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HUNGARICA**
(Formerly Annales Sectio Linguistica)

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Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Studia Linguistica Hungarica was originally a yearbook of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), under the full title of *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis 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.

Throughout this 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 a new title, new editorial and advisory boards, and under very different circumstances. *Studia Linguistica Hungarica* continues as a peer reviewed journal published yearly by 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.

INTRODUCTION

Issue No 28. presents papers written by members of the Research Group in Stylistics, Eötvös University, Budapest (www.stylistics.elte.hu). The group's main goal is to contribute to the functional cognitive description of style. Recently, the research group has been engaged in the complex functional cognitive description of socio-cultural factors in style with special regard to the following:

- The features, the stylistic potential and discreteness of socio-cultural factors.
- Types of socio-cultural factors in relation to the communicative intention of the speaker and the communicative expectations of the recipient
- The typical co-occurrences of socio-cultural factors in stylistic schemas
- The relation between socio-cultural factors and genres (text types)
- The relation between socio-cultural factors and typical speech situations
- Methodology and data (descriptive generalizations based on data from written and oral corpora)

The socio-cultural factors of style investigated by the project include the domains of attitude, situation, value (value saturation vs. deprivation), time (archaism vs. neologism), and language varieties.

Stylistic phenomena to be investigated: foregrounding, adaptation and negotiation, attitude, stylistic unit, stylistic value, stylistic attribution, stylistic patterns and schemas, archaism, neologism, politeness.

Domains of investigation: spontaneous spoken discourse, planned monologue texts, instructions, institution specific everyday discourses, media and internet texts, scientific discourse, modern and postmodern prose. The present issue of *Studia Linguistica Hungarica* highlights a selection of the group's results so far.

The present issue of *Studia Linguistica Hungarica* has been supported by grant K 81315 of OTKA (Hungarian Scientific Research Fund).

THE COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS IN STYLE

GÁBOR TOLCSVAI NAGY

Abstract

The paper discusses the complexity of linguistic style in the cognitive linguistic framework. The complexity of style is approached in three complex domains: the stylistic potential of language, the socio-cultural factors and the stylistic structure. The socio-cultural factors are maintained by the community and its culture, attributing cultural meaning to linguistic formation types, but they do not come directly from the inherent features of the language system. The paper gives a theoretical approach to socio-cultural factors in style compared to the stylistic potential, in relation with the emergent nature of society (community in general) and culture, within the dynamic linguistic interaction with the joint attentional and referential scenes, with the self-creative and self-reflexive nature of the interlocutors and their social relations. The characteristic variability of Hungarian cultural groups and language varieties are also treated, from the perspective of stylistic socio-cultural factors. The last section deals with the main functions of the stylistic socio-cultural factors, pointing to the subjectified character of linguistic formation.

Keywords: community, culture, linguistic interaction, self-creation, self-reflection, socio-cultural factors, stylistic potential, subjectification

1. Introduction

The functional approaches to languages definitely state the connection between language system and usage, and the inseparable nature of the two. It is also a fundamental functional empirical and theoretical assertion that the participants in a linguistic interaction treat their knowledge in a dynamic way, whereby schematic knowledge is adjusted to the processed discourse space during instantiation. The continuous updating of the adjustment in the course of the linguistic activity proves to be an important factor, based on conventions, via processes of negotiation, not a simple adjustment to an 'objectively' given situation. Language use is the basis for linguistic variability, in the modes of construal. A third factor is added to language system and language use: the language community, existing in its culture generated and continually recreated by itself. The community elaborates, makes successful or omits such schemas in the everyday practice that are directly represented in the system of linguistic forming, or more precisely that are action forms accomplished in a linguistic frame. That is, they directly affect the history of the linguistic system, particularly its subsystem of formation, style. In this respect, one question is central: how the cultural norms and behaviour patterns of the language community are integrated into the systemic use of language, or how the cultural norms and

behaviour patterns form part of the speakers' knowledge and how the conventionalized forms become the authentic part of dynamic meaning generation. To put it in a still more usage based frame: how is linguistic interaction formed by cultural norms and behaviour patterns, and, on the other hand, how does current linguistic usage events affect cultural norms and behaviour patterns? The question put this way is articulated in the contacting domains of traditional European stylistics (style theory), sociolinguistics and functional grammar.

German stylistics prefers the category of style as a system of relations instantiated in the linguistic interaction and the on-line semantic processing of discourse. Though starting from the traditional aesthetic function, these theories of style point out the complex dynamic meaning generation function of style (see e.g. Sandig 2005). On the other hand, Anglo-Saxon style theories start out from the relation between the vernacular ('dialect') and the register (see Halliday 1968, 1978), or Labov's (1966) sociolinguistic model of a formal—informal scale, for the re-interpretation of this model see Eckert—Rickford eds. (2001). These theories elaborate sociolinguistic and socio-psychological frames of style theory, concentrating on the expression of individual and collective identity, community relations and interpersonal actions (see e.g. Bell 1984, Biber—Finegan 1994, Coupland 2007). For the Hungarian language and culture, some recent works have been published. Bartha—Hámori (2010) gives an overview from a mainly sociolinguistic perspective, Simon (2012) sets up a stylistic viewpoint, while Domonkosi (2010) uses sociolinguistic and stylistic factors jointly.

Other theories concentrate on the cognitive relations of style, processing and comprehension, starting out from literary hermeneutics as well as cognitive linguistics (cf. Gumbrecht 1986, van Peer 1986, van Peer—Renkema eds. 1984, Semino—Culpeper eds. 2002, Brône—Vandaele eds. 2009).

In what follows, I sketch the overlapping domains from the joint perspective of stylistics and grammar in a cognitive linguistic framework, as an improvement of Tolcsvai Nagy (1996, 2005). The mode of saying in a linguistic interaction functions as a factor of meaning generation. The system of formation factors emerging in the on-line processing of the discourse comes simultaneously from cultural factors of community origin and from the linguistic potential, during the joint attentional and referential scenes, usually based on schemas (cf. Verschuere 1999, Tomasello 1999 Sandig 1986, 2005). The participants of the linguistic interaction focus their attention on a third entity, the object of their discourse and its linguistic representation, all aware of acting as intentional beings, using linguistic structures, exploiting the linguistic potential.

2. The stylistic justification of socio-cultural factors

The intersubjective and interactive nature of style can be grasped in its complexity. According to the functional cognitive interpretation, style functions in discourse, emerging in a joint attentional and referential scene, in the processed discourse space, by the current functions of linguistic formation. Three sources of linguistic formation can be defined: the linguistic potential, the socio-cultural factors and stylistic structure.

The linguistic potential exists, besides other functions, as the partly open system of the stylistic potential of the language system. This system of linguistic potential is not exposed to the historical changes in language communities and culture. The language system changes

certainly, but it proves to be more stable than the system of socio-cultural factors. For instance, the stylistic potential of the noun, the verb or the adjective is great, but their schematic semantic and syntactic features work as variational constraints, too. The socio-cultural factors are maintained by the community and its culture, attributing cultural meaning to linguistic formation types, but they do not come directly from the inherent features of the language system. For example, politeness shows universal features, but the instantiation of these features may vary according to historical periods, because a community can change the linguistic expressions of politeness in a relatively short time. The ways and degree of exploiting the linguistic potential as stylistic potential varies according to historical periods and cultures.

The three sources of style can be determined as a methodological procedure; in linguistic practice they are not divided. Nevertheless, the linguistic potential functions rather in planned and written monologue discourses, while the socio-cultural factors have their role more in spontaneous spoken dialogues, in everyday informal communication. In each case, the other source types function in the background. The two characteristic discourse groups are highly differentiated from within. There is not too much space for the stylistic variability of linguistic potential in a judicial resolution or an administrative notice, while advertisements, private letters and messages or works of literature can utilise this potential.

I give one characteristic example for both the systemic linguistic potential and the socio-cultural factors in their salience and profiled nature. The systemic linguistic potential as stylistic potential can be demonstrated by T. S. Eliot's *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*:¹

(1) [...]

Let us go, through certain half-deserted streets,
The muttering retreats
Of restless nights in one-night cheap hotels
And sawdust restaurants with oyster-shells;
Streets that follow like a tedious argument
Of insidious intent

[...]

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the window-panes,
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the window-panes,
Licked its tongue into the corners of the evening,
Lingered upon the pools that stand in drains,
Let fall upon its back the soot that falls from chimneys,
Slipped by the terrace, made a sudden leap,
And seeing that it was a soft October night,
Curled once about the house, and eall asleep

[...]

One of the most fascinating features of Eliot's poetry is the presence and effect of "objective correlatives", as the poet himself consciously constructed his objective lyrics with the help of these elements. Eliot himself gives a widely used and discussed definition of this phenomenon: "The

¹ The source of T. S. Eliot' poem is: T. S. Eliot: *The Complete Poems and Plays*. London: Faber and Faber. 2004 [1969].

only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an ‘objective correlative’; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts, which must terminate in sensory experience are given, the emotion is immediately evoked” (Eliot, 1950: 124—125; the original 1919).

In *Prufrock* the reader finds “a set of objects”, which objects stand rather for themselves without any clear intention of giving an all-round description of the scene. The scenes (one of urban streets and one of a party) are indicated by these objects that seem to emerge rather accidentally, one by one as fortuitous parts of a whole but only partially known complex seen by the man (the persona) speaking in the monologue. The short analysis presented here concentrates only on these objects named in the text (sky, patient, table, street, hotel, restaurant, oyster shell, fog, window, smoke, corner, pool, muzzle, drain, tongue, soot, chimney, terrace, face, back, hands, etc).

The accidentally mentioned objects as perceived by the lyrical ego (the persona) in his monologue represent the world around him, creating the basic space-time continuum. The objects stand out of it (in the semantic space in a profile—base relation). Partly connected (semantically or by the same schemes) to each other they create first the urban scene, then the five o’clock tea scene and parallel with it the scene of human body and clothing, aging in the end. The objective correlatives here can be classified semantically in the following groups: urban street scene, five o’clock tea, human body, clothes. All correlatives are prototypes of their own type and all are basic level categories (between superordinate and subordinate categories; cf. Rosch, 1977, Lakoff, 1987: 46ff).

The correlatives are cognitive units (cf. Langacker, 1987: 57ff), but their semantic ranges change according to their frequency and joint quantity. As one of the most prominent components of the poem the lyrical ego makes observations on him but always with interruptions. These objective correlatives remain rather separated in the text representing an always new and sudden fragment of information about growing old in the linearity of the text.

In this case, one element, the noun designating things is profiled, more specifically the nature of the archetypical thing as such, by its lexical naming. Socio-cultural aspects are backgrounded.

Example (2) demonstrates the importance of socio-cultural factors in style. The dialogue is an excerpt from a live radio program. Listeners could directly phone in to join by phone the conversation led in the studio, sharing their opinions on the necessary number of shopping centres to be built in Budapest. The short excerpt quoted here is part of an about two minute dialogue between a pensioner lady (B) and the host of the program (A):

(2) 8 (B): Dehát ez nem olyan, hogy az ember a napi szükségleteit ilyenbe végezzé, és hiába olcsóbb ott a tejföl, nem fogom a fél várost beutazni, még ha kocsim lenne, akkor is, akko[r] a benzin... költséggel... lenne azzal több, amennyivel ott olcsóbb a tejföl, tegyük |föl.

9 (A): |Világos, ez teljesen érthető, valószínűleg akkor éri meg kocsival mond- juk elmenni egy messzebb fekvő üzletbe, hogyha az ember egy hónapra vásár|ol.

10 (B):|Nade hát énnekem nincs kocsim persze, a másik... és a másik,

11 (A) Aha

10 (B): hogy miért vásároljak én egy hónapra, kaját az ember nem vesz egy hónapra, nincs akkora lónagy fridzsiderem, és higgye el, a magyar háztartások többségében nincsen|,

12 (A) |aha
 10 (B): és egyebet meg mit vásároljon az ember, másra a mi nyugdíjunkból nem telik, min[t] valami kis kajára, az is az is a minimum, úgyhogy egy hónapban egyszer hús és semmi több,
 (Szerintem. Kossuth Rádió. 01.08.1997. 15—16h.)

8 (B): But this is not so that one supplies her daily needs in such [shopping centres], and it does not matter that sour cream is cheaper there, I won't go through half the town, even if I got a car, then, then with the gas ... expenses ... would make up for how much cheaper it is, let's suppose.

9 (A): Right, this is completely comprehensible, probably it is worth going, let's say, by car to a far away shop, if one shops for a month.

10 (B): But I don't have a car, of course, and the other... the other

11 (A): I see

10 (B): is that why should I do shopping for a month, one doesn't buy grub for a month, I don't have a refrigerator big as big a horse, and believe it, the majority of Hungarian households don't do,

12 (A): I see

10 (B): And what else should one buy, we pensioners can't afford anything else than some little grub, and that is that is the minimum, so meat once a month and nothing else,

Through the first turns the pensioner states her views on shopping centres: she dislikes them and does not want to have many of them. During the reasoning, she changes topic and begins to talk about the poverty of pensioners. In turn 10 she uses expressions from different registers with different stylistic effects, built into the average neutral colloquial style of the discourse:

a) *kaja* 'grub', *lónagy fridzsider* 'refrigerator as big as a horse'

b) *a magyar háztartások többsége* 'the majority of Hungarian households'

The Hungarian expression *a magyar háztartások többsége* 'the majority of Hungarian households' functions as a statistical and sociological expression, with relatively high frequency beyond its professional use. It is an objective, descriptive term with neutral or somewhat formal style. On the other hand, *kaja* 'grub' and *lónagy fridzsider* 'refrigerator as big as a horse' are informal, colloquial, even slang lexical units. The noun *fridzsider* 'refrigerator' was used by middle-class members before 1945 and was replaced by *hűtőszekrény*, *hűtő* 'refrigerator' coined from a Hungarian stem. The adjective *lónagy* 'big as a horse', literally 'horsebig' has a rustic or folksy, and slang-like effect with its exaggerating content, and expresses the pensioner's temper over her poverty. The pensioner construed her own role and the situation in diverse ways by these expressions. On one hand, she contributed to the formal style of the radio program and also the dialogue between strangers. On the other hand, starting out from her own social status and her everyday colloquial speech, she moulded the direct, informal situation of statement (the expression of an opinion), whereby emotions determine attitude, overwriting the stylistically neutral way of talk. The stylistic functions, the stylistic effect of the expressions in the radio dialogue analyzed here (*a magyar háztartások*

többsége ‘the majority of Hungarian households’, *kaja* ‘grub’ and *lónagy fridzsider* ‘refrigerator as big as a horse’) emerge first of all by such factors that are attributed to them by the Hungarian language community. The first one (*a magyar háztartások többsége* ‘the majority of Hungarian households’) has the attributes objectivity, distance keeping neutrality, technical language, while the second ones (*kaja* ‘grub’ and *lónagy fridzsider* ‘refrigerator as big as a horse’) has the attributes informality and emotion saturation. Their stylistic effect does not come from their phonological, lexical, semantic or grammatical feature. Rather, it is the result of the stylistic value attributed to them by the speakers in speech situations, more generally in the current culture. The adjective of *lónagy fridzsider* ‘refrigerator as big as a horse’ expresses a negative value and derogatory emotional tension, and these features do not come directly and absolutely from the conventional meaning of the expression; the meaning of the expression may be just the opposite in another context. In this case socio-cultural factors have their evident stylistic function while the linguistic potential is not foregrounded. Such syncretic heterogeneity with stylistic effects occurs frequently in spontaneous dialogues, thus it is less salient and is considered to be less contradictory.

In the next sections the stylistic significance of socio-cultural factors will be addressed.

3. Theoretical background

When describing style, the categories language system, language use, linguistic community and culture should be harmonised in a coherent theoretical framework. Earlier style interpretations based on rhetoric and structuralism did not complete this harmonising task. These theories seemed to be satisfied with a static approach to the linguistic system, autonomous in itself according to the theoretical premises, comprising the fixed stylistic value of the linguistic expressions. Also, these theories were related to important social and cultural theories. One of the main questions of every social theory is the definition of the origin and character of social order. The classic answer is given — as Luhmann (1998: 316) notes — by some references to normative conditions. Such a normative system may come from natural right, a social contract or some kind of conventional morals. Modern social theories are rather built on the normative sense of codes and common symbolic values. These descriptions have functional foundations, not disclaiming the existence of norms. Such functional social theories start out not from the expected picture of an ideal society, i.e. they are empirically based theories, not teleological systems, they intend to describe society by means of data, and do not expect anything. Society or every kind of human community proves to be a highly complex system, existing temporally, continuously reshaped by the active members. Such a network is emergent, i.e. the output, the complete network as a temporary result cannot be predicted completely from its parts, in the case of linguistic acting from the attitudes and acts of the members of the linguistic community.

In this respect linguistics has theoretical difficulties. The classical, logical-empirical, formal philosophy of science uses the fundamental principle of predictability. Contrary to this metascientific dogma, linguistic variability, the systemic and not completely closed network of variability in language use, is realised in the domain of style with even less predictability compared to syntax or semantics. Functional cognitive linguistics aims at a harmony and balance of the tension relation between description and theory in its framework (Langacker 1987). Language does not reflect or mirror the objective world, the speaker (the conceptualizer) construes one part of the world in linguistic expressions, on a semantic basis, from her/his perspective.

The fundamental principles of cognitive linguistics are as follows (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987, Kemmer—Barlow 2000, Geeraerts—Cuyckens eds. 2007):

- 1) Language can be described in relation to scientific knowledge about the brain and the mind.
- 2) Language is both system and use. Linguistics works with the balanced tension relation between description and theory.
- 3) Linguistic expressions are construed via probability schemas by the interlocutors. Discourse is emergent, processed in the comprehended situation.
- 4) The linguistic system is to be described from the perspective of the speaker.
- 5) Linguistic expressions should be described in their supporting matrix (i.e. their prototypical context), not autonomously.

4. The general motivation of the socio-cultural factors

Members of a modernised society form highly complex systems with communication processes. These systems are not imposed on the given communities from outside, but communities are created just by themselves forming such complex communication systems. The realisation of the emergent nature of society carries consequences: the scientific description of society constitutes part of that society, the two cannot be separated (Luhmann 1998: 16—35).

One basic feature of every community is autopoiesis, self-creation (Luhmann 1998). For the individual born into a society the “ready-made”, given nature of society is considered to be evident. Nevertheless, human communities do exist and function by continuous self-creation. A clear factor of autopoiesis is manifested in everyday actions, on diverse levels of convention and awareness.

The community decides for itself in what respect and to which degree it separates itself from other communities. At the same time, detachment forms and comprises the features belonging to the given community, identification. The community always makes references to itself and also to its environment by everyday actions with cultural content. The social and cultural references and self-references are mostly replications: roughly identical contexts prompt roughly identical attitudes. Norms are actions with social validity, the conventionalized schemas of successful actions (Bartsch 1985). They are orientational patterns formed through intentions and expectations of actions in self-referential and self-creating processes, with certain degrees of probability (Luhmann 1998: 190).

As for the individual, the process of socialisation goes on with the emergency of networks. The importance of the individual (subiectum) and the social network organized around the individual has increased in the European cultures during the last two centuries. This change is one factor in the individualisation processes of European cultures, placing the individual’s self-creating and self-reflexive processes in the foreground. As the consequence and condition at the same time, individual motivational factors have become more significant, providing more space for emergence in linguistic interactions.

All these developments serve the expression of self-identification or audience design only partly. They rather serve the interactional positioning of the speaker, the forming of the intersubjective relation and the reference to the conventions, with the actual use of the linguistic potential (the

stylistic potential) and the demonstration of the competence for linguistic creativity. The speaker's perspectival vantage point (the referential centre) becomes part of the linguistic interaction to a more definite extent, from the viewpoint of linguistic formation, too. The historical processes are emergent: interlocutors are not conscious about the final outcome of their actions. The growth of learned knowledge and access to information, and also the increase of focusing on the individual result in the growth of cultural and social variability. Since "the more information yields fewer acceptances" (Luhmann 1998: 316), i.e. more knowledge about the variability of the world, human communities and individuals brings in not only passive knowledge but also an initiating force to realise and strengthen the separation of the particular, for difference as a forming factor.

All these developments take place within social, national or group variety, wherein the cultural functions are operational factors. Culture is the essence of the community's self-creating and self-reflexive activities. The interlocutors refer to themselves and the community (their environment) by linguistic formation (style). Within this general framework (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 33), style appears in the case when the formations of certain expressions are foregrounded, i.e. drawn in the focus of attention as figures. Formation is the processing of the phonological, the semantic and the schematic structures of a linguistic expression of whatever size. The formation is foregrounded (i.e. it becomes figure) against the ground of other formations in simple or complex cognitive domains. The foregrounding of the formation of certain linguistic expressions contributes to the sense of the discourse/text. Stylistic meaning or function is more indeterminate than meaning originating from semantic structures; it is determined by several factors. Thus style is defined as a factor in the construing of the sense of the discourse, based on linguistic formation, in the mood it can function in a culture, by the interlocutors. This is why style is not a mere ornament, because it establishes and expresses at the same time the variability of the community in the flow of its activities.

In a modernised, self-creating and self-reflexive society the individual and the community, and also their relations are continuously re-interpreted, partly along cultural, linguistic: semantic and stylistic factors. The coherent description of system and use is a basic theoretical and methodological challenge. A language system in the strict sense is a network of conventionalised, decontextualised linguistic structures, i.e. symbolic structures of semantic and phonological structures with prototype effects. A system exists and functions as the interlocutors' knowledge in construal processes and dynamic meaning generation. Knowledge is activated in the process of linguistic interaction (Langacker 1987, Verschueren 1999, Tomasello 1999, Tátrai 2011).

The main factors of a linguistic interaction are as follows:

- joint focusing of attention,
- the current discourse space (discourse world, 'speech situation') processed by the interlocutors,
- temporality (processing time): attention focusing and discourse space have a temporal, on-line processing nature.

The joint attention is focused on:

- the joint referential scene (joint reference to the third participant, i.e. the topic of the discourse),
- the main active participants of the attention focusing: the speaker and the hearer.

The linguistic interaction as part of the attention focusing is realised by the on-line processing of:

- the joint referential scene,
- the factors of the social relations and the broader context.

The on-line processing of the factors of the social relations and the broader context definitely has a culture specific character. This process is completed with the continuous evaluation of the factors by intentions attributed to others and the speakers themselves via social cognitions (cf. Fiske—Taylor 1991). The factors of the attentional scene are accomplished by the interlocutors currently, on-line, through entrenched and activated attitude schemas (sanctioned by these schemas or conflicting with them). Although the attitude schemas go back to universal principles perhaps in most cases, their historical development has many culture-specific features. Evaluative attribution (i.e. processing, interpretation from personal perspective) is attained by:

- the intentions attributed to the speaker or the expected norm realized by the hearer,
- the relation between the intention realised by the speaker and the norm attributed to the hearer.

The linguistic interaction is part of the social cognition. People are intentional beings; they try to influence their surroundings. The influence on the social environment is two-way: an actor gives and gets feedback.

Besides everyday practice, communities make reflections on everyday linguistic practice with analysing processes. The (self-)reflexive analysis is not confined to science (e.g. linguistics or rhetoric); it is a component of culture, based on the community's semantics.

5. Cultural groups and language varieties

Since style is evidently related to linguistic variability, and variability has a historical character both in its system and functions, i.e. style changes, it seems to be useful to give an overview of linguistic variability, in a socio-cultural framework, concentrating on the Hungarian language community.

The division of the Hungarian language community and culture intensified during modernisation, not later than from the end of the 18th century. The groups and regions formed by the network of village communities with rustic traditions were hit by political and military shocks and were transformed by social developments. Urbanisation and the urban popular culture and language varieties produced new types of social groups and regions with more fuzzy edges than earlier. Shaping factors are: ethnological features (canonised and taught knowledge, way of life, work, family and marriage, literature, music, orientation in the world, media, material culture, the stable or changing character of these factors), geographical and travel circumstances, settlement types, communication networks and scenes. The dialectological, sociolinguistic features are closely related with the general cultural factors mentioned above. The cultural factors are instantiated with prototypical co-occurrences, i.e. in typical cultural groups with characteristic language use and linguistic self-reflection. The most important groups are as follows.

1) Rural (peasant and craftsman) dialectal groups, networks and regions with the following features:

- cumulative culture is based on the preservation of traditions, by way of replication;
- the region has a static network form with more dense contacts between neighbouring settlements (by religion and church, marriage, market), less intense contacts with administrative, cultural and economic centres;
- individuals get into contact with strangers through the identity of their (usually single) group membership, i.e. their belonging to the village community; certainly in some cases with broader relations and strong affection for the region.

2) Popular groups, networks and regions of (or believed to be of) urban origin with the following features:

- cumulative culture is based on the innovative (not replicative) attitude towards tradition and convention;
- language contacts are influenced in a growing extent by individual mobility, migration, travel;
- individuals belong to several speech communities (individually centred networks), identity is formed by the system of the vernacular and the other learned language varieties with a high degree of self-reflexivity.

3) Standard speaker groups, networks and regions with the following features:

- cumulative culture is based on the preservation and cultivation of the codified language variety, albeit including innovation;
- the cultivation, codification and implementation of the standard language variety is completed in networks, partly with a centrally directed institutional background, though high culture and its language variety (or varieties) do not belong to one region (not even the capital, Budapest);
- the most reflexive and the most effectively self-reflexive type in defining itself and its environment.

The three types outlined above overlap with each other, and also there is great variability within each of them. The Hungarian language community and linguistic region in the Carpathian Basin shows a characteristic picture. The following systems subsist simultaneously: 1) a network of groups and regions based on organic development and dialectal, rural and urban traditions; 2) artificial regions created by the Trianon treaty in 1920, cutting through many regions and groups of the first system; 3) the dynamic, ever changing networks of the communication society not bounded to geographical places or regions, open and ready to accept innovations and newcomers. Domains of art (literature, particularly), science and some other branches of culture join the everyday language varieties with highly elaborated and reflexive language use.

6. The main functions of socio-cultural factors

As mentioned above, the complexity of style is approached in three complex domains. These are:

1. the stylistic potential of language: some aspects of the formation of a symbolic structure as a process can be foregrounded on their own, that is, they demonstrate their stylistic

- potential in relation to the cognitive possibilities of construal and conventionality, leaving the stylistic meaning itself maximally open to understanding (partially constrained by socio-cultural factors and text structure),
2. socio-cultural factors: some aspects of the formation of a symbolic structure can be foregrounded with respect to socio-cultural factors, and
 3. stylistic structure: some aspects of the formation of a symbolic structure can be foregrounded in the stylistic structure of discourse/text, in relation to other foregrounded processes within the discourse/text.

The stylistic meaning of a symbolic structure is determined partly by such factors that can be derived from social and cultural values. These values refer to the formation of a symbolic structure of any size or a text/discourse with respect to a communicative situation. The term “social” covers the universal features of cognition and communication in community, and the term “cultural” refers to the culture-specific factors of cognition and communication. The role of socio-cultural factors in style was emphasised and worked out in detail first by M. A. K. Halliday in his register theory (cf. Halliday 1968, 1978, 1994).

The socio-cultural factors have a complex role in stylistic functions. These factors constrain the stylistic potential in relation to the current discourse space, more specifically both to the scene put on stage within a viewing frame and to the ground. In other words, the socio-cultural-factors specify the activated stylistic functions relative to the speaker and the hearer within the verbal interaction.

The model presented here differentiates only the important cognitive domains, others may be added. The following cognitive domains as socio-cultural factors of style are identified in the present model.

- The domain of attitude
- The domain of situation
- The domain of value
- The domain of time
- The domain of language varieties

The domain of attitude conceptualises the speaker’s attitude towards the formation of linguistic structures, texts, in the interpretation of the recipient. It is not the attitude of the speaker directed immediately towards the recipient.

The domain of situation conceptualises the speaker’s representation of the current communicative situation in relation to the formation of linguistic symbolic structures, texts. It is certainly not the objective depiction of the given situation.

The domain of value conceptualises the speaker’s evaluation of the scene and the participants, entities, actions involved, through the formation of linguistic symbolic structures, texts.

The domain of time conceptualises the speaker’s perspective towards the formation of linguistic symbolic structures, texts. It is not the time of the actual verbal interaction, but the historical relations of the symbolic structures in the text.

Although language varieties are not manifestations of style in themselves, they have a certain function among the socio-cultural factors, mainly by their prestige and typical co-occurrences of subdomains within the first three socio-cultural domains.

In all the domains, it is important to note that the socio-cultural factors in figure—ground relations are strictly constrained in the sense that they are represented within their scope in language. That is, not attitude in general has its partial role in representing style, but attitude towards the formation of linguistic symbolic structures, texts.

The domains form different types of continua, and in each continuum certain subdomains may be separated, where the concentration of realisations are more dense than in other regions of the continuum. Subdomains overlap at the edges, i.e. their edges are fuzzy. In four of the enumerated domains there is a neutral subdomain. Neutrality does not mean something without style, but something that has no foregrounded (figured) component in that domain. Defined more precisely, neutrality means that the neutral subdomain is the central subdomain in the sense that a linguistic unit conceived as neutral in some respect needs no other symbolic structure in order to make a comparison and thus to relate two symbolic structures to establish their style with respect to each other in one of the socio-cultural factors of style. In establishing a non-neutral subdomain, the neutral subdomain is always needed within the same domain.

The socio-cultural factors map (at least partly) the social, personal and relational components of the linguistic interaction or interpret the linguistic potential according to social parameters. The factors are instantiated mostly in an implicated, subjectified way (subjectification understood in the sense of Langacker 2006). These factors are directly related to the core part of the discourse space, the ground, i.e. the interlocutors, their current time-space continuum and their temporary activated knowledge. The ground in Langacker's term is not a component of the objectively construed scene (e.g. in a clause). A speaker seldom announces that "I will speak to you in a coarse/gentle/official mood". Rather, the speaker much more frequently construes her/his references to her/his own attitude, the dynamically created discourse space and the formation conventions by implicated, subjectified linguistic formations, besides the objectified semantic content of the discourse. "An entity is said to be objectively construed to the extent that it goes "onstage" as an explicit, focused object of conception. An entity is subjectively construed to the extent that it remains "offstage" as an implicit, unselfconscious subject of conception. At issue, then, is the inherent asymmetry between the conceptualizer and what is conceptualized, between the tacit conceptualizing presence and the target of conceptualization. The asymmetry is maximal when the subject of conception lacks all self-awareness, being totally absorbed in apprehending the onstage situation, and the object of conception is salient, well-delimited, and apprehended in great acuity" (Langacker 2006: 18, cf. also Traugott 1989, Traugott—Dasher 2000, Athanasiadou—Canakis—Cornillie eds. 2006, Verhagen 2007).

Style, and the system of socio-cultural factors in particular, are only partially objectified, they are subjectified to a high degree. Within the joint attentional and referential scene, the cultural factors are profiled, i.e. they are foregrounded and function as meaningful elements. A profiled stylistic element becomes the focus of attention with other related stylistic elements in the background within their category, and is contrasted to stylistic elements of other stylistic categories. This process counts as objective. On the other hand, stylistic profiling comprises an important component of subjectification. The speaker expresses contents by stylistic formation in a covert mood, designating her/his attitude towards the topic, the situation, the value of the topic and other socio-cultural factors through implicated linguistic formation. In example (2) above, *lónagy fridsider* 'refrigerator as big as a horse' expresses overtly the size of the refrigerator: there are extremely big refrigerators, in the pensioner's knowledge. On the

other hand, she expresses her opinion and emotions about poverty, the living standard of pensioners in Hungary in 1996 in an indirect, implicated way, by subjectification. Her linguistic formation is covert, without direct self-reference, but highly effective with the semantic exaggeration. From this perspective, socio-cultural factors have the features as follows.

The socio-cultural factors function in relation to the ground (the speaker, the hearer, their space-time continuum and their currently activated knowledge), their function originates from one participant of the ground as source.

The communicative act of the speaker without the overt attention directed towards her-/himself as a communicative being comprises the vantage point of the speaker (the referential centre in the viewpoint structure). It expresses that 'I say what is said', 'I decide the perspective'. But that is not what is construed as the centre of the overtly expressed contents. This is so even when the speaker her-/himself is participant of the objectified scene. The hearer comprehends this effect intention during the joint attention focusing, within her/his expectations, more or less identical to the speaker's intentions.

The speaker originates the stylistic content with social validity from her-/himself as the conceptualizer by the implicit designation of the vantage point. She/he assumes that she/he decides about the use of the stylistic element, her/his effect intention prevails in the current use. As the conceptualizer, she/he designates implicitly, without overt self-reference the validity of this perspective. At the same time, this process is comprehensible for the hearer: she/he attributes the stylistic effect made on her-/himself to the speaker, and not exclusively to the linguistic forms. This process proves to be the one where the linguistic usage event becomes complete, by the approaching of two interlocutors to each other. The interlocutors usually create the joint comprehension, i.e. meaning generation via negotiations.

7. Summary

The paper argued that socio-cultural factors do have a significant role in the functional system of linguistic style. The socio-cultural factors are maintained by the community and its culture, attributing cultural meaning to linguistic formation types, but they do not come directly from the inherent features of the language system. The paper gave a theoretical approach to socio-cultural factors in style compared to the stylistic potential, in relation with the emergent nature of society (community in general) and culture, within the dynamic linguistic interaction with the joint attentional and referential scenes, with the self-creative and self-reflexive nature of the interlocutors and their social relations. The characteristic variability of Hungarian cultural groups and language varieties were also treated, from the perspective of stylistic socio-cultural factors. The last section dealt with the main functions of the stylistic socio-cultural factors, pointing to the subjectified character of linguistic formation.

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ATTITUDE, COMPARISON, AND RELATION IN STYLE REMARKS ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS OF STYLE*

SZILÁRD TÁTRAI

Abstract

This paper builds heavily on the cognitive theoretical model of style developed by Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy (2005) (see also Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2004). While sharing the model's functional cognitive theoretical assumptions and following its terminology, I will also raise some theoretical and methodological issues which deserve further attention. Moreover, a shift in focus will be proposed, with meaning generation in the context of linguistic interactions, rather than the symbolic structures themselves, regarded as central to the study of style (cf. Tátrai 2011). As a result, the style attributions of discourse participants and the stylistic schemas they draw on will be taken as crucial for the functioning of socio-cultural variables of style.

*Naturally, these points are not in conflict with Tolcsvai Nagy's general approach (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 127–146). However, they do allow for a re-assessment of the model's usage based character, spelling out some theoretical and methodological implications of the usage based thesis with regard to the socio-cultural variables of style. I will interpret the functioning of socio-cultural variables against the triadic structure of intersubjective meaning generation. A key element of the proposal will be the concept of stylistic attitude, here understood as the speaker's context-dependent vantage point bringing socio-cultural factors of the discourse universe to bear on linguistic construal. Relatedly, the socio-cultural variable of proto-discourses will be introduced, with attributions spanning from sophisticated through neutral to casual style. Finally, the paper will also address the issue of typical vs. atypical co-occurrences of values across socio-cultural variables, linking the problem to the homogenizing stylistic ideal and the opposing, subverting tendency of syncretism, which results in stylistic heterogeneity (cf. Lachmann 1986). The functioning of these will be illustrated by sample texts from two short stories by Antal Szerb, *A választott lovag* [*The Chosen Knight*] (1921) and *Szerelem a palackban* [*Love in a Bottle*] (1935).*

Keywords: joint attention, construal, adaptation, stylistic pattern, style attribution, stylistic attitude, proto-discourse, proto-style, stylistic syncretism

1. Style and social cognition

Cognitive stylistics uses a key concept of cognitive linguistics, namely **linguistic variability**, to interpret the notion of style. This sets the scene for an analysis of the stylistic potential of

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linguistic symbols (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 43—44). Linguistic variability is manifested in the fact that linguistic symbols are linked to varying **conceptual construals** of experiences of the world (for details, see Langacker 2008: 55—89, Tolcsvai Nagy 2011: 31—50, and Verhagen 2007). On the one hand, linguistic symbols code variations in conceptual construal; on the other, they also invite alternate conceptualizations (cf. Sinha 1999). This accounts for the perspectivity (broadly conceived, cf. Tomasello 1999) inherent in these symbols, which is put to work in discourse when speakers adopt their own perspective (context-dependent vantage point) for the purposes of interpreting a situation. More specifically, speakers use particular symbols in discourse in order to get their addressees to interpret the objects and events of the world in a particular way, as afforded by these symbols (rather than any other way). This also implies that linguistic cognition is a form of social human activity which is based on the functioning of **joint attention** and the triadic structure of intersubjective meaning generation. The general notion for describing the relationships involved is that of the discourse universe (Tátrai 2011: 29—35), which comprises:

- the joint attentional scene along with its participants and their physical, social and mental worlds, as processed jointly in discourse,
- the linguistic symbols employed by the discourse participants, grounded in the intersubjective context of the joint attentional scene, and
- the referential scene made accessible and interpretable by these symbols; in other words, experiences of the world as they are conceptualized and linguistically represented.¹

On the one hand, it follows from the above that one need not assume a stylistic difference between symbols construing a given object or event from alternate perspectives (e.g. *lawyer* vs. *man*, *the window broke* vs. *somebody broke the window*) (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 23—24). On the other, it is worth emphasizing that the linguistic symbols themselves (with their typical meanings) only have an associated stylistic potential which is realized when they contribute to the interpretation of a referential scene in the intersubjective context of a joint attentional scene. In other words, processing the stylistic function of linguistic symbols crucially depends on the discourse context, viewed here as an intersubjective system of relations (cf. Tátrai 2011: 51—67). In particular, a key role is played by the social world as conceptualized by the participants, which includes any socio-cultural (community and culture specific) knowledge brought to bear on linguistic construal as discourse unfolds (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy, this volume).

At this juncture, it is important to note that construal in discourse is interpreted as part of the adaptive linguistic activity which is geared toward the coordinated and contextually adjusted satisfaction of the discourse participants' communicative demands (goals and expectations) (cf. Verschueren 1999: 55—71, Verschueren—Brisard 2009, see also Croft 2009: 413—414, Sharafian 2008). The two major aspects of **adaptation** are choice making and negotiation. The concept of **choice making**, which has a long and complex history in the literature, is here interpreted as the implementation of a range of strategies characterized by varying degrees of intentionality and routinization. It is manifested, firstly, in the selection of

¹ This interpretation of 'discourse universe' is related to Tolcsvai Nagy's (2001: 121—125) 'text universe', and Langacker's (2008: 463—467) 'current discourse space.' The proposed interpretation of 'intersubjective context' is in line with Langacker's understanding of the 'ground' (Langacker 2002: 7).

linguistic conventions thought to be best suited to the communicative goals (from the speaker's perspective) and secondly, in the activation of related expectations (on the addressee's behalf). **Negotiation**, for its part, concerns the process (central to the emergence, management and changing of linguistic norms) whereby the discourse participants enforce their own choices, and accept or discredit the selections made by the other (cf. Verschueren 1999: 55—71, Tátrai 2011: 45—50).² Characteristic of adaptive language use in general, choice making and selection are naturally also highly relevant for the linguistic construal of discourses, as they may contribute to the description of style attributions made by the participants.

According to cognitive stylistics, style is based on differences in construal: it becomes salient when the construal of a given linguistic construction is foregrounded in the linguistic interaction, notably with regard to alternative modes of construal (for details, see Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 22—40, Tolcsvai Nagy 2004). However, this in no way implies that style only plays a significant role in dynamic meaning generation when the construal of a construction is salient. The semantic function of style hinges on the degree to which the construal of linguistic constructions meets, or fails to meet, the relevant socio-cultural expectations (conventions) put to use in the ongoing discourse.

Therefore, the stylistic function and stylistic markedness of linguistic symbols are not evaluated against an abstract, undefined (and undefinable) system of grammatical norms. Under the proposed usage based interpretation, the stylistic value of an expression is always described in its discursive context, with regard to the stylistic schemas (used as orienting norms) being activated by the discourse participants.³ In language use, stylistic patterns are open, prototype-based categories functioning in a context-sensitive and probabilistic way, anchored to typical situations, actions, topics, and associated discourse types (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 132—134). This means that the **style attributions** made by participants (as a ubiquitous aspect of meaning generation) are linked to the activation of stylistic patterns and the processing of relevant stylistic elements. Modelling the socio-cultural variables of style may provide the necessary theory and methodology for describing this process in detail.

2. Socio-cultural variables of style and stylistic attitude

In the style attributions made by discourse participants, a key role is played by socio-cultural variables, whose functioning is crucial to how the stylistic potential of linguistic symbols is grounded in discourse (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 86).⁴ As a result of this **grounding**, linguistic symbols are endowed with stylistic functions whose processing forms an integral part of the discourse universe, and within it the joint observation and interpretation of the referential scene.

² Negotiation is interpreted similarly by Tolcsvai Nagy (2005: 130).

³ The interpretation of stylistic value followed here is closely related to the definition offered by Péter (1991). According to him, “stylistic value is the markedness of linguistic elements that refers to contexts which are stylistically relevant for the community, and the corresponding language varieties, styles” (1991: 45).

⁴ See the following passage in particular: “The socio-cultural factors have a complex role in stylistic functions. These factors constrain the stylistic potential in relation to the current discourse space, more specifically both to the scene put on stage within a viewing frame and to the ground. In other words, the socio-cultural-factors specify the activated stylistic functions relative to the speaker and the recipient within the verbal interaction as location, i.e. these factors ground epistemically the stylistic potential” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 86).

In his cognitive stylistic model, Tolcsvai Nagy (1996, 2004, 2005) discusses socio-cultural factors of style along five variables, which are separable only on methodological grounds:

- the domain of attitude highlights the speaker's attitude in construing the scene, which is evaluated on a scale with 'sophisticated', 'neutral', and 'familiar' or 'vulgar' as subdomains;
- the domain of situation pertains to how the speaker and the addressee relate to each other in construing the scene, with 'formal', 'neutral' and 'informal' as subdomains of the scale;
- the domain of value concerns the speaker's value attribution in construal, with the scale including 'value saturating', 'neutral' and 'value depriving' as subdomains;
- the domain of time characterizes the style of a text and expressions within it as 'archaic', 'neutral' or 'innovative';
- and finally, the domain of language varieties highlights as a component of style the various institutionalized ('standard', 'literary') or conventionalized ('regional', 'urban', 'slang', etc.) language varieties to which a given text or expression belongs.⁵

In this context, it is important to note that Tolcsvai Nagy does not regard the instantiation of particular (sub)domains as describable by purely objective criteria. Rather, in line with the usage based thesis of cognitive linguistics, he links it to the interpretive processes of the conceptualizers (cf. Barlow—Kemmer eds. 2000, and Ladányi—Tolcsvai Nagy 2008). In other words, the functioning of socio-cultural variables is to be described from the perspective of discourse participants, with regard to their style attributions, under the assumptions of the model.

2.1. The activation of stylistic schemas

As has been mentioned above, the functioning of socio-cultural factors determining the stylistic markedness (stylistic value) of linguistic symbols/constructions in discourse is interpreted with respect to the stylistic schemas being activated by discourse participants. When a given construction is seen to comply with the typical construal associated with a certain type of situation, action, topic and discourse (i.e. it complies with the stylistic pattern being activated), its stylistic value can be regarded as neutral (unmarked). If, however, a construction activates a typical construal (stylistic pattern) associated with a different type of situation, action, topic and discourse with regard to some socio-cultural variable, its stylistic value shifts toward one or the other extreme of that variable's domain and becomes marked. An important aspect of this approach is that in the style attribution of recipients, the functioning of socio-cultural factors is affected not only by **schema-instantiation**, but also by **schema-schema** relations, with the two also mutually depending on each other.

This accounts for why a given expression can be evaluated as sophisticated, informal, archaic or neutral both "within a particular action, situation, or context" and "generally" (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 136—151). In the former case, the stylistic markedness of linguistic

⁵ For a detailed presentation of the system of socio-cultural variables, see Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 134—166.

symbols in discourse is assessed from an "internal perspective", the vantage point lying with the situated discourse participants in the current joint attentional scene. In the latter, however, the attentional scene and the construal of linguistic symbols within it are observed from an "external perspective", relating them to (typically) similar and (typically) different attentional scenes and associated stylistic patterns. Nevertheless, the possibility of adopting an "external perspective" is not exclusive to researchers systematically comparing the construal of various discourses. Since people in general are capable of viewing themselves and the current joint attentional scene from without (cf. Tomasello 1999), they also have the opportunity to reflect on the typicality of their situatedness as discourse participants, and any stylistic implications that this may have (e.g. on the situation being predominantly formal or informal).⁶

In addition to the dynamic schema—instantiation and schema—schema interactions, **instantiation—instantiation** relations are also fundamental to the functioning of socio-cultural variables in style attributions. This is because the stylistic pattern being activated in a given discourse is the result of abstraction from previous discursive experiences of the participants, when they were involved (as speakers, addressees, or even outside observers) in discourses carrying out similar actions or addressing similar topics (cf. Bakhtin 1986). This also entails that individual speakers do not possess the speech community's repertoire of stylistic patterns in its entirety. Not only because they are not familiar with every stylistic pattern, but also because they are not familiar with them to the same extent. As a result, there may be a significant gap between the goal and expectation norms of the discourse participants (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 56—68, 2005: 134—138, see also Sharafian 2008), and their negotiation on the adequacy of particular construals may border on confrontation.

2.2. The notion of stylistic attitude

In Tolcsvai Nagy's model of style, outlined above, the most complex socio-cultural factor seems to be the variable of **attitude**, which can also be regarded as central. According to the general definition, "the domain of attitude conceptualizes the speaker's attitude towards the formation of linguistic structures, texts, in the interpretation of the recipient" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 88). This interpretation is inclusive enough to allow for the view (departing from the original model) that attitude is a global concept characterizing socio-cultural factors in general rather than merely one of the variables concerned. More specifically, it can be treated as a basic category pertaining to the issue of how socio-cultural factors contribute to linguistic construal, and how they become an integral part of meaning generation in linguistic interactions.

Under these assumptions, the notion of **stylistic attitude** marks the speaker's context-dependent vantage point bearing on linguistic construal through the role afforded to socio-cultural factors, including the domains of discourse, situation, value, time, and language varieties.⁷ From this perspective, the notion of attitude hinges on the perspectivity of linguistic

⁶ From this perspective, certain linguistic devices, especially lexical items (e.g. *csaj* 'chick', *kajál* [slang for 'eat'] are stylistically (schematically) marked even in themselves, out of context, since they are able to evoke stylistic schemas without contextual support (cf. Péter 1991: 44—46, Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 198—203).

⁷ The interpretation of stylistic attitude as a context-dependent vantage point also highlights the (broadly construed) deictic nature of style. Although this paper makes no attempt at a detailed study of the relation between style and deixis, it is worth noting that the use of linguistic constructions foregrounding socio-cultural factors can be interpreted as a kind of cultural deixis (cf. Simon 2012, see also Stockwell 2002: 41—57) which allows the exploitation

constructions in general, being exploited in particular discourses, and it is a central concern for the study of style.⁸ In addition, it is worth pointing out that this concept of attitude meshes well with the interpretation of style as a relation, an act of comparison, in functional approaches.

The speaker's attitude, an inherent aspect of construal, characterizes the domains of situation, value, time, and language varieties alike. With regard to the variable of **situation**, construal reflects the speaker's attitude to the discourse partner, i.e. an interpersonal relation.⁹ The variable of **value** concerns the evaluative attitude of the speaker (as a context-dependent centre of evaluation) in construing her experience.¹⁰ The variable of **time**, for its part, highlights the speaker's attitude to the temporality of linguistic constructions as a component of linguistic construal (cf. the papers by Gábor Simon and Réka Sólyom in this volume). Finally, the notion of stylistic attitude also appears to be relevant for interpreting the stylistic implications of language varieties. As Tolcsvai Nagy (1996: 152) observes, "Linguistic registers are not styles in and by themselves; invariably, they become stylistic through the style attributions of the speaker or the listener, in comparison, selection, adaptation and connotation in a given system of relations."

However, it should be mentioned that this interpretation of stylistic attitude bears no direct relation to the socio-psychologically inclined interpretation of attitude also adopted in attitude studies on linguistic phenomena. The latter regards attitude as „a cognitive representation which subsumes the person's evaluations with regard to a given individual, group, thing or action; i.e. it is a long-term disposition with an evaluative component" (Domonkosi 2007: 38—39). Under the present proposal, stylistic attitude is not viewed as a long-term disposition. Instead, it is seen to depend on the functioning of joint attention at a given stage of a discourse, and within it on the context-dependent vantage point of the speaker. As mentioned before, the perspectivity and the related stylistic potential of linguistic constructions are exploited in discourse as the speaker enforces her own context-dependent vantage point. Through the linguistic symbols being employed, she attempts to get the addressee(s) to interpret the objects and events of the world in a particular way (cf. Tátrai 2011: 29—35). This also entails that the speaker (as part of her adaptive linguistic behaviour, i.e. aiming at the satisfaction of her own and her discourse partner's communicative demands) adjusts linguistic construal to the relevant **socially grounded and culture-specific expectations** accessible to the participants of the joint attentional scene. In other words, the speaker makes socio-cultural factors as an inalienable, integral part of the process of construal, thereby affecting the mental disposition of the other participant of the joint attentional scene. It is important to stress that manifesting one's stylistic attitude need not be a process under conscious control; rather, it may be subject to gradience as a function of routinization.

A further point worth emphasizing is that stylistic attitude can also be anchored to the issues of **subjectification**.¹¹ Stylistic attitude is generally a covert, subjectified aspect of construal

of the stylistic potential of these constructions in the intersubjective socio-cultural context of the joint attentional scene (see also Tolcsvai Nagy, this volume).

⁸ It deserves to be mentioned that the original meaning of attitude is 'posture, pose, spatial position' (cf. Nemesi 2009: 141—142), which is closely related to the issues of construal.

⁹ See also the notion of attitude deixis (Verschueren 1999: 20—21, Tátrai 2010a: 218).

¹⁰ See also the interpretation of ironic attitude (Wilson—Sperber 1992, Tátrai 2011: 190—204, cf. Grice 1978).

¹¹ Subjectification is "most generally the covert, implicit presence of the speaker or another agent through the implicit signaling of her attitude, beliefs, perspective, in a sentence or a longer passage, without this agent becoming an overt, objectified participant of the scene profiled by this sentence or passage" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2011: 134).

in discourses, with linguistic constructions giving evidence of the effects of socio-cultural factors (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy, this volume). This claim remains true despite the fact that stylistic attitude can also be objectified occasionally in the form of metapragmatic reflections (e.g. in formulas such as *to put it eloquently*; cf. Hámori, this volume).¹² More generally, the degree to which subjectification is salient correlates strongly with the stylistic (un)markedness of linguistic constructions. Whereas stylistically marked constructions (drawing on the scales' extremes with regard to socio-cultural variables) foreground the speaker's subjective attitude in construal, constructions assigned to the neutral domain leave it in the background. Therefore, the assumption that **salience** is based on the degree to which the constructions being employed comply with the norms and expectations in the discourse (Tátraí 2011: 116, see also Verschuere 1999: 173—200) can be seen as stylistically highly productive.¹³ Looking at the degree to which particular linguistic construals are expected or unexpected with respect to the patterns conventionalized by the community and routinized at the individual level, we may conclude that the stylistic salience and level of accessibility (expectedness) of linguistic constructions are inversely proportional. The easier it is to access a given linguistic construal in a given situation, the less it becomes salient, and conversely. This also means that a construction which proves to be salient in a particular context need not be similarly salient in a characteristically different context, and vice versa (see also Pethô, this volume).

2.3. The factor of proto-discourses

In previous sections, it was argued that Tolcsvai Nagy's definition of the factor of attitude (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 136) allows for an interpretation of attitude as a global category (grounded in perspectivization). However, it cannot be overlooked that the stylistic domains involved in Tolcsvai Nagy's variable, i.e. sophisticated, neutral, familiar and vulgar bring a narrower interpretation into play. They foreground an aspect of the socio-cultural layering of style which has a similar stylistic rationale as the variables of situation, value, and time; thus it would be a mistake to eliminate these domains within the overarching category of stylistic attitude.

One solution to this problem is to introduce the socio-cultural factor of **proto-discourses** (or proto-texts). Note that the **sophisticated** domain suggests an interpretation in terms of the stylistic patterns of the two proto-discourses, namely those of conversation (characterized by direct interaction, spontaneity, the oral medium, dialogicity, and a lower codification level of genre-related norms) on the one hand, and those of literary or eminent texts (featuring indirect interaction, prior planning, the written medium, monologicity and a higher codification level of genre-related norms) (cf. Tátraí 2011: 74—80, see also Tolcsvai Nagy 2008). The sophisticated domain is associated with the latter, while the familiar and vulgar domains (partial as they are) with the former. In comparison with 'sophisticated', the terms 'familiar' and 'vulgar' are arguably too specific for describing the speaker's attitude to the linguistic construal of the discourse. Therefore, a more schematic label may be in order. One suitable term could be '**casual**' (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 141).¹⁴

¹² For more on metapragmatic reflections, see Tátraí 2011: 119—125.

¹³ "Salience refers to a cue's ability to attract attention in its context" (Smith—Mackie 2000: 66). For more on the interpretation of salience, see Schmid 2007.

¹⁴ The introduction of a 'casual' subdomain is also supported by the fact that 'vulgar' may seem like a prescriptive term carried over from the traditional doctrines on stylistic virtues and errors, which goes against the basic descrip-

Out of the full range of associated properties, the sophisticated domain primarily profiles the planned and carefully formulated nature of prototypical literary (fictional, official, scientific, theological) texts; similarly, the casual domain foregrounds the spontaneity and less careful formulation inherent in prototypical conversations. These points are not challenged by the fact that some speakers are able to speak or write in a sophisticated way with little effort, and that the casual style of others may be the product of premeditated decisions. As argued before, the style attribution of the recipient is determined by the activation of stylistic patterns; this forms the basis of interpreting the style of a text and linguistic constructions within it.

Finally, it is worth recalling that the domains associated with socio-cultural factors of style have a basically methodological motivation (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 135). It is only one aspect of this that in reality, the domains form a continuum. A second important qualification is that the domain names construe a given type of stylistic attitude with regard to a particular domain in a highly schematic way. This suggests the possibility of using more specific domain labels (based on either folk or scientific categories) in more detailed descriptions of the functioning of socio-cultural factors. In the case of the variable of proto-discourses, such examples may include 'ordinary', 'solemn', 'personal' or 'impersonal'; with regard to the variable of situation, 'condescending', 'flattering', 'polite' or 'impolite', etc.

3. Co-occurrences between socio-cultural factors: proto-styles and stylistic syncretism

As noted in the previous section, the separation of socio-cultural factors in the model is methodologically motivated, since “the subdomains of the variables are functioning in parallel fashion in the style structure of a linguistic expression or the text” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2004: 157). When it comes to describing the coordinated functioning of socio-cultural factors, it deserves special attention that the variables have typical and atypical co-occurrences (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 164—166, 2005: 90—105). Typical co-occurrences, e.g. between sophisticated, formal, value-saturating and archaic on the one hand, and casual, informal, value-depriving and innovative on the other, result in homogeneous style. By contrast, atypical co-occurrences give rise to stylistic heterogeneity. Hence, the functioning of socio-cultural factors supports the view of style as an “assembly of homogenizing strategies”, and the transgression of boundaries set by homogenization as “a disposition against style” (Lachmann 1986, see also Bahtyn 1976). To this day, our style attributions are shaped by the **homogenizing stylistic ideal** of the rhetorical tradition, which is based on the Aristotelian triad of the three style types, low, middle and grand, and which is constantly challenged by the subversive, heterogenizing tendency of **stylistic syncretism** (for details, see Lachmann 1986).

3.1. Two models of proto-styles

The above points owe their relevance to the fact that cognitive stylistics allows for a reinterpretation of the homogenizing stylistic ideal which takes into account the **proto-styles** emerging from typical co-occurrences. Fundamental for the style attributions of discourse participants, proto-styles can be argued to include formal, neutral, and informal (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 86), or, alternatively, sophisticated, neutral, and casual (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2004:

tive orientation of the model (confirmed by other domain labels). Secondly, the 'familiar' subdomain may be methodologically difficult to separate from the 'informal' subdomain of the variable of situation.

