THE METAPHORICAL POTENTIAL OF SPACE
IN HUNGARIAN FOLK SONGS

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Abstract

A special characteristic of numerous Hungarian folk songs is the so called "natural image", which, in an initial position within the text, generates a certain anticipation about the emotional and conceptual content. However, in several cases the meaning and the conceptual relevance of the natural image is far from obvious. A fundamental element in the world of the text for the representation of the natural scene based on mostly visual perception is that of dynamically construed spatial relationships. The analysis of the metaphorical potential of space representation calls for a model which combines both structural and procedural factors of understanding. This paper aims at outlining all categories which have a significant role in space representation and through this composing a framework of interpretation which, though rests on one particular text type, can later be extended to further types of lyrics. The significance of this paper is two-fold: it presents fundamentally new results on the process of construing works in terms of text types, while it is also an example of the empirical investigation in functional text linguistics. The theoretical basis of the approach is mostly holistic cognitive linguistics as worked out by R. Langacker, and the methodology used is empirical text analysis.

The structure of the paper is the following: first, the nature of space representation is briefly discussed (1.), followed by an overview of the basic textual characteristics of Hungarian folk songs (2.1.). Subsequently I introduce a model of interpretation focusing on the space-semantic components of folk songs (2.2.) from which I select two components (conceptual construction and deixis) and show how analysis can be carried out in praxis, i.e. on a particular text (2.3.). Finally, a summary of observations is given (3.).

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, folklore, metaphor, spatial semantics

1. Spatial representation

One of the basic categories of referential imagery is the dimension of space. Objects are defined in space on the first place by various expressions. On the ground of such expressions Vater (1991) set up a model of expressions of space representation, dividing them into two major groups: expressions of localisation refer to the circumstances of position and the direction of movement of an entity while dimensional expressions describe the entity's shape. He also distinguishes between deictic and non-deictic linguistic elements according to whether they may or may not imply a vantage point. Although Vater's model works with

decontextualised linguistic data, it also incorporates several pragmatic aspects. Further, he points out that the study of spatial representation is only possible via a complex set of considerations.

Research on the conceptual and linguistic nature of spatial representation involves a number of fields of text linguistics. Construal is often taken as a starting point. It has a discursive background (Langacker 2001) and is characterized by referentiality, intentionality, intersubjectivity and perspectivity. Linguistic reference is understood as an intersubjective activity, in which the speaker draws the addressee's attention to an entity or event with the help of symbols. When analysing the spatial dimensions of the event of joint attention, we have to consider the mental processes of construal together with the physical aspects of the discourse universe. The nature of physical space is reflected upon in Einstein's observation, that is, space itself is established by the relative position of objects, and it is the quality of position in the world of objects (Einstein 1954). This implies that objects can be viewed and interpreted only within a medium, or against a (back)ground. An event presents a prominence- based arrangement of entities and relations, one of which is the base-profile dichotomy: "A predication always has a certain scope, and within that scope it selects a particular substructure for designation" (Langacker 1987: 183). The combination of base and profile gives the semantic value of the given entity, similarly to the space-semantic structure of objects, motions, etc. Issues of construal also highlight the role of the conceptualiser. In this respect, viewpoint plays a significant part, being a kind of starting point with reference to the elements of the world of the text. According to Bühler, the speaker's base of orientation in space and time is the egocentric center of "here, now and I" (Bühler 1934). Moreover, the viewpoint involves a mental position as well, from which the event is conceptualised. Langacker defines viewpoint as the combination of two operations, vantage point and orientation: "a vantage point is the position from which a scene is viewed. […] From a given vantage point, different orientations are possible for the scene observed […] Orientation thus pertains to alignment with respect to the axes of the visual field" (Langacker 1987: 123). Orientation therefore involves both actual and canonical components. The narrow interpretation of viewpoint and its correlations (spatial and temporal) may often become metaphorical, and in this way, allude to a mental or emotional position, following a broader interpretation of viewpoint. All language usage events are discourse situations where the actual speaker's viewpoint is the starting point for the development of context, and therefore, perspective is by nature constituted by conceptual and linguistic representation in its elements and composition.

Beside the context-organising function of viewpoint, a primarily important feature of language use is the dichotomy of structural and procedural systems of text interpretation (see e.g. Eysenck-Keane 1990, Langacker 1999, Verschueren 1999). "Structure is a mental model, which, from the view of meaning construction, describes a language unit as a static structure of entities. Procedure, on the other hand, is a mental process by which the discourse participants create or understand linguistic structures and realize them as dynamic" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 37; my translation. J.B.K.). "The procedural kind of understanding of a sentence evolves in the way it drives the listener's attention. A clause (independent or dependent) within one scene profiles primarily an event. Further, in most cases a clause focuses our attention on an entity, namely, the most important participant of the event. […] A basic

element of clause analysis is the cognitive path (i.e. the path of understanding) to the primary entity" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 37).

The theoretical basis discussed above calls for a refined model which combines the structural and procedural aspects of spatial representation and can be applied to particular texts or text types. In this paper I first attempt to outline a complex framework of interpretation on spatial semantic grounds, then I test the model in practice focusing on two components, while also continuously reflecting on the metaphorical potential of particular language elements.

