.’

2.2. The extension of the paradigm with *-ik* to other classes of verbs (beyond the middle voice) started already in the Proto-Hungarian age. In one of the primordial Hungarian linguistic records, the *Halotti beszéd és Könyörgés*³ ‘Funeral Sermon and Prayer’ there are instantiations of the *evéc* verb ‘he/she ate’ in both transitive and intransitive use, where the *-ec* ending (pronounced: *-ék*) is the past form of *-ik*. There developed verb pairs in which the version without inflectional morpheme in the *-ik* paradigm is a transitive verb in the active voice, while the version with the paradigm with *-ik* is in the middle voice. These pairs generally perished during the Middle Hungarian age, like *tel* ‘fill’ : *telik* ‘to be filled’.

The paradigm with *-ik* often appeared on verbs already in the middle voice, too; in these cases the usage varied, as *fogy* ~ *fogyik* ‘lessen’.

Verbs denoting a state started to take *-ik* endings in the Old Hungarian age (*alszik* ‘sleep’, *fekszik* ‘lay’). The paradigm with *-ik* also plays a role in the formation of the passive. The passive structure evolved from the causative structure, also using the *-ik* verbal endings, maybe as early as during the first half of the Proto-Hungarian age.

The *-ik* ending appears on active verbs too, first of all on the reflexives. It was also possible to attach it to motion verbs as in these verb classes there is a great variability between forms with and without *-ik* (*lép* ~ *lépik* ‘step’). There are many other intransitive verbs that take the *-ik* paradigm. The transitive–intransitive pairs (*gyón* : *gyónik*; ‘confess sg : confess’) obscured the earlier conventionalized conceptual structures, and facilitated the appearance of transitive verbs with the *-ik* paradigm. This functional diversity played a great part in the decomposition of the paradigm; actually the appearance of *-ik* suffixes on different classes of verbs is part of the decomposition process.

3. The functional approach

3.1. My first remark to the previous overview is in connection with the decomposition of the paradigm, which is the result of functional diversity. In fact, it was this phenomenon that made me turn towards the functional approach. I find it crucial to make a distinction between the two processes of change: the spread of the paradigm, and its decomposition. The

³ The ‘Halotti Beszéd és Könyörgés’ [Funeral Sermon and Prayer] is the eldest known coherent linguistic record of the Hungarian language. See in Benkő 1980.

first one is a functional change, a kind of **polysemy extension**, while the other one is purely a **morphological reduction**. Of course, there is a correlation, moreover, an interaction between the two, but they cannot be identified with each other (Schultz 2005). Historical data show that functional changes had already begun in the Proto-Hungarian age, and continued in the subsequent period as well. As a result of the functional changes, the paradigm was productive throughout these periods, which it still continues to be at present. As opposed to the above the first signs of the decomposition of the morphological structure appeared only in the second half of the Middle Hungarian period (for more detail see: Schultz 2006). In the present work I will focus on the functional changes of the paradigm, that is why the changes of its form will only be examined in so far as they have a direct connection to functional changes.

3.2. As stated above, the revaluation of the grammatical structure (and through this the emergence of the paradigm) took place in order to avoid homonymy, because with the disappearance of the fixed word-order in the sentence *Emberek fa török* ‘people tree break’ it was not clear anymore which noun was the subject and which one was the object. Yet, the subject-verb agreement in number was compulsory already at this stage of the historical process. This agreement makes it clear that only the plural noun *emberek* ‘people’ can be the subject of the plural verb *török* ‘break’. In reality, the possibility of homonymy is present only in the sentences *Emberek fák török* ‘men trees break’ and *Ember fa tör* ‘man tree breaks’. But these sentences could not have functioned as the starting point of the change. In the first case, the revaluation of the 3rd person plural inflectional suffix to 3rd person singular could not have happened, and in the second case there is no *-ik* ending to reevaluate. Moreover, instead of the disappearance of the homonymy, further ambiguous situations would have been generated, since e.g. the sentence *Fa tör* ‘tree breaks’ in the two senses ‘(someone) breaks a tree’ and ‘a tree breaks’ is quite a disturbing homonymy.

In my view, pragmatic attention shift had a more prominent role in the emergence of the paradigm than the effort to eliminate homonymy. That is, the difference between the event expressed by the active voice and the one expressed by the middle voice derives from a difference in perspective. The speaker focuses on the Patient instead of the Agent in the middle voice version, which is mapped onto the linguistic expression.

3.3. The explanation for the appearance of the *-ik* paradigm on various groups of verbs can be found in its various functions. The inflection with *-ik* is mentioned in the literature of historical linguistics

as a marker:

- a) the mere emphatic marker of middle voice: „The words *romol* ‘decline’, *omol* ‘come down’, *bomol* ‘desintegrate’, *ömöl* ‘pour’ etc., later on receive the suffix *-ik*, to stress their meaning which is in contrast with the meaning of the causative form of verbs of the same root, for example, *ront* ‘worsen sg.’, *ont* ‘shed sg.’, *bont* ‘break up sg.’, *önt* ‘pour sg.’ etc.” (Bartha 1991: 89);
- b) the marker of reflexivity: „the verb *fürdik* ‘bathe’ with a reflexive meaning may also be a heritage from the previous age, the visible sign of its reflexive nature is obviously the suffix *-ik*” (Bartha 1991: 96). But: „Later the suffix *-ik* became an integral

part of the derivative in the lexical form of the word and, together with it, became the marker of the reflexive function” (Bartha 1991: 97);

- c) the marker of intransitivity: „Because of their semantic features, most of the instantaneous verbs are intransitive. Their intransitivity is in many cases overtly marked by the suffix *-ik*, attached to the derivative” (Bartha 1992: 105);

as a certain function:

- d) a middle function expressed by a suffixial item (Abaffy 1978: 298);
- e) a reflexive function expressed by a suffix: „The derivation of the passive voice can be traced back to the causative; it is derived by attaching the reflexive personal suffix *-ik* to the causative *-at/-et* and *-tat/-tet.*, like *olvas* ‘read’ > *olvastat* ‘make read’ > *olvastatik* ‘to be read’” (Bartha 1991: 94).

I made a distinction between the definition of the *-ik* ending as a function and as a marker of a given quality; they seem to be two distinct roles. In the first case, the paradigm is placed in a middle, reflexive, and intransitive semantic content, thus, it becomes part of the verb by receiving inflectional suffixes with *-ik*. In the second case, the function of the paradigm is to highlight semantic content which is already present in the verb.

The primary reason for the inconsistent use mentioned in a)–e) seems to be the following. Although the authors of earlier studies clearly recognise those features of the paradigm that point further than simply the indication of number, person, and the definiteness of the object (such a feature is for example that the paradigm can change the syntactic relations of the verb, which is clearly a characteristic of derivatives), but the theoretical framework does not make it possible for them to explain such features of an inflectional suffix. Thus, analogy is used as an explanatory principle. When it cannot be used, inconsistent language use comes as an explanation. „The fact that the same active verb is transitive without the suffix *-ik* and intransitive when *-ik* is attached to it (*gyón valamit* : *gyónik* ‘confess sg : confess’) may have confused language use, and made the use of the form with *-ik* possible in the case of transitive verbs as well” (Abaffy 1992: 220). I do not intend to contest the role of analogy, but as I see it, the functional semantic approach can go further and also provide an answer to the question of what motivates analogy. The exploration of the common features of verb-groups determines the domain in which analogy prevails. Moreover, a more satisfying answer can be given to the appearance of the *-ik* ending on transitive verbs than „inconsistent language use”.

4. The theoretical background and results of the research

4.1. Langacker’s meaning and composite structure model claims that morphology and the lexicon are not separable, direct sets, but they form a continuum: „There is no meaningful distinction between grammar and the lexicon. The lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum of symbolic structures, which differ along various parameters but can be divided into separate components only arbitrarily” (Langacker 1987: 3, see also Tolcsvai 2005a, 2006).

Both the phonological and semantic components of the linguistic expression are of experiential origin; the semantic component is basically conceptual, experience is processed through abstraction and categorisation, the basic procedure of the prototype-principle. „Cog-

nitive grammar posits three basic types of structures: semantic, phonological, and symbolic. Symbolic structures are obviously not distinct from the others, but rather combine the two. A symbolic structure is bipolar, consisting of a semantic pole, a phonological pole, and the association between them" (Langacker 1987: 76).

Through frequent use, a symbolic relationship is entrenched in the users' mind, and becomes conventional in the speech community. „A unit is a structure that a speaker has mastered quite thoroughly, to the extent that he can employ it in largely automatic fashion, without having to focus his attention specifically on its individual parts or their arrangement. Despite its internal complexity, a unit constitutes for the speaker a »prepackaged assembly«...” (Langacker 1987: 57). The complex linguistic expressions as larger assemblies are construed through partial semantic correspondences of the composite structures. The schematization of these relationships creates the grammatical structures in which, as in a supporting matrix, the linguistic items receive their processing parameters.

The meaning of basic linguistic categories (such as noun, verb, suffix or morphemes) is semantically complex. Linguistic expressions of higher complexity (e.g. verb + subject) are composite structures with two component structures in a semantic relation.

Such composite structures are, for instance, the semantic juncture of the noun and the verb in a sentence, or the verb stem and the suffix. Schematically, a verb profiles a process, it maps the temporal relation of (at least) two entities. These entities are only schematically present in the semantic structure of the verb, they are elaborated by the nouns attached to the verb in valence relationships (Langacker 1987). The verb is not autonomous semantically. As a consequence, the verb stem + *-ik* constructions can be described adequately in the clausal structure.

Language is both a structure and a process simultaneously: „Structure is a mental model, which describes the constituents of a linguistic item as a static structure of entities from the aspect of construction of meaning. Operation is the (mental) process during which the speaker and the listener create or understand linguistic structures, and recognise them in their process-like, dynamic nature" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006). Any type of function of a linguistic expression is conceivable by the interlocutors in the process of a verbal interaction: i.e. from the mental processes of the interlocutors through the processing of information in the dynamics of a communicative event.

4.1.1. Cognitive linguistics studies the structure of linguistic categories within the framework of **prototype theory**. The principles of categorization in prototype theory are the following (cf. Rosch 1977, 1978, Lakoff 1987: 12–76, Taylor 1991, Geeraerts 1997):

- the categories are not defined by necessary and sufficient attributes, but rather by features;
- membership in a category is a matter of degree, there are „good” and „less good” members of a category;
- the entities are put in a category according to family resemblance, the semantic structure of a category „takes the form of a radial set of clustered and overlapping readings” (Geeraerts 1997: 11).;
- the categories have no clear-cut boundaries, i.e. they have fuzzy edges.

4.2. Results of the research

On the basis of the above, let us see how the emergence and the semantics of the paradigm with *-ik* can be interpreted. Let us use the sentence from our previous examples as a starting point:

(3) a.	Emberek	fa	török.
	man.PL	tree	break.3PL
	S	O	V
	‘Men break a tree.’		

This sentence is supposed to be a conventionalized expression, used for representing a prototypical transitive situation: an Agent carries out an action in physical space on a Patient. The components of the structure develop each other, so the presence of the Agent elaborates the element of volition as one semantic substructure of the verb, and the Patient specifies that entity without volition to which the action is directed. Attention is focused on the active figure.

There is also another kind of construal, however: an event takes place, but we do not know who or what carried it out, or generated it. Already in the Proto-Hungarian period a conventionalized mode of expression was used: the *Eső es, Ég dörög* ‘Rain falls, Sky thunders’ type of sentences with SV word order. Based on this pattern, in the (3)b. sentence, the *Fa török* ‘(some people/things) break the tree’ structure with an unspecified subject (which is an OV structure with impersonal subject, expressing that someone or something does something, but it is not important to indicate who they are, because it is assumed that everyone knows that) may be reevaluated: the attention of the conceptualizer is shifted from the Agent to the Patient. This way the (3)c. sentence evolves: *Fa török* ‘The tree breaks (as a result of something/somebody’s actions)’. The focus is not on the person/thing that carried out the action, but on the action itself; an **attention shift** takes place (see Lakoff–Johnson 1980, Panther–Thornburg 2007, Langacker 2008: 69–70).

The clause profiles a process within the construed scene. Moreover, the clause focuses attention on the most important participant of the scene. Likewise our visual attention is turned to a prominent physical object to which something is happening (cf. Langacker 1987, Tolcsvai 2006). Figure-ground alignment, known from psychology, is present in linguistics as well. The interlocutors as conceptualizers choose one of the figures present in the profiled relation (in a clause or sentence), and profile it as a primary figure with the other participants as secondary figures, serving as relational figures to the primary one. The background serves as a reference point, in relation to which the figure is located. In a linguistic relation, the primary, salient entity is the trajector, and the secondary one is the landmark. Trajector and landmark belong to the inner structure of the predicate, irrespective of its combinatorial characteristics. For instance, the schematically represented landmark belongs to the profile of a transitive verb even when the verb is used intransitively, and it has no linguistically expressed nominal object. (The landmark may remain unelaborated in many cases: if, due to its universal character, it is not necessary to provide information beyond the schematic meaning which is expressed by the predicate itself; or if it is clearly identifiable from the context or the content of the predicate; or if it is identical with the trajector, so that naming it would be redundant. Trajector and landmark are normally distinct entities, but in some cases they can be identical. See section 5.2.1., Langacker 1987: 231–242.)

So the starting sentence changes as follows:

from

(3) a.	Emberek	fa	törik.
	man.PL	tree	break.3PL
	S	O	V
	tr	lm	
	‘Men break a tree.’		

to

(3) c.	Fa	törik.
	tree	break.3SG
	S	V
	tr	
	‘(A/the) tree breaks.’	

In the case discussed here attention shift manifests itself linguistically through the exchange of the trajector and landmark roles. In the original sentence *Emberek fa törik*, *emberek* ‘people’ is the trajector, the salient entity on which attention is focused. In sentence (3)c. *Fa törik*, however, *fa* ‘tree’ comes to the centre of attention, while the most prominent element of the original sentence becomes part of the background, and it is present only schematically. Thus, by the exchange of the trajector and landmark roles, an attention shift modifies the syntactic relations as well; the conceptualizer applies his experiences, and reevaluates the grammatical constructions of the sentence. A different conceptualisation results in a different linguistic expression.

Because of the lack of an overt Agent, volition is not specified in the semantic structure of the verb in (3)c. as a substructure: as for the complete clause, there is no expectation of volition. So, if the semantic structure of sentence (3)c. *Fa törik* corresponds to the semantic structure of the sentence *Esõ es* ‘Rain falls’, the revaluation of the grammatical structure is to be considered likely. The 3rd person plural verb becomes 3rd person singular, the suffix *-ik*, originally having the function of 3rd person plural, becomes semantically empty, and it is given a new content by the new structure.

4.2.1. But the schematic denotational content of the 3rd person singular is only part of the new content. While in sentence (3/a.) *törik* = ‘‘TÖR’+‘3rd person plural, present tense, declarative, indefinite object’’, it is different in the new structure of *törik*. The difference between the two contents is typically a derivative-like content, which can only be carried by the *-ik* suffix. In the sentential composite structure (3)c. *Fa törik*, the suffix *-ik* comes to indicate the lack of volition (just as in the meaning of the verb *tördel* ‘split up’, the derivative *-del* specifies the meaning that somebody splits a physical object into several smaller units, not simply into two, as in the meaning of *tör* ‘break’). It is also due to the suffix *-ik* that the nominal expression with earlier object function was not transformed into the Agent subject. Also, the element of intransitivity (i.e. the initiator and the end point of the action is the same) is due to the *-ik* suffix as well.

4.2.2. Functional linguistic theories pay special attention to **the permeability of the categories** of derivation and inflection and also to the historical aspects of the continuum formed

by the two categories (cf. Bybee 1985). „[...] the categorization according to derivation or inflection is a matter of degree. Derivation and inflection form a continuum, the complete and excessive division of morphology into inflectional and derivational morphology („split morphology”) is unacceptable to these theories. It is generally characteristic of natural linguistic theory – similarly to prototype-theory – that instead of drawing strict borderlines they assume the contact of relating categories, including the graduality of the typical and less typical members of categories, and the overlapping of the categories. The two poles of the scale are the prototypical members of the two overlapping or related categories, in which the differences dominate, while towards the middle of the scale the categories flow into each other, so the similarities dominate [...]” (Ladányi 1999: 168). In Bybee’s work (1985), the distinction made between derivational and inflectional categories is not discrete but it is characterised by graduality. The basis of the distinction is relevance, in other words, the degree to which the meaning of the suffix directly influences the meaning of the base form. The difference in the degree of relevance creates a distinction between the inflectional and derivational elements the same way as in single categories. Three other factors play an important role in the process of separation: the first one is generality; the second one is that the applicability of the inflectional categories needs to be of complete generality. The third factor is the degree of semantic change: the larger the difference between the base form and the derived form is, the more probable it is that the suffix is of derivational nature.

Prototypical characteristics of derivatives in the Hungarian language	Prototypical characteristics of inflections in the Hungarian language
They can be followed by other suffixes	They cannot be followed by other suffixes
Defective paradigm	Complete paradigm
They change grammatical category	They do not change grammatical category
They are not productive in all domains	They are productive in all domains
They change the syntactic environment	
They create new words	They do not create new words
Lexicalisation	Inflected form is not lexicalised

Table 2: Prototypical characteristics of derivatives and inflections in the Hungarian language (cf. Keszler ed. 2000, Kiefer 2000, É. Kiss – Kiefer – Siptár 2003)

If we take a look at the characteristics of the paradigm with *-ik* from the time of its emergence and spread, the following can be observed:

- it cannot be followed by other suffixes,
- it is a defective paradigm (if we disregard the question of plural, this point is verifiable from the emergence of the *-t* suffix denoting past tense onwards),
- it does not change its grammatical category,
- its productivity is semantically restricted,
- it changes the verb’s syntactic environment,
- it creates new words (this feature is not always present during the spread of the paradigm, since very often it also appears on originally middle verbs, and in such cases there is no difference in the meaning of the two forms e.g. *fesél~feslik*, *romol~romlik* ‘fray, decline’, etc.).

On the basis of the list of properties above, it can be concluded that at the time of its emergence the *-ik* paradigm had both inflectional and derivative characteristics. This phenomenon (which is not characteristic of the Hungarian language, cf. Kiefer 2000: 716) accounts for the fact that there is no synonymy between the inflection with *-ik* and the general inflection. If the paradigm with *-ik* possessed only inflectional characteristics, they would be freely interchangeable; but, at least in the 3rd person singular, this is not possible. In certain cases the forms with and without *-ik* show synchronic variability e.g. *omol, romol* ~ *omlik, romlik* ‘pour, decline’. In most cases, however, they are not freely interchangeable: *Péter olvas* : **Péter olvasik* ‘Peter reads’, *A malac hízik* : **A malac hizik* ‘The pig fattens’; *A kezem eltörök az eséstől* : **A kezem eltör az eséstől* ‘My hand breaks from falling’, *A kezem eltör egy ceruzát* : **A kezem eltörök egy ceruzát* ‘My hand breaks a pencil’ etc. (Full synonymy would probably have resulted in the disappearance of the paradigm with *-ik*.) The 3rd person singular form is of great importance in the paradigm, further exploration of the reasons for this should be the subject of future studies. (Pragmatic function, added to the use of the paradigm, such as politeness in the 2nd person singular imperative also works against the elimination of the paradigm; here, instead of changing the inflection with *-ik* to the inflection without *-ik*, the inverse process can be examined. Although this function exists only in certain dialects, it affects language use in general.)

4.2.3. Consequently, on the one hand, the meaning of *-ik* changes inside its category (as a verbal inflectional element) by the revaluation of the structure, because the subject elaborates in the sentence the schematic number/person of *-ik* as 3rd person singular; on the other hand, it is extended as well, because it takes on the above mentioned derivative-like semantic content. As a result, an element with a dual or transitory mode of existence comes to life, which moves towards derivatives in the continuum of inflection and derivation, carrying the characteristics of derivative and inflectional suffixes simultaneously. In the course of its historical development the *-ik* ending co-existed in quasi-derivative clusters – with various other derivatives; it is characteristic of derivatives when they are no longer able to express on their own the semantic content they are carrying. It is probable that a function-change started to occur, but because the suffix *-ik* still possessed inflectional content in addition to the derivation content, the process was not finished. If it had been finished, *-ik* would have become an „everyday” deverbative verbal suffix, not indicating number/person, and always present in the paradigm of the verb.⁴

5. Directions for further research

5.1. At this point another problem needs further examination: if these derivative-like contents are marked by the *-ik* paradigm in verbal structures, how can we distinguish between the verbs of the following sentences?

⁴ There is one feature among the prototypical derivative ones, which is usually not described, but regarded as an obvious characteristic: the derivative is present in all further derived forms of the word. If in the revaluation of the structure that a possible analogy had prevailed according to which the suffix *-ik* would have been interpreted as a pure derivative, and as a result the word *török* would have been interpreted as a φ form with 3rd person singular derivative suffix (which was an existing solution in Proto-Hungarian period), then there would be nothing for me to write about, since *-ik* would be an average derivative.

- (4) a. Az ág letört a szélben.
 the branch brake.PST.3SG the wind.in
 S V Adv
 ‘The branch broke off in the wind.’
- (4) b. A gyerek letört egy darabot a kalácsból.
 the child brake.PST.3SG a piece.ACC the cake.from
 S V O Adv
 ‘The child broke off a piece of cake.’

That is, in cases in which the primarily *-ik* verbs have no inflections with *-ik*, because they have not developed historically (like in the past tense indicated by the suffix *-t*), or because of the decomposition of the paradigm the inflections with *-ik* were exchanged for inflections without *-ik*, what carries the semantic content of the paradigm with *-ik*? Can it be stated that there is no need for a visible marker because the suffix *-ik* with its derivative-like characteristics developed the middle meaning of the verb, which stands on its own, and the semantic (and syntactic) structure of the sentence shows clearly that a middle event is represented? If this is true, it should also have the same effect on other deverbal derivatives, which modify the valence relations of the verb to a great extent by affecting the trajector–landmark roles (they invert the two roles or influence the elaboration of the landmark). It should also be examined which derivatives modify the environment of the verb to such an extent, or whether the phenomenon can be observed in connection with them at all.

5.2. As I already mentioned in connection with the general paradigm, the inflectional forms with *-ik* cannot be freely exchanged for the elements of the general paradigm, and it is not possible the other way round either. While the elements of the general paradigm can be attached to every intransitive verb and to verbs with an indirect object (see in 1.1.), the use of verbs with *-ik* has **semantic limits**. When the suffix *-ik* emerged, it appeared only on middle verbs, later it appeared on passive, reflexive, reciprocal verbs, and also on certain active verbs, it was attached to other derivatives. In connection with the basic meaning and the history of the paradigm, the middle voice is of crucial importance.

5.2.1. The semantic-based boundary of the middle verbs is mentioned first by Abaffy (1978) in the Hungarian linguistics literature. She notes that whether a given verb is middle or active is only defineable when the verb is used in context. The verb *köhög* ‘caugh’ for example is middle in the sentence *Péter köhögött a füsttől* ‘Peter caughed because of the smoke’, but it is active in the sentence *Péter köhögött, hogy észrevegyék* ‘Peter caughed to call the others’ attention to himself’.

Suzanne Kemmer (1993) describes the semantic map of middle events. She defines the middle (and the reflexive) „as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events” (Kemmer 1993: 3). In her system the middle domain is a coherent but somewhat diffuse category, formed by semantically linked minor domains settled round the reflexive events.

The semantic property which is crucial to the nature of middle verbs is the relative elaboration of events. It comes under the notion of granularity and indicates the degree of accuracy with which the speaker conceptualizes an event. Relative elaboration is an aspect of granularity in two respects: on the one hand, it can refer to the number of participants, on the other

hand, to the particular substructures of the events. Accordingly, the variations of elaboration reflect the speaker's different conceptualisations as s/he may choose to construe an event as a non-differentiated whole or focus on the internal structure of the components (the attention shift mentioned in 4.2. is an aspect of this choice).

The other crucial semantic property of the middle voice is self-affectedness (it closely correlates with relative elaboration). The two-participant events have an Initiator and an Endpoint participant; the semantic roles of the sentence are connected to them. Self-affectedness means that the act is carried out on the actor, thus the two participants are in fact only one semantic entity.

The different situations elaborated to a low degree are semantically related. Their common morphosyntactic marker is the Middle Marker (henceforth MM). The low degree of elaboration as a common property allowed the MM to express different middle situations during its historical advance.

„Most languages have a special marker to indicate that the Agent and Patient (or analogous semantic roles) in an event ordinarily involving two such roles are the same entity. Such markers [...] are called Reflexive Markers [hereafter called RM]” (Kemmer 1993: 24). There are languages in which the MM is morphologically identical to the RM, they are of the one-form middle system type of language. The two-form middle system type of languages has two different forms for MM and RM. In the second type the RM has more phonological „body”, usually it is expressed by a nominal or pronominal form, while the MM is a verbal affix. RM is termed the heavy form, and the MM is termed the light form (Kemmer's terms). According to this, the heavier the phonological/morphological appearance is, the higher is the degree of distinguishability of participants and events. The Hungarian language applies the two-form, more precisely the two-form non-cognate middle system; i.e. RM and MM are morphologically and historically (etymologically) distinct.

RM derives historically from an emphatic marker, which served to single out a participant. The Hungarian RM is the pronoun *maga-*, while MM is a formative element (Kemmer claims that the Hungarian MM is the *-kOdik* ending). Kemmer notes that there is a synchronic variability between Middle Marked and non-marked verb forms. Kemmer's Hungarian example to this variability is the synonymy of the verbs *kéredz* and *kéredzkedik* 'ask sy's permission to go somewhere'; and although this is not a perfect example, the variability indeed exists, for example in the cases of the above-mentioned *omol* ~ *omlik* 'come down', *romol* ~ *romlik* 'decline' verbs. Moreover beyond the *-kOdik* ending there are other verbal structures in the Hungarian language where the synchronic variability also exists; for example *betegül* : *betegedik* verbs: both mean 'become ill' and both existed in Old Hungarian.

In the direct reflexive situations, the Agent/Experiencer and Patient are in a co-referential relationship, i.e. „two participants in a single event frame designate the same entity in the described situations” (Kemmer 1993: 44; event frame is „a given event in combination with all of its associated participant roles” – p. 9.). The event has, in fact, one participant who is the Initiator and the Endpoint at the same time (like *látja magát* 'saw himself', *borotválja magát* 'shave himself'). Hungarian reflexives like *borotválkozik* 'shave', *öltözködik* 'get dressed', etc. are similar; the difference is that the actions carried out by somebody on his/her own body or part of the body tend to be simple actions, not complex ones with distinguishable participants. This way of conceptualisation uses intransitive morphology, the object acted on is not designated explicitly in the sentence. The Hungarian so-called reflexives are middles in Kemmer's system (see the most typical examples below).

The use of RM highlights the difference from those possible situations (i.e. prototypical transitive situations) where the Agent and the Patient are distinct entities. Here the coreference of the two participants is not evident. On the other hand, the use of MM shows that the coreference is obvious, the Patient must be the same entity as the Agent. Using the reflexive form, the speaker can express a greater conceptual difference between the participants, so in these situations there still remains some distance between the Initiator and the Endpoint in spite of the coreference. In contrast, the middle form emphasises that the Initiator and the Endpoint refer to the very same entity.

The lack of discrimination infiltrates the semantics of middle verbs; thus they are similar to the verbs expressing one-participant, intransitive events. The morphosyntactic consequence of low distinguishability is that middle verbs take intransitive patterns. Reflexive and middle events are distinguished along the degree of elaboration of the participants and/or the events: reflexives are medial (transitives are highly elaborated), middles are low. The middle domain is settled round the reflexive domain, like a doughnut.

