COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND DIALECTOLOGY:
AN ATTEMPT TO APPLY THE COGNITIVE APPROACH IN THE LEXICOLOGY OF REGIONAL DIALECTS

EDIT IGLAI

Abstract

This paper attempts to show how the results of cognitive linguistics can be successfully used in dialectology. The empirical data were collected from the region of the three borders (those of Ukraine, Romania, and Hungary), namely, the northeastern Hungarian dialect region. The main aim was to identify the phenomenon behind lexical heterogeneity, and to explain it with findings of cognitive linguistics. The paper investigates the names of three kinds of traditional Hungarian pasta whose standard names and their meanings are uniquely modified and become variable in the language use of the speakers of the northeastern dialect region. The three kinds of pasta have different regional name variants which display detail and motivation of various degrees from a cognitive semantic point of view. It is claimed that the documented divergence likely originates in the possible differences of the cognitive process, and in the geographical, geopolitical, language policy and sociocultural situation of the speech community as regards the process of conceptualisation. The more general objective of this paper is to show how the integration of the disciplines of cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics and dialectology may offer new avenues for dialect research in the future.

Keywords: categorisation, conceptualisation, cognitive semantics, dialectology, empirical data, fieldwork, lexical heterogeneity, sociocognitive framework, northeastern Hungarian dialect region, national borders

1. Introduction

Taking advantage of the geographical position of the institute and the positive changes that have recently taken place in the terms of crossing national borders, the research team of the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics at the Teacher Training College of Nyíregyháza is carrying out research in 18 settlements on both sides of the Hungarian−Ukrainian as well as of the Hungarian−Romanian border in the northeastern dialect region. The research, supported by grants FKFP 0890/97 and OTKA T-025237/98, has been going on since 1997. To summarise it briefly, the research is focusing on changes that have been experienced on the two sides of the border since the 1920s Treaty of Trianon, since people now live in allegedly similar geopolitical but different cultural and language political circumstances. When setting up the goals and research methods, the principles of complex sociolinguistic research design were followed. Our examinations are characterised by a dimensional approach. (For more on the

term 'dimensional' and its interpretation in German dialectology, see Bellmann 1986 and Dingeldein 1990; on its adaptation introduced and applied in Hungarian linguistics, see Kiss 1998, 1999, and Juhász 2002). Linguistic data are processed and evaluated at the crossing points of spatial, temporal and social dimensions. The spatial dimension is provided by the geographical distribution of the locations of the survey, the temporal dimension by the comparison of the collected data with the findings of previous surveys and with historical dialect data, whereas the social dimension comes from the sociolinguistic aspects used to select the participants of the survey. It is the aim of this research project to produce, in the near future, a multi-dimensional linguistic atlas from the material collected and processed so far. The electronic processing of the data and the preparatory work on the atlas have begun within the frame of the above mentioned OTKA grant number 76239. (A summary of research results was published in P. Lakatos ed. 2002).

Beyond the interest in new approaches, it was the preparatory electronic processing (data coding, filtering out of irrelevant data as far as the original research aims are concerned, etc.), the issues arising during processing (e.g. that of the items of the questionnaire), and the available partial results that prompted us to use the existing corpus for cognitive linguistic analysis. The processing of the lexical data unveiled greater variability than expected, and it became apparent that the methods of dialectological investigation of change cannot be fully effective in describing the alterations due to the fact that the multiplicity of the lexemes given in answer to the items of the questionnaire did not originate solely in variability in a narrow sense (i.e. as the realisation of variants of a given linguistic variable as a linguistic unit) but, in a wider sense, possibly in the differential nature of perspectives, different approaches to designating concepts, or a different way of categorisation in connection with all of these aspects. The lexemes that are not relevant from the point of view of the original research goals and cannot be considered as variants of the given variable in the traditional sense were classified by agreement as "further data" (and marked with a T, for Hungarian *további* 'further'). However, these are possible to interpret through the cognitive linguistic concept of variance, thus opening up a range of new possibilities for analysis. The use of a different approach to the cataloging of regional dialectal vocabulary may shed new light on the issues of processing in dialect lexicology as well.

Therefore, in this paper I will seek answers to the questions of what conclusions can be drawn from and what avenues for proceeding open up through analyzing in a cognitive framework a sociolinguistically stratified corpus collected primarily for an investigation of variability in language; what phenomena are concealed behind the lexical heterogeneity of dialectal regions that can be explained with the help of cognitive linguistics; and what provides the basis of typically non-inherent variability. After an overview of the interdisciplinary background of the topic, I will provide a brief outline of the results of Hungarian lexicology to date, with a special focus on those that indirectly show signs of a cognitive approach. In section 3.1 I will discuss the partly differential approaches of the three integrated disciplines to variability and then devote section 3.2 to introducing an onomasiological and semasiological approach. In section 4 I will present in detail the methodology, goals, and research questions of the study. Section 5 will provide a detailed account of the theoretical background and the results, whereas the conclusion will summarise the possibilities for a new outlook on variability as well as the gains it would provide for the interacting disciplines.