2.1. The text-typological characteristics of Hungarian folk songs

The relevant text-typological characteristics of Hungarian folk songs are the following: "Folk songs […] are the results of the folk's beliefs, experiences, abilities and efforts. […]. All non-civilized people sing and act: their songs are their records, their treasury of knowledge and religion, which frame their image of God and the universe, their ancestral feats and present life, mirror their hearts, family lives, and grieves from the cradle to the grave" (Herder's thoughts in 1777 as cited by Cocchiara 1962: 175). Folk song is a text type on the boundary of verbal and written texts, "its origin and author are usually unknown, it lives on in spoken discourse, it is characterised by permanent diversification, and its melody and text have organic composition though separable. […] Throughout the process of becoming communal and its handing down to posterity, the idiosyncratic and occasional marks are eliminated and the different variations take up common stylistic characteristics" (Katona 1979: 326; my translation. J.B.K.). Hungarian folk songs generally have one stanza including four, equally long lines. When the text consists of more stanzas they have a loose, often unorganised connection based on some common theme. "As single-stanza songs present usually one thought and more or less one (complex) sentence, the stanza should indeed be the basic unit for text typological study" (Katona 2002: 160). The analysis of stanzas is in effect an example of meso-level text analysis. Hungarian folk songs can be categorised according to occasion, theme and life situation, and among the subcategories the group of love songs has the richest variety. A special characteristic of our folk-poetry is the so called "initial natural image", which "in monostrophic lyrics is an initial formula […] often visualizing a natural phenomenon, which […] is given multiple meaning: it links the beginning and the rest of the stanza on the ground of content, emotion and poetics" (MNL 1982; my translation. J.B.K.); in other words, it anticipates the message of the text. This relevance can by no means be interpreted without the knowledge of folklore symbolism.

> (1)   *Kertünk alatt gödröt ásnak.*
> *At the back of our garden they are digging a hole.*
> *Szebb szeretőm van, mint másnak.*
> *I have more beautiful a lover than anyone else does.*
> *Bárcsak ilyen szép ne volna,*
> *I wish she weren't so beautiful,*
> *Kevesebb irígyem volna!*
> *Then I wouldn't be envied by so many!*
> (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 70/1)

The most prototypical group of songs has a "dual image structure" where the first two lines compose an image of the physical world while the third and fourth lines describe scenes of social life using parallel syntactic forms.

2.2. A framework of interpretation with reference to spatial representation

The dual structure of folk songs in itself is a call for a metaphorical interpretation of the natural image. The meaning of the "natural" and "non-natural" parts evolve from their interrelationship: while the natural image has a more generalised or less specific meaning it becomes closer and more accurate through the succeeding image. Consequently, the first part of the stanza is reinterpreted in the second one. As mentioned before, the spatial dimensions of conceptual construction can be approached by two main types of analysis strongly related to each other: one focusing on the structural features of representation which yields a range of static cross-sections of the text, the other following the space-related operations of construal, i.e. the temporal and procedural aspects of the text. This method correlates with the functional approach of text analysis. Taking the dichotomy of structural and procedural approach as a point of departure, the model in Figure 1 is presented here as a framework of interpretation for spatial representation (proceeding from the smaller to the larger elements). In the explanation below each dimension is demonstrated by empirical observations or a short example from the corpus.

Structural dimensions of analysis:

The intrinsic structure of referential event		1. **conceptual construction**, profile, focus: primarily things, their conceptual representation, attributes, function in the event, physical-spatial characteristics (position, form, size, complexity, density, conceptual marks)
		2. **primary events**, relations: motions (tendency, quality) force-dynamic interactions (force tendencies, conditions of power)
		3. the **intrinsic spatial structure of referential events**: the broadness of space perspective, the degree of markedness of its borders; the location of entities, the way space is filled and parted; binary oppositions of orientation
		4. the **composite structure of referential events**: the position of viewpoint within the structure of referential events; the construction of different referential events; the degree of perceptibility in referential events; the structure of events in terms of time

Procedural dimensions of analysis:
Focusing of the attention

1. epistemic grounding; deixis, coreference	2. focus of attention, the dynamic construal of base-profile	3. viewpoint, perspectivisation (markedness of vantage point), subjectivisation	4. reference point construction (the sequence of primary events)

Figure 1: A framework of interpretation for spatial representation

In accordance with holistic analysis, the different dimensions of the framed model must be worked out in integration with other dimensions: the higher levels of analysis should work as a frame while lower levels are applicable for more focused and accurate investigation. Similarly, the dimensions should not be treated as clearly distinct domains, but rather as areas of research with fuzzy edges. It is also a fundamental observation that metaphorisation may occur on all levels of analysis.