The more important groups of Kemmer's middle domain (Kemmer's Hungarian examples are marked in bold by the author; the other Hungarian examples are those of the author):

- Body Action Middles:
 - Grooming and Body Care: The most typical middles. ***Borotválkozik*** 'shave', ***vetkőzik*** 'undress', ***mosakodik*** 'wash oneself'.
 - Change in Body Posture: *feláll* 'stand up', *leül* 'sit down', ***emelkedik*** 'rise, get up'.
 - Non-translational Motion: *hajol* 'bow', *nyújtózik* 'stretch oneself'.
 - Translational Motion: self-induced motion of an animate entity along a path in space. *Úszik* 'swim', ***menekedik*** 'flee'.
- Mental Events: Single mental events have two participants: A) the participant with usually Experiencer semantic role, with the mental event, and B) the participant who activates this process, and whose semantic role is Stimulus. But the Stimulus is usually not coded in the sentence, either because there is no emphasised entity that brings on the event (like in cognition verbs: ***gondolkodik*** 'think'), or because the speaker pragmatically de-emphasises the Stimulus and by that the Experiencer becomes more salient (like in Emotional Middles: ***gyűlölködik*** 'bear malice', ***dühösködik*** 'rage', ***bánkódik*** 'grieve, mourn'). These events become one-participant events: the Experience is both the Initiator and the Endpoint.
- Spontaneous Events: spontaneous changes in the state of an entity, but here no Agent receives coding. (In the Hungarian language these events are designated by verbs regarded as typical middles together with Kemmer's passive middles.) Their chief property is the lack of volition (in Hungarian linguistics, lack of volition is a crucial property of middles). Kemmer says that this type is different from other middle types because of the complete lack of volition making them similar to the passive situations. Examples: ***növekedik*** 'grow', *hízik* 'fatten', *öregszik* 'age', *nyílik* 'open' etc.
- Naturally Reciprocal Events can be defined in opposition to the prototypical reciprocals. The latter are related to reflexive verbs. The prototypical reciprocal is a two-

participant event with two relations. Both participants are Initiators in one relation and Endpoints in the other one. Many languages use the RM to express this situation. Among those languages that have special reciprocal marker(s), Kemmer (referring to Haiman 1983) distinguishes one- and two-form languages according to their patterns for expressing a reciprocal relationship (Kemmer 1993: 103). In the two-form type (Haiman called it Hungarian type) one of the two reciprocal forms is heavier, nominal or pronominal in form (in Hungarian the pronoun *egymás* ‘each other’), the other one is lighter, usually a verbal affix, identical to the MM. Kemmer’s hypothesis is that the historical advance of the MM made it possible for it to express this relationship too. The heavy form may be used to create prototypical reciprocal verbs from transitive ones (like *see* : *see each other*, *kiss* : *kiss each other* etc.), while the light form’s use has semantic restrictions. It creates verbs denoting naturally reciprocal events which have a reciprocal meaning, like *birkózik* ‘scuffle’, *ölelkezik* ‘embrace’, *találkozik* ‘meet’. The difference between the two reciprocal situations can be defined in their temporality: prototypically reciprocal verbs describe sequential events, while the naturally reciprocal verbs express simultaneous ones. Because of the low distinguishability of events the naturally reciprocals seem to be simple events, not complex ones.

Kemmer’s system presents a wide but coherent domain, where the open categories show prototype effects. Thus, Kemmer regards as middle several verbs (more precisely verbal phrases) while they are absolutely not considered as middles in Hungarian linguistics. The exploration of the semantic relations between these groups makes it possible to follow and explain the semantic changes and novel formation of different types of verbs of the paradigm with *-ik*, because all the verbs with *-ik* can be located in Kemmer’s doughnut structure or linked to the domain like the passive verbs, which are formed with the *-ik* paradigm. The semantic relation between the middle and the passive is clear. There are a few transitive verbs with *-ik* too, but these constitute exceptions (*eszik* ‘eat’ and *iszik* ‘drink’). In other words, the semantic constraints for the suffixes of the *-ik* paradigm coincide with the boundaries of Kemmer’s middle domain. This middle domain and its connections with other domains of events will be one of the crucial fields of my further investigations of the verbs with *-ik*, because it helps to map the semantic content of the *-ik* element.

5.3. It follows from the above that special attention needs to be paid to studying the **relationship of the *-ik* paradigm to various derivatives**. There are, on the one hand, derivatives formed with the paradigm and, on the other hand, there are derivatives that have similar functions, but no *-ik* suffix can be attached to them.

Another important point in my research is the question of the passive voice. It is constituted from active verbs by passive derivative, which is suffixed to the verb:

- (5)a. Péter könyvet olvas. > A könyv olvastatik Péter által.
 Peter book.ACC read.3SG the book read.PASS.3SG Peter-by
 S O V S V Adv
 ‘Peter reads a book.’ > ‘The book is read by Peter.’

We can identify the *-ik* element in the *-tatik* ending. So if the *-ik* paradigm had possessed only inflectional characteristics, the derivative of the passive voice would have been the *-tat* element in this case, and the verb should have constructed this way: *olvas* (verb) + *-tat* (passive derivative) + *-ik* (inflectional). However, this *-tat* element is the derivative of the causative voice:

- (5)b. Péter könyvet olvas. > A tanár könyvet olvastat Péterrel.
 Peter book.ACC read.3SG the teacher book.ACC read.CAUS.3SG Peter.INSTR
 S O V S O V Adv
 ‘Peter reads a book.’ > ‘The teacher makes Peter read a book.’

That means that *-tat* derivative should contain elements of volition, transitivity (as a causative derivative), and at the same time elements of lack of volition and intransitivity (as a passive derivative). This would result in a hardly acceptable homonymy. I think that it is more probable that the meaning of the causative derivative is modified by the semantic content of the suffix *-ik*, and the two together give a new meaning to the structure, which then carries some elements of the original denotational content of both of them, but it is not identical with either of them. (This is a possible case of so-called derivative clustering, see Kiss–Pusztai ed. 2003: 144).

It would also need to be studied in detail whether the other derivatives with *-ik* have the same meaning as without it (*-kOd(ik)*, *-kOz(ik)*, *-Ód(ik)*, *-z(ik)*, *-l(ik)*, *-d(ik)*, *-sz(ik)* middle, reciprocal, reflexive derivatives). Do they have the same function with or without the *-ik* function? For example, the *-kOd* without *-ik* is mainly a frequentative derivative: *levegőt kap* > *levegőt kapkod* ‘take breath > gasp breath’. But with *-ik* it never derives a frequentative verb but middle, reciprocal or reflexive.

The formulation that the derivatives and not the verbs take the paradigm with *-ik* is intentional; in my opinion, the denotational content of *-ik* modifies the meaning of the derivative, and the unit of the original derivative and the paradigm with *-ik* are attached to the verb as a new derivative. Otherwise, the derivatives would be attached to the verbs which originally have the suffix *-ik*. For instance, the reflexive *mosakodik* ‘wash oneself’ would have been formed by attaching the *-kod* derivative to the verb **mosik* (there’s no *mosik* verb in the Hungarian and probably never was.) The *-kod* without *-ik*, as I mentioned above, carries an iterative meaning; the reflexive meaning is carried by the *-kOdik* derivative suffix.⁵

Another interesting point is the following: when an *-ik* verb is further derived, with the exception of the derivative *-hAt* (this suffix can express several meanings: ‘somebody can / is allowed to do sg’), it no longer permits the suffix *-ik*. This phenomenon cannot result from the inflectional content of the verb, but from the contrast between the derivative contents, which excludes the simultaneous use of *-ik* and another derivative (e.g. *eszik* ‘eat’ > *ehetik* ~ *ehet* ‘can eat’ but *etet* ‘make eat’, *eszeget* ‘pick’; note the *ehetik* is rather dialectal/archaic). Similarly, trying to attach the derivative of the causative and the derivative of the passive to the same verb would be impossible because they completely exclude each other.

⁵ This latter marking is the norm for representing verbs with the suffix *-ik*; the inflection *-ik* is put in brackets, since it is „only” an inflection, at the same time it is clearly part of the derivative.

5.4. In connection with the derivative-like features of the paradigm, its **characteristic of preserving grammatical category** also needs to be mentioned. Namely, the paradigm with *-ik* appears only on verbs, as opposed to the derivative suffix *-ul/-ül* (which is synonymous with the original meaning of the *-ik* paradigm), which can be attached to nominals (to adjective: *beteg* ‘ill’ > *betegül* ‘become ill’, to noun: *szégyen* ‘shame’ > *szégyenül* ‘loose face’). There is only one exception, which also has the function of changing grammatical category, but it is quite an obscure case: „The derivatives from the Proto-Hungarian period formed either verbal or nominal derivations. As an exception the *-ász/-ész* ‘-er’ derivative needs to be mentioned, the derivations created by it have dual grammatical categories. It was not a very productive derivative: according to our data it was the nominal that appeared earlier. As a counterpart of the infinitive, which appeared earlier, a derivational verb emerged. Its appearance may have been supported by its special meaning, and the possibility, offered by the suffix *-ik*, to distinguish it through formal differentiation from the noun” (Bartha 1991: 78).

5.5. The appearance of the paradigm on the transitive active voice raises one more question. It can be observed that within the group of those verbs which can be inflected both with and without *-ik*, the ones that take the suffix *-ik* are used in the progressive aspect have a progressive component of their meaning and tend to take no object, while the forms without *-ik* appear in a transitive pattern usually with a perfectivating suffix/affix, and in the perfect aspect e.g. *zongorázik ~ elzongoráz valamit* ‘play the piano ~ play sg. on the piano’, *virágzik ~ felvirágoz valamit* ‘bloom ~ decorate sg. with flowers’, etc. This brings up the issue of **aspectuality** which can be observed also at sentence level in the Hungarian language. It seems that if there is an object in the sentence, it can specify the temporal restriction in the meaning of the verb. If the object is not present, the verb in the sentence is used in the continuous aspect. As Kiefer puts it: „Although in the Hungarian language the basic aspectual categories are present in the lexical meaning or meanings of the verb, they can change at different levels of the sentence: in verb phrases or at sentence-level they may alternate, depending on the type of the object or subject, the tense, and the modifiers” (Kiefer 2006: 14–15). Intransitivity can also be found among the original functions of the *-ik* paradigm, because the middle view goes hand in hand with intransitivity, which does not allow the object to occur in the sentence. So, it is possible that the progressive aspect was attached through irradiation to the paradigm with *-ik*. From the cognitive aspect, the historical notion of irradiation can be interpreted through the meaning structure of linguistic items: since we handle the symbolic linguistic items (also the forms with suffixes) as wholes, we separate them only during secondary processing. The stem+suffix forms are composite structures formed from the meaning structures of the stem and the suffix as component structures; the meanings of the composite structures react upon the meanings of the component structures. Thus, the meaning of the unit and a change in its meaning also affect the meaning of the components, separated during secondary processing. (A group of middle verbs are originally in the imperfect aspect, since they express in a certain state.) So, the paradigm with *-ik* indeed played a part in the linguistic expression of process-like experiences as well, even in the case of transitive verbs.

6. Conclusion

In this article I dealt with the history of the paradigm with *-ik* from the functional point of view, and examined the possibilities and difficulties connected to its study. Compared to the traditional descriptive and historical studies, the framework discussed in this paper sheds new light on the birth of the *-ik* paradigm: the procedure of attention shift generates the linguistic change that results in the new paradigm. This point of view allows us to consider and explain the features that stem from its derivative-like content, in addition to its inflectional characteristics. This way the controversies between the formal and functional features of the paradigm can be resolved. The most important of these features are limited productivity, that is, the semantic limits of the adaptability of the paradigm, and its ability to transform the syntactic relations of the verb. We need not only study the verbs that take the suffix *-ik*, but also the events which are conceptualized in the verbs with *-ik*, because the semantic structure of the verb can be interpreted in the sentence as a supporting matrix. By taking into consideration the semantic limits of applicability, and by assessing these limits, the set of those events which are conceptualised through verbs with *-ik* can be defined, and on the basis of the common features, the spread of the paradigm from its original environment to these verb-groups can be explained. By analysing the original semantic content, exploring the relationship with various derivatives, and the examination of the aspectual relations, the process of the semantic shift of the paradigm can be explored.

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CLAUSE COMBINING IN OLD HUNGARIAN LEGENDS. PROSE AND VERSE, WRITTEN AND ORAL NARRATIVES IN PREACHING

DÓRA BAKONYI

Abstract

The paper explores the ways in which the preaching situation shapes narration and, eventually, the forms of clause linkage, by presenting a few characteristic features of Hungarian, illustrated with early Hungarian linguistic material from the first half of the 16th century. A comparison is made between the syntactic coding of three main coherence strands in three versions of the 'same' narrative, the legend of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, based on a discourse approach to clause combining. A common Latin source text is taken into consideration as well. The exact differences in coding temporal, referent and action continuity are pointed out. It is shown that the differences in the communicative setting are indeed closely reflected in the chosen grammatical forms of clause integration. The results of the analysis shed light on the factors motivating the two opposing forces of elaboration and compression in clause linkage, which were already present in the Late Old Hungarian period. It is shown in the ensuing analysis that these factors correlate with written and oral text features, and genre differences of prose and verse.

The dominant author figure of the era was the translator-compiler-author educated in one of the religious orders in Hungary. Those preachers had helped to shape the linguistic norms of the different text types prevalent in the Middle Ages before linguistic standardization took place.

The discourse potential of time adverbial clauses as coherence bridges at thematic boundaries is shown to have already existed in the period. The type of clause used in the transition between the narrated actions and utterances shows the concise vs. loose nature of event integration as it codes a phase of perceptive acknowledgement in the narration, potentially existing as a building block of an event. Its frequent occurrence signals a high degree of character foregrounding. Considering the written and oral features of the three excerpts, the key concept is character foregrounding. The forms and degrees of giving prominence to the protagonist (Catherine) are mirrored in the explicitness of coding her linguistically. In the verse legend, there is a significant rise in the number of 'phoric pronouns' used in the grammatical integration of subordinate clauses with their main clauses. This can be traced back to the rhythmical constraints of the genre, along with the tendency to uphold a one clause-one rhythmical unit correlation.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a few characteristic features of Hungarian clause linkage, illustrated with early Hungarian linguistic material. The study was published in Hungarian (Bakonyi 2008). The aim of the study is to register the similarities and differences of clause combining phenomena in three versions of the same legend. A comparison is made between the legend

variants, surviving in three Late Old Hungarian¹ religious manuscripts (Érdy-codex 1526: 665a–666b, Debreceni Codex 1519: 491–518, Érsekújvári Codex 1529–31: 447a–464a). The comparison is based on a discourse approach to clause combining. More precisely, the aim is to explore the ways in which the preaching situation shapes the narration and, eventually, forms of clause linkage. The excerpts are parallel sections from versions of the legend of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, chosen to cover the same time-span from the events preceding Catherine’s conception to her first dream before her conversion.

1.1. The wider context of the present study is my PhD project, in which I am to create a linguistically annotated corpus from parts of the Érdy-codex.²

The manuscript itself is currently being edited to be accessible at a website hosted by Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE, <http://sermones.elte.hu>). Based on this new edition of the manuscript, which I am working on as a member of a group, my research plan is to select a corpus of sermons and legends from the codex with the particular goal to develop an innovative linguistic annotation system, which will facilitate retrieving relevant data for the description of Old Hungarian clause combining.

The development of an annotation scheme is still in the preliminary stage of testing the descriptive applicability of various functional approaches to clause combining on the early Hungarian text, and their compatibility with the valuable insights of traditional Hungarian historical linguistics (Balázs 1995; Berrár 1957, 1960; Dömötör 1995, 2001, 2003; Gallasy 1992, 2003; Gugán 2002; Haader 1995, 2003; Hadrovics 1969; Károly 1956, 1995; Klemm 1928; M. Nagy 2003; Molnár 1977; Papp 1995; Simonyi 1881, 1882, 1883; Wacha 1995a, 1995b). Apart from drawing on Functional-Typological Linguistics (Cf. Givón 1990; Lehmann 1988, 2007), I wish to test the descriptive potential of Rhetorical Structure Theory (Matthiessen–Thompson 1988), and Pragmatic Syntax (Jürgens 1999).

Ideally, any linguistic annotation should be as theory-free as possible. Two considerations, however, make it necessary for the researcher to take a firm theoretical and methodological stance in his or her **pre-descriptive** work. On the one hand, one has to delimit the linguistic phenomena to be annotated in order to be able to publish a corpus accessible for descriptive research within a reasonable time. On the other hand, having clear views on the relevant linguistic issues is a prerequisite for the elaboration of any type of linguistic annotation, since those views have an impact on the choice of adequate methodology, and eventually, they might contribute to the provision of a treebank of syntactic structures.

In section **2**, I will discuss how the three surviving Hungarian variants relate to their common Latin source text (**2.1–2.3**). In section **3**, I will present the various features of the three excerpts providing an extensive account of the causes that motivate the shape of clause linkage phenomena (**3.1–3.6**). The aspects of my investigation are as follows: The

¹ The historical periods of the Hungarian language are: Ancient Hungarian (1000 B.C.–896 A.D.), Old Hungarian (896–1526), Middle Hungarian (1526–1772), New Hungarian (1772–1920), Recent Hungarian (1920–now). The manuscript codices surviving to this day were copied in the late 15th – early 16th centuries and constitute the so-called ‘Era of Codices’ in the Late Old Hungarian linguistic (sub)period.

² The Érdy-codex is the longest Hungarian manuscript book surviving to this day, dating from 1526–1527. It is the work of a single author, a member of the Carthusian order, known as the Carthusian Anonym. This one existing copy was not written by him but it is a copy. It contains sermons and legends for the whole religious year. The part containing the sermons is, however, missing most of its material (we only have the sermons from Advent through to carnival). The ‘loss’ dates back to the original binding of the book (i.e. it is not torn or damaged).

legend as narrative discourse. The functional approach to clause linkage (3.1.); Interclausal coherence. The discourse-pragmatic connections of time adverbial clauses (3.2.); Demands placed on coding referent continuity by communicative goals depending on the preaching situation (3.3.); Action continuity in event integration (3.4.); Compression and elaboration phenomena in clause linkage. Written and oral features (3.5.); Event integration in prose and verse (3.6.). At various points in the argumentation, I will provide a brief summary of relevant features of the Hungarian language.

2. The variants and their Latin source

Let me turn to the surviving variants of Saint Catherine's legend. The common Latin source text of all three versions is one of Pelbartus de Themeswar's sermons written for Saint Catherine's feast (*Sermones Pomerii de sanctis II.* [pars aestivalis], 099 D–E³). The relationship of the Hungarian variants to their source has been discussed in detail by Flóra Rajhona (2004: 6–32). It has to be pointed out here that the three surviving texts are not copies of each other, and the only known Latin version common to all three is the source text from which two of them were translated although neither is a very close translation. The third version is a rhyming verse text, which adds a prose-verse genre aspect to the investigation.

2.1. The author of the **Érdy-codex** compiled a single, very long and complicated sermon (ÉrdyK. 656–675) by translating and reorganizing 98% of four of Pelbartus's sermons (Rajhona 2004: 12). 'The sections added to Pelbartus's text are in fact explanatory remarks which the Carthusian Anonym inserted for better understanding by the audience. Since the Hungarian text was created for nuns who did not speak Latin, it is no surprise that the author had chosen well-known texts as his source material'⁴ (Rajhona 2003, my translation).

The Érdy author placed the legend of Saint Catherine at the end of his sermon (665b–672a). Rajhona further points out that, while highlighting the meaning of the theological discussion and explaining the words of the quoted church authorities, the Carthusian Anonym presents the easy-to-follow legend in a short and condense style⁵ (Rajhona 2003, my translation). The Anonym conveys Pelbartus's legend (sermon 099, parts D–E) in Hungarian without making any major modifications to the story. The reason for the legend being a close translation of the Latin source text is to ensure that the narrative is easily understood by the audience compared to the ensuing theological argumentation. The re-telling of the story is so concise that ten minor details of Pelbartus's text are omitted. All of them can, however, be found in the Debreceni version.

The linguistic choices of the Anonym in the excerpt analysed here (665a–666b) are typical for Late Old Hungarian translations. There is a tendency to translate Latin infinitival

³ Pelbartus wrote four sermons for Saint Catherine of Alexandria in this volume, the texts are available at:
<http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/pa099.html>,
<http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/pa100.html>,
<http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/pa101.html>,
<http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/pa102.html>.

⁴ „Azok a részek, amelyek hiányoznak a Pelbartusi prédikációkból, tulajdonképpen egyszerűsítő, magyarázó szövegek, amelyek a könnyebb értést segítik. Mivel a kódex alapvetően latinul nem tudó apácáknak készült, érthető, hogy miért közismert és mindennapos szövegeket választott a szerző.”

⁵ „A teológiai fejtegetésekben, ill. az egyházatyák bonyolult nyelvű szövegeinek fordításakor terjedelmesen igyekszik elmagyarázni azok értelmét, míg a legenda könnyen érthető cselekményét röviden, tömören adja elő.”

and participial constructions into separate Hungarian clauses (on cases of structural synonymy and formal variants, see: Dömötör 2003; Gugán 2002; Károly 1956). There are only a few cases in which the Érdy translation is so close to the original version that it reflects even the Latin grammatical forms.

- (1) a. [...], et errando huc atque illuc divina providentia invenerunt quendam sanctum senem **in cella orantem**, qui supra cacumen cellae **habebat** imaginem Crucifixi **erectam**. (Pelbartus)
- (1) b. Azonközben Úr Istennek akaratjából találának egy szent vén remetét **cellájában imádkozván**, kinek cellája fölött egy ércből szerzett feszület kép **vala feltévn**. (ÉrdyK. 666a/18–22)⁶
[Meanwhile, by the Lord's intention, they found a holy old hermit **praying in his cell**, above whose cell **there was placed** a crucifix made of ore.]⁷

Cf. DebrK.:

- (1) c. Találának ezenközben egy vén szent jámbort, **ki lakozik vala ott** az pusztában, **és ez szent vén jámbor** az ő cellája felett **feltette vala** Urunk Jézusnak az ő feszületit. (DebrK. 507/13–18)
[Meanwhile, they found an old holy hermit, **who dwelled there** in the wild, **and this holy old pious man had placed** the crucifix of Our Lord Jesus above his cell.]

2.2. In contrast, the author of the **Debreceni Codex** produces a *de sanctis* sermon (491–557) by only including the life story from the Latin source (sermon 099, parts D-E⁸) and interpolating in it at various points (13 times). The preacher takes every opportunity to comment on good conduct when addressing his audience of young women. The parallel excerpt under investigation in this paper (491–518) is three times longer than the Érdy excerpt which contains only one interpolation by the narrator. Nevertheless, addressing the audience is but one of the many reasons on the part of the author to spin out his tale.

The most important reason is the author's intention to transform Pelbartus's short Latin *vita* into an independent sermon, suitable for oral performance. One way of achieving this is for the narrator to bring the characters more into the foreground than they were in the Latin version. This means mentioning them more often and letting them speak their own words. However, it is obvious that in this Hungarian sermon, some distinct features of the original written text are preserved, and that the 'oral' linguistic material was built upon them. Direct quotations are close transformations of the Latin indirect quotes as they tend to follow the

⁶ Abbreviations are listed at the end of the paper. The original spelling of the quoted excerpts quoted here has been transcribed respecting Modern Hungarian spelling conventions and graphemic usage for the sake of easier reading.

⁷ The English translations of the Old Hungarian excerpts provided in square brackets are my translations, for the purpose of presenting the analysis. However, they do not reflect any of the archaic features of the Old Hungarian passages.

⁸ Another source of the Debreceni Codex *de sanctis* sermon (of sections not analysed in this paper): Oswaldus de Lasko, *De sancta Katherina virgine et martyr*. Sermo CX-CXI. in: *Sermones de Sanctis, Biga salutis intitulati* (Rajhona 2004: 14).

translated indirect speech itself (see examples in 3.3.). The outcome of these repetitions is not a smooth narrative style, but a rather clumsy one.

Furthermore, this Hungarian version is characterized by a translation strategy, namely that pairs of words conveying the same notion in two ways are present throughout the story. As a result the text abounds in conjunctive constructions of the explanatory type. The translator expresses one notion in the source language with the help of two in the target language (on their typology, see M. Nagy 2003). This may be intended for a better understanding by the audience, but it is more likely to be a remnant of the translation process.

- (2) a. [...], qui non vult **habere** sponsam **nisi semper castam manentem**, (Pelbartus)
- (2) b. Ez királynak fia kediglen nem akar egyéb jegyest magának **venni avagy választani**, hanem csak **ki mindaha tisztaságot akar tartani, és hogy mindenkoron tisztaságban ő jegyese megmaradjon**. (DebrK. 512/12–18)
[And this son of a king will not **take or choose** any other sponse than **who will forever keep chastity, and that his sponse remain in chastity forever.**]

As the above example shows, not only words, but also clauses are doubled in this way. The Érdy author, by contrast, seems to have had no such difficulties when translating:

- (3) [...], ki egyéb jegyöst soha nem **szeret, hanem ki mindenkoron szeplőtelen**, (ÉrdyK. 666b/5–6)
[who will never **love** any sponse other **than one who is forever immaculate,**]

2.3. The third variant, surviving in the *Érsekújvári Codex* (447a–520a), comes in a rhyming verse form and is five times longer than the Érdy excerpt. Pelbartus is known to be among its sources, but the author must have relied on some vernacular verse variants other than Hungarian: the section before Catherine's conception is much more detailed than in the prose excerpts (Rajhona 2004: 13). This excerpt (447a–464a) begins with a *Prologus*, an introduction to the *de sanctis* sermon, with the legend as its frame. There are fewer interpolations here than in the Debreceni version (only 9). However, some examples of two fictional text types are embedded in the text: one direct quotation from Catherine's father in the form of a letter, and a sermon preached by the hermit to Catherine, included in their dialogue. This version also features Latin 'titles of episodes' in the text referring to the story, but not fitting into the Hungarian verse (e.g. 449b/22–23: „De vocatione et actibus Alphorabii etc.”), just as the Latin quotations in the interpolations.

Some distinct features of this variant are due to its verse form as opposed to the other two prose versions (to be introduced in 3.6.). The copy in the ÉrsK. has its verse rhythm deliberately ignored at various points in the text, where missing oblique complements had been inserted at 'line ends'. The text is laid out in two columns, but the lines do not correspond to the units of verse rhythm. A later hand marked these units by vertical lines and crossed out the grammatical but unrhymical insertions. It is not known whether the scribe, Soror Márta Sövényházi made the insertions herself or she merely copied the deformed verse text, aiming at a close copy of her original, and not bothering about aesthetic injustice and the possible reconstruction of rhythm and rhyme.

3. Aspects of the investigation

3.1. The legend as narrative discourse. The functional approach to clause linkage

The legend is considered as a narrative text type with the possibility of including dialogues if the narrator chooses to relate the characters' encounters in the form of direct quotations. Of the numerous characteristics of narratives discussed in the literature (cf. Beaugrande–Dressler 2001), the most relevant for the purpose of the present analysis is the observation that narrative discourse relies primarily on the temporal sequence of events. Therefore, in the analysis of discourse structure, the ordering of events is among the most prominent research questions.

In a functional approach to clause linkage, the forms of clause integration are taken to be reflecting the cognitive relationship between states of affairs (Lehmann 1988: 218). Talmy Givón (1990: 826) suggests an iconic relationship between event integration and clause integration: 'The more two events/states are integrated semantically or pragmatically, the more will the clauses that code them be integrated grammatically'.

Christian Lehmann (1988: 214–218) claims in his typology of clause linkage that two opposing forces are at work: the first acts towards the elaboration of lexical and grammatical information, while the opposite force acts towards compression. "Clause linkage may be viewed as either representing two states of affairs so tightly interconnected that they form one complex state of affairs (compression), or on the contrary analyzing one state of affairs as composed of two (elaboration)" (217–218). Lehmann proposes a combination of the two methodological viewpoints implied by the two forces, which is justified because they are complementary. He establishes six distinct parameters relevant to clause linkage, which are construed as six parallel continua, all of them extending from a pole of maximal elaboration to a pole of maximal compression. He then comments on individual correlations and implications between pairs of the parameter continua. However, he emphasizes that none of these are laws, but rather tendencies, which is the very reason for the need to think of separate parameters.

3.2. Interclausal coherence

In functional-typological linguistics, discourse process phenomena are considered relevant in the syntactic research of clause linkage. Givón considers clausal coordination and subordination among the discourse-oriented sub-systems of grammar, suggesting that syntax jointly codes two distinct functional realms: propositional semantics and discourse pragmatics (1984: 40). The components of event integration, i.e. the four main strands of thematic coherence in discourse which are most commonly and systematically coded by grammar are: referent continuity, temporal continuity, location continuity and action continuity (1990: 827).

In this paper, the syntactic coding of three out of four coherence strands are examined and compared in the three manuscript excerpts: 1. Time adverbial clauses are examined with regard to their various functions in coding temporal continuity. 2. The differences in coding referent continuity arise from the degrees of character foregrounding. 3. Action continuity is explored in connection with the building blocks of events. I arrive at the conclusion that as a consequence of character foregrounding, event integration becomes looser.

3.2.1. The discourse-pragmatic connections of time adverbial clauses

Discussing the discourse-pragmatic connections of adverbial clauses, Givón calls attention to the fact that these differ when the clauses are preposed and postposed. Preposed adverbial clauses have wider-scoped anaphoric contextual grounding. Both their referential and semantic links project far backward into the preceding discourse. Syntactically, preposed adverbial clauses are more likely to be separated from their main clause by an intonational break or pause. Lastly, they appear more typically at paragraph initial positions, i.e. at the point of thematic discontinuity. Givón concludes that preposed adverbial clauses may be viewed as **coherence bridges** at major thematic junctures. Their bridging capacity is further aided by their cataphoric semantic connections to the main clause (1990: 847).