160). However, it is also possible to use these terminologies in parallel, with the former applied to the linguistic construal of prototypical conversations and discourses evaluated relative to them, and the latter to prototypical (literary) texts and related discourses.

With regard to prototypical conversations, the criterion of (in)formality based on the variable of situation deserves to be highlighted because these discourses are characterized by direct interaction and as a corollary, foreground the negotiation of interpersonal relations (equality vs. hierarchy, social proximity vs. distance). It is no coincidence, for example, that the model of style developed by Bartha and Hámori (2010: 304), which interprets style on the basis of, and with reference to, conversational discourses, takes the distinction between informal and formal styles as a point of departure, and proposes a subtle elaboration of this by the concepts involvement/distancing, solidarity/power, convergence/divergence, and directness/indirectness. A key feature of conversational discourses is the personal relationship between participants, with an individualized marking of the addressee(s).

On the other hand, prototypical literary (fictional, official, scientific, etc.) texts, since they presuppose indirect interaction, are not characterized by a personal (individualized) relationship between participants. The speaker shares her experiences in such a way that, given the necessary knowledge and effort, anyone at any place or time should be able to understand them (Tátrai 2011: 78). Thus, the socio-cultural factor of situation plays a lesser role in these discourses compared to conversations. Since prototypical literary texts become relatively independent of the circumstances of both their creation and their reception, the linguistic construal, “construct-ness” of the text as a whole comes more to the foreground, suggesting sophisticated, neutral, and casual as the most adequate descriptive categories. At first, it may be difficult to accept the relevance of casual style, characteristic of prototypical conversations (see 2.3.) for the study of prototypical literary texts. However, given the complexity of literary texts (cf. Bakhtin 1986), i.e. the fact that they often embed various conversational discourses in themselves,¹⁵ the socio-cultural factors involved in casual style may be put to work in the description.

3.2. Two methods of stylistic imitation: *The Chosen Knight* and *Love in a Bottle*

In what follows, the functioning of proto-styles will be illustrated by two fictional texts, namely the short stories *The Chosen Knight* (1922) and *Love in a Bottle* (1935) by Antal Szerb. No attempt will be made at a comprehensive and systematic stylistic analysis of the texts, however.¹⁶ Rather, the points made about illustrative samples will serve to highlight relevant analytic criteria for the cognitive stylistic study of proto-styles in fiction, with particular regard to **style imitation** and **stylistic syncretism** (cf. Lachmann 1986, Bahtyin 1976). The two short stories both evoke the Arthurian legend with their choice of topic, and medieval chivalric romances with their style. However, they are remarkably different in their use of style imitation.

As example (1), taken from the opening lines of *The Chosen Knight*, aptly illustrates, this short story features homogenizing style imitation.

¹⁵ “Secondary (complex) genres of speech (e.g. novels, dramas, scientific texts, the lengthy genres of journalism etc.) [...], over the course of their formation, subsume in themselves and process a hugely diverse array of primary (simple) genres which evolved directly under the circumstances of linguistic interactions” (Bakhtin 1986: 62–63).

¹⁶ For the theoretical and methodological issues of stylistic analysis, see Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 255–258.

- (1) Abban az időben történt, hogy a dicsőséggel teljes Arthus király hadnépével hazatért Avalun csodaszigetéről, és fogolyként követte őt Merlin, a százesztendős varázsló, aki az almafák ama szigetének fejedelme volt. Mesélik, ez lett volna Arthusnak legsúlyosabb csatája, mert nem lovagi sereggel, pajzzsal pajzs ellen kellett küzdenie, hanem foghatatlan, titokzatos bűvölettel. Rettenetes volt a nem apa nemzete Merlinnek hatalma, szolgálói voltak a föld koboldjai, kik titkos aknákat ástak, a tenger tündérei, kik éjszaka az árral túlkölvé fellovagoltak a partra, a viharok koronás madarai, kik csaponganak a légi síkokon, és az erdők fénylő hasú kígyói mind. Senki sem győznél elmondani a sok csodát és veszedelmet, de végtére mégis győzött az igaz lovagság, ki soha hamisat nem ismert — Merlin tisztelt fogolyként vonult Arthus király diadalmenetében, és kincseit hozta hűbéri adóul.

It happened in those times that the glorious king Arthur returned with his army from the miraculous island of Avalun, followed by Merlin the hundred-year-old wizard as a captive, who was the monarch of that island of apple trees. Legend has it that this might have been Arthur's fiercest battle, as it wasn't knights he was up against, shield to shield, but an elusive, magic spell. Begotten by no father, such tremendous power did Merlin possess that the goblins of the earth digging secret mines, the fairies of the sea riding the waves to the shore, the crowned birds of the tempest circling in the air, and the shiny snakes of the woods were all his slaves. The countless miracles and dangers hardly bear telling, but at long last the true and fair knights claimed victory, and Merlin marched along in King Arthur's parade as a well-respected captive, carrying his treasures as a token of feudal bond.

(The Chosen Knight. 40. Transl. by András Imrényi)

The homogenizing style of the text is created by the regular co-occurrence of sophistication, value saturation and archaism. The sample contains linguistic constructions which exploit the stylistic potential of sounds, words, sentence structures and semantics alike (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 176—245, 2005: 43—84), and which can be described as value saturating or archaic as well as sophisticated. Nevertheless, it seems plausible to foreground sophistication and treat it as the key feature of the proto-style. In the style attribution of the recipient, the stylistic patterns of prototypical literary texts are activated, whose crucial feature is their high level of elaboration, in line with the rhetorical tradition, and the corresponding stylistic attitude.

It should be emphasized, however, with regard to both the above sample and the short story as a whole, that the homogenizing style imitation found in *The Chosen Knight* does not amount to a full reconstruction of the style of medieval chivalric romances. Rather, it takes an Art Nouveau approach to construing this style. Through the combination of medieval and Art Nouveau stylistic features, a special tone (i.e. stylistic attitude) is created and maintained throughout the text. In other words, the style of *The Chosen Knight* can be regarded just as much if not more characteristic of Art Nouveau as it is reminiscent of chivalric romances.¹⁷

The text's homogenizing style, enforcing a consistent tone, does not only affect the ut-

¹⁷ Compare with Szabó (1998: 173): “according to many (especially art historians) Art Nouveau is basically a kind of historicism, i.e. the imitation or revival of a style from the past; relatedly, a more widespread opinion holds that it is a neo-style, the revival of an earlier decorating style” (Szabó 1998: 173).

terance of the authorial narrator, but also embedded utterances by the story's characters, reported in direct speech.

- (2) „[...] és mégis, Cynevare, te mindenkinél csodálatosabb, én mindet-mindent elfelejtem, eldobom emlékezetüket, mint kincses rakományt hajóból, mely végső tengeren zátonyra fut, honnan már nincs menekvés — és a hajó boldog szigetté lesz, lobogók köszöntik majdan a hajnalt, ó, engedj örökre pihennem szívednek édes zátonyán, tűzzed ki ajkadra mosolyod várívó zászlaját.”

De valamint vannak holt várak, melyeken nem leng zászló feltámadásig, oly módon Cynevare sem mosolygott.

“[...] and yet, Cynevare, most wondrous of all, I shall forget every one of them, I shall cast their memories away as a load of treasure from a ship stranded at far sea wherefrom there is no escape — and the ship shall turn into a merry island, with flags greeting dawn... oh let me rest forever on the sweet reef of your heart, and smile, hoisting the siege flag on your lips.”

Alas, just as dead castles exist whereon no flag ever flutters until the day of resurrection, Cynevare did not smile.

(The Chosen Knight. 49. Transl. by András Imrényi)

The style of the utterance in (2) does not depart from that of the narrator's reflections following it, thus the remarks made about (1) can also be applied to both the former and the latter. The characters of the story, e.g. the red knight speaking in (1), make rhetorically structured, eloquent speeches, matching the narrator's sophisticated proto-style.

By contrast, *Love in a Bottle* uses the mixing of incompatible tones, i.e. stylistic syncretism, as a dominant stylistic factor (cf. Bahtyin 1976).¹⁸ This short story also activates the stylistic patterns associated with medieval knight tales or love stories (romances, legends, epic poems), prompting the reader to expect archaism and value saturation as well as sophistication in the narrator's stylistic attitude. The authorial narrator indeed partially meets this expectation, both in his own utterance and embedded ones (see for example the expressions *sokat nyájaskodott az asszonyokkal* 'he found much amusement with ladies' (p. 284), and *most már eleget nyájaskodtunk* 'we have had enough amusement' (p. 288)).

However, the sophisticated style of this short story is constantly countered by a tone evoking conversational narratives, which departs significantly from the stylistic norms of medieval knight tales and love stories in its temporal and evaluative attitudes.

- (3) Lancelot, a lovag, akit nem érhet semmiféle gáncs, Chatelmerveilnek, Klingsor varázsló várának vendége volt. Vacsora után voltak, Klingsor a legjobb borait hozatta fel előkelő vendége tiszteletére. Kettesben iddögáltak az irdatlan nagy terem közepén.

Lancelot, the knight who cannot be tripped up, was the guest of Chatelmerveil, the castle of Klingsor the wizard. They had finished supper, and Klingsor had his

¹⁸ For a more detailed study of *Love in a Bottle*, focusing on the functioning of irony, see Tátrai 2010b.

best wines served to honour his distinguished guest. The two were slowly drinking away the evening in the middle of that enormous room.

(Love in a Bottle. 280. Transl. by András Imrényi)

As shown by the first lines of the text, quoted in (3), *Love in a Bottle* conforms much less to the reader's expectations in its construal of the knights' world in the Arthurian legend than *The Chosen Knight* does. Characteristically, it features an ironic twist on the conventional meaning of *gáncs nélküli lovag* ('knight without reproach'), an honorific term reserved for medieval knights. Whereas originally, the expression means 'knight who does not resort to trip-up or reproach', here it is re-interpreted in a value depriving manner as 'knight who cannot be tripped up'. The importance of this construction in meaning generation is shown by the fact that the phrase *gáncs nélküli lovag* 'knight without reproach' recurs twice more in the text (288, 293), both times in contexts where Lancelot's behaviour hardly complies with knightly morals, i.e. where an ironic, value depriving interpretation is brought into play (for details, see Tátrai 2010b: 243–245).

Thus, *Love in a Bottle* features a conflict between two manners of speech: an imitated „medieval” style characterized by sophistication, archaism and value saturation on the one hand, and a „modern” style subverting or relativizing it by its casual, innovative and value-depriving language on the other.

- (4a) — Én boldog? Cipelem magammal a gyötrelmet, és néha lefekszem a földre, úgy üvöltök. Napjaim kétharmadát aktív boldogtalansággal töltöm, maradék harmadában pedig csodálkozom, hogy hogy is bírom elviselni.

'Me happy? I am carrying the agony with me, and sometimes just lie on the ground, bawling. Two thirds of my daily life are spent in active unhappiness, and in the third that remains I am wondering how I can bear this.'

(Love in a Bottle. 282. Transl. by András Imrényi)

- (4b) Abban az időben még nem találták fel a diszkréciót, és a nevezetesebb szerelmekkel országról országra házaltak a lantosok.

In those times discretion had not been invented, and minstrels were going from house to house with their songs on famous lover affairs.

(Love in a Bottle. 282. Transl. by András Imrényi)

- (4c) Az öreg varázsló alapjában véve igen jóindulatú ember volt, és Wolfram von Eschenbach éppúgy félreismerte, mint a középkoriak általában.

The old wizard was by and large a very well-meaning man, and Wolfram von Eschenbach misjudged him just as medieval people in general did.

(Love in a Bottle. 283. Transl. by András Imrényi)

In (4a), which is a verbatim quote of Lancelot's words, the phrase *aktív boldogtalanság* 'active unhappiness' is miles apart from the eloquently archaic register which serves as a baseline in the

reader's processing of the story. And in (4b), the narrator's own words include such constructs (*nem találták fel a diszkréciót* 'discretion had not been invented yet', and *házaltak* 'they were going from house to house'), which also mark the presence of an evaluative and interpretive position with a distancing function. Relatedly, the phrase *abban az időben* 'in those times' is used in (4b) in a way that signals cultural as well as temporal distance between the narrator and the narrated events, which is not the case in *The Chosen Knight* (cf. occurrence of the same phrase in (1)).

Ironic distancing, emerging from the conflict between manners of speech, is therefore effected here with respect to both the cultural tradition and the tradition of storytelling. The authorial narrator of *The Chosen Knight* assimilates himself to his sources (cf. the function of *mesélik* 'they tell (as though in a tale)' in (1)). By contrast, the authorial narrator of *Love in a Bottle* takes issue in (4c) with the greatest epic poet of the German Middle Ages, *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, who also has his own take on the Arthurian legend in his *Parzival*, a romance based on earlier French sources (cf. Vizkelety 1994). This highlights the multiple and embedded layers of narration in the story, the indirect and elusive nature of construed reality, and (what is especially significant from a stylistic perspective) the possibility of presenting the events from alternate culturally determined vantage points (cf. Stockwell 2002: 41—57, Simon 2012).

To return to socio-cultural factors, it is safe to suggest that heterogeneous style (characteristic of style syncretism) is not simply created by atypical co-occurrences between socio-cultural factors. Much rather, it results from the mixing of two conflicting manners of speech (stylistic perspectives, attitudes) which belong to different proto-styles.

4. Summary

In this paper, I have revisited some theoretical and methodological issues pertaining to the cognitive model of style developed by Tolcsvai Nagy (1996, 2004, 2005). While sharing the model's fundamental assumptions, I proposed modifications with regard to the functioning, and description, of socio-cultural factors of style. The main elements of the proposal are as follows:

- Reflecting on the usage based nature of the model, and its implications, I interpreted the functioning of socio-cultural factors in the context of the discourse participants' style attribution and the stylistic schemas activated in this process. In addition to the dynamic interaction between schemas and instantiations, the importance of dynamic relations across schemas and across instantiations was also highlighted.
- Interpreting the functioning of socio-cultural factors of style against the background of the triadic (intersubjective) structure of attention directing, I introduced the notion of stylistic attitude. This notion seems adequate for capturing the speaker's context-dependent perspective which brings the various factors/dimensions of the discourse universe to bear on linguistic construal. In the interpretation of style, special emphasis was placed on how the speaker (as an integral aspect of her language use) links up the linguistic construal of her experiences with the community-based, culturally grounded expectations about adequate linguistic construal which can be routinely activated by participants of the joint attentional scene.
- In a minor departure from Tolcsvai Nagy's model of socio-cultural factors, I introduced the socio-cultural variable of proto-discourses. The 'sophisticated' domain was linked

to the stylistic patterns of prototypical literary (fictional, official, scientific, etc.) texts, and the opposite end of the spectrum to those of prototypical everyday conversations. For describing the latter, the 'familiar' and 'vulgar' labels were deemed too specific, and consequently replaced by 'casual'.

- Touching on the issue of typical co-occurrences across variables, I suggested that two models of proto-styles may be simultaneously at work. Prototypical conversations, characterized by a personal relationship between participants and the individualized construal of addressees, may be adequately described by the 'formal' and 'informal' proto-styles foregrounding the variable of situation. By contrast, prototypical (literary) texts, which take the indirect interaction between participants as a given, can be better interpreted with the variable of proto-styles, highlighting the level of „elaboration” in the language of the discourse (sophisticated vs. casual).
- Finally, the issue of typical vs. atypical co-occurrences between socio-cultural factors was related to the homogenizing stylistic ideal and the opposing tendency of style syncretism resulting in heterogeneous style. This line of investigation was illustrated by two short stories by Antal Szerb, imitating medieval romances in two different ways. As the analysis of *The Chosen Knight* showed, this short story's homogenizing style imitation is produced by typical co-occurrences between socio-cultural variables. By contrast, *Love in a Bottle* is characterized by the mixing of different manners of speech (stylistic perspectives), and the conflict between stylistic patterns. These are key features of style syncretism, which also lends itself to systematic analysis in the model of socio-cultural variables of style.

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THE FIGURE-GROUND RELATION AND STYLE

JÓZSEF PETHÓ

Abstract

With reference to meaning construction, functional-cognitive linguistics often brings into focus the investigation of the figure-ground relation. The present paper approaches the figure-ground relation from the point of view of stylistics. That is, it asks and seeks answers to the question of how the figure-ground relation appears in style, and how we can describe this phenomenon of language. The questions of figure-ground relation are discussed first (1) theoretically, in general, and thereafter the (2) stylistic significance of this relationship will be treated. In the third part of the paper, (3) an analysis and interpretation of a (linguistic-)stylistic investigation with 60 informants is given. The informants highlighted in three texts the elements which, according to them, are in the foreground, that is, are salient (prominent), from the point of view of style, and then gave the grounds for their responses. This novel investigation in this field will not only serve to draw certain theoretical conclusions in this area, but also aims to be a starting point for further similar investigations. As a conclusion, it can be stated that the figure-ground relation has significant stylistic relevance, but the issues discussed here require further explanation and more extensive testing.

Keywords: figure-ground relation, salience, style attribution, stylistic potential of language, socio-cultural factors of style, the stylistic structure of texts

1. The figure-ground relation

This paper treats stylistic issues related to the figure-ground relation, and is looking for answers to such questions. While formulating these answers — especially concerning the new point of view of the questions — it is highly important to keep a balance between theory and practice. Therefore, and in this sense, this is a paper of mixed genres: along with the theoretical foundations, it will rely on empirical components as being equally important: on style analyses¹ (here only partially explained) and on empirical material — in a narrower sense, a simple stylistic investigation.

Several cognitive linguists stress the relevance of the figure-ground relation in language and, consequently, the relevance of this relation in language description (see for example: Langacker 1987: 120-122 and passim, Talmy 2000: 311—344, Talmy 2007; Tolcsvai Nagy 2001a: 48—50, 96, Kocsány 2005: 48—49, Hámori 2010: 42). “The figure/ground organiza-

¹ Style analysis is definitely separable from style attributions connecting the primary, i.e., first readings (see e.g., Jauss 1982), or rather from simple style classifications which here generally appear in the answers of the questionnaires presented and analysed here. Because style analysis is a systematic explanation of spontaneous style attributions and style effects in a clear conceptual framework, conceptual explanations based on the second, or, rather, numerous repeated readings, belong to its essence (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 255—258).

tion is a valid and fundamental feature of cognitive functioning. By the assumptions of cognitive grammar, the prevalence of figure/ground organization in conceptual structure entails its importance for semantic and grammatical structure as well” (Langacker 1987: 120).

However, research on this relation has been discussed in a detailed way only in a few, but undoubtedly significant areas of language description, namely in semantics and in text linguistics, and it is in these areas that this relation appears in analyses (for the most recent Hungarian examples, see Tolcsvai Nagy 2001a, 2010). In search of the new paths of style description, with the utilisation of the results of the most recent stylistic theories, and with the results of the two above-mentioned related disciplines, semantics and text linguistics, it is worth asking the question: how can stylistics benefit from taking this figure/ground relation into consideration?

As a starting point for the foundation of stylistic issues discussed below it is required at least briefly to sum up how functional-cognitive linguistics describes the role of the figure-ground relation. In the brief schematic presentation of the issue, I rely first on the overview of Tolcsvai Nagy (2001a: 48–49) that summarises the relevant notions of Chafe (1976) and Wallace (1982) also. According to that in the texts, **from both syntactic and semantic points of view, important, salient, and less important, less salient, units can be distinguished**. The distinction is based on ‘foregrounding’, that is, foregrounding in the operations of text production and text reception. Foregrounding is characteristic of the structure and the production of a text, which considers some elements of the text more important, prominent than the others and thus in text processing promotes these. The more salient linguistic categories are figure-like, the less salient ones are ground-like.

From the prominent and the less prominent linguistic categories, Tolcsvai Nagy (2001a: 48–49) lists the following on the basis of Wallace’s (1982: 212) summarising table:

<i>salient</i>	<i>less salient</i>
A	
human	non-human
animate	inanimate
proper noun	common noun
singular	plural
concrete	abstract
definite	indefinite
referential	non-referential
1 st , 2 nd person	3 rd person
countable	uncountable
B	
perfective	not perfective
present, immediate	not immediate, remote
event-like	not event-like
C	
transitive	intransitive
active voice	stative
intentional action	occasional action

D

main clause
foregroundsubordinate clause
background

The importance of figure-ground relation in language can be chiefly approached from the aspect of its role in the construal of meaning. Construal is the procedural (analytical) understanding and the conceptualisation of an event or a scene in some way of the several possible modes (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 31, cf. Langacker 2008). According to the tenets of functional-cognitive linguistics, the factors and operations of construal can be described in several ways (Langacker 2008: 55—89, Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 30—48 and passim, Hámori 2010: 47—48). However, it is necessary here to treat at least two factors and operations to be considered: **perspectivisation** (the direction of attention) and **salience**.

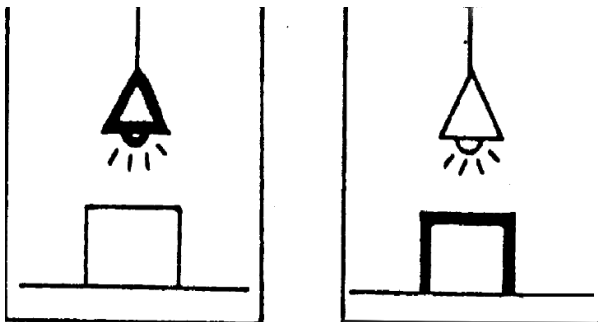
According to studies in cognitive linguistics, especially Langacker (1987, 2008), Talmy (1999), Tolcsvai Nagy (2010) and Hámori (2010), the following main factors may be highlighted briefly in the treatment of **perspectivisation** and **salience**: during the processing of a conceptual content, a framework of attention is always created in the dynamics of speech, including the focus of attention. Entities in the focus of attention are in the foreground and the rest of the attentional framework is in the background. Depending upon which component is in the foreground of attention, the same scene can be construed in several ways. As a simple example of this, let us recall Langacker's (1988: 60—61) "lamp-example", very often cited in the literature on perspectivisation. The following phrases differ from the point of view of the figure-ground relation (foregrounding): the point is that in the first sentence, the lamp as the primary figure is in foreground, while in the second sentence it is the table. The figure is to be understood within this scene as "a substructure perceived as 'standing' out" from the remainder (the ground) and which is attributed special prominence as the pivotal entity around which the scene is organised and for which it provides a setting" (Langacker 1987: 120, cited by Tolcsvai Nagy 1999: 161).

(1a) *The lamp is above the table.*

(1b) *The table is below the lamp.*

The same with Wildgen's (2008: 122) figure (cf. Langacker 1988: 60—61, Langacker 2008: 71):

Figure 1



With reference to **salience**, it is necessary to record the following by way of summary: salience means the attention that a linguistic unit draws on itself in discourse (in language use). That is, salience expresses how much a linguistic unit becomes prominent, outstanding. It should be noted, however, that — as Schmid (2007) and Hámori (2010: 49, 56-60) observe — in cognitive linguistics the concept of salience is used in different meanings.

First, one approach claims that we can talk about “**cognitive salience**”. In this case, salience means **easy accessibility**. According to this, the main feature of salient linguistic units is that minimal energy is required to process them in the construction of meaning (cf. e.g. Langacker 2008: 97, Schmid 2007: 119, Hámori 2010: 57—58). This approach considers as “salient” concepts which have already been activated, which could be more quickly available in the construction of meaning in the speech process, or are directly accessible. Non-activated concepts are, therefore, non-salient. Accordingly, those meanings are considered salient which are first activated, independently of the contextual circumstances. These meanings are stored in the mental lexicon, and precede other meanings as far as conventionality, frequency, routine and prototypicality, in brief, entrenchment, are concerned.

In other approaches — and in this paper I follow these — salience has no relation to the temporal activation of concepts (meanings), but have a clear relation to **prominence (conspicuousness)**. Langacker identifies salience and prominence in this sense (2008: 66) and treats them as interchangeable notions. Schmid (2007: 120) mentions **ontological salience** in this meaning, which comes from the characteristics of an entity. Schmid’s (2007: 120) example from the area of visual perception illustrates clearly how closely connected this approach to salience is with the figure-ground relation and attention. The example is the following: a dog that we see running across a meadow has much greater attention-attracting potential, that is, salience (arising from its attributes) than the meadow, across which it is running. Consequently, the observer of the scene will pay more attention to the dog than to the meadow.

Following Langacker (1987: 307—310), Hámori (2010: 57—58) stresses the important difference between **ontological** or **intrinsic salience** and **salience arising from construal and arrangement**. For instance, an intrinsic property that creates salience is “humanness”, “being human”, while the figure/ground or the foreground/background arrangement is the result of construal (cf. Langacker 2008: 66—73).

From a stylistic point of view, **relative salience** also deserves special attention. It highlights, or rather, expresses the extent to which a linguistic unit is conspicuous; that is, how prominent it is because of its position or the violation of a norm, expectation, or unexpectedness in the context, etc. (cf. Schmid 2007, Talmy 2007, Verschueren 1999: 183, Hámori 2010: 58).

It is a fundamental issue from a stylistic point of view how the figure-ground alignment and the relationships between salience and style may be uncovered. That is, to answer the question of when the difference generated through foregrounding is **of stylistic character**. Between sentences (1a) and (1b) there is no such stylistic difference. At first sight, it does not seem simple to attach stylistic differences to Talmy’s figure-ground system (2000: 315—316) which is more elaborated than Wallace’s aforementioned model. Talmy contrasts figure and ground as follows:

Figure	Base
Has unknown spatial (or temporal) properties to be determined	Acts as a reference entity, having known properties that can characterize the Figure's unknowns
more movable	more permanently located
smaller	larger
geometrically simpler (often point-like) in its treatment	geometrically more complex in its treatment
more recently on the scene/in awareness	more familiar/expected
of greater concern/relevance	of lesser concern/relevance
less immediately perceivable	more immediately perceivable
more salient, once perceived	more backgrounded, once Figure is perceived
more dependent	more independent

It is verifiable, too, that these opposites — more specifically, differences from schematic neutral constructions to be derived from those opposites — may have stylistic aspects. For example, a specific style may result from the inversion of usual figure-ground relation (cf. ironic-metaphorical meaning: ‘*gombhoz varrja a kabátot*’ [a Hungarian phrase meaning ‘he sews the jacket to the button’, i.e., ‘something is made after having a negligible part of it only’]). Likewise, a specific style may result from the change of the ratio of figure and ground (there are more figure-like elements), etc.

As the example of Bańczerowski (2000: 43) shows, the difference between active and passive structures is also based on the difference in formation (*Gestaltung*, *Formierung*) similar to the figure-ground relation: “the difference between *activum* and *passivum* can be explained in this way: *John beats Peter* and *Peter is beaten by John*. When the *activum* is changed into *passivum*, a decision is made concerning the primary figure as well.” The contrast between *activum* and *passivum* has only a relatively small stylistic relevance in Hungarian. However, the German active and passive (*Vorgangspassiv*) structure relation makes an important stylistic difference:

(2a) *Er übersetzt das Buch.* (He translates the book.)

(2b) *Das Buch wird von ihm übersetzt.* (The book is translated by him.)

(3a) *Der Lehrer lobt den Schüler.* (The teacher praises the student.)

(3b) *Der Schüler wird vom Lehrer gelobt.* (The student is praised by the teacher.)

The grammatical possibilities of perspective changes and active and passive structures produce a clear stylistic difference. According to the statistics of Eroms (2009: 1605), for example, only in 1.5% of German literary style, more precisely, within poems, do passive structures occur, while in everyday conversation (in colloquial/conversational style) this ratio is 10.5%. In the scientific registers this is 25%, and 26% in formal style. In analysing the role

of passive in style, Eroms (2009) also points out that such structures in the scientific style have neutral stylistic effects, but if they appear in contexts where their presence is unexpected, this increases the value of their stylistic effect, and they come into the foreground. This, however, leads us to the next point, to the issue of the importance of the figure-ground relation in style.

2. The importance of figure-ground relation in style

Speaking in a general way, concerning the importance of figure-ground relation, let it be made clear that stylistic foregrounding cannot be identified easily with the striking or surprising elements in a text that demand more attention. On the other hand, style can only be seen and is only “activated” when certain linguistic units come into the foreground, that is, when they come into the centre of attention as figures² (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 33—37). Notable examples of this fact are those figures of addition (*adiectio*) which place an element that is not prototypically foregrounded in the primary figure position with repetition. Following an example and analysis by Tolcsvai Nagy (2006: 640), we will look at the way this appears in the use of language:

(4a) *It will take a very, very long time to achieve our goals.*

(4b) *It will take a very long time to achieve our goals.*

With respect to the figure-ground relation and to attention directing (cf. e.g. Talmy 2007), the expression *very, very long* in (4a) is worth being analysed compared to *very long* in (4b). While in (4b), the adverbial complement of *long* is not in the foreground, is not the primary figure, in (4a) the special activation (which is special because it is repeated after the preceding activation) places the prototypically not foregrounded adverbial complement, and consequently the repeating operation itself, into the foreground. So the structure *very, very long* becomes relevant from a stylistic point of view. The most general meaning of repetition in (4a) is the increase of quantity, with the effect of emphasis. The figure-status of repetition “can be grasped in its character of differing from conventionalised and expected [structures] and in differing from a necessary measure of accessibility, which is likewise expected and conventionalised, though less routinized” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006: 640).

Investigation with goals to describe the different types and procedures of “stylistic focusing” related to the figure-ground relation have significant, but different traditions in linguistics that can be linked to diverse linguistic and stylistic theories and thus to different methodologies (cf. Hoffmann 2009). Some authors, for example, discuss expressivity, prominent identities (congruence) or striking antitheses of texts, the degree of prominence, and the so-called “information profile” (von Stufen der Auffälligkeit und einem stilistischen Informationsprofil) in this sense. The latter terms express that certain elements of the text remain in the background and do not show up in the horizon of text processing, while others come into focus and will be prominent in terms of style. As an example, it is worth briefly mentioning Hoffmann’s (2009: 1536—1540) relevant summary which presents the following types and procedures of figure position and prominence creating “stylistic focusing”:

² “Style appears in the case when the formations of certain expressions are foregrounded, i.e. drawn in the focus of attention as a figure” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 33).

- Isomorphism: different types of repetition, for example epizeuxis, figura etymologica, anaphor, epistrophe (epiphora), paronomasia, alliteration, parallelism, etc.
- Contrast: for example, chiasmus, antithesis, question and answer alternation, style-shifting (style-switching): shifting along linguistic variables and between stylistic layers of a language.
- Deviation: while isomorphism and contrast have reference to relations within a text, the phenomenon of deviation, in this sense, is directed outside the text. Because the recognition, detection of the difference is based on linguistic knowledge resulting from operations with previously recognised, processed texts, deviation means difference from generalised rules, norms, conventions abstracted from these texts. In this sense, deviation subsumes, for example, enallage, hyperbole, hysteron proteron, synesthesia, paradox, zeugma, and the violation of suitability (aptum).

Hoffman's (2009) above-mentioned system treats only one subset of elements getting into a figure-position from the point of view of stylistics, concentrating mainly on rhetorical figures and devices. The methodology of the systematisation raises questions, too. For example, the classified figures of isomorphism and contrast enumerated here can be considered as "deviations" in a certain sense. Also, non-homologous elements have been listed within one category; for example, question-and-answer alternation among the figures of contrast, etc. Nevertheless, "stylistic focusing" may be considered as one of the options for the further investigation of the relationship between the figure-ground relation and style.

Summarising the above mentioned issues (including the issues mentioned under point 1) as relevant questions in connection with the figure-ground relation and style as such, the following can be asked:

A) In direct concern with the oppositions of Wallace (1982: 212), Tolcsvai Nagy (2001a: 48—49) and Talmy (2000: 315—316) cited above, characterising the figure-ground relation in general:

1. What kind of relationship exists between these opposition systems, primarily Talmy's model, and the notions, methods and procedures of stylistic description?
2. Is it necessary to supplement the items listed with opposites traditionally regarded stylistic, and if so, how is that possible? (For example: figurative — non-figurative [language], metaphorical — not metaphorical, etc.).

B) Further important questions, related to the above, include the following:

1. What are the stylistically relevant prominent — less prominent pairs?
2. How can the prototype principle and scalarity be applied in the stylistic description of the figure-ground relation?
3. How are different types of texts to be treated with respect to the figure-ground relation, especially literary texts?

3. Style and salience — the results of a stylistic investigation

3.1. Research methodology

The main goal of the investigation described below was to obtain data which can be used in an empirical approach to stylistic issues related to the figure-ground relation. For this I had the informants choose the salient (prominent) linguistic units from the point of view of style, and I asked about their reasons, too.

There are several methods for collecting and processing linguistic data, as generally known. Each of them has its own limitations, so a (relatively) complete picture is obtained only with the simultaneous use of different methods (cf. e.g. Kiss 1998: 257). With regard to the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy, the method used here is closer to the first one. The use of this method otherwise follows from the principles of scientific methodology, because qualitative methods are more commonly used in relatively unexplored areas of research. In this paper, the following main features of qualitative research appear: although the issues to be discussed were predefined, in the course of research I handled these flexibly; from the statistical procedures only the simple types were used; my preliminary assumptions were also open and less specific; an important role had been assigned to the new questions and aspects which were arising in processing the questionnaires, and I tried to analyze the phenomena contextually.

The questionnaire study, briefly, was aimed at bringing to light what kind of linguistic units the informants qualified as being in the foreground, that is in the focus of attention, in the given texts and why. In addition, the questionnaire gave an opportunity for informants to formulate what meanings the recipients ascribe to linguistic units which come into the foreground as figures in style (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2001b).

As a result of the lack of existing good practices (at least, for myself, I know of no such questionnaire or such investigations), the methodology could be outlined in general terms and not necessarily in the most apt way.³ However, the study of Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy (2001b), titled “A comparative analysis of style values in two daily news items, based on recipient answers” may be regarded as an antecedent of this paper. In the present paper, I have considered several methodological lessons of this study. Some of the issues raised by Tolcsvai Nagy, or issues relevant to them concern my questionnaire also, and although they are not placed in the focus of the analysis of the questionnaires, I find it necessary to mention them here:

1. Is it (roughly) the same or (significantly) different linguistic units that come into the foreground in the informants’ text processing and style attribution?
2. Do the informants attribute the same or different stylistic values to the same texts or parts of texts?
3. What is the cause of the same or different responses, and to what extent do socio-cultural factors influence this?
4. Is there any essential difference between everyday and literary texts as regards style attribution?
5. With what kind of method is it possible to establish and treat the received data in a conceptual framework?

³ This concerns the selection of informants, to the methods of data processing, etc.

3.2. About the informants

The questionnaires were filled out by 60 people. I did not randomly choose the participants, because a certain age and education level was necessary to fill in the questionnaire to yield understandable and appropriate answers. Some knowledge of stylistics was felt to be necessary, too, to receive justifications for the answers, which, in harmony with the purposes of this research, can be analyzed. Consequently, the youngest informants were aged 17—18 (23 persons), most of the others (32 persons) belonged to the 19 to 40 years age group. As regards the level of education of the informants, the following major groups are found: a) the youngest informants were secondary school students in grade 11 (23 persons), b) students of different higher education courses (higher vocational students, BA students, MA students — 30 persons) formed a second, bigger group, c) the third group included intellectuals and graduates, with a relatively broad spectrum of qualifications (graphic artist, information specialist, teacher, etc. — 7 persons).

3.3. The questionnaire texts

Three texts⁴ were selected for an introductory survey of the issues which can be discussed here:

Text (1)

Greece

(Sometimes: New Greece, officially Hellas), a kingdom in south-eastern Europe. The country increased with the Ionian Islands on 14 November 1863, which had constituted a till then separate state under English protectorate. The Berlin Conference (June 1880) complemented it with Thessaly and a part of Epirus, and thus it enlarged the country considerably, so that now (including the islands) it comprises the area between 35° 50' and 39° 54' degrees of North Latitude, and 19° 20' and 26° 10' degrees of East Longitude. It is connected only on the north side with Turkey (through Albania and Macedonia), whereas in the direction of the other three cardinal points it is bounded by sea everywhere (on the east by the Archipelagus, on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, on the west by the Ionian Sea). The country has three main parts: northern Greece, the Morea peninsula and the islands.

Text (2)

North Greece

The Greek mainland is bordered on the north by Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria, on the east by Turkey and the Aegean Sea, and on the south and west by the Mediterranean and the Ionian Seas. Although 20% of the country's territory is composed by 2000 islands, the ancient towns (Athos, Sparta, Delphi) located on the mainland are the cradles of European civilization. The favourable geographical conditions and climate, the variety of the Mediterranean scenery, its wild romantic mountains towering above 1500 metres, the long, sandy and rocky

⁴ In fact I used three excerpts from different passages in questionnaire, but these served in the survey as texts.

beaches, the Greek people's hospitality, the delicious cuisine and the holiday resorts of North Greece provide the visiting guests with a possibility of enjoyable and varied recreation. The Chalkidiki peninsula is popular for its lush flora, its hidden, romantic coves, excellent diver places, and the Olympic Riviera for its wide, fine grained, gently sloping beach.

Text (3)

Mihály Babits: Far... far away⁵ ...

Spain, with fancy hues embroider'd meadow.
 The castle throws a broken shadow.
 Upon the balcony a downcast donna sits
 Her musing o'er the purple sunset flits.
 Italy, rippling cloudlets in the high.
 Balmy zephyrs 'neath the azure sky
 Splashing fountains, crystal waters flow,
 Shattered marbles, myrtle crowns of long ago.

Greece. Barren cliffs, ruins of ancient age,
 Bleak cliffs where mist and fog constantly rage.
 Sterile the earth and heavy is the air.
 Pine tree, flock and shepherd everywhere.

(Translated by William N. Loew)

The source of text (1) is the "Pallas Nagy Lexikona" (Pallas Great Encyclopaedia), published between 1893 and 1897 in sixteen volumes by Pallas Literature and Printing Co. This was a comprehensive synthesis of science being the first independent, i.e. not translated, Hungarian encyclopaedia. The text used here is a part of the longer encyclopaedia entry on Greece. There are two main reasons of choice to be mentioned. Firstly: the style of the text as an encyclopaedia entry shows specific features. They include figure-like, prominent ele-

⁵ Babits Mihály: Messze... messze...

Spanyolhon. Tarka hímű rét.
 Tört árnyat nyujt a minarét.
 Bus donna barna balkonon
 mereng a bibor alkonyon.

Olaszhon. Göndör fellegek.
 Sötét ég lanyhul fülfeteg.
 Szökökut vize fölbuzog.
 Tört márvány, fáradt mirtuszok.

Göröghon. Szirtek, régi rom,
 ködöt pipáló bús orom.
 A lég sűrű, a föld kopár.
 Nyáj, pásztorok, fenyő, gyopár.

ments coming into the foreground, for example style characteristics of wording and sentence structure, conciseness being attached to the objective expertise, etc. On the other hand, the entry shows foregrounded linguistic units, which, in view of the text being more than a hundred years old (issued in 1894), are archaic according to the historical (temporal) components of socio-cultural factors. So I thought that these two particular aspects would figure in the majority of the style attributions, that is, the majority of replies to the questionnaire.

The source of text (2) is a brochure of OTP Travel Agency. The primary reason of my choice of this text was the contact in theme with the first one, the difference from which can afford good (better) possibilities for the perception of the differences in style. From among these, according to my preliminary hypotheses, I expected mainly the mention of style characteristics, which, compared to the conciseness and objectivity of the encyclopaedia entry, are prominent, and are in harmony with the persuasive function (“advertisement flavour”) of the passage. For example, as regards the socio-cultural factors of style in the domain of value I had expected the highlighting of elements with value saturation (*cradle of European civilization, favourable geographical conditions and climate, variety of Mediterranean scenery, towering 1500 m above, wild romantic mountains*), as well as on highlighting of ornate-literary elements, which are associated with the primary function of the persuasive text type (genre), for example the frequency and typicality of meaning specification with attributes (*lush flora, hidden, romantic coves, excellent diver places, wide, fine grained, gently sloping beach*).

Since this is a contemporary text (from 2011), likewise — mainly in contrast with the previous text — I had expected the informants to highlight, according to socio-cultural factors of style in the domain of time, the fact that it is a relatively modern (novel) text. For example, the following linguistic constructions — according to my own style attribution — are relatively novel, because they have only appeared in similar prospectuses in the last two decades: *provide the visiting guests with a possibility of enjoyable and varied recreation, popular for its wide, fine grained, gently sloping beach*).

The third text (an excerpt actually) is taken from a well-known poem of Mihály Babits, which is linked thematically to the previous two texts by its third stanza. The style of this text has in itself, and in particular in relation to the previous two texts, elements prominently widespread in lyric texts, specifically in a literary-historical period and in the individual style characteristic of Babits. The main features to be mentioned here are: increased musicality and nominal structures (nominal style) in the stanza concerning Greece. To demonstrate how these features of style are striking, I quote from a study in which, compared with the type of analysis usual in similar studies, the presentation of the characteristics of style are foregrounded. Of course, this analysis is interesting also from the viewpoint of what the analyst highlights in the poem’s style. According to my preliminary assumptions, these are the elements that I also had expected the informants to emphasise: “Of the nine stanzas of ‘Far ... far away ...’ eight are the characterisations of different countries of a similar number with postcard-brevity and, in accordance with this, with **grammatical conciseness**. The “externalization” of words and images [their applications as symbols — P.J.] is excellently suitable for the anzix-like presentation of a country. The overture, that is, the postcard of Spain is the most famous, and a little ill-famed on account of its alliterations. [...] The alliterations of Babits are interpreted as ‘ornaments’ even by the excellent literary historian and linguist Katalin J. Soltész. This stanza proves exactly the opposite. [...] in the **rhyme harmony at the end of lines** the opening lines already symbolize

the mirage of a fabulously coloured country in a concrete form. [...] The unique character of the lyricism of the poem is defined not by the alliterations, but by its **nominal sentences** with a function of intensifying meaning. [...] The nominal sentences of ‘Far... far away...’, in a style that precedes ‘word-poems’, revive the situation of the medieval storyteller who told stories in the marketplaces with the use of pictures. The poem is a borderline case of the thirst for the infinite, an unparalleled work of art, but every word represses a feeling of tension; personality bleeds through its plastic, sometimes **picturesque collocations**” (Rába 1981: 169—170).

The questionnaire formulated the following questions and tasks for the informants:

Please underline those parts (or the whole text) in the following texts, whose style is interesting, **prominent, particularly striking, perhaps unusual** for you. Please attach a short description: why do you regard the parts marked as such?

3.4. The foregrounded (salient) linguistic units from the point of view of style in the analysed texts

I am going to analyse the linguistic units marked in the questionnaires from three main aspects: what, how often and for what reasons did the informants mark it?

3.4.1. The analysis of the answers of informants in each text

In the following charts, which summarise the responses of informants, only those units are represented which are marked by at least 10% of the informants, that is, at least 6 people.

Table 1.

In text (1) the informants marked the following linguistic units as prominent from the point of view of style:

	Marked linguistic units	Number of markers
1.1.	<i>increased with</i>	16
1.2.	<i>complemented</i>	15
1.3.	<i>enlarged (considerably)</i>	14
1.4	<i>comprises the area [...] between 19° 20' and 26° 10' degrees of East Longitude</i>	7
1.5.	<i>protectorate</i>	6

Table 2.

Units marked as prominent in text (2) by the informants from the point of view of style:

	Marked language units	Number of markers
2.1.	<i>the favourable geographical conditions and climate, variety of Mediterranean scenery; towering above 1500 metres; wild romantic mountains; long, sandy and rocky beaches; the Greek people's hospitality; delicious cuisine and the holiday resorts of North Greece provide the visiting guests with a possibility of enjoyable and varied recreation.</i>	20 ⁶
2.2.	<i>The Chalkidiki peninsula is popular for its lush flora, its hidden, romantic coves, excellent diver places, and the Olympic Riviera for its wide, fine grained, gently sloping beach.</i>	6

Only some informants marked smaller language units, words, word-groups: *romantic coves* (3), *lush* (2), *the cradle of European civilization* (2) etc.

Table 3.

In text (3), the informants marked the following language units as prominent from the point of view of style:

	Marked linguistic units	Number of markers
3.1.	Some (4 or more) parts or lines, which are far from each other, mostly these units: <i>Spanyolhon</i> (archaic form of <i>Spain</i>); <i>hímü rét</i> (in the translation of poem: <i>with fancy hues embroider'd meadow</i>); <i>minarét</i> (archaic form of minaret, in the translation of poem: <i>castle</i>); <i>Bus donna barna balkonon</i> (in the translation of poem: <i>Upon the balcony a downcast donna sits</i>); <i>Olaszhon</i> (archaic form of <i>Italy</i>); <i>Göröghon</i> (archaic form of <i>Greece</i>).	11
3.2.	The whole text	8

It is important to stress that there were not any informants who did not find prominent elements in any of the texts.

⁶ Of the 20 informants, 9 people marked the whole sentence, 11 informants marked from it 1500 metres or from the romantic the sentence throughout. These highlights I treat here together.

3.4.2. Analysis of the informants' answers in the light of hypotheses

My most important preliminary hypotheses (besides the above, mentioned in the presentation of the texts) were the following:

- The informants will highlight **several individual and a lot of collectively prominent style elements** (because supposedly they will mark different language units to a relevant degree).
- A **considerable difference** will occur between the reception of the three texts' style as to how many prominent style elements the informants mark. I expected a larger number of highlighting in the last text.
- I definitely expected the highlighting of (rhetorical-stylistic) figures in the poem by Babits (alliteration, enumeration, parallelism, rhyme; e.g. *Tört márvány, fáradt mirtuszok* [Shattered marbles, myrtle crowns of long ago], *A lég sűrű, a föld kopár* [Sterile the earth and heavy is the air], etc).
- I assumed that the prominent linguistic units would receive **positive assessments** in most cases.
- These assumptions were confirmed only in a relatively small part.
- The informants highlighted individually just a relatively small number of linguistic units, one to two units per text. However, looking at the answers or rather the highlights in their totality, we get another picture. Even if we consider the highlighted units marked at least by 10% of the informants, we can see that in the first text there are five of these units. In text (2), although only two units were highlighted, these two sentences make up more than half of the text. A specific situation occurs in the last text which more informants marked as a whole or highlighted a lot of (4 or more) units as stylistically prominent ones. All in all, a **relatively large number of elements** were marked from a stylistic point of view by a significant number of informants.
- Comparing the three texts to one another from the aspect of how many stylistically prominent linguistic units were marked by the informants, there were **relevant differences** between the reactions. Although this can be seen not as a general phenomenon, only as a tendency, yet the results outlined a clear gradual difference: in text (1) only a few words, in text (2) the last two sentences, and text (3) as a whole were prominent for the informants.
- My assumptions concerning the figures of text (3) and concerning the stylistics of implication were only partially confirmed, as these style elements were highlighted only in a small part of the responses. At least they were not directly marked: that is, the **figures** (alliteration, enumeration, parallelism, rhyme) were not specifically highlighted, but it can be assumed that the figures played a role in the style attribution of those informants who described the style of the whole poem as prominent.
- With respect to stylistic effect, in contrast with my hypothesis referring to (stylistic) suitability and efficiency (cf. e.g. Sandig 2006: 34–36), **positive evaluations were not clearly in the majority**. In many cases, there was no such evaluation, or the informants gave negative evaluations. For example, neutral evaluation about the highlighted words of text (1): “unusual usage”, negative evaluation: “it often uses foreign terms, which makes understanding difficult”; “in such a text the use of such words is im-

proper.” One of the informants, who marked the parts of text (2) included in Table 2 (2.1. and 2.2.), writes the following about the enumeration: “(in the text) there are an awful lot of enumerations, and when one finishes and interprets the long sentence, he or she forgets the beginning.” Also another condemning opinion: “very loose, there is too much information in one sentence.” However, opposite evaluations of this part also appear, such as: “The long enumeration presents [northern Greece] briefly but effectively.” “Attracts attention extremely well. The enumeration makes you feel you want to go there.” “Accurate description... so you can easily imagine the landscape.” There is an evaluation in which the positive and negative ratings are mixed: “tourist-luring text, nicely worded. But it is PRETENTIOUS! (sic)”.

3.4.3. The stylistic potential of language, the socio-cultural factors and the structural possibilities of style

It is worth surveying the answers and highlights of informants from the three main aspects of complex linguistic style description (cf. e.g. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005, 2006). These are the aspect of the stylistic potential of language, the socio-cultural factors, and possibilities pertaining to the stylistic structure of texts.

3.4.3.1. The style options resulting from the stylistic potential of language

The style options resulting from the linguistic potential are almost endless (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2006: 632), so in the three analysed texts a relatively broad spectrum of the relevant phenomena can be found. From among these I treat some which can be considered typical.

The role of phonological access: the style options of the sounds and rhythms — As the informants encountered only written texts in the investigation, the domain of sounds and rhythms have a limited role. However, it can be assumed that the reading process is always complemented by a phonological decoding, “the sound association exists too in the graphic visualization of sounds, and the reader creates a grapho-phonemic environment in the reading process [...] and internally updates the sounding of the unique sound” (Spillner 1984: 77). Despite their limited role, there were some style attributions, although in a small number, which were focused on phonological characteristics of the texts. For example: “I enjoy the poem, because the whole verse is melodic.” Several informants highlighted the line containing alliteration in the Babits poem: *Bús donna barna balkonon (Upon the balcony a downcast donna sits)*.

Word, lexicon — The informants often highlighted (see Tables 2 and 3) larger linguistic units: syntactic units or greater parts of the texts, or the whole text. In this respect only the first text differs, because there mostly words came into the focus of attention. The stylistics of word and lexicon generally is easily accessible in the system of socio-cultural variables (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2005). Since in questionnaires words are highlighted, as shown in the explanations, based mainly on socio-cultural components, I am discussing those issues focusing on socio-cultural factors (see below).

Sentence — According to Tolcsvai Nagy, the most important general variables of sentence stylistics are the following: short — medium — long, simple — average — complex (not from a grammatical point of view, but as a degree of the complexity of sentence structure

perceived by the text producer or by recipient), constructed — non-constructed, left-to-right construction — right-to-left construction (1996: 207). According to the explications in the questionnaires among these variables the most prominent was the ‘simple — average — complex’ domain. For example, about part 2.1. (see Table 2) the informants wrote the following: “the underlined part is very loose, there is too much information in one sentence.” Another informant: “It’s strange because it huddles a lot of information together. I would have written several sentences.” This style attribution in another context I have already quoted above: “(in the text) there are an awful lot of enumerations, and when one finishes and interprets the long sentence, he or she forgets the beginning.”

Meaning — According to the data from the questionnaires, none of the texts pushes style phenomena in the domain of meaning characteristically into foreground. Texts (1) and (2), from point of view of semantic stylistics, are neutral. By contrast, in the case of the Babits poem, the mentioning of implication and (less importantly) figurativity (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 238—243) had been expected. But they only very rarely appear in the responses: for example, in the explication of the reason of highlighting „*ködöt pipáló bus orom*” (in the above mentioned translation: *Bleak cliffs where mist and fog constantly rage; literally: fog smoking sad cliffs*), the informant said: “landscape elements endowed with human characteristics”. And one more example, in the justification for the prominence of the whole poem’s style: “the adjective structures of the poem are unusual, they are images saturated with emotion”.

3.4.3.2. The socio-cultural factors of style

Analyzing the survey from this perspective, we find the style attributions in the domain of time to be the most important from the five variables: attitude, situation, value, time, and language varieties (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 133-166, 2006: 642-646). In the case of texts (1) and (3) those linguistic units, mostly words, often came into foreground and became prominent that were assessed as archaic. Some examples from assessments of the words *megnövesztette* (*enlarged*) and *megszaporodott* (*increased*) (text (1)): “the two words next to each other remind me of old times”, “It seems so archaic. Today they are not used often.” About the Babits poem: “the poet uses archaic words”, “it is archaically formulated”, „archaic style, but then the whole poem is”, “the whole poem is so strange and archaic.”

Within the socio-cultural factors, the domain of language varieties appears in the following assessment: the first text is “too professional, there are too many geographical terms in it.” The word *vadregényes* (*wildromantic*; text (2)) “is used rather in fairy tales, and not in scientific texts”, another opinion about the same text: “a little poetic, so it does not fit in the text.” This aspect clearly dominated in the case of the Babits poem: 11 informants highlighted 4 or more separate parts of the text, and 8 informants highlighted the whole text as prominent from the point of view of style. This is a total of 19 people, that is, almost one-third of the informants. However, the informants did not highlight „scattered”, i.e. distant text-units in the case of the first two texts to such a degree, and only one informant highlighted the whole of text (2).

From all this it is clear — as I had assumed, although not anticipating such a large divergence — that the features of literary style came into the foreground of attention in this case. It must be added that these are perceptions of literary style relevant to a specific period. In this context it is interesting that the informant who highlighted the whole text (2), stressed precisely those style

features which are associated with literature: “the wording is poetic, expressive.” Some related examples from among the style-assessments of the informants who highlighted the whole text (3): “elegant, not common wording”, “it is rich in expressions, ’appealing””, “the wording is poetic, expressive”, “in the poem the poet uses words that do not occur in everyday language.”

By way of summary, from the aspect of socio-cultural factors we can establish the following facts: on the one hand, the informants highlighted style elements that were looked upon as archaic or unfamiliar, i.e. these style elements did not meet their expectations relating to this text type. In the case of text (3), on the other hand, although the style of Babits’s poem conformed to their expectations regarding the text type of lyrical poems, they highlighted a number of prominent (salient) elements or the whole text.

3.4.3.3. The structural options of style

Discussing the structural options of style, we are to treat two major, partly related aspects: style structure and the system of figures (see Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 245—254). The style structure of the text includes the following relationships: those between foregrounded text elements with respect to style; those between the foregrounded elements and the coherence-creating constituents, and those between the foregrounded elements and text type (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 112). Regarding the structural possibilities of style, one illustrative explication goes like this: one of the informants who highlighted a passage from text (2) (see Table 2, point 2) designates the reason of foregrounding with this structural feature: “the highlighted part differs in style from the preceding part of the text, because it is rather a more factual description.” A similar example characterizing the whole of text (2): “the part starts with scientific fullness of details, but the rest of the text is more like an offer for tourists.” From figures, only enumerations came to the fore: mainly with markings, to a lesser extent in the explications; an example: part 2.2. is a “continuous enumeration.”

4. Conclusions and open questions

A questionnaire similar to the one outlined above, i.e. one whose tasks are simple and uses short texts and works with relatively few informants obviously does not give a ground sufficient for broad generalizations. My aim was only to raise and indicate certain issues relating to style and the figure-ground relation. This means that the results can be a basis or can be rejected as a model for further surveys with similar intentions. That is, the results outlined above, together with the results of further analyses and developments in this theme may provide an opportunity for thinking over certain methods and questions. In this way we may also receive an opportunity to elaborate more efficient procedures with the aim to clarify the relation between the figure-base relation and style, and to clarify essential theoretical and practical issues.

Some conclusions, however, based on the above considerations can be formulated:

- a) From informant responses, we can only partially detect why certain linguistic units came into the foreground from the point of view of style. But some factors are clear. First of all, a linguistic unit is prominent when it is unusual, that is, when there is a tension between the type-specific expectations of the recipients and the instantiated text

style (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2001b). In connection with the stylistic relevance of unusualness of the expressions in the explanation, it should be noted that it is a fundamental principle in usage-based linguistics that frequency plays a determining role in language. “Frequency from the point of view of the individual is a routine (skill) that is the scale of an individual’s language competence”, and from the point of view of the community, it is “conventionality that gives the degree of acceptance of linguistic expressions and linguistic structures” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 13). In the explanations of informants, there are often references to the lack of routinization/conventionality in the case of all three texts: “it is unusual”, “it is not much used”, “unusual usage of a word”, etc.