From the structural dimensions some refer to the intrinsic structure of the referential event while some reconstruct the composite of events. First of all, the physical objects that appear in natural events are highly schematic, such as for example wood, river, star, or wind. These entities are elements of a conceptual net peculiar to the text type, and in every event they have actual profiles, conceptual and linguistic functions, some of their qualities are in focus and some are backgrounded. Availability and entrenchment are a matter of degree not only in our general perception, but they also manifest in the interconnection of entity−actual profile−thematic context creating the potential for interpretation. For instance, when in a folk song the width of the river is the profiled feature, then the topic is always about planning and reconsidering the difficulties of crossing it, more precisely, it is about a young man who wants to get across to his lover, and in that action the river may have various (more specific) metaphorical interpretations.

(2)   *Széles a Duna, magas a partja.*
        Nincs olyan legény, ki átugorja.
        Átugorja Béla, nem sáros csizmája;
        Az ám a legény!

        Leteszi kucsmáját a Duna mellé,
        Meghajtja magát Hajnalka mellé.
        Hajnal jár utánna, kedvet tart utánna.
        Ez ám a leány!

        The Danube is wide, its bank is high.
        No lad can jump it over.
        Béla jumps it over, his boots are not muddy;
        What a lad!

 He lays his fur-cap beside the Danube,
He bends himself beside Hajnalka.
She goes to him at dawn, she favours him.
What a girl!
                    (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 101)

Although from among the features we basically only focus on the spatial ones the mapping of a concept should also include some other attributes. On the next level the matter of analysis are the primary events and relations wherein the entities participate. Here the study is focused on dynamic events, such as motions and their characteristics, for example their direction, intention and determination, involving some of the orientational metaphors.

In practice the autumn wind in Hungarian folk songs is vertical in all natural scenes:

(3)   *Felülről fúj az őszi szél;*
        Zörög a fán a falevél.
        – Ugyan, babám, hova lettél?
        Már két este el nem jöttél.

        Már két este el nem jöttél,
        Talán a verembe estél?
        – Nem estem én a verembe,
        Véled estem szerelembe.

        From above blows the autumn wind
        The leaf rattles on the tree.
        Come, my baby, where have you been?
        You didn't come here the last two nights.

        You didn't come here the last two nights,
        Did you happen to fall in the pit?
        "I didn't happen to fall in the pit,
        I fell in love with you."
                    (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 127)

The interconnections of entities within the images are probably best described in terms of force-dynamics (see Talmy 2000). Forces are primarily defined in space; however, they also stand for the schematic representation of psychological and social conflicts via metaphorical extension: "force dynamics thus emerges as a fundamental notional system that structures conceptual material pertaining to force interaction in a common way across a linguistic range: the physical, psychological, social, inferential, discourse, and mental-model domains of reference and conception" (Talmy 2000: 410).

In the quoted text below, the river flows between its banks in a seemingly peaceful manner. This represents self-control and intrinsic tension: the banks acting as strong antagonists force the river to stay in its course. The event of the flood visualizes the loss of self-control, the river overcoming the power of the banks.

(4)   *Úgy nyugszik a szívem gyászba,*
        Mint a Maros az árkába,
        De még az is, ha kifárad,
        A mezőkre ki-kiárad.

        My heart rests in mourning,
        like [River]Maros in its course,
        But even she, if she gets tired,
        Overflows to the fields.
                        (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Songs of grief: 7/3)

A broader perspective of analysis is the mapping of the intrinsic space structure of referential events, including the spatial configuration of entities, the broadness of space, the degree of markedness of its borders, and the way space is filled and divided. A further dimension is the dichotomy of binary oppositions of orientation, such as UP–DOWN, CLOSE–FAR, FRONT–BACK, etc. They are typically orientational metaphors, which, occurring in the focus of attention are related to universal experience and moral evaluation (UP, CLOSE, FRONT are positive, while DOWN, FAR, BACK are negative; see Szilágyi 1996).

   The example below shows that the space filled with woods, valleys and groves, viewed from a broad perspective with its borderlines undefined, offers itself as a perfect setting to the man condemned to wandering and hiding all through his life. The features of space are here presented from his perspective of feeling small and lost.

(5)   *Erdők, völgyek, szűk ligetek,*
        Sokat bujdostam bennetek.
        Bujdostam én az vadakkal,
        Sírtam a kis madarakkal.

        Woods, valleys, narrow groves,
        I have wandered in you for long.
        I have wandered with the game,
        I have cried with small birds.
                        (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Songs of refugees: 36/1)

The highest level of structural analysis concerns the composite structure of referential events. Although the succession and construction of primary events and the way a new event is opened also have temporal aspects, their position in terms of real space, the degree of perceptivity, and the conditions of viewpoint (changing or unvaried) can have static segments as well. The structure of events in terms of time means that the viewpoint defined in the present can stand as the reference point of events referring to future or past.

   Accordingly, in (3) the first two lines of the text describe an image of the wind blowing vertically and the leaf making an unappealing rattling sound: it gives a baleful impression, especially together with the comment *You didn't come here the last two nights.* Thus the image anticipates the imminent end of a relationship, having a reference to future.