In Late Old Hungarian, time adverbial clauses already have the role of coding temporal (dis)continuity. Preposed *mikoron* ('when')-conjunction clauses are used primarily in the Érdy-version (14 times) to introduce new sequences of events.

At thematic breaks, the time adverbial conjunction places the upcoming event in a temporal relation to the succeeding event coded by its main clause (typically in a precedence or immediate precedence relation). When there is a break in referent continuity (subject or object), it is coded by an additional element in the ÉrdyK. (*Mikoron azért* 'so when', *Ki mikoron* 'who, when').

- (4) a. **Qui** consideratis sapienter regis et reginae complexionibus, iudicavit, quod non ex defectu naturae hoc esset, sed divina providentia. (Pelbartus)
- (4) b. **Ki mikoron** megismerte volna természetöket, megmondá, hogy nem természetnek fogyatkozásából volna, de isteni szörzésből. (ÉrdyK., 665a/24–27)
[**Who, when** he had observed their complexions, told them that it was not of nature's failure, but of divine intent.]
- (5) a. **Cumque** in templum idolorum induxissent erigendum, ecce omnia idola ibi existentia corruerunt. Sacrificiis completis visa est post aliquot dies regina a rege gravidata, [...] (Pelbartus)
- (5) b. **Mikoron** az bálványok templomában vitték volna feltenni, íme ottan mind lehullának az bálván képök. **Mikoron azért** az feszületnek áldozatot tett volna az Costus király, hamar való napon teröhbén esék az királyné asszon, [...] (ÉrdyK., 665b/5–10)
[**When** they took it to the shrine of the idols to erect it, alas, immediately all the idols dropped. **When** Costus had payed sacrifices to the crucifix, soon the Lady Queen conceived, ...]
- (6) a. **Tandem** pater eius mortem infirmatur et vocata Katerina commisit sibi testamento. (Pelbartus)
- (6) b. **Mikoron azért** Costus király, szûz leány Katerinának atyja, halálra kóruult volna, eleiben hívatá õ szép leányát, és testamentom szerént ímez két dolgot hagyá õnéki, [...] (ÉrdyK., 665b/29–34)

[**When** King Costus, father of the virgin Catherine, became deadly ill, he summoned his fair daughter, and by testament he left her these two things, (...)]

- (7) a. **Et tandem** lassata fletibus obdormivit, et videbat ecce [...] (Pelbartus)
- (7) b. **És mikoron** elbágyadott volna, elszendörödék, és ilyen álmát kezdte látni: (ÉrdyK., 666b/31–33)
[**And when** she had languished, she fell asleep, and began to see this dream:]

In the DebrK. excerpt, *hogy* ('as')-conjunction clauses are prevalent besides *mikoron*-conjunction ('when') clauses:

- (8) **Ki mikort** eljött volna, és **kit** ez királynak eleibe bevettek volna, mondá néki ez király kérdésképpen: (DebrK. 492/10–13)
[**Who, when** he had arrived, and **who** was taken to see the King, the King said to him by inquiry:]
- (9) **És ezt hogy** megmondotta volna, (DebrK. 494/19.)
[**And as** he had said this,]

In the ÉrsK., immediate precedence is coded by *menyé* ('as soon as')-conjunction clauses apart from *mikoron* clauses:

- (10) **Mikoron** eljutott volna, / király ötet nagy tisztességgel fogada. (ÉrsK. 451a/1–3)
[**When** he had arrived, / the King received him with due respect.]
- (11) **Menyé** e szót elvégezé [t.i. Alforabius], / király ottan csak elkezdé / az áldozatot tétetni, / és az Isten kedvét keresni. (ÉrsK. 452b/21–25)
[**As soon as** he had said these words (i.e. Alforabius), / the King thereupon began / paying the sacrifice, / and trying to please the God.]

Besides the temporal relation, a causal relation can appear at thematic junctures:

- (12) a. sed multo tempore prole caruit. **Unde** diis impendebat multa sacrificia ut paganus pro prole habenda, (Pelbartus)
- (12) b. de magzatja nem lészen vala. **Annakokáért** is szentlen való áldozatokat tészén vala az bálványisteneknek, (ÉrdyK. 665a/12–15)
[but (the King) could not have a child. **Therefore**, he ceaselessly kept paying sacrifices to the pagan gods]
- (12) c. emaga őnéki nem lészen vala magzatja avagy gyermeke nagy sok időtől fogva. **Annakokáért** az bálványisteneknek nagy sok áldozatot tészén vala, hogy őnéki magzatot adnának. (DebrK. 491/17–22)
[However, [the King] could not have a child or offspring for a long time.]

Therefore, he frequently paid sacrifices to the pagan gods to make them let him have a child.]

Another widespread coding device at thematic junctures is *azért* in the ÉrdyK. As the examples show, it occurs together with the conjunction *mikoron*, typically introducing subject shift. It can be found in the DebrK. as well (*No azért hogy...*). In the ÉrsK., *így* ('thus') has a similar role, but with an additional meaning of consequence:

- (13) *Így* Katerina felkele, / és beméne az cellába. / Ott ő egy vénembert láta, / kinek ilyen kérdést monda: [...] (ÉrsK.: 458a/16–20)
 [Thus, Catherine arose / and entered the cell. / There, she saw an old man, / whom she asked this question: ...]

In the DebrK., a further signpost of thematic boundaries is *No immár* (also occurring together with the conjunctions *mikoron* and *hogy*: *No immáran mikoron*, *No immár hogy*), which is a markedly oral phrase.

3.3. Demands placed on coding referent continuity by communicative goals depending on the preaching situation

It is important to note that the aim of narrating any legend is religious instruction by setting an example by telling the life and miracles of a saint. This is precisely the reason why the narrated story may change over time in accordance with the illustrative and instructive goals of the authors. Indeed, the early texts in the corpus of Saint Catherine's legend did not include circumstances of her birth and of her conversion (Rajhona 2004: 6–7). In addition, it is especially fruitful to examine event integration in a narrative text type such as the legend, because it displays several ways that may affect the audience. One of them is to let the characters speak and thus bring them closer to the hearts of those listening or reading. This is attested in the Debreceni and the Érsekújvári versions although not in the same manner.

When comparing legend variants, several differences can be noted regarding the prominence of the characters, i.e. the number of times that they are mentioned in the discourse, and whether events are narrated directly, or can be reconstructed from their dialogues, etc. These differences are due to varying communicative requirements. That is, it depends on the type of audience the author addresses whether he pushes the characters into the foreground and lets them speak for themselves, or he narrates the story keeping the characters in the background.

In the Érdy-codex the dominant point of view is that of the narrator. Therefore, the narrative answers the question 'What happened?' by recounting successive events, even some of the interactions of the characters are just mentioned to have happened instead of quoting their fictional dialogues. There are altogether 22 utterances mentioned (4) or quoted (18) in the excerpt.

- (14) **Az bölcs doktornak tanácsából** nevezé őtet az csodaléteiről, hogy az bálványok eltöretének, Katerinának, ki közönséges bálvánisteneknek romlásának magyaráztatik. (ÉrdyK. 665b/12–17)
 [On the wise doctor's advice, he [King Costus] named her after the miracle of ruining the pagan idols, Catherine, which means „common ruin of pagan gods”]

The characters themselves are in the background. There are few direct quotes (8) and some more indirect quotes (10), and the author uses performative verbs: *parancsol* ‘order’, *megtilt* ‘prohibit’, *kér* ‘ask’, *tanácsol* ‘advise’, etc.

- (15) a. De az bölcs **megtiltá őket, mondván:** – Miért az Nagy Istennek ilyen ábráz kellett, maradjon azon. (ÉrдыK. 665b/2–4)
[But the wise man **prohibited them, saying:** ‘Since the Great God wanted this form of sculpture, it shall remain thus.’]

Cf. DebrK.:

- (15) b. Ezt látván ez természetudó mester, kinek vala neve Alforabius. És **monda** az királynak: – Semmiképpen el ne törd! –, és **megtiltá** az királyt, **hogy** el ne törné ez képet. **És monda** az királynak: – Minekokáért kellemetes volt az Nagy Istennek, hogy ekképpen légyen, légyen úgy, és ekképpen megmaradjon ez feszült kép: mert ez az Nagy Istennek ő képe. (Debreceni Kódex, 496/15–24)
[Seeing this, the master of nature’s laws, by the name Alforabius, **said** to the King: ‘Do not by any means destroy it!’, **and prohibited** the King **from** destroying the image. **And he said** to the King: ‘Since the Great God had pleasure in this image, be it so, and this crucifix image shall remain as it is, for this is the image of the Great God himself.’]

The latter excerpt illustrates an important strategy of the Debreceni-author to foreground the characters. It has to be pointed out here that in addition to the 22 utterances registered in the Érды version, there are 21 extra quotations which are mainly paraphrases of the first utterances in reported speech.

Quoting the characters’ words means that the author frequently mentions them as main discourse participants in quotative clauses. The Debreceni author always makes it clear who is addressing whom in the dialogue. A distinct function of the palatal definite article in Old Hungarian religious manuscripts is ‘marker of primary topic’ (*főtémakiemelő*, Gallasy 2003: 574–575), which is frequently used with the characters by the Debreceni author. The definite article developed from the far-pointing nominal demonstrative pronoun *az* (‘that’) > OldH. *az* (‘the’) > ModH. *az* ~ *a* (allomorphy conditioned by the first phoneme of the following word). It evolved over the Old Hungarian period, in parallel with the development of two distinct paradigms of verbal inflection, which indicate the definiteness/indefiniteness of the object. The palatal form of the definite article evolved from the near-pointing demonstrative pronoun *ez* (‘this’) > *ez* (‘the’). Although it is marginally used as such, its textual use (marker of primary topic) was rather systematic in Old Hungarian religious text types. Nevertheless it is important to note that there is an additional phenomenon to take into account in Old Hungarian manuscripts regarding palatal pronouns (either definite or phoric). Several manuscripts are considered to be generally favouring palatal forms, the Debreceni Codex and the Érsekújvári Codex among them (Haader 1993: 136, cited in Dömötör 2001: 364). Consequently, the following data and figures of markers of main topic in the three excerpts analyzed in the present paper may be interpreted in ways that are different from my conclusions.

In the DebrK., there are 100 palatal definite articles (*ez*) and 151 *az* forms. Not only Catherine’s, but all the other main characters’ names (and nouns designating them) occur

with the palatal definite article at least once. Catherine is given the greatest importance: out of the 58 *ez* articles used with the main characters (e.g. *ez (dicsőséges) szent Katerina, ez szűz Katerina, ez (szent, nemes, tisztesség, gyengesség) szűz*, etc.), 22 are used in relation to her. The second ‘most important’ character, it seems, is the old hermit with 16 (e.g. *ez vén, ez (szent) vén (jámbor), ez (vén) pusztába lakozandó (jámbor)*), as third come King Costus and doctor Alforabius with 10–9 (e.g. *ez Costus király, ez király, ez atyja; ez doktor, ez bölcs doktor, ez pogány bölcs, ez bölcs/Alforabius természettudó bölcs/doktor/mester*). The Lady Queen remains in the background: her name is only mentioned together with the article *ez* once. In addition to the above, there are 42 palatal articles standing before the other nouns in this version.

By contrast, the Érdy version lacks this form of distinction altogether. The article *ez* is used only twice, once with Catherine, and once with the hermit (*ez szűz leány Katerina, ez vénember*). There are altogether seven occurrences of *ez* along with 46 *az* forms.

Interestingly, the Érsekújvári variant does seem to make use of the palatal definite article (42 occurrences, as opposed to 110 *az* forms), but we can only find nine examples of it in the linguistic coding of the characters (Catherine 7 times: *ez Katerinát, ez szűz, ez leány*, Doctor Alforabius and the hermit once each: *ez mesternek, ez remete*).

3.4. Action continuity in event integration

The author (in the role of narrator) is free to construct events solely through character interactions, if he chooses to. It has to be noted that character interactions are not the same as their dialogues. In all three of the examined legend excerpts, the point of view of the narrator is prevalent throughout the story. Clauses such as *Ezt látván, / Ezt hallván, / Ezeket hogy látta volna, / Ezeket hogy hallá, (monda)* [‘Seeing/Hearing/Having seen/heard this, (he/she said)’] can provide transition between narrated actions and utterances. In this paper, I claim that the low frequency of this type of transition clause indicates condense event integration on the part of the narrator. The Érdy-version has only two such constructions, and one of them is meant in the concrete sense of the verb, i.e.:

(16) a. **Qua visa** ait Katerina intra se dicens (Pelbartus)

(16) b. Mikoron **azt látta volna** szűz leány Katerina, mondá őmagában [...] (ÉrdyK., 666a/22–24)
[When Catherine saw it (i.e. the crucifix made of ore), she said to herself...]

The other example signals turn-taking in the dialogue between Catherine and the hermit:

(17) a. **Tunc** nutu Dei coepit Katerina desiderare ardentem, quis esset ille [...] (Pelbartus)

(17) b. **Azt hallván** szűz leány Katerina, Úr Istennek malasztja szívét megszállván, kezd nagy gerjedetességgel kérdezni, ki volna [...] (ÉrdyK. 666b/9–14)
[**Hearing this**, Catherine, inspired by the Lord’s grace, began fervently to inquire about...]

By contrast, in the Debreceni-excerpt, the above mentioned type of clause is commonly used to express that a character realizes what happened. In a sense, that can be regarded as a

looser form of event integration. However, this does not entail a shift of point of view: it is the narrator who relates the chain of events. The following example shows the difference in the Érdy and the Debreceni versions. The introduction of doctor Alforabius into the story and the King asking him for help in Pelbartus and in the Érdy versions reads:

(18) a. Unde diis impendebat multa sacrificia ut paganus pro prole habenda, sed quia daemones non possunt creare animam humanam, nil sibi haec profuerunt. Interea quidam **philosophus, nomine Alforabius, fuit** in Graecia, magnus et famosus. **Quem rex audiens missis ad se accersuit, et ipsum interrogavit, unde** hoc sibi foret, quod prolem ex regina non haberet. (Pelbartus)

(18) b. Annakokáért is szentetlen való áldozatokat tészon vala az bálván isteneknek, de semmit nem használ vala véle, mert az ördögök embert nem teremthetnek, sem lelköt. **Vala kedég** azon időben Geregországbán **egy** hatalmas természettudó bölcs **doktor, kinek Alforabius vala neve. Hívatá hozzá azt** az Costus királ, **és tudakozék meg rajta, ha** ő volna-e oka, avagy az királné asszon, hogy magtalanok volnának. (ÉrdyK. 665a/17–24)

[Therefore, (the King) ceaselessly kept paying sacrifices to the pagan gods, but those were of no use to himself whatsoever, since devils cannot create humans, nor souls. **There was** in that time in Greece a mighty, wise **doctor** of nature's laws, **named Alforabius. Him** King Costus **summoned, and asked him whether** he or his wife the Lady Queen would be the reason why they were childless.]

Cf. the Debreceni excerpt:

(18) c. Annakokáért az bálván isteneknek nagy sok áldozatot tészon vala, hogy néki magzatot adnának, demaga miért az ördögök embernek lelket nem teremthetnek, annakokáért ez sok áldozat semmit néki nem használ vala. **Ezenközbe hogy igen áldoznék, hallá, hogy volna** Geregországnak egyik tartományába **egy** nagy mondhatatlan és híres természettudó és ismerő mester és **doktor, kinek vala neve Alforabius. Kit ez király hallván,** legottan leveleket írata, és **követeket bocsáta utána. Ki** mikort eljött volna, és **kit** ez királynak eleibe bevettek volna, **mondá néki ez király kérdésképpen:** – De jó doktor, **mond meg énnem, hogy** honnan vagyon énnem ez, hogy magzatom nem léssen: királynéasszonytól vagyon-e, avagy kediglen éntőlem-e? (Debreceni Kódex, 491/19–23, 492/1–17)

[Therefore, (the King) frequently paid sacrifices to the pagan gods, in order to make them let him have a child, but since the devils cannot create human souls, his sacrifices were of no use to himself whatsoever. **While he was busily paying sacrifices, he heard that** in a far place in Greece, **there was a** highly famous **doctor** of nature's laws, **named Alforabius. On hearing that,** then the King **had** letters written, and **messengers sent after him. Who,** when arriving at court and brought before the King, **the King said to him by inquiry:** 'Good Doctor, tell me, whence did it befall me that I cannot have a child: from the Lady Queen, or from myself?']

The first mention of the wise doctor is a telling example of the difference in the degree of character foregrounding displayed in the two texts. In the Érdy-codex, the narrator simply asserts using a presentative construction *Vala egy bölcs doktor* ('There was a wise doctor'), while in the DebrK., it is pointed out that the King, 'while busily attending to his sacrifices, heard that there was a famous doctor'. The assertion still comes from the narrator.

From the next clause, *Kit ez király hallván* ('On hearing that,') it is obvious that there is a distinct phase of **perceptive acknowledgement**, attributed to the King by the narrator. It has an existence of its own as a reference point in the narration of the sequence of events, just like the act of paying sacrifices in the preceding clause complex. It is restated in a preposed less finite clause (cf. Givón 1990: 838–839) functioning as time adverbial, to which the next event, *legottan leveleket írata* ('then the King had letters written') is then linked. It is important to note here that phrases of perceptive acknowledgement are coded grammatically in the form of more or less finite time adverbial clauses. In this respect, they are in fact preposed clauses coding temporal continuity. It can be observed here is that the characters' interactions can be broken down into either more or less phases in the construction of sequences of events. More emphasis on the characters themselves results in more detailed event integration, which, in turn, is realized by way of more elaborate grammatical forms.

Another sequence of events constructed in a similar way in the two legends, respectively, is the advice of Alphorabius, King Costus acting on it, and the miracle of the golden statue of the Greatest God changing into a crucifix. In Pelbartus and the Érdy version, this reads:

(19) a. **Consuluit** ergo Alphorabius regi ex auro optimo fundere imaginem magno deo deorum et illi pro habenda prole sacrificare. **Adquievit rex et dedit aurum artificibus**, qui disposuerunt fundere imaginem magni regis purpurati et coronati, ac nomen imposuerunt deus deorum. (Pelbartus)

(19) b. **Tanácsot ada** azért királynak az Alforabius doktor, **hogy** az Egy Istennek képét öntetné meg tiszta aranyból, és önéki tenne áldozatot magzatnak lételéért. **Mikoron azért az ötvös mestereknek aranyat adott volna**, az mesterek szerzének egy nagy hatalmas király példát, és nevet adának néki, hogy Isteneknek Istene lenne. **De** az Teremtő Úristen más ábrázatra fordítottá az mestereknek szándékokat, és mikoron megöntötték volna, láták hát: íme, egy feszület. (ÉrdyK., 665a/36–49)

[Therefore, doctor Alphorabius **advised** the King **to** cast the image of the Only God out of pure gold, and pay sacrifices to it for a child to be conceived. **When he issued gold to the goldsmith masters**, the masters forged an image of a mighty king, and they called it the God of Gods. **But** the Lord Creator diverted the intentions of the masters, and when they moulded it, they saw that, alas, it was a crucifix.]

Cf. the Debreceni excerpt:

(19) c. Annakokáért ez Alforabius természetű doktor **tanácsot ada** az királynak, **és monda önéki mondván**: – Felsőges király, hozattass szépségű aranyat nagy béven, és csináltass avagy öntess az aranyból az Egy Istennek képét, ki Isteneknek Istenének mondatik, és Királyoknak Királyának, és Uralkodóknak Urának. – (PRÉDIKÁTOR KISZÓLÁSA) **És ezt hogy megmondotta volna**,

hogy az nagy Istennek képét megcsináltatná, és ennek áldoznák, és hogy ha ezt tenné, hogy néki magzatja lenne; **ezt hallván az király, megörüle ezen, és jóvá hagyá ez tanácsot.** És igen hamar hívata nagy bölcs ötvös mestereket, és hozata nagy sok aranyat, *és parancsola, és monda* az mestereknek, *hogy* öntenének az Nagy Istennek egy igen szép képet, mely isten Minden Isteneknek Istene. *Az ötvös mesterek ezt hallván készek lének a királynak parancsolatira,* és csinálának formát, azaz Istennek ábrázát, avagy képét. **És mondá az király, hogy** (hogy nézzen ki a szobor). *Ez meglévén,* megolvaszták az aranyat, és megönték az istennek képét. Mikoron kediglen kivették volna az kohból, és kivévék az formából, **hát íme** az arany bársonyos királynak ő képe változott avagy önttetett mi Urunk Jézusnak feszületinek ő képére, miképpen figgett az magas keresztfán. (Debreceni Kódex, 494/3–10, 19–25, 495/1–9, 14–24)

[Therefore, Alphorabius, doctor of nature's laws, **gave advice** to the King, **and said to him, saying:** 'Your Highness, let shining gold be issued abundantly, and have a sculpture made of the Only God, who is called God of Gods, and King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.' (PREACHER'S INTERPOLATION) **And after he had said this, that** (the King) should have a sculpture made of the Great God, and pay sacrifices to it, and if he did this, he would have a child; **upon hearing this, the King rejoiced and consented to the advice.** **And soon he called wise goldsmith masters,** and issued lots of gold, and **ordered and said** to the masters **that** they cast a beautiful image of the Great God, who is the God of All Gods. **The goldsmith masters, hearing this, were ready to perform the King's orders,** and prepared a mould, that is, of God's image. And the King told them (what the image should look like). *This having been done,* the masters moulded the gold, and cast the image of God. When they took it out of the smelter, and took it out of the mould, **alas,** the image of a velvety king had transformed into the crucifix of Our Lord Jesus.]

The Debreceni author does not merely use the characters' perceptive acknowledgement as building blocks of the narrative structure, but when he returns to the storyline after having interpolated as preacher, he rephrases the words of the wise doctor in order to be able to link to them the next unit, the acknowledgement of the advice. This makes it obvious that **speech acts** constitute events in the Debreceni excerpt, in addition to perceptive acknowledgement. Alphorabius's advice is accepted by the King, who gives orders to his goldsmiths, who obey the orders, etc.

In the Érdy version, the King's action following the advice is related in the form of a proposed *mikoron* ('when')-clause:

- (20) (= part of (19) b.) **Mikoron azért az ötvös mestereknek aranyat adott volna,** az mesterek szerzének egy nagy hatalmas király példát (ÉrdyK., 665a/41–44)
[**When he issued gold to the goldsmith masters,** the masters forged an image of a mighty king].

There is no anaphoric link to the advice itself, neither is the acknowledgement of the advice narrated. The act of issuing gold opens a separate sequence, in a way 'backgrounded' by being realized in the form of an adverbial clause. Furthermore, there is no mention of giving orders. At this point in the story, there is an omission of the details of how the golden

sculpture is supposed to look like. These details are present in the Latin source text. By contrast, they are there and even further elaborated on in the Debreceni version.

In the Érsekújvári verse legend, a lengthy advice of Alphorabius, in a direct quote, is followed by the narration of the King acting on it, but without either foregrounding the phase of perceptive acknowledgement, or backgrounding the action.

- (19) d. – Azért **fogadd tanácsomat**: nyitassad meg tárházadat, adj aranyat kíméletlen, és ne légy ebben hitetlen! Egy nagy bölcs mestert kerestess, és egy arany képet önttess. Azt hirdessed mindeneknek, hogy ez Istene Isteneknek. Ennek tisztességet tétesz, és áldozatot szereztess. Kivel neki kedvét lelöd, és kivel kívánságod vésszed. Mert ez ő maga talántál, kinek még te nem szolgáltál, ki az Istenek közül tehet néköd szükségedről. – **Ezt az király megtéteté**, és kénccset **el-kiemelteté**. És a mester **kezéhez adatá** kíméletlen sok aranyat. Ki az példát felállatá, és mint bálvánt, úgy faragtatá. Sőt az képet ha megönté, az kép ötet nem követé: mert nem lén bálván szabású, de krucifixom ábrázú. (Érsekújvári Kódex 452a/9–33)

[Therefore, **take my advice**: open the treasury, issue lots of gold, and do not have any doubts! Call for a great wise master and have a golden image cast. Announce it to all that this is the God of Gods. Express reverence for it and pay sacrifices to it. Through which you will please him, and your wishes shall be fulfilled. Because, probably, this is the one God you have not served yet, who is the one of the Gods that can help you in your need. – **The King performed this**, and he **issued** the treasure. And **gave** lots of gold **to** the master. Who erected the statue, and sculptured it to the likeness of a pagan god. When he cast the image, the image did not reflect his forging: for it did not turn out to be the likeness of a pagan god, but that of a crucifix.]

Although in this episode there is anaphoric reference to the content of the advice (*ezt* ‘this’), what follows is a general verb of action (*megtétet* ‘make perform’). The causative suffix on this verb and on others in the sequence (*el-kiemelteté* ‘make withdraw, have sg issued’, *kezéhez adatá* ‘have it given to sy’s hands’) signals that the King indeed delegated the performance of these actions to others. Yet, this is backgrounded information: the action sequence is attributed to the King. It is evident that speech acts do not have an existence on their own as building blocks of events in the Érsekújvári variant. Also, choosing a grammaticized causative suffix is a more compressed form of event integration than giving prominence to speech acts and constructing events from interactions.

Transition clauses expressing perceptive acknowledgement are frequent in the Érsekújvári variant, but their function is primarily to signal turn-taking in dialogues.

- (21) Katerina hogy ezt hallá, / ennek imily okát adá: [...] (ÉrsK. 459b/20–22)
[As Catherine heard this, / she gave the following the reason for this: ...]

3.5. Compression and elaboration phenomena in clause linkage. Written and oral features

The frequent re-mentioning of characters has been noted (in section 3.3.) as a technique in implementing character foregrounding in the DebrK. version. Foregrounding characters’

interactions acts towards elaboration in clause linkage, since interactions are always tied in with coding the characters (more or less explicitly), which results in clause-equal linguistic forms. It is important to note here that in Late Old Hungarian (as well as in Modern Hungarian), the degree of explicit expression of the subject can be: a) full noun (the most explicit and semantically the most elaborated), b) pronoun, c) zero + verbal inflection (the least explicit and semantically the least elaborated).

Thus, we can contrast the different ways in which the characters are coded linguistically. More or less explicit referent coding (either pronominal or yet more explicit) versus the least explicit coding (by verbal suffix) are studied in the three excerpts. The relative proportion of the more and the least explicit coding is different in the three excerpts. In the ÉrdyK., the proportions are the following. Catherine: 26 more or less vs. 15 least elaborated forms, King Costus: 10 vs. 5; Alphorabius: 6 vs. 1; Lady Queen: 3 vs. 0; old hermit: 6 vs. 0.

In the DebrK., the average number of how many times each character is coded in the discourse (Catherine: 91, King Costus: 62, Alphorabius: 17, Lady Queen: 10, old hermit: 29) is higher than in the ÉrdyK. (Catherine: 41, King Costus: 15, Alphorabius: 7, Lady Queen: 3, old hermit: 6). Also, apart from Catherine the other characters also get more prominence than in the ÉrdyK. The proportion of more or less vs. least explicit referent coding is: Catherine: 57 vs. 34, King Costus: 40 vs. 22; Alphorabius: 16 vs. 1; Lady Queen: 9 vs. 1; old hermit: 26 vs. 3.

The frequent re-coding of referents may seem aimless in the DebrK., but it has a function. It is attested that the author breaks up lengthy monologues into parts (e.g. the hermit telling Catherine about Jesus for the first time, 502/7–504/5; King Costus making his testament to Catherine, 511/11–512/21; "Mondá tovább ez pusztában lakozandó Katerinának" [The forest-dweller went on to say to Catherine]). It seems to be the intention of the author to ensure that his audience keeps track of the characters.

As I suggested above (in section 2.2.), the DebrK. author intended to turn a translated text into a sermon suitable for oral performance. However, he did not manage to have the characters speak spontaneously. The only source of oral phrases in the text is the narrator (*No immáron/No azért* 'Well then/Well now').

The author of the Érsekújvári verse legend uses reciting methods which might remind us of folk tales. As opposed to the DebrK., the oral features of this text do not only come from the preacher addressing his audience. Instead, this version presents folk tale parallelisms, reminiscent of naïve storytelling:

- (22) hogy ő nekünk **azt meglelné**, / **és meglelvén** megizenné... (450a/9–11)
[so that he would **find it out** for us, / **and having found out**, would let us know ...]
- (23) Ezt hogy látá Katerina, / hogy szerencse vele vína, / **atyja szavát megemlité**,
/ **tanácsát el nem feledé**. (457b/12–15)
[Catherine, seeing this, / that Fortune challenged her, / **remembered her father's words**, / **did not forget his advice**.]