- b) The fact that the scope of stylistically prominent linguistic units is the same with the majority of informants indicates in itself that foregrounding, or salience from the point of view of style, is relevant (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2001b).
- c) The classifications, comments and explanations of informants in the case of texts 2 and 3 confirmed the assumption that style attribution is done primarily holistically. The style of a text appears primarily as a whole (Gesamtgestalt) in the text’s reception (cf. e.g. Sandig 2006: passim, Sandig 2008: 1108).

It can be determined as part of the general frame for further research that a smaller or larger linguistic unit has a stylistically relevant role when it comes into the foreground of the attention of the text producer or text recipient. The characteristics of style have a role in meaning construction as well. The stylistic value of a linguistic expression depends on the opportunities given by the text, and notably on the recipient’s interpretation, by his or her linguistic horizon (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2005). The further investigation of these factors is one of the important tasks and possibilities of functional cognitive stylistics.

Sources of Texts

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Text (2): Külföldi utak. *Az OTP Travel katalógusa*. 2011. nyár. 38.

Text (3): Babits, Mihály: Messze... messze... In: B. M.: *Összegyűjtött versei*. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó. 1982. 13.

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ON THE LINGUISTIC POTENTIAL OF ARCHAIC LANGUAGE USE FROM A FUNCTIONAL COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

GÁBOR SIMON

Abstract

The study intends to establish the stylistic description of archaic language use through the semantic approach of linguistic elements labelled stylistically as archaic. The functional linguistic presuppositions of the investigation are motivated by a comprehensive epistemological starting point, which follows from the hermeneutic critique of the historical cognition of the modern Western episteme. The study approaches the linguistic potential of archaic expressions from a structural and a procedural perspective on the basis of Langacker's cognitive grammar, Fillmore's frame semantics and of the cognitive grammatical model of discourse, bringing also the notions of perspective and grounding in the explanation. In this approach, archaic language use is interpreted as a continuum in a model which explains comprehensively both the phonological and the conceptual, as well as the encyclopaedically and the intertextually motivated use of archaic language from a usage based perspective. The operativeness of the suggested model is demonstrated by the analysis of sample texts.

Keywords: historical cognition, cognitive grammar, frame semantics, grounding, perspectivisation

1. Introduction — defining the subject

The aims of this study are setting out the dilemmas of defining archaic language use as a research topic and reinterpreting the problem of linguistic elements being obsolescent at a metareflective level on the one hand, and initiating the detailed and coherent explanation of archaic language use from a cognitive stylistic perspective (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2004, 2005) on the other. Accordingly, I would like to remark on the modern historical mind and its methodological consequences in cognition, utilising the principles of Nietzsche's critique of historicism, Foucault's theory of archaeology and Gadamer's theses of hermeneutics (2). Then I attempt to explain the linguistic potential of archaism as a stylistic phenomenon from a structural and a procedural perspective, relying on Fillmore's frame semantics and on the cognitive grammatical description of linguistic structure and discourse (3). The study ends with summarising the main consequences of the suggested approach (4).

There is a traditional definition of archaism in Hungarian linguistics from the early seventies, according to which any obsolete linguistic unit can be considered archaic if "it fits into a previous state of the developing linguistic system, or it is peculiar to the previous state of the linguistic system", i.e. if the unit gets into the present discourse through borrowing (Tompá 1972: 167, see also Fónagy 1970: 431). Thus the main basis of comparison in this

narrower, linguistic approach of archaism is the historical formation of the linguistic system itself, in other words an expression is labelled as archaic according to whether it is part of the present system of language or it belongs to a previous state of this system. There is a principle of structuralism in the background of this definition (see Saussure 1997: 103—119, Ladányi—Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 20—21), which considers the history of language as a temporal succession of synchronic systems, as a diachronic sequence of states. The definition of archaism includes also the presupposition that the states of the linguistic system can be separated clearly, and the linguistic units belong to one or to another state unambiguously.

This approach to archaisms did not alter essentially in Hungarian linguistics in the last four decades: the interpretation outlined above is the vantage point of archaism research until now (see Heltainé Nagy 2006: 49, 2008: 128), although the dependency of archaic labelling on the textual context, on the situation and on the relation to the previous age proved to be important factors (Heltainé Nagy 2008: 128). In other words, while the problems with the definition of archaism and the relativity of archaic labelling became more and more obvious, and the traditional synchronic-diachronic separation became inadequate as a theoretical ground, nevertheless the issue of archaic linguistic expressions is investigated from a formal language theoretical perspective also in recent studies.

This is by no means natural in the present case. On the one hand, it can be stated that there was a dominant structuralist strand in Hungarian stylistic research until the nineties, due to the influence of functional stylistics,¹ and the achievements of the Prague School also affected Hungarian stylistics to a lesser degree (see Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 18—19). On the other hand, Mihály Péter pointed out in 2006 that the linguists of the Prague School rejected the rigid separation of synchrony from diachrony in linguistic analysis as early as in 1929 and they approached the system of language firmly from a functional viewpoint, with the notion of dynamic synchrony, on the basis of the centre/periphery principle (Péter 2006: 404, see also Humboldt 1985 and Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 11—17).² Thus, even if somewhat late, the functional principles of the Prague School influence the Hungarian linguistic discourse now. Moreover, the variational paradigm of sociolinguistics also rejects the idealisation of the language user as a single-style speaker as well as the idealisation of the speech community as a homogenous group (see Labov 1979: 180), pointing out the socio-cultural specifications of linguistic structures and the relativity of their categorisation. So in the last decades several functional theories became known in Hungarian linguistics, in which linguistic structures are examined not as autonomous phenomena, but from the perspective of the language user (Ladányi—Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 28—31). Indeed the problems of the traditional definition of archaism can be realised seeing it from this functional viewpoint: though classifying an expression as a member of one diachronic state of the language seems to be operational from the perspective of autonomous language in archaic label-

¹ It is essential that so-called functional stylistics (arising from the works of Bally) interprets the notion of functionality differently from functional cognitive stylistics. While the latter emphasizes the functional motivation of linguistic structures, the priority of meaning and functions, and it rejects the autonomy of the linguistic system, approaching linguistic structures from the perspective of the language user (see Ladányi—Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 21—22), traditional functional stylistics accepts the thesis of an autonomous language with its formal language theoretical background, and its functionality is a teleological functional view adopted from the Russian formalism and the Prague School, which examines the structures of a language as goal-directed sign structures (see Szathmári 1996: 14—17).

² It is worth mentioning that — as Tullio de Mauro demonstrates it in his notes in the critical edition — even Saussure did not separate rigidly the synchronic and diachronic aspects of the linguistic system, thus the idea of dynamic synchrony was not alien to him (see Saussure 1997: 313—317).

ling, but from the perspective of the language user it requires the assumption of a homogenous speech community or of countless individual states of the linguistic system. In other words, the traditional separation of synchrony from diachrony is irreconcilable with the perspective of the language user, and if we still make an attempt to do this, the notion of the linguistic system will become tedious, and the possibility of scientific generalisation will slip out of our hands.

From these it follows that a functional approach to archaic expressions requires the rethinking of the conception of archaism. During the redefinition of the research subject not only the traditional notion of archaism needs to be revised, but also the formal language theoretical background, namely the thesis of an autonomous linguistic system and the principle of separating synchrony and diachrony. Nonetheless the question remains unanswered: why did Hungarian stylistics not alter its formal approach to archaism despite the appearing functional theories? I think that it follows not only, not even primarily from the late Hungarian reception of functional linguistic theory, nor can it be explained only with the dominant role of the structuralist strand in Hungarian stylistics. It can be traced back to the heart of modern scientific thinking. The traditional conception of archaism in Hungarian stylistics requires a revision not only in respect of its language theoretical background assumptions; the historical epistemological viewpoint, from which the historicity of man and language are interpreted in the twentieth century, needs some reflection too. The historical mind and the historical method of thinking are products of the nineteenth century's historicism, and they are the characteristic feature of modernity. This study argues that the problems of the definition of archaism follow not only from its language theoretical orientation, but also from the fact that the modern episteme — using the term of Foucault — remained without reflections. Thus redefining archaism — as the foundation of a functional cognitive stylistic research — requires us primarily to explicate and to comment on the traditional presuppositions concerning history and the historicity of language. Only after this theoretical preparation can we initiate successfully the elaboration of the semantic grounds of archaising language use (i.e. a broader functional category) from the vantage point of cognitive linguistics.

2. The critique of the historical method

The traditional conception of archaism is problematic since if we explain the archaic labelling consistently in relation to the historic systems of the linguistic system (that is we stick to the diachronic criteria), we cannot elaborate a generalised explanation, that is to say we cannot grasp completely the archaic nature of expressions being obsolescent. In this approach the archaic character follows from the expression's transfer from a previous state of the linguistic system. It was Fónagy (1970: 431) who recognised (on the grounds of ancient rhetoric) that the archaic expression fills a gap in the present, on the other hand it is not obvious, where the gap is and how it arises in the linguistic system, and why the speakers need to fill it. Through the traditional definition, we obtain only a criterion by which the archaic elements of the system can be separated theoretically clearly from the non-archaic ones, but the nature of archaism cannot be explained generally. The application of the traditional definition results in a heterogeneous category which cannot be modelled, it can be classified only: the observable taxonomical complexity in archaism research (see Heltainé Nagy 2008) follows from this heterogeneity. It can be traced back both to the autonomy of the linguistic

system and to the rigid separation of synchronic aspects of the system from the diachronic ones as background assumptions; but we have to recognise that the traditional conception of archaism fits into the modern episteme of Western thought, i.e. into the epistemological field which determines modern science, its experiential sphere and theoretical subjects, as well as its discursive structures (see Foucault 2000: 15—16, see also Kisantal—Szeberényi 2003: 432). Thus, the explanatory power of the traditional definition arises from this epistemological space too. Consequently, if the aim of the study is to establish a new approach to archaisms, we will have to start it not with revising the language theoretical presuppositions, but with clarifying the ways of cognition directed to language as a historical tradition.

The historical mind, namely the realisation of the historical determination of both the cogniser and the subject of cognition, began through rejecting the teleological rationalism of the enlightenment, in the historicism of the nineteenth century. It is not accidental that Leopold von Ranke, the key figure of the historical method opposed Hegel's teleological theory of history, explicating that all generations, states and eras are the direct manifestation of the will of God, so they are not the successive phases of the Spirit (Breisach 2004: 239—241). The main aim of the modern historical mind is to cognise the past in its own individuality. In the background of this aim there is the demand of objectivity (in the sense of "wie es eigentlich gewesen" from Ranke): the past can be cognised as it really is if we lay it into its own life-relations, so if we disregard our cognising position in the present (Breisach 2004: 287—288, see also Nietzsche 1989: 65, Kisantal—Szeberényi 2003: 415). If our present position stood out, the subjective evaluation of the subject would be inevitable.

The modern historical mind is the result of an episteme in which all entities surrounding us in the world become cognisable through their own historicity. By this means, however, the main assumption of the modern historical cognition is the existence of an unbridgeable distance between the present and the historical tradition: cognising a piece of the past is possible only if this piece is terminated, if it has an inherent relation system of its own which can be recognised from a special viewpoint, and for this recognition we have to invalidate our subjective viewpoint in the present (Gadamer 2003: 17, 333). There is a twofold opposition in this conception. On the one hand the claim to objectify and reify the past arises as an obligatory scientific criteria, as well as the epistemological (and ontological) alienation of the cogniser from the subject of cognition, which makes understanding as participation in the tradition impossible (Gadamer 2003: 370). On the other hand, cognising the individuality of the past, i.e. bridging the gap between the present and the past become possible only through the application of a viewpoint standing out from history, i.e. through stepping out from history — to quote Foucault's term, the human mind is able to cognise historically only through its own "unhistorisation", disregarding its own mortality or temporal limitedness. However, it can be recognisable that such an absolute viewpoint can arise only through the extreme idealisation of the cogniser.

Consequently, the way of cognition being initiated by the historical mind makes cognition itself impossible. From this realisation follows the need to reject the historical cognition of the modern mind, as well as to outline a new way of cognition. Nevertheless, this is not equivalent with pointing out a new absolute viewpoint, since in this case we could not go beyond the inherent oppositions of the modern epistemological field. As Nietzsche (1989: 95) remarks, "the ability to forget, and locking ourselves behind a delimited horizon" can lead us from the paradox of historical cognition. Thus, we have to realise that relativity, and

therefore the acceptance of the determined cognising position can lead us to an understanding of the past. For experience itself constituting the basis of cognition has an inherent historicity too: the process of experience is not securing facts, but it is a dynamic setting in action of our previous knowledge and demands; understanding is merging the cognising horizons of the present and of the past (Gadamer 2003: 255, 342). The cogniser opens the real possibility of understanding through accepting his determination, since in this case the temporal distance is the playing field of the tradition and the cogniser. We can quote Gadamer (2003: 332): “The time is no longer a gap primarily, which must be bridged, because it separates and keeps us at a distance, but it is really the carrying foundation of the event, in which the present is rooted. Thus, the temporal distance does not have to be overcome. [...] Our real task is to recognize in the temporal distance the positive and productive possibility of understanding. It is not a yawning gulf, but it is filled with the continuity of customs, practices and tradition, in the light of which the tradition shows itself.”

So the only possible way of understanding is subordinating ourselves to the consequences of the present perspective, “the analytics of mortality” (Foucault 2000: 415—416), realising that we can interpret tradition only with manipulating our previous conceptual structures, thus withdrawing these concepts is not only impossible but also senseless (Gadamer 2003: 440). The cogniser cannot step out from his life-relations, since “cognition requires life, so it is interested in the same way in sustaining life, just as all individuals are interested in their living on” (Nietzsche 1989: 96). It is essential that historical understanding is not the analysis of something given and independent from the cogniser, but it is the dynamic process of revising our knowledge through bringing another viewpoint in it. At this point, it is worth going beyond in some measure to Gadamer. Since he recognized the paradox character of the historical method during the investigation of the history of philosophy, and he applied understanding as a hermeneutic experience primarily to works of art. However, he draws our attention to the fundamental significance of language in the mediation of tradition. On these grounds every intersubjective meaning creation which occurs in the context of language is also a hermeneutic experience (Gadamer 2003: 432). Consequently, language provides context for the simultaneity of non-simultaneity, for the coexistence of the past and the present. Language is one of the main constituents of tradition, so every interpreting of a linguistic utterance is a hermeneutic situation: it is meaning creation in the sphere of harmonising viewpoints and merging horizons.

At this point it becomes obvious that the application of a functional language theoretical vantage point, which consider the perspective of the language user, as well as a cognitive linguistic viewpoint, which consider language as the instrument and the context of cognition, require outlining a general epistemological position. We have to develop a historical thinking which does not reify the past, which does not idealise the cogniser, and which does not make the historical viewpoint absolute. The explanation of the function of archaic language use begins with the acceptance of a fixed historical viewpoint and the acknowledgement of its relativity. This function is realised in linguistic interaction, in the intersubjective creation of meaning. The intersubjective meaning creating process is the conceptual construal of the entity or scene laid in the centre of joint attention by the language users, based on their encyclopaedic and linguistic knowledge, during the act of intersubjective reference (cf. Sinha 1999). In what follows, the archaising function will be modelled on semantic grounds.

3. The linguistic potential of archaising expressions

For a stylistic description of archaising language use, according to the functional cognitive presuppositions we have to examine primarily how the forming potentiality available in language (i.e. the inherent variability of language as a potential, see Tolcsvai Nagy 2004: 144—146, 2005: 37—41) activate archaic labelling. The motivation of archaic style attribution can be approached both from a structural and from a procedural viewpoint. Accordingly:

- we have to examine how the semantic structures motivating archaic labelling contribute to creating archaic meaning: whether we can assume a substructure in the semantic structure of the expression carrying the archaic nature of it, and how these expressions make available the knowledge being bequeathed;
- we have to examine how semantic structures are interpreted as archaisms in the discourse, namely by what processes archaism is realised in the linguistic interaction.

The referential function of archaic language use can be grasped by the joint analysis of these two aspects. Thus, in the functional cognitive stylistic approach the archaic nature of an expression does not follow from the temporal formation of the linguistic structure, or from the localisability of the expression in one or in another language historical era, or from its scientific etymology. It is the result of making available such knowledge which refers to the historical tradition of the speech community.

It is essential, however, that the archaic expression does not simply make available the traditional knowledge of the community (since the access to this knowledge can be provided by all stylistically neutral expression through symbolising the encyclopaedic knowledge concerning the past), but it brings the tradition itself in the conceptual construal, since it initiates the conceptualisation of the referential scene through the activation of this traditional knowledge. In other words, archaic language use foregrounds the tradition of the community as a partially independent source of knowledge. (This will be detailed below, in connection with perspectivisation.)

Moreover it is important to note at this point yet, that every style effect develops in text, consequently archaic language use is not equivalent with the sum of isolated archaic expressions, but it is a dynamic meaning creating process, proceeding in the discourse, in relation with the referential scene, as well as with grounding the linguistic symbols directed to this scene (see more detailed in 3.2).

3.1. A structural approach to archaisms

One of the main important questions in relation with the analysis of semantic structures motivating archaic labelling is whether these expressions have an archaic substructure, and if they have how it can be modelled. We have to start to investigate this problem with the usage-based nature of linguistic structures (see Kemmer—Barlow 2000, Langacker 2000), which means that the language user extracts his knowledge about the system of language from the usage events, that is to say the elements of linguistic system are schematised and categorised in actual linguistic interactions. This presupposition is particularly important in studying archaic

language use, because from a functional perspective we cannot assume a prior semantic feature or component which makes archaic labelling possible. From this follows that archaic nature is entrenched and becomes part of the semantic structure through individual practice and usage.

We can rely on Langacker's findings at this point. The elements of a linguistic system in cognitive grammar are conventional linguistic units, which are schematised through decontextualisation. The semantic units developing in this way can be characterised with cognitive domains, and any conceptual knowledge system about the world can serve as a domain, so meaning is encyclopaedic in nature. As Langacker (1987) makes it clear, also the social relations of the language user, as well as the characteristic features of the speech situation (i.e. the socio-cultural factors of the verbal interaction) are elaborated as conceptual structures, thus they can become a part an expression's semantic structure as cognitive domains. In so far as a socio-cultural factor occurs in the interactional context of a linguistic structure with a proper frequency, it "may survive the decontextualisation process and remain a semantic specification of the resultant unit" (Langacker 1987: 63, see also Tolcsvai Nagy 2004: 153). Through this the sociolinguistic status of an expression can become part of its semantic structure as a schematic substructure.

On the basis of all these the archaic nature of an expression (as part of its socio-cultural status) can be schematised too, and it can be appear as a peripheral domain, the domain of time in the schematic semantic structure. In the case of archaic language use the archaic subdomain is always in the foreground of this domain, in front of the neutral and the neologism subdomain. But the measure of archaism can be different. Consider for example the next text:

- (1) És történt, hogy elszánták magokat azon gyár férfiai, hogy gazdaságossá tennék az termelést, és nem fizetnének annak, aki nem dolgozik.
(‘And it happened that the men of that factory made up their mind that they would make the production more profitable, and they would not have pay to the person who did not work.’)

We find in (1) such expressions that can be labelled archaic primarily on the basis of their phonological structure: *magokat* (‘themselves’, instead of conventional *magukat*), *azon* (‘that’, instead of conventional *az*), *az termelést* (‘the production’, instead of conventional *a termelést*). It can be supposed that during the phonological construal of these structures we do not activate any of the particular conceptual knowledge referring to the historical past at all. Nevertheless these phonological structures stand in symbolic relation with such semantic structures (see Langacker 1987: 56—62, 81, 328—368), which have the schematic domain of time as their substructure, within which the archaic value is foregrounded, because these semantic structures are conventionalised through interpreting such utterances, which mediate the traditions of the speech community (e.g. biblical texts, texts of folk-poetry). Wording it in a different way, the conceptual knowledge becoming accessible by these expressions is not labelled archaic in itself, but through the construal of phonological structure and through its individual entrenchment the domain of time becomes part of the semantic structure (along with the symbolic relation between the phonological and the semantic pole), so the archaic value becomes entrenched.

We can explain the archaic grammatical structures such as *gazdaságossá tennék* (‘would make more profitable’, a conditional verb [*tennék*], instead of declarative *teszik*), *nem fizet-*

nének ('would not have pay', again a conditional verb [*fizetnének*] instead of a declarative [*fizetnek*] in the final clause) in a similar way. From a cognitive grammatical perspective, grammar is not autonomous, since it structures and symbolises the semantic content, so grammatical structures also have meaning, even if a schematic one. Thus, morphology, syntax and lexicon form a continuum, and the grammatical constructions can be modelled as a symbolic relation of a phonological and a semantic structure (Langacker 1987: 12). Consequently the predicates in the dependent clauses above can be labelled archaic again due to the archaic phonological structure. That is to say, the archaic style effect of the conditional verb does not come from its schematic meaning (since the conditionality of the process profiled in the verb is not foregrounded during the construal), nor from our language historical knowledge about the use of the conditional in dependent clause. The archaic labelling is the result of using a non-conventional (complex) phonological structure. So, it is likely that the archaic nature of a grammatical structure stands out in the process of phonological construal, i.e. distinct grammatical archaism is not assumed in a functional cognitive approach, though the contribution of semantic construal cannot be precluded.

Based on these we can state that the traditional subcategories of archaism (conceptual, semantic and formal, see Heltainé Nagy 2008: 128—129) are not discrete phenomena, but they are the domains of the archaic continuum. The example above, namely the archaic nature in the phonological structure is probably one of the endpoints on the continuum, while the archaic grammatical construction can be positioned between the endpoints (between the conceptual and the phonological archaism). The basis of archaic labelling at the phonological pole is the experience of interpreting such utterances, which are the parts of the community's tradition. The socio-cultural status of archaism forms through this experience. So the previous utterances contribute to meaning creation as schematic or specific fragments of the common tradition, and these utterances make the context in which the archaic language use can develop. It is essential, however, that the phonological, the grammatical and the conceptual archaism can be grasped from the structural perspective as a semantic phenomenon: as the presence of the socio-cultural domain of time in the semantic structure, as foregrounding or profiling the archaic substructure in this domain, in the process of meaning creation. That is exactly why archaism forms a continuum in the cognitive model.

It can be stated further that the archaic nature of a linguistic unit always develops in front of a concrete textual background, which helps the archaic interpretation and contributes to the profiling of the archaic subdomain. This background can be modelled successfully with frame semantics. It is primarily a lexical semantic theory, but it proved to be productive in the investigation of archaic language use. Fillmore (2006) grasps meaning as a categorising act of experiences: in his theory words and other linguistic forms point to semantic categories, which belong to wider conceptual structures. Thus meaning creation is categorising experience in the foreground of the knowledge about the world, however the categorisation and the conceptual system of knowledge itself are motivated by the situation of cognition, i.e. by the context in which the speech community needs to establish new categories (see Fillmore 2006: 373—374, 381). Categorising an entity, namely using the given form in the given situation becomes reasonable, acceptable and understandable in a motivating context. The motivating context consists of social and cultural practices, of traditional knowledge about the social institutions, and of previous interpretations of this socio-cultural practice.

This context makes possible the development of a new category as well as carrying out a categorising act in the speech community. Consequently, this context motivates both the meaning and the use of the linguistic structure, in harmony with structuring the category system itself in the background of the meaning. The categories being initiated by the motivating context and standing in systematic relation with each other constitute the semantic frame of a linguistic unit (Fillmore 2006: 381). It is essential that the semantic frame is not indispensable for understanding an expression, nevertheless the conventional knowledge of the speech community would not contribute to the meaning creation without the semantic frame. It is also important that the motivating context and the semantic frame with it can be formed through processing experience, since the language user applies the frame to the given situation intentionally (Fillmore 2006: 382). Therefore frame semantics is not only a functional but also a usage-based theory, since the frames come from the situations of cognition, and they also form in them.

During verbal interaction, in the course of joint attention the semantic frames make accessible such ways of construal, which are motivated in a community but entrenched individually. A semantic frame is a system of categories; it functions in the foreground of the motivating context as conceptual background. In the act of meaning creation, the language user adopts these frames dynamically to initiate conceptualisations for others: the conceptualiser elaborates conceptually the referential scene and its participants along with the semantic frame pertaining to the expression.

On the basis of all these an expression is labelled archaic from a functional viewpoint if its motivating context contains knowledge about the tradition of the speech community, and this knowledge becomes accessible through the expression's semantic frame. The expression evokes the historical base of its creation (Fillmore 2006: 385), so in the course of meaning creation the entity, process or relation profiled by the semantic structure of the expression is interpreted taking the past of the community as the starting-point, since conceptual knowledge referring to the past motivates the categorisation.

As it can be seen, the crucial factor in archaic language use is not the linguistic form in the functional cognitive research, but the historicity of the categories that motivate the meaning. It is not the knowledge about the history of the structure that initiates archaic labelling for the language user, but the context of interpretation in which the structure becomes motivated semantically.

It is especially true at the other endpoint of the archaic continuum, which is regarded traditionally lexical or conceptual archaism. Consider the next fragment from a novel.

- (2) Leültem az ágy szélére, apám pedig beléfogott a távollétemben történetek elbeszélésébe. Alig két héttel azután, hogy engem fölrakott az Izsákfalvára induló szekérre, levelet kapott az ödenburgi tanácstól, amelyben tudatták velem, hogy fivére, kinek feleségét s két gyermekét már előző évben elragadta a pestis, maga is elhunyt valamely gyors lefolyású betegségben, de mégsem annyira hirtelen, hogy ne lett volna ideje testámentumot tenni, amelyhez tanúnak, annak rendje és módja szerint, a külső és belső tanács két-két tagját kérte fel.

(I sat down on the edge of the bed, and my father began to tell everything that had happened during my absence. Barely two weeks after he had loaded me onto the cart

going to Izsákfalva, he had a letter from the town council of Ödenburg in which he was informed that also his brother himself, whose wife and two children had been seized by the plague a year earlier, had died in a rapid course illness, not so suddenly however, that he would not have had time making his last will and testament, for which he formally asked two members of the internal and of the external council as witnesses.’)

The archaic language use in this example is moderate, nevertheless the expressions *ödenburgi* (‘of Ödenburg’, instead of conventional *soproni* [‘of Sopron’]) and *testámentumot* (‘last will and testament’, instead of conventional *végrendeletet*, with the same meaning) come to the foreground of the attention. The plot narrated in the whole text is set in a Hungarian language area, in western Hungary, so the German name of the town referring to Sopron is prominent: Hungarian speakers indicate the settlements of Hungary with their Hungarian names. From this it follows that the writer does not use her present time language knowledge during the processing of the structure *ödenburgi*, but she interprets the expression with the help of such a motivating context, which activates the language user’s knowledge about the past of the Hungarian speech community. Similarly, the semantic frame of *testámentumot* makes accessible conceptual structures concerning the past, since it elaborates the last will and testament as the entity in the centre of joint attention according to the Latin tradition of legal practice. Of course the phonological structures of both expressions contribute to the archaic labelling.

It is important to note that it is not required to know specifically and in detail the history of the community for understanding the two expressions above, as well as for recognising archaic language use. The language user does not have to know accurately, in what historical era or in what historical status of Hungarian were conventional the German names of free royal towns and the Latin term referring to the last will. It is enough to recognise that these semantic structures are not conventional in the present. This recognition results from the socio-cultural domain of time forming a part of the semantic structures of these expressions, and from the archaic profile of the domain.

To sum up, the structure aspect of linguistic potential in archaic language use can be modelled as follows. Frame semantics helps us to grasp the semantic motivation of archaic language use, directing our attention to the motivating context of linguistic units. In the case of archaic expressions this context is built partly from non-verbal, encyclopaedic knowledge and partly from the fragments of former or historic utterances as intertexts in a wider sense (Gasparov 2010: 3–4), thus archaisms can be characterised with encyclopaedic motivation on the one hand, or with intertextual motivation on the other. (Of course these motivation categories are not separated rigidly and sharply, and in the majority of cases both motivation categories contribute to the categorisation presumably, considering that textual tradition can be activated not only as the entirety of intertexts, but also as encyclopaedic knowledge.) An expression is labelled archaic in this motivating context, thus it has a semantic structure that can be interpreted from the socio-cultural and verbal traditions of the speech community. During the entrenchment of archaic labelling the socio-cultural domain of time becomes part of the semantic structure, and the subdomain of archaism comes to the foreground in the domain. On the basis of all these, the intensity of archaic nature can be grasped with the degree of centrality of the domain of time in the structure: the more central the socio-cultural domain of time is, i.e. the more it pertains to the active zone of the structure activating automatically

in the course of construal, the more intensive the archaic labelling of the expression becomes, and the expression can be considered as more prototypical in archaic language use.

Archaism is semantic in the functional cognitive theory even if it is realised on the phonological pole of the linguistic unit. The phonological structure is schematised during the processing of utterances pertaining to the textual tradition of the community. However, the archaic nature of the expression becomes fixed in the semantic structure being in a symbolic relation with the phonological structure. In the case of phonological archaism (as well as of archaic grammatical construction) it is one or another fragment from the textual tradition which comes to the foreground in the motivating context. At the other endpoint of the archaic continuum (in the case of conceptual archaism), it is primarily the tradition as conceptual knowledge which becomes available, nevertheless the socio-cultural domain of time becomes activated again in the semantic structure of the expression.

3.2. Archaic language use in the discourse

With the term ‘archaic language use’, I intend to indicate that archaism develops and becomes interpretable in verbal interaction, in the course of the discourse. Thus, we have to elaborate the procedural aspect of the linguistic potential, so we have to investigate how the semantic structure modelled above contributes to the conceptual organisation of the discourse. Archaism as a referential phenomenon can be modelled only through this, since the conceptual structure construing a referential entity or scene is built in the frames of verbal activity, during meaning creation.

As Langacker (2001: 151) states it, linguistic structures (symbolic units) initiate the (re)formation of the current discourse space in one or another way. The conceptual structure of the discourse is built at many levels simultaneously, and linguistic units function in elaborating these levels. They initiate primarily the transformation of the objective scene: they introduce novel participants, or they change the direction of the attention within the scene (Langacker 2009: 2). However the mental representation of the speech situation (the participants of the verbal interaction, its relationship and the speech event itself), the ground, the scope of awareness containing the ground and the objective scene, and the immediate scope (the physical and social context of the interaction) are also the parts of the discourse space (Langacker 2009: 1—2).

In so far as the discourse is neutral regarding the socio-cultural domain of time, and an entity gets into the centre of joint attention (i.e. into the focus of attention) through processing a linguistic structure, the entity is anchored to the ground, to the interpreted and processed speech event (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 130—132), thus the instantiation of the type is interpreted in relation to the ground. It is essential, on the one hand, that in terms of the traditional conception grounding presupposes reference in a narrower sense, i.e. the identification of an entity or process in the text world through using a linguistic symbol, since grounding makes the coordination of references possible in the discourse (Brisard 2002: xvi). On the other hand, grounding i.e. the conceptual access to an entity or process in the text world (and through this bringing the entity or process in the objective scene) does not come in itself to the foreground of the attention, since the scope of attention including the objective scene is encircled and the path of attention directing to the scope is established only by the process of grounding (Brisard 2002: xii—xv). In other words, the epistemically oriented process of elaborating schematic semantic structures makes it possible to

coordinate the instantiations of the types by the participants of the discourse, while the process of coordination itself is not profiled. Semantic structures are interpreted as instantiations of types in the knowledge repertoire of the participants, consequently during grounding the language user not only directs the attention of the other participant(s) onto a referent, supposing that it is identifiable, but also he makes a mental contact with the referent possible: he labels the relation of the entity to the physical, mental and social world of the discourse (Brisard 2002: xiii—xv).

It can be seen that the traditional conception of grounding (elaborated by Langacker and Brisard) considers it as a relation between the conceptualiser and the conceptualised entity, in so far as it is defined as making a conceptual access to the entities in the objective scene. This approach implies a narrower conception of reference that is limited to the type reference of semantic structures: in this approach linguistic symbols refer to types, and they indicate entities in the objective scene only through grounding in the discourse. In other words, the elaborated semantic structure develops in the instantiation process of the schema (i.e. in the process of construal). It initiates the conceptualisation of the observed scene or one part of it from a viewpoint and it is anchored to the ground. In the traditional approach the relation of the instantiation with the conceptualised entity is not referential in nature, since grounding itself is not a referential process, but a process coordinating references (i.e. type references). This conception of grounding makes the notion of reference rather narrow, moreover it considers the processes of dynamic meaning creation and construal as non-referential processes. Langacker (2008: 269—272) dissolves this contradiction to some extent, because he construes reference at two levels: he regards type references as the conceptual level of reference (where the referent is the conceptual profile of an expression), while he assumes a wider reference at the level of discourse (through which an instantiation developing in the construal refers to an entity in the discourse).

However the two-level conception of reference is also problematic in the functional cognitive model of archaism, because it is not clear in what measure the socio-cultural domain of time can come in the foreground within the semantic structure. Therefore, it cannot be answered on the ground of the two-level conception of reference whether archaism as a referential process pertains to the level of conceptualisation or discourse, or if it proceeds at both levels, what is the difference between them. The solution may be extending the notion of reference and grounding on the basis of the functional pragmatic theory of reference: from the perspective of functional pragmatics the whole process of conceptualisation proceeds within the act of reference, thus conceptual elaboration is at all levels (in relation to type and to instantiation) a referential process (Sinha 1999: 231—232). This means that the referential act encompasses the processes of conceptualisation and construal, thus also grounding is considered a referential process: it is a process which not only makes the conceptual access to the observed entity possible, but it initiates the conceptual access from the conceptualiser as a subject. Consequently, the conceptualiser is not only a neutral or abstract factor of the grounding process, but he is one of the participants in the discourse, a subject with mental and socio-cultural characteristics. This model approaches grounding in the complex system of relations between the objective scene and the participants of the joint attentional scene, and it considers grounding as a process which builds the intersubjective conceptual path to the referential scene or entity. So it is indeed coordinative in nature, but it coordinates conceptualisations in a referential act, not references.

The referential function of archaic language use becomes explainable in this model, in relation to grounding. It is important to see that archaism develops in the process of con-

strual, the relation system of the discourse, however, in which construal proceeds, is not a two-dimensional configuration of a conceptualiser and an objective scene (see Verhagen 2005: 5—7). It is a complex, three-dimensional system of relations between the conceptualised scene, the conceptualisers (the participants of the discourse), and the relationship of the participants. The ground itself to which linguistic structures are grounded is intersubjective in nature, since the participants of the usage event have common knowledge, and they consider each other as intentional mental agents (Tomasello 1999). So it is a common ground (Verhagen 2005: 7), and the utterances are used for initiating joint processes of attention and conceptualisation, in relation to the common ground. The participants of the discourse coordinate the conceptualisations through the process of grounding.

It can be stated that the functional cognitive explanation of archaic language use presupposes the extension of the notions of reference and grounding. At the same time, it makes the reinterpretation of the notion of archaism possible. For if the socio-cultural domain of time, as well as the archaic subdomain comes to the foreground of the semantic structure, grounding proceeds in two dimensions simultaneously. The conceptualiser grounds the entity to the common ground on the one hand, since it becomes available in the text world through this process. On the other hand the entity is construed as the instantiation of a type or category that is motivated by the verbal and non-verbal tradition of the speech community, as motivating context, thus the entity becomes available conceptually from the tradition. In other words, the referential scene is construed in two dimensions in the case of archaic language use: the entity is elaborated in the process of conceptualisation as an element of the immediate context (as a participant of the text world) on the one hand, and on the other as a part of the community's tradition. Consequently archaism has its function in the process of conceptualisation and construal, because it makes the entity being in focus within the text world referentially available through the collective tradition. This is the referential function of archaic language use. The phonological endpoint of the archaic continuum serves as a referential structure through foregrounding the utterance itself, its phonological and structural formation. Since in this case the domain of time is profiled again in the semantic structure, the archaic formation serves as a meaning creating component in the conceptual processing of an entity.

It is very important to see that by archaic language use we elaborate conceptually an entity in the text world at a higher level of representation, through labelling the entity in the system of encyclopaedic and verbal knowledge of the community considered as tradition. From this follows however the epistemic nature of archaic language use as well as its relation to the deictic process: during the intersubjective referential interpretation of archaic semantic structures a part of the community's tradition as common knowledge appears as an independent perspective, relating the context of the speech event with the context of the collective past.

Therefore in archaic language use the complex process of grounding itself comes to the foreground of attention, and the scope of awareness is changed as a consequence. We categorise and ground the focused entity in the motivating context of the tradition too, and through this our attention is directed not only to the focused entity, but also to a part of the tradition. The scope of awareness becomes open to the past structured as conceptual knowledge, it does not close at the boundaries of the immediate context (of the speech event). For that reason archaism is a specific type of perspectivisation (cf. Sanders—Spooren 1997: 89—90): the perspective of tradition appears in the process of dynamic meaning creation, namely the validity of the conceptualisation

is attached not only to the conceptualiser, because the process of conceptual elaboration itself is embedded in a wider discourse space being open to the collective past. This goes hand in hand with the partial transfer of the subject of consciousness, since the speaker himself does not take full responsibility for the conceptualisations symbolised with linguistic structures, but rather also brings in the canonical (encyclopaedic and verbal) knowledge of the community's tradition. In other words, tradition becomes a partly independent subject in the archaic language use.

The transfer of the subject of consciousness can proceed in different ways and measures. There is an explicit perspectivisation if a previous utterance from the textual tradition of the community is cited as intertext, since in this case a previous speaker (a concrete subject) can be identified more or less in with knowledge of the textual tradition, whether the citation is marked or not. This is also the case when a concrete text is evoked through the application of its characteristic expressions or phonological structures, since we can identify a particular subject, the speaker of the text evoked, even if this subject remains schematic in relation to our knowledge about him. Evocation is thus the transitional domain of archaic perspectivisation, its explicitness can be varied to a certain measure, but in every case a subject can be identified approximately. At the other endpoint of the scale of archaic perspectivisation the change of the perspective remains implicit. It is the case when the conceptualisation is embedded in the encyclopaedic knowledge referred to the community's past: it is the tradition itself, which appears as the partial subject of consciousness. For a piece of the community's past is activated not only as a system of knowledge and values, so as a base of comparison, but as a conventional and complex conceptual structure with which conceptualisations have to be harmonised. In the case of implicit archaic perspectivisation, tradition is a generally defined subject that however has an autonomous epistemic status in the course of intersubjective use of language. It is important moreover that the transfer of the subject of consciousness can be regarded partial, since the speaker remains the source of conceptualisation, so he has the active consciousness.

All these can be harmonised with the theory of grounding explicated above: the archaic conceptualisation can be grasped not through the narrower conception of reference as active mental process, but through the process of grounding proceeding in the act of reference (in wider sense). Since the process of grounding remains in foreground, also the subject of tradition contributes to the coordination of conceptualisations, nevertheless this subject does not have autonomous conceptualising activity, but it can be interpreted in the consciousness of the conceptualiser.

The better knowledge we have about collective traditions, namely the better the motivating context of the expression is elaborated, the more specified the direction of the awareness into the past is. However it is worth mentioning again that for archaic language use it is not required to know an elaborated, specified motivating context, it is enough to open the scope of awareness to the past (instead of closing it in the present), i.e. the subject of consciousness is transferred partially to the tradition. Taking this into consideration it can be stated too that from a functional cognitive perspective there are not any clear criteria for defining and delimiting archaic language use. Nevertheless the functional cognitive model does not aim at predictability, since the language user's perspective cannot be harmonised with an a priori definition of archaism. The relative nature of archaism is not problematic from a functional view, because it follows from the individual access to the traditions of the community.

To investigate archaic language use in discourse, consider the next example:

- (3) Ország- és világszerte ismert híres emberek mellett egy-egy kisebb vidék — falu, város — megemlékezik olyan szülőttéről vagy helybéli lokálpatriótájáról, aki a szűkebb haza dicsőségére, netán még boldogítására is alkotott valami maradandót. Többféle lehet ezen alkotás is: az építéstől a versekig, illetve a népjóléti cselekedetekig. Dunavecse a száz esztendővel ezelőtt született *Molnár Lajost* kiállításal köszöntik földijeit. A sokoldalú férfiú egymásnak látszatra ellentmondó területeken bizonyította tehetségét, viharos történelmi időkben tanúsította emberségét. Volt költő és pap, politikus és családapa, lapszerkesztő és a dunavecsei kaszinó elnöke. ('Among well-known men being famous all over the country and the world, there are natives and provincialist who are commemorated by a lesser region (village or town), and who created something lasting for the glory of their homeland, or perhaps even for making it happy. The creation can be of several kinds: from building to the poems, as well as welfare acts. In Dunavecse Lajos Molnár, who was born a hundred years ago, is greeted with an exhibition by his fellow-countrymen. The versatile man proved his talent in many apparently contradictory areas, attested his humanity in stormy historical times. He was poet and priest, politician and father, editor and chairman in the noble club in Dunavecse'.)

The text has a slightly archaic nature that can be grasped by the model suggested in the study: the perspectivisation does not become explicated during dynamic meaning creation, the subject of tradition can be circumscribed only very generally, so the measure of transfer of the subject of consciousness is only small. Nevertheless some expressions are clearly archaic (at least for the author of this paper), for example *cselekedetekig* ('to acts', instead of conventional *tevékenységekig*), *földijeit* ('his fellow-countrymen', instead of more conventional *honfitársai*) or *kaszinó* ('noble club'). The archaic nature of these expressions follows in the functional cognitive approach from the motivating context of categorisation in the semantic frame during meaning creation, i.e. from the activation of the textual tradition of the community and of knowledge about the past of the community, as well as from grounding meaning in this knowledge and tradition. Describing these partly conventional, partly archaic motivating contexts requires more research, thus they can be circumscribed in this study only approximately.

It seems appropriate to set out from the organisation of discourse as macro-perspective. The example initiates leaving the immediate context of verbal interaction with its first values, since it points out the scope of awareness in the sphere of the tradition of a small community. It is essential that this subprocess cannot be seen as perspectivisation, because it delimits only the text world schematically. Within this scope attention is directed to authors and works, then a concrete person (Lajos Molnár) get to the centre of joint attention. In fact the text elaborates conceptually the figure of the person, through its activities in the past, so the text refers primarily to Lajos Molnár. The example is very interesting, since the text world is constituted within the tradition itself, consequently it is worth investigating how archaic language use contributes to perspectivisation.

The first highlighted expression, *cselekedetekig* ('to acts') profiles the endpoint of an action, the executed act, in addition its semantic frame contains the dimension of moral evaluation, namely the goodness or badness as moral quality of the act. This substructure of the semantic frame has its origin in the literary tradition of the Hungarian speech community,

especially from the Károli Bible, cf.: “Ímé szövetséget kötök; a te egész néped előtt csudákat teszek, a milyenek nem voltak az egész földön, sem a népek között, és meglátja az egész nép, a mely között te vagy, az Úrnak *cselekedeteit*; mert csudálatos az, a mit én cselekszem veled” (2Móz 34,10). Of course the archaic labelling cannot be derived from the cited fragment or from any other concrete text, nevertheless the citation demonstrates that the textual tradition of the Bible is an important source of the archaic nature of the expression *cselekedet* (‘act’): the archaic nature of the expression is schematised in the socio-cultural domain of time through interpretation of the original text or of the literary works paraphrasing it. In this case it is the speaker of the Bible who appears as a partial and schematised subject of consciousness, and the validity of moral evaluation is the consequence of this perspective.

The expression *földijei* (‘his fellow-countrymen’) can be approached in a similar way. The semantic structure profiles the members of a community in their regional togetherness, that is to say the semantic frame foregrounds the collective geographical origin of the members. This way of conceptualisation is characteristic of small communities as a socio-cultural practice, consequently the meaning of the expression is grounded in the tradition of a small community as motivating context. The subject of consciousness can be characterised as a member of a small community in this explanation.

The archaic motivation of the expression *kaszinó* (‘noble club’) can be interpreted more clearly: the encyclopaedic knowledge about a historical social institution is activated and makes the history of the community available in the course of meaning creation. Thus the motivating context is more specific, however the subject of tradition seems the most schematic in this case. The highlighted expressions can be labelled archaic through their abstraction and categorisation in the process of becoming acquainted with the tradition of the community, so in the course of their construal the tradition is brought into the meaning creation, the meanings of the expressions are grounded as semantic structures in the tradition. These processes can be modelled in the discourse: the expressions open the scope of awareness (delimited as a text world in the past of the community of Dunavecse) towards the tradition of the Hungarian speech community, applying another perspective more or less specifically or generally (see *kaszinó*, as well as *cselekedetekig* and *földijei*). While the language user conceptualises the entity being in the centre of attention, he performs such processes of construal through the semantic frames of the expressions, which come to the foreground of conceptual structures relating to the community’s tradition, as well as to the foreground of the textual tradition of the community. As a result of these processes, schematic or specific elements of knowledge about the community’s past are built into the meaning of the text, referring to the entity in the text world through the tradition. And the language users coordinate their conceptualisations not only with each other, but also with the subject of tradition.

4. Conclusion

This study initiated a functional cognitive explanation of archaic language use. First I abandoned the formal approach to archaism, which defines archaism in the autonomous system of language, through the rigid distinction between synchronic and diachronic dimensions of this system, as such expressions that are transferred from previous, obsolete states of the system. Archaism can be explained from a functional cognitive perspective with the historicity of the conceptual structure made available, and not with the historicity of the linguistic

structure. The archaic nature comprehended in this way can be investigated from a structural and from a procedural viewpoint. From the former, the socio-cultural domain of time can be modelled as a part of the semantic structure of the expression, in which the archaic value comes to foreground, and the domain itself gets to the foreground of the semantic structure. Since cognitive grammar models linguistic structures as symbolic relations between a phonological and a semantic structure (pole), the structural explanation of archaism can be applied to the phonological and to the grammatical archaism as well. In the explanation of the archaic nature of a semantic structure, frame semantics proves to be productive, since it can be explained with the theory of semantic frames how encyclopaedic and verbal knowledge about the history of a community can motivate the archaic nature of a semantic structure. Through the procedural approach, we can investigate the discursive functioning of semantic structures, considering that on the one hand there is a complex process of grounding in archaic language use, namely the simultaneous grounding of the schematic type to the speech situation and to the tradition, and on the other the foregrounding of this grounding process itself, which results in perspectivisation, in partial transfer of the subject of consciousness.

In drawing the conclusions from the functional cognitive modelling of archaism it is considered necessary first of all to relate the structural description to the procedural explanation in more details. For it is essential that archaism as complex grounding becomes possible only through the existence of categories activating tradition in the semantic frame of the archaising expression, so these semantic structures carry the possibility of perspectivisation schematically. On the other hand, these semantic structures become entrenched through the process of archaic utterances, i.e. through the recurring successful coordination of conceptualisations. From a functional cognitive perspective, the structural and the procedural explanations require each other: in the discourse the conceptualiser uses structures that make knowledge about the past available, and mark this process semantically in the socio-cultural cognitive domain of time, these structures are schematised however in previous discourses. Modelling the place and nature of the domain of time in semantic structures needs further research.

The continuum structure proved to be appropriate in several respects in modelling the linguistic potential of archaic language use. It is worth summarising and relating to each other these aspects of the archaic continuum. The archaic language use can be modelled as a scale:

- in respect of which pole of the linguistic symbol dominates, with phonological archaism as one endpoint and with conceptual archaism as the other endpoint, taking into consideration however that the whole scale is motivated semantically;
- on the basis of the nature of the motivating context, with encyclopaedic as well as intertextual endpoints and with a transitional domain between them;
- on the grounds of the centrality of the socio-cultural domain of time, namely of the intensity of archaic labelling;
- according to the mode of perspectivisation, as a continuum between explicit archaism with a specific subject of consciousness different from the speaker (subject of tradition) and implicit archaism with a schematic and general subject of consciousness/tradition.

From these the second and the fourth aspects are in a strong relation with each other: in the case of intertextual motivation the perspectivisation becomes more explicit. There can be a

relation between the third and the fourth aspect as well: if the socio-cultural domain of time becomes active with ease, the explicitness and markedness of archaic language use, and therefore the profiling of archaic grounding becomes more intensive. It follows from these that further investigations of the relations between these aspects are indispensable.

The following stage in the functional cognitive stylistic explanation of archaic language use is elaborating and detailing the semantic model, since through it the contribution of archaisms to the meaning of the text can be modelled more accurately. Moreover, it is important to compare the socio-cultural factor of time with the other factors on the basis of the explanation of linguistic potential suggested in this study, as well as to investigate the co-occurrence patterns of the factors in the Hungarian speech community. The structural aspect of the linguistic potential can be elaborated in greater details on the grounds of these additional investigations, while the procedural aspect can be refined through analysing the stylistic structure of texts labelled archaic.

Finally, it is worth referring the functional cognitive explanation of the semantic grounds of archaic language use back to the hermeneutic epistemological starting point, reflecting the relations between the general epistemological and the linguistic theoretical presuppositions. The historical mode of cognition following from the modern Western episteme is not appropriate for explaining archaism, since it implies absolutising the position of cognition (displacing it from history), objectivising the object of cognition (separating the past from the present), as well as idealising the human subject of cognition (and its epistemological superiority). The functional approach which foregrounds the perspective of the language user, cannot rely on these presuppositions, consequently it has to keep the historical determination, the limitedness and the transience of the cogniser's position. In consequence, from a functional cognitive perspective a theory of archaism with general validity and predictability cannot be elaborated. Nevertheless, in the light of the fundamental relativity of cogniser we can realise that linguistic activity, as well as the formation of an utterance as meaning creating component proceeds in a dynamic, complex system of relations, and its scientific explanation is possible only in the framework of a complex research with the investigation of several perspectives simultaneously. Moreover, modelling archaic language use as a way of perspectivisation becomes established concerning the hermeneutic experience of cognition and from the cognitive and socio-cultural embedding of language use: tradition has to be considered as a semi-autonomous subject since only by this subject can we interpret the cognition of tradition constituted by language as a dialogue with tradition, namely as a real understanding.

Examples

- (1) Komlós János 1965. Ott fenn... Némileg klerikális színezetű Tan Mese az Mai Példabeszédek Könyvéből. *Népszabadság* 23: 8.
- (2) Rakovszky Zsuzsa 2002. *A kigyó árnyéka*. Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó. 244.
- (3) Zsolnár Melinda 2002. A dunavecsei politikus—lelkipásztor. *Magyar Nemzet* 65: 15.

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**”THANKS FOR THE COMPLIMENT”
APPRECIATIVE UTTERANCES AND RESPONSES
IN HUNGARIAN AND ITALIAN DISCOURSES
(A POSSIBLE COGNITIVE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS)**

ANDREA PAP

Abstract

Polite linguistic behaviour belongs to everyday interactions, to the utterances of social interactions, and typical manifestations of this behaviour include appreciative utterances, compliments, praises to our communication partner and related responses.

This paper will attempt to delineate a possible analysis of responses to appreciative utterances. It focuses on responses to compliments, but for this it is necessary to consider appreciative utterances as well. The theoretical frame of the analysis is based on cognitive stylistics (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005) beyond pragmatics that gives a functional approach to language by directing attention to the connection between cognitive and socio-cultural conditions. Primarily this is a stylistic analysis, however; based on pragmatic research, it aims to show its stylistic adaptability. To interpret the utterances is important to know the context of the interaction which is part of the meaning. As language prompts for the construction of meaning in particular contexts with particular cultural models and cognitive resources (Fauconnier 2003, 2004), it is not independent of the context (on the notion of context, see Tátrai 2004, 2011: 51–67).

In the first part of the paper, politeness in a broader theoretical framework will be interpreted as well as its relationship to style, focusing on socio-cultural factors as determinants of stylistic meaning. In chapter three, interpretations of the concept of compliment and its cultural dimensions will be reviewed. In chapter four, which contains the empirical analysis and discusses responses to compliments, its relationship with the socio-cultural factors (particularly those of situation and value) will be examined.

Keywords: politeness, compliments-responses, style patterns, socio-cultural factors (situation and value), discourse completion test

1. The aim, the method, the theoretical issues of the analysis

The phenomenon of polite linguistic behaviour studied in this paper invites some interesting observations, for example by comparing the polite *linguistic* features of everyday interactions of different speech communities, or by observing social and cultural, gender and age differences.

The main purpose of the paper is to show in what type of utterances and how the responses to compliments (related to external properties, appearances, internal values or the result of the communication partner’s work) are realised, in what style they are formed in various types of interpersonal relationships (peer relationships or subordinate and superordi-

nate social relations) and situations (the linguistic interaction is part of social cognition: cf. Tolcsvai Nagy's paper in this volume).

1.1. The aim and the method of the analysis

The aim of the analysis is to interpret the phenomenon of appreciative utterances and (contextually related) responses, as well as to delineate the socio-cultural dimensions and the style characteristics of responses to compliments in the Hungarian and Italian languages. The relationships created between the interlocutors and the conditions in a situation have influence on the construal of statements, on the style of utterances. The analysis focuses on the socio-cultural factors of situation and value (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2005), because these are the most relevant for the subject. The domain of situation is essential in interpersonal relationships, and the domain of value is significant in the description of the style of compliments.

The Hungarian language corpus is the result of my own work of collection, in order to have language data I made a discourse-completion test (details: Pap 2011: 80) according to a method applied in empirical research, extended to more languages and cultures (Blum—Kulka 1982). The test was carried out with 20 to 30 year-old college students and graduates (83 questionnaires). In this paper the responses of the 4th and 5th situations of the discourse-completion test will be analysed, where the responses to compliments are emphasised. The compliments in the given situations are related to external appearance, external properties (in the 4th situation) and to the results of intellectual work (in the 5th situation). The Italian language corpus is based on the language materials collected by Alfonzetti (2009), in which some everyday Italian conversations are presented. Also in the Italian corpus there are only responses related to external appearance (external properties) and the results of (intellectual or other kind of) work. Comparing the two types of language corpus it can be observed that Hungarian data gained from the discourse-completion tests reflect a greater awareness of the speakers (what can be said in a given situation according to the language user), whereas the Italian language corpus contains more spontaneous conversations. This fact can make the comparability of data more indirect, because the written method can narrow the possibilities of style to express the verbal modes, even so the different language materials can be an adequate basis to note some similarities and differences.¹ In both corpora metapragmatic or metacommunicative reflections can be found that are part of the contextual meaning and are characteristics of the orality and spontaneity of discourses (on metapragmatic reflections, see Tátrai 2011: 119—125).

1.2. The interpretation of politeness

The phenomenon of **politeness** can be interpreted in many ways (for details, see Szili 2004b, 2007). In everyday meaning, it refers to the norms of tactful social behaviour with others (Szili 2004b: 32), the rules of appropriate behaviour. In polite linguistic behaviour respect towards people, the reciprocal appreciation of each other according to the traditions of social interaction manifest, by always following the norms (Éder 1980: 1128—1130). Everyone exercises the courtesy with actions, words, with symbolic gestures, somehow according to their own up-

¹ For a more detailed study the analysis already completed in the Hungarian language should be extended also into the Italian language with the same method (with discourse-completion tests).

bringing, quality of social interaction and emotional readiness (Kertész 1933: 1). In a broader interpretation politeness is a phenomenon when we set our conversations in service of social goals, by considering the influence on others (Tannen 2001: 32). Politeness represents a value which has an important role in social relations, expresses respect and appreciation for the communication partner regarding the social position represented by the interlocutor (Bańcerowski 2000: 312). The concept of politeness is often identified with respect. The two phenomena are not the same: politeness is a kind gesture towards the others in a more general way, and the forms of respect are part of the means of expression of politeness (Szili 2007: 3).

From a pragmatic perspective politeness is an ensemble of strategies which are used by the speaker in specific situations, according to the communication demands, in order to achieve purposes and to establish and maintain relationships (Szili 2000: 272). Polite linguistic behaviour helps to create, modify and maintain interpersonal relationships, which explains according to Leech (1983: 80) why people are often indirect to change their thoughts (of Leech's theory: Bańcerowski 2000, Nemesi 2000, Szili 2004b, Pap 2011).

Thus politeness generally can be defined as linguistic behaviour that the speakers apply to satisfy the communication demands, being mostly suitable for their own and the partners' needs to create and maintain interpersonal relationships. Politeness is a specific accompanying phenomenon of social interactions and interpersonal relationships which shows the social relationship between interlocutors, the speaker's attitude related to the situation and the conversation partner. In the opinion of Bianchi (2005: 91) politeness essentially is a social dimension of communication that forms a complex interaction network between the different social identities and different systems of rules.