   The procedural dimensions of analysis are driven by the focusing of attention but the subcategories do not form a homogeneous continuum. The first dimension focuses on the

contextual interpretation of reference within the discourse event as the reference relations can only be revealed in the physical, social and mental terms of the actual world of the text. Langacker calls it epistemic grounding: "An entity is epistemically grounded when its location is specified relative to the speaker and hearer and their spheres of knowledge" (Langacker 1987: 489). A fundamental observation I want to emphasize is that the degree of grounding may become a special characteristic of the text type, namely, genres of verbal origin have a basis for construing the world of the text strongly relying on the perception of discourse participants.

As for folk songs, a special type of construal is that a perceptible event (usually presenting entities rather than actions) grounded in the actual context functions as a lead-in to another fictive event that is grounded in social and cultural experience. In (6), the mountain is epistemically grounded whereas picking the cherry is a fictive event emerging from desire.

(6)   *Látod-e te **azt** a hegyet,*
       *Hegy tetején **azt** a meggyest?*
       Én majd rázom, te csak szedjed!
       Adok csókot, de csak egyet.

       *Can you see **that** mountain,*
       *On top of the mountain **that** cherry orchard?*
       I will shake it, you just pick it!
       I will give you a kiss but just one.
                         (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 209/1)

The "lead-in" or "opening" may involve the phenomenon of deixis, more specifically, spatial deixis, which is often an initial linguistic element. Distal spatial deixis draws attention to a perceptual object which then becomes the opener of further events, and so it distances the addressee from the palpable to an imaginative world. This function is fulfilled in (6) by the deictic word *that* in lines 1–2.

Similarly, another meaning constructing operation may be the notion of coreference, which is a pillar of the gradual method of text construction in folk songs. In (7), there are three central concepts: MY DOVE, the HOUSE and the CROWNTREE (locust). The coreferential elements related to MY DOVE are *háza* 'her house' ('house. PX.3SG'), *orcájára* 'onto her face' ('face. PX.3SG.on'); the ones related to the HOUSE are *kapuja* 'its gate' (gate.PX.3SG), *ablakja* 'its window' (window. PX.3SG); finally, the anaphoric expressions of the CROWNTREE are *kire* 'on which' (which.on), *oda* 'thereto' in line 5, and *ott* 'there' in line 6. Since word order is important here (the coreferential elements being in privileged position – either initial or final), in my translation of (7) I attempt to reproduce it wherever possible, and the translation will be rough in order to convey the meaning. Here I have to add two further comments. First, in line 1, in the expression *dombon* 'on hill' the lack of an article reflects the ambiguity of definiteness/indefiniteness, which is significant from the perspective of perceptibility: in the Hungarian version it is also difficult to decide if the hill is an object of actual perception or draws on knowledge from previous experience. Second, as the Hungarian language does not distinguish between genders, the identification of antecedents needs special mental

effort, e.g. *az ablakja alatt* 'at its window' may also be interpreted as "at her window". Such ambiguities are not incidental at all; they frequently characterize Hungarian folk songs.

(7) *Az én galambomnak dombon van a háza;*
  Két keréken fordul csikorgós kapuja,
  Az ablakja alatt két szép koronafa,
  Kire a galambom neve van ráírva.

  Ha én madár volnék: oda fészket raknék,
  Ott minden hajnalban szépen énekelnék;
  Az én galambomnak elébe repülnék,
  Piros orcájára egypár csókot vinnék.

  My doveon hill has her house;
  On two wheels turns its creaking gate,
  At its window [are] two nice crowntrees,
  Onto which my dove's name is written.

  If I a bird were: there I'd build a nest,
  There every dawn I'd sing beautifully,
  To my dove I'd fly to meet her,
  Onto her face I'd take some kisses.
    (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 22)

Deixis and coreference are considered as micro level phenomena (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 173), however, their functions within text-construction are more remarkable on the mezo level.

The second dimension of analysis derives from the fact that the entities or events dynamically construed in the world of the text are not equal in terms of attention, rather, they run parallel with the dimension of time, and they are changing from central to peripheral and vice versa. Some entities or events appear in the foreground of attention, while some remain in the background (on the notion of base-profile; see Wallace 1982, Langacker 1987). In (7), the conceptualiser's subject of love and his ties of intimacy to her are metaphorically construed in the image of the house and the garden. Flashing the details of it, the house becomes the central object of our attention, which is then gradually transmitted to the figure of the tree.

The third dimension in procedural analysis focuses on the dynamic aspects of the vantage point. They are called perspectivisation, i.e. the markedness of viewpoint, including not only the perspectivised expressions inherent in language, but the actual representation. Subjectivisation is also a matter of construal, namely, the degree to which the reality on stage is incorporated in the conceptualiser's reality: "An entity is subjectively construed to the extent that it remains «offstage» as an implicit, unselfconscious subject of conception" (Langacker 2006: 18). Subjectivisation can be an important factor of analysis in the representation of natural events.

In the first two lines of (8) the depth of River Danube is represented by way of objective construal, in Langacker's terms it appears "onstage". The natural entity in focus (*River Danube*) and its feature (*depth*) are clearly profiled, while the conceptualiser (though he is

not easy to define: is he the conceptualiser or his partner ready to act?) remains implicit and "offstage" resulting in an asymmetry.