Sources of parallelism can be both the verse rhythm and the oral features of the text:

- (24) Ez dolog hogy megláttaték, / rajta az nép csodálkodék. / Félelem őket megijeszté, / nagy bánat megkörnyékezé. / Elámula az királság, / megrémüle

mind az ország, / és valaki ez képhez mégyen, / Senki nem tudja, mi légyen.
(452a/33–36–b/6)

[When this had been seen, / the people were puzzled. / Fear made them afraid,
/ great sorrow fell upon them. / The kingdom was in awe, / the whole country
got frightened, / and whoever went up to the idol, / no one knew what it was.]

We find the fairy-tale motif of a character in need of help promising good in return for a good deed (*Jó tett helyébe jót várj*):

- (25) és százannyi jót véssz mitülünk, / mennyé munkát vallasz értünk. (450b/31–34)

[and you will receive a hundred times more good from us / than how much
inconvenience you suffer for us.]

- (26) Kiben nekem nagy jót tesztek, / Kiért tülem sok jót vesztek. (455a/15–17)

[By which you (plural) do much good to me, / for which you (plural) will get
much good from me.]

In contrast to the ‘second-hand’ orality of the DebrK. excerpt, everyday phrases are also present in the characters’ speech in the ÉrsK., especially in the way they address each other. Also, while Catherine is addressed only six times in the ÉrdyK., and 34 times in the DebrK., she is addressed 78 times in the ÉrsK. The difference is most remarkable in her dialogue with the hermit.

Frequency of more or less explicit referent coding versus least explicit forms is the following in the ÉrsK. excerpt. Catherine: 89 vs. 55, King Costus: 45 vs. 78, Alphorabius: 22 vs. 25, Lady Queen: 6 vs. 2, old hermit: 21 vs. 3. It can be seen from these numbers that the King and Alphorabius remain implicitly coded (i.e., coded by verbal suffixation) much more frequently than in the DebrK. One reason for this lies in the fact that interactions are not used as building blocks of events in narration (which would necessitate more explicit referent coding). In other words, event integration is more condense, which is in turn reflected in clause linkage. The sum of how many times each character is coded in the discourse (Catherine: 144, King Costus: 123, Alphorabius: 47, Lady Queen: 8, old hermit: 24) shows that King Costus is the most prominent character besides Catherine in this version.

In addition, the fictional characters seem even more life-like, because the narrator attributes gestures to them when letting them speak (*rátekinte* ‘looked at her’; *mosolyula* ‘smiled’; *szent fiához hajla, mondván* ‘leaned to her holy son, saying’). This is a stylistic tool entirely absent from Pelbartus and the Hungarian prose versions.

- (27) Az remete **rátekinte**, / és neki ily szót felele: / – Mind így légyen, amint mondom.
/ Emmi te téssz, / mégsem te dolgoz, / mert ez illet férfiat. (460a 9–14)

[The hermit **looked at her**, / and answered to her with these words: / ‘All may
well be as you say. / What you are doing / is nevertheless not you duty, / for it
is a man’s duty.’]

Furthermore, dialogues acquire credibility and originality as the characters reflect verbally on what the other has to say. This is especially true in Catherine and the hermit’s encounters:

- (28) Azért, jó fiam, így értsed, / szómat eszedben így végyed (459a/27–28)
[Therefore, good child, understand it thus, / mark my words in this way...]
- (29) Jó leányom, azt is kérdéd, / és bizony, jó megértened, / mely az Isten, kit imádok... (459b/3–6)
[Good daughter, you asked also, / which you do well to understand, indeed, / which God I worship...]
- (30) Ne gondolj semmit mindebből, jó Atyám... (460b/21–23)
[Do not think wrong of this, good Father]
- (31) Néked ím egy új hírt mondok, / kivel neked nagy sok jót adok. / Mert hiszem, fiam, nem hallottad, / vagy írásban nem olvastad, / hogy ... (461a/22–26)
[Now, I bring you news, / by which I give you great good. / For, I believe, child, that you have not yet heard / or read in any writings / that...]

3.6. Event integration in prose and verse

The three surviving versions of Saint Catherine's legend display a genre difference, of which the most important aspect here is the set of rhythmical constraints placed on the forms of clause integration in verse. The rhythm of narration in the DebrK. turns out to be quite monotonous with the constant re-mentioning of characters, and the various rephrasings. By contrast, the verse rhythm in the ÉrsK. plays a major role in shaping clause integration and, eventually, event integration.

The first obvious difference is in the frequency of main clause phoric elements. A 'phoric element' (H. *utalószó*) is a grammatical element used in Hungarian subordinating clause combining besides conjunctions (Haader 2000a: 477–479). A brief account of its origin is due here. Parallel with the development of the nominal demonstrative pronoun into a definite article (mentioned in section 3.3.), the Old Hungarian period saw the emergence of a distinct syntactic device in clause combining. Similarly to the case of the definite article, it is the far-pointing *az* nominal demonstrative that came to acquire a special textual-syntactic function.

Azt	szeretném,	ha	újra	gyerek	lehetnék.
PHOR.PR.('that-ACC.')	like-cond.-1sg.DEF.	if	again	child	I-could-be
'I would like to be a child again.'					

Traditionally, grammarians locate the phoric element in the main clause of a subordinating complex clause. It marks the constituent position of the subordinate clause, inside the main clause, i.e. it takes object, adverb, subject, etc. suffixes. It is co-referent with the subordinate clause.

The sum of main-clause 'phoric elements' in the three excerpts (ÉrdyK: 15, DebrK: 49, ÉrsK: 126) exceeds the 1: 3: 5 proportion of the texts' lengths. The high number of 'phoric elements' in the ÉrsK. was noted by Dömötör (2001: 362–364). In the ÉrsK. excerpt, 'phoric elements' are placed in stressed syllables in order to conform to the verse rhythm (and perhaps to get the necessary number of syllables). There is a one-clause-one-rhythmical-unit correspondence, with the main clause preceding its subordinate clause most of the time.

- (32) *Az remete ottan így tön*, / hogy egy írott táblát felvén, / és ezt Katerinának adá,
/ és beszéddel ezt monda: (ÉrsK.: 462b/18–22)
[Then, the hermit **did this**, / that he took a painted board, / and this he gave to
Catherine, / and in speech he said this:]

A related phenomenon is the occurrence of verbal predicate subordinating complex clauses (this, in fact, is considered to be a semantic relation rather than a grammatical one, cf. Hadrovics 1969, Haader 2000b: 488). The above example is a typical main clause occurring at thematic junctures, opening new sequences of events. It is in fact a variant of the main clause heading the thematic paragraph discussed towards the end of section 3.4. As we have seen above, the syntactic coding of event integration in the ÉrsK. is different from those in both the ÉrdyK. and the DebrK. versions. At major thematic boundaries, the break in temporal coherence is signalled, but temporal relations are not of the syntactically coded type cataphorically relevant inside the clause complex. Rather, they are established textually, by anaphorical adverbials in the main clause (*ezután ~ ennek utána, ottan* 'after this, then').

- (33) *Ennek utána imígy lön*: / Costus tanácsot tön, / az leányt kinek nevezné, /
hogy méltó névvel illetné, [...] (ÉrsK. 454a/32–37)
[After this, this is what happened: / Costus held a consultation / about what
name he should give to his daughter, / in order to name her appropriately...]
- (34) *Ezután az király így tön*, / hogy tanácsival egybe lön, / az mestert odahívátván,
/ és akaratját nyilván megmonda. / És ötet csak azon kéré, / hogy őnéki azt
meglelné, / ha [...] (ÉrsK. 451a/19–25)
[After this, the King did this: / he gathered with his advisors, / summoning the
wise master, / and expressing his wish. / And he asked him only / to find out for
him / whether ...]

Quite naturally, this latter kind of textually coded temporal (dis)continuity occurs in the two prose versions as well (ÉrdyK.: *Azonközben* 'meanwhile', *Annak utána* 'after that'; DebrK.: *Ezenközben* 'meanwhile', *Ennek utána* 'after this').

The last syntactic phenomenon that I would like to discuss in this paper is the influence of verse rhythm on word order in the ÉrsK. excerpt. Modern Hungarian word order reflects the functional sentence perspective, which went through a considerable amount of change since the Old Hungarian linguistic period. Today, the focus position is a uniquely important part of the clause, preceding the verb. The focus element is considered to project its own syntactic phrase by certain linguistic schools.

In the excerpt analysed below, it can be observed that the one rhythmical unit-one clause tendency influences the position of the conjunctions and particles, too. In many cases, content words head the clauses, conjunctions and particles being shifted into second position (*ha* 'if', *hogy* 'that', *menyé* 'as soon as', etc.). This is a stylistically marked realization of word order in Hungarian clause complexes.

- (35) *Alphorabius ezt hogy* hallá, / ég forgását jól meglátná. / **Az királyra is** tekinte,
/ természeti mit követne. / **Az asszonyt is** kihívátá, / **természetit** jól meglátná.
/ **Indítá** sok cseleködést, / és e dologról mesterkődést. / Bölcsességének miatta
ő lettek napjára juta, / és a csillagot jól meglátá, / *ki* azkoron uralkodott. /

Mindezekbe kétség nélkül / ím **így** lelé vétök nélkül / **azt**, *hogy ég* forgása **azt** tartja, / **természetök** *is* mutatja, / *hogy* lehetne magzat tőlek, / *mert* nincs vétök őfelőlek. / *Azért* az mester felkele, / **az királynak így** felele: [...]
 [Alphorabius+ **this**+ when+ heard, / the sky's movements he thoroughly observed. / **The King**, *too*, he looked at, / (to see) what his nature is influenced by. / **The Lady Queen**, *too*, he summoned, / **for her nature** to be observed. / He **started** several practices, / *and* methods to solve this problem. / With his knowledge, he figured out the dates of their births, / *and* observed the stars / which dominated at those times. / From all this, without doubt, / he thus found out clearly / **'that'** that the sky's movements shows]

4. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to illustrate how the syntactic coding of three main coherence strands in the 'same' narrative (in our case study, the legend) is shaped by the preaching situation in which it is retold. The exact differences in coding temporal, referent and action continuity were pointed out. It was demonstrated that the differences are indeed closely reflected in the chosen grammatical forms of clause integration. The results of the analysis shed light on the factors motivating the two opposing forces of elaboration and compression in clause linkage, which were already present in the Late Old Hungarian period. These were shown to correlate with written and oral text features, and genre differences of prose and verse. As a conclusion, a summary of the main findings is presented below.

4.1. The relationship of the three surviving Hungarian legend variants to their common Latin source text varies in accordance with the aims of the authors. The communicative setting indeed shaped the narrators' choices of event integration, which is reflected in their preferred ways of grammatical expression.

The Érdy version, attached as an appendix to a lengthy argumentation, is presented in a style so simple and condense that it even contains omissions of story details taken from Pelbartus. There is a contrast between the level of effort needed for processing the two text types, i.e. the argumentation and the narrative. The ease with which a narrative is understood makes it possible for the Érdy author to subvert the era's general tendency to opt for high levels of grammatical elaboration, with his grammatical choices often only loosely reflecting the corresponding forms of the Latin source text. By contrast, the Debreceni author unfolded his tale striving to focus the audience's attention on the characters, and teach and instruct them in due manner. The clumsiness of this excerpt comes from the artificial conversion from written Latin text to oral Hungarian, the story coming to a halt again and again due to the preacher's interpolations. Since it is the narrative that serves as a frame in this variant, there are plenty of opportunities for the preacher-narrator to elaborate on it, with the intention of keeping the attention of the audience awake.

The Érsekújvári variant's uniqueness lies in its verse form and those yet unidentified sources which must exist in various vernacular languages. The common Latin source had a much less immediate influence on this version, and virtually no grammatical choices can be traced back directly to it, neither can it be simply compared to the prose versions. The verse form constrains and shapes grammatical expression into a lively rhythm, thus pushing grammatical coding towards elaboration, while making use of parallelism.

4.2. The discourse potential of time adverbial clauses as coherence bridges at thematic boundaries already existed in the Late Old Hungarian linguistic period. This type of clause was used abundantly by all three authors in coding temporal (dis)continuity in their narratives. The most frequently used conjunction, *mikoron* ('when'), was shown to be alternating with *hogy* ('as') in the Debreceni excerpt, and with *menyé* ('as soon as') in the Érsekújvári version.

4.3. Differences in the ways of coding referent (dis)continuity were shown to be shaped by the demands of the preacher's communicative goals. The point of view of the narration is firmly held by the narrator in all three texts. However, the characters as main discourse referents are mentioned most often and coded in a rather explicit way in clauses in which speech acts are used as building blocks of events by the Debreceni author.

4.4. Ways of coding action continuity in the narration were analysed along the compression-elaboration continuum, which ranks clause linkage realizations reflecting forms of event integration. The type of clause used in the transition between the narrated actions and utterances shows the concise vs. loose nature of event integration. It codes a phase of perceptive acknowledgement in the narration, which may exist as the building block of an event. Its frequent occurrence signals a high degree of character foregrounding, which is attested in the Debreceni excerpt. However, it may also be used merely to code turn-takes in dialogues quoted by the narrator, as does the Érsekújvári author.

Attributing speech acts (i.e. orders, thanks, enquiries) to characters in a story seems to be useful in constructing sequences of events, too. This strategy, applied by the Debreceni author, is a more elaborate way of event integration than the rather compressed expression we find in the Érsekújvári variant. There, the causative verbal suffix codes the act of giving orders, in which case no separate phases of character interaction are elaborated on, but the action is rather attributed to the one giving the order.

4.5. Considering the written and oral features of the three excerpts, the key concept proved to be character foregrounding. The forms and degrees of giving prominence to the protagonist (Catherine) are mirrored in the explicitness of coding her linguistically. The proportion of more or less explicit vs. the least explicit referent coding shows the relative prominence the authors had given to characters other than Catherine. Also, least explicit referent coding is in proportion higher if 1) there is no need for keeping track of the characters due to the scarcity of preacher's interpolations; 2) if characters' interactions are rather condensely narrated.

The authors' use of oral phrases is not characteristic of the Érdy narrator. The Debreceni author uses a few oral phrases in his role as narrator, and some more as preacher. However, his orality lacks the spontaneity that the Érsekújvári author manages to convey in his dialogues. First-hand oral phrases are quoted as the words of the characters themselves. This is most obvious in the forms (and frequency) of their addressing each other. While the Debreceni version has visible remnants of a written original, the Érsekújvári excerpt abounds in parallelisms, thus reminiscent of ancient oral storytelling. One source of these parallelisms is verse rhythm.

4.6. In the last section, I investigated the special choices made by the Érsekújvári author when formulating his (or her) verse legend. There is in fact a significant rise in the number of

'phoric pronouns' used in the grammatical integration of subordinate clauses with their main clauses. This can be traced back to the rhythmical constraints of the genre. Another tendency motivated by verse rhythm is the one clause-one rhythmical unit correlation.

The dominant author figure of the era was the translator-compiler-author educated in one of the religious orders in Hungary. These preachers helped to shape the linguistic norms of the various text types prevalent in the Middle Ages before linguistic standardization took place. In this study, I hope to have provided reliable results for future analyses of the history of clause linkage and text types.

Abbreviations and text editions

The quoted material was taken from the modern critical editions of the DebrK. and the Pelbartus-volume, and from editions in preparation of the ÉrdyK. and the ÉrsK. The original spelling, however, has been converted into Modern Hungarian spelling conventions and graphemic usage for the sake of easier reading. Each Hungarian manuscript has a 19th century edition, worth including in the list below.

DebrK. = *Debreceni Kódex 1519. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel*. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó – Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1997.

Debreceni Kódex (1519). Közzéteszi Volf György. Nyelvemléktár 11. Budapest. 1882.

ÉrdyK. = *ÉrdyK. (1526–1527)*. Közzéteszi Volf György. Nyelvemléktár 4–5. Budapest. 1876.

ÉrsK. = *Érsekújvári Kódex (1529–31)*. Közzéteszi Volf György. Nyelvemléktár 9–10. Budapest. 1888.

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Pelbartus de Themeswar: *Sermones Pomerii de sanctis II. [Pars aestivalis]*. Augsburg 1502. RMK III. 104. The modern critical edition is available at: <http://emc.elte.hu/pelbart/>

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A HERMENEUTICAL APPROACH TO GRAPHEMES

NÓRA CSONTOS

...language has no independent life apart from the world that comes to language within it. Not only is the world 'world' only insofar as it comes into language, but language, too, has its real being only in the fact that the world is re-presented within it.¹

Abstract

The present paper examines the contribution of graphemes to the understanding and interpretation of written texts and analyses the developmental process thereof. My starting point is the historical development of written texts and the changes in the process of comprehension. The paper describes how the reception of written texts changed over time, points out the differences between reading aloud and silent reading, and argues that reading, as a process of reception, influences the development of written texts. Text-internal functions are marked with characters, since in order to understand and interpret a written text, each semantic element has to be self-evident. Based on this theoretical approach, the paper demonstrates how punctuation marks appeared in Hungarian writing, analyses the perspectival nature of characters embedded in written texts, and finally presents the theoretical argument discussed through the development of one textual function and its written form.

1. Introduction

As a consequence of its diverse symbolic functions and historical development, a punctuation mark is difficult to define in a single technical term.² My paper, therefore, examines the role of punctuation marks in understanding and interpreting written texts as it changes throughout its developmental process. This approach makes it possible to examine the character within the developing linguistic medium which created it, in the process in which its dynamic meaning develops.

Given that punctuation marks are inherent parts of written texts, my paper first reviews the motivation behind the development of written texts. Then, it traces the development of written texts from the perspective of the comprehensive and interpretative process and describes the changes in the function of punctuation marks embedded in the texts. I also analyse the difference between reading aloud and silent reading as receptive processes and

¹ Gadamer 1965/1981: 401.

² A technical term is simply "a word, the meaning of which is unequivocally defined, inasmuch as it signifies a defined concept. A technical term is always something artificial insofar as [...] a word that is already in use has the variety and breadth of its meanings excised and is assigned only one particular conceptual meaning. [...] The technical term is a word that has become ossified" (Gadamer 1965/1981: 375).

the role of punctuation marks in these processes. Based on this theoretical approach, the paper focuses on the analysis of the historical shift that gave rise to the written registers in Hungarian parallel to the historical changes in the way written texts were interpreted. Finally, the paper demonstrates the theoretical argument through the study of expressions of a selected semantic function, namely quotation marks, and how their form and use changed over time.

2. From a historical point of view, spoken language has primacy over written language: “in relation to language, writing seems a secondary phenomenon. The sign language of writing refers back to the actual language of speech” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 354)³. Linguistic activity was for a long time exclusively linked to the spoken tradition, given that language ability is basically a biological, anatomical attribute. The sounds man uttered turned into utterances of speech when the sounds, or their combinations, began to function as units of communication carrying meaning. “A common world – even if it is only an invented one – is always the presupposition of language” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 367) for a community. The development of a written language occurred somewhat later and can be explained by the appearance of the need for devising a means of recording linguistic messages that are not directly dependent on the speech organs. As writing developed, written texts became disconnected from the act of speaking and themselves were able to produce texts whose interpretation did not require speech production. So the fact that “language is capable of being written is by no means incidental to its nature” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 334). With written language “a new variant, and a new linguistic relationship, a duality of spoken and written language appears. The duality allows for alteration and choice and a model prompting selection” (Pusztai 2004).

The difference between spoken and written language is evident in their fundamentally differing physical appearance. Spoken linguistic vocalisations are of an audio-acoustic nature and their perception takes place via (external) hearing. Inherent features of acoustic speech are supra-segmental (prosodic, metric) vehicles. The speaker subconsciously or consciously uses intonation, stress, voice inflection, pauses, rhythm and tempo that affect how the listener is able to attribute meaning to what is being said. Moreover, spoken communication may also be accompanied by other paralinguistic instruments, the comprehension of articulated sounds is affected by gestures and mimicry (cf. e.g. Gadamer 1965/1981: 354).

In contrast to the spoken linguistic expressions, written linguistic expressions are of a visual nature, their perception is enabled through vision or – in the case of the blind – touch. The written form, that is to say the form of letters and punctuation marks, their size, colour and spatial arrangement is, on the one hand, characteristic, and on the other, offers possibilities derived from its visual quality. The use of these features in the text contributes to the way the text generates meaning.

When comparing spoken and written language one usually considers that the former is generally direct, while the latter usually takes place by indirect means of interactive communication. In the direct form the time and space of expression and perception are inherently together. That means for one that the discourse partners not only hear but also see each

³ For the theoretical approaches to written and spoken language see e.g. Zolnai 1926; Heidegger 1927/ 1976; Wittgenstein 1921/1961; Barthes 1970/1993; Ong 1982; Brown–Yule 1983; Flusser 1987; Vater 1992; Günther–Ludwig 1994; Crystal 1997; Neumer 1998, 2003; Nyíri 1998; Nyíri–Szécsi 1998; Verschueren 1999; Kulcsár Szabó 2002; Benczik 2006; Fehér M. 2006, 2008; Csontos 2009.

other, and in addition to the verbal and audible non-verbal signals they are able to discern the other's gestures and mimicry, which contribute to the comprehension of the discourse. On the other hand, it also means that the speaker does not have as much time to plan and shape his speech as is the case with writing. Of course, the listener, for his part, is not able to return to a page, but he does have the possibility to join the conversation and take the floor and the role of the speaker.

In indirect interaction the unity that characterises the speaker-listener situation is not attained. The process of text production and perception becomes asymmetrical (see Iser 1990), and as a result the text becomes alienated from the situation of its production⁴ and origin (cf. e. g. Zolnai 1926; Ong 1982 and Gadamer 1965/1981: 354–355). The producer of a text is hence compelled to take into consideration the lack of possibilities inherent in face-to-face communication in planning his strategy of expression, since in writing he is unable to share the search for words with a partner as he is in conversation. Therefore, he must open up the explanation-comprehension horizon in the writing itself, which the reader must fill in on his own (see Gadamer 1986). At the same time, however, a written text is also a form of discourse, the understanding of “permanently fixed expressions of life” (Gadamer 1965/ 1981: 349 quoting Droysen) that produce a kind of (*hermeneutical*) *conversation* in which the text is one partner in the discourse and the interpreter is the other (see Gadamer 1965/ 1981 and Iser 1990). A written text finds its “voice” only via the interpreter, and it is the reader who attaches meaning to the visual signs. At the same time, “by being changed back into intelligible terms, the object of which the text speaks itself finds expression” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 349, also cf. Iser 1990). In as far as a written text can be interpreted as a (hermeneutical) conversation, – as in direct interaction – both partners have to find a common language, which is not “the preparation of a tool for the purpose of understanding but, rather, coincides with the very act of understanding and reaching agreement” (Gadamer 1965/ 1981: 349–350).

3. In this common language the function of each component is to establish comprehension. Since a punctuation mark appears embedded in a written text, it indeed functions as a sign only there and would lose its role if the text were verbalised. Punctuation marks contribute to the interpretation process of written texts and to the ability of the text to produce meaning. Its contribution, however, is of a different nature than that of the written words of the text.

“It is in the nature of the sign [the punctuation mark embedded in the text] that it has its being solely in its applied function, in the fact that it points to something else. Thus it must be distinguished in this function from the context in which it is encountered and taken as a sign” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 373). A punctuation mark is connected to the meaning and understanding of the text through the meaning initiated by the process of understanding. It functions strictly as a sign only in written texts, where it evolves the contextual dynamic meaning that it can merely imply on its own. Therefore, it is during the comprehension process of a text that it must “be taken as a sign, in order for its own being as an object to be annulled and for it to disappear in its meaning” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 373). It follows that from the point of view of comprehension and interpretation, a punctuation mark can be considered as a reference point

⁴ “What is fixed in writing has detached itself from the contingency of its origin and its author. [...] For texts do not ask to be understood as a living expression of the subjectivity of their writers” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 356–357).

for understanding the text, that is, for intellect and sentiment. It opens the intellectual/emotional domain it refers to – thereby advancing text comprehension –, and functions as a path that leads the interpreter to the meaning with which it contributes to written texts. What we are seeing here are thus the significance-generating – and comprehension-advancing – elements of the “speech activity” of the author implicit behind written texts, which are designated by punctuation marks (since the text is a written one). Written texts require punctuation marks for elaborating a given perspective in order to contribute with a certain meaning to understanding.⁵ For this reason it is worthwhile to examine the development of the process of text comprehension, of which punctuation marks become a part. In this approach, the historically changing reference function of signs may demonstrate the – similarly changing – perspective that the text stresses from the perspective of comprehension, and the linguistic form applied in the text for the expression of the experience of the world (cf. Gadamer 1965/1981: 398; also Langacker 1987, 1991; Tomasello 1999).

The contribution of punctuation marks to a text cannot be examined independently from the text – the time of its writing, function, audience, etc. – in which it exists (Ricoeur 1985), given that punctuation marks may have different meanings as the comprehension process of the text unfolds. The existence of the punctuation mark as a sign is determined by the text and the motivation for its creation, the process of conveying the meaning in which it is embedded, and the decoding/comprehension strategy⁶ of its interpreter, in relation to whom its meaning solely exists. Therefore, in the following – by lending the punctuation mark a narrower interpretation – I shall describe the historic developmental processes which gave rise to the appearance of punctuation marks in Hungarian writing. Subsequently the function of the punctuation mark within the text changed along with the changing understanding and interpretation process of written texts.

3.1. The emergence of punctuation marks in Hungarian writing served to indicate a pause in intonation because the texts were read aloud – (ref. Keszler 1995, 2004; Korompay 2000: 292, 593). Punctuation marks were used to help the articulation of the content of speech read aloud to facilitate the process of understanding and interpretation. In this process intonation and pause function as signs (see section 2). Thus, the early use of punctuation marks denoting pauses in intonation was first of all related to the process of speech. As writing spread, written (manuscript or printed) texts flourished, and especially when printing spread and texts were increasingly read in private rather than to an audience, written texts began to develop their own framework for aiding the interpretation process. Along with that, punctuation marks increasingly characterised written texts in the sense that they had to ensure that the texts were unambiguously understood and interpreted by the individual readers, without a speaking reader as an intermediary. From the point of view of perception, the difference between reading aloud and silent reading – albeit both are interpretative, neither produce new content in relation to the text – is that when a text is read out, the dialogue between the reader and the text presents itself to the audience who come into contact with written texts only through the presenting reader, and hence the comprehension process is

⁵ “The experience is not wordless to begin with and then an object of reflection by being named, by being subsumed under the universality of the word. Rather it is part of experience itself that it seeks and finds words that express it” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 377).

⁶ “The author [...] reacts to the degree that he writes down: similarly the reader is a full-fledged participant in the production of meaning, and as a mortal is forced to do – that is to act – in order to create the meaning that, although ugly, is still better than meaninglessness” (Said 1979: 317).

linked to speech rather than the written text itself. When reading aloud the dominance of speech also influences meaning in that the time span of the read text closely delimits the process of understanding, since the words and the interpretation process they trigger flow on, and the meaning of the words is linked to that process (see Wittgenstein 1967: 135 §). Reading aloud in this sense may be compared to the process of translation, where the translator must preserve the meaning, “but since it must be understood within a new linguistic world, it must be expressed within it in a new way” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 346). That means that “reading aloud [...] is the awakening and conversion of a text into new immediacy” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 360), and really an interpretation itself.

Silent reading, on the other hand, is a process that “removes the dead graphemic quality of writing, or gives it a new, acoustic life, [...] in such a way that it guides it back into language. Thus, silent reading relocates the meaning that lies hidden in a written text into language, dismantling and reconstructing the comprehensive domain of communication” (Kulcsár-Szabó 2005: 165; see also Gadamer 1986; Iser 1990). Understanding a written text via reading – from the perspective of hermeneutical philosophy – depends a great deal on how well one is capable of *seeing* written texts with one’s eyes and *hearing* speech with one’s *internal ear* (Gadamer 1986; Nyíri 1991: 123). When reading, a dialogue is established between the written text and the reader and the written text creates its (ideal) reader (cf. Gadamer 1986; also Iser 1990; Ricoeur 1985). Reading is a process in which “the written text is led back into the language” (Kulcsár-Szabó 2005: 166; see also Gadamer 1986). At the same time, and unlike what we find in the process of reading aloud, the reader himself is directly addressed. As writing developed and the so-called *eminent texts*⁷ spread, the dominance, function and explicitness of punctuation marks in texts, their quality as an unambiguous reference, also changed and even became distinctive in particular types of texts. In the tradition of Hungarian writing this development can be illustrated by tracing the process from textual functions either not indicated by punctuation marks, or indicated only by a single punctuation mark possibly combined with lower and upper case letters (ref. Keszler 1995: 36–44), through texts where several different textual functions were indicated by similar or the same punctuation mark (ref. Keszler 1995: 44–46), to punctuation marks that indicated certain textual functions unambiguously – also changing their reference function (cf. Keszler 1995: 46–47, 57–66) – so that they evoked such a definite meaning that they were able to contribute to the understanding of *written texts* in the given context. Written texts establish unambiguous meaning by using appropriate punctuation marks as reference points. Here it may be useful to reflect on the appearance of the individual punctuation marks in Hungarian writing (since written texts did not require signs until these signs were needed to carry meaning in order to contribute to comprehension).⁸ For example the semicolon, and the exclamation mark from among the group of intonation signs, appeared in the late 16th century (Keszler 1995, 2004); the ellipsis in the mid-17th century; the dash and the three or more points appeared in the late 18th century (Csontos 2007); and quotation marks in the mid-18th century (Csontos 2004). The above considerations illustrate the hermeneutical changes in the Hungarian tradition of writing, where

⁷ *Eminent text* “does not refer back to an unrelated, previous linguistic action but essentially stamps it out, and presents itself as the linguistic act that carries its identity within its own materiality, simply put, as a communication that cannot be produced with other words” (Gadamer 1986 summarised by Kulcsár-Szabó 2005: 155).