2. Background, premises and possibilities

2.1. Background and possibilities

Recent works discussing issues of linguistic theory (also) stress that theories of language do not simply follow each other in time but, especially since the turn of the millennium, theoretical linguistic models have offered competing explanatory and descriptive alternatives for researchers. With the foregrounding of complex investigative points of view, a widening of research horizons, and emphasising a dimensional outlook on language (see above), which, in Péter's words, "brings a period of synthesis providing integration" (Péter 2006: 407, emphasis in the original), the number of approaches aiming to connect the various subdisciplines of linguistics continues to increase.

As demonstrated in the literature, connecting functionally focused cognitive linguistics with sociolinguistics is regarded as a novel approach (e.g. Croft 2009: 393–420, Geeraerts et al. ed. 2010: 1–19). Despite the fact that within cognitive linguistics there is considerable interest in investigating linguistic variability (cf., e.g. Tolcsvai Nagy 1996, 2004), it continues to be an under-researched field in this framework in certain respects: linguistic analyses have not ventured beyond investigating "language" or a comparison of languages, thus ignoring language internal (regional or social) variation that offers rich and complex patterns. Since, by its nature, sociolinguistics places the societally interconnected richness and variability of language in the center of its focus, thus even paired with cognitive linguistics, it cannot ignore varieties existing within subcultures (including regional dialect communities) or empirical methods that allow the recording of actual variants of the language use of actual speech communities. Moreover, beyond taking an approach with sociolinguistic and cognitive foci, I aim to place a third aspect, the dimension of territoriality in the center of attention. Both sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics provide an outlook and an approach, and, as such, they can be used in investigations of assorted varieties. Their application in dialectology entails a utilisation of their ideas in the study of regionally bound language use, since in a structural sense the standard variety and regional dialectal varieties are equal and do not differ in principle as far as linguistic description is concerned (Kiss 2009: 18). Thus, it is no coincidence that nearly all (new) methods of linguistic description have been employed in dialectology (for more on structural dialectology, see Goossens 1969, on a generative approach, see Becker 1982: 361–74), and, thanks to the vivid interest of researchers, examples for employing the cognitive perspective and outlook also occur internationally (e.g. Kristiansen–Dirven ed. 2008). The "inclusive" nature of European dialectology is also evident in the way it crossed roads in the course of its history with ethnography, sociolinguistics, social psychology, and anthropological linguistics among other disciplines, bearing fruit of these connections in offering new perspectives and results. (This is of course true for the European as well as the American dialectology.) The fact that different expressions are used in different regional dialects for the same concept (denotation, or object), and the investigation of dialectal vocabulary opens the way to the linguistically oriented cognitive exploration of linguistic variability in a context wider than provided by investigations of educated urban speech. With its varied nature, fairly good degree of documentation (cf. atlases and dictionaries),

regional dialectal vocabulary makes investigation possible via conceptual coding, that is, via cognition and possession through language. The necessary connection between sociolinguistics and dialectology from the point of view of the investigation of linguistic variability has been pointed out earlier by various authors (cf. Chambers–Trudgill 1998). Nevertheless, the study of this complex question from a cognitive perspective has not been attempted so far in Hungarian linguistics. (For the foundations of cognitive linguistics in Hungarian, see Bańczerowski 1999, Tolcsvai Nagy 2005b, Kiefer ed. 2006: 184–186, Ladányi and Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2008: 17–58, and especially 23–33, Bańczerowski 2009, Tolcsvai Nagy 2013) The discussion of geographically bound sociolinguistic data in a sociocognitive framework (for more on the term, see, for instance, Kristiansen–Dirven ed. 2008: 2–7), or, in other words, the cognitive treatment of sociodialectological issues, provides the possibility for combining the dialectological, sociolinguistic, and cognitive linguistic perspectives.

2.2. An overview of the premises of the cognitive linguistic perspective in dialect lexicological research in Hungary

When the novelty of integrating dialectology, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics is emphasised, the results of lexicological investigations achieved so far should also be mentioned, together with those works of dialectology and onomasiology which, although lacking the cognitive theoretical awareness, deal with conceptual coding, that is, with how various concepts can be linguistically named (cf. e.g. Kázmér 1993, Kiss 1988, Murádin 1980, Péntek and Szabó T. 1976). Worthy of notice from a cognitive linguistic perspective as well is Péntek's statement regarding regional vocabulary, according to which "one of the reasons why regional words exist is because concepts and conceptual systems are of relative nature and vary by region and by linguistic layer. The differences stem partly from the difference in experience and knowledge" (Péntek 1993: 155). In several of his works, Szabó (e.g. 2007) also pays special attention to the background of conceptual coding, that is, to what kind of vision and sensing of reality regional dialect speakers use to invoke specific denotation. His focus is in part connected to cognitive linguistics, especially its basic principle that linguistic depiction cannot be made independent from the process of human cognition, and that there are differences in concept formation not just between languages but possibly also between subcultures or regions.