(8)   ***Mély*** *a Dunának a széle,*
         *De **még mélyebb** a közepe.*
         Az én rózsám kerülgeti,
         Által akar rajta menni.

         Ha az Isten megengedi,
         Hidat csináltatok neki;
         Házamnál az egyik vége,
         Győrig ér a másik vége.

         Deep *is the side of the Danube,*
         *But **even deeper** its middle.*
         My darling is walking round it,
         And wants to go across it.

         If God allows it,
         I will get a bridge made for him/her;
         One end will be at my house,
         The other will reach Győr.
                    (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 129)

Finally, the sequence of events represents the procedural aspects of the construction of primary events, especially concerning the function of reference point. In reference point constructions, an entity that is conceptually accessible helps to establish mental contact with another, less accessible entity (Langacker 1993). To give an example, in (6), the mountain and in (7), the house are reference points, as both make the follow-up entities more easily accessible. Reconstructing the sequence of reference points elucidates the idea how a natural image is construed, especially exploring the function of entities relative to their spatial features, how our attention is drawn from one object to the other, and what relevance that has from the perspective of metaphorical meaning.

2.3. Conceptual construal and dexis

In the next part of the paper, I present a case study of the model's application, focusing basically on two components: conceptual construal from a structural point of view and deixis, which is procedural by nature. The guiding principle is that the comments on the text are presented hand in hand with the currently relevant theoretical outlook, demonstrating the priority of linguistic data to theoretical conclusion in my empirical study. The text I am going to analyse is a stanza of a well-known Hungarian folk song:

(9)   *Amoda le van egy erdő, jaj, de nagyon messze van!*
        Közepibe, közepibe két rozmaringbokor van.
        Egyik hajlik a vállamra, másik a babáméra;
        Így hát, kedves kis angyalom, tiéd leszek valaha.

        There below is a wood, oh, how far it is!
        In its middle, in its middle are two rosemary bushes.
        One is bending onto my shoulder, the other one on my darling's;
        Therefore, my dear, I will be yours someday.
                    (Ortutay–Katona 1975: Love songs: 366/3)

The initial deictic element *amoda* means 'over there, far away', by which the spatial dimension of the world represented is in the foreground of attention. *Amoda le* 'there below' is a two-part deictic element, the first part being the horizontal while the second being the vertical component; it creates the image of a man standing on a high peak looking down to a place or entity. In Hungarian folk songs such two-part deixis often functions as a starting operation in a stanza. The deictic element is complemented by the expressions *messze* 'far' (reference to distance), *de* 'how' and *jaj* 'oh', featuring the subject of consciousness and negative emotional attitude, respectively. The meaning of *messze* 'far' is construed subjectively. By the end of the first line the intrinsic structure of the world of the text develops: as for the dimension of space, the world of the event is characterized by a broad perspective with undefined borders in which the viewpoint or point of reference is firmly posited, further, the wood is located and focused, and the distance of the viewpoint and the wood is explicated and profiled. The emotive elements call attention to the subject's presence and the listener's figure near him also develops in a hidden form.
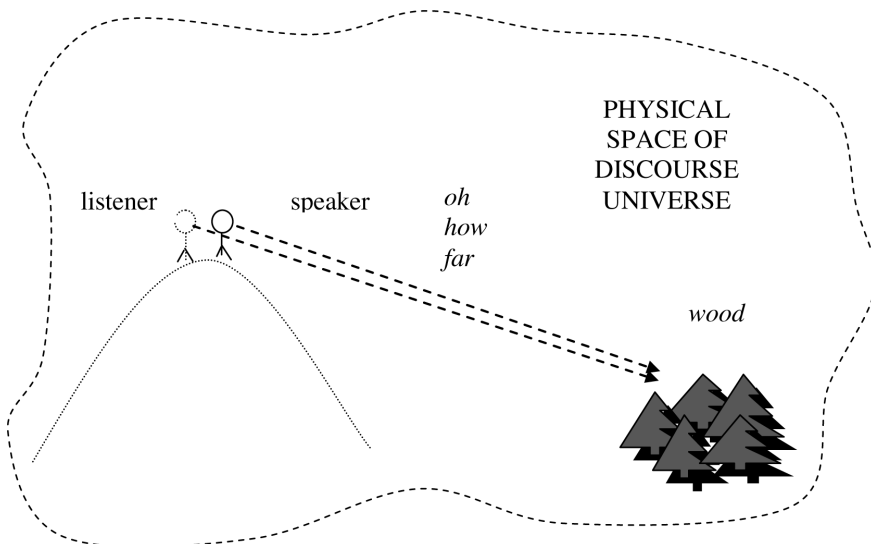

Figure 2: The world of the text that develops from the initial *there below* distal spatial deixis

Deixis by definition is "a linguistic process, which, in discourse analysis, involves the physical and social world of participants, i.e. the contextual knowledge that derives from understanding spatial, temporal and personal aspects of the speech situation" (Tátrai 2010: 212; my translation. J.B.K.). Moreover, Levinson claims that it is the most indicative linguistic phenomenon of speech events (Levinson 1983: 54). The fact that deixis is determined by physiological conditions is related to the viewpoint: the conceptualiser experiences and processes the spatial and temporal circumstances. The egocentric center of *here*, *now* and *I* stands for a reference point for the organization of deictic linguistic expressions, thus the term "deictic center" (Bühler 1934). It has a fundamental role in discourse, as "the conceptualiser by means of deictic expressions draws his addressee's attention to certain aspects of the situation, and forces him to view them from the vantage point he (the speaker) has offered" (Tátrai 2010: 214).