According to Leech's theory an "objective" and "subjective" aspect of politeness can be distinguished. "Objective" politeness reflects that some linguistic devices seem more polite to us than others. A relevant explanation for this fact can be that in some typical situations (which also appear in the analysis: for example, boss-employee, teacher-student) conducting the interpersonal relationships requires greater attention and elaboration compared to other typical (for example, friend-friend) situations (Tátrai 2011: 47). It correlates with the "objective" politeness theory that in the boss-employee and teacher-student interactions, for example, the situation seems more formal compared to the informal interaction between friends. Also the etymological explanation of politeness can be connected to this interpretation. Its root is the royal court (Szili 2004b: 32): English *court*, German *höflich*, French *courtois*, Spanish *cortes*, Italian *corte*, Hungarian *udvar*. The Hungarian adjective *udvarias* meaning 'polite' and the Hungarian noun *udvariasság* meaning 'politeness' emerged from a Slavic loanword (*udvar* 'court') are semantic loans created by a German model. In the 17th century the derivations of the word *udvar* ('court') appeared still in the knowledge of language users connecting to the royal court, but according to the testimony of writings of the age, besides the polite behaviour towards the king, in the content of these words the falsity, the occult thought, the lack of sincerity are included also in accordance with the morals of the court and the whole social life at that time (Kertész 1933: 155). Politeness and polite behaviour (as a higher social phenomenon) have included the rules related to the behaviour of the high social classes, the formality of social interaction (Kertész 1933: 1—2, 154—155). The norms of etiquette that determine the modes of expression of politeness, gained recognition during the civil development, have developed and become conventionalised in different cultures, in different ways and times (Deme—Grétsy—Wacha 1987: 92).

”Subjective” politeness, however, refers to the fact that polite linguistic behaviour depends on situations, which is emphasised also in the analysis (section 4). This characteristic is connected to the issue of the functioning of style attributions and style patterns. Regarding ”subjective” politeness it is possible, even within a typical situation, to speak about a formal, neutral and informal style in relation with a style pattern connected to a given situation. In this sense politeness can be defined as a relative concept, according to which the politeness or impoliteness of a given language solution can be interpreted in the given context, according to the relationship between the interlocutors (Tátrai 2011: 47).

In the polite utterances between the intersubjective (cognitive) and interpersonal (relationship-oriented) functions of language (in other words: cognitive — interactive: Habermas 1997: 248, transactive — interactive: Brown és Yule 1983: 1) the interpersonal role is emphasised (Tátrai 2011: 36—41, Szili 2007: 1). The primarily interpersonal language use is realised in situations when attention is directed to the participants’ interpersonal relationship in the discourse (Tátrai 2011: 39; the joint attentional scene as a part of discourse world: vs. Tátrai’s paper in this volume and Tolcsvai Nagy’s paper also in this volume). Forming properly the interpersonal relationships contributes greatly to the success of communication, must correspond to the socio-cultural expectations related to the polite linguistic behaviour of a given speech community.

1.3. Relation between politeness and style — the socio-cultural factors as components of style

The politeness (or impoliteness) of an utterance can always be interpreted in a given context. Interpreting the utterances requires a background knowledge which is an essential condition for successful interaction. A polite utterance (even in indirect form) may be relevant in a given situation if it meets the communication requirements. The attitudes entrenched during polite linguistic behaviour become conventionalised in a certain community, dynamic schemas, stylistic patterns (stylistic schemas) are created, and all participants of the discourse are provided with this knowledge (Tátrai 2004: 482). The interactions are directed by the socio-cultural norms of a given community (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 318), the knowledge of schemas related to language behaviour is defined socio-culturally.

Polite behaviour is the realisation of attention towards the other person, a kind of language use that can be realised in a variety of styles. In a cognitive approach — based on Tolcsvai Nagy’s theory (1996, 2005) — style can be defined as a complex phenomenon that is a socio-culturally defined component of the discourse: “the stylistic meaning of a symbolic structure is determined partly by factors which can be derived from social and cultural values” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 300, 2005: 85). Style reflects the socio-cultural conditions of an interaction, socio-cultural factors have a role in the formation of style. In Halliday’s interpretation (1978: 32) the meaning of a text is related to the situation, becomes part of the situation (register theory). So style (register) is a mode of language use which depends on the given situation (vs. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 86). Langacker says that sociolinguistic and other values also belong to the semantic and phonological matrix of a linguistic unit (Langacker 1987: 63, Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 87). According to Tolcsvai Nagy (2005: 85) the stylistic meaning is determined also by social and cultural factors, the universal and culture-specific factors of cognition and communication. The socio-cultural characteristics prevail in the interaction of the speaker’s

and the receiver’s knowledge of language and the text specifies the stylistic functions related to the speaker and the receiver within the interaction. Thus the social-cultural factors belong to the matrix of the meaning of a given expression, because they influence the interpretation of the complex text, the stylistic value of the text. The style of a text is determined not only by internal factors, but also by such external factors as the quality of verbal action and the context (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 229, Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 85—87).

In Tolcsvai Nagy’s (2005: 88—92) model of verbal interaction (an idealised cognitive model) the speaker’s and the recipient’s relation to each other, to the text and the situation is visualised, the socio-cultural factors are represented in cognitive domains in figure — ground relations. In this model five major cognitive domains (attitude, situation, value, time, language varieties) are distinguished, and in the continuum of the domains certain subdomains may be separated. By studying the responses to the appreciative utterances, to the compliments, the stylistic aspects will be analysed concentrating on the situation and the value factors, emphasising their relations, therefore the characterisation of these two factors will be dealt with in more detail (in Section 4). Various proto-styles, prototypical co-occurrences are created by the co-occurrences (parallel distribution) of certain socio-cultural factors: informal, neutral and formal proto-styles (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 92, 95; see also Tátrai’s paper in this volume). This phenomenon can be observed also in polite linguistic utterances.

2. A typical manifestation of polite linguistic behaviour, the compliment

The **compliment** (as an act of appreciation toward the communication partner) is a characteristic manifestation of polite linguistic behaviour. Before analyzing the act related to the compliment, viz. responses to the compliment, it is important to interpret the phenomenon of compliment itself. In the international literature, this type of manifestation is commonly called *compliment* (Italian *complimento*). In the Hungarian language the meanings of the words for ‘compliment’ (that mainly men say to women) and ‘praise’ (more general, to express appreciation) are well separated (Szili 2004b: 156). Following the literature, I will interpret compliment and all the appreciative utterances in the same meaning.

2.1. The interpretation of the definition of compliment

In the Hungarian language, *bók* (‘compliment’) has the following meaning: a nice praise expressed to court and to flatter (ÉKsz.² 2003: 140). In English to define *compliment* a similar interpretation is given in several dictionaries: praise, respect, congratulations expressed politely (*Oxford Dictionaries* 2011); a formal act of courtesy or respect (*Dictionary of the English Language* 2009); an expression of praise, commendation or admiration, a formal act or expression of civility, respect or regard, and in archaic meaning a gift, a present (*Dictionary.com Unabridged. Based on the Random House Dictionary* 2011). In the Italian monolingual dictionaries the term *compliment* is interpreted in a similar manner: the act of courtesy, respect and congratulations (*Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* 1963: 195); an expression of admiration, respect, congratulations, courtesy and similar things, polite expressions or behaviour (*Zingarelli*: 2007: 422); the act of respect, courtesy, greeting; to make a compliment for a woman; an expression of respect, homage to high-status persons (*Grande dizionario della lingua italiana III*. 1964: 416).

The compliments used in everyday conversation are an integral part of politeness, they are its typical manifestations. In Leech's (1983) model of politeness, compliments can be connected to the Approbation Maxim, according to one of the principles of this maxim the praises of the other person (communication partner) and the utterances which express the approval of others should be maximised. Leech claims that compliments — together with greetings, congratulations, thanks and other expressions — are jovial, confidentially polite acts (Leech 1983: 106). Starting from Leech's concept, the utterances related to compliments reflect primarily an informal situation, are connected to the informal style. A compliment is a „behabitive-verdictive” act (this double feature was highlighted by Pomerantz 1978) by which the speaker expresses appreciation, admiration towards the communication partner. Pomerantz (1978: 82) observes that compliments have the function of „supportive actions”, similarly to offers, invitations, gifts, praises. In his view compliment is a behaviour that reflects attention, respect directed to others. According to Wolfson (1983: 86) compliments play an important role in establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships, they are social lubricants, but all acts of politeness can be characterised by this feature. According to Holmes a compliment is defined as a positively affective speech act directed to the receiver (1986: 500), which is used to create and re-establish relationship between the interlocutors (Holmes 1986: 486, Szili 2004b: 167). In the bibliography on this subject compliment is interpreted as a positive act of politeness. Thus compliment like an utterance containing a positive evaluation can be defined as a „linguistic gift” that gives joy to the communication partner (Alfonzetti 2009: 46). The interpretation of a compliment depends on the cultural values of a given community (2.2.), for its success the socio-cultural expectations (characteristics of the society) of polite linguistic behaviour must be met. In this paper, following the general definition of the literature on this subject, compliment will be considered as a positive manifestation towards the other person (this interpretation is supported by the linguistic behaviour of two speech communities and the analyzed corpus).

It is worth analyzing the compliments in a given context, together with the responses to compliments. Those responses in which the partner says thank you for appreciation expressing joy indicate the „supportive action” character of compliment. In this case the “linguistic gifting” is mutual. The positive emotion associated to the compliment can be expressed through met-apragmatic reflection: e.g. compliment: *Csinos a ruhád, nagyon jól áll.* (‘Your dress is pretty, very good on you.’) — response: *Igazán udvarias vagy ma.* (‘You are really polite today.’).

A compliment involves the potential value of two kinds of acts: on the one hand an evaluation statement (followed by another evaluation statement, agreeing or not agreeing), on the other hand a supportive action (which may be accepted or rejected) (Alfonzetti 2009: 57—58). Compliment and response as speech acts related to each other, forming a chain of utterances called an adjacency pair (Schegloff—Sacks 1973: 296, Szili 2004b: 156). The responses to praise, to compliment belong to the group of expressive speech acts, because they express the speaker's feelings and attitudes about a state of affairs (Searle 1975: 357, Szili 2004b: 156).

2.2. The cultural dimensions of compliment

The main theories of politeness (Leech 1983, Brown—Levison 1987) tried to describe the general principles of linguistic behaviour. According to Brown and Levinson (1978: 56) polite utter-

ances contain many universal elements. Leech (1983) also sought to summarise the universal principles of politeness, however, he notes that the measure of following the principles vary from culture to culture. Referring to the universal nature of polite linguistic behavior that certain situations expect politeness from the speaker. It may be for example a conversation with a person of a higher social status, an elderly person, an unknown person, and the interaction between men and women. Polite behaviour can prevail in different ways in different societies. According to the opinion of some researchers the linguistic norms of politeness are not universal (Wierzbicka 1991, Bańczerowski 2000: 313, Nemesi 2000: 419, 428, Szili 2004b: 104). Tolesvai Nagy notes (in his paper of this volume) that the social relationship between the interlocutors (as a part of the linguistic interaction) has a culture-specific character; the behavioural patterns (learned through socialisation) can be traced back to the general principles, but their evolution is culture-specific.

Our verbal behaviour and speech activity are determined by the components of a given society, the socio-cultural expectations. The rules of polite linguistic behaviour are controlled by the given behavioural norms which partly are part of the cultural convention. In the cultural learning process — intersubjectively, in interaction with others — we learn to use the linguistic symbols, the communication conventions and a new kind of cognitive representations will be created. A common cultural background knowledge gives opportunity to understand the communication partner’s intention. From the study of the linguistic forms it will be evident that depending on the situational factors the same phenomenon can be interpreted in different ways according to the different communication goals. Therefore, the members of different cultures behave differently (Tomasello 1999).

Expressing appreciative utterances between the interlocutors is the most natural way to satisfy their mutual needs for praises during the interaction. The intensity of using praise, compliment in the everyday communication is variable in different societies. This linguistic behaviour is less frequent in Eastern cultures, such as in Japan (where social attention is realised differently, the harmony between individual and community is more pronounced), as well as in the North European countries (for example the English people perceive it as entering someone’s personal space). Conversely, using praises is very common among the Americans and the reason for this may be the emphasis on individuals or social equality. Within some cultures the excessive compliment or an appreciative comment involving a social taboo is interpreted negatively by the interlocutor and it may cause the opposite effect to the speaker’s intention. In the Egyptian society, for example, asking questions about a child’s health, development is interpreted as a sign of envy, a violent linguistic action contrary to the socio-cultural norms (Alfonzetti 2009: 32). Differences in intimacy can be observed, how much and how you can talk about a conversation topic (for example money, political opinions, religious or ideological issues, sexuality). Respecting the taboos and the subject of conventional polite conversations of social contact is a necessary condition for successful communication.

The Mediterranean cultures such as the Italians and the Spanish pay close attention to the act of compliment, use it as a kind of social practice (Alfonzetti 2009: 30—32). A characteristic feature of the Italian speech community is to use the expressions with emotions (also women with each other, mothers to their children: *bella* ‘beautiful’, *cara* ‘dear’, *amore* ‘love, sweet’, *tesoro* ‘treasure’). The Hungarian linguistic behaviour is between the two types of attitude (using compliments less, or more intensively; and accepting or rejecting compliments: Szili 2004b: 172). In Italian, the emotional attitude is also morphologically

inherent, as the language contains many diminutive suffixes: e.g. *bellino* 'pretty', *carino* 'cute', *fratellino* 'little brother', *figliola* 'little daughter'.

As for the style of responses to compliments, differences can be observed in the Hungarian and Italian speech communities (details: in Chapter 3). The Hungarian linguistic behaviour is determined by modesty. Its characteristics are the informal, value depriving utterances which usually express the speaker's opinion in relation to the compliment or oneself (e.g. *Na ne mondd* 'Don't tell me'; *azt azért nem hinném* 'I don't think so'; *szörnyen nézek ki* 'I look terrible'). The Italian speech community represents a linguistic attitude between agreement and modesty. The responses which change the theme imply informal style. For example: 'A' says to a colleague looking at her continually: *È sempre un piacere per me è sempre in splendida forma.* ('It's always nice to see you look so good.') — 'B' (*laughing*): *Come va?* ('How are you?'; the conversation continues with another theme related to 'A'). But their responses to compliments are realised in formal, value saturating style. For example: 'A': *Hai degli anelli bellissimi! Li ho notati in questi giorni, sono molto particolari.* ('You have beautiful rings! I've noticed these days, they are exceptional.') — 'B': *Sì, mi piacciono molto.* ('Yes, I like them very much').

3. The style of responses to compliments in Hungarian and Italian discourses/ conversations

A compliment — as the speaker's opinion — can refer to external features, internal characteristics, intellectual abilities, personality, financial and other goods. Appreciative utterances can be realised in different ways and intensity. In order to recognise and interpret them, the receiver needs explicit or implicit linguistic signs which clarify the content and the receiver of statements, and meet the *communication needs* of the *participants* in interaction. Both the implicit and the explicit compliment can be relevant, and their interpretation depends on the given context. Some explicit compliments: *Nagyon tetszik* ('I love it'); *remekül néz ki* ('it looks great'); *jól áll a ruha* ('the dress looks good on you'); *jól néz ki a szerelésed* ('your outfit looks good'); some implicit compliments: *sokat foglalkozhattál vele* ('you must have spent a lot of time with it'; about a thesis at the University); *Ah! Qua c'è la professoressa 'B'. Dicevo questo forse se l'è rapita qualche bel giovane.* ('Ah! Here is professor 'B'. I told you that some handsome men had kidnapped her.' — *laughing*). An appreciative utterance can be formed in different styles, the stylistic value, however, is not determined only by the linguistic form and cannot be separated from the context: the implicit meaning, the speaker's intention can be interpreted in a particular context.

The responses to compliments represent the receiver's opinion in relation to the content of the utterance, the recipient's linguistic behaviour, and can be created in different strategies, in a great variety of styles and in a complex form adapting to the conditions of the interaction. The cognitive environment of participants in the interaction and the common cultural background knowledge help the interpretation. The linguistic modesty appeared in the responses to compliments is a decisive element of the Hungarian linguistic behaviour (vs. Szili 2000: 104, Pap 2008, 2011: 83). (Leech talks about Modesty maxim according to which the speaker has to minimise the expression of praise of self and maximise the expression of dispraise of self; Leech 1983: 137.) Linguistic modesty (vs. Holmes 1988, Szili 2004a, b, Pap 2011) forms a continuum from rejection to acceptance of the content of utterance. In the responses to compliments the Italians express an opinion between modesty and agreement trying to reduce the value of praise (Alfonzetti 2009: 178).

Our linguistic behaviour is governed by social factors, the style of expressing our thoughts and the way of being polite are influenced by the social status of the persons involved in the conversation (social status, power, social distance, familiarity) and the individual characteristics (sex, age, social status, race). Politeness as the realisation of attention towards the others is related to the interpersonal function of the language (Tátrai 2011: 41—45, Szili 2007: 1), so it can be interpreted starting from this perspective. The interpersonal relationships created and maintained between the participants of interaction have influence on the quality of utterance and the style of communication. The interpersonal relations as the components of situational context (vs. Tátrai 2004: 480) can develop in different ways in various interactions. In a given situation the members of a community establish typical ways of expressing stylistic patterns (system of socio-cultural norms; Tátrai 2004: 482).

In this analysis of responses to compliments, starting from the relationships emerging in the interaction and the linguistic forms, the stylistic features, the relations of the socio-cultural factors of style will be studied (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2005). Of these factors the variables of value and situation will be emphasised, because from the point of view of the subject of analysis they are significant. The interpersonal relationships (peer relationships, or subordinate and superordinate relations, social distance or proximity) can be mostly represented through the factor of situation (vs. Tátrai’s paper in this volume). The domain of **situation** conceptualises the speaker’s representation of the communicative situation in relation to the formation of linguistic symbolic structures (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 142—145, 2001: 306, 2005: 90). The characteristic of the appreciative expressions towards others, the compliments and responses is the diversity in the formation of evaluation attitude, therefore, in the description of their style the value factor is highlighted. The domain of **value** conceptualises the speaker’s evaluation of the circumstances (the scene and the participants, entities, actions) involved, through the formation of linguistic symbolic structures, texts (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 145—148, 2001: 311, 2005: 90). During the processing of conceptualisation, one subdomain is foregrounded (figured) and the other subdomains remain in the background. In the case of neutrality, the neutral subdomain is the central subdomain, a linguistic unit “needs no other symbolic structures in order to make a comparison” (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 89).

The discourse completion test used to collect the language corpus indicates the formation of interpersonal relationships through the man-woman, teacher-student, boss—friend relations. In the typical interpersonal relationships, the responses to compliments appear in different ways and various styles. In addition, the subject of an appreciative utterance can also influence the style (in the questionnaire the compliments refer to both the external appearance and the result of intellectual work: 1. 1.). In this analysis of responses to compliments, the socio-cultural factors, especially those of situation and value, and their relation with the interpersonal relationships will be studied.

3.1. The socio-cultural factor of situation in the responses to compliments

Regarding the situation factor — according to Tolcsvai Nagy’s model (2005) —, the utterances can be realised in **informal**, **neutral** and **formal** styles (by forming a continuum), and the features of style are determined by the given context. The responses to compliments show various styles according to the formation of interpersonal relationships (power rela-

tions, level of acquaintance, gender communication). An interaction with a person who has a higher social status (for example with the boss or teacher) is a typical everyday interpersonal relationship. In the interactions representing social (power) distance between the interlocutors, the responses usually present a **formal** style (in the case of external appearance and the result of intellectual work as well).

- (1) Boss: *Nagyon csinos a ruhája, ma igazán jól néz ki.* ('Your dress is very pretty, you look really nice today.')

Response: *Nagyon kedves, örülök, ha így is **megfelel** az öltözetem.* ('That's very kind of you, I'm glad you like it.')

- (2) Teacher: *Igazán alapos, jól átgondolt, logikus felépítésű munka. Sokat foglalkozhatott vele.* ('It's a really thorough, well thought-out, logically structured work. You must have worked really hard on it.')

Response: *Nagyon köszönöm az **elismerő** szavakat, **sokat jelent** nekem a tanár úr véleménye. **Hálás** vagyok minden segítségért.* ('Thank you very much for your words of appreciation, the professor's opinion matters much to me. I am grateful for any help.')

It is possible, however, that a conversation in which the degree of social distance is greater reflects informal style. This presupposes a good personal relationship between the interlocutors, for example the employee is on first-name terms with the boss. Although this situation (to be on first-name terms with somebody) does not exclude the formal style, it does reduce its probability.

- (3) Response (to a boss, to a compliment related to external properties): *Köszönöm, habár nem sok időm akadt **helyrerakni magamat**.* ('Thank you, even though I didn't have much time to get myself ready.')

Long responses with explanations are often used speaking with a person who has social power or authority (the compliment can refer to both the external appearance and to the result of intellectual work), but this kind of response is also possible in close relationships. This linguistic attitude is present in the Hungarian and Italian speech communities too, but in different styles. This type of utterances are formal or neutral in the domain of situation, and value saturating in the domain of value as regards the Hungarians. However, the long answers with explanations are expressed in informal style by Italian people. In these responses the domain of **attitude** (subdomains within this scalar continuum: vulgar, familiar, neutral, elegant, sophisticated) is also worth observing: the Hungarian answers are more sophisticated, in the Italian ones the familiar style is dominant.

- (4) Responses to a professor/ university teacher, to a compliment related to a thesis: *A lehetőségekhez képest igyekeztem; megtettem, amit tudtam; minden szabadidőm ráment; rengeteg energiám van benne* ('I tried as far as possible; I did everything I could; I used all my free time for it; I put a lot of energy into it'); to a boss, to a compliment related to external properties: *Fárasztó napom volt, de megpróbáltam magamból a legjobbat kihozni.* ('I have had a tiring day today, but I tried to do my best.')

An Italian example:

- (5) A: *Ma che bellissima collana!* ('What a beautiful necklace!')
 B: *Questa è mia figlia che si compra le cose e poi le lascia.* ('This is my daughter who buys things for herself and then leaves them.')

There is another typical interpersonal relationship which is characterised by formal style in the domain of situation. Women to women, even to a person in a position of authority, and men to women often answer to the praises with explicit compliments or positive emotional expressions. This attitude is a courteous gesture of polite linguistic behaviour. The style of these utterances is value saturating in the domain of value, and as a result of co-occurrences of the subdomains they have formal style. This phenomenon can be observed both in the Hungarian and Italian speech communities, and its characteristics is an emotional, sophisticated way of expressing an opinion (highlighted in the examples).

- (6) Responses (to a compliment related to external appearance and the result of intellectual work): in social distance: *Köszönöm, a magáé még csinosabb; igazán kedves; az ön ruhája is elegáns; az a nyaklánc lélegzetelállító önön; jólesik, ha így gondolja* ('Thank you, yours is even prettier; you are very kind; your dress is elegant, too; your necklace is breathtaking; it makes me feel good, if you think so'); in close relation: *te is fantasztikusan nézel ki, remek a fülbevalód; köszönöm, aranyos vagy; örülök, hogy neked tetszik* ('You look fantastic, too; your earrings are great; thank you, you're kind; I'm glad you like them').

Italian examples:

- (7) Boy (to his friend's mother): *No, prima permettimi di salutare tua madre! Buonasera bellissima signora!* ('No, first let me greet your mother! Good evening beautiful lady!')
 His friend's mother: *Bellissima! Grazie! Lei è sempre affettuosa.* ('Beautiful! Thank you! You're always affectionate.')
- (8) A: *Ah! Io sono in buona compagnia allora ottima!* ('Ah! I am in good company so it's great!') — B: *Sono proprio contento.* ('I'm really happy.')
- (9) A: *Hai i capelli diversi oggi!* ('Your hair is different today!')
 B: *Me li ha fatti il parrucchiere.* ('I have been to the hairdresser.')
- A: *Li gradisco.* ('I love it.')
- B: *Mi fa piacere che hanno il tuo consenso.* ('I'm glad that they have your consent.')

Another typical style which forms the continuum of the domain of situation is the **informal** style which prevails primarily in close interpersonal relationships, between equal communication partners, for example, friends or acquaintances. Informal responses are rarely used with people of a higher social status.

In responses to compliments there is a variety of explicit expressions, opinions related to praises. The explicit answers can be realised in different styles depending on the subject of compliments, as well as on the attitude to them. If the compliments are related to external or internal

features, or to the result of the communication partner's work, informal style is dominated in the responses, in case of disagreeing with the compliments (usually in negative form). These utterances have a function of value deprivation, and have informal style following the co-occurrence of the social-cultural factors. This manner of expression is mainly characteristic of Hungarians.

- (10) Responses (to a friends or an other students): *Egyáltalán nem; szerintem nem lett jó; nem értek vele egyet; te sem gondolod komolyan; na ne mondd; ugyan, dehogy; ne csináld; nem gondolnám; kötve hiszem* ('Absolutely not; I don't think it is good, I don't agree; even you don't really think so; don't tell it to me; tush; nope; don't do this; I don't think so; I doubt it').

An Italian example:

- (11) Conversation of friends (B is cooking):
 A: *Sei un grande!* ('You're great!')
 B: *No! Ma che ci vuole? Veramente non ci vuole niente.* ('No! What does it take? Really doesn't take much.')

Responses to compliments accepted in relation to external or internal features, or to the result of the communication partner's work, are formal in the domain of situation, and value saturating in the domain of value, and may occur even in close relation or in an interaction with a person who has a higher social status. This is a rare phenomenon in the Hungarian speech community, and the Italian linguistic behaviour is not determined by this type of utterances either.

- (12) Responses: *Igen, köszönöm, magam is így látom; így igaz; szerintem is.* ('Yes, thank you, I do think so myself; it's true; I think so, too.')
- (13) A: *Lei è una cuoca bravissima!* ('You're a very good cook!')
- B: *Grazie!* ('Thanks!').

The direct (considered also impolite) utterances expressed in informal style are rare in social distance.

- (14) Responses (to a professor, to a boss): *Ugyan már, ne túlozzon; ne is említse* ('Tush, don't exaggerate; don't mention it').

The implicit answers which linguistically express agreement, but reflect disagreement in a given context are characterised by informal style.

- (15) Responses (to a compliment related to external appearance): *Biztosan; valószínűleg; természetesen* ('Surely, probably, of course').

The linguistic behaviour of the receiver of the compliment continuing the conversation with a different subject can be considered informal in the domain of situation. The change of the subject of the conversation, which appears in Italian answers, expresses an attitude

of value deprivation in the domain of value. This type of responses features informal style according to the co-occurrences of the subdomains.

- (16) Two old (female) friends seeing photos:
 A: *Che bella che sei qua!* ('How beautiful you're here!')
 B (shows 'A' a card on which a poem is written): *Questa poesia gliel'ha dedicata X a mio marito.* ('This poem was dedicated to my husband by X.')
- (17) A: *Stai troppo bene con la gonna! Te la dovresti mettere più spesso.* ('You look very good in skirt! You should put it on more often.')
- B: *E ora vediamo che possiamo fare.* ('And now let's see what we can do.')

In the responses to appreciative utterances, there are metapragmatic reflections, also as a specific form of expressing opinion (both in the Hungarian and Italian conversations). These answers show informal style in the domain of situation, and are clearly value depriving in the domain of value. This attitude is present primarily in close interpersonal relationships, but can also occur in social distance if the interlocutors have a closer relation.

- (18) Responses (to compliments related to external appearance and to the result of intellectual work): *Nem kell hazudni, tudom, hogy borzalmasan nézek ki; legalább igazat mondanál; egy kis őszinteséget vártam volna tőled; nem kell gúnyolódni; köszönöm a bókot, mégha nem is igaz; most hazudsz; nagyon vicces; ne viccelj már; ne ugrass* ('You don't need to lie, I know I look terrible; at least you could say the truth; I would have expected a bit of honesty from you; there's no need for irony; thanks for the compliment, even if it's not true; now you're lying; very funny; don't be joking with me; don't pull my leg').
- (19) Employer and employee (in social distance):
 A: *Bene stai B con questi capelli.* ('B, this hair serves you right.')
- B: *Me lo deve dire veramente però.* ('But you must say this to me sincerely.')

Typical accompaniments of the situations requiring politeness are the non-verbal expressions, however, the analysis of the style of these expressions is rather limited with discourse completion tests (so in the Hungarian corpus). Typical non-verbal accompaniments of responses to compliments (or reactions without words as well) are laughing, nodding, hand gestures which can express the addressee's embarrassment, an unpleasant feeling or even the accepting of a compliment, but can also imply irony (of the irony: 3.2.). Their interpretation depends largely on the context and cultural factors (Szili 2004b: 160, 161). In general they express emotional surplus, their style is determined by the communicative situation, contextual factors, they can have both informal and formal style. In the Italian speech community, communication with gestures and non-verbal signs has a more important role.

Italian examples (from conversations):

- (20) A: *Quindi bene! Mi complimento di questa tesi.* ('So, all right! I congratulate you on this thesis.')

- B: (smiling with satisfaction)
- (21) Shop assistant and customer:
 A: *Ha un fisico da attrice, da top model.* ('You have the physique of an actress, top model.')
- B: *Si.* (smiles and becomes red) ('Yes.')
- (22) A: *Sei sempre splendida!* ('You are always splendid!')
- B: (laughs and makes a disavowing gesture)
- A: *Lo dico veramente.* ('I mean it.')
- (23) A conversation in a family:
 A: *Che bella B! È bellissima!* ('What a beauty is B! She's beautiful!')
- B: (a facial expression of rejection)

Silence in communication — when the receiver doesn't respond to the compliment — is a particular mode of expressing opinion, its interpretation is determined by the communicative situation. Silence can imply both politeness and impoliteness, it is interpreted in different ways from culture to culture (when, with whom, where may speak). Leech (1983: 141) mentions the phenomenon of silence related to the Phatic Maxim (an additional maxim of politeness): 'Avoid silence!'. In our society, the attitude to speak with the others has an essential function, embarrassing silence looks like a failure in the interaction (Szili 2004b: 35), silence between two people is usually considered uncomfortable. According to Sperber and Wilson (2006a: 302—303), in an interaction there can be some relevant information which the communication partners do not want to pass to each other. On the basis of their theory the use of silence can also be an ostensive stimulus in these cases (the use of ostensive stimulus adds an extra layer of intention). Silence can be interpreted as a sign of the speaker being unable or unwilling to respond to the communication partner's utterance. In the context of compliments, silence may be the sign of embarrassment, but it can be interpreted as avoiding the response or rejecting the compliment (Holmes 1988: 494). In the case of compliments related to external appearance, silence can express embarrassment, or it is also possible that the speaker does not want to communicate their opinion about the compliment. Silence as a response to compliments by the receiver is a typical phenomenon in interactions when the appreciative statement is from a man to a woman, or from a person of a higher social status, from a boss (24), from a professor/university teacher (25), but it may occur in close relationships, too (26). As regards the social-cultural factors, in the domain of situation responses with the silence of the recipient can be considered informal, neutral or formal as well, and can imply both value deprivation and value saturation styles in the domain of value.

- (24) Boss (woman): *Ma igazán remekül néz ki, nagyon csinos a ruhája!* ('Today you look really great, your dress is very pretty!')
- Response: (silence)
- (25) Professor/University teacher: *Igazán jól átgondolt, logikus felépítésű munka, nagyon tetszik. Sokat foglalkozhatott vele.* ('It's a really thorough, well thought-out, logically structured work. You must have worked really hard on it.')
- Response: (silence)
- (26) Dinner with friends:

C: *Guardate che bel piatto di frutta che ha portato B!* (‘Look what a beautiful fruit plate B brought!’)

A: *E che sei una giapponese?* (‘And you’re a Japanese?’)

B: (silence)

It may occur that different styles are mixed within an utterance (in close and social distance relationships, too): it may have different stylistic features, both informal (e.g. *kösz* ‘thanks’, *szörnyen* ‘awful’, *butaságokat* ‘nonsense’, *pukkanva* ‘feeling under the weather’) and formal (e.g. *illemből* ‘out of politeness/for courtesy’, *kedvesnek* ‘kind’, *hálás* ‘grateful’, *nyilvánvaló* ‘obvious’) styles in the domain of situation, and both value deprivation and value saturation styles in the domain of value (about the socio-cultural factor of value: 4.2.). Atypical co-occurrences (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005) result in heterogeneous style (about the homogenisation limits: Tátrai’s paper in this volume).

(27) Responses (to a friend, to a compliment related to external appearance): *Kösz, tudom, hogy csak jót akarsz, de én is tudom, mennyire szörnyen nézek ki. Nem muszáj csak illemből kedvesnek lenned. Sőt, hálás lennék, ha nem beszélnél ilyen butaságokat, amikor nyilvánvaló, mennyire le vagyok pukkanva.* (‘Thanks, I know that you just want to do good, but I know how awful I look. You don’t need to be kind just for courtesy. Indeed, I’d be grateful, if you wouldn’t talk such nonsense, when it is obvious how much I am feeling under the weather.’)

In the responses to compliments the act of saying thank you appears as a conventional answer (in the Hungarian and Italian language, too). In the Hungarian language the long form (*köszönöm* ‘thank you’) generally reflects formal situation (but it may express interpersonal relationships of close relation and social distance as well). The short form (*kösz*, *kösz* ‘thanks’) has informal style, and is typically characterised by close relationships. *Grazie*, saying thank you in Italian, can imply both formal and informal style. Contextual factors and accent (as a metalinguistic tool of communication) play a decisive role when interpreting the style of answers expressing *thank you*.

To sum up the stylistic characteristics of responses to compliments in the domain of situation, it can be concluded that formal style usually dominates in the interactions of social distance, and informal style in close relationships. Reciprocative answers to compliments expressing positive emotions are usually created in formal situations. This type of utterances is present both in the Hungarian and Italian speech communities. Responses with explanations are expressed rather in formal style by Hungarians, and in informal style by Italians. In the domain of situation responses which express disagreement with compliment through explicit or implicit opinions, metapragmatic reflections are informal. Compliments related to the appearance are often followed by answers in informal style, and this linguistic attitude is mostly a Hungarian characteristic. As for the domain of situation, the change of theme in the conversation implies an informal style, and this phenomenon occurs frequently in the Italian answers.

3.2. The socio-cultural factor of value in the responses to compliments

In the domain of value, the following subdomains form a scalar continuum (Tolcsvai Nagy’s model 2005): **value depriving**, **neutral** and **value saturating** style. In the domain of value,

responses to compliments show a variety of styles according to the formation of interpersonal relationships and the subject of compliment. The style of answers can be determined in a given context.

In the interpersonal relationships, some typical phenomena can be observed also in the domain of value. The style of responses to compliments is generally **value depriving** in close relationships, and is **value saturating** in a conversation with a person of higher social status.

- (28) Response (to a boss, to a compliment related to external appearance): *Ha az ember ilyen bókot kap, megéri az a sok készülődés.* ('If someone receives a compliment like this, it's worth all the preparation.')
- (29) Response (to a professor, to a compliment related to the result of intellectual work): *Még egyszer köszönöm, hogy volt szíves átnézni.* ('Thank you again for being so kind to check it.')

One of the characteristics of responses to compliments in the domain of value is the phenomenon of **irony**. The ironic utterances have typically value depriving style, and by the co-occurrence they are realised in informal proto-style (situation: informal, value: value deprivation). To recognise and interpret irony, besides understanding the linguistic form, the context, the situation and the background knowledge have a decisive role. In this case, the receiver should make a greater effort to interpret the utterance. Understanding depends on the common cognitive environment of the speaker and the receiver (Wilson—Sperber 2006b: 367). Leech (1983: 82, 142) speaks about comic utterances connected with Irony and Banter Principles. The Irony Principle is the following: "If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the PP, but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of implicature." (Leech 1983: 82). From the point of view of pragmatics, irony is an implicit evaluation to which a critical attitude is related. The implicit meaning gives a possibility to interpret ironically the content in the current context (Tátrai 2008). In a functional, cognitive-pragmatic framework, irony can be interpreted as a reflexive attitude to the linguistic activity (about irony: Tátrai 2011: 190—204).

Ironic responses are present both in the Hungarian and Italian speech communities, and they characterise especially the style of young people. This type of answers usually appears in close relations, and mostly in the compliments related to external appearance. Ironic utterances often come from slang, and sometimes they are formed in vulgar style.

- (30) Responses (to compliments related to external appearance): *Ma már ne igyál többet; mondták már, hogy pocskék izlésed van?; mindenki belém fog szeretni, még a nők is; miről beszélsz ember; na ebben biztosan nem, de ha levinném, esetleg lenne, aki rámharapna; nem hinném, hogy én leszek ma a bálkirály; képzeld el, mi lett volna, ha több időm van; inkább ijesztgetni fogom a nőket; egyébként is mindig hódítok, ma pedig különösen, amikor még a szokásosnál is lestrapáltabb vagyok; csak ha az igénytelenség szexepil; azt leszámítva, hogy hullá vagyok, és egy zsiráfcsalád elférne a szemem alatti táskákban.* ('Don't drink more today; have anybody already said to you that you have a bad taste?; everyone will be falling in love with me, even the women; guy, what are you talking about; well, in this certainly not, but if I take it

off, there may be someone who would snap at me; I do not think that I'll be the party's king today; guess what could have happened if I had more time; I'm going to scare the women, instead; anyway I always conquer, especially today, when I'm more tired than usual; only if simplicity is sex appeal; apart from the fact that I'm dead, and there would be enough space for a giraffe family in the bags under my eyes.')

Irony is not always recognised, it becomes understandable in the given context (context allows the ironic interpretation). This phenomenon can be observed in implicit responses (already mentioned by analysing the domain of situation in chapter 4.1.), which imply value saturation or neutral attitudes in their linguistic form, however their function is value deprivation. In this type of answers there are also slang expressions (e.g. *yep*). Both the Hungarian and Italian speech communities are characterised by this linguistic behaviour.

- (31) Responses (to compliments related to external appearance): *Természetesen; persze; biztosan; valószínűleg*. ('Naturally; of course; surely; likely.')
- (32) A (to her friend): *Stavo ammirando questa fotografia. Guarda come sei bellissima!* ('I have just been admiring this photo. Look, how beautiful you are!')
- B: *Sì, bellissima!* ('Yes, beautiful!')
- (33) A: *Bene stai così*. ('You look so good (with this hair style).')
- B: *Con i capelli davanti? Bella sembro!* ('With hair in the front? I look nice!')

Slang is a particular phenomenon of responding to compliments, it has an importance from the point of view of the domain of value, especially in the case of compliments related to appearance. According to Péter (1991: 43), slang is an essential source of expressivity, it makes more efficient the linguistic expression. This manner of speaking is typically used in close relations, but it may also occur in an interaction of social (power) distance or in a conversation with an unknown person. By examining correlations between slang and social-cultural factors, typical co-occurrences can be noted in the domain of situation and value as well. They have an informal style in the domain of situation, and a value deprivation style in the domain of value: therefore according to the co-occurrences they show an informal proto-style.

- (34) Responses (to compliments related to external appearance): *Hulla vagyok* ('I am dead tired'); *ne szórakozz velem* ('Don't push me'); *el vagyok havazva* ('I'm a bit snowed under right now/I'm just in a little funk right now.')

In the domain of value, there is a typical way of replying to compliments (mainly related to external characteristics, to appearance) which expresses a value depriving attitude: when the speaker expresses a negative opinion concerning oneself (often with autoirony). This linguistic behaviour is mainly represented by the Eastern cultures, but Hungarians also often answer with these types of responses (Szili 2004b: 161), and they are used by the Italian speech community as well. The negative ironic (or self-ironic) utterances are a characteristic phenomenon, in particular, of women's linguistic attitude. These kinds of utterances have an informal style in the domain of situation, usually they are present in close interpersonal relationships and often are slang expressions.

- (35) Responses: *Ramatyul nézek ki* ('I look shoddy'); *olyan vagyok, mint egy mosogatórongy* ('I am like a dishcloth'); *tök slampos vagyok* ('I am very dowdy'); *teljesen kivagyok* ('I am totally frazzled').
- (36) A (to the sister): *B, tu qua sei bellissima!* ('B, here you're beautiful B!')
B: *Io un mostro sono in questa fotografia.* ('I'm a monster in this photo.')
- (37) A (to colleague at university): *Sei sempre bellissima.* ('You always look beautiful.')
- B: *Veramente sono stanca e sciupata.* ('Actually, I'm tired and skinned.')
- (38) A: *Quello B sempre elegante, guarda quant'è elegante!* ('That B is always elegant, look how elegant he/she is!')
- B: *Non mi dire che sono elegante perché sono uno straccio di casa.* ('Don't tell me that I'm elegant because I am a rag of home.')

Occasionally, this speech style can occur also in a situation when responding to a compliment related to the results of work (the following example is a response to a compliment related to a thesis):

- (39) Responses: *Úgy összecsaptam, mint még soha* ('I threw it together than never before.').

In the case of power distance between the communication partners, in similar contexts the expressions of value saturation may appear in value depriving function as well. In these answers, the speakers express a negative opinion (which is typically related to the result of work) about themselves.

- (40) Responses (to a professor/university teacher, to a compliment related to the result of intellectual work): *Lenne mit javítani rajta* ('there would be some things to improve on it'); *néhány helyen alaposabban ki kellett volna dolgoznom a témát* ('I should have had to work more thoroughly on the subject at some point'); *fontos dolgokat is kihagytam belőle* ('important things have been left out'); *sokkal jobb is lehetett volna, ha egy kicsit alaposabb vagyok* ('it could have been much better if I am a little more thorough'); *nem vagyok teljesen megelégedve vele* ('I'm not entirely satisfied with it'); *még milyen sok lehetőséget nem vizsgáltam meg* ('how many options haven't I examined yet'); *még foglalkozhattam volna vele* ('I could have dealt with it some more').

Responses in question forms (a special way of responses to compliments) can be approached from the point of view of value as a socio-cultural factor. Such utterances can also express attitudes of value deprivation (in the domain of situation: informal) and value saturation (in the domain of situation: formal). The questions (responses) of value deprivation style may also have ironic intentions; the metalanguage tools (like tone, mimicry, gestures) can help to recognise them. Responding with questions to compliments as a linguistic behaviour is present in the Hungarian and Italian speech communities as well. Responses related to the attitude of value saturation are more typical in the Hungarian answers.

Value saturation:

- (41) Responses (to a professor/university teacher, to a compliment related to the result of intellectual work): *Tényleg úgy tűnik?* ('Does it really seem so?'); *valóban?* ('really?'); *nem kellene még javítanom valamit rajta?* ('shouldn't I have to change anything on it?'); *esetleg van még javaslata, amit érdemes lenne hozzátenni?* ('Do you have any more proposals to add (to it), maybe?').
- (42) Responses (to a friend, to a compliment related to external appearance): *Igazán?* ('Really?'); *igen?* ('yes?'); *komolyan így látod?* ('do you see it seriously so?').

Italian examples:

- (43) A: *Buona è venuta!* ('It's fine!')
 B: *Buona? Ah! Mi fa piacere!* ('Fine? Ah! I'm so glad!')
- (44) A: *È troppo bellino questo giubbotto!* ('This jacket is very beautiful!'; *-ino* — is a common diminutive suffix in Italian)
 B: *Ti piace? Anche a me piace molto.* ('Do you like it? I like it very much as well.')

Value deprivation:

- (45) Responses (to a friend, to a compliment related to external appearance and the result of intellectual work): *Micsoda?* ('What?'), *te rám néztél egyáltalán?* ('Did you look at me at all?'); *te tényleg elolvastad?* ('Did you really read it?').
- (46) Responses (to a professor/university teacher, to a compliment related to the result of intellectual work): *Nem mondja?* ('You're not telling me that?').

Vulgar expressions (without politeness) are present in responses to compliments, especially in young people's linguistic behaviour, particularly in close, peer relationships. Such utterances are considered to be value depriving in the domain of value, as well as informal in the domain of situation, and both the Hungarian and Italian speech communities are characterised by this quality. In the case of vulgar expressions, it is worth mentioning the attitude domain in which they have vulgar style, and based on the co-occurrences they have informal proto-style.

- (47) Responses (to a compliment related to external appearance and the result of intellectual work): *Menj a francba, el se hinnéd, milyen szar napom volt; olyan vagyok, mint a mosott szar; anyád; hülye* ('Go to hell, you wouldn't believe how crappy my day was, I look like a hot ass mess; your mother; stupid').
- (48) Young people between each other:
 A: *Ti stanno bene questi capelli.* ('You look good with this hair.')

By studying the style characteristics of various interactions a typical co-occurrence of socio-cultural factors can be observed. Utterances which are formal in the domain of situation and have value saturating attitude in the domain of value, result in a formal proto-style. Re-

sponses which are informal in the domain of situation and have value depriving attitude in the domain of value, are realised in informal proto-style. Slang expressions and ironic utterances typically express an attitude of value deprivation. A special characteristic of responses to compliments — mainly in the Hungarian speech community — is to offer an opinion of oneself (by the speaker) in value deprivation style. In this kind of situations — in the case of power distance between the communication partners — some expressions of value saturation have a function of value deprivation. Questions (as responses) can have both value saturating and value depriving styles (the latter one describes more the Hungarian speech community).

4. Conclusion

In this paper an attempt has been made to summarise the theories, experiences and results related to the phenomenon examined, and to observe them in Hungarian and Italian corpora. In the focus of analysis was the phenomenon of polite linguistic behaviour, responses to compliments and their link with socio-cultural factors by highlighting the domains of situation and value. By taking notice of different cultural models, style characteristics and socio-cultural dimensions of responses to compliments have been presented.

It can be observed that both the Hungarian and the Italian speech communities use compliments fairly often. Hungarian linguistic behaviour is determined by modesty, and the Italian language use represents an attitude between agreement and modesty. Slang and ironic (or autoironic) expressions are typically present in negative, dismissive responses (against the compliments); these utterances are informal in the domain of situation and have value depriving style in the domain of value. These expressions can have vulgar style as well, and they are dominant in young people's language. Some similarities and differences of the Hungarian and Italian linguistic behaviour can be observed in the different types of utterances. Hungarian people often respond to compliments in an informal, value depriving style, by expressing an opinion about themselves and responding with a question. Italian responses with explications are informal. Answers with explicit and implicit opinions related to compliments usually imply informal style (both in the Hungarian and the Italian speech communities). Responses (in both corpora) that express positive emotions or return the compliments are realised in formal, value saturating style, and this is a significant characteristic of women's linguistic attitude. Formal style is also dominant in the Hungarian responses with explications. The topic of compliment can influence the style. Compliments related to external appearance are often followed by responses in informal style, especially in the Hungarian corpus.

Some typical phenomena can be observed by the formation of interpersonal relationships. According to the co-occurrences of socio-cultural factors, direct relations (friends, acquaintances) are characterised by informal proto-style (situation: informal, value: value deprivation). And formal proto-style (situation: formal, value: value saturation) is dominant in the power distance relationships (e.g. in a conversation with boss, professor/a university teacher).

Therefore context has a decisive role in interpreting the responses to compliments. Socio-cultural factors belong to the meaning and the structure of style of a given utterance. By highlighting the situation and value factors, it can be observed and analysed that typical co-occurrences are realised in the style of responses to compliments, and they establish the proto-style of every single utterance. Formal proto-style is created on the basis of co-occurrences of formal and value

saturating style (demonstrated by the examples). And the co-occurrences of informal and value depriving style result in informal proto-style. The combination of various styles is possible within an utterance, giving rise to heterogeneous style. Naturally, the issues, ideas, and problems discussed in this paper can be specified further by a more detailed analysis and another corpus.

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**SELF-STYLIZATION, STYLE STRATEGY,
STYLISTIC PATTERNS RE-EVALUATED:
THE MAIN STYLISTIC FEATURES OF A PERSONAL BLOG**

ÁGNES DOMONKOSI

Abstract

The goal of the present paper is to identify certain stylistic elements of the newly emerging genre of the I-blog, partly by exploring possible correlations between style and this novel form of communication, and partly by analysing the main stylistic features of one particular personal blog.

The analysis seeks to account for the linguistic and stylistic factors that contribute to construing the blogger's identity in discourse and to examine their specific roles. It also aims to identify any earlier stylistic patterns activated by the genre of the I-blog and any new specific stylistic forms it may generate, with regard to the socio-cultural components of style. The study also examines the role that ironic attitudes and typical metaphoric and metonymic patterns may play in self-stylisation.

Keywords: I-blog, stylising, stylistic pattern, sociocultural components of style, irony

1. The genre of the I-blog and its communicative features

The internet as a sphere of communication has brought with it new forms of expression, new genres and text types. In the netted, multimedial, interactive communicative situations, significant changes occur in the relationships between speaker, addressee, audience, channel, topic and arrangement of information. The newly emerging speech events evoke novel qualities of style.

Blogs are web pages for public access that contain short, regularly occurring, consecutive entries in chronological order. According to the blogger's intention, anything can appear in a blog, such as hyperlinks to other pages, reading logs, important events of the blogger's life, video recordings, poems, etc. The decisive factor in what makes an internet page a blog is "the personal touch, that is the informal, individual tone" (Tarsoly w.d. [without date])

Blogs are delayed discourses of variable interactivity (Bódi 2010), in which anybody is free to add comments (short, spontaneous remarks) to the premeditated entries of the blogger called posts but these contributions can only appear on the public surface of the blog with the approval of the blogger. Posts are more consciously composed units with features of the prototypical written, literary, monological texts, whereas comments, despite their written character and the delay in dialogue, also adopt the devices of prototypical conversations, which follows from their interactive character.

There have been several attempts at classifying the world of blogs, which is colourful both thematically and functionally (cf. Tarsoly w.d.; Csala 2005: 91—94, Juhász 2010). Blogs can be personal, thematic, or meditative, etc., with special categories including buddy-blog,

blog-novel, newsblog, description-blog, company-blog, complex blog and spamblog; or from another angle e.g. textual blog, pictures-only blog, link-collection blog, newsletter blog, society blog. Their arrangement into groups varies and aspects of thematic groupings often mingle with those of media type or authorship (for details, see Juhász 2010). I-blogs or personal blogs, however, figure among the first in each classification.

The distinctive feature of the I-blog is that it presents one particular person's life events, opinions and feelings. The reason this type has a preeminent role among blogs and can be regarded as central in the category is that it allows for the fullest expression of individual tone, which is considered to be a key feature of blogs in general.

2. I-blog and style

Stylistically speaking, the blogosphere shows a colourful picture: it is not easy to put one's finger on any feature of usage or style that would generally apply to all web journals as they represent an infinite variety of individual usage. According to the attitude of the speaker as it appears in the text, a great variety of styles can be detected, from the refined to the rude (see Csala 2005: 106). There are two recurring features only: the posts are relatively short and spontaneous (Tarsoly w.d.) and they reflect the influence of spoken language.

In most communicative opportunities provided by the internet, interactivity plays a decisive role and so the genres of netted communication offer a rich resource for studying style as it is shaped by negotiation in written dialogues (cf. Hámori, this volume). Similarly to discourse on forums (message boards) and community websites, most blogs are also interactive, i.e. they are open to contributions or comments. However, bloggers' entries generally have a predominant role even in personal blogs followed and commented by many. The I-blog offers a kind of self-representation which builds on the traditions, genre and stylistic patterns of journal writing as well as personal and fictive letter-writing. Using the techniques of story-telling, including the projection of the narrative 'I', bloggers create a vivid impression mainly through linguistic construal and style.

By elaborating a digital identity fundamentally based on language use, I-blogs are a more liberal, more open means of self-representation than other means of identity formation with more restrictive templates, such as personal profiles on a community website.

In the majority of blogs, language use and style play a crucial role. The discourse partners have no personal contact and do not know each another so recipients have to rely primarily on (for the most part) linguistically shared information to form an image of the speaker. Thus language acts as the primary means of creating and managing one's personal identity.

The possibilities of self-representation provided by the blog genre support Coupland's insight, who found that the medium of late modernity is a socially construed world to an extent unmatched by any period of the past. This makes the role of language and discourse even more obvious as language is our main resource for creating a social world around us (2007: 29—30).

Coupland's notion of stylisation eliminates the methodological problem of variationist sociolinguistics which requires the use of real and authentic data. In regard to stylisation, one can argue that social meaning is also created when speakers caricature themselves, or when they pretend to be someone else. Furthermore, this approach to stylisation (regarding the language use of bloggers as part of their identity formation through the operations of

stylisation) can eliminate some of the poetic problems concerning the relationship between biographical authors and storytellers.

It follows from the above that with the creation of I-blogs, a linguistically construed speaker identity is formed. As Miller and Shepherd (2004) put it, the bloggers try to locate and build up “an identity that they can understand as unitary, as real.”

This also entails that in personal blogs, a key role is played by the discursive centre provided by the linguistically construed storyteller (cf. Szűts 2010). In her detailed communication theoretical analysis, Tarsoly Ikdikó (w.d.) interprets the use of a personal tone as an indispensable feature of blogs: “A factual description of an event on a webpage does not make a blog. On the other hand, when a story is spiced with lots of personal details, and presented in a journal-like format, it can already be called one.”

The functioning of blogs also shows the dynamic character of linguistically construed identity. Despite the relative uniformity of the style of certain blogs, stylistic changes can and do occur as a result of reader feedback or intrinsic shifts in the functions of the blog. To quote Juhász (2010), “In active blogs, the process of writing (i.e. the fact that it is not a finished journal) feels highly important, counterbalanced by feedback and comments. The archived contents preserve not only events/descriptions but also snapshots of the fluid identity construal of the blogger’s personality. These footprints then continue to generate dialogues in both the readers and the author in the further development of their respective identities.”

The linguistically construed personality in the blog can be regarded as the product of a stylisation strategy. Building on the available means of linguistic variation, the blogger creates a specific manner of speaking and in this sense stylises “herself”, i.e. her blog identity. Linguistic behaviour, including the language use of the blogs, is a series of identity marking acts in which the speaker’s identity continuously develops through usage events.

In view of the communicative features of blogs presented above, most of their stylistic properties can be interpreted as devices serving the strategy of linguistic identity formation. Although interactivity is a defining factor of the text type, it follows from the popularity of blog writing — with the estimated number of blogs in the tens of millions — that most of them are only visited by few people and no genuine interaction ever occurs in them (cf. Bódi 2010). A key factor of the popularity of I-blogs with a large following is their style, since a character construed linguistically in an authentic and entertaining way can contribute significantly to the maintenance of interest in a personal story.

3. Framework and criteria for the study of style

Regarding the phenomenon of style, researchers from various fields including pragmatics, conversation analysis, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics seem to have converged on the view that social meanings and identities in interaction are in part construed linguistically by style. Moreover, these approaches also suggest that the socio-cultural factors which were previously regarded as determinants of style (e.g. gender, social group, age) are not a priori given and neutral categories independent of evaluation; rather, they themselves are created and shaped over the course of interactions.

In the present paper, I will use analytic criteria and insights from different but (in my view) not incompatible sources to interpret the key stylistic features of an I-blog.

In the analysis, I build on Coupland's concept of style, which originates from sociolinguistic approaches and views style as a discursive dynamism. Coupland regards stylistic variation as a dynamic representation of the individual. Consequently, he does not simply focus on the use of particular variables but rather on what strategy these linguistic factors support. Each level of linguistic variability offers resources for speakers to stylise themselves in different ways; that is, they provide strategic possibilities for speakers to create their identity in conversation (cf. Coupland 2007).

I also consider the phenomenon of *mind styling* as an aspect of stylising strategies (cf. Semino 2002, 2007), which concerns the role that metaphors, schemes and pragmatic operations play in the linguistic elaboration of a speaker's self. More generally, I regard as part of the self-stylising strategy any linguistic devices that in some way contribute to the formation of the speaker's identity in the discourse universe.

The other analytic system I will employ is based on Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy's cognitive approach (1996, 2005) to the socio-cultural factors of style. Specifically, I will aim to show that the blog as a text type can give rise to new stylistic patterns by reconfiguring the usual co-occurrence of values across socio-cultural domains.