⁸ It should be noted that the appearance of punctuation marks in Western European writing had an influence on Hungarian writing.

functions that contribute to the comprehension of written texts – with its own universe of discourse that characterises it – are unequivocal and recognisable for the reader as a recipient⁹. In texts at this stage of writing, adopting punctuation marks was triggered by the need to indicate functions of written texts as well as by the request to reflect on linguistic activity that is different from spoken linguistic activity¹⁰ (due to the characteristics illustrated in section 2).

Looking at the history of the development of punctuation marks, the degree to which the process whereby the meaning attached to written texts can be retrieved may be regarded as automatic, is an indication of how conventionalized it has become (cf. Gadamer 1965/1981: 367). The more unambiguous a punctuation mark is, the more its existence as a sign with an associated meaning is exhausted, and the more it is a *pure sign* (Gadamer 1965/1981: 374). Therefore, in the subsequent development of the written text and text read aloud a punctuation mark functions as unambiguously as possible as a reference point so that its being a sign should disappear as easily as possible in the process of understanding.

The changing use of punctuation marks can thus be related to the historic transformation that led from reading aloud to silent reading; in written and read texts the lack of punctuation marks or their ambiguousness hence would stand in the way of transmitting meaning (Gadamer 1986).

3.2. In the following I shall illustrate the use of punctuation marks – together with its effects on the interpretation of written texts – through a selected textual function, namely through the changing application of quotation marks, from a historical hermeneutical perspective. From the appearance of the first written texts in Hungarian until the middle of the 17th century, various signs were used to mark the quoting sentence and the embedded direct quotation. In manuscripts – if direct quotations were indicated by punctuation marks at all – combinations of a virgule and lower-case letters, a virgule and upper-case letters, a full stop and lower-case letters, a full stop and upper-case letters, a colon and lower-case letters, and a colon and upper-case letters appeared (Keszler 1995: 49–50). In printed texts several combinations – a full stop and upper-case letters, a virgule and upper-case letters, a comma and upper-case letters, a colon and upper-case letters, a virgule and lower-case letters, a comma and lower-case letters, a colon and lower-case letters, as well as a semicolon appeared (Keszler 1995: 63–64). The punctuation mark separating the quoting sentence from the direct quotation contributed to the understanding of the text in that it separated the parts denoting different viewpoints. The interpretation of passages of direct quotations was not hindered by various markings, because until the mid-19th century they were always embedded in an introductory and closing or interrupting sentence (cf. e.g. Károly 1995: 824–834; Dömötör 2002: 58–59; Gallasy 2003: 569–570, 692; also Csontos 2004: 244–248). That made the perspectivisation linguistically explicit (ref. Langacker 1987, 1991, Sanders–Spooren 1997; see also Tomasello 1999), that is to say that a given passage should be treated as a quote, and that the subject of consciousness (Sanders–Spooren 1997: 87; also Tolcsvai 2002: 243; Tátrai 2005: 220–226) was, for the length of the quote, embedded in the narrator and it was to him that active awareness was connected. Additionally, the entire direct quota-

⁹ Since written texts do not repeat a given linguistic act, rather it determines each repetition and linguistic action (Gadamer 1986).

¹⁰ In this sense punctuation marks, in the broad sense, may be considered to be indicators of metapragmatic awareness (Verschuereen 1999: 187–198; Tátrai 2006).

tion – with more extensive linguistic indicators for tense and mood in old Hungarian – completely shifted the referential centre from the actual speaker (see Sanders–Spooren 1997: 86, also Tolcsvai 2002: 243; Tátrai 2005: 216–220). This structure was conducive to the perceptive process in texts read aloud, since the quotation was distinguishable when the text was understood as the words were vocalised. Owing to the development of written texts – which may have to do with the advance of reading as a perceptive process –, from the mid-17th century, direct quotations were most commonly denoted by colons and upper-case letters (Fábián 1967: 234; Keszler 2004: 143; Csontos 2004: 244) in an attempt to make them unambiguously recognisable. Moreover, it was increasingly common to supplement this form of designation by setting direct quotations in italics in printed texts and underlin-ing them in manuscripts. For example:

- (1) a. az Apoftol így f3ól: *Es felkel 3lt3ozn33t33k amaz 3j ember, mely Isten f3zer3n ter3mtegett az igazf3agra, 3s a' valos3gos Sz: 3letre.* Eph. 4. 24. (Gy3ngy3si 1657: 85)
[the Apostle says: *And the new man shall [?], who was created by God for justice, and a true Holy life.*]
- (1) b. Ord3g tan3tsa ez: *Ha Istennek fia vagy, eref3kedgyel-le a' Templomr3l, 's meg 3riznek az Angyalok* (P3pai P3riz 1701: 1)
[This is the teaching of the Devil: *If you are the son of God, come down from the Temple and the Angels shall save you*]
- (1) c. S3lt. 51. v. 13. 14. *A' te Szent Lelkedet ne vedd-el 3n t3lem; az engedelemnek lelk3vel er3s3ts-meg engemet* (Bethlen 1726: 1)
[Psalms 51. v. 13. 14. *Do not take your Holy Soul away from me; strengthen me with the soul of obedience*]
- (1) d. az3rt mondgya a' Prof3ta: *Mint a' v3z a' t3zet; ugy meg-3ltya a' b3nt az alamifna* (Haller 1751: 109)
[therefore the Prophet says: *As water to fire; so does charity extinguish sin*]

The mode of designation illustrated in (1)a–d. was likely to have been created by the producer of the text or, in case of printed texts, the person contributing to the printing process, wanting to make the perspectivisation more readily recognisable for the reader by way of a visible sign – that had by now become characteristic of written texts. The use of only one mode of designation indicates the development in the comprehension strategy of written texts. At that time the quoting sentence was placed in front of the direct quotation, or it was simply omitted, and as we can see in the examples (1)a–d., the direct quotation appeared in italics. As can be seen in (1)c., the reference mark next to the quote made the location of the text, the intertextual process and perspectivisation explicit.

Conversations produced by several speakers could be indicated in this era in the same way as conversations involving a single speaker (Csontos 2006a). Both could be denoted by punctuation marks and lower- and upper-case letters, and, from the late-17th century on, italics were used as well. Either both the question and the reply were set in italics, or only one of these components of the dialogue.

- (2) a. Így f3ollittya azért meg feleségét: *Akarnád-é ha mind ez két gyermek miénk volna? Az Afzfzony így felel: Bizony akarnám Uram!* (Czeplédi 1659: 4)
 [Therefore he said to his wife: *Would you want both these children to be ours?*
 The Woman replied hus: *I surely would want it my Lord!*]
- (2) b. Kerdes. *Kerefztyén vagyé?* Felelet. *Kerejztyén vagyok* (Siderius 1690: 1)
 [Question. *Are you a Christian?* Answer. *I am a Christian*]

It was necessary to formally distinguish – as shown above – either the questions or the answers because rarely – mostly in catechisms – did the questions and answers within the same dialogue begin a new line. Here the italics were a property of written texts, facilitating the comprehension of the marked passages as dialogues.

In the mid-18th century,¹¹ the quotation mark appeared in Hungarian writing as well, when people began denoting direct quotations (for a history on the development of quotation marks see Csontos 2004). The appearance of this sign was the outcome of the development of written language and concurrently the advance of reading as a process of reception, since the punctuation mark – like the italics – in itself was able to denote perspectivisation in the reading process of the text, that is to denote that the reader had to interpret the given passage as a direct quotation – along with the related shift in perspective. Although the quoting sentence was still there at the beginning or at the end of the embedded utterance or set of utterances, its place in relation to the direct quotation could be varied, because the quotation was directly and easily recognisable by the quotation marks (cf. Csontos 2006b: 573).

A new change in the designation of direct quotations took place when, thanks to the development of written texts, a new type of text, in which the function of the quotation of one or more speakers changed, was developed and spread ever more widely. As the subject matters of narratives became secularised from the late 18th century on, the rigid framework of direct quotations loosened, which had an effect both on the function of the quotations in narrative texts and their designation. From the late 18th century, in novels the primary function of quotations in relation to their hitherto prevailing exemplary nature changed significantly. In such a situation the conversation of fictional characters was mere fiction, quoting them directly was in itself not exemplary; thus to indicate quotations by the italics or by the quotation marks was no longer significant. Such a change in the function of quotations, which contributed to the interpretation of the text, was noticeable in the use of punctuation marks in direct quotations, as the distinction of direct quotations by italics or quotation marks¹² was slowly overshadowed in this historical process (Csontos 2006a: 32–33).

The deliberate use, or rather avoidance, of punctuation marks as reference points denoting direct quotations in written texts became capable of expressing the content that – as can be seen in example (3) – the disuse of fictionality and direct referentialisation demanded (Anderegg 1983). The fictional perspectivisation connected with quotations – extraneous to the quoted sentences and replacing quotation marks – is revealed in the appearance of a new punctuation mark, the dash, which appeared in Hungarian writing at that time (see Csontos 2007). It can be seen in examples (3) and (4).

¹¹ I found the first quotation marks in this function in *A Szent Bibliának históriája* [The History of the Holy Bible] by Péter Bod, a Hungarian work printed in 1748.

¹² “Despite the multifariousness of ways of speech we seek to hold on to the indissoluble unity of thought and language” (Gadamer 1965/1981: 364).

- (3) S azt gondolod, hogy a kolostorban jobbá, boldogabbá válik az ember? – szóla az agg. – Oh ne hidd azt; sok bánat lakik e falak között, [...] Mi egy kétely annak, ki a világban él? övé a tavasz, s a virágzó természet, s száz öröm, s száz fájdalom, a karthausi csak kételyt birja; ez a világa, melyben él, melyért szenved, mely a valóság szörnyű köntösében elébe lépve, gyenge lelkét lesujtja. – jól sejdíté ezt sz. Brunó, e szerzet alkotója, midőn az istentagadó szenvedéseiről szólva, így beszélteti őt poklában: „oh adjatok még új kínokat [...] csak e borzasztó kintől szabadulhassak, melyet most szenvedek; csak Istenemet találjam fel ismét.” (Eötvös 1871: 22)
- [And you believe that in the monastery you will become better and happier? – said the old man. – Oh, do not believe that, much sadness lives between these walls, [...] What is a shadow of doubt to him who lives in the world? his is the spring, and blooming nature, and a hundred pleasures, and a hundred pains, the Carthusian has only doubt; this is the world in which he lives, for which he suffers, which, stepping before him in the terrible disguise of reality, strikes down his weak soul. – St. Bruno, creator of this friary, sensed it well when, speaking of the sufferings of the atheist, he has him speak thus in his hell: „oh, give me more agony [...] so that I can be free of this terrible agony, which I suffer from now; if only I could find my God again.”]

The subject of consciousness in the direct quotation in (3) and the complete relocation of the referential centre are identifiable in the quoting sentence following the embedded utterance and the use of the dash. The quotation from *Saint Bernard*, embedded into the words of the fictional speaker was, however, denoted by quotation marks, thus lending emphasis to the utterance that was intended to be exemplary. Thus, the reader of the text is able to understand the difference between the direct quotations via processing the meanings conveyed by the differing punctuation marks, which means that the different functions in the direct quotations in the text become accessible by means of processing the punctuation marks¹³.

At the time of the appearance of the novel, the various turns in the dialogue embedded in the text similarly came to be differentiated by dashes.

- (4) Nincs itthon Uram! azt mondja a' kapus. — Nincs itthon? — Nincs, Uram, kiment falura. ([Báróczy 1814] quoted by Keszler 2004: 144)
- [He is not at home, Sir! so says the doorkeeper. — Not at home? — No, Sir, he went into the village.]

This particular function of the dash, otherwise used for different functions (Csontos 2007), appears in example (4), where in the second and third turns – in the absence of a quoting sentence – only the dash renders it perspectivised. The use of the dash – a visible mark – thus directly contributes to the understanding and interpretation of the text.

4. Summary

This paper examined the contribution of punctuation marks to the understanding and interpretation of written texts. Given that the punctuation mark is a feature of the written text, it

¹³ The *manipulation* of punctuation marks (see Flusser 1987) is dominant in this case.

was also necessary to trace the development of writing, its relationship to speech, and the developmental process of written texts. In relation to the latter, it can be surmised that the dominance and the function of punctuation marks in written texts depends on how the reader interprets a written text. Silent reading as an interpretative process – compared to reading aloud – may influence written texts and with it the history and the development of the use of punctuation marks, as well as the degree and quality of the contribution of punctuation marks to the production of meaning. The perspectival nature of punctuation marks was illustrated by an account of the development of their functions and by an explanation of the ways in which direct quotations were noted in selected texts in Hungarian.

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**DISTINCTIVE ADDITIONS IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY
HUNGARIAN SETTLEMENT NAMES.
A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC APPROACH**

ANDREA BÖLCSKEI

Abstract

This paper attempts to provide a cognitive linguistic interpretation of place names, focusing primarily on the process of differentiating identical settlement names by way of attaching distinctive additions to them. The author presents the possible sources of identical settlement names in the Hungarian language, describes name differentiation as a means of re-establishing the identifying potential of malfunctioning polysemous habitation names and proposes a possible semantic categorisation of distinctive additions used in Hungarian settlement names in natural (i.e. non-official) naming practices using early 19th century data.

1. Introduction

The main aim of the study is to present and account for the semantic diversity of distinctive additions used in early 19th century Hungarian settlement names. Relevant data were collected from the place name register compiled by the cartographer János Lipszky (1808) at the beginning of the 19th century. In the investigation, basic principles of cognitive linguistics (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008) as well as compatible elements of the functional-semantic component of István Hoffmann (2007)'s model of place name analysis are adopted as the theoretical background of the study. Elaborating a possible semantic categorisation of distinctive additions used in Hungarian habitation names at the end of the period of natural (i.e. non-official) naming practices provides us with a deeper understanding of the operation of such complex intertwining mental processes as identifying a place in cognition and expressing identification in language. Speakers' conceptualisation of entities like settlements may also be estimated.

2. Settlement names discussed in this study

At the beginning of the 19th century Hungary displayed a variety of rural scenes: in different regions of the country stood rural settlements of different types. In the western and southern counties of Transdanubia, in Northern Hungary, in Transylvania and in Croatia the mountainous and hilly landscape was scattered mostly by small villages of less than 1000 inhabitants. The flat, marshy land of the Great Hungarian Plain was covered with a sparse network of densely populated, but provincial market towns surrounded by vast fields used primarily for breeding beef cattle. The Little Hungarian Plain and the north-eastern part of Transdanubia were packed with thriving medium-sized villages of 1000–5000 inhabitants, whose peasant population was engaged in rearing animals, farming and craftsmanship. Small towns in Northern Hungary, the descendants of medieval royal free boroughs were losing their once existing important roles in mining, commerce and communication and consequently, they

were declining. Temporarily wealthy provincial towns in Transdanubia and at the foot of the Northern Mountain Range gaining their fortunes from wine monoculture were exposed to destruction caused by plant pests.

At that time urbanization did not even start in Hungary: there were only a few dozens of settlements which could have been identified as true towns on the basis of their economic, cultural and administrative functions in the area they were situated as well as on the basis of the number of their inhabitants. The rustic, agrarian character of the country was reinforced by contemporary economic policy: the Habsburg sovereigns considered Hungary as the granary of their empire providing the monarchy with crops and importing industrial products from Austria. It was not until the middle of the century that capitalist industrialization, railway constructions, and thus urbanization as well as the emergence of the middle classes began to appear. The early 19th century names examined in the present paper thus denoted mostly villages and small provincial towns.

3. Differentiation of identical settlement names

Langacker (2008) points out that in contrast with the traditional view, proper names are not meaningless units of language being able to refer to certain entities of the world. In fact, the meaning of a proper name, just as the meaning of any linguistic expression, is the result of the mental construal, abstraction and categorization of the human experience on the designated entity. Proper names thus are also able to activate speakers' „conventional array of encyclopedic knowledge” about the denotatum. According to the functional cognitive view the true peculiarity of proper names is in the nature of their meanings. „As one component of its meaning (one domain in its matrix), a proper name incorporates a cognitive model pertaining to how the form is used in the relevant social group. According to this idealized model, each member of the group has a distinct name, with the consequence that the name itself is sufficient to identify it” (Langacker 2008: 316–318).

This means that by the act of naming, speakers produce a linguistic sign that unambiguously identifies an entity of the real (sometimes imaginary, or a possible) world. The invented name should be unique enough to help to distinguish – at least at a given time, in a given space and in a given context – the designated entity from all the other entities (especially from those of the same type) having a name (Hajdú 2003: 49–58). However, at the same time the new name should also bear strong resemblance to the other names already used in the language: it must be adjusted to the existing name patterns of the given language (Hoffmann 2007: 29–30). In the course of the act of naming, speakers try to reconcile these two contradicting requirements in a single name form. Thus, naming is a creative, active problem-solving activity, a cognitive act depending on how speakers conceptualise the entity to be named (for the concepts see Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008; for onomastic relations of the concepts see also Slíz 2008).

Naming settlements also follows the above principles. Habitation names of a language can give us a vivid insight into speakers' understanding of the concept of SETTLEMENT. Taking Hungarian settlement names as examples: the meaning of the noun *település* (symbolising the concept SETTLEMENT in Hungarian) seems to be the complex matrix of such cognitive domains as TYPE (e.g. *Falucska*, diminutive form of the common noun *falu* ‘village’), SIZE (e.g. *Nagyfalu* ‘great village’), SHAPE (e.g. *Hosszúfalu* ‘long village’), AGE (e.g. *Újváros* ‘new town’), SOIL (e.g. *Vörösmart* ‘red bank’), features of the GROUND (e.g. *Hegyeshalom* ‘peaked hillock’), FLORA (e.g. *Nádasd* ‘reedy /place/’), FAUNA (e.g. *Füred* ‘quaily /place/’), RELATIVE OF PRECISE

POSITION (e.g. *Felfalu* ‘high village’; *Tiszatelek* ‘allotment next to the river Tisza’), characteristic BUILDING (e.g. *Kerekegyház* ‘round church’), INHABITANTS (e.g. *Tótfalu* ‘village inhabited by Slovenians’), PROPRIETOR (e.g. *Kaplony* <Hungarian personal name>), PATRON SAINT of the church (e.g. *Szentiván* ‘St. John the Baptist’),¹ etc. (cf. functional-semantic component of place name analysis, Hoffmann 2007: 53–66).

Naming places, at least in natural (i.e. non-official) naming practices, is always a semantically conscious act: speakers tend to invent descriptive names to indicate places aptly (Hoffmann 2007: 174). When naming a habitation, the most prominent feature(s) of the settlement is/are profiled to serve as motivation for the habitation name, whilst less prominent features of the same settlement as well as prominent features of the surrounding settlements are left in the background. In other words, as the examples above suggest, when naming a settlement on the basis of the most salient, thus most identifying feature(s) of it, i.e. on the basis of a feature or features which differentiate(s) the actual place from all the other habitations of the area, one or some relevant cognitive domains are activated overshadowing others connected to less striking features of the settlement. In fact, the course of naming activates as many cognitive domains as there are unique features to be included in the name form to provide the speakers with a clear identification of the settlement. The linguistic reflections of the activated domain(s) comprise the habitation name itself.

Obviously, activating the same domain can produce different name forms in the language. For example, in the Hungarian language the idea that ‘a settlement is inhabited by people of Croatian nationality’ was expressed as *Horvát* ‘Croatian’, *Horváti* ‘Croatian’s’, *Horvátfalv* ‘village inhabited by Croatian people’, or secondarily as *Horváthertelend* ‘the settlement called *Hertelend* which is inhabited by Croatian people, as opposed to the neighbouring *Magyarhertelend*, inhabited by Hungarian(s)’,² depending on linguistic patterns fashionable in place name formation in the era in which these names were created (cf. historical place name typology worked out by István Kniezsa and Géza Bárczi; cf. Bárczi 1958: 142–162). In the same way, the same linguistic form in different settlement names of the language can reflect different cognitive domains. To take an example, the lexeme *almás*, a derivation of *alma* ‘apple’ with the adjectival suffix *-s* in Hungarian habitation names can reflect FLORA (e.g. *Almás* ‘a place overgrown with /crab/ apple trees’) as well as POSITION (e.g. *Almáskeresztúr* ‘the settlement called *Keresztúr* which is situated next to the brook *Almás*’).³ The most typical cognitive domains connected to the concept of SETTLEMENT – as they are primarily based on general human cognition – are in all probability found universally in habitation names of different languages, whilst the linguistic forms in which these domains are represented in the place names are strongly language dependent. Both the typical cogni-

¹ In the article name forms are given according to present-day orthography. The first appearances of the historical settlement names listed here in original spellings are 1546: *Falwchka* (FNESz 1: 62, see entry *Ajfalucska*), 1420: *Nagfalw* (FNESz 2: 184), 1518: *Hozzufalw* (FNESz 2: 718, see entry *Vághosszifalu*), 1808: *Újváros* (FNESz 2: 703), +1246/400: *Verusmorth* (FNESz 2: 779), 1197/1337: *Hegesholm* (FNESz 1: 578), 1233: *Nadast* (FNESz 2: 169), 1211: *Fured* (FNESz 1: 150, see entry *Balatonfüred*), 1454: *Felfalw* (FNESz 2: 537, see entry *Szécsényfelfalu*), 1954: *Tiszatelek* (FNESz 2: 655), 1359: *Kerekeghaz* (FNESz 1: 717, see entry *Kerekegyháza*), 1328/1403: *Thothfalv* (FNESz 1: 759), 1300/1360: *Koplan* (FNESz 1: 682), 1358: *Zenth Iwan* (FNESz 2: 559).

² First appearances of the illustrative examples: 1213/1550: *Huruat* (FNESz 1: 805, see entry *Krasznahorvát*), 1320–9: *Horwathy* (FNESz 1: 424, see entry *Erdőhorváti*), 1548: *Horvat falu[ban]* (FNESz 1: 609), 1882: *Horvát-Hertelend* (FNESz 1: 609).

³ First appearances: 1329: *Almas* (FNESz 2: 391, see entry *Rácalmás*), 1902: *Almáskeresztúr* (FNESz 1: 71).

tive domains and the characteristic linguistic forms are subject to changes in the course of the history of a language, though the rate of change is much slower in the case of cognitive domains (cf. Hoffmann 2007: 40–42).

In principle, not a single cognitive domain or any language structure can be excluded from place name formation. Nevertheless, as the examples above suggest, however various the domains typically represented in settlement names of a period are, they are not unlimited in number: the nature of the entity (i.e. the settlement) bearing the name requires these domains to have reference to certain geographical, historical or social feature(s) of the habitations. In the same way, the morphological and lexical items as well as the syntactic processes used most frequently in name formation at a time are restricted to a number of elements selected from the general lexicon and grammatical rules of the language. The settlement names of a particular period thus reflect only certain cognitive domains in some language forms establishing the set of prototypical habitation names of the language. Categorisation of this set recognised and acquired by speakers to form a central part of their onomastic competence determines nascent settlement names (cf. model effect by way of analogy, Hoffmann 2007: 29–30, 174–175). As a result, in Hungary during the period of natural or popular naming (i.e. before 1898, the year in which naming settlements was placed under government control) in different parts of the country distinct groups of speakers bound by the same naming practices of their shared native language could easily invent identical name forms to indicate different settlements with the same or very similar characteristic features. The two acts of naming – though they were performed independently from each other in both space and usually time by different speech communities – involved common sources of motivation as well as common naming principles. Such a situation could be observed in the case of the two *Szekcsős* (Baranya),⁴ situated about 60 kms from each other: the southern settlement was first mentioned in 1150/13–14th c., the northern village first appeared in a document written in 1475, both in the form of *Szekcső*,⁵ a name created from an old, now disused hydrographic common noun meaning ‘torrent’ as well as ‘ford’ (FNESz 1: 398, 684).

Another possible source of identical settlement names in the Hungarian language was duplication of habitation names. This phenomenon was a concomitant symptom of multiplication of settlements, a characteristic way of establishing new settlements in medieval Hungary. A formerly integral, undivided village could be multiplied either as a result of overpopulation: the fields of a settlement could support only a limited number of inhabitants, and with the increase in population people above that limit had to move further to establish a new settlement with new fields to cultivate; or as a result of disintegration of a nobleman’s estate: properties, including settlements possessed by a nobleman were divided among the inheritors after his death (Szabó 1966: 119–138). In these cases, the newly established habitations very often received the name of the old settlements. In this situation the act of naming the new settlement involved transferring the name of an already existing settlement to identify a new habitation which was somehow related to the one whose name

⁴ The illustrative settlement names in the main text of the paper are presented in the following way: the settlement name is given in italics, after the settlement name in parenthesis the county or the administrative district to which the habitation officially belonged in 1808 is indicated to help the identification of the indicated settlement (as at that time identical names, whether differentiated or not, were not infrequent, especially in different counties of the country). If the context requires, an English paraphrase of the literal meaning of the Hungarian name is also provided in inverted commas.

⁵ First appearances: c. 1150/13–14th c.: *Secuseu*, 1475: *Zekchw* (FNESz 1: 398, 684).

was transferred. Therefore, the identical settlement names, just as the denotata themselves, were genetically interrelated.

Duplication of settlement names could be triggered by the fact that both villages – the one already having a name and the other yet to be named – were in the vicinity of each other. The act of transferring the name of a geographical object to another neighbouring geographic entity in this situation is a clear manifestation of spatial metonymy. This happened in the case of *Petény* (Nógrád), first mentioned in 1274 as *Petény*,⁶ a place name originating from a personal name, when a group of the settlement's inhabitants left the village and established a new, neighbouring habitation with the same name (FNESz 1: 87, 461). Duplication of habitation names, however, could also be induced by another factor: at the time of its foundation the new village – at least in the mind of those who named it – might have borne some resemblance to the settlement whose name was to be transferred to it in the act of naming. In this case repeating an already functioning habitation name to identify yet another settlement is the result of metaphoric extension. As a complex example let us quote the case of *Velence* (Fejér),⁷ bearing a name identical to the Hungarian equivalent of the name of *Venice* in Italy: in fact, there is a slight similarity in the position of the two places (metaphoric relation); besides, the first inhabitants of the Hungarian settlement presumably were Venetians (metonymic relation; FNESz 2: 749). In general, genetically identical habitation names indicated settlements within a shorter distance (thus in a predominantly metonymic relation) more frequently than distant settlements (thus in a predominantly metaphoric relation).

Therefore, in the Hungarian language the development of identical settlement names in the period of natural or popular naming was basically the result of two different processes: either the same, or very similar geographical, historical or social features of distinct settlements were expressed in exactly the same name forms by different speech (or rather naming) communities influenced by the prototypical habitation names of the language; or a linguistic sign used as a habitation name to identify a given settlement in a speech community was given a new toponymic „meaning” (in fact, a new denotation) by being transferred to a new, different, but somehow related settlement. Both processes produced essentially polysemous settlement name forms.

The use of identical names for different settlements, whatever their origins are, could easily lead to misunderstandings in communication, mislocalizations in orientation. People in Hungary tried to avoid this disturbing inefficiency in language use either by changing the name of one of the settlements (especially between 1898 and 1912 in official place naming processes, when the main aim of the established National Settlement Registering Board was to create a place name system in Hungary in which one settlement bears only one name and one name designates only one settlement in the country in accordance with the requirements of Act 4, 1898; for details see Mező 1982: 45–46, 218–240), or by attaching distinctive additions to the identical name forms. To quote the above two examples again: to be able to identify the two settlements called *Szekcső* in Baranya county, speakers differentiated the identical names by distinctive additions referring to names of nearby rivers and in the early 19th century the settlements were generally known as *Dunaszekcső* and *Kaposszekcső*⁸ (the distinctive additions are *Duna-* = ‘Danube’ and *Kapos-* = ‘right-side

⁶ First appearance: 1274: *Pethen* (FNESz 1: 87, 461).

⁷ First written data: after 1486/1568: *Venetia*, 1516: *Welence* (FNESz 2: 749).