The reason why we assume that the addressee is near the speaker in the folk song above is due to a broad discourse space, yet the way attention is driven presupposes a close perception. The speaker and the addressee have a very close vantage point from where they view the scene, and the speaker believes that the addressee does not face any difficulties in identifying his vantage point with the speaker's. On the other hand, the discourse event is also characterized by actual perception (visual on the first place) for the participants, and this implies that the events being elaborated are synchronic with the time of the discourse.

Discourse in the physical space of reality is actually the original and prototypical case of the use of deixis: **gestural deixis**, which combines verbal and non-verbal elements (gestures) has a priority over the metaphorical **symbolic deixis** (Levinson 1983: 54). Place deixis is the most fundamental and also open category of deixis: "deictic expressions based on spatial relations may serve as a metaphorical basis for interpersonal, temporal or discursive relations" (Tátrai 2010: 222). There is an especially tight connection between space and time, reflected in the cognitive metaphor TIME IS SPACE (see Evans 2004). As Levinson (1983: 85) puts it, space deixis always has some hidden reference to time, since space representation is only possible within well-defined dimensions of time. Deixis is strongly related to the process of epistemic grounding, the contextual interpretation of linguistic reference by the participants of the discourse event.

In our text the function of place deixis is to make the wood, an object of nature, accessible and easier to identify. In this case, place deixis helps to identify the wood, whose indefinite article does not mark a choice between a number of woods, rather a difficulty and/or novelty in perception: for some reason (e.g. partial perceptibility) one cannot easily recognize it as a wood. This is reflected in the following examples of different levels of grounding:

(10a)   *There is a butterfly.*
(10b)   *There is the butterfly (that has just flown on my arm).*
(10c)   *There is a wood.*

In (10a) and (10b) the entity is a small one, therefore its identification is helped by using a gestural deixis. The two sentences do not differ only in their articles (as a definite article alludes to an entity already known) but also in their communicative function, i.e. in (10a) the deixis calls the attention of the addressee and draws it to something new more vigorously.

The identification probably even requires scanning the space around the listener for such a small item as well as also recognizing it as a butterfly, and not something else, such as a dragon-fly, for instance. The wood in the decontextualized sentence of (10c), however, is far easier to define due to its size; therefore the primary mental process is the calling of attention to it. However, it is just as well possible that the folk song combines both functions: identification (in terms of recognition of a remote object) and attentional focus (or its novelty in focus).

In the second line the wood becomes a reference point to the elaboration of a new event. In the sense of figure and ground dichotomy first the WOOD is profiled as a figure and the natural scene around it is the ground. Then the event of joint attention that develops in line 2 profiles the rosemary bushes as figures and the wood moves to the background. Here the dynamics of the function of wood within the event can be seen. To understand the meaning of such functional change, we have to understand the meaning of the concept WOOD in Hungarian folk songs in general, and dwell on the notion of conceptual construing.

Wood is one of the few frequent objects of natural entities such as the sun, the stars, a river, a bird, a cloud, the rain, the wind, etc. These concepts establish an organic net of concepts in the examples of the text type: "the content-based classification of lyrical folk songs is to be defined in constant relation to each other, as these texts have so many formulas and other formal standards in common, they are so much *open* to other folk songs, that each should be taken as a piece of a *cluster of texts*" (Ortutay 1975: 7; my translation. J.B.K.). Folk songs are thus schematized on the ground of conceptual representation, and due to that, are characterized by a high activity of association. In one of my earlier papers (Baranyiné Kóczy 2011) I attempted to reconstruct the semantic structure of wood by its actual profiles and conceptual domains in a corpus of several thousand texts (Ortutay–Katona ed. 1975) and I concluded that there is a co-occurrence of the actual profiles, attributes and conceptual domains of the concept.

The actual profile of a concept is "the actual meaning of a given linguistic expression" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 32) which is construed in the foreground/background alignment as it were a local focus: "By definition, a designatum serves as focal point within the objective scene; hence it is always 'on stage' and to some degree objectively construed. It is also the entity that is common to the many domains in a complex matrix and functions to tie them together in a coherent assembly" (Langacker 1987: 188). The profile is bounded in a concrete domain and the domains related to a concept may also differ depending on the context. The possible domains make up the matrix (or semantic construction) of a conceptual entity: "The domains in a complex matrix differ in their degree of centrality, which translates into the relative likelihood of their activation on any particular occasion when the symbolic unit is employed" (Langacker ibid. 189).