On the basis of Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy's model, Szilárd Tátrai (this volume) argues for the introduction of the concept of stylistic attitude, interpreted as a "context-dependent vantage point that brings the socio-cultural factors into play". I assume that neither Tátrai's notion of stylistic attitude nor the functioning of socio-cultural domains is independent from the speaker's stylising strategy. On the contrary, it is precisely the speaker's stylistic attitude that determines her stylistic strategy as it is dynamically played out in discourse. In this sense, style as a strategy is not only directed at the continuous creation and transformation of the speaker's image. Rather, it is also manifested in the processing and construal of all aspects of the scene of joint attention and the referential scene. Having said this, my chief focus will be on the speaker's self-stylisation as this factor is central to establishing the highly personal style of I-blogs.

4. Stylistic features of a personal blog

Studying the style of specific blogs can be a fruitful way of exploring style as a strategy and the stylistic features that contribute to it. With regard to the relevance of analysing individual styles, Johnstone (1996) argues that it may be useful to consider individuals as individuals if we are to understand social meanings. A detailed account of individual style, a specific case study can be more sensitive to the properties of context and contextualisation than other methods of data collection with a simplified model of stylistic processes. The individual case studies cannot reveal how speakers generally tend to behave; in our case, they cannot inform us about the style of personal blogs in general. However, they may permit even general conclusions about the kinds of processes that occur in such texts through their style.

The text chosen to illustrate the questions of style in I-blogs can be accessed at www.nesztelenysiga.hu, with the title being *settenkedve lopakodó* 'sneaking about stealthily'. This web journal has been updated continuously since August 2005, and has been widely read by up to 1.500 people a day in certain periods. The blog has also attracted frequent and varied comments, which makes the site highly interactive. In an earlier paper (Domonkosi 2011), I analysed the linguistic features of this blog with a focus on the uniqueness and coherence of

its style. This time, I follow up on my previous findings and re-interpret them by applying a range of novel criteria.

The stylistic features addressed in the sections below are the products of different analytic criteria which, however, can be applied in parallel. Hence, it is important to bear in mind that the phenomena are closely intertwined. For example, the issue of ironic interpretation cannot be separated from interactivity and usually not from intertextuality either, with the adoption and mixing of style patterns also bordering on the phenomena of intertextuality and style imitation. Thus, section titles should be thought of as indicating only the chief focus of each section. Throughout the paper, my main concerns will be (1) the stylisation of the speaker, (2) the prevalence of socio-cultural factors and relatedly, (3) the dynamic adaptation of conventional stylistic patterns.

4.1. Patterns of style: following, mixing, transformation

Among the forms of communication on the internet, there are text types which are taken over from indirect communication without alteration, others which go through partial modification as a result of the technical possibilities, and thirdly, there are entirely new text types owing their very existence to novel technology (cf. Domonkosi 2005: 147). The blog can be regarded as a new genre which is nevertheless based on tradition. This duality manifests itself in the way it follows and reconfigures the so-called proto-styles, emerging from typical co-occurrences between stylistic patterns, conventional stylistic devices and socio-cultural variables.

The norms bearing on particular genres and text forms as social activities are always open-ended, changing continuously. Naturally, the socio-cultural norms, habits and style strategies associated with newly emerging internet genres such as the blog can be moulded more flexibly than those of historically established text types.

In this respect, the stylistic properties of the I-blog represent a balancing act between two entirely different stylistic patterns: the refined style of journals as well as personal or fictive letters (possibly with a literary appeal) on the one hand and the casualness of everyday conversation on the other (cf. Tolcsvai 2005, Tátrai, this volume). Furthermore, as a result of the joint presence of the written medium and (delayed) interactivity, adjustment to the features of both the written and the oral proto-discourses may also form part of the stylistic strategy (cf. Tátrai 2011: 74–80).

Regarding the domain of situation as a socio-cultural variable, an unusual display of intimate style can be observed in contemporary public written language when compared with traditional stylistic patterns. The widespread use of I-blogs with their directness and confessional character has overwritten the boundary between private and public dimensions of social life. (cf. Weinberger 2002). This transformation affecting the borders of intimate, personal, social and public spheres of communication in turn brings new forms and qualities of style in its wake. In the I-blog genre, it is primarily the use of informal tone in a public domain that transforms the typical co-occurrences between socio-cultural factors in conventional style types.

4.1.1. Formal criteria of the blog as devices of a style strategy

Similarly to other digital text forms mediated by the internet, the I-blog has a few external properties required by the medium, such as a domain name or the so-called blogroll, which makes

reference to other blogs possible. These (quasi-)compulsory formal elements adapt the literary-journalistic practice of grabbing attention by titles to the new communicative situation.

The domain name and title of the blog (the most prominent elements accessible to even non-readers) may become a decisive force in the style strategy. In the blog analysed below, both the domain name and the title are made highly salient and provocative by linguistic means. They clearly serve self-stylisation by giving readers a sense of the ease of style, playfulness and sensitivity to linguistic expression they can expect from the speaker construed in the blog.

The compound word *nesztelencsiga* ‘silent snail’ in the domain name is a phonetic figure of speech based on substitution evoking the paronymous phrase *meztelen csiga* ‘slug’. On one occasion, the blogger discloses the fact that the snail originally made its way into the name of the blog as an intertextual reference inspired by another text, namely the song *Csiga* ‘Snail’ by the Hungarian band *Kispál és a Borz*.

The two words in the title, *settenkedve lopakodó* ‘sneaking about stealthily’, which are connected in a pleonastic phrase, have similar meanings but different phonetic shapes (with front vs. back vowels). The expression immediately sets the scene for the light-hearted, playful and amusing character of the text. The prominent role of style in I-blogs in general and the analysed blog in particular is clearly shown by the fact that these elements point forward and enter a relationship with the text not through their meaning but rather through foregrounding the playfulness of linguistic construal.

In addition to the domain name and the title, the frame of the blog includes elements such as links to other pages (friends’ blogs, other websites of the blogger), the so-called blogroll, and access to archived material. These elements, which can be interpreted as constituting the paratextuality of the blog (cf. Genette 1982), are situated at the “borders” of the text, mediating between the text and its environment, with a strong influence on the processing of the dynamic content.

In the blog under investigation, links to other texts also have unique titles, adding linguistic support to the blogger’s image formation. As they are always in sight, their style can be influential at any moment while the blog is being read. Apart from a few inconspicuous outward-pointing titles (e.g. *nonprofit reklám* ‘nonprofit advertisement’, *kiemelt kategóriák* ‘priority categories’), the wordings give evidence of the speaker viewing herself from outside. Additional pages profile the fields of interest of a *lucia* in the third person, who can be identified as the speaker of the blog: *lucia játszik* ‘lucia is playing’, *lucia fordít* ‘lucia is translating’, *lucia dolgozik* ‘lucia is working’, *lucia olvas (mer okos is)* ‘lucia is clever (‘cause she’s clever too)’. References to the narrator of the blog in third person singular occasionally occur in the text as well. The remark in parenthesis shows one of the most typical features of the style of the blog, self-irony, while the phonetically contracted form (*mer* ‘cause’ < *mert* ‘because’) captures a sense of how the blog’s language use imitates spoken discourse.

The title for the list of referenced blogs is *így írtok ti* (‘this is how you write’), which fits into the intertextual world of the blog by alluding to Hungarian writer Frigyes Karinthy’s classic work. In a parallel way, selected comments come under the title *így kommentáltok ti* (‘this is how you comment’). In this expression, playfulness is also achieved by replacing the usual verb in Hungarian for ‘comment (e.g. a blog post or other online article)’, viz. *kommentel*, by a similar-sounding, etymologically related verb, *kommentál* ‘commentate.’

The title for a list of previous posts of the blogger is *ilyenek voltam* ‘such-PL be-PAST-

1sg' / 'These are what I was like', which is made salient by the lack of number agreement between the copula (in first person singular) and its predicative complement (in the plural). At the same time, it also helps recall the familiar title of a film and a song, *ilyenek voltunk* 'this is what we were like'.

The author's remark on the outward appearance of the blog features the figure of litotes as well as an ironic tone, in line with the tone of the blog as a whole (*A nem hibátlan design a Yummie kreatív ügynökség szállította* 'The not faultless design has been delivered by the creative agency Yummie').

A further recurring element is the signature closing each blog post: *ezzel lucia [16:22]-kor szórakoztatta magát* 'lucia entertained herself with this at [16:22].' Of the possible functions of blog writing, this phrase emphasises a person's writing to oneself rather than the interactive function.

These parts of the blog are important determinants of style strategy as they mark reflection on the interactive character of blog-writing and reading, in line with the fact that blogs tend to highlight the issue of genres/text types (cf. the notion of meta-genres, Giltrow 2002). These titles function as explicit meta-discursive elements naming aspects of the interactive situation as well as the roles and activities of the participants. These explicitly self-representing elements contribute significantly to the speaker's identity formation in the blog by their continuous presence.

The blog creates the new formal elements required by the communicative situation by drawing on, and entering a dialogue with, the title-giving tradition of literature and journalism, especially its current with a penchant for puns. It thus presents an example of how conventional linguistic devices can be dynamically adapted.

4.1.2. Post titles — subverting tradition

Giving titles to posts is not compulsory in blogs; in some of them, the posts are organised only by dates or so called labels. Labels are keywords for indicating recurring thematic elements or the function of the post and thus possibly also stylistic features. They are useful in the classification of blogs and are usually listed at the end of each post. In the blog at hand, posts generally start with titles in lower case letters. Linguistically speaking, the most typical construal is the use of short, elliptic sentences including a nominal with the *-ról/ről* case suffix ('on, about'). This is reminiscent of the titles Sándor Márai uses in his *Herbal* (cf. Raisz: 2008: 111), cf. *a hagyományokról* 'about traditions', *az áldozati ajándékokról* 'about sacrificial gifts', *a kádár lányairól* 'about the cooper's daughters', *arról, amikor kaptam enni* 'about the time I was given food.' This title-giving practice might suggest that the title specifies the theme of the text but the relationship between the title and the post is usually more complex than that. Titles with a definite article raise the expectation that the topics designated in the title will be addressed in a general and comprehensive way. Such titles, however, generally foreground less significant elements of the posts concerned. For example, in the second paragraph of the post *az anna karenináról* 'about Anna Karenina' (five paragraphs in total), the characters are discussing the screen adaptation of the novel in a few lines; the post as a whole, however, is about a day spent with a girl-friend. Another post called *az esti mesékről* 'on bedtime stories' expounds on the complicated communicative habits of the blogger's partner, only noting in the end that their future child will hardly ask

them to read bedtime stories. These titles play against the expectations of the reader: instead of specifying the theme as required by tradition, they merely give hints as to its nature.

This title-giving practice subverts the tradition of thematic title-giving and by evoking short texts with titles given in a similar manner, associates the world of blogs not only with the text type of journals but also with other genres of literature and journalism. The device does not overwrite the tradition of title-giving; rather, it only exploits a traditional stylistic device for the purpose of playfulness and entertainment (cf. Balbus 1993). From the resetting of readers' expectations it may however follow that the occasional thematic title of a blog looks surprising when it does conform to tradition, e.g. *a házról* 'about the house' is indeed about a newly purchased house. Other noteworthy titles include *szóval* 'that is', a discourse marker highlighting the continuity between otherwise independent posts, and titles referring to the manner of communication rather than the theme, cf. *képes* 'in pictures', *most csak gyorsan* 'just a quick one for now', and *fotó* 'photo'.

There are also titles explicitly reflecting on linguistic construal. For example, an awkwardly worded post with multiple subordinate clauses has the title *bejegyzés sok hoggyal* 'a post with lots of 'that's', and another one is titled *bejegyzés sok lábjegyzettel* 'a post with lots of footnotes.' Overall, the title-giving practice of the blogger challenges reader expectations, and expresses a polemic attitude to the title-giving tradition of certain genres of literature and journalism (cf. Balbus 1993). However, by keeping the habit of title-giving, it also follows the practice of monological literary text types. The provocative intention behind post titles plays a part in self-stylisation as well. Specifically, these titles contribute to the elaboration of the speaker's original, unique, and interesting character.

4.1.3. Levels of elaboration, planning, and refinement

The structure of posts in the blog is highly elaborated and carefully planned. The devices based on rhetoric/stylistic figures of speech indicate a conscious approach to the forming of the text and an attitude that puts a premium on form. The use of figures of speech as traditional text-structuring devices indicates conformity to the proto-discourse (cf. Tátrai 2011: 74–80) of planned, written, monological texts reflecting indirect interaction.

- (1) Tegnapelőtt azt álmodtam, hogy szétrúgtam a volt pasim fejét. Mezítláb. Naturális volt, hallottam (éreztem) a fogak recsenését, porcok csikorgását, ilyesmi.

Tegnap azt álmodtam, hogy most már mindenképpen gyerek kell nekem. Naturális volt. Kiszámoltam például, hogy május-júniusban kéne teherbe esnem, mert a vízöntők-halak még egészen elviselhetőek (megnyugtató, hogy azért álomban is megvannak a prioritásaim), és megterveztem, hogy melyik sarokban legyen a babaágy.

Ma azt álmodtam, hogy abortuszt hajtanak végre rajtam (néha kicsit túlkompenszálok álomban). Naturális volt. Kötőtűvel csinálták.

The day before yesterday I dreamt that I was kicking the head of my ex-bloke to pieces. Barefooted. It was naturalistic, I heard (felt) the teeth cracking, the gristles gritting, like that.

Yesterday I dreamt that I wanted a child at last, by all means. It was naturalistic. I calculated for instance that I should become pregnant in May or June as the Aquarius-Pisces types are still quite tolerable (it is reassuring that I do have my priorities even in my dream) and I worked out which corner should the baby's bed go to.

Today I dreamt that I was having an abortion (sometimes I overcompensate in my dream). It was naturalistic. They used a knitting needle.

The three paragraphs have a parallel structure and characteristically, the sentences in each of them are broken into parts. The unchanged repetition of one sentence in each paragraph only strengthens the cohesion between them.

The conscious construal and rhetorisation of the narrative can be detected even in posts which otherwise show the immediacy of spoken language, thus creating a new mixed quality of style in which the properties of planned, elaborate language exploiting figures of speech mingle with the looser features of spoken discourse in text formation. Post (2), illustrated with the photo of a cheese cake in the blog, shows this style through the interplay of discourse markers in initial and closing positions, puns and its structure relying on ever higher doses of preterition (paralipsis). The high level of reflection on text-building is accentuated by the author's playing with antecedent ambiguity.

- (2) Ja, azt nem is említettem, hogy C. Eastwood ezzel a kezében (vagyis a kezemben, mert rögtön belenyomta) állított be hozzám. Azt viszont nem véletlenül nem említettem, és nem is fogom, hogy két nap alatt végeztem vele (mármint a sajtortával (alternatív vélemények szerint túró-), C. E. nem bírta addig).

Nem rossz nekem, na.

By the way, I forgot to mention that C. Eastwood popped in with this in his hand (that is in my hand, as he forced it into mine right away). However, it is not by chance that I haven't mentioned yet, and will not either, that it took me two days to finish off the poor thing (the cheesecake, that is (according to alternative views, it was curd, not cheese), C. E. did not stand it that long).

I'm having it good you see.

Conscious planning and elaboration do not go hand in hand with a homogeneous refinement of style. In this respect, the blog is not uniform, with passages representing varying points of the loose—neutral—refined continuum. On the other hand, looseness can be interpreted as part of the style strategy as it imitates casual conversations.

4.1.4. Interactivity and self-representation

The possibility of dialogue, interactivity and the attempt to establish an informal relationship with the readers through linguistic construal also associates the style of the I-blog with the protodiscourse (cf. Tátrai 2011: 74—80) whose main features are direct interaction, spontaneity, spokeness and dialogicity. The examined web journal is a popular, widely read and frequently commented text. Still, the posts rarely profile the recipients themselves or their

relationship with the speaker, and only rarely initiate interaction in an open way. The speaker generally uses comments to reply to the readers' feedback.

Posts with an explicit claim on readers' reactions only appear in the blog in a later phase of its existence, after 5—6 years, when meaningful personal connections have been set up.

- (3) Írjatok nekem légyszi-légyszi olyan „mi a különbség” vicceket, amik beleférnek egy Pratchettbe (tehát sikamlós lehet, de torpedóromboló ne legyen benne például), kérte a lány, akit barátai tréfás-mókás embernek tartottak, ennek ellenére egy sem jutott eszébe.

Please, please send me “what’s the difference” jokes that fit in a Pratchett (so they can be racy but with no torpedo destroyer for example), was the request of a girl who was considered a funny person by her friends but still could not remember any.

The *légyszi-légyszi* ('please-please') conversational form adds intimacy to the situation while the request is softened by the interplay and happy mix of style patterns as well as the ironical third person self-representation.

Example (4) illustrates the contradiction between the ironical self-representation (to be discussed in more detail later), and the genuine interactivity of the communicative situation; in other words, the negotiation of a depreciating self-representation rendered less certain by irony. It is interesting to observe the interplay between an apparent initiation of interaction in the blog post and the responses it provokes.

- (4) Én nagyon drukkolok magamnak (aki blogírásért cserébe pelenkát, fodrászt vagy kaját szeretne biztosítani nekem, annak üzenem, hogy nyitott vagyok bármire).

Como:

Nekünk maradt egy fél csomag 5-ös méretű Pampers (kb. 30 db), ha hasznát tudjátok venni, nagyon szívesen odaadom. :)

lucia:

@Como: tényleg nagyon köszi, de nem lenne pofám elfogadni, azért nálunk sokkal több rászorulóbb van :)

zsuzska:

öööö, tulajdonképpen ha megmondod, hogy melyik kajáldából szeretnél szállíttatni, megmondom nekik a bankkártyám számát. Vagy valami ilyesmi. Simán blogelőfizetésnek tudom majd be.

lucia:

@zsuzska: :D ááá, tényleg ég a pofám :)

I am keeping my fingers crossed for myself (if anyone is ready to provide me with nappies, a hairdresser or food in exchange for blog-writing, I let them know I am open to any suggestion.

Como: We've got half a package of size 5 Pampers left (cca. 30 pieces), if you can use those, I am more than happy to offer them :)

lucia:

@Como: thanks a lot indeed, but I wouldn't have the cheek to accept them,

there are a lot of people needier than us :)

zsuzska:

er, in fact if you tell me which food-place you'd like the food delivered from, I will give them my card number. Or something like that. I'll just take it to be subscription fee for the blog.

lucia:

@zsuzska: :B oh my cheeks are really red with shame :)

In these dialogues, we can detect a negotiation about the role of irony. In part, the post's irony comes from the contradiction that the author only seemingly intends to use the blog surface for a purpose he could actually even use it for, given its interactive character, and there is a lack of consensus between the blogger and her readers about the genuineness of her request.

In the case of similar initiatives, the common standpoint which is the prerequisite of irony is reached more easily due to the absurdity of the request. The devices that contribute to the ironic reading of (5) include the stylistic incompatibility of linguistic elements, their contradictions resulting from a discrepancy between evaluative perspectives, and the recognition that the conflicts are generated intentionally.

- (5) Ha lehet kérni, akkor csábítson már el egy blogmotor-üzemeltető (és keltse életre a vinyómat, továbbá csináljon nekem ikreket, mert háromgyerekesként egész pofás összeget kapnék családi pótléknak gyerekenként, meg persze az otthon melege, az őszinte, csilingelő gyermekhangok, a pénz ezek mellett természetesen semmi, de akkor is másfélszer annyi fejenként, na).

If I may ask, could a blog engine operator please seduce me (and bring my hard drive to life again, and then would he please make me pregnant with twins so I could get a nice sum for child benefit as a mother of three, and of course the warmth of the home, the innocent, tinkling voices of children, money of course pales in comparison, but even so it is 50 per cent more per head, after all).

The interactive character of the style-play is illustrated by the following comment whose speaker recognises the irony of the post, and continues with the same tone, reinforcing the intimacy of the situation:

- (6) A blogmotor-üzemeltetést kitanulom hamar, vinyómentés első hallásra 'csak' pénz kérdése, babákat meg max. olyan gyorsan csinálunk, hogy szinte egyszerre születnek vagy egyszerűen júniusban. ;)

I can learn blog engine operation in no time, on first hearing rescuing the hard drive sounds like 'only' a small question of money, and if needed we can make babies so quick they are born practically together or simply in June. ;)

Albeit rarely, there are some references in the main body of blog texts to the presumed reactions of recipients. For example, commenters often ask whether or not the author is on intimate terms with certain men mentioned in the blog. Then, whenever the men in question or

new male characters are referred to in the blog, there is nearly always a remark in parenthesis to follow *nem véletlenül nem járunk, vagy ilyesmi* ‘no we are not dating by any chance, or anything like that’, which becomes ironical by virtue of evoking the presumed beliefs of the recipients (cf. Tátrai 2011: 203). Whereas the self-irony directed at the speaker is continuous, this is an exceptional case profiling an ironic attitude to the recipients.

The possibility of feedback through comments opens up ways of reflecting on style too. The meta-stylistic reflections of readers highlight the originality and ironic style of the blog, also confirming the point that a blog may be more widely read if its style is entertaining. This can be illustrated by a reader’s comment on the passage *felszínességem egy alsó tagozatos csillámpóniével vetekszik* ‘my superficiality rivals that of an elementary school scintillating pony’: *Különben meg ez a csillámpónis hasonlat :) Lucia, nem semmi a stílusod.* ‘And now this simile about the scintillating pony :) Lucia, your style is quite amazing.’ The following comment to a note quoted from the speaker’s grandmother also centres on style: *Legalább tudjuk, Lucia, hogy kitől örökölted a jegyzetelést, és az iróniát...* ‘At least we know, Lucia, who you inherited the note-making and the irony from...’

4.1.5. Imitation of spoken discourse

In view of the adoption of different style patterns, with special regard to the informality and interactivity of conversation, it is worth reckoning with the presence of spoken language traits and their possible roles in the style of the blog.

Posts commonly begin with the discourse marker *ja* (‘yes’ > ‘oh, by the way’), which imitates the informality of spoken language. As it has a discourse organising and marking function, and typically indicates taking the floor in conversation, it feels as though we were joining a conversation in the middle (2, 9). This device, by contributing to the elaboration of an informal communicative situation, forms part of a style strategy in which the speaker highlights her casualness and intimate relationship with the readers. Therefore, the element in question cannot be said to signal adaptation to the reality of spoken discourse; rather, it is a device for stylising the speaker and the situation by way of imitating spoken language. Hence, such elements in the posts only counterpoint but do not eliminate their refined style. This kind of beginning has been invariably common ever since the start of the blog, and there is even a blog post in which both paragraphs begin in this way (*még az építkezésről* ‘more about the house-building’).

Forms imitating spoken discourse by their phonetic spelling are remarkably rare in the main body of the blog’s text, especially when compared to other digital texts. However, the phrase *asszem* (< *asziszem* < *azt hiszem* ‘I think’) is a regular occurrence. This contracted form complies with the trend of eliminating a second open syllable in the sound shape of a word (compare *asziszem*), and allows for easier pronunciation. The phonetic spelling does not simply evoke the processes of spoken discourse, as *asszem* has an increasingly wide currency in informal written language as well, in close correlation with its grammaticalisation into a modal adverb (cf. Markó 2003, Veszelszki 2010).

The close relationship between spoken language traits on the one hand and dialogicity/interactivity on the other is indicated by the fact that the fusional form *nemtóm* (< *nem tudom* ‘I don’t know’) does not occur in the main text of the blog, only in reply to a reader’s comment.

Owing to the fact that in addition to the above properties, blog posts also show a high level of elaboration and even the adoption of literary-stylistic patterns, the abbreviation *h* (< *hogy* ‘that’), which is accepted in informal digital written language, does not normally occur in the posts themselves, only in comments. One exception is a post with the title *kérés-kérdés* ‘request-question’, which is thus an explicitly interactive post. The difference between the posts and the author’s comments can be regarded as a shift of style resulting from adaptation to the language use of commenters. Therefore, both the posts and the blogger’s comments contribute to the speaker’s self-representation, even though they betray different discourse strategies.

4.1.6. The functions of pseudo-errors

Crossed out passages are recurring playful linguistic devices in the blog. They attract attention precisely by having been crossed out: pseudo-correction seems to allow the recipient to establish a more intimate relationship with the speaker by affording him a glimpse into her secret thoughts. This practice, as part of the style strategy, strengthens the relationship between the author and the readers. Regarding the socio-cultural variable of the situation, it contributes to the creation of intimacy and informality.

- (7) Ma bent sürgölődöm a munkahelyemen, ~~mert már nagyon le vagyok maradva a kedvence fórumaim olvasásával~~ hogy ne felejtsek el az arcomat (...).

Today I am buzzing about at work, as I am lagging behind with reading my favourite forums so that they won't forget my face (...)

Usually the texts are grammatically well-formed without the crossed out parts as the latter are substituted by another passage. However, it does occur sometimes that there is no substitute and without the crossed out elements the sentence seems ill-formed and confusing. This device creates a highly intimate communicative situation and serves the identity formation of an informal and open speaker:

- (8) Állítólag az alkohol előhossa az ember valódi énjét, ezt nem tudom, én simán csak ~~bárkivel smárolok~~ már nem, mert már nem vagyok szingli, szóval simán csak rendkívül szellemes vagyok, és nagyon szeretek mindenkit.

They say alcohol brings one's true self to surface, well I don't know, I just simply ~~kiss with anybody~~ not any more as I've stopped being single, so basically I'm just extraordinarily witty and love everybody so much.

The high level of planning behind the posts is evident from their degree of elaboration and their use of structural devices built on figures of speech. Consequently these crossed out passages can by no means be regarded as traces of self-correction but rather only as stylisations thereof. They are meant to create a semblance of spontaneity. On the other hand, the technique also draws attention to the fact that the texts are changeable and incidental. And since this typographical device can also be found in postmodern literature, its application may be interpreted as expressing affiliation with literary traditions.

4.2. Ironic attitude — the functions of irony

Irony is a ubiquitous feature of the analysed blog, with the ironic attitude primarily directed at the speaker, less frequently at particular elements of the story and only occasionally at the communicative partners. The interpretation of self-irony as a self-stylising strategy is harmonious with the pragmatic interpretation of irony offered by Leech. Leech (1983: 82) assumes that irony directed at a communication partner is motivated by the intention to avoid open insult. Irony directed at the speaker herself also serves to avoid negative, offensive statements that would definitely harm her self-image. In addition, it contributes to the speaker's construal of a detached and self-critical narrator through rendering her own evaluative position uncertain.

Self-irony can be detected for example in the post called *sumaher* (a phonetic spelling of Formula 1 world champion Michael Schumacher's surname) in which the race driver serves as the blogger's self-ironic metaphor. Irony arises from the blog text refuting the expectations created by the title. Conversely, it is through the relativising function of irony that the inadequacy of the profiled evaluation of the situation becomes obvious (cf. Tátrai 2008: 318).

- (9) Ja, a kocsival nem értem haza szürkület előtt, de napközben úgylis mindig az zavar, hogy nem látom az autó széleit, így nem tudom betájolni, hol van a járdaszegélyhez képest. A szürkület miatt tegnap viszont a járdaszegélyt sem láttam, úgyhogy ez nem volt probléma.

And by the way I did not get home before dusk, but anyway during the day I always worry that I can't see the edges of the car and so cannot judge how far it is from the curb. Yesterday in the dusk, however, I did not see the curb either, so this was not a problem.

The explicitly self-representative parts of the text are typically ironic in attitude, and one of the main themes of the I-blog is the speaker herself, that is, her life events. Regarding the socio-cultural variable of value, this creates a peculiar situation in which through the adoption of an ironic attitude the seemingly depreciating elements will contribute to the creation of a self-critical, modest profile of the speaker, supporting her positive self-image. Irony is thus a device that renders evaluation uncertain by establishing the possibility of alternative evaluations.

While most commonly directed at the speaker, irony may also extend to the stories or situations narrated in the blog. Example (10), which starts with self-irony, successfully evades open depreciation through the ironic construal inherent in evoking the style of official texts in an inadequate way (cf. Leech 1983: 82).

- (10) Most két levél fogalmazódik az én nemesebb dolgokra hivatott elmémben: az egyiket, ha a csúnya szavakat kihagyom, úgy lehetne összefoglalni, hogy *Tisztelt Ügyintéző, a mulasztásomat pótolandó szeretném tájékoztatni arról a valóban megdöbbentő és kikövetkezhetsen tényről, hogy a betegszabadságom előtti utolsó munkanapom a betegszabadságom kezdő dátuma előtti utolsó munkanap volt, a másik pedig valahogy úgy szólna, hogy Tisztelt Nyugat-Európai / Dél-Amerikai / Észak-Amerikai / Csendes-Óceáni / Balti / Afrikai Állam, könyörögve kérem Önöket, hogy annektáljanak minket, hajtsanak rabigába, és kényszerítsék ránk a közigazgatási rendszerüket.*

Two letters are now being formed in my mind destined for nobler things: one of them, if I leave out the obscene words, could be summed up as *Dear Sir, to make up for my neglect I wish to inform you of the truly astonishing and incomprehensible fact that my last workday before my sick-leave was the last workday prior to the date when my sick-leave started*, and the other would go more or less like this *Dear West-European / South-American / North-American / Pacific Oceanic / Baltic / African State, I do implore you to annex us, subjugate us and force your public administration system on us*.

4.3. The roles of conceptualisation techniques in stylisation

Another key aspect of the blogger's self-stylisation is the process by which metaphors and conceptualisations characteristic of the individual participate in the construal of that person's mind. Cognitive analyses of *mind styling* (Somino 2002, 2007) primarily focus on the role of schemes, metaphors and (more recently) pragmatic operations (Semino 2007: 164—167). According to Semino, consistently occurring metaphoric patterns reflect the conceptual system of the identity being construed in a text.

A frequent and especially prominent device of the analysed blog is to create mappings between the ANIMATE and INANIMATE conceptual domains. The permeability of the two worlds often has a formative influence on story-telling. One recurring mode of personification is the projection of feelings into the world of objects. Presenting the feelings of a bicycle or computer serves to highlight the presence of intense human emotions. In the background of these personifications, there is a metonymic mapping by which the objects of human beings show their owners' feelings and behaviour. Thus, people can be interpreted through their possessions, i.e. the idealised cognitive model (ICM) of POSSESSION is at work (cf. Kövecses—Benczes 2010: 69).

- (11) Én nagyrészt nem kaptam levegőt, de a lefelé gurulás állat volt, a bicaj is nagyon élvezte, most meg a raktárban a rács mellől nézegeti vidáman a kamionokat, és feszít büszkén, mert mindenki mondja neki, hogy milyen szép piros bicikli, meg csengetik a csengőjét (...).

I could hardly breathe, but the rolling down part was terrific, the bike was enjoying it too, and now it is peeping happily at the trucks from behind the bars in the warehouse, proud of herself as everybody tells her what a pretty red bike she is and they are ringing her bell too (...).

Similarly, a metonymic relationship can be noted in the personification of the diet in (12). Here, the diet is blamed for the human behaviour it causes; a case of the ICM of CAUSATION (Kövecses—Benczes 2010: 68-69). Through an ironically stylised self-representation, this metonymic schema allows the speaker to pretend that she can defer responsibility for her actions.

- (12) Aztán egy jóakaróm elküldte nekem tegnapi a Touching the Void című kedvenc hegymászós történetem megfilmesítését, amit az étrendem úgy hálált meg, hogy kritizálta a helyesírása külalakját, mert a diéta az ilyen, fennhézázó és szereti éreztetni mindenkivel, hogy hol a helye.

*Then one of my well-wishers sent me yesterday the screen version of my favourite mountain climbing story *Touching the Void*, which my diet was so grateful for it went about criticising her orthography, because this is what diets are like, arrogant and keen on letting people feel where they belong.*

Through the use of personification, the blogger literally brings concepts and objects to life, creating a sense that they are controlling people's lives. In the following example, the personification of time instantiates the YEARS ARE PERSONS conceptual metaphor, evident in everyday language use in expressions such as *érkezik az új év* 'the new year is coming', *búcsúztatjuk az elmúlt évet* 'we are bidding farewell to the past year', etc. What makes personification in the text original and poignant is that it is evoked by a speech addressed to the year in question (i.e. there is an attempt at interaction), with the unusual conceptualisation of the past year as a corpse also adding to the effect.

- (13) Továbbá ezúton üzenném 2010-nek, hogy van még két és fél hónapja arra, hogy összeszedje magát, mert bár sok szempontból irigylem magam mostanában, és nagy átlagban pluszban vagyok, de azért rengeteggel lóg még nekem, ha nem akarja, hogy 2011 a vendetta éve legyen (melynek során 2010 meggyalázott hullájának darabjait a kapura szegelem, okulásul az utána jövő éveeknek).

Furthermore I'd like to send the year 2010 a clear message that it has two and a half months left to pull itself together, as although in many ways I am envious of myself these days and on the whole I have a positive balance, it still owes me an awful lot unless it wants 2011 to be the year of the vendetta (during which I will be nailing pieces of the disgraced corpse of 2010 on the gate, as a lesson to the years to come).

4.4. The functions of intertextuality

Blogs, similarly to all internet genres, are characterised by hypertextuality, i.e. the display of links to other websites. However, intertextuality as created by hypertext is only one way in which texts may enter a dialogue. In particular, it differs in several respects from transtextuality in the sense of Genette (1982). First, the recognition of links is not dependent on reader competence. Second, linking does not show the strength of references. Third, it does not make multiple associations possible. Fourth, links can also refer to pictures for example, not only to texts. Fifth, it provides an easy way for connecting even totally different texts (cf. Józsa w.d.).

Reference to other internet pages may be found in the paratextual part of the blog, i.e. the frame surrounding all blog posts in the same form, and the posts themselves may also contain links to other texts. The blog under study makes frequent use of such elements, with a special subset of them referring to a second, thematically independent blog by the same author, which is dedicated to her child. These texts are not only connected through the links but also complement each another. They exemplify genuine transtextuality, with correlations in content and frequent cross-references from both directions.

- (14) Ezt talán igazából a gyerek blogjába kellene rakni, de Lamot (nem járunk, vagy ilyesmi) nincs szívem egy Muciblogba számûzni, úgyhogy akit nem érdekel, az ugorgyon.

Maybe I'd better put this in the child's blog but I haven't the heart to banish Lam (we don't go out or something) into a Muciblog so those who don't care should just skip it.

Example (14) supports the view that “in a digital text, links and transtextuality markers can go side by side without entirely covering each other; transtextuality can be established not only by links but by other devices as well” (Józsa w.d.). In particular, in the same sentence which references the author's other blog, the use of the verb form *ugorgyon* ('he/she should skip it') alludes to the novel *Légy jó mindhalálig* 'Be Faithful Unto Death' by Zsigmond Móricz.

Other forms of transtextuality can also significantly contribute to the stylistic effect of the blog. One important result of transtextuality is the intimate tone which gradually develops through reference to shared reference texts (known to both the author and the readers), which helps create a sense of community. The analysed blog features allusions to several television series. In (15), a commenter specifies more precisely the source of an explicit reference which also functions as a marker of irony. The tone of the ensuing dialogue highlights the fact that reference to shared knowledge helps strengthen interpersonal connections.

- (15a) Itt viszont a magyar vámhatósággal van dolgunk, ami egy rejtélyes, titokzatos szervezet (ahogy a Middlemanben mondják, its power is only exceeded by its mystery) minden szempontból, ki itt belépsz, satöbbi.

Here, though, we are dealing with the Hungarian customs authority, which is a mysterious, secretive organisation (as they say in Middleman, its power is only exceeded by its mystery), in every respect, ye who enter here, etcetera.

- (15b) Csillaggyermek:

The middleman!

De abban szerintem nem volt ilyen. A hé haver, hol a kocsim. Na, abban volt, csak fordítva. :)

lucia:

@Csillaggyermek: valóban, the continuum transfuctioner!

Star child:

The middleman!

But I think there was no such thing in it. The hello, buddy, where's my car.

Well, it was in it, only the other way round :)

lucia:

@Star child: indeed, the continuum transfuctioner!

Occasionally, there are intertextual markers almost amounting to set phrases which cite a well-known passage word by word, and function as though the author was winking to the reader. Clearly, this kind of text formation based on commonly known passages can also be a device of community building with the reader, a way of speaking which highlights the proximity of the recipient. In other words, with regard to the socio-cultural factors of style, it can contribute to the intimacy of the situation. For example, a reference to Attila József's poem *Mama* ('Mum') is a recurring indication of longing after something:

- (16) Delhibe Moszkván keresztül utaztunk (otthagytam a reptéri könyvesboltban két Lukjanyenkót, azóta is rájuk gondolok mindig, meg-megállva, itt egyszerűen nem ismerik sehol).

We were flying to Delhi through Moscow (I left two Lukyanenko's at the airport bookshop, I have been thinking of them ever since, pausing and pausing, simply no one knows him around here).

In some cases, the context gives clues to the reader for identifying an intertextual reference. For example, the post title *egy messzi-messzi fürdőszobában* 'in a bathroom far far away' alludes to the opening lines of the legendary epic movie, *Star Wars*, the motivation being that the blogger's child has just received a shower gel in the form factor of a movie hero from a *Star Wars*-loving friend. Similarly, it is textual reference that makes the use of images in (17) decipherable by anybody:

- (17) Azután azért nagyon sok minden történt, volt olyan is, hogy ide csak műanyag állatok jártak, meg tengeralattjáró, és már nagyon rég volt minden, de azért a gyökerek (a születésnapját úgyis mindig elfelejtem a blognak, szóval pár hétre előre boldog ötödiket).

Lots of things have happened since though, sometimes only plastic animals came this way, and a submarine, and all this was a very long time ago but the roots... (I always forget the birthday of the blog anyway, so a few weeks in advance [I wish you] a happy fifth anniversary).

In an earlier part of the post, there is an explicit reference to a *Kispál és a Borz* song, then the passage in (17) cites the same song, this time without any indication of the source, which goes *Itt akkora boldogság van, / Hogy ide már csak műanyag játékok járnak* 'There is so much happiness here that by now only plastic toys are coming this way'.

The interplay between cross-referenced texts in the blog at hand (and probably also in many other blogs, due to the properties of the genre) has a further dimension as well. Specifically, it often highlights the fact that the same events can be told from various perspectives, producing different narratives. This possibility is signalled, among others, by the post title *linkek oldalt* 'links at the side.' In the post, the author tells the story of an evening spent with an acquaintance of hers who also has a blog featured in the blogroll.

4.5. The functions of style imitation

Conscious play with stylistic forms and style types becomes part of the storytelling in the blog. Playful style imitations appear relatively late in the history of *nesztelencsiga.hu*. In comparison with features of style adopted beforehand, there is a drift towards an explicit emphasis on stylistic games and the possibility of style shifts.

The title of the post in (18) clearly indicates that Virginia Wolf is being evoked. In the passage, the author is playing with shifts of perspective, a characteristic feature of the blog as a whole. The comments make it clear that readers unambiguously identify the girl presented in third person with

the default storyteller marked by first person singular. These shifts of perspective and the uncertainties they create contribute to the development of a sense of secrecy and mystery, and with it to the style strategy of the speaker's identity formation. On the other hand, playing with style and the explicitness of doing so draw attention to the fact that stories can be construed in alternate ways.

(18) mrs. dalloway

Most már igazán írnom kellene valamit a blogomba, kár, hogy velem nem történik soha semmi, gondolta a lány, aki kicsit egyhangúnak érezte az életét, majd kisétált a hősésben a kapuhoz, és átvett egynél valamivel több cápát a csomagpostástól.

mrs. dalloway

I really should write something in my blog, it's a pity that nothing ever happens to me, thought the girl who found her life a bit boring, then she walked out to the gate in the snowfall and took over somewhat more than one shark from the delivery man.

Remarkably, roleplay through style does not preclude the presence of a discursive centre with a characteristic voice, as the shifts of style and perspective are indicators of the flexibility and openness of speaker identity.

Among the labels of the posts in the blog, the category 'noir' refers specifically to style. (Originally the word denotes a film style, a crime story or gangster movie that uses strong contrasts, exploiting the device of *clair-obscur* to the extreme to create an oppressive atmosphere.) Posts marked 'noir' do not appear until the sixth year of the blog's life, and represent a conscious shift or break of style deserving a new label.

These posts do without the first person singular storyteller who would ensure the continuity of the story. Still, the comments indicate that in cases like (19), readers have no difficulty identifying the third person female character with the default first person singular narrator of previous texts. These identifications arguably follow from reading habits and expectations related to the genre of journals. The expectation is that life stories and personal accounts should be continuous.

(19) A szlávós arcú lány kifizette az eladónak a nyírfalevet és a kvaszt, majd autóval elment a megadott címre. Nem írta fel. Soha nem szokta. Megjegyezte.

A férfi, akinek egybetűs neve volt, később érkezett. Vodka is volt nála, azt mondta, mindig tart magánál vodkát. Internetet is, de mindig mindennek megkérte az árát, az a fajta volt. Mostantól mindig a közelemben kell maradnod, mondta a szlávós arcú lánynak, akit a nehezen becézhető Contact néven tárolt el.

A lány valamivel később, amikor már nem bírta angolosan távozott.

The girl with a Slavic face paid the shop-assistant for the birch leaf and the quass and drove to the address given. She did not write it down. She never did. She made a mental note.

The man with the one-letter name arrived later. He had some vodka with him, he said he always did. He also had internet, but always charged money for everything, he was that sort of chap. From now on, you must always stay near me, he said to

the girl with the Slavic face, whom he stored in his phonebook as Contact, a rather awkward basis for a pet name. The girl took a French leave [literally, English leave] somewhat later, when she could not bear it any more.

Recognising the referential identity between the third person character and the first person narrator of other posts is also aided by contextual clues. One such example is the following title: *az egybetűsnek, aki szereti, ha noirban írom meg, mi történt, mert úgy sokkal érdekesebb* ‘to the one with the one-letter name who likes it if I’m telling what happened à la noir as it is much more interesting like that.’ Such indications are crucial for preserving a stable discursive centre despite the breaks of stylistic homogeneity. On the other hand, this title also acts as a meta-stylistic marker that signals both the author’s adaptation to readers’ demands and the stylistic effect being created.

In terms of the socio-cultural variables of style, these posts can be described as highly refined (sophisticated), formal, value saturating, and adhering to the official register in addition to the standard. In and by themselves, these stylistic choices could be considered as distance-creating or alienating but since they form part of an entertaining style strategy, they can be interpreted as aspects of stylistic play or style parody.

The first post labelled as ‘noir’ only features this style in the beginning, and continues in the usual tone thereafter. By contrast, later posts are homogeneous in this respect. Subsequently, noir as a guest-style returns in more and more posts, illustrating the interactive development of the style of blogs. In particular, positive reader feedback gives incentives for new posts of this kind. Indeed, one blog post even has the title *a nagy sikerre való tekintettel* ‘in view of the great success’; moreover, commenters reacting to the post also join in the game, using the same style and narrative technique:

- (20) és akkor mit is intézett pontosan az enyhén szláv arcú lány? :) üdv: a lány, aki még nem járt földhivatalban, de most kedvet kapott

and what exactly did the girl with the slightly Slavic face sort out? :) best, the girl who hasn't been to the land registry yet but now she's beginning to fancy the idea

Through its imitations of style in all their varied functions, the analysed blog clearly shows that the I-blog, even with the emergence of genre-specific conventions, is a remarkably open-ended terrain. It offers ample room for experimenting with the mixing and imitation of a wide range of speech styles.

5. Summary

The linguistic and stylistic variety of the internet is enriched with innumerable shades of colour by the so called blogosphere. It is practically impossible to give a comprehensive picture of the often novel qualities of style that are generated in the various blog types. Still, even by limiting attention to a single blog, one may detect several stylistic features characteristic of the genre.

In this paper, I have explored interrelated aspects of the style of *nesztelencsiga.hu*, focusing on the speaker’s self-stylisation, the adoption of stylistic patterns, and the functioning of socio-cultural variables. In the text of the blog, adherence to the norms of traditional written language, with its

stylistic patterns profiling high levels of elaboration, is counterbalanced by stylistic devices foregrounding the author's directness and the informality of the communicative situation. The ironic attitude of the author (in part by involving a variety of conflicting speech styles) destabilises the assessment of value as a socio-cultural component of style, while at the same time presupposing a shared evaluative vantage point. In addition, self-irony also contributes to the creation of a positive image of the speaker reflecting on herself. Finally, intertextuality and style imitations foreground the possibility of telling stories from multiple culturally determined perspectives, and help establish a high level of familiarity, even a sense of community between the author and the readers.

On the one hand, the elaborate style of the posts, the well-rounded stories often organised by figures of speech, and the metaphorical conceptualisations with recurrent patterns evoke a refined/sophisticated quality of style. On the other, forms and phrases taken from spoken discourse, neologisms, and value-depriving self-representations point toward looseness on the same spectrum. This duality may also shed light on the fact (in line with Simon 2012) that a speaker's stylistic attitude (cf. Tátrai, this volume) is not monolithic, since her attitude may vary with particular aspects of the scene of joint attention. In the blog at hand, the author's attitude to the utterance act is characterised by refinement, although her disposition to other aspects of the speech situation generally supports an impression of looseness.

On the whole, the style of the blog may draw the attention of researchers to a rarely noted, less conspicuous feature of internet genres, namely the combination of sophistication and intimacy, which is becoming increasingly typical of the public forms of communication. Previously restricted for the most part to the non-public text types of journal writing and private correspondence, this feature now affects varied forms of public communication, and thus may also induce shifts in the alignment of stylistic patterns.

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STYLE, PERSONALISATION, AND NEGOTIATION IN INTERNET CONVERSATIONS*

ÁGNES HÁMORI

Abstract

This paper analyses internet discourse — in particular, texts of internet forums. Its subject matter is stylistic variation and the role of socio-cultural components in these texts, with special emphasis on the phenomenon of personalisation, on the one hand, and language users' active and negotiation-based role in creating style, on the other.

The author studies stylistic variance with respect to behaviour (attitudes), situation, value, time, and relation to particular (e.g. institutionalised) language varieties, and discusses the role of personalisation, a rarely studied but important aspect of style, too. She analyses the connection between text types and style, as well as language users' active and negotiation-based style creating performance that underlies the stylistic variation of texts. It is furthermore shown how negotiation may be made explicit in discourse in various forms and to various degrees and how it is often manifested in metastylistic reflections that reveal major aspects of style and categorisations performed by the participants and highlight the importance of style itself.

Keywords: socio-cultural components of style, internet discourse, forum, personalisation, negotiation, metastylistic reflection

“We can carry on conversations in normal tone, too.”¹

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study socio-cultural constituents of style, including their most important domains and forms of manifestation in internet discourse, and in particular in forum contributions. We will especially concentrate on the dimension of **personalisation**, the interdependence of **text type and style**, and the activity of **negotiation** with respect to style. In addition to presenting examples, as well as within the examples presented, we will largely rely on **metapragmatic reflections** offered by the speakers: indications of the most important operations, aspects and distinctions with respect to affecting and perceiving style, and playing a decisive role in style-related negotiations between participants.

The primary ambition of this paper is to be a mind-opener: its aim is the application of a general theory of style (in particular, a functional cognitive approach to it) in a relatively novel area of language use and the study of a characteristic but rarely discussed aspect of

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¹ From a comment, source: <http://mr-moto-velorex.blogspot.com/2010/09/navratil-attila-hozzaszolasa.html>

style, the dimension of personalisation. The paper will touch on phenomena that are little studied and try to establish interrelationships among them. Such phenomena include style in internet communication, the relationship between personalisation and style, language users' negotiation activity with respect to style, and metastylistic reflections. These matters fall outside the traditional areas of stylistic research and would deserve detailed and independent study one by one. Nevertheless, it is worth investigating them in conjunction here since in that way they offer insights into aspects of style that might represent important cues for a comprehensive understanding of general stylistic theory and the way style is put to use.

1.1. Style and personalisation

Analysing internet forum texts we find that, although they constitute a genre that is easy to circumscribe, stylistically speaking they are fairly heterogeneous in more ways than one. Such differences will be investigated here primarily in terms of a functional cognitive approach to style, from the point of view of the **socio-cultural stratification** of style (Sandig 1986, Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2005). In the texts to be analysed here, one can observe stylistic variation in diverse socio-cultural dimensions: in terms of attitudes, situations, and values, as well as time and language varieties, along continua in all these domains. However, one more aspect of linguistic production that is highly important is the dimension of **personalization** (subjectivisation) that is often thematised in categorisations offered by forum participants, too, mainly in terms of the notion of "getting personal" (even though the latter is but a narrow slice of the domain of personalisation/subjectivisation).

Analysis of the sample texts, and metalinguistic reflections concerning personalisation, will witness the importance of this dimension in the functioning and perception of style. The issue of personalisation was not given particular attention in the earlier stylistic literature, although it was indirectly touched upon in connection with other concepts. In sociolinguistic approaches to matters of style, the notions of social integration and involvement (Gumperz 1982, Chafe 1982, Tannen 1984, 2007: 26) are closely related to personalisation. Cognitive linguistics directly discusses it in relation to subjectivisation (cf. Langacker 2006, 2008, Traugott 1995, Stein—Wright 1995), but it does so primarily in the context of construal or of grammaticalisation, leaving its relation to style at the periphery. Linguistically speaking, this area of phenomena is indeed best approached in terms of **subjectivisation**, that is, variability between more subjective and more objective ways of representation; the study of texts and metalinguistic reflections of language users, however, suggest that such variability, primarily involved in alternatives of attention, functions in many cases as an important element of style.

In what follows, then, I will study personalisation (subjectivisation) as a dimension of stylistic analysis. I will take **degree of subjectivity** to be a **property of texts** that is **connected primarily with direction-of-attention choices of the text creator during construal** and that **can be evaluated along a continuum between highly objective and highly subjective**. With respect to the degree of subjectivisation, differences of **viewpoint relationships** are a dominant factor: whether the utterance has a neutral vantage point or whether the centre of reference (that is, the viewpoint of the actual speaker and/or addressee) is directly represented (Tátrai 2005), and if it is, how much **explicitness** is given to the actual speaker or addressee or (primarily sub-

jective) contents directly related to them. In my approach, the degree of subjectivisation/personalization grows with that of the explicit occurrence and elaboration of the feelings or opinions of the actual speaker or addressee(s) in the text² (cf. Vis, Sanders—Spooren 2010, 2011³). Thus, of the examples below, (1a) is more personalised than (1b) would be, due to the direct occurrence of conceptualisation in the 1sg verbal suffix and the signature, addressee-oriented speech acts (greeting, taking leave), and the exclamation mark that enhances emotionality:

- (1a) Szia!
Köszönöm a részletes leírást és képeket!
Üdv.
eragka⁴
'Hi, / Thank you for the detailed description and the pictures. / Best, / eragka.'
- (1b) * Köszönet a részletes leírásért és a képekért. *
'Many thanks for the detailed descriptions and the pictures.'

As this example shows, the dimension of personalisation may be elaborated at the levels of a number of diverse linguistic variables (viewpoint structure, sentence type, speech act, utterance length, emoticons, etc.), and the degree of subjectivisation is directly related not only to viewpoint but also to other aspects of text creation like choices concerning explicitness/inclusiveness and thematic phenomena. Such aspects further include the presence or absence of saying hello or other forms of salutation, another important component of style in the case of a comment.

1.2. Personalisation in forum conversations

The analysis of forum discourse gives us a good opportunity to study personalisation as a stylistic device, given that subjectivity is an important factor in this genre. This is closely related to pragmatic and text typological peculiarities of these texts.

Conversations carried on via internet forums take place in a peculiar social-psychological and pragmatic setting: their most important feature is the fact that the participants are mutually unidentifiable and unfamiliar to one another. Hence, the communicative situation involves the non-availability of contextual background knowledge that is so important in face-to-face communication due to direct encounter, personal familiarity, and other factors of the situation (identity markers, social roles, etc.). Internet communication is characterised by impersonality in other respects, too, including electronic technology as the medium of communication; lack of direct visual and acoustic feedback; unidirectional flow of information; delayed reaction; as well as the possibility of neglecting some contributions or of a unilateral interruption of com-

² This approach is partly connected with Langacker's work who connects the phenomenon of subjectivity with operations of construal and viewpoint — cf. "for me... the terms pertain to vantage point (a matter of construal)" (Langacker 2006: 18, cf. also 2008: 77) —, but I use the notion of personalisation and of its increase in a way that is not reconcilable with the Langackerian notion of subjectivisation.

³ "Subjectivity is considered here as the expression of the speaker of himself and his own 'private states', such as attitudes, beliefs, opinions, emotions and evaluations. Our model of subjectivity includes elements such as personal pronouns (first and second person), modal verbs and modal adverbials" (Vis, Sanders—Spooren 2011: 1).

⁴ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=90&na_step=30&t=9097176&na_order=

munication (cf. Thurlow et al. 2004: 48, Herring 2001: 4, Walther 1996). On the other hand, participants have their communicative and social needs in this situation, too (cf. “communication imperative”; Thurlow—Brown 2003). Hence, elaboration and maintenance of the interpersonal and personal dimensions via the remaining channels of communication becomes especially important, primarily as far as language use, including especially style — that is, linguistic “orchestration” — is concerned. In addition, or as part of the above, extra typographical possibilities (e.g. capital letters, emoticons, cf. Herring 2001: 11) are also exploited. In most internet text types, the following factors become eminently important: the individual’s **linguistic self-representation**, identity formation, **impression strategies** exploiting possibilities of visual and linguistic **formulation**, as well as linguistic devices of creating/modifying **interpersonal relationships** between participants in the virtual community space of the discourse. Special factors of the communicative situation, then, may lead in this genre to the upgrading of personalisation and the interpersonal aspect; in some cases, even to its over-development (cf. “hyperpersonal interaction”; Walther 1996); and the way language is used is given a dominant role in all this.

Furthermore, an important aspect of internet communication is its high degree of freedom and also licentiousness. The lack of physical encounter, namelessness/facelessness and unlimited possibility to quit the situation decrease the **validity of social norms** observed in direct personal communication to a significant extent and, as a consequence, verbal aggression and exaggerated display of emotions may grow, and polarisation and radicalisation become typical (cf. Thurlow et al. 2004: 62). Weakening of social norms also contributes to a more liberal display of speaker subjectivity, as well as to the foregrounding of interactionality and the interpersonal aspect of language use.

On the other hand, within internet communication, and even within the use of forums, a variety of text types and subtypes do exist, their style exhibits wide variety/variability, and the degree of personalisation varies, too. This is closely connected to what the actual topic of discourse is within a given forum; the primary aim and participant structure of the actual “speech event”, the central theme (if any), and the way conversation gets organised around it. When we study their style, it is important to pay attention to such pragmatic, text typological, and interaction-internal social factors in the analysis of forum texts.

1.3. Texts of forums and topics: text type, style, and style formation

Internet communication includes a variety of discourse and text types (e.g. forum, comment, email, chat, blog, community sites) behind which we find diverse interaction structures, distinct participant roles and expectations, and a variety of communicative aims, whereby they are also rather varied in stylistic terms, too. The present paper concentrates on a single major type of discourse, **forum texts**, partly extending its attention to the neighbouring genre of **comments**, where opinions on a given topic (news item, or event) exhibit a sequentiality that makes them rather similar to forum-type conversations. The material primarily comes from forums of the largest forum community of Hungary called Index, and from texts of some other forums and series of comments (NOL, MNO, portfolio.hu and YouTube); these discourse samples are close to everyday conversations and their style-forming activities, but they also represent the stylistic variability and stylistic features of the genre of forums.

Stylistic features of forum texts are closely related to text typological and interactional

characteristics of these texts. The close links among genres, norms, and style, as well as social interaction, text types and stylistic patterns are widely discussed in the literature (Hymes 1974: 57; Sandig 1972: 123, 1986: 173; Eöry 1986: 132). These papers present the way various activities may be associated with a given communicative situation, involving various socio-cultural norms, pieces of knowledge, and expectations, and accordingly various action patterns, text and style patterns, on the basis of experience in language use, in the language users' minds. The interrelationship between situation and text type (aka genre) and style is non-obligatory in nature (cf. Hámori 2007), although several text types — due to the characteristics of the situation in which those texts usually occur — are typically linked to some style type (e.g., records of evidence, obituaries, gossips).