⁸ First appearances: 1808: *Szekcső (Duna-)*; 1808: *Kapos-Szekcső* (FNESz 1: 398, 684).

affluent of the canalized river Sió', cf. 4.3.1.1; FNESz 1: 398, 684). For the two neighbouring *Peténys* in Nógrád county speakers invented name forms with distinctive additions indicating the relative position of the villages, so by the 15th century the habitations became known as *Alsópetény* and *Felsőpetény*⁹ (the distinctive additions are *Alsó-* = 'low', 'nether' and *Felső-* = 'high', 'over', cf. 4.3.2; FNESz 1: 87, 461).

The process of differentiating identical settlement names by adding distinguishing elements of diverse types to them was practised since the earliest times, as it is clearly shown in historical documents. Charters from the Arpadian Era (895–1301) display hundreds of its instances. This unique technique was used on a large scale in the following centuries, i.e. during the period of natural naming practices to reach its most extended phase in the 19th century. The large scale adoption of this developed technique is illustrated in one of the most complete place name registers of the century compiled by János Lipszky (1808), which constitutes the primary source of the present study.

The basic linguistic features of the process of differentiating identical settlement names with distinctive elements are discussed in the literature either from a theoretical perspective (e.g. Stewart 1975: 23; J. Soltész 1979: 82–88; Clark 1992: 591) or from a practical point of view (e.g. Cameron 1969: 100–109; Matthews 1975: 112–117; Stewart 1975: 345; Kálmán 1978: 96, 121–122). The unmodified, identical place names are usually known as „generics”, „primary names” or „basic names” (e.g. Stewart 1975: 20–25);¹⁰ whilst the differentiating elements are called „distinctive additions” (e.g. Ekwall 1960: Introduction ix), „distinguishing/distinctive affixes” (e.g. Cameron 1969: 100–109; Clark 1992: 591), „local surnames”, „additional/secondary names” (e.g. Matthews 1975: 112–117), „modifiers” (e.g. Zinkin 1986: 71; Crystal 1997: 140–155), „attributes” (e.g. Reany 1960: 203–206), „secondary specifiers” or „distinguishing specifics” (e.g. Stewart 1975: 23, 345).¹¹ A possible definition as well as a possible typology of place name differentiation in the Hungarian language was proposed by Géza Inczeffi (Inczeffi 1965, 1970: 22–24, 65–69). In most cases describing distinctive additions is a complementary aspect of consideration in works of place name analysis. The semantic categories of Hungarian distinctive additions were examined in relation to a period (e.g. Szabó 1966: 119–126; Mező 1982: 218–240; RácZ 1997; Bölcskei 1997, 1999); a name type (e.g. Juhász 1988: 28–29; Mező 1996: 24, 238–249); a geographical or administrative unit (e.g. Juhász 1981: 261–263; Ördög 1981: 18; Barabás 1984: 18–19; Várkonyi 1984: 6, 61–62; Körmendi 1986: 8, 59; Kiss 1992: 92–93). Some of the semantic categories were also discussed in detail (e.g. Pesti 1969; Györffy 1972: 292; Pelle 1989; Szabó 1998: 118–128, 135–146).

Adapting the model for the linguistic analysis of toponyms elaborated by István Hoffmann (2007),¹² the differentiation of settlement names by way of distinctive additions can be described in the following way: when the namers attach a distinctive addition referring to a

⁹First appearances: 1440: *Alsopethyen*, 1405/1477: *ad Pethyen (superi)orem*, 1595: *Felsőpetény* (FNESz 1: 87, 461).

¹⁰ See also the Hungarian terms “alapnév” ‘basic name’, “alaptag” ‘basic component’, “alapelem” ‘basic element’, “alaprésZ” ‘basic constituent’ (Inczeffi 1970: 67; Mező 1982: 161, 1996: 238; Hoffmann 2007: 63).

¹¹ See also the Hungarian terms “megkülönböztető jelző/előtag/elem” ‘distinguishing attribute/component/element’, “differenciáló jelző/előtag/elem” ‘differentiating attribute/component/element’, “identifikáló jelző” ‘identifying attribute’, “bővítményrésZ” ‘complement constituent’ (Szabó 1966: 125; Inczeffi 1970: 68; Mező 1982: 104, 218, 1996: 24, 240; Hoffmann 2007: 63).

¹² In this model of place name analysis, the descriptive and the historical examination of toponyms form two different but interrelating levels of enquiry. In the descriptive, structural analysis, names are examined

very unique characteristic of the settlement to the original name form used previously as a habitation name on its own, they create a settlement name of two name constituents, in which the basic constituent (i.e. the original name) denotes the settlement itself and the distinguishing complement constituent (i.e. the distinctive addition) reflects a characteristic feature of the settlement. This means that the functional-semantic structure of a settlement name such as *Garamdamásd*, for example, can be described as follows: ‘the settlement called *Damásd* (1, a basic constituent denoting the settlement itself) which can be found on the bank of the river *Garam* (2, a distinguishing complement constituent expressing a unique feature of the settlement)’.

In some cases the distinctive addition is given to an etymologically transparent habitation name of two constituents – e.g. *Újfalu*: ‘a village (1, a basic constituent denoting the type of settlement) which was established later than the neighbouring settlements (2, a non-distinguishing complement constituent expressing a unique feature of the settlement)’¹³ –, the functional-semantic structure of the differentiated name still reflects that of the first example, e.g. *Garamújfalu*: ‘the settlement called *Újfalu* (1, a basic constituent denoting the settlement itself) which can be found on the bank of the river *Garam* (2, a distinguishing complement constituent expressing a unique feature of the settlement)’, as in the process of differentiation the internal structure of the primary name is irrelevant.

Differentiated settlement names such as *Garamalsóveszele* and *Garamfelsőveszele* might seem to have three name constituents at first sight: ‘the southern (*alsó*)/northern (*felső*) part (1) of the settlement called *Veszele* (2) on the bank of the river *Garam* (3)’; though, as the distinguishing complement constituents are inserted into the basic constituent *Garamveszele* – which incidentally is an already differentiated name form: ‘the settlement called *Veszele* (1, a basic constituent denoting the settlement itself) which can be found on the bank of the river *Garam* (2, a distinguishing complement constituent expressing a unique feature of the settlement)’ – they should preferably be considered as names of two constituents: ‘the southern (*alsó*)/northern (*felső*) part (1, a distinguishing complement constituent expressing a unique feature of the settlement) of the settlement called *Garamveszele* (2, a basic constituent denoting the settlement itself)’.

Regarding the lexical-morphological composition of differentiated settlement names it must be concluded that only real, true habitation names can act as basic constituents, whilst the role of a complement constituent can be fulfilled by several word classes (common nouns, place names, personal names, adjectives and numerals). As far as the syntactic relationship between the name constituents is concerned, it can be observed that most of the differentiated settlement names are adjectival structures and few of them are coordinate constructions. Examining the formation of the differentiated settlement names makes it clear that the names

from a functional-semantic, lexical-morphological or syntactic point of view. Functional-semantic analysis deals with elements of the name, labelled as ‘name constituents’ (i.e. units of the toponym “which – in the situation of name formation – express any semantic feature that is connected with the signalled denotatum”) in their relationship to the denotative meaning of a place name. Lexical-morphological analysis enumerates the lexical and morphological means by which the functional-semantic categories are realised in the name. Place names formed by two constituents are subject to syntactic analysis, which focuses on the grammatical relation between the name constituents. Historical analysis may help to discover the possible ways of place name formation (Hoffmann 2007, quotation from p. 176).

¹³ At the same time this example illustrates the fact that not all habitation names of two constituents are differentiated settlement name forms: if neither of the constituents functioned as the name of a settlement on its own in the past, the habitation name should be considered as a non-differentiated compound (cf. English *Newby*, equivalent to Hungarian *Újfalu*; Ekwall 1960: 79, 339).

with distinctive additions were created in a process called syntactic construction, mostly from attributive phrases, less frequently from coordinate structures. Coordinate settlement names were usually born as a result of administrative, official amalgamation of settlements (e.g. in 1872 *Buda*, *Óbuda* and *Pest* were joined to form *Budapest*; FNESz 1: 261): the exceptional functional-semantic structure of these names (all name constituents denote settlements), however, soon became reinterpreted (the first name constituent acted as if it were expressing a unique feature of the settlement) and as a consequence, most of these names are now conceived as attributive structures (Hoffmann 2007: 84). Valéria Tóth (2005: 138–139) defines name differentiation as a type of settlement name change that partially affects both the forms and the meanings of the names, and separates it from name integration resulting in coordinative name forms.

Differentiated forms of the same basic constituent set up a correlation when the designated settlements are close enough to each other to be known and named by the same speech community. (What is considered „close enough” varies depending on given periods of time. If we consider the period when natural naming practices took place, settlements in the same or in neighbouring counties can be considered „close enough” to one another.) Correlations definitely assist speakers’ spatial orientation by reinforcing the proper identification of settlements (for the typology and historical changes of Hungarian settlement name correlations see Bölcskei 2005, 2006).

4. Semantic categories of distinctive additions

After collecting data from János Lipszky (1808)’s place name register and combining the propositions of the functional-semantic component of the model for place name analysis put forward by István Hoffmann (Hoffmann 2007) and the results of András Mező (1982: 218–240)’s examination of official settlement name differentiations with some of the basic findings of cognitive linguistics, one may attempt to detect the cognitive domains which contributed to the identification of settlements in popular naming by elaborating a possible semantic categorisation of Hungarian distinctive additions used in the early 19th century, at the end of the period of natural naming practices in Hungary.

When categorising distinctive additions, one faces three basic problems. First, formally identical distinguishing elements could in different name forms reflect different cognitive domains. The addition *Aranyos-* (an adjectival derivative of the noun *arany* ‘gold’) in the names *Aranyosgyéres* and *Aranyoslónya* (both in Torda) refers to the domain of RIVER as the settlements are situated next to a river so called, whilst in the cases of *Aranyosmarót* (Bars) and *Aranyosmóric* (Doboka) the same element reflects the domain of MINE, MINING by preserving the memory of panning for gold in the past. In the same way, *Tarna-* (a borrowed hydronym from a Slavic language in Hungarian) in *Tarnaméra* and in *Tarnaörs* (both in Heves) reflects the domain of RIVER as both settlements are found on the bank of the brook *Tarna*, in *Tarnaszentmiklós* (Heves), however, it manifests the domain of ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT by naming the district to which the settlement used to belong (N.B. the name of the former district interrelates with the hydronym).

Secondly, in some cases attaching a distinctive addition to a name form could be induced by more than one, simultaneously activated, cognitive domain. The element *Mező-* (‘field’, ‘meadow’) in the names *Mezőkeresztes* (Borsod), *Mezőkomárom* (Veszprém) and *Mezőkövesd* (Borsod) can reflect the domains of FLORA as well as TRADE by referring both to the surrounding meadowy sceneries and to the fact that the settlements used to be market-

places (cf. Hungarian *mezőváros* ‘market town’). *Gyöngyös-* (an adjectival derivative of the noun *gyöngy* 1. ‘mistletoe’, 2. ‘pearl’) in *Gyöngyöshalász*, *Gyöngyösoroszi*, *Gyöngyöspüspöki* and *Gyöngyöstarján* (all in Heves) can reflect the domains of RIVER and NEIGHBOURING SETTLEMENT by indicating a nearby stream as well as an important town (named after the river) in the vicinity.

Thirdly, sometimes our sources do not give enough information for us to decide which domain is reflected in the distinctive addition, the exact semantic reference conveyed by the distinguishing element is obscure, e.g. *Juszkó-* and *Kosztolna-*, the first constituents of the names *Juszkóvólya* (Zemplén) and *Kosztolnamittic* (Trencsén). Thus, the present categorisation is primarily based on the most plausible motivation of each distinctive addition, so at best it can be considered as a tentative attempt at factual classification.

Langacker (1991: 58–60, 2008: 316–318) emphasises that names, as an aspect of their meanings, evoke the cultural practice of giving supposedly unique names to entities; as a result of its uniqueness, an ideal proper name can function as a means of identification on its own. In some cases, however, the expression used as a proper name happens to indicate more than one entity in the speech community: by losing its special identifying function, the expression also loses its status as a proper name in the language and becomes a common noun. In a situation like this, speakers are forced to attach a descriptive term to the expression to ground it to the entity it identifies. If the expression incorporates this descriptive term as its integral part, its identifying potential becomes re-established and the expression regains its status as a full proper name in the language.

Practically, this is what happens when speakers differentiate place names by way of attaching distinctive additions to them in an attempt to eliminate malfunctioning identical settlement names from the language. Identical settlement names alone cannot meet the criteria for proper names as they are not unique enough to unambiguously identify different settlements. The identification of settlements with the same name as a cognitive act is manifested in the process of settlement name differentiation in the language. In the course of identification a highly characteristic feature of the settlement, – which differentiates it from other villages bearing the same name during a period of time – activates a relevant domain in cognition, which is reflected linguistically in the form of a distinguishing element added to the old name. When differentiating a settlement name by way of attaching a distinctive addition to it, a very unique, salient feature of the settlement is profiled in the distinguishing name constituent with other features of the same settlement as well as striking features of the surrounding settlements, especially of the one(s) bearing the same name in the background. Settlement name differentiation as a linguistic process, whether appearing immediately or long after primary name constructions, thus bears a close affinity with the mechanism of habitation name formation in general (see the above).

As we saw above, the concept of SETTLEMENT consists of several components. A settlement is a place covered with buildings and surrounded by partly natural, partly man-made environment somewhere on the surface of the earth where a group of people live, and sometimes also work together for a while. Thus some components of the concept under discussion must have a reference to the built-up area expressing the properties of the settlement itself: e.g. the size, the age, the shape, the state, the type of the habitation. Other components of the concept display the additional features of the settlement referring to the surroundings, the buildings, the inhabitants, the economy, the history of the habitation. A third group of the components indicates the geographic position of the settlement in some way. Each constituent of settlement names, as illustrated above, reflects one of these components.

Distinctive additions as distinguishing constituents, thus, can also refer to (i) a central feature (i.e. a property of the settlement itself); (ii) a peripheral feature (i.e. an additional attribute of the settlement); or (iii) a positional feature (i.e. the geographic position) of the settlement.¹⁴ Distinctive additions highlighting a characteristic central or peripheral feature of the settlement describe habitations, while distinguishing constituents foregrounding a positional feature of the settlement localise habitations to achieve identification. In some special cases (iv) describing and localising distinctive additions are used parallel with each other to help the identification of a single settlement. As it is presented below, each of the above blanket categories comprises several sub-categories (cf. Hoffmann 2007: 53–66).

4.1. Distinctive additions reflecting CENTRAL FEATURE identify the habitation by indicating a prominent characteristic of the settlement itself. Central characteristics highlighted in the distinguishing elements display the size, the age, the shape or the state of the settlement.

4.1.1. Distinctive additions representing SIZE are fairly popular differentiating elements in the period. In the observed data two distinguishing constituents are used to indicate the size of the habitation: *Kis-* ‘little’ and *Nagy-* ‘great’, usually in correlation with each other, e.g. *Kisbize* : *Nagybize* (Somogy), *Kisdenk* : *Nagydenk* (Hunyad), *Kispeszek* : *Nagypeszek* (Hont).

Size is presumably one of the most easily spotted characteristics of a settlement. The size of the settlement, however, is strongly determined by the number of its population; the latter being even more easily perceptible to the namers. *Kis-* ‘little’ and *Nagy-* ‘great’ as distinctive additions reflect the number of the inhabitants much to the same degree as the actual size of the settlements. This fact is rooted in the way in which these differentiated name forms were predominantly developed. As we saw above, duplication of settlements in the Middle Ages could result in duplication of settlement names: the inhabitants who migrated from a village very often transferred the name of their old habitation to their new settlement adding, for instance, the adjective *Kis-* ‘little’ to the original name form as a distinctive addition. In most of these cases the name of the old village soon became supplemented with *Nagy-* ‘great’ to form a correlation. The same process can be observed in the following example: 1233/1416: *Igmánd*, 1440–6 *Kisigmánd*, 1741: *Nagyigmánd* (Komárom; FNESz 1: 745, 2: 189).¹⁵ The new settlement established by few migrants had a low number of inhabitants at its birth, so it was much smaller in size than the old village. A direct consequence of this name formation is that the opposing name forms of this sort usually indicate settlements in vicinity. *Kis-* ‘little’ as a distinctive addition, however, sometimes has reference rather to the absolute number of the population emphasising the fact that the designated settlement is a small one; as a result, in these cases there are no opposing name forms containing *Nagy-* ‘great’, e.g. *Kisbarnót* (Arad), *Kiskupány* (Ugozca), *Kistikos* (Somogy; Mezö 1982: 223–224).

¹⁴ István Hoffmann (2007: 176) in the functional-semantic component of his place name analysis presents name constituents whose function is to express a feature of the place in essentially the same categories, but labels the categories in a different way: he speaks about name constituents referring to (i) „the attribute of the place”; (ii) „the relationship of the place with something not inherent in it”; (iii) „the relationship of the place with another place”.

¹⁵ Contemporaneous spellings: 1233/1416: *Huigman*, 1440–6: *Kyswygman*, 1741: *Nagy Igmánd[on]* (FNESz 1: 745, 2: 189).

Identical settlement names are sometimes partially differentiated with distinctive additions reflecting SIZE, the opposing name forms contain distinctive additions of a different type, e.g. *Kisnémedi* : *Alsónémedi* (Pest; *Alsó-* ‘low’, ‘nether’, representing RELATIVE POSITION, cf. 4.3.2.), *Nagyvázsony* : *Tótvázsony* (Veszprém; *Tót-* = old Hungarian name of more Slavic nationalities, representing inhabitants’ NATIONALITY, cf. 4.2.4.1.). The adjectives *Kis-* ‘little’ and *Nagy-* ‘great’ are also used as secondary distinctive additions, e.g. *Ipolykiskér* : *Ipolynagykér* (Nógrád), here inserted into a name form primarily differentiated with a distinctive addition reflecting RIVER (cf. 4.4.1.).

4.1.2. Distinguishing constituents reflecting AGE in the settlement names of the period are *Ó-* ‘old’, *Új-* ‘new’ and exceptionally *Öreg-* ‘old’, a commonly used synonym of bound *Ó-* ‘old’. The addition *Öreg-* ‘old’ usually appears in name forms as an alternative distinctive addition, e.g. *Kis-* ‘little’ or *Öreganya* (Komárom), *Nagy-* ‘great’ or *Öreglak* (Somogy; cf. 4.1.1.).

The correlative adjectives *Ó-* ‘old’ and *Új-* ‘new’ are usually attached to otherwise identical names born in the process of duplication of settlements, e.g. *Óbarok* : *Újbarok* (Fejér), *Óléc* : *Újléc* (Torontál), *Ótohány* : *Újtohány* (Brassó). In many cases the process of duplication follows this pattern: the recently populated part of the settlement is identified with the adjective *Új-* ‘new’ added to the primary, original name of the settlement to contrast with the old centre, some time later this newly established, developing part becomes an independent settlement and separates from the old, central part of the village, which takes *Ó-* ‘old’ as a distinguishing constituent in its name. Sometimes the opposition of the name forms had not yet been established fully by the observed period: e.g. *Radna* : *Újradna* (Beszterce). Because of their origins, names differentiated with distinctive additions referring to age usually identify neighbouring settlements, too. In special cases, in contrast with the distinctive addition reflecting AGE, the primary name takes a distinguishing element manifesting POSITIONAL FEATURE to form an opposition, e.g. *Újribnice* : *Felsőribnice* (Ung), *Újsinka* : *Alsósinka* (Fogarás; cf. 4.3.2.).

4.1.3. SHAPE as an identifying central feature of the settlement is typically represented in the distinctive addition *Hosszú-* ‘long’ in the period, e.g. *Hosszúhetény* (Baranya), *Hosszúmacskás* (Doboka), *Hosszúpereszteg* (Vas). Other distinguishing constituents indicating shape (e.g. *Kerek-* ‘round’, *Széles-* ‘broad’) are found only in few names, e.g. *Kerekgede* (Gömör), *Széleslonka* (Máramaros).

4.1.4. In the observed period there is only a single distinctive addition which demonstrates STATE. To indicate the dilapidated state of settlements devastated in the period of the Turkish occupation of Hungary (1541–1686) namers often included the distinctive addition *Pusztá-* ‘desolate’ into relevant habitation names, which usually survived even if the settlement was later repopulated and restored, e.g. *Pusztacsó* (Vas), *Pusztalócsa* (Komárom), *Pusztatereszténye* (Gömör).

Villages bearing names differentiated with distinctive additions reflecting SHAPE OR STATE were usually not born as a result of settlement duplication: they typically developed independently from the settlements of the same primary name, so there was no reason to contrast them with others. Evolving no semantically contrasting distinguishing constituents, these distinctive additions are usually opposed to distinguishing elements of a different type in correlations, e.g. *Hosszú-* and *Németpereszteg* (Vas and Sopron; *Német-* ‘German’, represent-

ing inhabitants' NATIONALITY, cf. 4.2.4.1.), *Pusztá-* and *Vajdakamarás* (Kolozs; *Vajda-* 'voivode', representing INSTITUTIONAL OWNER, cf. 4.2.3.2.).

4.2. Identification of a habitation could also be promoted by foregrounding a characteristic peripheral feature of the settlement in the distinctive addition. Compared to distinguishing elements reflecting CENTRAL FEATURE and POSITIONAL FEATURE, distinctive additions manifesting PERIPHERAL FEATURE are somewhat fewer in number, but they are the most varied in subtypes in the period under discussion.

4.2.1. Distinctive additions reflecting NATURAL SURROUNDINGS as a characteristic peripheral identifying feature of the settlement could have reference to the soil, the terrain, the flora or the fauna.

4.2.1.1. Some distinguishing constituents represent SOIL. The most typical distinctive additions highlighting the quality of the soil in the period are *Homok-* 'sand' and *Sáros-* 'muddy', e.g. *Homokbödöge* (Veszprém), *Homokterenye* (Nógrád), *Sárosciklin* (Vas), *Sárosreviscse* (Ung). Other examples: *Köves-* 'stony', *Fertős-* 'marshy', e.g. *Köveskállya* (Zala), *Fertősalmás* (Ugocsa), etc.

4.2.1.2. In few cases it is TERRAIN that is manifested in the distinctive addition as an identifying feature of the settlement. The most typical distinguishing constituents foregrounding the configuration of the terrain in the period are *Hegy(es)-* 'hill(y)', *Nyerges-* 'saddle-backed', *Szurdok-* 'gorge', e.g. *Hegysúr* (Pozsony), *Nyergesújfalu* (Esztergom), *Szurdokkápolnak* (Kövár).

4.2.1.3. FLORA as an identifying feature of the settlement is demonstrated in few distinguishing constituents in the period. Plants growing wild typically referred to in the distinctive additions (e.g. *fűz* 'willow', *kökény* 'blackthorn', *répa* 'beet', *hagyma* 'onion/garlic', all supplemented in the distinguishing elements with the derivative suffix *-s* expressing the state of being well provided with) are common in all parts of the country, e.g. *Füzesgyarmat* (Békés), *Kökényesmindszent* (Zala), *Répáskeszi* (Bihar), *Hagymáslápos* (Kövár). The distinguishing constituent *Tiszta-* 'clean', also 'bare' may emphasize the lack of vegetation, e.g. *Tisztamarót* (Vas). The most often used distinctive additions in the category are *Erdő-* 'wood' and *Diós-* 'having walnut-trees', e.g. *Erdőkövesd* (Heves), *Dióspatony* (Pozsony). *Szőlős-* 'vine-clad' or 'vine grower' as a distinguishing element could indicate not only the flora (e.g. *Szőlősgyörök*, Somogy), but also the main occupation of the dwellers (e.g. *Szőlősardó*, Torna; cf. 4.2.4.2.) in the settlement.

4.2.1.4. In some cases the distinctive addition reflects FAUNA as a striking identifying feature of the settlement. Distinguishing elements referring to non-domesticated animals (e.g. *Disznós-* 'having boars', *Békás-* 'having frogs') are few in number, e.g. *Disznóshorvát* (Borsod), *Békásmegyér* (Pest). The problem that arises here is that the names of animals could also be used as proper names in old Hungarian, so a distinctive addition seemingly identifying a place by declaring it the natural habitat of an animal might easily turn out to be developed from a name of a person, e.g. the addition *Kánya-* ('kite', but also an old personal name) in *Kányabölzse* (Abaúj).

4.2.2. Distinctive additions manifesting BUILDING are not rare in the period. An outstanding building in a settlement is easily spotted even from a distance, so as a feature it serves the purpose of identification well enough for people living in the surrounding villages. Our data show that the prominent edifice highlighted most often in the distinguishing constitu-

ents is typically an ecclesiastic building: the most frequent differentiating elements, *Egyházas*¹⁶ (e.g. *Egyházashollós*, Vas; *Egyházasarádóc*, Vas), *Kápolnás*- (e.g. *Kápolnásvisnye*, Somogy) or *Monostor*- (e.g. *Monostorpályi*, Bihar) refer to the fact that the settlement has a church, a chapel or a monastery, respectively. The constituents *Házás*¹⁷ ‘having a church’ (e.g. *Házasnénye*, Hont), *Tornyos*- ‘having a steeple’ (e.g. *Tornyospálca*, Szabolcs) and *Kéttornyú*- ‘having two steeples’ (e.g. *Kéttornyúlak*, Veszprém) also refer to the fact that there is a church in the settlement. The distinctive additions *Vár(as)*- ‘having a castle’ (e.g. *Várgede*, Gömör), *Hidas*- ‘having a bridge’ (e.g. *Hidasnémeti*, Abaúj), *Kőhid*- ‘stone bridge’ (e.g. *Kőhidgyarmat*, Esztergom), *Monos*¹⁸ ‘having a mill’ (e.g. *Monosbél*, Borsod) evoke non-ecclesiastic buildings which were prominent enough to help the identification of a settlement.

4.2.3. Distinctive additions reflecting PROPRIETOR were very popular in the period. These distinguishing constituents usually indicate a former individual or institutional possessor of the settlement, but one may also involve differentiating elements referring to the patron saint of the settlement in this category. Charters from the 11th–12th centuries prove that the ecclesiastic grant was often entitled to a patron saint, who was thus considered as a virtual owner of the settlement established on „his” piece of land (Györffy 1960: 33).

4.2.3.1. Most proprietary distinctive additions represent INDIVIDUAL OWNER. In these cases the distinguishing constituent most often displays the name of a former owner. This fact has a historical explanation. As we saw above, in the Middle Ages the division of a demesne after a nobleman’s death could result in a multiplication of settlements: the heirs either legally or physically divided the inherited settlements, which was usually indicated in the names of the divisions in the form of added distinguishing elements naming the actual owners. A clear, linguistic sign of real ownership is the presence of *-(j)a*/*-(j)e*, the third person singular possessive suffix in the village name, which often disappears when the possession is terminated, e.g. *Bánffyahunyadja* later becomes *Bánffyahunyad*¹⁹ (Kolozs; FNESz 1: 160). In the observed period first names (e.g. *Amadé*, *Csaba*, *Lénárd*), family names (e.g. *Tegzes*, *Úsz*, *Zay*) as well as nicknames (e.g. *Benke*, *Mike*) of former owners can equally be found in settlement names as distinctive additions, e.g. *Amadékarcsa* (Pozsony), *Csabacsúd* (Békés), *Lénárddaróc* (Borsod), *Tegzesborfő* (Hont), *Úszpeklény* (Sáros), *Zayugróc* (Trencsén), *Benkepatony* (Pozsony), *Mikebuda* (Pest). Family names of local landowners are frequently used as distinguishing elements in the names of possessed villages around the central estate, e.g. *Kecerpálvágása*, *Kecerlipóc*, *Kecerpeklény*, *Kecerkosztolány* were all possessed by the Keczer family in Sáros comitat. Distinctive additions sometimes preserve the name of the person who founded the settlement, e.g. *Paucsinalehota* (Liptó).

4.2.3.2. INSTITUTIONAL OWNER could be demonstrated either by indicating the social rank of the proprietor or by naming the institution in possession of the settlement. The social rank

¹⁶ The term *egyház* is a compound of the extinct lexeme **id ~ így ~ egy* ‘saint’ and the common word *ház* ‘house’. The term had been used in the meaning of ‘church’ before the word *templom*, a stem of Latin origin, was borrowed and spread in Hungarian to indicate the building. The term *egyház* today is only used in the abstract sense to refer to the organisation of the Church (TESz 1: 724–725).

¹⁷ An odd abbreviation of the distinctive addition *Egyházas*- ‘having a church’.

¹⁸ The additions *Molnus*- ~ *Mónos*- ~ *Monos*-, also *Molna*- in settlement names are all derived from the word *malom* ‘mill’ (TESz 2: 831).