The results of the study suggest that the domains associated with wood are the following: A. PLACE, B. SHELTER, C. PLACE OF LOVE APPOINTMENT, D. PLACE/PARTICIPANT OF SEXUAL ACT, E. PLACE OF DEATH/GRAVEYARD, F. INSUPERABLE ENTITY/OBSTACLE, G. UNKNOWN, H. NATURE, I. COMPLEX UNIT, J. WOODS AND FIELDS ARE THE WORLD/LIFE (spatial extension). The interconnection of these domains is shown on Figure 3 (Baranyiné Kóczy 2011):
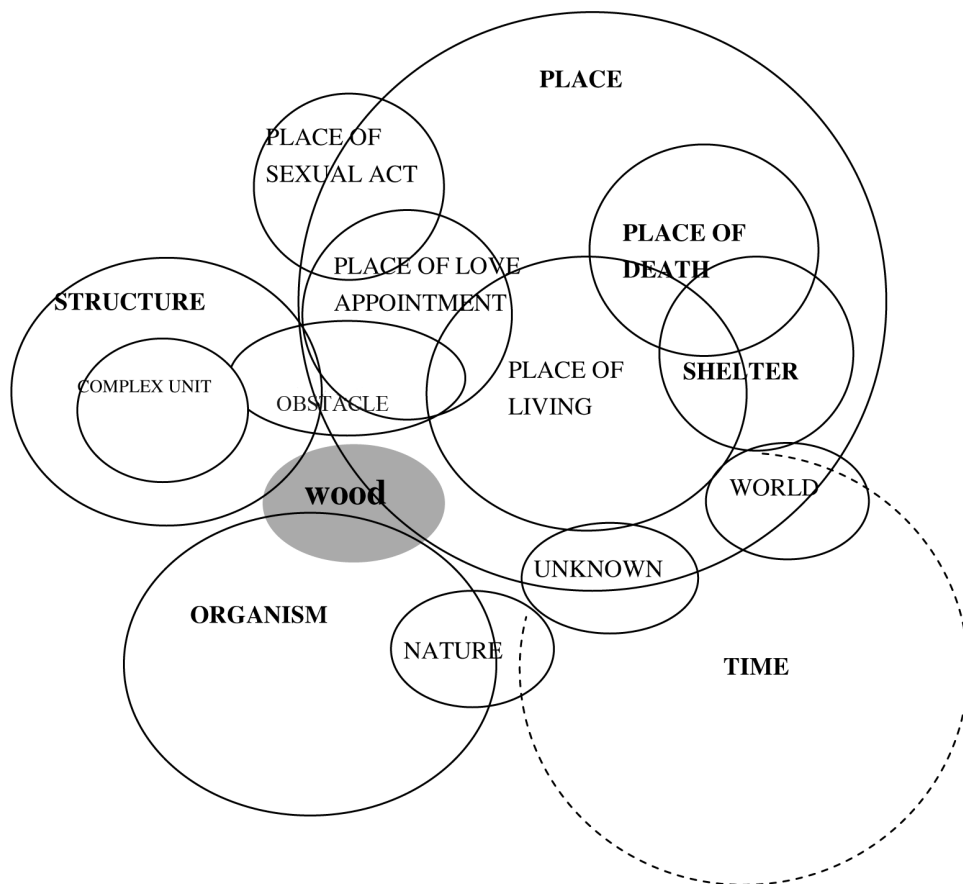
Figure 3: The reconstruction of semantic structure of the concept WOOD in folk songs

From this sketch I am going to concentrate on the elements relevant to the actual text analysed. In most folk songs the wood refers to a PLACE (a cut-out part of physical space), i.e. LOCATION, whereas some profile it as a STRUCTURE or an ORGANISM. There are further and more specified subdomains within the larger domains, which assemble in various degrees of density. The size of the domains more or less reflect the frequency of their topics, and thus the conventionality of their profiles. The concept and its domains also have a metaphorical meaning in a broader context.

Within the conceptual domain of location the most frequent one is residence, which presumes a longer stay. In the context of love, when wood is a meeting place, the occasional stay may become permanent, even lasting the whole joint life of the lovers, the wood having the function of a supporting environment – as the intersection of the two sections indicate it. However, when the wood is the place of sexual acts, the time is always considerably short. Wood as an obstacle mostly occurs in love contexts as the obstacle of fulfillment of love. Naturally wood is often profiled by its location (far away), physical characteristics

(high, round, closed), or structural features (bushy). The gradual differences of residence (temporal→longer-term→permanent) give way to the profile of shelter.

Finally, the spatial extension of location is the wood-and-field joint concept, meaning the entire world. This conceptual construction implies continuous movement in space (which is quite far from the concept of residence or shelter) and therefore has an indefinite time dimension. Wood-and-field in this domain means actually space itself. When the profile of location is dominant, we may observe the following: the wood is located beyond the territory of society in a narrow sense (village) as much as in a wider sense (agricultural area), therefore the rules, customs and moral restrictions of society are not in force there. This makes the wood an **uncontrolled** place, the metaphorical representational place of emotions, such as forbidden love, heartache or hope. The most frequent adjectives of the wood are in line with the domains: *green, round, dense, high, large,* sometimes *nice, noisy,* or *wild.* The majority of attributes refer to spatial characteristics.