The text type of forums is not linked to a given style type but **general knowledge, expectations and norms** pertaining to internet and conversational styles and patterns of verbal behaviour do play an important role in the way they work. Such norms represent a relatively loose framework within which significant stylistic differences may arise in the individual topics: that is, a wide scope of action is left for **participants' dynamic style formation and negotiation** (cf. “styling”, Coupland 2007, Eckert 2010; adaptation and negotiation, Verschueren 1999: 60); on the other hand, some principles are valid across topics with an almost universal status.

The most important common feature of internet forum texts and comments⁵ is that they arise from a series of utterances organised around a narrower or wider topic in the framework of open communication of several participants and are very close, in the way they work, to everyday conversations with several contributors. This is referred to in metalinguistic reflections by the participants who often refer to their own communication, despite its written form, as “conversation” or “talking” (e.g. *Tudunk mi normális hangnemben is társalogni*⁶ ‘We can carry on conversations in normal tone, too’, *meg kéne tanulni kulturáltan társalogni még az ilyen témákról is*⁷ ‘we should learn how to talk in a civilised manner even about topics like this’).

Some stylistic expectations pertaining to forum texts are present and make their presence felt in an **implicit** manner in operations of text production and interpretation by language users just like expectations concerning everyday conversations intuitively acquired in the course of normal practice (cf. Thurlow et al. 2004: 65). Others, however, are formulated as **explicit rules** — a significant difference from oral conversations. During the fifteen years or so of the existence of internet so far, several fundamental communicative principles have taken shape concerning language use via internet, and some of these are explicitly formulated, especially in “netiquettes” that contain basic norms of internet communication (see Hambridge 1995, Négyesi 1998, Domonkosi 1999), or in regulations issued by service providers who operate internet platforms (e.g. “Forum Rules”⁸). Some further rules are laid down by moderators who supervise forums. Hence, forum/comment texts come into being under the special situational circumstances of the internet and in a stylistically peculiar pragmatic space in which a **high degree of language users' freedom** is combined with **continuous external linguistic control**.

⁵ In terms of text typological properties, online chat is rather similar to these genres; the boundaries between these text types are not clear-cut. However, chat is a genre that is emphatically informal, often intimate, and more homogeneous in terms of style and structure. The present analyses will not be extended to it.

⁶ <http://mr-moto-velorex.blogspot.com/2010/09/navratil-attila-hozzaszolasa.html>

⁷ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?go=77931526&t=9121967>

⁸ E.g.: <http://forum.index.hu/Custom/showDisclaimer>, <http://www.ebay-forum.hu/index.php?app=forums&module=extras§ion=boardrules>

In this special pragmatic context, the openness, initiative style creation, and negotiation-based flexibility that normally characterise spontaneous oral conversations and are based on intuitively acquired and implicitly present stylistic patterns are observable to a large extent. Such openness is increased by the communicative situation already referred to, especially the anonymity of the users; and precisely due to that openness and anonymity, users' active style formation and negotiation acquires a special role. The anonymity and lack of identifiability of text creators lends extra significance to the manner of text formulation, i.e. to style: in this situation, it becomes a primary tool of the individual's self-representation (cf. "speakers' linguistic performance as a continual construction of a persona", Eckert 2004: 41, Coupland 2007, Eckert 2010). In view of the facelessness and anonymity of the internet, the degree and linguistic implementation of **personalisation** is an especially relevant issue.

On the other hand, forum conversations are also regulated by explicit principles. Some of these directives — primarily constraints and prohibitions — are associated with legal consequences (e.g. the ban on illegal comments), others, however, are clearly of a linguistic nature. Some of the latter serve the maintenance of the general operability of discourse, like the ban on offtopic comments, repetitions, or too lengthy contributions; while many of them specifically refer to the style of discourse, primarily in the form of restrictions (e.g. the ban on "rude, obscene, vulgar", "aggressive", or "offensively personal" tone), showing the eminent importance of style in this area of language use. Compliance with these regulations is checked by outside norm guards or moderators who may directly sanction violations of such principles or expectations, among other things, by restricting the participation of the given language user in the current discourse and, in the case of repeated infringement, by excluding him/her from the community of contributors, and even by deleting his/her virtual personality (username or nick).

But the existence of such regulations and moderation do not put an end to stylistic negotiation to be performed by the participants. What is more, the two areas, external censorship and implicit self-control are interlocked at several points: both in an institutional manner (forum contributors themselves may act as moderators) and individually, given that commenters often refer to the forum regulations or to moderators during their own style forming activity, sometimes even directly addressing the latter.

The rules given in forum regulations work as norms rather than real constraints: within them, a relatively wide scope of action is left for users who mould their style actively, in accordance with their individual aims and in cooperation with their partners. This cooperation is partly materialised in involuntary and/or implicit adaptations (cf. style accommodation and divergence; Giles et al. 1991, Bartha—Hámori 2010), and partly in acts of negotiation accompanied by explicit signals, where participants' metastylistic reflections and instructions play an eminent role.

The following section analyses the most important varieties of the style of forums and the style forming activity of their participants on the basis of major dimensions of the socio-cultural stratification of style, and introduces the dimension of personalisation and its main variants. The second half of the paper, subsequently, discusses the active operation of styling, the characteristic forms of stylistic negotiation, and some basic possibilities of metalinguistic reflections.

2. Socio-cultural dimensions of style in forum and comment texts

Style is the way language is used; but it is also "a manner of activity relevant from a social

point of view” (Sandig 1986: 23); variations in that manner of activity are produced by language users while they link symbolic structures of language with social meaning during producing and interpreting verbal interactions embedded in a context of social and cultural factors (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 90). That socio-cultural stratification of style can be accounted for in several ways: linguistic analyses, generally in line with “popular” style specifications of language users (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 17, Sandig 1986: 23), mainly start from the relationship of the language user to his/her speech partner, to text formulation, to the subject-matter or to the situation (Szathmári 1994, Sandig 1986: 22, Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 92). On the basis of those factors, style variants can be arranged along the dimensions of **behaviour** (attitude), **situation**, and **value**, among others; and their relation to **time** and to characteristic (e.g. institutional, geographical) **language varieties** may also be relevant (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2005: 92). Along with those dimensions, another important factor is the domain of **personalisation**, often exhibiting close interrelations with some of the above variables.

Although each dimension can be explored on its own, it appears that changes in one dimension of style often show typical co-occurrences with those in another dimension, thus producing characteristic **style types** or “**protostyles**”. The latter are closely connected with thematic issues, with text subtypes within the general genre of forum texts, and with the current aims of participants of conversations. Protostyles occur as important results of the active style shaping moves of the interlocutors and their dynamic adaptation to new ways of communication, while they also serve as new stylistic models for conversations going on in forums, departing from earlier style patterns and norms and continuously overwriting them. The phenomenon of protostyles will be further discussed in the last part of the present paper. But first, let us survey the main types of variance observable in the dimensions just mentioned — in those of behaviour, situation, value, time, and language varieties —, with the help of a few examples. Although style changes are mainly represented by lexical choices in those examples, this has only reasons to do with economy of presentation: style can show up in various domains of text creation in the case of forum texts, too, as can be observed in some of the examples in grammar, orthography, punctuation, idiomatic constructions (greetings), and even in text formulation (forms of address, saying goodbye, paragraph organisation) and arrangement of the vehicle (capitalisation, bold type, layout).

2.1. The variability of style in terms of behaviour, situation, value, time, and language varieties

The style variable of **behaviour** (or attitude) can be primarily characterised with the values vulgar—familiar—neutral—elaborate; it can refer to the speaker’s behaviour towards the addressee (e.g. polite, supercilious, or confidential) or the speaker’s relationship to text formulation (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 93). Mediated by his/her attitude to linguistic choices, this dimension of style may directly reflect on the speaker’s attitude to the speech partner on the one hand, and may play an important role in the elaboration of the speaker’s discursive identity or self-representation, on the other (Bartha—Hámori 2010: 315—316).

Forum texts exhibit significant variability in terms of this stylistic variable: we often find comments whose style is familiar (2a) or indeed vulgar or rude (2b); but we can also find utterances that are stylistically neutral (2c) or polite and elaborate (2d, e).

- (2a) Bubu tökre eltűnt, és lécci ha látod mondd meg neki, hogy puszilom. :-)⁹
 ‘Bubu has completely disappeared; if you see him tell him I send my kisses. ☺’
- (2b) Te nemcsak buzi vagy, hanem elmebeteg is. Na meg álparaszt. De valódi seggfej.¹⁰
 ‘You’re not only a geek but also an idiot. And a fake boor. But a real shithead.’
- (2c) Mert nem kell bejelenteni a lakcímváltozást, azt a központiból kéri le. Nekünk is simán átírták maguktól. Tehát az illető valószínűleg a lakcímnyilvántartásban is rossz címmel szerepel.¹¹
 ‘Because you don’t have to report your change of address, it will be accessed from the central data base. They simply changed it for us, too. The guy must be misrepresented in the registry of addresses, too.’
- (2d) Sziasztok! Egy olyan kérdésem lenne, ami már egyszer elhangzott régebben, de csak francia válasz érkezett rá, amit én sajnos nem értek. A válasz azonban érdekel. Légións felvonulásokon lehet látni, hogy egyes légiónsok egyfajta bőrmellényt viselnek és kalapácsot tartanak a kezükben. Valaki meg tudná mondani, hogy ez mit jelent? Köszí a választ, Tisztelettel.¹²
 ‘Hi everybody, I have a question that has been asked before but only a French reply came that I don’t understand. But I’m interested. You can see in legionnaires’ marches that some of them wear a kind of leather waistcoats and hold hammers in their hands. Could somebody tell me what this means? Thanks in advance, best wishes.’
- (2e) Szerinted nem lett volna jóval elegánsabb, civilizáltabb, tiszteletreméltóbb (és lehetne még mondani pár jelzőt) dolog élve elfogni, bíróság elé állítani és nyilvánosan a fejére olvasni a bűneit, mint így orvul meggyilkolni a családja körében? Valószínűleg lett volna mondanivalója a bírák és a világ színe előtt, amit az amerikai vezetés nem akart hallani. Elképzelhető, hogy több lett volna egyszerű Amerika-ellenes propagandánál, agitációnál. És a világ is jobban odafigyelt volna.¹³

‘Don’t you think it would have been more elegant, more civilised, more venerable (and some further adjectives could be added) to catch him alive, commit him for trial and publicly take him to task for his crimes than to kill him so, on the sly, for his whole family to see?’

He would probably have had things to say to his judges and to the world, things that the American leaders would have preferred not to hear. Probably, it would have been more than mere anti-US propaganda or intrigue. And the world would have listened more carefully.’

⁹ <http://forum.portfolio.hu/topic.php?t=7888&limit=20&order=0&from=13920>

¹⁰ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=86453&na_step=30&t=9111932&na_order=

¹¹ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9127144&la=109247735>

¹² http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=5200&na_step=200&t=9007801&na_order=

¹³ http://nol.hu/archivum/mit_szedett_bin_laden_#kommentek

In these examples, we can also observe the direct relationship between linguistic formulation and the speaker's attitude to the addressee (2a, b, d) or the speaker's self-representation (2e).

It is worth making a digression on utterances or expressions that can be stylistically labelled “**vulgar**” or “**rude**”.¹⁴ This stylistic phenomenon is fairly frequent in these genres of internet communication, in spite of the fact that such expressions tend to count as taboo as per standard norms and are expressly prohibited by most internet forum regulations. However, language users often disregard such norms and explicit prohibitions; hence, in the norm of internet communication vulgarity-related taboos (just like e.g. orthographic rules) tend to be reevaluated and vulgarity may become the **norm** in certain cases. It was observed during our analyses that vulgar or rude expressions did not only occur in topics/comments of diverse kinds but also in several different functions. The use of rude expressions in texts carried a variety of social meanings: sometimes it constituted an **act of verbal aggression**, but another prototypical function turned out to be the indication of interpersonal closeness, **familiarity**, **friendliness**, and/or **solidarity**. Finally, the use of rude or vulgar expressions may primarily be a tool of the speaker's **self-characterisation**, self-representation: in such cases, vulgar or taboo-breaking expressions represent the quality of being “cool”, casual, “sharp”, or, in some cases, they represent power (masculinity), and iconically stand for neglecting some social norms or rules (Coates 2004: 98, cf. also Bartha—Hámori 2010: 316).

Another stylistic domain, that of **situation**, conceptualises the speaker's representation of the current speech situation; here we can observe various degrees of formality—informality. In this respect, our forum texts and comments showed far less variability: the appearance of formal style is very infrequent, almost exceptional in them, most of them cannot even be said to be neutral; most texts are characterised by some degree of **informality** (3a).

This is primarily due to the informal communicative situation in which forum and comment texts are produced (but the overall informality of the stylistic norm typical of internet communication in general may also have a role). More formal contributions are normally only made in forums of official institutions (e.g. (3b)). Increased formality is also characteristic of topics in which one of the participants has an institutional(ised) role (e.g. moderator, doctor, or lawyer). For instance:

(3a) Bubu tökre eltűnt, és lécci ha látod mondd meg neki, hogy puszilom. :-)¹⁵
‘Bubu has completely disappeared; if you see him tell him I send my kisses. ©’

(3b) Tisztelt Fórumtársak!
További helyreigazítást tennék a 208 milliós ingatlan eladáshoz: az „eredményezett” szó helyére, az eredményezhet szó a helyes fogalmazás, tekintettel arra a tényre, hogy az ügy még nem befejezett.
Szíves megértésüket köszönöm!¹⁶

‘Dear Forum Partners,
I would like to add a further correction concerning the 208-million real estate trans-

¹⁴ This is not identical with the far wider topic of verbal aggression via the internet (cf. e.g. Thurlow et al. 2004: 69—75).

¹⁵ <http://forum.portfolio.hu/topic.php?t=7888&limit=20&order=0&from=13920>

¹⁶ <http://www.freeforum.hu/nagykovacsi/topik/12206,3>

action: instead of the word “has yielded”, the correct expression is “may yield”, in view of the fact that the case is not yet closed.

Thank you for your kind understanding.’

(source: the webpage of the local authority of Nagykovácsi)

In the linguistic elaboration of formality, forms of greeting and of address have a crucial role (Domonkosi 2002). In addition, other lexical, grammatical (e.g. passive constructions), and text typological choices are also important: among the last-mentioned type, it is primarily the presence or lack of salutation, greeting, and leave-taking that contribute to the regulation of formal stylistic value. In Hungarian, a prominent role is also played by formal/informal 2sg forms (*te* vs. *maga* vs. *Őn*): the use of formal varieties leads to an increase in the level of formality.

Given that in the norms of internet communication informal 2sg forms are in general use, this contributes to the fact that the style of forum texts is also shifted towards informality. Another factor resulting in a decrease of formality is that, due to the similarity between forum communication and spoken discourse, typically casual and/or **spoken-language items** (discourse markers, interjections) and grammatical constructions often occur there in writing.

On the other hand, one thing that makes the evaluation of a stylistic variable difficult is that a given linguistic construction often carries its meaning in characteristic **co-occurrences** with other stylistic domains, rather than in itself. In addition, the stylistic **heterogeneity** of the texts under examination also increases the difficulties: the style structure of a given contribution is not necessarily homogeneous even in terms of a single stylistic domain, thus formal and informal or elaborate and casual items often occur next to one another.

The following important stylistic dimension is that of **value**. Here, a contribution can be value-depriving, neutral, and value-saturating; in this dimension, the language user elaborates his/her personal attitude to, or evaluation of, the topic, the situation, or sometimes the addressee, and hence this domain shows a close relationship with the dimension of attitude. In forum and comment texts, along with neutral solutions, we often find value-depriving expressions (that are often rude/vulgar at the same time). Most of these are due to the **informality** already referred to, as well as to the familiar style used towards the addressee. In this context, in one of the characteristically occurring types, value-depriving expressions characterize the speaker’s relationship to the situation or the topic and are part of his/her **self-representation** (as cool, casual, sharp). For instance:

(3c) *emelem a poharat a pofámhoz*¹⁷

‘I raise my glass to **my yap**’

Another important function of value-depriving stylistic devices is **characterisation of the topic** of the utterance and an implicit elaboration of the speaker’s **opinion of that topic**:

(4) Arra azért kíváncsi lennék, hogy ki lehetett ennek a vecsési **álcivil** alapítványocskának a zuglói **ügynöke**, aki ezt a **röhejes** **luftbalmot** felfújta.

Nekem egyébként **tökmindegy**, hogy ki kinek a szekerét tolja, boldog tudatlanság-

¹⁷ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?go=104434360&t=9157953>

ban, megkockáztatom, merő jószándékból. Viszont nem lennék meglepve, ha ez a civil **nő** hamarosan MSZP **kvótanővé** válnék.¹⁸

‘I would like to know who might have been the **agent** in Zugló of this **pseudo-civil mini-fund** of Vecsés who blew up this **ridiculous toy balloon**.

I really **don’t care** who is whose toady in happy ignorance, I daresay out of mere goodwill. But I would not be surprised if this civil **woman** soon turned into a **quota-woman** of the Socialist Party.’

Value-deprivation may also often concern the **addressee** and be part of the contributor’s **verbal aggression** (similarly to the use of vulgar expressions). Again, numerous examples can be found:

(5) Maradj inkább a nőklapja oldalon, remekül érezheted ott magad a **hasonszórúéek** között. **Szánalmas vagy**.

Valakinek jó **kupán** kéne vágnia, hogy **helyre billenjen** az agyad, ha egyáltalán ez lehetséges.¹⁹

‘Stay in that women’s-weekly webpage, you may feel superb among **birds of a feather**. You’re **pathetic**.

Someone should **bash** you on the head so that your brain should **get patched up**, if that is at all possible.’

In this example, aggression is conveyed with no rude expressions at all, exclusively with the help of value-depriving choices.

Of course, we can also find value-saturating linguistic choices in the texts of forums and comments. For instance:

(6) Egyrészt nagyon szomorú ez az egész, de nekem **rengeteget** segít, hogy olyan emberekkel oszthatom meg a **legbelsőbb** félelmeimet, szorongásaimat és örömeimet is akik tudják, hogy min megyek keresztül, hogy **gyermekem** lehessen! Szóval, hogy hogyan lehet ezt túlélni? Nehezen, de mi mindig itt leszünk és ha kell **lelket öntünk** beléd! Mert hidd el sikerülni fog. Addig meg nekem az segített, hogy az életem más területein értem el sikereket, eredményeket és ezek **boldoggá tettek**. Körülöttem is sokan lettek **babások**, így szeretgethettek az ő **babáikat**. **Szép estét kívánok neked!!!** Üdv: Bmmb²⁰

‘First, this whole thing is very sad, but it helps me **an awful lot** to be able to share my **innermost** fears, anxieties and joys with people who know what I am going through in order to **have a baby!** Well, how can one survive this? Difficult, but we will always be here and if necessary we will **put heart into** you! Believe me, you will succeed. In the meantime, what helped me was that I had successes in other areas of life and those **made me happy**. Many around me **had their own babies** and I was able to hug their **babies** whenever I wanted. **I wish you a very nice evening!** Best, Bmmb’

¹⁸ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9046017>

¹⁹ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=148&na_step=30&t=9063241&na_order=

²⁰ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=846&na_step=30&t=9006100&na_order=

It is an interesting phenomenon within the dimension of value that a certain stylistic value often “turns round” and fulfils an ironical function in the discourse, against expectations. Thus, **value-saturating choices** often occur in a **value-depriving function**, e.g.:

- (7) Szeretném nagy-nagy mélységes tisztelettel és alázattal megtudni, ki volt az aranyos, drága, jó, szeretetreméltó, bölcs és okos (pol)moderátor, aki megcsinálta az, hogy ha topicot nyitok, akkor annak csak a címe marad meg, a cím kereshető is, de a topic valójában automatikusan törlődött és nem létezik!?!²¹

‘I would like to ask with great deep reverence and humility who that charming, dear, good, amiable, wise and clever (pol)moderator was who did it. When I open a topic, only the title remains and the title can even be searched, but the topic in fact was automatically deleted and does not exist.’

The same thing applies the other way round: **value-deprivation**, in some cases, especially in linguistic marking of interpersonal relationships toward the addressee, is linked with the speaker’s confidential, **positive, value-saturating** attitude (similarly to some cases where rude expressions are used):

- (8) Mi itt vagyunk, itt leszünk, elérhetőek vagyunk, az oké, hogy a kaja-para miatt találtunk egymásra, de ettől függetlenül is itt vagyunk már! A többi miatt aggódjanak a szüleid, némileg az ő felelősségük, hogy meggyógyulj [...]. Érted, kiscsaj? Mit uगतok én itt a bizalomról, amikor bennem is ott motoszkál, hogy mivan ha igazából nem számítana, ha nem írnék ide többet, sose keresnének többet.²²
‘We are here and will be here, we are accessible, OK, fine, we have found each other because of our food fright, but we are here all the same! As for the rest, let your parents worry, it’s partly their responsibility to have you recover [...]. See, little bird?’

What do I bark here of confidence, when it keeps running through my head what if it did not really matter, if I did not write here anymore, no one would look for me anymore.’

The dimension of **time** exhibits less variability in the style of forum texts than the former components of style; and it fails to occur in metalinguistic reflections, too. Nevertheless, this dimension has its significance as well. Texts are usually neutral in this respect, but they often include novel expressions, neologisms (cf. Sólyom, this volume). This is partly due to the novelty of the form and medium of communication concerned, and partly to the age of users (as they are typically young). Sometimes this also reflects the topic under discussion, but novel expressions also have an important role in referring to the identity and relations of language users.

The innovative nature of the form and setting of communication (internet, informatics) accounts for the use of expressions like *modi* ‘moderator’, *moderátor* ‘id.’, *banner* ‘id.’, *regelni* ‘to reg(ister)’, *fölmegy a netre* ‘go on the net’, etc. The words *fórum* ‘forum’, *topik* ‘topic’, *nick* ‘username’ are also newcomers in the Hungarian lexicon. The use of these (often in conjunc-

²¹ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/viewArticle?a=33791719&t=9032338>

²²

tion with other casual or informal stylistic devices) may also be related to the function of style indicating or producing **group identity**. The use of neologisms, furthermore, is often mixed with individual innovations and hapaxes and may constitute an important element of the speaker's **self-representation** by elaborating the notion of being modern, young, or being an expert, one of "those in the know"; or, linked with individual coinages, by representing **creativity** or **humour**.

Finally, **certain language varieties** occurring in forum texts are also an important dimension of their style. In this respect, various occupational registers are relevant (9a), as well as varieties characteristic of certain smaller groups of speakers like the language of soldiers, car enthusiasts, sports fans, or young speakers' slang (9b). Some of these language varieties are associated with the **subject-matter of the given topic** and the relevant register (e.g. repair of electric installations, medical or financial counselling forums). But the use of these does not (only) automatically follow from the given topic; they can also function as defining participants' **roles and relationships** and/or **self-characterisations** (e.g. the use of medical terms as linguistic presentation of a competent expert, cf. (9a)). Certain occupational registers are often used to signal the speaker's belonging to the given **occupational community**, his/her **group identity** (9b). A third characteristic type is the use of **slang** that is an important tool of group identity and self-characterisation even without any thematic link (9c).

- (9a) Orvos: Véleményem szerint nyelőcső-motilitási zavara lehet, diótörő-nyelőcső vagy nem koordinált nyelőcsőkontrakciók.²³

'Doctor: In my opinion, you may have oesophageal motility problems, nutcracker-oesophagus or uncoordinated oesophageal contractions.'

- (9b) Gabazo01: Persze hogy lehet! Tavaly egy P88-asból durrogtattam, Umával, de már az első lövésnél akadás volt! Asztán újra próbáltam, megint akadás! Hát mondom akkor mi lesz a gázzal? Be raktam PV-t, mint az álom! Hát mondom ez most,,? Utána elő vettem egy másik doboz Uma riogatót, na azzal már akadás mentesen kiment a tár! Úgyhogy bármilyen előfordulhat!²⁴

Gabazo01: Of course you can! Last year I bang-banged a P88 with Uma, but it got stuck already on the first shot! Then I tried again, stuck again! So I say what with the gas? I put in PV, goes like a dream! So I say and now...? Then I opened another box of Uma startler, well then the whole stock went without getting stuck! So anything can happen.'

- (9c) A csaj tuti hogy dilis, de a zenéje hallgatható²⁵

'The chick is nuts for sure, but her music can be listened to.'

2.2. Aspects of being personal in the elaboration of style

The general significance of the aspect of **personalisation** in language and style has already been pointed out in the introduction of this paper. The degree of involvement of participants in a discourse, the extent to which their presence or (primarily subjective) contents related to them are elaborated in the text, can best be defined in terms of **personalisation** or the notions

²³ http://www.gyomoreges.hu/orvos-valaszol/?wm_search_pageno=2

²⁴ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=30&na_step=30&t=9200240&na_order=

²⁵ <http://forum.portfolio.hu/topic.php?t=7888&limit=20&order=0>

of **subjectivisation vs. objectification**. In the forum texts and comments we have studied, style exhibited variance not only in the domains discussed in the foregoing, but also with respect to personalisation. The importance of that aspect of style is shown not only by this high degree of variability but also by the fact that more strongly personalized portions of discourse often become the subject-matter of metastylistic reflections and negotiation, indicating that this feature of texts is interpreted by the participants themselves as an important aspect of style. The following examples illustrate the most important variations in the domain of personalisation.

High degree of personalisation can be observed in this example:

(10a) Biobogar: Sziaa :-)

Jááj ez a Macskafogóóóból a dögös nóta. :-)

Minden a legnagyobb rendben :-)) A munkábaállítás, ovi és egyetemkezdéssel karöltve felér egy idegösszeomlással, de már rátaláltam a ritmusa, látod netezem, is... :-)

(Csak Bubu kedvéért: az ovit a gyerekek kezdték az egyetemet én. :-))

Te hogy vagy?

Hogy megy a tőzsde?

‘Hi :) / Vow, this is the cool song from Cat City :) / Everything is quite all right :) Starting a new job, nursery, and university simultaneously is equivalent to a nervous breakdown but I have got the rhythm already, you see, I’m using the net, too... :) / (For Bubu’s sake: nursery was started by the kids, university by me. :) / How are things at your end? How is the stock exchange going?’

Similarly high degree of personalisation characterises the reply:

(10b) Bodza: [link](#) ..itt a másik változat :)

Egyetemkezés???. ezt nem is tudtam..

ovit megszokta mindenki?..nincs sírás?

Jól vagyok köszönöm :))

Tőzsde is jól van.. és van mikor együtt is jól vagyunk :))

Máskor ne tűnj el ilyen sok időre.. Egy-egy kávészünet csak akad:))

Felelős vagy már a topik zenei neveléséért:))²⁶

‘[link](#) ... here’s the other version :) / Starting university? I didn’t know... / Everybody happy with nursery? No crying? / I’m fine, thanks :) / Stock exchange is fine, too... and sometimes we are fine together :) / Don’t disappear again for such a long time... Coffee break occurs here and there, doesn’t it :) / You are already in charge of music education in this topic :)’

In these texts, personalisation is elaborated in several linguistic domains: in viewpoint structure, in sentence types (interrogatives) and speech acts (greetings), in emoticons and punctuation referring to emotions, as well as directly, thematically. Contributors give information about themselves, including their own mental and emotional states, and show interest in their discourse partner, ask questions, and refer back to their partner’s contribution.

²⁶ <http://forum.portfolio.hu/topic.php?t=7888&limit=20&order=0&from=13920>

The following, somewhat more formal excerpt also shows a high degree of subjectivity:

- (11) Vike24: Kedves Mindenki! Végre **vettem a bátorságot**, hogy én is írjak nektek! (Remélem, az idősebbek is megengedik a tegezést :) és **nem haragszanak meg érte.**)

‘Dear All, I finally **took the liberty** of writing to you. (I hope the older ones of you let me address them as ‘te’ © and **do not get offended.**)

margitmama: Vike24! **Szeretettel üdvözöllek** a mi nagy családjunkban! Tegezz csak nyugodtan nálunk ez a szokás! **Érezd magad nagyon jól.** margitmama.²⁷

‘Vike24, **I greet you with all my heart** in our big family. Just address us in the informal way; this is how it is done with us. **Have a great time.** margitmama’

Personalisation appears here, along with the centre of reference, primarily in the exposition of internal — mental and emotional — states by both the explicit contents and by the use of punctuation and emoticons. The elaboration of the emotional layer of the interaction is carried on in the reply. It can be noted that, although the stylistic domain of emotionality (also important from a stylistic point of view) is not the same as that of personalisation, the two areas of phenomena are very closely related to one another (cf. Stein 1995).

In other samples of topic texts, the other end of the continuum of personalisation, its “zero degree” can be observed: the contribution is detached from the spatial and temporal coordinates of the current speaker, the personality of the speaker (conceptualiser) or his/her relationship to the context or to the propositional content is not marked in the scene represented and, in terms of viewpoint, a neutral vantage point is chosen. For example:

- (12) Egyszerű, fölfelé támasztani, szél ellen egy láncot is kell alkalmazni. Ha már az is elszakad, a ház teteje sincs már a helyén.²⁸

‘It’s simple, one must buttress it upwards, also use a chain against the wind. If that breaks, too, the roof is not in place anymore, either.’

Total lack of subjectivisation, however, is very rare: the text producer or the addressee appears in most cases in construal, in some minimally explicit (or somewhat more explicit) manner. In the following two examples this is minimally so: only punctuation or a discourse marker is there to suggest subjectivisation:

- (13a) Miért kell egy kerti medencét, ha csak nyáron használják, vagyonokért befedni?????²⁹

‘Why do you have to cover a garden pool, only used in the summer, for a fortune?’

²⁷ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?go=76887622&t=9134899>

²⁸ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=150&na_step=30&t=9097176&na_order=

²⁹ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=150&na_step=30&t=9097176&na_order=

- (13b) Meg ugye ez a mobil medence fórum. ;-)30
 ‘And this is the mobile pool forum, isn’t it. J’

It is more often the case that the speaker or the addressee directly appears in the scene in the text, mainly as a grammatical subject. For instance:

- (14a) Szia,
 én is tettem fel elég sok képet, leírást.
 Nekem remekül működik, most lesz már a 3. szezon.³¹
 ‘Hi, / I’ve also uploaded loads of pictures, descriptions. / It works fine with me, we’ll have the third season now.’
- (14b) Ha felállítod, nem süllyeszted, akkor annyiért már egy 4,6*1,2 szépen belefér.
 Minél vastagabb fóliával vedd, lehetőleg jó minőségű homokszűrővel. A felállítás videóit a honlapon megtalálod.³²
 ‘If you set it up, not countersink it, then a 4.6*1.2 one fits in well for that much. Buy it with the thickest possible foil, possibly with a good quality sand filter. Videos of how to set it up can be found in the homepage.’

Another often employed device is the marking of the “subject of consciousness”, that is, the person responsible for the piece of information presented (cf. Tátrai 2005). For instance:

- (15) A napernyőtalp az jó ötlet, de nem kell venni szárítót. Egy lakatos fillérékért összeheszt olyan és AKKORA keretet, amilyen kell. Ami ráadásul tovább is tart.
Szerintem.³³
 ‘The sunshade stand is a good idea, but don’t buy a drier. A locksmith will weld a frame for pennies, any type and any SIZE you want. And it will even hold longer.
 / **I think.**’

In examples (14a,b) and (15) and in similar cases, the style is **neutral** in the domain of personalization: although subjectivisation does take place, that is, the person of the participant(s) does appear in some manner in the scenes construed, it remains in the background, and does not emerge into the foreground of attention.

With respect to personalisation, style really starts working where the degree of subjectivization is markedly low (e.g. *kéretik betartani a többi adószabályt*³⁴ ‘all other tax regulations are to be observed’), or where it is increased, that is, the person of the language user or the addressee, their emotions or opinions, or their interpersonal relationship, is foregrounded and more forcefully elaborated in some manner (e.g. by the use of speech acts like salutation, leave-taking, apologising, etc.) either thematically or in the form of metalinguistic reflections.

³⁰ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=90&na_step=30&t=9097176&na_order=

³¹ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=60&na_step=30&t=9097176&na_order=

³² <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9097176&go=109966900>

³³ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=120&na_step=30&t=9097176&na_order=

³⁴ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9018306&go=91383317>

The role of personalisation in style is also shown by the fact that a number of metastylistic reflections refer to it in forum contributions. In most cases, participants evaluate the increase of personalisation or subjectivisation **negatively** and reject it. This mainly happens when personalisation increases with respect to the addressee and typically occurs in metapragmatic reflections in cases of verbal conflict (primarily as instances of “getting personal”). The contributor complains that the discourse topic and thus the focus of attention has been shifted from an external subject-matter to the interlocutor (that is, him/herself), usually in association with some negative social content. For instance:

(16) Sandhurst: Te szőke vagy?

‘Are you a blonde?’

Doblasz: Légy szíves **ne személyeskedj**. Inkább ne is íj semmit, kösz.³⁵

‘Please **don’t be personal**. Better not write anything, thanks.’

The shift of discourse attention to the interlocutor, often linked with a face threatening act, often occurs in debates in place of arguments. In a number of metalinguistic reflections the participants thematise just this. For instance:

(17) Megjegyzem **érved nincs, csak személyeskedsz**.³⁶

‘Incidentally, **you have no argument, you are just being personal**.’

Or:

(18a) Fehér Mamba: Pontosan olyanok, amiket te leírtál, meg szoktak történni fordítva. De olyanra tőled sem emlékszem, aminek te lettél volna a főszereplője ‘Just the kinds of things you write about do happen the other way round. But I don’t recall any from you which you would have been the hero of.’

Mostlemegyanapésújra...: **Ne személyeskedj**. Én hoztam rengeteg olyan példát amit személyesen láttam. Te egyet sem tudsz hozni hanem a férfiak erőszakát akarod a nőkre fogni.³⁷

‘**Don’t get personal**. I brought up loads of examples I had seen myself. You cannot bring any but want to impute violence committed by men to women.’

On the other hand, as part of his/her active style-determining behaviour, the addressee can refute such an interpretation. For instance, the conversation in (18a) went on as follows:

(18b) Fehér Mamba: Én nem akarom a férfiak erőszakát a nőkre fogni.

Azt állítom, hogy férfiak is bántanak nőket, meg nők is férfiakat. Ezt állítom, és nem más.³⁸

‘I don’t want to impute violence committed by men to women. I claim that men often hurt women and women also hurt men. This is what I claim, nothing else.’

³⁵ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=9834&na_step=30&t=9063241&na_order=

³⁶ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=61571&na_step=200&t=9063241&na_order=

³⁷ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=5740&na_step=30&t=9165170&na_order=

³⁸ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=5740&na_step=30&t=9165170&na_order=

Here, the participants carried on a metalinguistic negotiation concerning the symbolic social meaning of their own language use. In metalinguistic negotiations of this kind, cases can also be found where one of the participants accepts the notion of getting personal and hence the act of personalisation but rejects its interpretation in a negative function:

- (19) Wizard: Mivel homlokpuszi, és vállveregetés nem várható tőlem, és én sem igénylem, ezt a részét itt tényleg lezárom, mert hátha van valakinek életszerűbb, **kevésbé személyes** mondandója.

‘Since you can’t expect a kiss on the forehead and slaps on the shoulder from me, and I don’t expect anything like that from you, I close this part down as somebody may have more realistic and **less personal** things to say.’

namiez: Sajnos le kell lohasszam nagyravágyó terveid, hogy itt befejezhető lenne a vita. Ugyanis **amíg Zuglóról beszélünk igenis személyeskedően beszélünk róla!** Nem mindig a te személyedről persze, hanem apolgármester, a vagyonkezelő és eszközkezelő személyeiről, a képviselőtestület személyeiről, stb... A politika általában személyekről szól, ha nem vetted volna eddig észre! És a nem politika is! Beszélhetünk régi zuglói épületekről(én pl. nagyon szívesen) de azonnal szóba kerülnek tervezőik, építetőik, lakóik, stb... azaz megint csak személyek, akik vagy jót vagy rosszat tettek, **Így ha dicsérjük, szídjuk őket, vagy tevékenységüket, azonnal személyeskedünk.**

Na kellemes vasárnap délutáni elmélkedést ezeken!³⁹

‘Unfortunately, I have to throw cold water on your high hopes that the debate can be put an end to here. **As long as we talk about Zugló we will talk about it in a personal tone.** Not always concerning your own person, of course, but the person of the major, the persons of the property holding office and of the management corporation, the persons of the municipal corporation, etc. Politics is in general about persons, if you haven’t noticed so far.

And non-politics, too. We can talk about old buildings in Zugló (I’d be glad to for one), but very soon we would be mentioning their designers, builders, inhabitants, etc. so, again, persons who did something right or wrong. Whether we praise them or scold them, or what they did, we will immediately get personal. Well, have a nice Sunday afternoon pondering on these things.’

Finally, it may happen that in the course of metastylistic negotiations, concerning the notion of getting personal in the present case, the participants succeed in arriving at a shared view and thereby resolve their interactional conflict:

- (20) Piros Góz: Nem válaszoltál semmire, amiről én írtam.

Érvek híján továbbra is csak **durván személyeskedni** tudsz. Én pedig általában közszereplőkről mondom véleményyt.

‘You did not reply to anything I had written. / In lack of arguments, all you

³⁹ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=310&na_step=30&t=9046017&na_order=

can do is carry on being **rudely personal**. But I tell my opinion about public figures in general.'

namiez: Azt írod nem válaszoltam semmire és érvek híján csak durván személyeskedek! Na akkor idemásolom leveled, nehogy elfelejtsd mit is írtál! 'You write I did not reply to anything and that I am rudely personal in lack of arguments. Now I copy your letter here so that you don't forget what you have written.'

"Jaj, de sokan, és milyen jól megélnék ebből a rettenetesen túllihegett akadálymentesítés-bizniszből is...Tudod, mi hiányzik bántóan ennek a mada-gitt-egyletnek a honlapjáról is? Ami a zuglo.hu-ról is: az üvegseb menüpont. Meg hát a „főcivil” itt is kicsoda? Egy szánalomraméltó baloldali feminista. Van az ilyen nőcikre egy szép magyar szó is, csak nem akarom ide beírni."

'Many people make a living, and a good one, on this terribly overstated business of accessibility, too... Do you know what is sadly missing from the homepage of this putty club of antidiscrimination? The same thing that is missing from zuglo.hu: the menu item Transparency. And again: who is the "top civil" here? A pathetic left-wing feminist. There's a good Hungarian word for such dames but I don't want to write it down here.'

Mire is kellett volna válaszolnom? Egyetlen kérdést sem tettél fel! Te nem szoktál kérdéseket feltenni! Te magabiztosan, meggyőződve arról hogy te, csakis te mindent mindenkinél jobban tudsz,általában határozottan „**kijelentesz**”, **időnként utasítasz!**

'**What should I have answered here?** You didn't ask a single question! You don't usually ask questions at all. You are confident that you and only you are the one who knows everything best, and in general you definitely "**state**" something, sometimes you **give orders!**'

[...] Azt írod érvek híján...

Milyen érveket is keresel tehát egy olyan párbeszédben, ahol nem igazi vita folyik, hanem az **egyik fél pocskondiázik**, a másik meg ezt sérelmezi? [...]

'You write in lack of arguments... / What arguments are you looking for in a dialogue where there is no actual debate but one party abuses the other, and the other resents this?'

Azt javaslom fogd vissza magadat kicsit! Gondold át szavaidat, mielőtt olyan nagy mellénnyel te akarnád meghatározni a világot! [...]

Én mindenesetre **több tiszteletet** követelek tőled mások iránt!

'**I suggest you should keep yourself back a little.** Think over your words before you want to direct the world smugly. I, for one, demand that you show **more respect** for other people.'

Piros Góz: **Átgondoltam, amiket írtál, és belátom, valóban elvettem a sulykot.** [...] Mea culpa.

'I thought about what you wrote and I concede I had indeed gone too far. Mea culpa.'

namiez: Szia Piros Góz!

Örülök, hogy így alakult. Én is írtam még egy - nem feltétlenül szerelmes szavakkal tűzdelt - hozzászólást, szintén ez ügyben.

A sors valamit tudhatott, mert mikor el akartam küldeni, „időtúllépés miatt” (?) lenyomott a böngészőm! **Így most mindketten további indulatok nélkül írhatunk!** [...] ⁴⁰

'Hi, Piros Góz, / **I'm glad this happened.** I wrote another comment, not necessarily full of words of love, in this matter. Fate must have been well-informed: when I wanted to send it, my browser said "timeout" and let me down. **So we can both carry on writing without working ourselves up again.'**

This sample discourse also shows that, in general, it is not increased personalisation that is the problem but instances when it is coupled with some negative social meaning or act: in the contribution that closed this negotiation, we can also observe increased personalisation, but this time coupled with positive social meaning.

3. The returns of metastylistic reflections

In the foregoing, we have mentioned metastylistic reflections several times; now we discuss these briefly. As was stated in the introduction, discourse style is shaped by the participants actively and via negotiations, in which process a dominant role is played by their reflections, references, or instructions concerning style. These metastylistic reflections are useful for the analysis of the **stylistic operations and views of language users**, for the exploration of the process of their negotiations on style. On the other hand, they give us but limited insight into this process: given that most metastylistic reflections come about due to some communication disorder or conflict, they yield less information concerning "normal" cases.

The forum and comment texts under discussion here contain a high number of **metastylistic reflections**, i.e., signals or remarks primarily referring to text formulation (the manner of language use), that is, to style and its connection with meaning. They play an important role in the way style works in language use, just like metadiscursive reflections that are in general very important in the activity of mutual meaning construal (Verschuereen 1999: 187, Tátrai 2006).

The frequency of occurrence of metastylistic reflections shows that this aspect of language use, style, is an important thing for the participants, since they formulate explicit evaluations and make suggestions and give instructions to one another in this respect. In addition, the large number of metastylistic reflections in the forums explored here witnesses the importance of pragmatic-stylistic negotiations going on between participants.

Metapragmatic (including metastylistic) signals can be associated with diverse levels of metapragmatic awareness; accordingly, their degrees and forms of implementation also exhibit wide variety. Stylistic phenomena in language have a certain degree of reflexivity to begin with, given that style starts working where the linguistic form of an expression is fore-

⁴⁰ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=0&na_step=30&t=9046017&na_order=

grounded (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 33), i.e., occupies the focus of attention; but there are more explicit reflections in this respect, too. In terms of the degree of their explicitness, style-related reflections can be arranged along a scale between implicit or minimally explicated and explicit or maximally explicated reference to a previous portion of text (Verschuere 1999: 187, 2004: 60, Tátrai 2006). Among less explicit tools of metastylistic reflection we can mention, for instance, punctuation (quotation marks, question marks, or typographic possibilities like capitalisation or the use of bold type, e.g. (21)); among more explicit ones, citing the partner's words, and among the most explicit ones, we find interpretations, instructions, and even lengthy explanations concerning style (tone, way of speaking), cf. (22).⁴¹

- (21) *namiez: Wizard „barátom”!*
Én vagyok beképzelt?
*Ugyan már! Az én, te általad állított beképzeltségem „megyei bajnokság” a te BL-es nagyképűségedhez, és arroganciádhoz!*⁴²

‘My “friend” Wizard, / Me, conceited? / Come on! The conceit you attribute to me is “county league” as compared to your Champions’ League bumptiousness and arrogance.’

- (22) *Acura: a **fölnyeneskedő, nagyképű stílust** meg le kéne vetkôzni*⁴³
 ‘and this **supercilious, bumptious style** should be given up’

Metastylistic reflections are not only crucial for the operation of style; they may also yield an important clue to the process and aspects of style formulation and perception for its scholarly description. On the other hand, they have limitations, too, with respect to linguistic analysis: they are mostly associated with the occurrence of some problem, hence they hardly reflect cases in which style is likewise an important factor but its use or perception is unproblematic. Stylistic reflections primarily become explicit if and when there is some difficulty in the process of mutual meaning construal and discourse participants wish to make a stylistic interpretation more accurate or correct; or in cases where the addressee rejects the style and the meaning it carries or the context offered by the interlocutor by using that style. In such cases, not only style and the activity of style formation but also its metalinguistic elaboration becomes part of the social-interpersonal activity of the participants.

Consider a few more examples of metastylistic references and negotiations associated with the various domains of style. Some of these refer to “tone” in general (e.g. *Ovis a stílusod*⁴⁴ ‘Your style is nursery level’), others concern more specific stylistic features.

Due to their frequency of occurrence, remarks concerning **familiar/formal 2sg forms** are the most conspicuous: they usually explicate informality expectations already mentioned and implement an important step of negotiating the **degree of formality**. For instance:

⁴¹ In the examples to follow, bold type indicates illustrations of the phenomenon under discussion. The quotations are literal and spelling is not corrected in them.

⁴² http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=60&na_step=30&t=9046017&na_order=

⁴³ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?go=25833878&t=9012411>

⁴⁴ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9003631&go=107887031>

- (23) torpi: Mit tanacsol? Ha lement az e havi adag hagyjam abba? Torpi.
 ‘What do you advise me to do? With this month’s portion finished, shall I stop? Torpi.’

Mr Spock: Nem. Semmikeppen sem, amig nincs terhességi teszt es nincs diagnosztizalva a problema. [...] **Ja igen, es legyszives tegezz, itt az a „szabaly”**. Gabor⁴⁵
 ‘No. By no means, no, until there is a pregnancy test and the problem is diagnosed. **Oh yes, please address me in the familiar way, this is the “rule” here.** Gábor’

Reflections concerning the domain of **value** are also frequent: they occur especially with respect to value-deprivation (e.g. mockery):

- (24) **Gúnyolódj** csak nyugodtan, de a **hangnem** sokat számít. Sztem és nekem. Én már csak ilyen elfuserált vagyok...⁴⁶
 ‘**Carry on mocking** at your will, but the **tone** is important. In my view and to my mind. I’m that messed-up, you see...’

Style-related rebuke primarily implements redefinition of the social relationship in such cases.

With respect to reflections and negotiation, we should mention cases in which participants negotiate style with the moderators themselves: for instance, (25) explains the function of vulgarity:

- (25) OGGI: Kedves Wágner Úr!
 Tisztelettel kérdezném, miért nem lép a moderátorai tökére? Sokadszor irtják ki a Nagyon vigyázzál köcsög! című topikot ill. annak klónjait. Kérjük a topik visszaállítását. **Nyelvezete és gondolatvilága talán kissé gyalulatlan**, de nekünk nagy **örömet szerez, mást meg nem bántunk** vele.⁴⁷
 ‘Dear Mr Wagner, / I would ask you with due respect, why don’t you step on your moderators’ balls? They’ve destroyed the topic “Careful, bugger” and its clones for the umpteenth time. Please restore the topic. **Its language and range of thought may be somewhat rough-hewn**, but it **gives us great pleasure and does not hurt** anybody else.’

In (26), a user complains about another user’s rude style to the moderator:

- (26) Pistike: Ez a wizes nevű egyénnel nem lehetne valamit kezdeni?
 Nem nagyon vagyok hozzászokva, hogy **így beszéljenek velem**.
 Többek között ezért nem járok a polidilibe.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?go=23124283&t=9041994>

⁴⁶ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=61171&na_step=200&t=9063241&na_order=

⁴⁷ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=50007&na_step=30&t=9111540&na_order=

⁴⁸ http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?na_start=50007&na_step=30&t=9111540&na_order=

‘Couldn’t we do something about this guy wizes? / I’m not accustomed to **being talked to like this**. / Among other things, this is why I don’t frequent the polibedlam.’

Metastylistic reflections are a good indication of the fact that language users pay special attention to stylistic phenomena and that their negotiation efforts with respect to style have a very important role in their social activity carried on in the discourse.

These examples also show how forum participants perceive and elaborate on their own style (or that of their partners). Several of the above metastylistic reflections referred to the fact that certain styles or stylistic features (like vulgar speech or formal address) did not fit the norms of the given topic or forum community: language users thus point out the distribution of style types of the individual forums. Within internet communication and specifically within the text type of forum contributions there are several characteristic style types or **protostyles** (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 91); as they are analysed, their co-occurrence with certain textual features becomes apparent, and together they are linked with characteristic topic types (text subtypes). Three of these are specifically worth mentioning here.

Topics fundamentally differ in whether they are organised for accessing or sharing a concrete piece of **information** or whether their aim is the **verbal company-keeping** (with a **display of subjective** messages) of participants who are interested in similar themes or simply in one another, in a thematically loosely oriented or quite unconstrained, contact-centred conversation (on linguistic functions see Habermas 1979: 248, Brown—Yule 1983: 3). The two major functions are of course not completely distinct and a number of intermediate variants can be observed (e.g. thematic communities of conversations on some circumscribed subject-matter) but one of the two functions is normally dominant, resulting in text typological and stylistic peculiarities:

Among **text typological differences** between primarily information-oriented and primarily interpersonal/contact-oriented topics, the most important one is the degree of their thematic restrictedness: the thematic boundaries of topics primarily organised for sharing concrete information are narrow, while contact-centred conversations are not (or only loosely) linked to a given theme. Another important difference is observable in length and interaction structure: in information-oriented topics, contributions are usually brief and loaded with information, and participants swap places more often, while in interaction-oriented topics lengthier contributions may be accompanied by extremely short ones (background channel signals or minimal replies) and most of the range of participants is permanent.

Contact-oriented conversations are mainly characterised by a protostyle in which the degree of **informality** is high and is often linked with phenomena of **familiarity**. Strong intimacy and the use of abbreviations and emoticons are often observable; **value-deprivation** (primarily as a sign of a relaxed atmosphere or humour) and **vulgarity**, as well as certain group-identity characteristics (slang, college talk) are not infrequent, either.

In information-centred topics, **informal style** is also typical, but the role of **politeness** between partners is significantly more pronounced here. Vulgarity is rare, but the use of various occupational registers is significant.

There are even larger differences in terms of **personalisation**: the level of subjectivity is much higher in contact-oriented topics than in information-oriented ones. Participants disclose

numerous pieces of information about themselves, including their mental or emotional states, and show interest in their discourse partners in the same respect, ask questions, and refer back to the partner's contributions. This supports the closeness of the interaction between subjectivity and the interpersonal aspect of language (cf. Vis, Sanders—Spooren 2010). In information-centred texts, propositional content and (mainly) the outside world are in the focus of attention. A certain degree of personalisation is observable here, too, but mainly as part of shaping inter-participant relationships (politeness, friendliness), and participants' persons are only elaborated on to a neutral degree: they appear as grammatical subjects or, if the contributor wishes to tell about his/her opinion or feelings, this is done with respect to information to be shared. In that function, that is, linked to the piece of information communicated, presentation of the subject of consciousness is also frequent (*szerintem* 'in my view', *állítólag* 'allegedly').

A third type of texts is also typical in forums and comments: these could be called **opinion-sharing or debate topics**. While thematically they are also associated with a circumscribed subject-matter, their aim is not the exchange of concrete pieces of information but sharing and learning about individual opinions. Typical examples are political or ideological topics (e.g. *A római katolikus egyház tévtanításai* 'False dogmas of the Roman Catholic church'). Contributors are usually unknown to one another and the discourse centres on a given external subject-matter (independent of the participants); yet along with an objectivising style, these texts often carry a high degree of personalisation and emotionality. Participants not only express their agreement/disagreement and present arguments concerning each other's opinions, but they often express their feelings, too, and often comment on the partner's personality, thus, along with the subject-matter being discussed, social aspects of the interaction are also often foregrounded and interpersonal games are developed. Style often becomes part of those games, as does metalinguistic reference to it (e.g. rebuke):

- (27) Kérj elnézést azért a sok **ocsmányságért**, amit csak ide beírtál (idézeteket lásd lejjebb!), aztán akkor **jogosan** várhatod el, hogy amíg **te tisztességesen beszélsz**, addig a neked válaszoló is **ilyen hangnemben** szóljon hozzád! Addig viszont nem!⁴⁹

'Apologise for the lots of **smut** that you wrote in here (see below for specimens), and then you can **legitimately** expect, as long as **you talk straight**, the one who answers you to talk to you **in a similar vein**. But not until then.'

The existence of protostyles belonging to these forum subtypes and the related categorisation are also shown by speakers' metastylistic remarks in which a contributor is sent over to a different topic because of the style of his/her contribution, for instance:

- (28a) Sánta Kutya (SK): Ezt viszont nem kellene. Menj a **Polidilibe** vagy a **kocsmába, itt nem szokás** [ti. így beszélni]⁵⁰
'Now you should not do that. Go **to Polibedlum or to a pub, it is not done here** [i.e., we do not talk like this here].'

⁴⁹ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/viewArticle?a=96474895&t=9067148>

⁵⁰ <http://torzaszta.hu/Article/showArticle?go=91485001&t=9006401>

- (28b) Murder Incorporated: Hazugozhatod, sikkasztózhatsz, de **alpári kifejezéseket nem használhatsz**. Ha ennek megértése nem megy, akkor **menj át a polidilire vagy a HUSZba, ott seggezhetsz** kedvedre. Most arról nem beszélve, hogy a nevek kifacsarása is jellemzően polidilis műfaj.⁵¹

‘You can call him a liar and an embezzler, but you **cannot use bad language**. If you can’t cope with that, **go over to polibedlum or HUSZ, there you can say shithead** at your will. Not to mention that squeezing names is again a typical polibedlum genre.’

- (28c) Seraph: alfreedoo

Megpróbálom tagoltan, lassan érthetően, és utoljára:

Az egy dolog, hogy Te vitatkozni akarsz az IKE topikban. Az a topik azonban **nem arra lett kitalálva**. Ha zavar, ami benne van ne olvasd. (...) Van egy topik az IKE offolóinak, **menj abba, ha vitázni óhajtasz**. Vagy bármely más topikba, amelyik a témába vág.⁵²

‘alfreedoo, / I try once more, well-articulated, slowly, clearly, and for the last time: / You may well wish to argue in the IKE topic. But that topic is **simply not for that**. If you are troubled by what there is there, don’t read it. (...) There’s a topic for IKE offers, **go there if you want to argue**. Or to any other topic with the same range of subjects.’

All these observations support the claim that co-occurrences of values realised in the various stylistic domains do indeed create certain protostyle categories associated with certain forum subtypes that are also recognised by language users and this has a significant role in the organisation of communication and style of the forums. They also suggest that categories, i.e., protostyles, are shaped by language users themselves during their negotiations.

4. Summary

Despite the similar communicative situations characterising internet forum texts, significant stylistic variability is observable there. That variability turned out to be analysable in the functional cognitive framework that we have adopted but it required the use of text typological and sociolinguistic considerations, too. The analyses have shown that (of the socio-cultural dimensions of style) it was primarily the dimensions of attitude, situation, and value that had an important share in the characterisation of forum texts but the dimensions of time and language varieties were also important. In addition, the dimension of personalisation also had a prominent role: forum texts exhibit extensive variability in terms of personalization and such varieties often function as stylistic alternatives. We saw that both the degree of personalisation and other stylistic variables were influenced by the text typological character of the individual topics and that all those factors led to the emergence of certain protostyles.

⁵¹ <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9111596&go=106798391&p=1>

⁵² <http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9032338&go=34142912>

Finally, both in the domains of attitude, situation, and value and in that of personalisation, the phenomenon of discourse-internal negotiation was observed and illustrated by numerous examples of the significance of metastylistic reflections. Several phenomena were only touched upon in passim, and lead over to areas such as the stylistic role of personalisation, the relationship between subjectivity, informality, and emotionality, a detailed study of prostyles and of the stylistic norms of internet language. These areas were not discussed in detail here but they would deserve a more thorough elaboration.

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A STUDY OF FORUM TEXTS: SEMANTIC AND STYLISTIC ANALYSES OF HUNGARIAN NEOLOGISMS

RÉKA SÓLYOM

Abstract

The paper deals with the analysis of phenomena called neologisms according to several points of view. During the analysis it reflects on the definitions of neologisms that can be found in previous literature. The problems and heterogeneity of these definitions are shown, then a definition by which the examined phenomena can be considered as neologisms is elaborated.