¹⁹ Original spellings: 1522: *Banfy Hwnyadya*; 1808: *Hunyad (Bánfi)*. The settlement had been possessed by the Bánffy family since 1435 (FNESz 1:160).

highlighted in the distinguishing constituent, whether lay (e.g. *király* ‘king’, *vajda* ‘voivode’) or ecclesiastic (e.g. *apáca* ‘nun’, *apát* ‘abbot’, *érsek* ‘archbishop’, *pap* ‘priest’, *püspök* ‘bishop’) helps to identify the (former) proprietor, and through them the settlement itself, e.g. *Királylubella* (Liptó, former royal estate; FNESz 1: 734), *Vajdakamarás* (Kolozs, owned also by István and Bogdán, Moldovan voivodes in the 15th century; FNESz 2: 723), *Apácazakállas* (Komárom, possessed by the Nunnery of Margaret Island; FNESz 1: 104), *Apátmarót* (Hont, owned by the Cistercian Abbey of Pilis; FNESz 1: 106), *Érseklél* (Komárom, possessed by the Archbishop of Esztergom; FNESz 1: 429), *Papkeszi* (Veszprém, owned by the Chapter of Veszprém; FNESz 2: 316), *Püspökhatvan* (Pest, possessed by the Bishop of Vác; FNESz 2: 385). However, as terms indicating social ranks often developed into family names in Hungarian, careful judgment is needed, e.g. the addition *Gyula-* in *Gyulafehérvár* (Alsófehér) indicates the seat of the second highest leader of old Hungarians, whilst the same element in *Gyulakeszi* (Veszprém) refers to the name of the family in possession of it (FNESz 1: 551–552). An institution, lay (e.g. *Ghymes*, a castle; *Jolsva* and *Lednic*, manors) or ecclesiastic (e.g. *káptalan* ‘chapter’, *monostor* ‘monastery’) could also possess a settlement, e.g. *Ghymeskosztolány* (Bars, Nyitra), *Jolsvatapolca* (Gömör), *Lednicrovné* (Trencsén), *Káptalantóti* (Zala), *Monostorapáti* (Zala). *Török-* ‘Turkish’ as a distinctive addition suggests that in the period of the Turkish occupation of Hungary (1541–1686) the settlement was possessed by the Turks, e.g. *Törökkoppány* (Bihar), *Törökszákos* (Temes), *Törökszentmiklós* (Heves).

4.2.3.3. Distinctive additions representing PATRON SAINT reflect the importance of the church in medieval villages. The patron saint of the church, who was usually also the patron saint of the whole settlement (e.g. *Szent István* ‘St. Stephen’, *Szent Lőrinc* ‘St. Lawrence’, *Mindszent* ‘All Saints’ in the examples below) was frequently foregrounded in the distinguishing elements of habitation names, e.g. *Szentistvánbaksa* (Abaúj), *Szentlőrinckáta* (Pest), *Mindszentkál* (Zala). Distinctive additions naming a saint might exceptionally indicate a place of worship, e.g. *Máriapócs* (Szabolcs, shrine of Virgin Mary; FNESz 2: 95).

4.2.4. Distinctive additions manifesting INHABITANTS might also contribute to the proper identification of the settlements. In the distinguishing constituents (former) inhabitants of the settlements are described with respect to their nationality, occupation and social status.

4.2.4.1. Distinguishing constituents reflecting NATIONALITY were often born as a result of the fact that in the past people of different ethnic groups tended to settle down in different parts of the villages somewhat separately from each other, which could later easily bring about the settlements’ splitting in two, followed by the appearance of distinctive additions referring to the nationality of the dwellers in the names of the new villages. Examining the geographical distribution of these distinctive additions helps us to clarify which ethnic groups immigrated into which parts of the country, even if we know that not all settlements populated by ethnic minorities were named after the nationalities of their inhabitants. Distinguishing constituents *Német-* ‘German’, *Horvát-* ‘Croatian’, *Tót-* ‘Wendish’, ‘Kajkavski-Croatian’, ‘Slovenian’, *Rác-* ‘Serbian’ are frequently found in names of Transdanubian settlements, e.g. *Németgyirót* (Vas), *Horváthásos* (Vas), *Tótszerdahely* (Zala), *Rácalmás* (Fejér). From the northern, north-eastern counties one could quote *Német-* ‘German’, *Tót-* ‘Slovakian’, *Orosz-* ‘Ruthenian’, *Horvát-* ‘Croatian’, *Olasz-* ‘Romance, esp. Walloon’, *Cseh-* ‘Czech’ as characteristic distinctive additions of this type, e.g. *Németlipcse* (Liptó), *Tótpróna* (Turóc), *Oroszkrucsó* (Zemplén), *Horvátjandorf* (Moson), *Olaszliszka* (Zemplén), *Csehbrezó* (Nógrád). *Oláh-* ‘Rumanian’ and *Szász-* ‘Saxon’ are typically used in names of Transylvanian settle-

ments, e.g. *Oláhresica* (Krassó), *Szászfűlpös* (Kolozs).²⁰ In many cases the above modifiers are opposed to distinguishing elements referring to the Hungarian population: *Magyar-* ‘Hungarian’ and *Székely-* ‘Szekler’, the latter used only in Transylvania, e.g. *Németürög* : *Magyarürög* (Baranya), *Horvát nádja* : *Magyar nádja* (Vas), *Rácalmás* : *Magyaralmás* (Fejér), *Oláh kocsárd* : *Székely kocsárd* (Küküllő and Aranyos).

4.2.4.2. Distinctive additions demonstrating OCCUPATION preserve the memory of a special medieval social class. People were obliged to deliver a fixed quota of their surplus agricultural produce or industrial products to the state, to ecclesiastic organs or to landowners, which played an important role in the economic life of the Arpadian Hungary (895–1301). People of the same profession at that time were usually settled down in the same village by their feudal landlord. Distinctive additions could reflect the fact that most inhabitants of the habitation used to be such peasants by presenting various (medieval) jobs: *fazekas* ‘potter’, *lovász* ‘groom’, *ács* ‘carpenter’, *szekeres* ‘carter’, e.g. *Fazekaszaluzsány* (Gömör), *Lovászhetény* (Baranya), *Ácsmecser* (Somogy), *Szekerestörpény* (Belsőszolnok).

4.2.4.3. The personal and economic commitments of the dwellers or the lack of these are expressed in more general terms in distinctive additions reflecting SOCIAL STATUS. In the past people of different ranks often settled down separately within the same village, which could also lead to the split of the settlement, accompanied by the appearance of distinguishing elements *Nemes-* ‘noble’ and *Pór-* ‘peasant’, *Paraszt-* ‘peasant’ in front of the old village name, e.g. *Nemes-* and *Pórládony* (Sopron), *Nemes-* and *Pórszalók* (Veszprém), *Nemes-* and *Parasztbikk* (Borsod). The social status of the inhabitants determined the privileges of the settlement, which are emphasised in distinctive additions such as *Szabad-* ‘free’, or *Város-* ‘town’ in the period, e.g. *Szabadszentkirály* (Baranya), *Városhídvég* (Somogy).

4.2.5. Certain distinctive additions of the period demonstrate ECONOMIC LIFE as a characteristic identifying feature of the settlement. Aspects of economic life appearing in the differentiating elements include agriculture, mining, trade as well as communications.

4.2.5.1. Some distinctive additions reflect PRODUCE. The characteristic agricultural produce of the settlement motivated distinguishing elements such as *Boros-* ‘producing wine’, *Búzás-* ‘producing wheat’ and *Kecske-* ‘raising goats’, e.g. *Borosjenő* (Arad), *Búzásbocsárd* (Alsófehér), *Kecskevarbók* (Hont).

4.2.5.2. MINE, MINING as a distinguishing feature is reflected in few distinctive additions, e.g. *Arany-* ‘gold’, *Kő-* ‘stone’, *Kővágó-* ‘quarrying’ in names *Aranyidka* (Abaúj), *Kőboldogfalva* (Hunyad), *Kővágóórs* (Zala).

4.2.5.3. TRADE as an identifying feature of the settlement is represented in the distinctive additions *Vámos-* ‘toll-taking’ and *Vásáros-* ‘marketing’, e.g. *Vámosgyörk* (Heves), *Vámosmikola* (Hont), *Vásárosdombó* (Bihar), *Vásárosnamény* (Bereg).

4.2.5.4. The distinguishing constituent *Rév-* ‘ferry’ reflects COMMUNICATIONS, e.g. *Révkörtvélyes* (Kövár).

4.2.6. Some distinctive additions demonstrate OTHER FEATURES. The distinguishing characteristics highlighted by these differentiating elements are difficult to categorise, e.g.

²⁰ Some of these terms indicating ethnic groups are used only in place names today: e.g. *tót*, *rác*. In the past *tót* was a collective name of different Slavic nationalities (Slovakian, Slovenian, Wendish, even Moravian), so in different parts of the country it was used to identify different ethnic groups (see the above examples). *Olasz* and *orosz* today mean ‘Italian’ and ‘Russian’, respectively; the other terms are still used in the sense indicated above.

Királyfiakarcsa (Pozsony; *Királyfia*- ‘the King’s son’, the settlement was said to have been inhabited by the descendants of free castle serfs who served Stephen I as soldiers; FNESz 1: 732), *Bősárkány* (Sopron; *Bő*- ‘abundant, capacious’, the settlement was inhabited by allegedly wealthy people; FNESz 1: 251), *Szentkirályszabadja* (Veszprém; *Szentkirály*- ‘St. King’, the dwellers of the settlement were said to have been given exemption from feudal obligations by Stephen I;²¹ FNESz 2: 561).

Distinctive additions foregrounding the same peripheral feature of habitations are used less frequently to differentiate identical settlement names, e.g. *Tegzes*- and *Kálnaborfő* (Hont; INDIVIDUAL OWNER); *Horvát*, *Német*- and *Tótgurab* (Pozsony; NATIONALITY); *Nemes*- and *Pördömök* (Vas; SOCIAL STATUS). Peripheral features of different types, however, are often found in opposing name forms, e.g. *Meszes*- and *Szőlősgyőrök* (Zala and Somogy; SOIL and FLORA); *Király*- and *Nemeslubella* (Liptó; INSTITUTIONAL OWNER and SOCIAL STATUS); even in multiple correlations, e.g. *Kecer*-, *Orosz*- and *Úszpeklény* (Sáros; INDIVIDUAL OWNER, NATIONALITY and INDIVIDUAL OWNER); *Csábrág*-, *Kecske*- and *Korpásvarbók* (Hont; INDIVIDUAL OWNER, PRODUCE, PRODUCE); *Egyházás*-, *Hidas*-, *Nemes*- and *Rempehollós* (Vas; BUILDING, BUILDING, SOCIAL STATUS and INDIVIDUAL OWNER).

4.3. The most frequently used distinctive additions in the period manifest POSITIONAL FEATURE. Precise or relative localisation achieved by these distinguishing constituents definitely facilitates the identification of the settlements.

4.3.1. Distinctive additions representing PRECISE POSITION determine the more or less exact location of the settlement either by referring to a nearby natural, geographic object (a river, a lake; an area; a mountain; an island; a forest) or by naming a neighbouring or inclusive artificial, man-made construction (another settlement; an administrative unit).

4.3.1.1. Distinctive additions reflecting RIVER (OR BODIES OF WATER in general) name the stream on the bank of which the settlement was established. As rivers, bearing usually unique, stable names known by the surrounding population were important in the everyday life of the village (thoroughfare, source of energy and irrigation, supply of drinking water, etc.), speakers felt the need to include the river name into the habitation name as a distinguishing element for obvious reasons. The first twelve river names used the most frequently as distinctive additions in the period are 1. Tisza; 2. Maros; 3–4. Sajó (i.e. right-side affluent of river Tisza), Rába; 5. Garam; 6–7. Ér, Zala; 8–9. Homoród, Ipoly; 10–12. Duna, Dráva, Tápió. One can easily observe that speakers preferred including names of medium-sized rivers into the settlement names, as they provided the best contribution to identification, e.g. *Maroslekence* (Torda), *Sajógalgóc* (Borsod), *Rábasömjén* (Vas), *Garammikola* (Bars), *Ipolydamásd* (Hont). *Duna* ‘Danube’, the biggest river of Hungary displays poor performance: flowing through the country it must have been considered too long to provide accurate localisation. Nevertheless, it was used as a distinctive addition in some cases, e.g. *Dunapentele* (Fejér), *Dunaszekcső* (Baranya). Small rivers (e.g. *Ciróka*, *Cserta*, *Ilonok*, *Kászon*, *Kiszuca*, *Lesence*, *Miszt*), though they were less well-known, might also help to identify settlements, e.g. *Cirókahosszúmező* (Zemplén), *Csertalakos* (Zala), *Ilonokújfalu* (Ugocsa), *Kászonújfalu* (Csik), *Kiszucaújhely* (Trencsén), *Lesencetomaj* (Zala), *Misztótfalu* (Szatmár). The name of each small river is found only in one or two settlement name forms. Whilst

²¹ Stephen I, the first King of Hungary (1000/1001–1038) was canonized by Pope Gregory VII as Saint Stephen of Hungary in 1083.

distinctive additions foregrounding rivers provide us with „linear” localisation, names of lakes as distinguishing elements (e.g. *Balaton-* in our data) give us „punctual” localisation, e.g. *Balatonederics* (Zala), *Balatonhenye* (Zala; Mező 1982: 221–223).

4.3.1.2. Similar punctual localisation of villages could be achieved by distinctive additions demonstrating NEIGHBOURING SETTLEMENT. Names of widely known, big towns are often used as distinguishing constituents in the names of surrounding small settlements, e.g. *Gyöngyös* in *Gyöngyöshalász*, *Gyöngyösoroszi*, *Gyöngyöstarján* (all in Heves). Many habitations called *Újfalú* ‘new village’ were originally „dependent” settlements established within the boundaries of old villages; later when these new settlements became independent, their names usually included the name of their mother villages as a differentiating element to help their identification, e.g. *Bártfaujfalú* (Sáros), *Csengerújfalú* (Szatmár), *Kassaujfalú* (Abaúj), *Rekenyeújfalú* (Gömör), *Szinyeújfalú* (Sáros)

4.3.1.3. Distinctive additions representing GEOGRAPHIC REGION name the area (e.g. *Csik*, *Jászság*, *Bihari-Hegyköz*, *Nyírség*, *Felső-Őrség*, *Szepesség*, *Szilágyság*, *Zselic*), the mountain (e.g. *Avas*, *Badacsony*, *Karancs*, *Mátra*, *Pilis*), the island (e.g. *Csepel-sziget*), the forest (e.g. *Búr-erdő*) in or in the vicinity of which the settlement is situated, e.g. *Csikszereda* (Csik), *Hegyközpályi* (Bihar), *Jászladány* (Jászság), *Nyírbéltek* (Szabolcs), *Őriszentmárton* (Vas), *Szepesszombathely* (Szepes), *Szilágysomlyó* (Kraszna), *Zselickisfalud* (Somogy), *Avasújfalú* (Szatmár), *Badacsonytomaj* (Zala), *Karancskeszti* (Nógrád), *Mátranovák* (Nógrád), *Piliscsaba* (Pest), *Szigetszentmárton* (Pest), *Búrszentpéter* (Pozsony). Certain factors, however, may reduce the localising potential of such geographic names: *Mezőség*, for instance, indicates more regions in Hungary. Still, references even to this name could successfully fulfil the role of an identifying distinctive addition in a period when people’s view of the world did not extend to the whole country, e.g. *Mezőbánd* (Maros), *Mezőberény* (Békés), *Mezőkaszony* (Bereg), *Mezőkomárom* (Veszprém), *Mezőnyárad* (Borsod), *Mezőpeterd* (Bihar).

4.3.1.4. Distinguishing constituents reflecting ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT are rare in the observed period. In medieval charters scribes often gave the name of the county in which the indicated settlement was found to specify its location. As a result of this practice, behind the name forms having a distinctive addition identical with the name of a county (e.g. *Nyitra* = a river, a town as well as a comitat) speakers first and foremost suspected a reference to the county. Indicating county in the distinctive addition thus in official naming processes became a very popular way of differentiating identical settlement names (Mező 1982: 219–220). People’s natural view of the world in the early 19th century, however, did not necessarily reach beyond the area of a comitat; consequently, at that time foregrounding a county in the distinctive addition was not a real identifying feature, so it was seldom used in name forms, e.g. *Zólyomlipcse* (Zólyom). Names of smaller administrative units, for example districts (e.g. *Belényesi*, *Füleki*, *Alsótarnai járás*) as well as Transylvanian seats (e.g. *Kézdiszék*, *Sepsiszék*) proved to be better localising devices in that era, e.g. *Belényesújlak* (Bihar), *Fülekpüspöki* (Nógrád), *Tarnaszentmiklós* (Heves), *Kézdiipolyán* (Háromszék), *Sepsiszentkirály* (Háromszék).

4.3.2. Distinctive additions manifesting RELATIVE POSITION determine the location of a settlement by giving its position in relation to another habitation bearing the same primary name. Distinguishing elements foregrounding the relative position of a settlement in the period are *Al-*, *Alsó-* ‘low(er), nether’, *Fel-*, *Felső-* ‘high(er), over’, *Közép-*, *Középső-* ‘middle’, *Bel-* ~ *Bél-*, *Belső-* ‘inside’, ‘inner’ (cf. *Intrinseca* in English place names), *Kül-*, *Külső-* ‘outside’, ‘outer’, ‘exterior’ (cf. *Extrinseca* in English place names) and *Vég-* ‘end’.

In the case of the opposite adjectives *al(só)* and *fel(ső)* the comparison could equally be based on cardinal points (*alsó* ‘southern’, *felső* ‘northern’), on the rivers’ direction of flow (*alsó* ‘downstream’, *felső* ‘upstream’), or on the position of the terrain (*alsó* ‘low’, *felső* ‘high’; Kázmér 1970. 37). In 19th century Hungary, these possible meanings were basically interrelated: in contrast with the mountainous northern areas the south of the country was relatively flat, and these configurations of the terrain determined the flow of rivers from north to south as well. The combination of the possible adjectival meanings was strengthened by a historical fact influencing namers’ perspective: in Hungary in the course of history people generally migrated from overpopulated lowland villages up to the mountains in fertile river valleys (i.e. upstream, practically from south to north in the country) to cultivate more and more elevated lands to provide enough food for themselves. Duplicated settlements born as a result of this migration were often identified with name forms having distinctive additions describing relative position. First typically the element *Alsó-* appeared in the name of the old village, whilst the name of the new village was extended with the addition *Felső-* some time later, e.g. 1439: *Lapugy*, 1491: *Alsólapugy*, 1526/1601: *Felsőlapugy*,²² (Hunyad; FNESz 1: 83). A seemingly contradicting example is that of *Alsó-* and *Felsőmecenzéf* (Abaúj), the latter being the older settlement: with the development of metallurgy dwellers of the old *Mecenzéf* exceptionally had to migrate downstream in search of raw material and water. Threefold division of a settlement could result in introducing a third name form containing the modifier *Közép-*, *Középső-* ‘middle’ for the village in the middle, e.g. *Alsó-*, *Felső-* and *Középbencéd* (Udvarhely), *Alsó-*, *Felső-* and *Középcsöpöny* (Pozsony), *Alsó-*, *Felső-* and *Középpetánc* (Vas), *Alsó-*, *Felső-* and *Középszúd* (Hont).

The use of the distinguishing constituents *Belső-* ‘inside’ and *Külső-* ‘outside’ in the period seems to be restricted to certain areas of the country: the examples are from Komárom and Abaúj comitats and from counties around Lake Balaton, e.g. *Belső-* and *Külsőcsobád* (Abaúj), *Belső-* and *Külsőtürje* (Zala). The reference point with respect to which ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ are interpreted is typically a locally significant geographic entity, e.g. the case of *Belsőlándor* (at the junction of the rivers Vág-Duna and Nyitra, between the two streams) and *Külsőlándor* (outside the junction, over the river Nyitra) in Komárom comitat. The addition *Vég-* ‘end’ in the sense ‘a settlement established at one end of the old village’ is exceptional in the period, e.g. *Végkak* next to *Kak* (Somogy).

Distinguishing elements reflecting POSITIONAL FEATURE might also create correlative name forms. In few cases the additions foreground geographical objects of the same type, e.g. *Duna-* and *Kaposszekcső* (Baranya; RIVER), *Mező-* and *Jászberény* (Békés and Jászság; GEOGRAPHIC REGION, areas), *Kézdi-* and *Sepsimartonos* (Háromszék; ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT, seats). In many instances the highlighted geographical objects are of different nature, e.g. *Duna-* and *Sárpentele* (Fejér; RIVER and GEOGRAPHIC REGION, an area), *Badacsony-* and *Lesencetomaj* (Zala; GEOGRAPHIC REGION, a mountain and RIVER), *Felső-* and *Mezőnyárad* (Borsod; RELATIVE POSITION and GEOGRAPHIC REGION, an area), *Rákos-* and *Piliscsaba* (Pest; RIVER and GEOGRAPHIC REGION, a mountain). Sometimes the opposition is between the unmodified and the differentiated name forms, e.g. *Sömjén* and *Rábasömjén* (Vas; RIVER). The differentiated name form sometimes has not got a correlative name pair, e.g. *Nyírbétek* (Szabolcs; GEOGRAPHIC REGION, an area), *Mezőbánd* (Maros; GEOGRAPHIC REGION, an area). Still, distinctive additions manifesting

²² Contemporaneous spellings: 1439: *Lapugh*, 1491: *Alsolapug*, 1526: *Lapwg superior*, 1601: *Felső Lapugy* (FNESz 1: 83).

POSITIONAL FEATURE are most frequently opposed to distinguishing elements demonstrating CENTRAL OR PERIPHERAL FEATURE, e.g. *Rima-* and *Fazekaszaluzsány* (Gömör; RIVER and OCCUPATION), *Bán-* and *Disznóshorvát* (Borsod; RIVER and FAUNA), *Balaton-* and *Pusztaderics* (Zala; BODY OF WATER and STATE), especially in multiple correlations, e.g. *Balaton-*, *Ördög-* and *Petőhenye* (Zala; BODY OF WATER, INDIVIDUAL OWNER and INDIVIDUAL OWNER), *Hegyköz-*, *Hosszú-*, *Monostor-* and *Olasz/Ópályi* (Bihar and Szabolcs; GEOGRAPHIC REGION, SHAPE, BUILDING and NATIONALITY/AGE).

4.4. Special distinctive additions profile either more than one or not a single identifying feature of the designated settlements.

4.4.1. Consecutive distinctive additions were born in a unique process: when a settlement designated by a differentiated name form was divided into two separate villages, the new habitations usually became identified with new, secondary distinguishing elements added to the already modified old name form. The secondary distinctive additions could be added to the old name forms in front position emphasising present separation, e.g. *Alsótótbaka* and *Felsőtótbaka* (Hont; RELATIVE POSITION and NATIONALITY), *Ófazekasvarsánd* and *Újfazekasvarsánd* (Arad; AGE and OCCUPATION), or in middle position underlining former unity, e.g. *Németalsógencs* and *Németfelsőgencs* (Vas; NATIONALITY and RELATIVE POSITION), *Ipolykiskér* and *Ipolynagykér* (Nógrád; RIVER and SIZE).

4.4.2. Alternating distinctive additions are found if a single settlement is simultaneously designated by more differentiated name forms. The alternating distinctive additions are usually motivated by different features of the settlement. The phenomenon suggests that a habitation may have several identifying features, and this situation can result in the development of several identifying distinctive additions. As time passes, one of the alternating distinguishing constituents becomes a constant element of the name by pushing out the other potential modifiers. In some cases, distinctive additions alternate in the same combination in all the opposing name forms, e.g. *Nagy/Alsókálósa* and *Kis/Felsőkálósa* (Gömör; SIZE/RELATIVE POSITION), *Ó/Magyarvencsellő* and *Új/Németvencsellő* (Szabolcs; AGE/NATIONALITY). In other oppositions only one name form has alternating distinctive additions, but even in these cases one of the alternating distinguishing constituents is semantically related to (one of) the other differentiating element(s) found in the correlative name forms, e.g. *Magyar/Maroscsesztve* and *Oláhcsesztve* (Alsófejér; NATIONALITY/RIVER and NATIONALITY), *Nagy/Pusztakapoly* and *Kiskapoly* (Somogy; SIZE/STATE and SIZE), *Nagy/Tiszatokaj*, *Kistokaj* and *Orosztokaj* (Zemplén; SIZE/RIVER, SIZE and NATIONALITY), *Alsó/Nagy/Németborsa*, *Felső/Kis/Tótborsa* and *Középborsa* (Pozsony; RELATIVE POSITION/SIZE/NATIONALITY, RELATIVE POSITION/SIZE/NATIONALITY and RELATIVE POSITION).

4.4.3. The numeral *Két-* 'two' as a comprehensive distinctive addition forms a common name for two neighbouring settlements with the same primary name, e.g. *Kétdolics* (Vas), *Kétsurány* (Vas).

Statistics – Distinctive additions in early 19th century Hungarian settlement names

Motivation: the distinctive addition profiles a characteristic feature of the settlement	Number	Percentage
	of examples	
1. a central feature	1267	(33,45%)
1.1. size	1066	(28,14%)
1.2. age	112	(2,96%)
1.3. shape	11	(0,29%)
1.4. state	78	(2,06%)
2. a peripheral feature	985	(26%)
2.1. natural surroundings	103	(2,71%)
2.1.1. soil	25	(0,66%)
2.1.2. terrain	7	(0,18%)
2.1.3. flora	55	(1,45%)
2.1.4. fauna	16	(0,42%)
2.2. building	41	(1,08%)
2.3. proprietor or patron saint	316	(8,35%)
2.3.1. individual owner	234	(6,18%)
2.3.2. institutional owner	68	(1,8%)
2.3.3. patron saint	14	(0,37%)
2.4. inhabitants	463	(12,23%)
2.4.1. nationality	381	(10,06%)
2.4.2. occupation	12	(0,32%)
2.4.3. social status	70	(1,85%)
2.5. economic life	23	(0,6%)
2.5.1. produce	5	(0,13%)
2.5.2. mine, mining	4	(0,11%)
2.5.3. trade	12	(0,31%)
2.5.4. communications	2	(0,05%)
2.6. other features	39	(1,03%)
3. a positional feature	1410	(37,22%)
3.1. precise position	614	(16,21%)
3.1.1. river or other bodies of water	283	(7,47%)
3.1.2. neighbouring settlement	204	(5,39%)
3.1.3. geographical region	102	(2,69%)
3.1.4. administrative unit	25	(0,66%)
3.2. relative position	796	(21,01%)
Special distinctive additions	126	(3,33%)
1. consecutive distinctive additions	31	(0,82%)
2. alternating distinctive additions	93	(2,46%)
3. comprehensive distinctive additions	2	(0,05%)
Total:	3788	(100%)

5. Conclusion

As it was illustrated above, if for any reason a speech community used identical names to designate different settlements, names could not function properly as they could not fulfil their identifying role in communication. Differentiation of settlement names as a linguistic process is a means of re-establishing the identifying potential of such names: differentiation re-grounds malfunctioning names. In the course of differentiation, a salient, thus identifying characteristic feature of the settlement – necessarily different from the one(s) already reflected in the primary village name – is profiled and included into the habitation name in the form of a distinctive addition to promote the unambiguous identification of the settlement. Distinctive additions, not surprisingly, tended to recur, and – to some extent – restricted manifestations of the cognitive domains which took part in the formation of non-differentiated settlement name forms. Nevertheless, in early 19th century Hungary, distinctive additions in settlement names displayed considerable semantic diversity, which could serve as a model in differentiating identical settlement names by way of distinguishing modifiers in official naming processes after 1898 (for details see Mező 1982: 218–240).

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WHICH ONE OUT OF THE FOUR? THE ORIGIN OF FAMILY NAMES IN THE LIGHT OF COGNITIVE SEMANTICS

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Abstract

The article deals with the question of how historical proper names can be examined in the framework of cognitive semantics, and whether the theories of this field of study are compatible with those of traditional onomastics. To illustrate the complexity of the question the author focuses on the development of Hungarian family names. Distinctive name components functioned as the basis for later family names. These components can be divided into four groups: (i) names with filius ('son of'), (ii) de ('from') + place name, (iii) names with dictus ('known as'), (iv) patronymics (de genere) ('from the kindred called'). Onomastics claims that a distinctive name component becomes a true family name when it becomes steady, for example, when Kovács ('smith') is not a smith by profession any more, when all members of a family bear the same distinctive name, etc. By adopting the framework of cognitive semantics, one must accept that naming is a cognitive act: out of the attributes of a person to be named the most characteristic feature is chosen to form a name. When the feature ceases to refer to reality (a person called Kovács is not a smith any longer), the relationship between that feature and the person identified by it also dissolves and the distinctive name component becomes a family name. The paper examines what factors are responsible for this change in the case of the four name types and detects why of the wide choice of possible name forms one particular distinctive name becomes a family name. The author claims that both traditional and cognitive considerations, although their approaches and methods are different, reach the same conclusion. Furthermore, in the framework of cognitive semantics, many problems disregarded by traditional onomastics can be easily explained.