The above analysis reconstructs the concept of wood relevant to the text type of folk songs (i.e. "The **identity** of a profiled structure in the various specifications"; Langacker 1987: 188), which is in fact a "network model of knowledge systems" where "the profiled entity is a node participating simultaneously in several relationships (pertaining to different domains)" (Langacker 1987: 189). A particular text type presents merely a part of the whole conceptual structure and in a strongly schematized way and accordingly, in the activation of a concept the domains of association are rather restricted. Thus, the most specific characteristic of the localization of an object is its position (orientation and distance) compared to the viewpoint.

In our text the profile in focus is localization, and for the lack of specific attributes, only the most schematic knowledge of wood is activated: round, closed and dense. Beside that, certain events may be predicted (meeting of lovers or sexual act) while others excluded (in "outlaw" songs the wood is typically close to the vantage point, or the "refugee" songs present it in a wood-and-field compound). Two conceptual domains are invited: firstly, localization and secondly, due to the difficulties of perception, obstacle. After localizing the object, a reference is given to its center, which is a dimensional feature of the entity, a mapping of one of the idealized cognitive models or image schemas (see Lakoff 1987). The image schema CENTRE–PERIPHERY models entities having central and peripheral parts, where the central is more important and it often contains the essential element of an object's identity (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 41). In practice, the edge of the wood in folk songs is a peripheral place, the temporal residence of people on the periphery of society. The center, however, is a place of importance; a safe and intimate place surrounded and closed up by trees. This is the setting of the image of rosemary bushes.

In line three an event of the unity of lovers (usual in songs about couples) is presented. This image has a positive connotation in itself, and creates entirely new circumstances in the discourse universe and representation. On one hand, the view of the two rosemary bushes from the conceptualiser's original vantage point is hardly possible, as the wood is far away, and the bushes in its middle are hidden by the trees. On the other hand, the speaker refers to, and presents himself (*my shoulder*) as being under the bending rosemary bushes with his lover. This event is located, but is not perceptible in the physical world of reality, yet simultaneous with the time of conceptualisation. The focus of attention is enhanced by

tapering the space and defining the borders of the fictive event. The proposition of the last line is detached from the natural environment: the expression *therefore* marks the beginning of a summary, the abstraction of the earlier representations, and the conceptualiser as the subject of consciousness is in focus again. The *my dear* apostrophic addressing, which presupposes that the conceptualiser's lover is a participant present in the discourse, does not necessarily mean her identity with the conceptualiser in the first part of the stanza. The question of analysis is how the hope of *I will be yours someday* has relevance to the first three lines. The claim *I will be yours* has references to the union in the rosemary bush-scene and to future respectively. The latter, however, is in contrast with the present tense of the natural event: the timing of the fulfillment of the wish is left to uncertainty by the indefinite time expression *someday* meaning "one day in the distant future". Here the dimension of time is prominent as opposed to space, but the distance presented in both of them is a connecting element, that brings them to metaphorical parallelism.

The sequence of events in the text is the following: the discourse participants are located close to each other in the same physical space, which is a perceptible natural environment for both of them. The conceptualiser, via distal spatial deixis, draws the addressee's attention to a visually perceptible entity, namely the wood, hence the focus of (joint) attention is distanced from the vantage point of conceptualisation. After localizing the entity, he refers to its dimensional features by pointing to a part of the entity, which is beyond perception. The center of the wood becomes the basis of construing a new natural event, which takes place far away from the vantage point of conceptualisation, yet seemingly simultaneously. However, it cannot be part of reality, therefore its grounding in time becomes uncertain for a while, and the event is only grounded again in line 4. Spatial deixis thus opens a new event of joint attention, in which the wood functions as a reference point. The natural entity as a reference point, according to Langacker's explanation of reality, is a starting point for construing a potential event that takes place beyond reality (obvious for the conceptualiser as well), therefore we cannot talk about a rearrangement of conditions but a persistent maintenance of the original viewpoint (Langacker 1991: 244).

3. Conclusion

The corpus of analysis has been studied with respect to two operations, both crucial in the investigation of the semantic role of space. The text demonstrates that the conceptualiser draws the attention of the addressee to a remote entity (the wood), meanwhile calling his/her attention to the distance of his (i.e. the conceptualiser's) position and the object and also his negative emotional attitude to it. Meanwhile, the way the entity is construed, i.e. its locational characteristics, the lack of attributes, and the dimensions profiled altogether associate possible thematic contexts on the ground of general knowledge of the text type. The function of distal spatial deixis is primarily to distance the object in focus, secondly to call the listener's attention to it. Throughout the process of construal, the entity is brought to the focus of attention first by its location, and the restrictions of perceptual access, then by its dimensional features, according to the dichotomy of center-periphery image schema. Further, the center of the entity becomes the scene of a new event of attention. and thus, in terms of figure-ground distinction, the function of the entity changes from figure to ground.

From another viewpoint of analysis, the wood is a reference point (in the world of reality), a basis for opening a new event of attention, which is outside the world of reality. This text construing procedure is similar in various folk songs, therefore the description is a framework to a number of natural events, their function and metaphorical interpretation.

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