In the paper two types of Hungarian neologisms (grammatically a compound and a blend that can count as a hapax legomenon) are going to be examined semantically with the help of the Conceptual Integration Theory devised by Fauconnier [1985] (1994) and Fauconnier—Turner (1998). In order to show the usage and the context of the examined words, the paper shows parts of forum texts from the internet. During the examination, features according to the socio-cultural dimensions are analysed, too.

Keywords: Conceptual Integration, forum text, neologism, semantic structure, socio-cultural factors

1. Introduction

The paper analyses that type of neologisms in a functional cognitive framework whose semantic structure can be understood with the help of conceptual integration networks. This process is going to be shown with the help of concrete examples that occurred in forum texts on the internet. By analysing the usage and understanding processes of these neologisms in the chosen texts (with regard to pragmatic features, too), the semantic features and the socio-cultural factors can be examined. The examined corpus contains texts that are not older than ten years. They were chosen with the help of Google search engine between July 2010 and March 2011.

The structure of this paper is as follows: it accounts for the chosen corpus (Section 2), it gives a definition that is being used as a definition for neologisms in this paper (Section 3), it briefly sketches the theory of Conceptual Integration (blending) (Section 4) and with the help of this frame it shows the possible semantic analysis in two different types of neologisms (Section 5, 6). The socio-cultural factors that can be analysed between the speaker and the hearer and those that emerge from the situative context are going to be shown according to the semantic analysis. The two examples that are being dealt with are two words, one of which is a compound from two base words (*dédiszitter*), the other is a hapax legomenon (*megquadol*).

2. Why forum texts?

Forum texts occur and are re-written every day on the internet. Connected comments are analogous to spontaneous spoken conversations in many respects. The writers of the texts can comment on topics informally — and sometimes even without respect to politeness of the maxim of relevance. As a consequence, there are many possibilities for new creations like neologisms in advertisements, unique, hapax-like words, “trendy neologisms” (Lehrer 2003) to occur in forum texts. That is why it can be useful to examine parts of forum texts on the internet while searching for corpora that can help with examining the semantic structures of neologisms. Because of the genre of forum texts, the features of dialogues between a speaker and a hearer can be examined (e.g. relevance, the intended effect, existing or assumed conventionalised structure).

On the other hand, these texts offer opportunities for examining the socio-cultural dimensions of style, too (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 134—175, 2005a: 85—105). Forum texts themselves, as well as reactions that are linked to them can be very varied according to the communicative aims of the participants or the expectations of the hearers, too. These texts come to exist as results of those dialogues that are being conducted between more participants. The utterances in them are linked to concrete topics, so with regard to their features these utterances are close to everyday dialogues.

In this paper, during the examination of *dédiszitter*, I am going to cite some relevant data from surveys that I conducted concerning the understanding of neologisms in 2011. It is important to stress that those data (e.g. understanding processes and strategies) that can be sketched from the answers of informants cannot be equal with the process of meaning construal. Nevertheless it seems that the process of meaning construal can be modelled in cases of the examined neologisms with the help of the data from the survey. What is more, these answers can help in examining the semantic structures of neologisms, too. (With regard to the other neologism that is going to be examined here I am not going to cite data from the questionnaires, because this is a type of neologism that is relevant for a special group of language users, so its spreading in the standard Hungarian cannot be assumed.)

In those forum texts that are going to be examined in this paper, relevant diversity can be shown in the case of two socio-cultural dimensions, attitude and value. In view of the examined texts, there can be extremely different features with regard to these dimensions. In the case of the dimensions of time and situation, there are not so many analogous extreme features. (Examination of the relevant socio-cultural features is going to be shown after the semantic analysis of neologisms.)

3. Difficulties with the definitions of neologisms. Definition used in this examination

According to Minya, “(...) defining the concept of neologisms raises problems. We use the notion of neologism concerning many linguistic facts, and it is hard to concentrate these facts in one definition that deals with each of them”¹ (Minya 2003: 13). The definition of neologisms occurs in quite analogous ways in different works that were written in the 20th

¹ „(...) a neologizmus fogalmának, miveltnak meghatározása problémát okoz. Sokféle nyelvi tényre vonatkoztatva használjuk a neologizmus elnevezést, s ezeket a nyelvi jelenségeket nehéz egyetlen, valamennyit felölelő meghatározásba belesűríteni” (Minya 2003: 13)

and in the 21st century in Hungarian and in other languages. In this chapter some relevant definitions are going to be cited.

In *Stiliztikai lexikon (Lexicon of Stylistics, 2004)* the following definition can be read: “Neologisms are those new words, expressions, shades of meaning, grammatical forms, that make language richer according to the development of social relationships and the development of thinking”² (Szathmári 2004: 154). This definition can be found in *Alakzatlexikon, too (Lexicon of Figures of Speech, 2008, Kozocsa 2008: 425—428)*.

Sachwörterbuch der Literatur (1989) points out that the aims of emerging new concepts are showing “expressivity, feelings or irony”. According to the intended impression of neologisms they can express mistakes, daring or even the feeling that they are used unnecessarily (SWB 618). In *Dictionnaire des Termes Littéraires (2001)* a broader and a narrower definition of neologisms can be read: in the broad sense, neologisms are those newly occurring words that emerge in the vocabulary of a language as a consequence of euphemism, borrowing or as new figures. According to the less broad sense, the third category is regarded as neologisms, so those phenomena that are made of existing parts of the given language (DTL 326).

In light of the above definitions, the problems of defining and understanding the notion “neologism” can be sketched: it is very difficult, arguably impossible to point out that moment of time when a change occurs between those two states when language users still consider a phenomenon of language as a neologism, and when they feel that it is not a neologism any more. In other words that point of time should be noticed when a change (that is sometimes not intentional) in the state of a neologism happens and as a consequence of this change the phenomenon does not remain a neologism any more (for theories of linguistic change cf. Keller 1985, 1990 and Croft 2000). The circumstances of this change, e.g. the situational context: the interpersonal relationships, as well as the spatial and chronological relationships (Tátrai 2004: 480), socio-cultural dimensions of time and attitude (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 136—142), the intended and the expected effect of style, the perlocutional intentions (Lehrer 2003: 370) should be examined during this survey. It seems to be important to examine those factors that have effects on using a linguistic phenomenon in a concrete communicative situation. The result of the “problem-solving” (Langacker 2000: 9) activity can be influenced by many factors as the details considered relevant by the speaker, those aspects of the conceptualisation that are being emphasised by the speaker; the social relationship between the speaker and the listener, the speaker’s belief of the hearer’s knowledge about the context and the intention that is being expressed; how the phrase agrees with the discourse, what kind of effects the text has on the hearer, what kind of linguistic abilities the hearer has, in what degree it is important for the speaker to move off from the linguistic conventions (Langacker 1987: 65).

The intended effect can change depending on the factors listed above. That is why the occurrence of novel, “neolog” items can vary according to these factors: “A speaker oriented approach to conversation, on the other hand, focuses directly on the strategies that govern the actor’s use of lexical, grammatical, sociolinguistic and other knowledge in the production and interpretation of messages in context” (Gumperz 1982: 35). In cases of neologisms the closer the target structure is to the conventionalised structure (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 27), the sooner the “neolog” phenomenon is approved by the hearer. That is why

² „Neologizmusok azok az új szavak, kifejezések, jelentésárnyalatok, nyelvtani formák, amelyekkel a nyelv, a társadalmi viszonyok és a gondolkodás fejlődésével párhuzamosan, állandóan gazdagodik” (Szathmári 2004: 154)

the judgement of a new linguistic form depends to a great extent on the individuals, on the patterns that have been experienced and learnt by them, and on their existing schemes and (knowledge) frames (cf. Fillmore 1985, 2006).

In the case of neologisms, the features of the approval structure can be irregular, because there are not any frames that contain more knowledge about the occurring entity, and so they cannot help as bases for interpreting the new phenomena (Tátrai 2004: 481). If there are any, they figure differently during the process of understanding, approving and, in the long run, in meaning construal.

If the existing (knowledge) frames cannot be reached or they can be reached only in a limited way, language users try to understand the forms (figures, schemas, neologisms) in the communicational situation with the help of analogy. At this point, prototypicality and cognitive extension (Geeraerts 2002: 284—285) become important. In the case of neologisms, language users have to make a comparison between the “best example” (the prototype) in their minds (if this “best example” exists) and the neologism they meet. The latter then has to be placed onto an imagined scale for its distance from the prototype to be assessed. If the neologism is nearer to the prototype on this scale, reaching the meaning of the new word, phrase or linguistic form might be shorter, because the “access route” is shorter. This feature can have an impact upon the spreading, taking root and even upon the future of the neologism. Those surveys that I have conducted in the last six years among more than a thousand informants can help examining the mental processes that occur while language users try to understand the meanings of neologisms. In the questionnaires, informants had the opportunity to write synonyms or explanations about neolog phenomena while reading some neologisms (cf. Sólyom 2009, 2010).

Nevertheless there are neologisms that are sometimes called “trendy” (Lehrer 2003: 369), where the speaker does not really want to help the hearer to find out the meaning with the help of the shortest access path. In these cases the speaker’s aim is to increase the mental efforts of the hearer, and so to attract the hearer’s attention. There are even hapax legomenons among these kinds of neologisms, but my opinion is that those types that are called “trendy” by Lehrer (2003) are more likely to take root in everyday language use than hapax legomenons. My argument for it is that the feature “trendy” refers to the popularity of the neologism, and that implies that in a moment of time there are many language users who use the “trendy” neologism (think of advertisements, jokes or internet titles, for example). This popularity cannot be found in cases of hapaxes. It is also true that the aptness, appropriateness or even the humour of a neologism can be important when the future life of a new word or phrase is examined. If the neologism has the features mentioned above (e. g. if a metaphorical or metonymical relationship can be realised in its semantic structure), it is easier for the human mind to interpret it (Benczes 2010: 220—221).

It follows from the foregoing features that a definition for neologisms is needed that is able to refer to the dynamism and to the relativity of neologisms’ existence. In the following, I try to sketch a definition according to this sense. From my point of view, a neologism is a linguistic phenomenon, sometimes with a novel semantic structure, that in a given situation is thought by the hearer to have novel meaning and/or novel style, according to the hearer’s former (or if it does not exist, supposed former) experiences and their expectations. These meaning and style attributions are dynamic, and are able to change according to a scale, depending on the above mentioned features, even in the case of the same language user.

4. Features of Conceptual Integration Theory and their connections with other semantic phenomena

While understanding some semantic types of neologisms and the dynamic processes that play roles in understanding them, Conceptual Integration Theory (also called Blending Theory) elaborated by Fauconnier (1994) and Fauconnier—Turner (1998) can be a useful help. This theory deals with the integration of mental spaces, and can help in examining and representing the semantic structure of some neologisms (for uses of the Blending Theory see also Fauconnier—Turner 2002: 39—57, Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 93, Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 73—79, 2010: 96—103, Benczes 2006: 53—58).

In the case of a metaphor, when language users want to understand the relationship between two conceptual domains, one of the domains (the so-called source domain) can help with meaning construal; in the case of a metonymy, this process can be found in the same conceptual domain, where more processes follow each other (Kövecses—Radden 1998: 38, Panther—Thornburg 2003: 2). Based on these features, we can say that conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory deals with relationships between fixed pairs of mental representations. By contrast, Blending Theory can connect more than two mental representations, not to mention that this process can be “run” in an on-line way during the discourse, so it can represent a dynamic structure seen in the process of meaning construal (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 96). The examined meaning can be understood in the given context, and it is able to change according to the change of the context and the intentions of the participants in the communication process. That is why a very dynamic structure can emerge, where more than two domains can occur. During the process of Conceptual Integration, with the help of so-called space-builders (Fauconnier 1994: 16, Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 98), the human mind builds up small conceptual units or mental spaces, which help with the processes of understanding and forming further reactions (Kövecses—Benczes 2010: 160). Mental spaces that are linked together are being structured by frames and cognitive models, and so they can be changed as discourse unfolds (Fauconnier—Turner 1998: 137).

There are four important spaces that help create the blend; two of them are the so-called input spaces. (Simplex networks, mirror networks, single-scope networks and double-scope networks consist of two input spaces, but in the case of multiple-scope networks even more input spaces can play important roles, see e. g. Benczes 2006: 54—48, Kövecses—Benczes 2010: 179—187). The two other spaces are the optional generic space and the blended space. “In blending, the selection of input structures is selective, that is, not all the elements from the input spaces get to be projected” (Benczes 2006: 53). That is why the blended space contains chosen aspects from the input spaces (Coulson—Oakley 2003: 55). Mental spaces are flexible, “(...) a mental space is a short-term construct informed by the more general and more stable knowledge structures associated with a particular domain” (Grady—Oakley—Coulson 1999: 102).

There are five so-called optimality conditions that help create a blend: these are integration, topology, web, unpacking and good reason (Fauconnier—Turner 1998: 162—163, Lakoff 2008: 31—32, Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 101). According to them, a blend has to map a well-integrated scenario; relationships between the input spaces must harmonise with the relationships between the elements in the blend; there must be appropriate connections between the elements; the blend has to be understood easily; and the elements have to be worth being represented (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 101). Lakoff adds a sixth one to these conditions, the condition of metonymic tight-

ening. According to this condition, “relationships between elements from the same input should become as close as possible within the blend” (Lakoff 2008: 31—32, cf. Sóllyom 2010: 276).

There is another approach to Conceptual Integration Theory, and it has been elaborated by Ruiz de Mendoza (1996, 1998). Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña (2005: 252) suggest that the Combined Input Hypothesis described by Ruiz de Mendoza—Díez (2002) should be used while examining some cases of the blending process. According to this theory, there are some input spaces in the process of elaborating the blend which cannot always be found in those spaces that are actually mentioned during the communication. These kinds of spaces emerge from the language user’s former, existing memories, experiences, and they can be activated during the process of meaning construal (Ruiz de Mendoza—Peña 2005: 252).

The Combined Input Hypothesis can be used successively with those types of meaning structures, too, where we deal with more source or target domains (Ruiz de Mendoza—Peña 2005: 256). My opinion is that more input spaces can work together not only in the cases of metaphorical structures mentioned by Ruiz de Mendoza—Peña (2005), but in the cases of metonymic relationships, too, just as in the blends mentioned by Fauconnier—Turner (1998). That is why it is possible that more input spaces help to build the blend. When representing these relationships graphically, we can see that the numbers of spaces (and the numbers of the possibilities that they can offer) multiply (according to the model of Fauconnier and Turner, cf. Ruiz de Mendoza—Peña 2005: 256). These possibilities are sketched by Ruiz de Mendoza—Peña 2005 as follows:

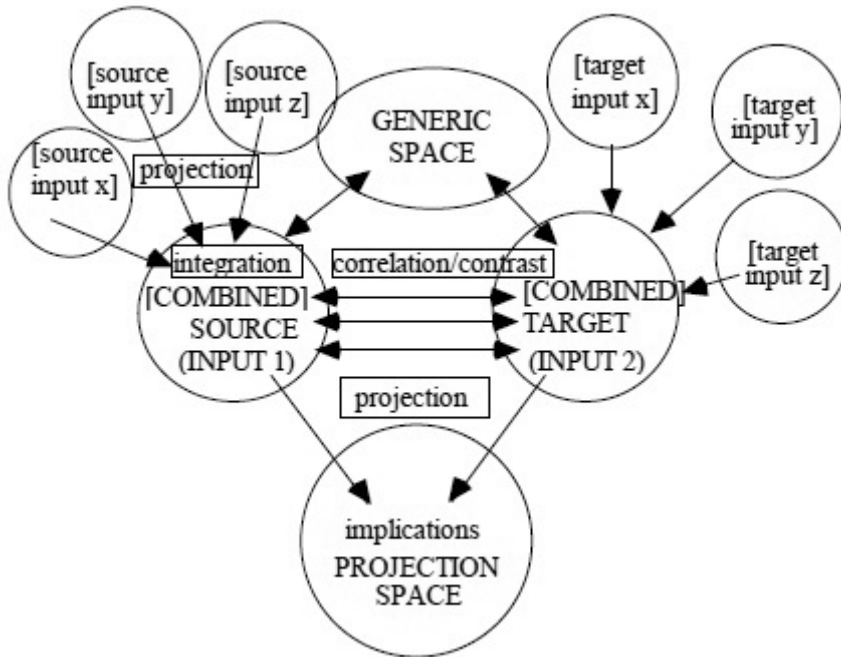


Figure 1: Combined Input Hypothesis (In: Ruiz de Mendoza—Peña 2005: 256)

According to this short summary, it can be seen that Conceptual Integration Theory can be very fruitful for analyzing the semantic structure of some types of neologisms. It can help not only

with modelling those processes that play roles in meaning construal, but also those processes and causes can be examined with its help, which lead to different, polysemous meanings in the case of a neologism. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that the spaces represented in the blend do not give opportunity to study the occurring linguistic or semantic structures directly. It is because mental spaces do not have direct linguistic features, but they are elaborated and their structures are built up as a consequence of linguistic functioning (Fauconnier 2007). That is why there are no strictly fixed ways for elaborating mental spaces: “Mental spaces, then, are not directly linguistic, but a central function of language is to prompt for their construction and elaboration. As a result, there is no fixed set of ways in which mental spaces come about” (Fauconnier 2007: 372). We can see that the occurring of mental spaces can vary according to different communicational situations, even if it is dealt with the same linguistic phenomenon (e.g. a neologism).

This paper tries to show the language users’ aims in the case of the examined neologisms in contexts. These features may give opportunity to model those processes that help construe the aimed meanings in the process of communication. It is important to emphasise that (according to cognitive grammar) not only the network that organises the meanings of neologisms, but also the grammatical structure plays an important role in organising construal processes (Turner 2007: 389).

It has to be emphasised that not all kinds of neologisms can be analyzed within the framework of Conceptual Integration Theory. It is suitable for analyzing the semantic structures of those kinds of new words and phrases which express more associations or understanding processes. In the case of neologisms, these features can be found among compounds (that consist of separate words) or compound-like words (that consist of non-morphemic parts of words) and verbs with prefixes that according to cognitive semantics can be regarded as composite structures (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005b; 2010: 77). With the help of Conceptual Integration, those kinds of associations can be examined that are not usually linked together, but they help dynamic meaning construal as the discourse unfolds. Because of this dynamics, meaning construal in the examined texts can be represented in analyses of the communication and the relationship between the speaker and the listener. As a result of these processes, socio-cultural factors can be studied, too.

In the next parts of the paper I am going to examine the above sketched features in the case of two neologisms that have occurred in Hungarian in the last few years.

5. *Dédiszitter*

The second part of this compound is the English noun *sitter*, and the compound means ‘sitter who takes care of (a) great-grandparent(s)’. The part *sitter* nowadays can be seen written with Hungarian spelling: for instance, in the handbook *Helyesírás* (which deals with Hungarian spelling) the form *bébiszitter* is suggested instead of *babysitter* (OH 503). Nevertheless, in *ÉKsz²* (*Hungarian Dictionary*), we can read this compound written with English spelling (*babysitter*, *ÉKsz²* 80). It can be seen that in the last few years many compounds have occurred in Hungarian with the help of the word *sitter* or *szitter*.

Those Hungarian neologisms that contain the word *-sitter/-szitter* sometimes refer not only to the process of taking care of babies, but to the process of taking care of people like family members (as the mentioned *dédiszitter*, where *dédi* is an abbreviation of the Hungari-

an word for ‘great-grandparent’), and to the process of taking care of animals like *hőriszitter* (‘hamster sitter’, where the Hungarian noun, *hőrcsög* ‘hamster’ is shortened), *kutyaszitter* (‘dog sitter’), *patiszitter* (‘rat sitter’, where the Hungarian name of the rat, *patkány* is shortened). In these cases, *dédi*, *höri*, and *pati* are abbreviations, and all of them have been made as a result of shortening the original nouns and then adding the suffix *-i*. This suffix can make nick-names, so with its help these compounds can get nice, playful connotations, too.

In these examples we can see that the meaning of the English verb (*baby-*)*sit* (‘take care of children’ as the *Oxford Dictionary* refers to it) can be extended metonymically in Hungarian, too. As a result of this extension, *sitter* can refer to the person taking care of different living creatures while taking part in a compound.

5.1. *Dédiszitter* in a questionnaire

The word *dédiszitter* was among the neologisms of the questionnaire that was answered by 180 informants during the summer of 2011. The questionnaire had two types (A: neologisms without context, B: neologisms in context) and there were four age groups (primary school students, secondary school students, university students and adults) who filled it.

The following diagram shows the percentage of answers given by the informants (the informants had the opportunity to give more than one answer) which referred to the meaning of the word *dédiszitter*. These answers contained explanations written by the informants as well as synonyms.

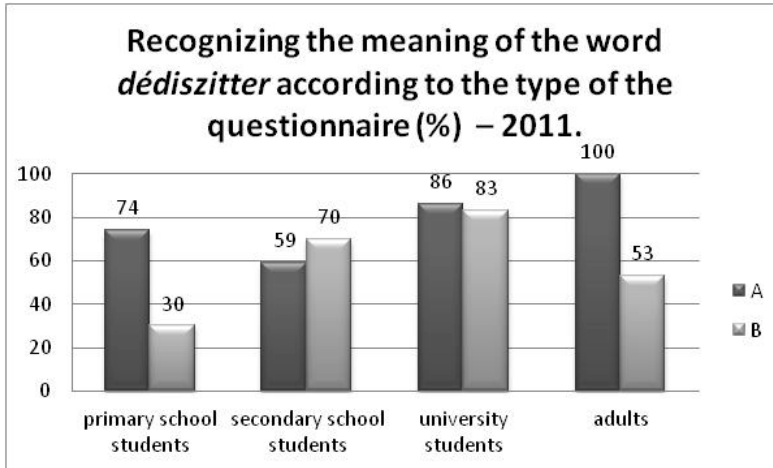


Figure 2: Recognising the meaning of *dédiszitter* (2011)

It has to be said, too, that there have been some informants (among those who gave an explanation to the neologism), who gave other explanations than the “deduced” meaning of the word. (By “deduced” meaning I refer to that meaning of the neologism which is mostly used nowadays among language speakers.) These explanations usually referred to the first part of the compound (*dédi-*, meaning ‘great-grandparent’) as an active agent who takes care of children, especially grandchildren. We can see that in these ideas the supposed agent

(actually the first part of the compound) was the person who worked as a sitter, and he/she was not the patient who has to be sat.

5.2. Semantic structure of the neologism *dédiszitter*

In the next chapter, two parts of a forum text containing the neologism *dédiszitter* is going to be shown³. In the forum text someone asks for help, because they have some problems in private life.

(1)

A kérdés 2009.04.23. 14:09

Elhanyagolnak a testvéreim, a barátaim, a párom, az egész környezetem. Mit tegyek, hogy újra „központban” legyek?

Az egyik válasz

2009.04.24. 09:26

(...)

Ha értesz valamihez behatóbban (...), felügyelhetsz gyerekekre vagy öregekre (babysittert és **dédiszittert** is sokan keresnek). Így még pénzt is kereshetsz + szintén új emberekkel ismerkedhetsz meg.⁴

The examined neologism occurs in the second part of the texts. The writer of the answer endeavours to use a “neolog” phenomenon while defining an entity that is part of the reality around him or her but (according to the writer’s opinion) it does not have an appropriate name yet. If we examine this process from the vantage point of categorisation, we can regard it as the continuous, problem-solving, creative mechanism of the human mind: “(...) knowing the prototype enables you more easily to understand peripheral instances of use that are novel to you” (Geeraerts 1997: 110). According to these features, those phenomena that are implied by prototypes can help to give an explanation for semantic changes and for unfolding of new meanings during the description of dynamic human thinking (Geeraerts 1997: 115). As Tolcsvai Nagy (1996) points out, the speaker or the hearer rates the used example to a type of style. This rating is done according to the language user’s knowledge about the used language and about the world as well as according to their capabilities to remember, plan, organise and compare (Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 53).

In the case of *dédiszitter*, the word *sitter* is part of a word (*babysitter*, or with Hungarian

³ Source: http://www.gyakorikerdesek.hu/csaladi-kapcsolatok__egyeb-kerdesek--220629-elhanyagolnak-a-testvereim-a-barataim-a-parom-az-egesz-kornyezetem-mit-tegye

Downloaded: 25th March 2011

⁴ Translation:

(1) The question:

I am being neglected by my siblings, by my friends, by my spouse, by my whole environment. What can I do to be in the “centre” again?

One of the answers:

If you are adept in something deeply (...), you may take care of children or elderly people (many people look for a babysitter or a **dédiszitter**). In this way you can earn money, too + you can get to know new people.

spelling *bébiszitter*), which is a well-known compound for Hungarian language users, too, and it makes the neologism easy-to-understand. The occurrence of the word *sitter* makes its meaning structure plausible and hearers can focus their attention on the tasks of a *sitter* (e.g. taking care, looking after someone). In the cited part of forum text (1) the writer also gives the meaning of the neologism when he or she writes “you may take of children or elderly people”, that is why the meaning of the neologism may not count as an obstacle when language users have to understand the meaning of the neologism.

Those understanding processes that play roles in the semantic structure of the compound *dédiszitter* can be modelled by the Conceptual Integration Theory mentioned in Chapter 9. During the construal of the compound’s semantic structure, both the acoustic similarities of the words *bébi* (‘baby’) and *dédi* (‘great-granny’) and the semantic features of the better-known word *bébiszitter* (‘babysitter’) may play roles. These two parts, the phonological and the semantic poles can give birth to the neologism and help language users when they have to understand the new word. The most interesting aspect in the construction of *dédiszitter* is that these two dimensions play important roles together but simultaneously, and in this way they help the language user with meaning construal. The construction of the neologism can be sketched as a multi-scope network (cf. Benczes 2006: 57).

It also has to be mentioned that even rhymes seem to be very important during the process of understanding the neologism *dédiszitter*. Benczes (2006) points out that rhymes play important roles in the creation of creative compounds (Benczes 2006: 148—149, 2010: 228—229).

Analysing the connections between the well-known Hungarian compound *bébiszitter* and the novel compound *dédiszitter*, it can be recognised that the first parts of these words (*bébi* and *dédi*) contain the same vowels (*é* and *i*), and so their endings rhyme. It seems to be important, too, that the numbers of their syllables are the same, too. On the other hand, there are common semantic features in both words that help understanding the meaning of the neologism: in both compounds, we can find pieces of information about the age of the subjects, about the circumstances (someone has to be taken care of), about the fact that the family of the subject does not have time to take care of him/her, and the consequence that a helping hand is needed. What is more, a metonymic relationship (cause and effect) can be found between the lack of time in the family and the need for a helper. These features make language users associate to the better-known phenomenon (*bébiszitter*) while meeting the neologism (*dédiszitter*).

It comes from the above mentioned details that the entity that has a synonymous meaning with the neologism can be described as ‘a person who takes care of elderly people’. When we analyze the semantic structure of the neologism as a blend, one of the input spaces will contain these features. Another input space contains the entity *bébiszitter* (‘babysitter’). In the integrated space that is constructed by these two input spaces the entity ‘a sitter who takes care of elderly people’ will be found.

The above mentioned parts (the phonological spaces that have emerged from the input spaces containing the phonological realisation of *dédi* and *bébi*) will be connected with the integrated space that contains the semantic pole of the neologism. With the help of the two integrated spaces, a new blend emerges that contains the “neolog” compound’s semantic and phonological features, too.

These processes can be represented as it is shown by Figure 3:

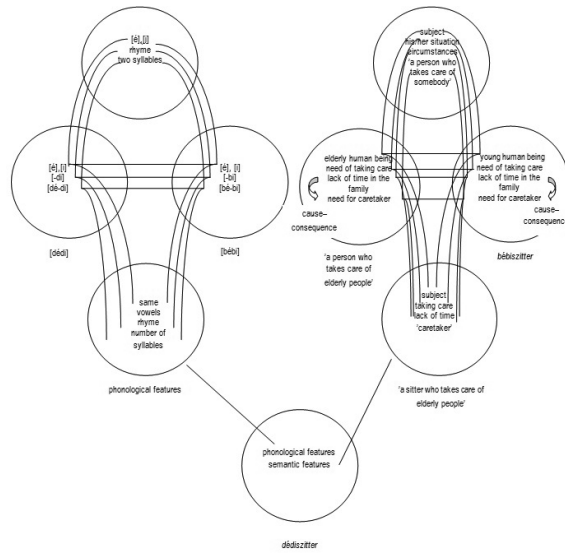


Figure 3: The neologism *dédiszitter* represented as a blend

5.3. Features of *dédiszitter*'s usage with regard to the socio-cultural factors of style

The word *dédiszitter* occurs as a neologism in the part of the forum text cited in 5.2. It must be emphasised that the better-known word *babysitter*, which stands before the neologism in the cited text, also helps to understand the “neolog” compound. It is also noticeable that in case of the word *babysitter* the writer of the text uses the English spelling of the word, while in case of *dédiszitter* he/she uses Hungarian spelling. The reason for this may be that the first part of the compound is a Hungarian word (*dédi*).

In this environment the neologism occurs as a novel element according to the socio-cultural factor of time, while the other parts of the text seem to be neutral. The cited part of the forum text does not contain any other novel (“neolog”) phenomena, so that is why the text can serve as a supporting matrix (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 12) during the process of understanding the neologism.

According to the socio-cultural domain of situation (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 88–89), both cited parts of the forum texts in 6.2. represent informal style. In the part that contains the question, the personal topic of the question, the elaboration of the question with verbs that refer to first person singular, refer to the equal relationship of the writer and the reader. The occurrence of the neologism seems to refer to informal relationship, too, considering that this profession is usually mentioned by longer description (‘a person who takes care of elderly people in return of money’) e.g. in an advertisement. Some humour can also be found in the usage of this neologism, because the word *sitter* occurs in the compound, and that gives the idea of taking care of small children (see Figure 3). This association also gives kindness and implies a positive attitude towards elderly people, which increases the informal style of the situation.

Considering the socio-cultural domain of attitude (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 88), both parts of the cited forum texts can be regarded as familiar. As I have already mentioned, the topic of the beginning question counts as familiar, as well as the answer given to it. The neologism

in the second text reinforces this feature: the playfulness and humour of the word makes the style of the compound familiar. It also has to be mentioned that the suffix *-i*, which occurs at the end of the neologism, suggests familiar relationship not only between the writer and the reader, but perhaps between the sitter and the great-grandparent, too.

If we examine the socio-cultural domain of value (Tolesvai Nagy 2005a: 89), both parts of the cited forum texts can be considered as neutral and value saturating. The writer of the first text uses such words and phrases that have value saturating styles (*I am being neglected, my spouse, my whole environment* etc.). On the contrary, it can be seen that in the second part of the forum text there are not so many words or phrases like these, so this part of the text can rather be considered as neutral. Evaluating the style of the neologism *dédiszitter* along this dimension, it can be stated that it highly depends on the former experiences and the attitude of the reader. There may be language users who feel that the style of this neologism is rather value depriving, because they may associate it with the helplessness and powerlessness of the people being taken care of. Nevertheless I think that the writer of the forum text did not have the intention of suggesting this kind of value deprivation feature by using the word *dédiszitter*; I assume that the style of the neologism is neutral on the scale of the socio-cultural factor of value.

6. *Megquadul*

The second example that is going to be examined is a kind of pun. It has to be emphasised that it is a word that may have occurred only once (so it can be seen as a hapax legomenon), but it seems to be worth analyzing its features, because with the help of Conceptual Integration Theory both its semantic structure and the features of the relevant socio-cultural factors can be revealed.

The word that is going to be analyzed is *megquadul*. Its origin is the English word *quad* and the neologism emerges with the help of the Hungarian prefix *meg-* and the derivational suffix *-ul*, which generally can make verbs from adjectives or nouns. Nowadays there are many examples that show how Hungarian verbs can be made from English noun stems, so this feature is not the most interesting point in this neologism. It is more interesting that there is a word *vad* in Hungarian, which can be a noun or an adjective, too, and the adjective means ‘wild’. In the case of the examined neologism, the creator of the word (who made the imperative form of the neologism the title of a website) used the phonological similarity between the Hungarian word *vad* and the English word *quad* to create this pun.

The website mentioned above is the following (the title *Quadulj meg!* means approximately *Get quaded!*, but the word *quad* may also evoke the Hungarian word *vad* because of its phonological structure)⁵:



Figure 4: Homepage of the website www.quad.vilaga.hu

⁵ Source: <http://sgforum.hu/listazas.php3?azonosito=quad&id=1159550264>. Downloaded: 14th July 2010.

The moderator's message can be read under the picture. Though this text does not contain the word *megquadul*, it seems to be important to cite it, because its style can refer to the relationship of the moderator and the people who may be the members of the club or they just often visit the website.

(2)

„Mindenki lelkiismeretére bízom, mit ír le[,] de csak annyit kérek: név (fórumos), és merre szokott nyomulni. A felesleget majd kimoderáljuk! Remélem[,] ez már elfogadható és nem kötelező!”⁶

6.1. Semantic structure of *megquadul*

The word *quad* occurred in the last few years in Hungarian. It cannot be found in *ÉKsz²* (*Hungarian Dictionary*), but the *Dictionary of Foreign Words* (*Idegen szavak szótára*, ISz, 2007) already contains it. Based on the surveys that I conducted in the last years (cf. Sólyom 2009: 260), the word *quad* in Hungarian can be regarded as a foreign word that is still novel for many language users. Nevertheless it seems to be an important detail that in 2010 586.000, in 2011 2.040.000, in 2013 3.080.000 results were found for the word *quad* by the Google search engine among Hungarian websites.⁷

Meeting the novel word *megquadul* the reader of the text may feel that this neologism is meant to conceptualise the most important features of the website (the notion of *quad* and everything in connection with it), and it tries to be felicitous, playful or even funny, too. Although the verbs *quadul* and *megquadul* should be regarded as hapaxes, in Hungarian they are able to quickly evoke the verb *vadul* ('to behave wildly') and *megvadul* ('to get wild').

The process that takes place in this case seems to be quite complex: the phonological resemblance of the words *quad* and *vad* are as important as the semantic relations between the notions of QUAD and WILDNESS. That is why they both play important roles in meaning construal. Besides the concept of WILDNESS it is important that using a *quad* may cause the feeling of freedom, which can be related to the word *vad* ('wild'). This relationship between the vehicle and the feeling of wildness is a kind of metonymical relationship, and with the help of the phonological resemblance it helps to understand the meaning of the neologism. (It has to be emphasised that the photo on the website helps to understand the novel word, too.)

As a result of these complex processes the verb *megquadul* can give rich associations to the reader. They can associate to the phonological similarity of the words *vad* and *quad*. On the other hand, there is another verb in Hungarian, namely *megvadul* ('get wild') that also has an influence on both the phonological and the semantic structure of the neologism.

As a result of these processes, Conceptual Integration Theory seems to be appropriate for representing both the phonological and the semantic features of the neologism. The structure of the word *megquadul* can be analyzed in more steps. First, the phonological resemblance

⁶ Translation:

(2)

I entrust it to everyone's conscience what you put down, I only want names (on the forum) and where you usually hustle. We are going to moderate the excess. I hope this is finally acceptable and it is not compulsory.

⁷ Based on the trials conducted on 14th July 2010, on 24th March 2011 and on 4th January 2013.

of the words *quad* and *vad* are connected to the notions *quadozik* ('go by quad') and *vadul* ('get wild'). That is why these verbs are going to be connected in the process of blending. In the second step a verb *quadul* ('go by quad') is elaborated. It is important that this is a nonce-word, because the verb 'go by quad' in Hungarian is normally formed with the help of the suffix *-z(ik)* (so it would be *quadozik*). The nonce-word *quadul* can start more associations, because it refers to the vehicle itself and to the vehicle's features (fastness, strength). The verb *megvadul* with the prefix *meg-* adds the aspects of perfection and totality to the verb. By being integrated with the nonce-verb *quadul*, and still with the help of the phonological resemblance, it elaborates the neologism's semantic features in a separate input space.

Language users may have previous experiences about the process of getting wild, so with the help of these experiences and with the help of the picture shown in Figure 4 meaning construal can become successful. The result is the neologism *megquadul*, which means in this context 'go by a powerful and fast vehicle and get wild totally'.

The interaction of the processes explained above can be represented as it is shown in Figure 5 (cf. Kövecses—Benczes 2010: 200):

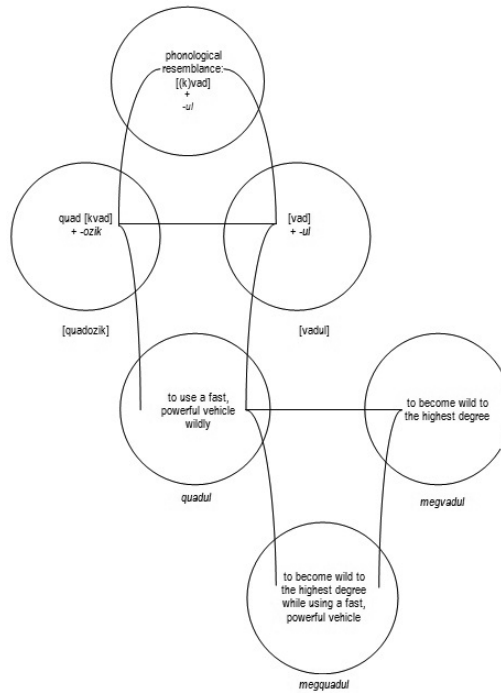


Figure 5: The neologism *megquadul* represented as a blend

6.2. Consequences of the usage *megquadul* with regard to the socio-cultural dimensions of style

While reading the shown website, readers are able to feel immediately that they meet a novel word according to the dimension of time. It can be felt, too, that this neologism is an

incidental one, and may not spread widely. It is because it seems to be a pun and there is another verb (*quadozik*) in Hungarian for the concept ‘using a quad’ that is derived with the help of another suffix.

The base *quadul* may lead to misunderstandings or even would be impossible to interpret by the readers, but with the help of the prefix *meg-* it can be joined to another verb (*megvadul*, ‘to get wild’) that is more conventionalised and seems to be more neutral according to the socio-cultural dimension of time. There are some words in the comment of the moderator, which are novel and/or slang words (*nyomul*, *kimoderál*, meaning ‘hustle’ and ‘moderate it out’) and they may serve that aim of the editors of the website to be trendy, fashionable and youngish.

According to the socio-cultural domain of situation (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 88–89), the title of the website shows informality: the direct imperative (*Quadulj meg!*) does not contain any politeness and it is used in the 2nd person singular informal form. This informality may be accepted by the readers of the website and by those who write to the forum and the same style may be used by them, too. Their relationships can be characterised as symmetric, because the roles of the readers and writers are either quad-owners or people who are interested in quads. The comment of the moderator shows informality, too, and the slang words that are used in it recite the spontaneous spoken language. The verb conjugated in first person plural (*kimoderáljuk*, ‘we are going to moderate it out’) refers to the feeling that the people who read the text belong to the same community. All these features take part in forming the informal style of the text.

With regard to the domain of attitude (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 88) the form *Quadulj meg!* can be regarded as familiar. The imperative form is direct, short, without politeness (e. g. *please*). The creator of the neologism might have wanted to show uniqueness, extraordinariness in order to raise the attention of those readers of the website who feel that they are as trendy and youthful as the moderator is. It is also true, that by the usage of this hapax legomenon there will be readers who will not understand the title (e. g. because they do not even know the meaning of the word *quad*), so they cannot be parts of the group who consider this title to be humorous or unique. With this restriction the writer of the title also strengthens the familiar style that can be adequate among the members of a smaller group.

According to the domain of value (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a: 89), it can be seen that the usage of the neologism will not be regarded as neutral. It is very interesting that using the expression *Quadulj meg!* may divide the opinion of language users according to this domain. Its judgement may highly depend upon the person of the reader: the users of the website (those who are interested in quads, who own quads etc.) may consider it as a value saturating expression, because it refers to the uniqueness and extravagancy of the website. By contrast, those readers who have not even met the word *quad* may not be able to interpret this title. They may be able to understand the neologism with the help of the photo shown in Figure 4, but even in this case, the process of understanding requires great mental effort from them. This effort may have an impact upon their attitudes towards the novel expression and as a consequence of it, to the judgement of it in the domain of value. That is why the usage of this neologism may be considered as value depriving.

7. Summary

The analysis of the shown texts in this paper has had more aims: one of them has shown the semantic features and processes that help elaborate the semantic structures of neologisms.

These processes were shown with the help of Conceptual Integration Theory, elaborated by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner.

Of course, these features have impacts upon regarding the neologisms along the scales of different socio-cultural dimensions (e.g. the domains of time, situation, attitude and value). These characteristics were examined in parts of forum texts from the internet. These texts allowed not only the judgements on the examined neologisms to be analyzed, but also the relationships and expectations of writers and readers.

Conceptual Integration Theory can be useful and adequate for examining examples like the two neologisms in this paper: because of the numbers, flexibility and dynamism of the input spaces it can give good opportunities to analyse novel phenomena in different contexts and along different socio-cultural dimensions. Those operations that take place during Conceptual Integration may also have important roles in the process of conventionalisation of neologisms, and so anchoring the novel meanings to the common knowledge possessed by the language community.

The definition at the end of Chapter 3 is aimed at showing this dynamism and flexibility by defining the notion “neologism” with regard to the relationship of the speaker (writer) and the hearer (reader) in the communicative situation. This point of view has also helped with the analysis of the examined phenomena along the dynamic and language user dependent continuum of socio-cultural dimensions of style.

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STYLISTIC PATTERNS IN 16TH AND 17TH C. MEDICAL RECIPES HISTORICAL STYLISTIC ANALYSIS FROM A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

ÁGNES KUNA

Abstract

The stylistic analysis of historical records of everyday language use is yet to gain ground in Hungarian linguistics. This paper aims to redress the situation by an exploration of stylistic patterns in 16th and 17th century medical recipes. A key premise of my research is the view that genres evoke frames (or scripts) referencing individual and socio-cultural aspects of the text's production as well as features of linguistic construal.

The goals of the paper are threefold. Firstly, it addresses some general issues of the cognitive pragmatic approach to historical stylistics. Secondly, it aims to establish the genre as a basis for the study of stylistic variability. Finally and most importantly, it presents stylistic patterns as sets of co-occurring choices in construal, as they are found in 16th and 17th c. medical recipes. At the centre of this investigation will be the interpersonal relation between speaker and addressee(s), and the socio-cultural context of their discourse.

Keywords: historical stylistics, scientific vs. everyday stylistic patterns, genre, script, discourse community, discourse pattern, discourse domain, norm compliance, medical recipe

1. Introduction

In Hungarian historical linguistics, texts are typically regarded as products, or bodies of linguistic data for the study of various layers of grammar. The processual nature of these texts, and the communicative factors of their production and interpretation rarely move into the spotlight of attention (cf. Maitz–Molnár 2001). By contrast, the present research is built on the thesis that the basic linguistic and communicative forces operating today were also in place in the past (cf. Romaine 1987/1988: 1454). Thus, historical texts can be regarded, on the one hand, as achievements of individual minds, and on the other, as products of linguistic activity shaped by the shared conventions and knowledge of a community, and the overall socio-cultural context, being no different from today's texts in these respects (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2006: 67). Since the linguistic activity behind historical texts is only indirectly accessible, the study of these records must include an attempt at the fullest possible reconstruction of the underlying communicative processes, with regard to both production and interpretation. Especially useful for these purposes are the notions of discourse domain (Taavitsainen–Jucker 2010: 5) and genre (cf. Kocsány 2002; Kohnen 2004; Taavitsainen 2001a; Tolcsvai Nagy 2006), which provide a framework for analysing the features of typical speech situations.

In this paper, I explore stylistic patterns in 16th and 17th c. medical communication (the discourse domain of medication) through the genre of recipes. The study will focus on three manuscripts from the era and recipes for headache from a printed remedy book, and subject them to a systematic analysis on all levels of the texts. The theoretical background for the investigation is provided by the cognitive pragmatic interpretation of style.

The structure of the paper is determined by the goals specified above. In particular, the present introductory section (1) will be followed by a general discussion of historical stylistics, with special regard to the role of genres (2). Section 3 will then present the corpus for the study. As stylistic analysis focuses on the functioning of language, particular attention will be paid to the discourse domain and discourse communities of 16th and 17th c. medication, as well as the schema of recipes setting the scene for the exploration of medical discourse (4). Subsequently, the collected recipes for headache will receive a thorough analysis. A chief concern will be to determine the authors' attitudes to conventionalized discourse patterns, to the expectations of addressees, and to their own communicative goals; and further, to see how they are construing their interpersonal relations with the addressees. With all these factors in mind, I will establish a few characteristic stylistic patterns of 16th and 17th c. medical texts (5), and finally provide a summary of the results (6).

2. Stylistics, style and genre – a cognitive pragmatic approach

The research reported here takes the cognitive approach to language and style as its point of departure. This approach primarily focuses on the functioning of language, its central question being how meanings are generated and shared by communication. A crucial aspect of meaning generation is construal, i.e. our ability to process the same situation from alternate perspectives, in a variety of ways (cf. Labov 1972; Finegan 1985; Langacker 1987; Sanders–Spooren 1997; Tolcsvai Nagy 2004). Construal is thus also the key to the study of linguistic variability and style.¹ By construing a fragment of the world around us in particular ways (depending on our goals, knowledge, the communicative context, etc.), we are able to generate a range of different social and stylistic meanings. This process is driven by the discourse participants and their tendency to adapt to each other (cf. Tátrai 2011: 45–50, and Tátrai, this volume).

From a cognitive perspective, style is not a secondary or subsidiary element of meaning. Rather, it is an integral part of the discourse participants' meaning generation, in which “what”, “how” and “with what goal” are closely intertwined (Sandig 1995: 28; see Tátrai and Tolcsvai Nagy, this volume). Style permeates all levels of the text, including what Tolcsvai Nagy (1996) calls its micro, meso and macro levels, pertaining (roughly) to interclausal (e.g. coreferential) relations, paragraph-length sections, and still higher-order organization, respectively. Knowledge of style is an important facet of one's command of a language. It is stored in the form of abstracted schemas called **style types**, and activated in discourse as demanded by the speaker's communicative goals. Style types are flexible categories, they are typically culture-specific, and may change relatively rapidly over history as a function

¹ 'Social and stylistic variation presuppose the option of saying “the same thing” in several different ways: that is, the variants are identical in reference or truth value, but opposed in their social and/or stylistic significance' (Labov 1972: 271).

of socio-cultural factors (Tolcsvai Nagy 2005: 39–41). Furthermore, it can be observed that particular varieties of style may differ in their degrees of routinization, salience, and conventionality. This latter aspect links up style with the evolution of traditions in a speech community, and the emergence of schematic communicative patterns (**genres**) associated with particular speech situations (cf. Szabó 1999; Taavitsainen 2001a; Tolcsvai Nagy 2005).

Remarkably, genres are often bound up with stylistic patterns, norms and expectations based on the intentions and linguistic routines of the interlocutors. However, genres and style types cannot be equated, since a given genre may be elaborated by varying style types, as the present study will also demonstrate (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996: 122; see also Hámori, this volume, and Tátrai, this volume). Genres can be regarded as typical schematic conceptual and linguistic construals of a speech situation or of a complex fragment of the world (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006: 67), which nevertheless allow for a wide range of socio-culturally determined elaborations (stylistic construals) of the same world fragment.

Genres do not exist a priori and for their own sake; rather, they are created by the social communicative demands of a speech community. Therefore, they form part of the knowledge of both the community and the individual (Kocsány 2006: 20–21). The cognitive patterns of genres are activated in discourse under specific contextual circumstances. During activation, highly conventionalized patterns of a genre may be elaborated to different extents and in different ways, depending on the intentions and background knowledge of the interlocutors as well as other socio-cultural factors. It is in this linguistic elaboration where style comes to play a central role.

This paper explores characteristic stylistic patterns of 16th and 17th c. medical recipes. The framework for the analysis is provided by the script of the genre in question (cf. Nothdurft 1986: 93–94). The study places special emphasis on the attitude of the speaker to the conventionalized discourse patterns, and on how the interpersonal relation between speaker and addressee(s) is elaborated with respect to norms as orientating schemas. Among the socio-cultural factors of style, the domains of attitude, situation, and value will be especially significant (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy, this volume, and Tátrai, this volume).

In the era under study, the discourse domain of medication was divided into professional communication on the one hand, and a kind of popular(izing) discourse reaching a broader spectrum of society on the other. The use of Hungarian was strongly tied to the latter, which required that the author adapt to his wide readership of lay people when sharing information on healing. However, texts are highly varied in terms of how the author puts conventionalized discourse patterns to use, and how he is construing his knowledge of healing and his interpersonal relation to the addressees.

My observations suggest the prevalence of two basic stylistic patterns in 16th and 17th c. Hungarian medical recipes, in close correlation with socio-cultural factors: **scientific/professional** and **everyday**. These cannot be neatly separated, since their difference is scalar in character and their properties can only be defined relative to one another (cf. Figure 1). The two schemas are not viewed here as a priori given; rather, they are inferred on the basis of a systematic multi-level analysis of texts, all related to the same illness (headache).

The research represents an attempt at analysing historical texts and their stylistic features from the perspective of the functioning of language. It is framed by the study of genres and discourse domains, inviting a pragmatic perspective and reliance on text typology. In what follows, I will first describe the data for my research, then discuss the discourse communi-

ties of medication in the era under investigation, as well as the social and cultural factors figuring centrally in the study of stylistic patterns.

3. The data for the research

The research is based on a thematic compilation of 155 recipes (5513 words), taken from three manuscripts and a printed remedy book.² The genre and the common theme of the recipes (headache) make it possible to study subtle differences in meaning generation within a specific kind of speech situation. Before outlining the main features of the four sources, it is important to note what this small body of texts does not allow one to study. Firstly, the texts in question primarily discuss therapies, hence some characteristic features of recipes related to plasters, herbs, or phlebotomy are absent. Secondly, the four medical texts and the compilation of recipes for headache do not allow for a complete description of certain functional components of recipes. For example, no general conclusion can be drawn about strategies of persuasion. Thirdly, the recipes for headaches are not representative of the larger texts from which they are selected. A different choice of illness would produce both qualitatively and quantitatively different results.

When selecting sources, I took into account their date of creation and the type of medical writings. Two pairs of works date from approximately the same time. Two works have in common that they are comprehensive remedy books on ailments and cures of the body, while the remaining two manuscripts are both compilations of recipes for everyday use (cf. Table 1).

<p><i>Ars Medica</i> (around 1577) – AM author: György Váradi Lencsés (high-ranking paymaster) type of medical writing: remedy book recipes for headache: 3003 words in 68 recipes</p>	<p><i>Pax Corporis</i> (1690, 1695) – PC author: Ferenc Pápai Páriz (doctor) type of medical writing: remedy book recipes for headache: 926 words in 23 recipes</p>
<p><i>Orvoskönyv lovak orvoslása</i> [Medical book for curing horses] (before 1619) – Orvk. author: János Török (unknown) type of medical writing: recipe collection recipes for headache: 570 words in 29 recipes</p>	<p><i>Medicusí és borbélyi mesterség</i> [Medical and barber profession] (1668–1703) – Medbor. author: György Becskerekí Váradi Szabó (unknown) type of medical writing: recipe collection recipes for headache: 1014 words in 35 recipes</p>

Table 1. Data of medical texts

I assume that the above criteria (date of creation and type of the medical text) enhance the relevance of comparison, and also make for a suitable basis of presenting characteristic patterns of professional and everyday style. In particular, remedy books are typically produced by learned authors, and directed at more or less well-trained healers. Hence, they are likely to

² This paper marks the continuation of previous research, which provided a textual typology of Hungarian medical recipes based on a corpus of more than 10.000 recipes (cf. Kuna 2011). In keeping with the small size of selected texts, the study uses predominantly quantitative methods to highlight stylistic tendencies. The results can serve as a basis for future quantitative research. In compiling the data, I worked with later editions of the original texts (for details, see in Kuna 2012).

display a more scientific character.³ By contrast, recipe collections come from less educated authors or scribes, and they are aimed at society at large, serving an everyday purpose (cf. 4.). Importantly, though, the analysis of the texts below will not take the scientific vs. everyday opposition as a point of departure. Instead, I will first present the linguistic features of each text, then use typical co-occurrences and the known socio-cultural variables of style to discover characteristic tendencies of the two stylistic patterns (cf. 5.). A key part of the enterprise is to come to an understanding of the context of medication in the era under study, including the associated text tradition, features of the discourse communities participating in healing, and the socio-cultural environment. In what follows, these will be addressed in turn.

4. Socio-cultural factors and discourse communities of 16th and 17th c. Hungarian medication

Medication in Hungary in the 16th and 17th century under study was characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity. While the traditions of Antique and Arabic medicine lingered on, folk healing also played a remarkable role, usually drawing on personal experiences and beliefs or superstitions. In addition, the influence of organized religion ought not to be overlooked (Benke 2007). Significantly, healing belonged to the spheres of both science and everyday practice, with the latter engaging a broad spectrum of society. This, along with the spread of Humanism and Reformation as well as printing technology, led to an increasing share of medical texts written in the vernacular language rather than Latin. Concomitantly, medical discourse was broadening in scope, reaching new lay men and women, with strong repercussions for the associated text tradition, including the stylistic features of medical recipes. A similar process is well documented in other languages and cultures as well (Taavitsainen–Pahta 2004).

The above trends gave rise to a functional split between *ars* and *vulgus*: Latin continued to dominate scientific and professional communication, whereas the vernacular language assumed a central role in the popular spread of information. However, this is not to say that the two domains were completely separate. Comprehensive medical writings appearing in Hungarian were usually based on foreign (and more scientific) sources; as a result, several classical discourse patterns found their way (in a more or less modified form) into vernacular medical communication.

The use of the vernacular brings a number of socio-culturally determined stylistic changes in its wake. Most importantly, the speaker⁴ tends to simplify knowledge representations, adapting to the expectations of the addressees. This affects all levels of the texts, including the packaging of information, degree of explicitness, length, the use and explanation of special terminology, the adoption of Latinate discourse patterns, etc. Moreover, it can be observed that the speaker tends to construe his⁵ interpersonal relationship with the addressee(s) and the social status of the interlocutors differently. Naturally, this correlates strongly with

³ As there are no surviving, scientifically intended treatises among Hungarian medical language records, longer pieces of writing from trained doctors serve as the touchstone of the style and changes of more or less scientific medical discourse.

⁴ In this paper, the terms *author* and *speaker* are used interchangeably. I prefer the notion addressee to that of recipient, as the latter would allow too broad an interpretation (including present-day readers of the recipes). By contrast, *addressee* profiles the narrower group that the texts under study were aimed at.

⁵ *He* refers to a general healer (he or she) according to the convention.

the professional vs. everyday nature of the interaction. To reach a better understanding of these factors, we need to look at the layered structures of both healing and the associated text tradition, which together define the discourse domains behind the texts to be investigated.

In Figure 1, I have given a visual representation of the layered structures of healing and medical texts (in other words, the discourse domains of medication) in 16th and 17th c. Hungary, along with directions of communication. In addition, the figure also highlights how these factors relate to scientific and everyday language use, thus illustrating the main features of the socio-cultural background to medication and medical communication. Since the elements in the figure will play a central role in the stylistic analyses of section 5, I will now discuss them in detail.