1. Introduction

1.1. One of the fundamental research fields in historical name studies is the process of the origination and establishment of family names and the period in which such processes took place. Researching the history of family names is unfeasible without studying concrete data and sources (e.g. deeds, censuses, etc.). In doing so, name studies rely heavily on history, especially on cultural history, settlement history and genealogy (see e.g. Fallenbüchl 1991; Fehértói 1975, 1994; Székely 1970). In my view, such traditional research methods can be meaningfully supplemented by another field of linguistics, namely cognitive semantics, which, at first glance, appears to be far from name studies. With the help of cognitive semantics (Langacker 1987, 2008), a novel approach to the issues raised above opens up. At the same time, however, this novel approach certainly cannot function without data or the support of related disciplines. In the present study, the rejection of well-established methods or research tools is by no means advocated: the main goal is to highlight the possible uses of this new branch of science in name studies research.

1.2. The data I have used for the present research come from deeds contained in the Collection of Documents from the Age of the Angevins (AnjOkm) and the Collection of Deeds of

the Count Károlyi Family of Nagy-Károly Vol. 1 (KárOkI) written in Latin. Thus, my research extends only to written records, more precisely to records of the first half of the 14th century. This is because by that **period** the use of distinguishing elements had become an established practice in Hungarian as well. It is noteworthy, nonetheless, that apart from some unique cases, real family names were practically non-existent, for a person was identified by the use of diverse distinguishing elements not only when being referred to in various deeds but also when being successively referred to in the text of the same deed. Consequently, this historical age is perfectly suitable for studying the methods and reasons of naming.

2. Distinguishing elements as reference points

2.1. Naming itself is a cognitive act, and it is highly dependent on how language users perceive the world around them. During the act of naming, one of the numerous features of the entity to be named will be foregrounded (profiled), and the entity in question will be named after this feature: among the many characteristics abstracted as entities in a conceptual matrix, one is foregrounded against the others. The naming of persons is effected in the same way. The meaning of the Hungarian noun *ember* ('person') is composed of several cognitive domains (such as PLACE OF RESIDENCE, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, APPEARANCE and INNER QUALITIES). By the act of naming, one of these qualities, usually the most easily accessible one, i.e. the one the person's most salient feature belongs to, will be activated and will act as a reference point for the target, and facilitate the identification of the given person in the present context (for the reference point, see e.g. Langacker 1999: 171–202; Tolcsvai Nagy 2005b: 43–70). For example, if somebody is limping, s/he, through this quality, will be quite salient in a 'non-limping' population. (To stay with this example, a person's limping can be considered as a salient quality while all his other, less conspicuous qualities remain in the background.) That said, it is understandable why this person will be named *Limpy*. This way of thinking explains secular naming practices in pre-Christian times. Ecclesiastical naming practices, however, cannot be accounted for in the same fashion since ecclesiastical names were not given on the basis of the meaning of the actual names in question. The development of **distinguishing elements**, considered as the precursors of family names, must have taken place similarly to the process of secular naming, thus such naming practices can also be studied with the help of cognitive semantics. (The term in bold type above comes from András Mező (1970: 78)'s terminology: in the present context, I deem the use of this term more appropriate than the use of Katalin Fehértói (1969: 5)'s term of **distinguishing name** for the reason that the latter term is a narrower category and excludes names containing *filius* and *de* + place name constructions, both referred to in the present study.)

2.2. The most common types of distinguishing elements are names using *filius* (1334: *Johannes filius Etheruh* ('Johannes son of Etheruh'), AnjOkm. 3: 126), *de* + place name (1326: *Ladizlaus de Farkasd*, ('Ladizlaus from Farkasd') AnjOkm. 2: 269), *de genere* (1315: *Myske de genere Ratholth*, ('Myske from the kindred of the Ratholth') AnjOkm. 1: 377) and names containing *dictus* (1323: *Nicolaus dictus Rex*, 'Nicolaus known as King' AnjOkm. 2: 64) (see e.g. Benkő 1949). Here, too, the reason for naming is the actual perceived quality of the person that was easily noticeable by those who effected the naming: in the first example, family relationship seemed the most important; in the second, the most essential feature was the property or the place of origin; in the third, the clan; and in the fourth, some other quality (e.g. appearance or inner quality, occupation). The main question, quite seldom addressed

by name studies to date, is why one given element (or, in the majority of cases, several given elements) has (have) emerged to become the most important (given the fact that in the case of certain persons different people found diverse qualities to be the most salient). In my view, the selection was primarily influenced by pragmatic and other, extra-linguistic factors.

2.2.1. One of the most influential of these factors was social standing. For noblemen, proving their nobility and securing an uninterrupted line of inheritance and succession were of primary importance as these issues ensured their privileges, raised them above the level of the featureless masses of ordinary people, furthermore, the acquisition of various dignities and offices was a highly desirable objective for them. It follows from the above that it was the cognitive domains of FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, PROPERTY, CLAN OR NOBILITY TITLES that most often became active in the naming of such persons. This is especially observable in the case of titles of nobility countrywide (Palatine, Lord Chief Justice, Master of the Treasury, Voivode of Transylvania, etc.) as (during the periods of stable royal power) there existed only one of each of these positions, and the power attached to them extended to the entire, or a huge part of the country with everybody knowing the people who filled these positions by their names. Thus, their title of nobility became their most salient feature out of all the features in their character matrix, e.g. 1340: *Thomas woyvoda Transsilvanus et comes de Zonuk* ('Thomas the Voivode of Transylvania and the head of Szolnok county', AnjOkm. 4: 4). In sum, it can be stated that out of the three above types of distinguishing elements, names including *filius* and *de* + place name were the most characteristic names of noblemen.

As opposed to the members of the nobility, the majority of common people had no property, they did not belong to a clan or did not bear high titles and even their fathers' identity was less important and less worthy of attention. Therefore, when they were named, it was mostly the cognitive domains of APPEARANCE, INNER QUALITIES, PLACE OF RESIDENCE OR OCCUPATION that became active. If, for instance, somebody moved from their place of birth to another settlement, obviously in the eyes of those already living in the latter settlement, the most striking feature of the person in question was the settlement they came from: this distinguished them from the others to a much greater extent than their father's (or other relatives') name or their occupation. Another obvious possibility was to distinguish between two persons with the same name living at the same settlement on the basis of their occupations: thus one of them would be called *John Smith* while the other *John Taylor*. These two alternatives, nonetheless, were most likely to have been preceded by a third possibility: naming on the basis of appearance and physical features. If somebody had a feature which was different from the prototypical (e.g. a bigger nose, ear, or mouth, or just one hand, leg, eye, etc.), this was always more conspicuous than their occupation or the settlement they were from. Certainly, it was so because one had to talk to the person in question and get to know them to a certain extent in order to learn about their occupation and origin. Physical features, however, can be perceived at first glance. On the basis of the above arguments, it may be concluded that among common persons names with *dictus* were typical (the same conclusion was reached by e.g. Fehértói 1970: 155; Kurcz 1988: 76; Engel 2003a: 583–584).

2.2.2. The actual naming of a person is also affected by his role in a given matter. If he is the issuer of the deed, his prominent feature is in the domain of NOBILITY as this reserves him the right to issue deeds, and so any other features he may have are only of secondary importance.

Whether a given person plays a primary or a secondary role in a given matter will mostly affect the quantity of elements in his name. Primary actors, for the sake of unambiguous distinction, are described more precisely, through the use of more reference points. If, however, a person is only referred to in a secondary role, e.g. as the owner of the land adjacent to the property described (practically as a reference point facilitating the identification of the property), then only one distinguishing element is used. Due to a lack of data (the given person is referred to only in one deed, or not as a primary actor), it is, as a rule, impossible to pinpoint the reason why one of these elements is finally selected.

2.2.3. The aim articulated in a given deed also influences the emergence of reference points. For instance, in a property transaction (inheritance, purchase, sale) naturally the domains of PROPERTY and FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS will be in focus. This perspective was so powerful that even the names of countrywide-known noblemen were extended by distinguishing elements of *filius* and/or *de* + name of property: 1333: *in persona magnifici viri Thome woyuode Transsilvani filii Farkasii* ('in the name of dignified Thomas the Voivode of Transylvania son of Farkas', AnjOkm. 3: 44); similarly Pál Garai features „only” as *Pauli magistri tawarnicorum domine regine* ('Paulus the Master of the Treasury of the Queen' 1336, AnjOkm. 3: 296) in a list of noblemen, whereas with reference to a property issue, he is mentioned as: 1336: *magnifici viri magistri Pauli de Gara magistri tawarnicorum et iudicis curie domine regine* ('dignified master Paulus from Gara the Master of the Treasury and the Queen's Lord Chief Justice', AnjOkm. 3: 278).

2.2.4. When it comes to selecting name elements an especially important aspect is what image the primary actor, oftentimes the applicant, of the deed wishes to convey of himself. The most outstanding examples of this are provided by clan names. The element *de genere* is less common in names from the beginning of the 14th century on as, at that time, the clan system was rapidly disintegrating, and with the Angevins a new circle of barons had evolved by being granted nobility, and thus new families entered the rank of noblemen. Furthermore, even certain members of castle serfs managed to be granted nobility as well (for more detail, see e.g. Engel 2003b: 317, Zsoldos 1999: 168–181). The reason for which the clan name still featured in certain names is that the noblemen concerned considered their belonging to the given clan an important characteristic feature in the given situation. Some wished to highlight their long-established nobility as opposed to the new circle of nobility that was granted the title not much long before. In a deed dating back to 1306, the sons of Comes András mortgaged a quarter of both of their two properties: *Andreas et Johannes filij Comitiss Andree, de generatione Osl* ('Andreas and Johannes, sons of Comes Andreas of the kindred of Osl', AnjOkm. 1: 110). Through this act, the brothers signalled that even if they were having financial problems, they came from a noble lineage. In a deed of 1308, a widow, in her own name and in the name of her two under-aged sons, assigned the filial quarter to her daughter of age: *nobilis domina, Barbara nomine, filia Nicolai fratris Batyz de genere Negol, relicta Thome filij Pauli de genere Geur* ('noble lady known as Barbara the daughter of Nicolaus, brother of Batyz from the kindred of Negol, widow of Thomas son of Paulus from the kindred of Győr', AnjOkm. 1: 142). In this case, referring twice to the fact that she belonged to a clan was in fact an act of defence: a lonely widow might well have been the target of greedy relatives and neighbours wanting to do her out of her property: that could have been the reason why she stressed her right to the land. During the time of the Provisorium (1301–1307), the element *de*

genere in someone's name signalled that s/he belonged to the clan of a powerful lord, since such a name element was a highly decisive feature at the time of war between the lords and claimants to the throne. After King Charles Robert gained power (in 1307), it was rather the "new" barons who used the clan names to show that even if their power was new, their nobility was well-established in an effort to make the members of the long-established nobility accept them as equal in rank.

2.2.5. With reference to the element of *de* + place name, the place of residence might also come into play as an extra-linguistic feature. As the wealthiest nobles had more than one property, the selection of the property to be included in their names as a distinguishing element was also carried out on the basis of prominence: the most salient feature was the property where the nobleman actually lived. (This is convincingly proven by János N. Fodor [2004: 43] with the help of the family names of the Szólátmonostor-based branch of the clan Gutkeled.) The Bazini and Szentgyörgyi families, for instance, lived in Bazin and Szentgyörgy alternately, thus in deeds it was always the actual property where they lived that appeared in their family names (Karácsonyi 1900/2004²: 670). Thus Sebes in 1334 was referred to as *nobiles viri magistri Sebus [et Petrus] filii Abrae de Sancto Georgio* ('noble men Masters Sebus [and Petrus], sons of Abraham from Szentgyörgy' AnjOkm. 3: 74), whereas in 1335 the same person was noted as *magistri Sebus filii comitis Abrae de Bozyn* ('to Master Sebus son of Abraham from Bazin', AnjOkm. 3: 132). This, however, raises a new issue for discussion: it seems that it is not only the activation of a domain that reflects a choice but also the choice of the element to be profiled within the actual domain. Further, the element of the *filius* type also raises the same problem: the person who did the actual naming/was responsible for the actual naming had to make a choice from among the family members of the person to be named. (In the majority of cases, it was the father that was salient, although in some cases a distant relative might have played a more crucial role in the life of the family, e.g. the property was inherited from him, he held a high office, etc.; that is, his role and character in the history of the family was more salient than that of the father. An interesting example for this is provided in Fehértói 1975.)

3. The stability of the reference point

As it is pointed out above, when a person receives a name, several distinguishing elements are combined as a rule. The reason for this, apart from the explanation detailed above, might primarily be that the bearer of the name or the scribe noting down the name did not feel that any one of the elements was stable enough in itself to serve as a reference point. Let us imagine that someone is trying to get to a certain address in an unknown town. They have already asked several people for the way but everybody has explained the route in relation to different reference points. This way one would probably never find one's way to the given address. (This is the kind of situation researchers face when, wishing to identify persons, they are trying to decide whether the person called *Stephanus dictus Fekete* ('Stephanus known as Black') is the same as *Stephanus filius Thur* ('Stephanus son of Thur') referred to in a later deed.) The situation would likewise be hopeless if the person giving directions in the previous example would relate the address in question to a black BMW cruising the area all day long. Thus, a reference point should be constant and stable in order to fulfil its function. Stability, in turn, is a matter of degree, with more and less stable elements forming a continuum. Conceptualisation is always carried out relying on the more stable reference

point, i.e. a less stable entity is typically defined in relation to a more stable entity (compare *the ball is behind the tree with the tree is in front of the ball*).

3.1. If none of the elements are stable enough, then it seems logical to activate several elements at the same time.

3.1.1. This is what happened in the following case: **1334:** *Paulus quondam banus de Machow iudex curie domine regine* ('Paulus former Ban of Macsó, the Queen's Lord Chief Justice', AnjOkm. 3: 117). Pál Garai, whom I have already referred to above, when finding himself in a position higher than his former position of Ban, he still noted his earlier position for a certain period of time as his new position was not considered to be known well enough and thus stable enough by the scribe drawing up the deed (the differences between contemporary and present-day conditions are illustrated by the fact that by that time Garai had been acting for about two years as the Queen's Lord Chief Justice – Karácsonyi 1900/2004²: 438–439).

3.1.2. The bearer of the following name – *magister Thomas filius Petri magni castellani de Chokakw et de Geztus* ('Master Thomas son of Petrus the Great, Castellan of Csókakő and Gesztes', 1335; AnjOkm. 3: 174) – made a significant career under the Angevin kings: in 1335, however, he still held the position of Castellan, which was merely of average importance. Also, similarly to many barons elevated under the reign of King Charles Robert, he was a member of the lesser nobility only (Karácsonyi 1900/2004²: 408–412). Consequently, he had no position, ancestors or property of higher importance which could have unambiguously defined his identity, therefore in his case several reference points were necessary.

3.1.3. Women – if their names ever made it into documents – were, at that time, usually officially named in relation to their male family members. Reviewing contemporary practice, it appears that in order to do this, two reference points were deemed necessary and sufficient: the names of the father and the husband. If, nevertheless, the widow remarried and if her new marriage was relatively recent (or in other words, it was not stable enough to be used as a reference point) at the time of issuing the deed, the deed contained the names of both the late and the current husband: **1308:** *nobili domina [...] Katha Relicta magistri petri de Ogya filia comitis Buken cognata comitis Abree [...] de Sancto Georgio* ('noble lady Kata widow of Master Petrus from Ogya, daughter of comes Buken relative of Comes Andreas', AnjOkm. 1: 151–152).

An intricate and surprising item different from contemporary everyday practice is the following: **1333:** *Sebastianus frater relicte Ruberti* ('Sebastian brother of Robert's widow', KárOkl. 82). This circumscription reflects that the person drawing up the deed identified a man by mentioning a female relative of his. Based on the above, one must conclude that the woman in question, for some reason, must have played such a prominent role in the family (presumably having authority over several significant pieces of property as a widow) that she served as a reference point in the naming of her brother. Strangely though, she was not considered important enough to have her own name noted. Instead, in the usual fashion, she is referred to in relation to her late husband.

3.2. Another solution to the problem of not having appropriately stable reference points is to switch reference points. This, as a rule, does not mean that instead of one cognitive domain another was highlighted, it rather means that within a given domain one, more

easily accessible element got profiled instead of another. As several examples show, if a nobleman was donated a property more significant than his other properties, the name of this later acquired property was used as a new distinguishing element (see e.g. Mikesy 1959: 83; Székely 1970: 205), as, from that time on, from among all his properties, this property was the most conspicuous and salient.

4. From distinguishing elements to family names

So far it has been shown that in the initial stage of the development of family names, distinguishing elements were added to the one-element names used earlier. The distinguishing elements, however, were not used consistently in all of the deeds. This raises another question, namely: when did these elements become real family names?

4.1. As far as the exact date of the appearance of Hungarian family names is concerned, researchers hold very diverse opinions. According to János Melich (1943: 271), for instance, family names are already existent in the 13th century, whereas Sándor Mikesy (1959: 82) dates the establishment of a regularly inherited Hungarian name system to the beginning of the 16th century, and András Mező (1970: 28) to the 17th-18th centuries. These significant differences are partly explained by the fact that the development of family names was quite a long process.

Traditionally, a name element is termed a real family name when it has been established on a permanent basis. This certainly does not refer to its written form or orthography – these two aspects being dependent on the person noting down the name – but to the fact that the same distinguishing element is used to identify a person, thus it appears as a family name. The other important criterion is the hereditary nature of name elements, which, for lack of other data, can be inferred from the same element appearing in the names of siblings (see e.g. Hajdú 2003: 737–738). Working from early records, nonetheless, it is almost impossible to establish lines of inheritance. It is not sufficient evidence, for instance, if in the names of both the father and the son the same property name features since as long as the family possesses the given property, the possibility of using the circumscription of *de* + place name is afforded. The case with names of occupations is similar. Since very often occupation goes from father to son, it is impossible to decide whether a given element acts as an occasional marker or if the element is already inherited. This kind of uncertainty has given rise to diverse opinions among researchers. On the basis of formal criteria, Katalin Fehértói (1969: 33), for instance, does not consider the *de* + place name construction a family name. In her view, only names featuring the *de* + place name construction spelt in the Hungarian way (i.e. *-i* place name suffix spelt in Hungarian) are acceptable as real family names. János N. Fodor (2004: 31) takes a more cautious approach claiming that “It is not too probable that these elements could ‘as a rule’ be considered family names, but it is undoubted that there might be family names behind them” (translation by the author).

The documents consulted for this research do not yield sufficient data neither in terms of quantity nor in terms of quality to take sides in this issue. The present analysis encompasses a mere 40 years of data, which is insufficient for observing long-term changes. As my research extends to the entire territory of former Hungary, most of the persons or families surface only once in the data collected. This makes research into the question of inheritance even more difficult. Despite the difficulties outlined above, on the basis of the available

data, it can be observed that the use of distinguishing elements shows a very diverse pattern even in the case of one single person. Therefore, in my interpretation, in this age, it is only with reference to a few cases that one can talk about family names (e.g. in connection with the Drugeth's, who come from France and whose names always appear in the same form in the sources, without any Latin elements: that is why it can be assumed that they bore an established family name of French origin). Due to the difficulties outlined above, in the rest of the study, I do not wish to establish date limits but my aim is to set up the criteria for a distinguishing element to be regarded as a family name.

4.1.1. In connection with proper names, Langacker (1991: 59) notes that they are the unique names of single entities and are thus a priori grounded. (This is what Bulgakov noted forty years before Langacker, when he explained that proper names function like demonstrative pronouns or like a gesture of pointing at a person; in Hungarian: 1992: 449.) If, however, in a conversation there is reference to several persons with the same name, the identifying function of names may be suspended. In such cases, consequently, names function rather like common names, therefore distinguishing elements and circumscriptions are necessary to unambiguously identify the person one wishes to talk about (Langacker 1991: 58–60). Katalin J. Soltész expressed a similar idea as early as in 1979: “if one hears the name *John*, one might think about John Public, John Smith or even John the Apostle [...]; without such additions or without any context or speech situation, *John* or any other name in fact is merely a potential name” (1979: 46; translation and highlights by the author). Thus, an epistemically grounded proper name in such cases requires grounding the same way as a common name does (for grounding, see Langacker 1987: 126–128).

This issue was raised at quite an early stage in connection with the development of family names. According to Gábor Szarvas (1885: 418), the need for the development of two-element names came about as a result of the decreased diversification of the pool of names: several people bore the same name, which caused confusion in everyday life. János Melich (1943), however, rejected this theory and claimed that it was rather for legal reasons and to ensure the line of succession and inheritance that family names evolved. This argumentation was then picked up and extended in social, economic and cultural historical considerations by Loránd Benkő (1949). Sándor Mikešy (1959), on the other hand, regarded the development of family names as a joint consequence of the practice of drawing up deeds and the effects of Western civilisation. These opinions can, in fact, be perfectly reconciled and traced back to one single cause: the proper name acting as a reference point. As we have seen above, a reference point can only be something that is easily accessible and more salient than its target. If, nonetheless, in a village every second man is called *John* and every third male is called *Michael*, then these names will not be salient in their conceptual surroundings. This will then give rise to situations where persons with the same name are mistaken for each other, which results in heritage, tax payment, etc. related complications. In order to avoid such confusions, the reference point must be strengthened and supported with the help of another reference point. It is at this stage that the effects of Western civilisation come into play: this new reference point is prototypically a distinguishing element that can either be metonymic (referring to one of the given person's characteristics, family affiliation or lineage, place of residence or property) or, less often, metaphorical (the conceptualisation of the person as a target domain with the help of a familiar plant, animal, etc. as a source domain) (for the similar origins of English family names, see e.g. Matthews 1966, Reaney 1967; for German family names, Geuenich 1995). If one accepts that a name is a reference

point and that a reference point must always be stable, then it logically follows that a distinguishing element can only be regarded as a family name if the name element has become permanent or, in other words, established. This then perfectly matches the traditional point of view.

4.1.2. Let us examine the three constructions through three examples (I do not consider the *de genere* construction a separate type as it behaves in the same way as the construction with *de* + place name; and, furthermore, clan names did not become family names):

<i>Johannes</i>	<i>filius</i>	<i>Etheruh</i>	(AnjOkm. 3: 126)
<i>Ladizlaus</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>Farkasd</i>	(AnjOkm. 2: 269)
<i>Egidius</i>	<i>dictus</i>	<i>rufus</i>	(AnjOkm. 1: 122)
target		source	

Earlier I claimed that distinguishing elements served as reference points in the conceptualisation of the target, i.e. the person they served to identify. In the above examples, Johannes, Ladizlaus and Egidius, in which cases the son is defined in relation to his father, the (land) owner to his property, a person to a range of colours, respectively. If in reality the actual relation ceases, because one of the entities between which the relation could previously be observed disappears, for example, Ladizlaus loses his property, this person should not be called *Ladizlaus de Farkasd* any more. However, if he is still called *Ladizlaus de Farkasd* as a result of conventionalisation, this clearly indicates that behind the Latin structure *de F.* there is a Hungarian family name. This is exactly what happened to the Bacsikai Family researched by János N. Fodor (2004: 36): sometime between 1346 and 1360 the family left the settlement of Bacska, and in 1379 they renounced Bacska for the benefit of another branch of the family, and yet in their name, the element *de Bachka* continued to appear. It is clear that the structure previously used to identify a person by characterizing them does not describe or characterise them any longer, but instead, it identifies them, thus fulfilling one of the basic typicality conditions of being a name. The element previously used for grounding has lost its original function and has ended up as part of the name. (This is perfectly well proven by the fact that if someone knows several persons with the same two-element name [e.g. *Farkasdi László*], then in a conversation they will need another distinguishing element for the unambiguous identification of the one person concerned.)

4.1.3. The process described above brings about another change. As long as it is possible to add different distinguishing elements to a name, the cognitive act of naming is continually reproduced: behind a name, the active problem-solving process executed by the person or community performing the naming is visible all the time. But as soon as the name element becomes a family name, the role of the person(s) performing the naming disappears.

4.2. Answering the question in the way detailed above (i.e. when did distinguishing elements become real family names), logically a second question follows: What influences which of the different varieties of names will finally become a family name? The more sophisticated circumscriptions can immediately be excluded since they are the products of written culture. They are unsuitable to be used orally, which presents an insurmountable

obstacle to them becoming family names. Thus, the three basic types (*filius*, *de* + place name, *dictus*) detailed above remain. The answer once again lies with reference points. A reference point, as it has been shown above, should be constant and stable in order to fulfil its function. The more stable an element functioning as a reference point is, the more likely it is to become a family name.

4.2.1. With this in mind, let us examine the three basic types of distinguishing elements. The paternal name (or the name of any other relative) can be considered (more or less) stable with reference to one single person. But such a name is nowhere near stable from the point of view of the family as this name changes from generation to generation. Most probably this is the explanation for the phenomenon noted by Pál Engel (2003: 583–584), who researched the names of noblemen in the County of Valkó: by the middle of the 15th century the use of this type of name radically declined whereas the proportion of constructions including place names gradually increased. This is because place names are appropriately stable reference points bearing in mind that one and the same property could remain in the ownership of the same family for hundreds of years. Even if the *de* + place name construction does not refer to a nobleman but instead to a person who came from the settlement in question, this reference point can again be termed stable as families (and also their neighbours and acquaintances) remembered their origins for generations. The type with *dictus* is not uniform in this respect: certain qualities associated with appearance and inner qualities (e.g. colour of hair, height, mood, habitual actions, etc.) as well as occupations might have been inherited or handed down from generation to generation, therefore such qualities and occupations can be regarded as stable from the point of view of the family, whereas other qualities cannot.

4.2.2. There also appears an intriguing contradiction if I return to the problem associated with the discussion of the first issue: it is impossible to prove that a construction of *de* + name of property has become a family name until the family in question loses or sells, etc. their property. The same has been said above about the names of occupations: as long as the occupation is handed down from one generation to the other, the inheritance of names cannot be proved. In opposition to this, by involving genealogy in this research, it can be stated that in the case of a name including *filius* as low a number as two generations is enough to establish lineage: if after *filius* it is not the name of the father that is found but the name of a more distant ancestor (e.g. the grandfather), one is certainly dealing with a family name. However, one must be more careful in the case of names containing *dictus*: if the same element is featured in the name of both the father and the son, it can be suspected that the name was handed down. It is likewise impossible to state anything with absolute certainty in the case of hereditary qualities just like as it is in the case of *de* + place name constructions (but who is to decide what can be regarded hereditary and what cannot?). The task, nonetheless, is easier in the case of metaphorical (e.g. 1377: *Petrus dictus Chyrke* [‘Petrus known as Chicken’, Fehértói 1969]) and especially hypocoristic names. Let us take for instance the following example: 1338: *magister Sebus filius Abrae dicti Abychk de Sancto Georgio* (‘Master Sebus son of Abraham known as Abychk from Szentgyörgy’, AnjOkm. 3: 456). In the father’s name, the distinguishing element *Abychk* was formed using the hypocoristic form of the name *Ábrahám*, most probably in order to allow for him to be distinguished from his father (that is from Sebes’ grandfather), who was also called *Ábrahám* (for the family, see Karácsonyi 1900: 665–672). Had this element appeared in the name of Sebes or his siblings, Tamás and Péter, one would then have to regard this name as a family name and not as a

circumscription of hypocoristic origin with a distinctive purpose (data to the contrary, however, are unknown). The conclusion that follows directly from the above is the following: although in order for a name to become a family name a reference point as stable as possible is required, for the determination of whether an element has become a family name or not, it is actually the least stable reference points that are the most suitable.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that neither traditional nor cognitive analyses can be carried out without data obtained from sources, and that neither analysis can achieve much without relying on related disciplines. As we have seen, in the initial stage of the development of family names, in addition to earlier one-element names, distinguishing elements appeared, which were different from deed to deed. Since the aim of naming was to define a person as precisely and unambiguously as possible, the element actually used was always the most salient quality from among all the qualities of that person. Oftentimes, this meant highlighting several elements at the same time. It is presumable that these elements are not equally salient: their conspicuousness is a matter of degree. Indeed, the question of salience will have to be answered by future research into the sequence of such elements.

As regards the question of since when it has been possible to refer to real family names, the same results were obtained by using both methods, even if the theoretical foundations of these methods were different. As opposed to the previous question, the last issue of what influences whether individual types of distinguishing elements will finally become family names, has not yet surfaced in the Hungarian research of historical personal name studies. Raising this issue in itself seems to support the assumption that the framework of cognitive theory may well have a prolific effect on future research in the field.

Sources

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