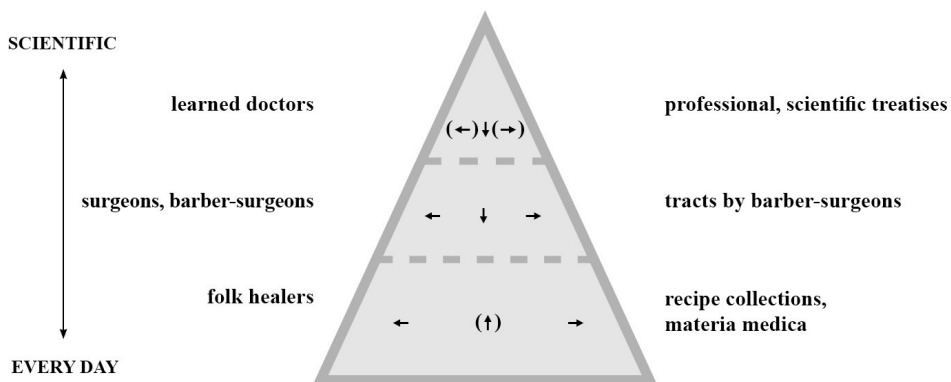


Figure 1: Correlations between the layered structures of medication and medical communication in 16th and 17th c. Hungary

As Figure 1 shows, the narrowest and best educated segment is represented by a low number of doctors and pharmacists, who typically work in royal courts and major cities. This is followed by the guilds of surgeons and barber-surgeons who attend to wounds and injuries, perform phlebotomy, or apply cupping therapy in a broader segment of society. The largest “mass” of people is catered for by folk healers possessing more or less professional knowledge. Belonging here are midwives, herbalists, wise-women, tooth extractors, etc. (cf. Hop-pál 1990; R. Várkonyi 1990). The layers of course cannot be neatly separated.

The layered structure of healers correlates strongly with that of the text tradition of the era (for a related point on the English medical text tradition, see Taavitsainen–Pahta 2004: 14–15). The typical documents of professional medicine are treatises and tracts written, apart from a few exceptions, in Latin. The professional standard of Hungarian texts varies considerably. As Szlatky (1980: 131) points out, “in both printed texts and manuscripts, the use of Hungarian [...] is more than a selected mode of exposition; it has a bearing on the content as well. The choice of Hungarian reflects either the author’s lower level of education (lack of familiarity with Latin), or his conscious effort at ‘popularization’.” Therefore, vernacularization contributes significantly to the simplification of professional texts, to the higher engagement of laymen and to the diversification of levels of “service.” All of this has broad implications for discourse structure and the variables at macro, meso and micro levels alike (cf. 5.).

Variation in the professional standard of Hungarian texts greatly depends on who wrote them for whom and for what purpose. Hence, selection and adaptation (Tátrai 2011: 45–50), as well as attitude to conventionalized patterns, play a predominant role. The highest standard is achieved by remedy books addressing all ailments of the body, which generally follow traditional discourse patterns (as do AM and PC). Their authors⁶ are typically highly educated, and their primary addressees are literate healers working among the people (top–down communication; see the arrows in Figure 1). Correspondingly, several features of professional communication can be observed here. At the same time, though, in line with the aim of popularization, the language of these remedy books tends to be fairly simple.

Also included in professional communication are the surgeons' tracts on phlebotomy, wound healing and the preparation of plasters. These typically belong to sideways communication, i.e. they are aimed at fellow surgeons, although the texts may also be used by healers working among the people. It is important to note that surgeons' tracts often contain recipes of various kinds; and conversely, remedy books and recipe collections for everyday use also frequently include information about surgery. This follows partly from the way these texts were distributed, copied and translated, and partly from the layered structure of medication discussed above. Furthermore, it reinforces the point that the layers involved are not independent; rather, they can be best interpreted in relation to one another.

Medical writings reaching the broadest spectrum of society are recipe collections for everyday use, with recipes detailing therapies, the effects of herbs, and instructions for preparing plasters, etc. Moreover, it is not uncommon for these writings to include, in addition to medical recipes, information about household chores such as cooking, gardening, the curing of animals, and beekeeping. They are typically produced by compilation, translation and copying, and have little in the way of a unifying principle. Here again it is important to remark, though, that the professional standard of these compilations may vary greatly with authors, depending on the quality of their sources and that of the translation. The key feature of these collections is that they serve practical purposes. Occasionally, they are to be found as parts of diary notes. Generally they are produced in the lower and wider segment of society, distributed by copying, and used on a daily basis. The authors come from a more educated, literate layer of society, whereas the addressees represent the people at large. The recipe collections mostly give evidence of sideways communication (cf. the arrows in Figure 1). This is also manifested in the fact that the texts often address the patient herself rather than a healer (self-healing, cf. 5.2.; 5.4.). These factors strongly influence the language of the recipe collections as well (cf. 5.2.; 5.4.).

To conclude, the Hungarian discourse domains of medication in the era under investigation show a highly varied picture. The authors are literate persons with varied skills and knowledge. Addressees are even more heterogeneous, with remedy books aimed primarily at healers who are able to read. Surgeons' tracts are directed especially at fellow surgeons versed in phlebotomy, the healing of wounds and the preparation of plasters. Finally, recipe collections serve the widest spectrum of society, including healers and the patients themselves. Each level is characterized by a different degree of professionalism, which can best be captured as a continuum from scientific to everyday communication. It is important to note, however, that the layers and directions of communication discussed above cannot be

⁶ With regard to the era under investigation, authorship has a broader meaning than usual. It includes not only authors in the strict sense but also translators, copiers, and the creators of compilations.

neatly separated; rather, they are closely intertwined. Hence, each level features the mixing and skewing of the above tendencies to a certain extent. The same can also be said about the relationship between scientific and everyday communication, whose direction is not exclusively top-down, only typically so. The contact between the two spheres is more complex than suggested above, which also manifests itself in linguistic construal (cf. 5.), to be demonstrated by the analysis of medical recipes. This genre provides a suitable framework for the study of style, as it is present at all levels of the medical text tradition. Before turning to the specifics of the analysis, I will first present the basic properties of recipes in the era.

4.1. Hungarian medical recipes in the 16th and 17th centuries

Medical recipes represent one of the oldest genres of the medical text tradition, in which several ancient therapies, tips, descriptions of herbs and medicines as well as records of superstitious beliefs have been preserved (Hunt 1990).⁷ The continuity of this long evolving tradition also demonstrates the important role attached to the genre in medication (*the notion of social relevance*, Heinemann 2000: 520). However, recipes have had varied functions over the ages in several languages and cultures. Thus, in the 16th and 17th centuries, their sphere of use extended much beyond their current domain restricted to professional doctor-pharmacist interactions. So much so that in many cases, recipes give us a rare insight into early physician-patient communication.

Recipes from the era under study can be assigned to thematic groups linked to particular communicative contexts, which show varying degrees of standardization (cf. Hunt 1990; Stannard 1982; Taavitsainen 2001b). For the purposes of the present study, therapeutic recipes are the most significant, which provide tips for curing a disease. Of the remaining categories, recipes about herbs and plasters display a range of conventional features. In what follows, I will limit the scope of the analysis to factors relevant for the ensuing stylistic investigation (for more on Hungarian recipes, see Kuna 2008, 2011).

The central concept of recipes as a basic level genre is *USEFULNESS*,⁸ elaborated in various ways by particular subtypes and text tokens, mostly associated with instructions for performing an action ('this is how you should do it'). Recipe as a discourse is a scene of joint attention in which the author employs linguistic symbols to direct the addressee's attention to ways of doing something useful for a third person or herself (cf. Tátrai 2011: 31). Hence, the three main participant roles defined by the script of recipes are as follows: the speaker possessing knowledge (prototypically marked by 1SG), a healing person (prototypically marked by 2SG), and a patient (prototypically in 3SG). Recipes attach a central role to both *KNOWLEDGE* and *ACTION* (Croft 1994: 470), as manifested in the knowledge representations and elaborations of interpersonal relations found in the genre.

The concept of *USEFULNESS* is typically accessed by conventionalized patterns, subject to a high degree of thematic and linguistic variability. This affects in particular the packaging of information in the recipes and the linguistic expression of specific functions. Recipes contain pieces of information (*Fachinformationen*; vö. Stannard 1982: 60–65) which typically occur in them, although not obligatorily so. Their arrangement can vary; however, a clear communicative or text-build-

⁷ The present research is based primarily on Hungarian recipes. However, the features of similar English and German texts, as well as the results of the corresponding specialized literature, have also been taken into account.

⁸ Conceptual spheres such as *USEFULNESS* are marked by small caps, in line with the tradition of cognitive linguistics.

ing strategy can be observed which is characterized by chronological sequencing (Taavitsainen 2001b: 98). Recipes in several languages in early medical writings tend to include the following kinds of information. First, they begin with a title-like element (heading/rubric/title) activating the conceptual domain of a particular disease or herb. This is typically followed by information on ingredients, either in a separate list or in the running text. Concomitantly, quantities (with measures) and any necessary tools are also specified. Next is the method of preparation, followed by information on doses, and finally a closure for the purposes of justification, motivation, or persuasion (for details, see Hunt 1990: 16–24; Stannard 1982: 60–65). These pieces of information are prototypically organized into three functionally grounded structural units. Specifically, the texts begin with an initiator (corresponding to the heading). Second is the section for instructions, detailing the ingredients, methods and circumstances of preparation, and the tools required for the process. This part performs the main function of the recipe, viz. instruction, with strong implications for the shaping and construal of interpersonal relations as well. Finally, recipes often end with an act of persuasion highlighting the efficacy of the cure, creating a positive attitude, and profiling emotions beyond the sphere of knowledge (for details, see Kuna 2008, 2011).

The elaboration of these functional units correlates strongly with issues of style, studied in the next section on the basis of a small thematic collection of illustrative texts.

5. Style types, stylistic patterns in recipes for headache

The four works mentioned above (cf. 3.) will be analysed by the same criteria, most of which are motivated by socio-cultural factors. Special attention will be paid to the knowledge representation of the speaker and his construal of his interpersonal relationship with the addressee, i.e. the domains of situation and attitude (cf. Tátrai, this volume). A further crucial point will be to assess the speaker's disposition or attitude to the conventionalized patterns of medical discourse; in other words, his degree of compliance with schemas, traditions, and norms (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy, this volume). In addition, specific elements of the script (frame) of recipes will be discussed, including the linguistic representation of the author, the healer and the patient; the types and relative frequency of instructions⁹; the modes of representing knowledge; and finally, the contribution of factors specific to 16th and 17th c. medication. Furthermore, I will examine what types or patterns of style emerge from the stylistic potential inherent in the above. My key concerns include the variable of situation, the speaker's efforts at adapting to the addressees, and thus also the issue of interpersonal distance.

5.1. *Ars Medica* (around 1577)

Ars Medica continues the tradition of Classical medicine in several respects, e.g. by moving from head to toe in its exposition of diseases. Headache is thus addressed in the first book. The condition receives a highly differentiated description, as the general introductory section is followed by a discussion of eleven different types of headache, with a special treatment recommended for children. As a general feature of textual structure, each recipe begins with a title-like initiator activating the conceptual domain of a particular kind of headache (e.g. *Újon-*

⁹ My quantitative data only yield approximate results due to the limited size of the text collection. Only a larger corpus would warrant general conclusions.

nan való főfájásról 'On renewed headache', *Hévségről való főfájásról* 'On headache caused by heat'). In the part selected for analysis, there is only one instance in which the target group of patients is profiled instead of the condition itself (*Gyermekcsének* 'For a small child'). The initiator is typically followed by a descriptive section in which the signs and symptoms of the condition are detailed. Next is the instructive part, usually divided into 1) recommendations for food and drink, as well as general lessons, and 2) recipes addressed to a healer. The two parts display a marked difference in many aspects of linguistic construal (cf. 5.1.2., 5.1.3.). The reader's understanding of the text is aided by margin glosses and indices. Moreover, it can be noted that there is a unified theory behind the description and curing of diseases. This is provided by humoral pathology, going back to scholastic traditions, which holds that the proportion of the four humours (blood, saliva, black bile and yellow bile) determines one's health (cf. Duin–Sutcliffe 1992). Accordingly, curing tools and therapies may be hot, dry, cold or wet.

To conclude, the author of *Ars Medica* consistently follows the patterns established by scholastic medicine. His work gives evidence of a conscious text-building strategy, and a unified theoretical background. Such macro level factors have broad repercussions for constural at meso and micro levels as well. In the sections below, I will analyse all levels in more detail. The two parts of the texts mentioned above will be addressed separately. Since my main goal here is to analyse instructions, descriptive sections will only receive a few general remarks.

5.1.1. Descriptive parts

The discussion of each headache type begins with a description of the signs, causes and symptoms of the condition. One salient feature of these mid-sized textual units is the high frequency of nominal expressions, e.g. *az nedvességnek tele voltától* '[caused] by the saturation of humours' (AM 1.); *elmének gyakorlatossággal való megháborodásitól* '[caused] by the disturbance of the mind due to work' (AM 5.); *az orrából való felette sok takonynak a kiszármazása* 'the exit of a lot of snot from the nose' (AM 6.) stb.

5.1.2. Instructive part – food, drink, lessons

The description of diseases is generally followed by suggestions on food and drink as well as the drawing of general lessons. The order of these, however, can vary. In the relevant parts of my data, I have investigated the linguistic representation of instructions, their frequencies and roles, with special regard to what they tell us about the author, the addressee (healer) and the patient, as well as their interpersonal relations. This study has yielded a total of 109 instructions. The proportion and distribution of these are presented below in Table 2.

The linguistic representation of instruction	All instructions/ number of occurrences	Percentage	Example
instructions anchored to a person			
2sg imperative form	109/11	10.15%	<i>adjad</i> 'give' (AM 2.); <i>kössed</i> 'tie' (AM 4.)

3SG imperative form	109/48	44%	<i>járjon</i> 'walk-IMP.-SG3', <i>éljen</i> 'live-IMP.-SG3 [with sg]', <i>igyék</i> 'drink-IMP.-SG3' (AM 10.)
other type of 2SG instruction	109/3	2.75%	<i>kened</i> 'you spread', <i>csinálod</i> 'you do that'(AM 3.)
other type of 3SG instruction	109/2	1.85%	<i>dolgok ne essenek</i> 'things should not happen' (AM 5.); <i>megeheti</i> 'he/she may eat it' (AM 11.)
impersonal instructions			
<i>kell</i> 'must' + infinitive	109/17	15.6%	<i>el kell távoztatni</i> 'it must be removed'; <i>meleg helyen kell lenni</i> 'one must stay in a warm place' (AM 4.)
<i>jó</i> 'good'/ <i>hasznos</i> 'useful' + infinitive or noun	109/15	13.75%	<i>alvás is jó</i> 'sleeping is good' (AM 4.); <i>meleg fürdő is hasznos</i> 'a hot bath is also useful' (AM 4.)
<i>legyen</i> 'be-IMP-3SG'	109/9	8.25%	<i>ital pedig víz legyen</i> 'as for the drink, it should be water' (AM 2.)
<i>-ván/-vén</i> 'after V-ing'	109/1	0.9%	<i>melegítvén</i> 'after heating it' (AM 2.)
passive	109/3	2.75%	<i>távoztassék</i> 'remove-PASS-IMP-3SG' (AM 5.); <i>megüresítessék</i> 'empty-PASS-IMP-3SG' (AM 7.)

Table 2: Linguistic representations of instructions and their relative frequency in the parts of *Ars Medica* discussing food, drink, and lessons

As the table shows, instructions are elaborated in the text in either of two ways: anchored to a person, or with an impersonal construction. In sections about food, drink, and lessons, the linguistic representation of instructions displays a high degree of variability. Third person singular forms in imperative mood have the largest share (44%); their function is to express what the patient is required to do. These are thus indirect commands directed at the patient. The imperative verb forms found in the section under study tend to be semantically different from those appearing in the section on medicines (cf. 5.1.3.). There are a low number of second person singular forms addressing the healer (10.15%). By contrast, impersonal instructions are highly frequent (41.25% in total). These patterns often profile the circumstances of healing (*-ván/-vén* 'after V-ing', *vmi vmilyen legyen* 'something should be so and so'), NECESSITY (*kell* 'must' + infinitive, *szükséges* 'necessary') or USEFULNESS (*hasznos* 'useful', *jó* 'good').

In instructive parts about food and drink, the speaker emphasizes the role of the patient; it is this participant whose tasks and behaviour are highlighted. In addition to the instructive patterns reviewed above, his person is also evoked by other verbal and nominal structures, primarily those related to the disease or a body part. Note, for instance, the use of verbal person/number suffixes (imperative forms; *innia* 'for him to drink' AM 2.), possessive suffixes (*álmából* 'from his dream' AM 2.), pronominal reference (*magát* 'himself' AM 2., 9.; *az kin*

vagyon 'on whom there is' AM 10.), and finally, names of body parts (*fejét* 'head-ACC' AM 3.) and diseases (*az ilyen főfájó* 'such a one suffering from headache' AM 5., 6.). It is important to emphasize again that the healer and the patient are typically not the same person.¹⁰ Apart from instructions directed at him, the healer is also profiled in many cases in his relationship with the author. This is characterized by a knowledge-based hierarchy; e.g. *Ezt jól eszedbe vegyed, hogy az hideg főfájást mindenkor meleggel kössed és kenjed* 'This you should note carefully, that you must always cure cold headache with hot compress and poultice' (AM 4.).

The author appears not only implicitly in his relationship with the healer but also explicitly on several occasions. This is typically associated with the marking of metapragmatic awareness, and with references being made to other parts of the book (saying, writing, referring). In the sections about headache, the author is represented by exclusive 'we' (Tátrai 2011: 132), which results from the use of a source and the translation strategy being adopted.¹¹ At the same time, it also betrays something about the knowledge representation typical of the time, which reinforces a knowledge-based hierarchy rather than joint action with the healer (cf. scientific thought-styles Taavitsainen 1994, 1995; Taavitsainen–Pahta 1995). The author only shares a community with those at the same level of knowledge: *Kikről ide alább egyéb helyeken megemlékeztünk* 'Of whom we have made mention here in other places' (AM 6.).

In conclusion, a key feature of the instructive part is that it assigns a central role to the patient: his disease, tasks, and the circumstances of healing receive special attention. The relationship between the author and the healer is also elaborated at various levels, which correlates strongly with the author's representation of knowledge and his text-building strategy. Also noteworthy is the significant variability of instructions. On the one hand, this results from the function of the instructive part (presenting the tasks to be performed by the patient as well as the appropriate circumstances). On the other, it may also reflect the fact that instructions of this kind show a lesser degree of conventionalization; they are not arranged into a genre to the same extent as recipes are.

In the text collection for headache, *Ars Medica* is the only text containing an instructive part about the tasks of the patients. In part, this indicates that the speaker accepts and follows the patterns of his source regarding the structure of the text. At the same time, however, it also implies the author's ability to pass on in-depth professional knowledge about healing. In the following section, I will turn to the features of recipes listed under the label "medicines".

5.1.3. Instructive part – recipes

In the 12 texts on headache taken from *Ars Medica*, there are 68 recipes in total (1356 words). These are often to be found under the labels *orvosságok* 'medicines' or *orvosságai* 'its medicines'. In my study of recipes I have paid special attention to the representation of instructions, the profiling of the patient and the healer, the explanations provided by the author, and various circumstances of the healing process (its result and related attempts at persuasion; when and how something needs to be applied, etc.).

¹⁰ The persons of patient and healer are only identical in the introduction before recipes for headache, and in recipe no. 11. The recipe in question addresses drunkenness, i.e. it bears on the treatment of an "everyday" type of headache.

¹¹ In the book as a whole, various other modes of representing the 'I' can also be found. However, of the markers of metapragmatic awareness, the type represented by *írtuk* 'we wrote' and *mondtuk* 'we said' is the most frequent.

Instructions in recipes are conspicuously different from those in the instructive part discussed above. There is a lower degree of variability, with 2nd person imperatives playing an especially dominant role (see Table 3).

The linguistic representation of instruction	All instructions/ number of occurrences	Percentage	Example
instructions anchored to a person			
2SG imperative form	218/194	89%	<i>süss</i> 'bake', <i>vedd ki</i> 'take out', <i>törd meg</i> 'break', (AM 1.)
impersonal instructions			
<i>kell</i> 'must' + infinitive	218/17	7.8%	<i>kell indítani</i> '[one] must start (it)', <i>kell látni</i> '[one] must see (it)' (AM 3.)
- <i>ván/-vén</i> 'after V-ing'	218/3	1.4%	<i>törvén</i> 'after breaking it' (AM 4.); <i>megtisztítván</i> 'after cleaning it' (AM 7.);
<i>jó</i> 'good' + infinitive/noun	218/2	0.9%	<i>a sárnak kivételére pedig igen jó</i> 'it is very good for the removal of waste', <i>jó élni</i> 'it is good to live [with sg]/use [sg]' (AM 9.)
<i>legyen</i> 'be-IMP-3SG'	218/1	0.45%	(<i>összveelegyítvén</i>) <i>legyen ital</i> 'it should be a drink (after it has been mixed)' (AM 9.)
passive	218/1	0.45%	<i>kezdessék</i> 'let it be started' (AM 7.)

Table 3: Linguistic representations of instruction and their relative frequency in *Ars Medica*'s recipes for headache

The data of the table allow us to conclude that instructions in recipes are primarily expressed by 2SG imperative forms, which indicates a high degree of conventionalization (89%). Without exception, the request is addressed to the healer. In addition, the construction *kell* 'must' + infinitive is also relatively popular (7.8%). For example, it repeatedly occurs in descriptions of phlebotomy.

In the context of a hierarchical relationship between author and healer (directive speech acts, deontic modality), the instructions profile the role of the healer. His person is highlighted in several instructions and remarks of the author, with the knowledge-based hierarchy also expressed: *mind ezt cselekedjed* 'do all this' (AM 1.); *de ezt mind unos-untalan megújítsad* 'but renew this again and again' (AM 3.). As for the patient, he is represented in recipes in the same way as in other parts of the data, however, the relative frequency of distinct types of representation is different. Whereas in the instructive part about food, drink, and lessons, verbal person suffixes are most frequently used in this function, in recipes, the naming of body parts predominates (with 56 occurrences). In a smaller number of cases, body part names are also supplied with a possessive suffix (18 tokens). As far as other types of representation are concerned, no significant difference shows up in comparison to the preceding instructive part.

Regarding recipes, a further issue worth discussing is the manner (and level of detail) in which the healing process is elaborated. The selected texts from *Ars Medica* have no shortage

of detailed explanations such as *kell pedig megvágni az karon való eret, kit cephalicának, azaz főnek erének hínak* 'and one must cut the vessel in the arm which is called *cephalia*, that is, main vessel'. In other cases, however, technical terms are used without explanation, i.e. knowledge of them seems to be presupposed (*trociscosokat csinálj belőle* 'make *trociscos* of them' AM. 1., 2.). Also noteworthy is the fact that recipes often specify measures very precisely, although everyday units of measurements are also widespread (*valami kevés* 'a little', *kicsin sáfrány* 'small saffron' AM 1.). In addition, remarks on the suitable method or circumstances for preparing a medicine or applying a therapy occur relatively frequently, e.g. *mint egy pépet* 'like a pulp', *jól* 'well', *melegen* 'warmly' (AM 1.). Finally, expressions highlighting the result of the therapy and serving a persuasive function are commonly used by the author. This may mean emphasizing the stopping of the disease (*elveszi a főfájást* 'it takes away headache' AM 1.), the success of the cure (*meggyógyítja az fájó fejet* 'it heals the aching head' AM 2.); the tried and tested nature of the method (*ez igen megpróbáltatott* 'this has been thoroughly tested' AM 12.); an immediate positive effect (*azonnal megszűnik a fájdalom* 'the pain will stop at once'); or reference to an authority (*azt írja Galenus, hogy ezzel meggyógyul* 'Galen writes that this will cure [the patient]' AM 4.). In most cases, these strategies of persuasion are used in combination (for details, see Kuna 2013).

In conclusion, texts about headache in *Ars Medica* are characterized by varied knowledge representations, and give evidence of the author's carefully implemented text-building strategy. The headings of the 12 passages, each discussing a different type of headache, show a uniform picture (except for the part addressing children's headache, AM 3.). All information is elaborated in sufficient detail. The patient is typically evoked by 3SG imperative verb forms or by the mentioning of the body part to be cured. The schema of self-healing is almost entirely absent (but note the part on drunkenness, cf. AM 11.). Textual clues make it clear that the book is written by an author with professional knowledge, and it is aimed at (more or less) skilled healers, who are prototypically addressed by 2SG forms. The author predominantly appears in his relation to the healer, with a knowledge-based hierarchy defining their roles. Their relationship can be regarded as formal rather than informal in the domain of situation. To a large extent, this is due to the fact that the author strongly adheres to the traditional features of remedy books, and also applies the era's dominant thought-style, which attached a special role to authority (cf. Taavitsainen 1994, 1995). This is clearly shown by the linguistic representation of instructions, deontic modality, methods of healing, and metapragmatic awareness. In contrast to *Pax Corporis* (cf. 5.3.), *Ars Medica* gives priority to compliance with dominant conventions and norms rather than individual style and adaptation to the addressee. This is reflected at various levels of the text (detailed knowledge representation, consistent use of instructions in recipes, elaboration of a hierarchical relationship, etc.).

5.2. *Orvoskönyv Lovak orvoslása* 'Medical Book, The curing of horses (before 1619)

This recipe collection was created at approximately the same time as *Ars Medica*. Some texts related to headache appear in isolation, with a large distance between them, while others form text colonies, closely following each other (cf. Carrol 2003). There are groups composed of eleven, four, and two recipes, the remaining recipes being scattered throughout the book.¹² The positioning of recipes may follow from the method and time of copying as well as the use of

¹² Text colony of 11: Ork. 855–865.; group of 4: Orvk. 1511–1514.; group of 2: Orvk. 1347–1348.; isolated recipes: Orvk. 1., 34., 58., 161., 342., 372., 418., 449., 1132., 1366., 1466., 1518.

a source text. The handwriting in the manuscript betrays that János Török spent many years compiling the book. This may explain why one recipe appears twice in the collection (cf. Orvk. 418., 1347.). Incidentally, an almost identical text is also included in *Ars Medica* (AM 1.).

The *Medical Book* contains no separate descriptive and instructive sections, only recipes. These are typically short and to the point (cf. (1a), (1b)). Characteristically, they include all three functional units of the genre, viz. the initiator, the instructive part, and a closure for persuasion (1a). Initiators are hardly ever missing, with some recipe groups making an exception. For example, in the group of eleven recipes for headache, the first text is introduced by the initiator *Főfájásról* 'On headache' (Orvk. 855.), then the headings *Jó főfájásról* 'Good for headache' (Orvk. 857) and *hasonlatosképpen* 'in a similar way' (Orvk. 858.) appear. In the remaining texts, however, there is no title-like specification of an illness, only the recipes' consecutive order signals their belonging together. It can be observed, though, that recipe groups often feature the repetition of an initiator, or else the phrases *más* 'another one', *ugyanarról* 'about the same', or *ismét* 'again' indicate thematic continuity (cf. Orvk. 1511–1514.).

The level of elaboration and length of instructive parts may vary. The linguistic construal of instructions is also subject to a high degree of variability, as illustrated by Table 4 below.

The linguistic representation of instruction	All instructions/number of occurrences	Percentage	Example
instructions anchored to a person			
2SG imperative form	74/54	73%	<i>főzd össze</i> 'cook together', <i>kend meg</i> 'lubricate it' (Orvk. 58.)
3SG imperative form	74/9	12%	<i>rakja</i> 'put-IMP-3SG', <i>töltsön</i> 'pour-IMP-3SG', <i>kösse</i> 'tie-IMP-3SG' (Orvk. 1513.)
3PL imperative form	74/1	1.4%	<i>kenjék</i> 'spread-IMP-3PL' (Orvk. 1366.)
impersonal instructions			
<i>kell</i> 'must' + infinitive	74/5	6.8%	<i>kell megönteni és [kell] reá kötni</i> '[one] must pour it on [the patient], and tie it on him' (Orvk. 34.)
<i>jó</i> 'good' + infinitive/noun	74/3	4%	<i>jó, ha orrába csöpögteti</i> 'it is good if he drips it into the nose' (Orvk. 855.)
<i>-ván/-vén</i> 'after V-ing'	74/1	1.4%	<i>egybe elegyítvén</i> 'having mixed them together' (Orvk. 372.)
passive	74/1	1.4%	<i>megkenettetik</i> 'is lubricated' (Orvk. 858.)

Table 4: Linguistic representations of instruction and their relative frequency in the *Medical Book*'s recipes for headache

It can be observed that instructions with 2SG imperative forms are the most frequent in the recipes of the *Medical Book* (73%), followed by 3SG imperative forms (12%). Unlike what we find in *Ars Medica*, instructions are not only directed at the healer but also at the patient. Self-healing is conceptualized either by a 2SG imperative form combined with the name of a body part with a 2SG possessive suffix, or the corresponding forms in third person singular (cf. (1a)). Addressing the patient reflects the goal-oriented norm of the speaker to make

KNOWLEDGE and ACTION conducive to healing accessible to ordinary people.

- (1a) *Az ki nem alhatik és feje fájna.* Vegye az fejér ürmöt, és levelét törje meg, és vízben főzze meg, es valami szép ruhácskára tegye és kösse az fejére, és nagy fájdalmakat elveszen róla, és nagy gyönyörűséggel altatja. (Orvk. 1.)
 'He who cannot sleep and has headache. Take [IMP.- 3SG.] white mugwort, crush [IMP.- 3SG.] its leaves, and cook [IMP.- 3SG.] them in water, then put [IMP.- 3SG.] them on some nice cloth and tie [IMP.- 3SG.] them on the head, it will take away great pains, and make him sleep beautifully.' (OrvK. 1.)

Thus, the addressees of recipes can be either healers or the patients themselves. Only rarely does the author appear explicitly, and there are only weak indications of a knowledge-based hierarchy. Therefore, explanations and other similar remarks are absent. The patient is linguistically represented in a way similar to what we find in *Ars Medica* (verbal person suffix, possessive suffix, name of a body part, pronoun). One difference, though, is that names of body parts more frequently occur with a possessive suffix than by themselves. Persuasive closures primarily profile the end of the illness and the result of the therapy (*főfájást eloszt, és alhatik is* 'it dissolves headache, so that he can sleep' Orvk. 1518.). Furthermore, there is a discrepancy in the two texts' level of elaboration. The recipes of the *Medical Book* are in many ways simpler and more concise than those analysed above, with some inconsistencies complicating the picture (which may be a result of copying; cf. Orvk. 34.).

In the recipes of *Ars Medica*, participant roles are carefully specified. The author typically represents knowledge from his own perspective (1SG), although 1PL and 3SG forms may also occur in this function. In such cases, perspectivization or the shifting of perspective is involved (cf. Sanders–Spooren 1997: 88–91; Tátrai 2011: 122). In *Ars Medica*, the addressee is the healer, typically represented by 2SG, while the patient is elaborated by 3SG forms. The same uniform system cannot be found in the *Medical Book*. The appearance of the schema of self-healing makes the most significant difference, often resulting in a change of addressee (functioning as healer) even within the same recipe. I also interpret this as a shift of perspective.

- (1b) *Főfájásról.* Jó főfájásról az borostyánnak leve, ha orrában csöpögteti, és azonnal főstöt tesznek orra alá. (Orvk. 855.)
 'On headache. The juice of ivy is good for headache, when he is dripping it into his nose, and they immediately put smoke under his nose.'

In (1b), the participant roles are ambiguous. The possessive suffix (*orrában* 'in nose-poss(3SG)'/ 'in his nose') and the 3SG verbal suffix (*csöpögteti* 'drip-3SG-DEF.OBJ'/ 'He is dripping it') suggest that the patient himself should perform the actions. However, the 3PL verb form *tesznek* 'they are putting' indicates the presence of a separate healer or healers. A similar shift of perspective (with an elliptical structure) can be found in several recipes.

By way of summary, the first thing to note is that the position of the 27 recipes indicates no underlying organizing principle. The texts may appear either in isolation or in groups. They typically begin with an initiator. Instructive parts are short and often elliptical. The addressee may be either the healer or the patient, hence the schema of self-healing is introduced. In many cases,

coreferential relations can be observed whose referents are not (or not fully) established in the text by a proper antecedent (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006: 80). These coreferential relations, elliptical structure, and inconsistencies in perspective are features characteristic of spoken discourse, indicating that a less consistent text-building strategy is applied by the author (cf. Koch-Österreicher 1985). Compared to *Ars Medica*, the style of the *Medical Book* can thus be described as rather informal, featuring approach rather than avoidance in terms of interpersonal movements. At the same time, it is remarkable that almost without exception, all main functional elements of the script of recipes are elaborated, thus the conventionalized patterns of the genre also have a strong influence.

5.3. *Pax Corporis* (1690; 1695)

Pax Corporis adopts the “head to toe” arrangement of recipes, thus headache is addressed at the beginning of the first volume. The theory behind diagnosis and therapy is provided by humoral pathology, which leaves its mark on both the presentation of the causes of particular diseases and on the ensuing recipes. The section under study begins with the title-like initiator *A főfájásról* ‘On headache’. This is followed by a summary description of the loci, symptoms and interpretations of various kinds of headache. The recipes, 23 in total, are found under the heading *Orvosságai* ‘Its medicines’. Hence, the same text-building strategy is evident in this text as the one observed before in *Ars Medica*.

In the descriptive part, there is a high number of nominal expressions. For example, in the section *Okai* ‘Its causes’, the following patterns are found: *a terehnek érzése a főben* ‘the feeling of burden in the head’, *a dobogó fájdalom az élő-erekben vagy artériákban a bőség miatt megtolult igen meleg vértől* ‘the pulsating pain in veins or arteries due to the compression of very hot blood caused by its abundance’ (Szablyár 1984: 17–18). The instructive part consists entirely of recipes, offering no specific advice on food, drinks or general behaviour. The elaboration of instructions displays a high degree of variability, as demonstrated by Table 5 below.

The linguistic representations of instruction	All instructions/ number of occurrences	Percentage	Example
instructions anchored to a person			
2SG imperative form	78/29	37.1%	<i>reszelj</i> ‘grind’, <i>törd össze</i> ‘crush’, (PC 4.)
3SG imperative form	78/2	2.6%	<i>igyék</i> ‘drink-IMP.- 3SG.’ (PC 19.); <i>rágja</i> ‘chew-IMP.- 3SG.’ (PC 23.)
3PL imperative form	78/13	16.7%	<i>égessenek</i> ‘burn-IMP.- 3PL.’, <i>mossák</i> ‘wash-IMP.- 3PL.’ (PC 1.)
impersonal instructions			
<i>kell</i> ‘must’ + infinitive	78/5	6.4%	<i>eret kell vágatni</i> ‘a vessel must be cut’ (PC 9.); <i>mosni kell</i> ‘it needs washing’ (PC. 11., 13.)
<i>-ván/-vén</i> ‘after V-ing’	78/11	14.1%	<i>megtörvén</i> ‘after breaking it’, <i>kifacsarván</i> ‘after squeezing it’ (PC 15.)

<i>jó</i> 'good' / <i>jobb</i> 'better' / <i>hasznos</i> 'useful' + infinitive / noun	78/14	18%	<i>jó itt kenni</i> 'it is good to lubricate it here' (PC 17.); <i>megvágatni igen hasznos</i> 'it is very useful to have it cut', (PC 8.)
<i>-ás/-és</i> '-ing'+ <i>szükséges</i> 'necessary', <i>használ, segít</i> 'it helps'	78/4	5.1%	<i>köpölyözés jól segít</i> 'cupping helps a lot' (PC 8.); <i>dörgölés is használ</i> 'a massage also helps' (PC 19.)

Table 5: Linguistic representations of instruction and their relative frequency in the recipes for headache of *Pax Corporis*

The data in the table clearly shows that 2SG imperative forms also dominate in the recipes of *Pax Corporis* (37.1%), although they are not as frequent as in the previous two texts. The imperative clauses in question are typically directed at the healer. Interestingly, 3SG imperative forms are also relatively frequent (17.1%); they typically appeal to healers in general. While the schema of self-healing is absent, pharmacy and people with related skills do appear in the text (cf. (2)). Furthermore, it can be observed that the performance of particular tasks receives a more careful elaboration. For instance, healers must get someone to perform phlebotomy or to prepare certain medicines rather than undertaking these tasks themselves.

(2) Mindezek mellett igen jó léssen elsőben is valami sárt felyül hánytató orvossággal (vomitoriummal) élni, ahhoz értő emberrel készítettév.

'Besides these, it will be very good to begin by using a vomitory medicine, having it prepared beforehand by a skilled person.' (PC 7.)

Impersonal instructions also have a significant share (43.6%). In the section under investigation, the author is only explicitly referred to once by an inclusive 'we' (*nálunk* 'at our place', PC 23.). However, throughout the book, his cooperation with and compassion for healers are manifested several times. The patient is typically evoked by the name of a body part and the associated possessive suffix (*fejét* 'head-poss(3SG)-ACC.', *homlokát* 'forehead-poss(3SG)-ACC.', PC 3.). On the other hand, the body part's name by itself is rarely used (*szem* 'eye', PC 10.). In addition, verbal suffixes (*vomitóriummal élhet* 'he may use a vomitory medicine', PC 10.) and metonymic expressions related to the word *ember* 'man' or the disease deserve special mention (*a fájdalmas részre* 'onto the painful part', PC 15.).

Albeit not under separate initiators, many types of headache are discussed in the text, with two recipes devoted to the treatment of child headache (PC 11., 19.). Types are usually introduced by reference to their symptoms, which facilitates understanding. In terms of linguistic elaboration, the *ha-akkor* ('if-then') construction is fairly frequent, where the adverbial subclause expresses temporality and condition, cf. *ha a belső főfájás forróságban vagyon* 'if/when the inside of the head is aching in fever' (PC 2.). Compared to other texts, *Pax Corporis* features a high number of adverbial subclauses of reason and goal, in which the effects of a cure are explained: *eret kell vágatni [...], hogy a megtolult vér szabaduljon* 'a vessel must be cut [...] so that the compressed blood can free up' (PC 9.). These explanations also address the question of what may or must not be done. Occasionally, clarifying expressions are used, as in *felyül hánytató orvossággal (vomitóriummal)* 'with medicine causing vomiting at the top (with vomitory medicine)' (PC 7.). Despite the conciseness of certain recipes, the methods of preparing or administering a medicine

are always made sufficiently clear by phrases such as *ilyen módon* 'in this manner', *ecetben* 'in vinegar', *minden nap egynéhányszor* 'a few times every day', *gyakorta* 'often' (PC 1.). Circumstances and modes are often expressed by adverbial participles (ending in *-ván/-vén*, see the tables above), closely intertwined with the instructive function of recipes.

The above factors indicate that a knowledge-based hierarchy also obtains between the author and the healer in *Pax Corporis*; however, clarity receives more emphasis. In other words, the book's author adapts himself to a wider range of addressees than was the case with *Ars Medica*. A further interesting feature is the more frequent occurrence of conditional mood, and more generally, a more subtle expression of possibility and necessity (cf. *kaphatod* 'you may get it', PC 2.). Despite the complexity of linguistic construal, the recipes are short and clear, not overloaded with information. In many ways they are similar to the recipe collection reviewed above (cf. 5.2). The consecutive order of therapies is often explicitly signaled, just as we have seen in recipe groups before (*vagy* 'or', *ismét* 'again', *ugyanazon okon* 'for the same reason', etc.), which cannot be said for *Ars Medica*, for example. However, the texts of *Pax Corporis* are not elliptic, nor do they feature inconsistent shifts of perspective within a given recipe (except for PC 2.). The creation of a positive attitude is given priority here as well, mostly through the elaboration of the concepts GOOD and USEFUL, often in conjunction with an instructive function, cf. *legjobb a főfájásban* 'it is best for headache' (PC 4.); *jól segít* 'it helps well' (PC 8.); *az is használ* 'that also helps' (PC 11.).

It can be concluded that the sections on headache in *Pax Corporis* betray a well-organized textual strategy. The theoretical background of the text is provided by humoral pathology. With regard to instructions, a key tendency is the use of impersonal constructions, which may combine with the function of creating a positive attitude, or with the highlighting of circumstances. The recipes are short and to the point without being elliptic; on the contrary, they include explanations when necessary. Headache is addressed in all its variety, and in a practical-minded way. Hence, symptoms rather than technical terms receive special attention. The author shares his knowledge and experience in an accessible way with those engaged in healing. While the schema of self-healing appears to be missing, there are numerous references to the circumstances of healing (e.g. the need to involve skilled persons). The author of *Pax Corporis* puts a premium on adaptation to the addressees, and on achieving the goals of the remedy book. The concise recipes with the appended explanations contribute significantly to the promotion of the recommended healing practices amongst ordinary people (even the *igye-fogyott szegények* 'miserable poor',¹³ as they are called in the preface). The adaptive effort of the author is also evident from his use of the inclusive 'we'. At the same time, though, the work also carries the footprint of contemporary medical thought as shared by learned doctors. This is manifested, for example, in the structure of the book, the Latinate expressions being used (and explained), the technical vocabulary, and the elaborate, explicit linguistic forms.

The style of *Pax Corporis* is heterogeneous. On the one hand, the author follows the patterns of remedy books, respects the values of the medical profession, and thus often opts for formal (distancing) stylistic devices. Nevertheless, the author's personal tone is also evident, e.g. when he is paraphrasing something in his own "idiolect", departing from strict translation, or when subtle forms of expressions are used (for signaling possibility or necessity). Also noteworthy is

¹³ From the preface of *Pax Corporis* (Szablyár 1984: 15).

the attention the author pays to the expectation norms of the addressees (brevity, clarity, explanations). Occasionally, the relationship between author and addressees is construed by an inclusive 'we', in a way approximating familiar style (compared to other texts in the corpus). The creation of a positive attitude is also prioritized, drawing primarily on emotions. Acts of persuasion are typically expressed by impersonal forms (*jó* 'good' / *hasznos* 'useful' + infinitive). A stylistic analysis therefore demonstrates that despite belonging to the same type of medical writing, *Pax Corporis* places significantly less emphasis on authority and hierarchical relations than *Ars Medica* does. This is probably due to both personal differences in style and changes in patterns of thought which occurred during the hundred years separating the two texts (cf. the notion of scientific thought-style; Taavitsainen 1994, Taavitsainen–Pahta 1995, 1998).

5.4. Medical and barber profession (1668–1703)

This recipe collection dates from around the same time as *Pax Corporis*, and the latter was probably one of its sources. There are 35 recipes for headache in total, of which nine are isolated, and the remaining 26 constitute a text colony.¹⁴ No organizing principle or unified theoretical background of the kind we have seen in remedy books can be discerned here. The recipes are typically concise, and include all three prototypical functional units which are characteristic of the genre. Initiators display greater variation than the medical writings analysed so far, cf. *Ha fejed fáj* 'If your head is aching' (Medbor. 121.); *Főfájástól jó igen* 'Very good for headache' (Medbor. 144.); *Más azonról ige[n] jó* 'Another very good one for the same' (Medbor. 500.). These examples demonstrate not only the variability of linguistic construal but also the fact that attempts at creating a positive attitude may occur right at the beginning of recipes. Thus, the two functional units are often conflated. Initiators are not omitted in the recipe group either. They either profile a type of headache (*Az igen nagy főfájásról való* 'About very heavy headache' Medbor. 494.), or signal repetition (*Más azonról való* 'Another one about the same' Medbor. 495.).

Types of instruction and their frequency figures are presented below in the familiar format (Table 6).

The linguistic representations of instruction	All instructions/ number of occurrence	Percentage	Example
instructions anchored to a person			
2SG imperative form	123/94	76.4%	<i>egyed, rágjad</i> 'eat it, chew it' (Medbor. 33.); <i>mosd meg</i> 'wash it' (Medbor. 121.)
3SG imperative form	123/3	2.45%	<i>vegye</i> 'take-IMP.- 3SG.', <i>szíjjon fel</i> 'take-IMP.- 3SG. in' (Medbor. 508.)
2SG instruction in declarative mood (<i>ha–akkor</i> 'if–then')	123/10	8.1%	<i>ha az veronikának vizét veszed, azt iszod</i> 'if you are taking Veronica's water, you are drinking it' (Medbor. 1247.)
3SG instruction in declarative mood	123/1	0.8%	<i>úgy használ, hogyha homlokát és vak szemeit keni véle</i> 'it helps if [the patient] rubs it on his forehead and closed [lit. blind] eyes (Medbor. 193.)
impersonal instructions			

¹⁴ Text colony of 26: 493–517.; isolated recipes: 33., 121., 144., 193., 412., 427., 1177., 1247., 1314.

<i>kell</i> 'must' + infinitive'	123/7	5.7%	<i>meg kell főzni</i> 'it must be cooked', <i>kenni kell</i> 'it must be spread' (Medbor. 511.)
- <i>ván/-vén</i> 'after V-ing'	123/3	2.45%	<i>öszvefacsarván</i> 'having squeezed it', <i>elegyítvén</i> 'having mixed it' (Medbor. 513.)
<i>jó</i> 'good' + infinitive / noun	123/5	4.1%	<i>álom ellen jó</i> 'good against sleepiness' (Medbor. 427.); <i>jó bekötmi vele</i> 'it is good to tie it on' (Medbor. 503.)

Table 6: Linguistic representations of instruction and their relative frequency in the recipes for headache of *Mecical and barber profession*

In *Medical and barber profession*, the prototypical linguistic representation of instruction (2sg imperative) is the most frequent (76.4%), followed by constructions with *kell* 'must' and its infinitival complement (5.7%). These proportions are remarkably similar to the ones observed in János Török's *Medical Book* (cf. section 5.2.: 71% and 7.2%, respectively). Other notable similarities include the way in which the patient is represented, and the presence of the schema of self-healing. The latter is even more prevalent here than in the *Medical Book*, and it is typically construed by means of a 2sg imperative form and the name of a body part with a 2sg possessive suffix.¹⁵

This recipe collection also contains texts which are overly elliptic, inconsistently structured, or include mistakes in grammatical agreement (cf. Medbor. 193., 427., 502., 510., 1177.). It can be observed, though, that the method of preparing a medicine and the timing of its application receive more attention than in the recipes of the *Medical Book*, which may also result from the sources being used by the author. This effect is achieved by such phrases as *reggelenként* 'every morning', *erősen* 'strongly' (Medbor. 33.); *az állán által* 'over his chin', and *jó szorosan* 'very tightly' (Medbor. 492.). The use of "official" measures (cf. *lott* Medbor. 516., 517.)¹⁶ in addition to the informal ones such as *borsónyi* 'the size of a pea', *egy-egy marokkal* 'with a handful of each' (Medbor. 33., 517.) may receive a similar explanation.

Compared to the *Medical Book* and the other two works, one difference comes from the heavy use of persuasive passages. More than one expression with a persuasive function may appear in the same recipe, and somewhat unconventionally, they may even occur in initiators, cf. *használ* 'it helps' (Medbor. 144.); *megyógyít, igaz úgy* 'this will cure you, it is truly so' (Medbor. 427.); *profbatum est*¹⁷ (Medbor. 497.); *kitisztítja a rossz nedvességeket* 'it cleans you from bad humours' (Medbor. 508.), and the examples mentioned above. This recipe collection places the most emphasis on the creation of a positive attitude, on winning the trust of the patient and the healer, as demonstrated by the frequency of persuasive expressions and other phrases with an emotional appeal directed at the addressee, cf. *elhidd* 'believe it' (Medbor. 193.); *szépen így cselekedjél* 'kindly act like this' (Medbor. 509.). Therefore, it can be concluded that in the relationship between the author and the healer (or in many cases the patient), it is not so much a knowledge-based hierarchy that is highlighted conceptually. Rather, the efficacy of the cure and the author's good will are reinforced time and again, creating a familiar tone of style in the domain of attitude.

In conclusion, it is fair to say that the recipes of *Medical and barber profession* display remarkable similarity to those in the *Medical Book*. This is manifested in the way the speech situation

¹⁵ See also Medbor. 33., 144., 193., 427., 493., 494., 495., 496., 499., 500., 501., 509., 512., 1247.

¹⁶ *Lat* (*lot, lott*) 'unit of weight, between 14 and 19 grams'.

¹⁷ *Probatum est* (lat.) 'it has been tested'.

characteristic of the recipe collection is conceptualized and linguistically construed in a relatively informal style. The most significant difference between the two works concerns the relationship between the author and the addressee. In particular, the author of *Medical and barber profession* places more emphasis on the creation of a positive attitude than that of the *Medical Book*.

In what follows, I will provide something of an overview by examining what typical patterns or stylistic patterns emerge from a careful analysis of the recipes. Also, I will address the question of how these relate to the participants of the scene of joint attention and their socio-cultural background (with special regard to the variables of situation, value, and attitude).

5.5. The features of scientific and everyday stylistic patterns

In previous sections, we have seen that the construal of texts is greatly determined by the script associated with the genre of recipes. It has been observed, for example, that the recipes of all four medical works under study conform to the prototypical arrangement of information (chronological sequencing). A further general result the analysis affords is that 2sg imperative can be regarded as the prototypical form of instruction in the therapeutic recipes of the era, with high frequency and high level of conventionalization across different authors and addressees. However, there are also several differences in the texts, depending on such factors as the author's attitude to conventionalized discourse patterns, his level of education, his way of representing knowledge, his goal-oriented norms and his efforts to adapt to the addressees.

The texts' analysis and information on their historical background both suggest that *Ars Medica* and *Pax Corporis*, as well as the *Medical Book* and *Medical and barber profession* display similar properties in the construal of recipes. This results in large measure from the fact that the authors comply with the norms (goal-oriented norms and expectation norms) associated with the medical texts in question. As we have seen before, whereas remedy books provide systematic information on illnesses and their cures, recipe collections are primarily aimed at quick information transfer. In the case of both genres, the authors address a broad spectrum of society; the texts are intended to be read (or even read aloud) by ordinary people. At the same time, though, there are also numerous differences in construal. Capturing these requires a stylistic analysis informed by socio-cultural factors.

The analysis supports the conclusion that remedy books (covering the illnesses of the whole body) are basically norm-conforming texts. This is reflected in their theoretical background, structuring of information, degree of planning in text-building strategies, as well as their representation of knowledge and heavy use of impersonal constructions. These features suggest that remedy books are characterized by formal (distancing) style in terms of the domain of situation. The discourse patterns, conventional knowledge representations, and other aspects of formal style can be found at levels of the texts. Together, they establish the scientific style of the era (cf. Table 7). And although they were presumably meant to be read aloud as well, their primary mode of usage cannot have been this.

In contrast with remedy books, recipe collections feature rather informal style and a lesser degree of norm compliance. More freedom and less prior planning can be detected in their text-building strategies and knowledge representations. Their concise, easily-to-follow wordings and elliptic structures allow for quick access to information, even when the texts are read aloud. In short, these recipe collections converge toward everyday style (cf. Table 7).

scientific stylistic pattern	everyday stylistic pattern
<p>Macro level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there is a scientific theory in the background (although folk beliefs are also present) • the texts, recipes are arranged according to a specific organizing principle (e.g. from head to toe) • structured, elaborate text-building strategy • the recipes are included in lengthier, more detailed texts (with both descriptive and instructive parts) • varying length but typically with clear structuring into meso-level units <p>Meso and micro levels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • chronological sequencing (and the schematic expression of causal relations; explanations) • elaborate knowledge representation (technical terms and explanations) • higher proportion of nominal expressions • knowledge-based hierarchy between author and addressee (top-down communication) • more frequent occurrence of 1SG (authorship, subject of consciousness, metapragmatic awareness) • of the functional units of the recipe, the initiator is missing in several instances (as the recipe is part of a larger text) • prototypical forms of instruction: 2SG imperative, <i>kell</i> 'must' + infinitive; frequent impersonal constructs • various devices for persuasion (appeal to famous doctors or aristocrats; elaboration of the concepts of RESULT, USEFULNESS, and CERTAINTY) • separation of healer and patient roles (in the schema of healing) • the circumstances of healing are made more explicit • rare shifts of perspective (conscious and consistent signaling of perspective) 	<p>Macro level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mixing of folk observations and beliefs with scientific theories • generally no organizing principle behind the arrangement of recipes (exceptionally, alphabetical order or thematic grouping) • less elaborate, less structured text • recipes are independent short texts, sometimes included in text colonies • short length, quick information transfer, recipes themselves are of medium length (meso level texts) <p>Meso and micro levels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • chronological sequencing • short, elliptic structure (activation of factors in the background of the script) • proportionate distribution of verbal and nominal expressions • sideways communication, less hierarchical relationship between author and addressee • rarer use of 1SG (unknown author, copying) • initiators are rarely omitted (some signal of repetition even in text colonies) • prototypical forms of instruction: 2SG imperative, <i>kell</i> 'must' + infinitive (frequent representation of interpersonal interaction) • various devices for persuasion (elaboration of CERTAINTY, USEFULNESS, RESULT, appeal to EMOTIONS) • the healer and the patient are often the same person (the schemas of healing and self-healing are both employed) • the circumstances of healing are less elaborately construed • more frequent shifts of perspective (often in an unconscious, inconsistent way)

Table 7: Macro, meso and micro level features of scientific and everyday style

The analysis suggests that the proto-text (cf. Tátrai, this volume) of therapeutic recipes in the era under investigation displays a contrast between scientific and everyday types of style, based primarily on different levels of formality in the domain of situation, and varying degrees of compliance with discourse norms. These two stylistic patterns can be best interpreted in comparison to each other. The two differ in the way they construe the interpersonal relationship between the author and the addressees. Whereas scientific style is typically characterized by the expression of interpersonal distance (impersonal constructions, nominal elements, technical terms, knowledge-based hierarchy), everyday style highlights proximity (elliptic structure, features of spoken discourse, appeal to emotions). However, it should be noted that individual texts vary greatly. For example, familiarity between the author and the addressees, and appeal to emotions are charac-

teristic especially of *Pax Corporis* and *Medical and barber profession*, which date back to around the same time. Understanding the reasons behind these similarities and differences would require the study of a larger corpus as well as consideration of the source texts used by the authors.

6. Summary, conclusions

The analysis above has shown that historical texts can be treated not only as products but also in a more dynamic way, with a view to the underlying processes. To understand texts in terms of the interaction between author and addressees, one must crucially reconstruct their historical and socio-cultural background. Furthermore, it is important that the texts to be analysed should be comparable and representative of the phenomenon under investigation. As we have seen, the compilation of a corpus can be guided by the concepts of genre and discourse domain, as these allow one to observe varying modes of construal for a given typical speech situation (cf. recipes) related to a particular thematic area (in the case at hand, the discourse domain of medication). In the case at hand, however, I have worked with a relatively small text collection, subjecting it to qualitative analysis. The research has highlighted that historical texts are fundamentally varied with regard to construal, in close correlation with such factors as the alternate modes in which the speech situation can be conceptualized, the range of available discourse patterns, and the personalities and goals of the discourse participants, i.e. socio-cultural variables.

Accordingly, the paper presented the layered structure of medication in the era (as determined by the socio-cultural background), and concomitantly, the discourse communities involved in the production and interpretation of medical writings, with special regard to the script associated with recipes as a genre. This latter provided a framework for the study of style in recipes for headache in four selected medical works of the 16th and 17th centuries. Crucial aspects of the study of socio-cultural factors included participant roles, knowledge representations, and the ways in which elements of the script were elaborated in comparison to the established norms. Of the socio-cultural variables of style, the domains of situation, value and attitude were especially prominent.

A general conclusion of the stylistic analysis is that the medical recipes of the era give evidence of two basic stylistic patterns, different primarily with regard to the domain of situation. The scientific stylistic pattern is characterized at all levels of the text by formality and the marking of interpersonal distance. This goes hand in hand with stricter adherence to the conventionalized discourse patterns, and the elaboration of a knowledge-based hierarchy (top-down communication) with a lesser degree of familiarity in the relationship between author and addressees. By contrast, the everyday stylistic pattern of recipes is characterized by informality. Although the norms associated with the script of recipes are typically respected, knowledge representation is adjusted to a broader spectrum of addressees. Moreover, the patterns of recipe collections allow for much more freedom and flexibility in transferring medical information. This brings with it a less prominent role of the knowledge-based hierarchy, and often produces features of sideways communication such as informal style and the elaboration of interpersonal proximity between author and addressees. It is important to note, however, that the two stylistic patterns cannot be neatly separated, as the texts of the data and their analysis have shown.

Overall, I hope to have demonstrated in this paper that the stylistic analysis of 16th and 17th c. medical recipes opens the way for a deeper understanding of the functioning and evolution of the genre, with regard to both shared conventions and individual tendencies in construal.

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