In an overview of the most important results of lexicological investigations, one of the first to be mentioned should be Imre's work investigating the structure of regional dialectal vocabulary (Imre 1987). He aims to explore the patterns and rules of regional dialectal lexical variability, to describe the Hungarian regional dialectal onomasiological system of concepts and to provide some word geographical background to them. Bokor (1995) carried out lexicological investigations in the western part of the Hungarian language area, developing a general checklist for a multi-layer analysis of the contact between regional dialectal and urban vocabulary. And, among other things, Cs. Nagy (e.g. 2003) also focuses on the exploration of lexically structured systems of folk naming. In his view, by connecting this to word geographical investigations, differences in the linguistic differentiation of

reality, that is, the "cognitive map" of language use becomes spatially visible in a dialect region.

3. Different perspectives on language variability: The onomasiological and semasiological approach

3.1. Different perspectives on language variability

Before the discussion of the linguistic data I find it necessary to define how the three approaches I seek to integrate interpret linguistic variation. The essence of linguistic variability is captured in part differently by dialectology, sociolinguistics, and cognitive linguistics. While classical dialectology primarily seeks to map out the regional varieties of a language, the leveling processes characteristic of standardised languages – that is, synchronically experienced variability or synchronic dynamism requires the application of sociolinguistic perspectives and methods. Following Labov, the sociolinguistic literature defines a linguistic variable as a phenomenon that can be realised differentially by linguistic methods, whereas the variants of a given variable are its realisations of identical function or meaning (!) (Labov 1972, Chambers 1995: 25, Wardhaugh 2005: 121–125). Variants of a variable are rarely equal sociolinguistically: they are placed on different points of the formal–informal, standard–dialectal, commonly used–sociolectal continua (cf. Lanstyák–Szabómihály 1997: 15–16). Linguistic variability, then, means on the one hand a differential way of expression of the same linguistic meaning (same denotation). In contrast, cognitive linguistics approaches variability from the direction of meaning (Tolcsvai Nagy 2004: 144; for intra- and inter-linguistic differences, see Langacker 1987). According to its basic tenet, the differential way of expression reflects (however small) differences of function and meaning. Meaning is perspectivised and is the result of conceptualisation (i.e. of forming conceptual structures): it is relative to which of our experiences are foregrounded in the creation of meaning. Thus, linguistic expressions are suitable for constructing things and phenomena found in the world in different ways and from different perspectives regarding their semantic structures, thus also reflecting the perspective differences found between languages and within them.

However, it is important to emphasise that the investigation of different designations of the same concept was regarded as an important task of linguistics even before the spread of the cognitive perspective (see section 2.2). The difference in the various approaches to variants lies in defining and describing them, as well as in explaining their origin: while dialectology investigates and explains the geographically bounded nature of designations, sociolinguistics places an emphasis on their dependence on social variables, whereas cognitive linguistics focuses on their origin, traceable to the cognitive process.

3.2. Onomasiological and semasiological approach

A differential interpretation of variability brings us, in part, to the issue of semasiology and onomasiology. Introducing the issue based on Grondelars et al. (2007: 988–1011), I make a differentiation with the help of Baldinger, an excellent linguist representative of European structuralism: "semasiology […] considers the isolated word and the way its meanings are manifested, while onomasiology looks at the designations of a particular concept, that is, at a multiplicity of expressions which form a whole". While the aim of semasiology is to study concepts belonging to "isolated words" and their interconnectedness, onomasiology approaches things from the side of concepts and aims to study the differential linguistic expression of concepts (meanings). From the meaning centeredness of cognitive linguistics it follows naturally that it gives preference to the onomasiological perspective. From the point of view of the speaker, the basic step of categorisation is choosing the method of the linguistic expression of the category (onomasiological choice). Cognitive semantics has contributed to the results of investigations carried out along the lines of this organising principle on several important points: from a qualitative aspect, for instance, it has brought to attention several "quality" onomasiological structures which were pushed into the background by structuralist traditions (cf. the study of conceptual metaphors). It also added a "quantitative" perspective into the process of investigations, for instance, in raising the issue of whether there are categories that stand out from among the others, that is, whether certain categories are more likely to be chosen by speakers than others; or whether there exist methods of conceptualisation that speakers prefer from a cognitive semantic perspective.

The semasiological and onomasiological approaches to the issue of variability raise a number of questions to be clarified from the ethnographic perspective, ranging from the term for conceptual coding and distribution, through the synonymy, heteronymy, and tautonymy of regional dialectal words, to the definition of the nominal or tautonymical value of real dialectal words (cf. e.g. Imre 1987: 8, Hegedűs 2001: 380–381, 400–402, Geeraerts–Speelman 2010).

4. Methods, research questions and aims

As has been mentioned in the introduction, the research sites were determined following **geolinguistic** considerations. The focus of the investigation, Hungary's Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county shares its borders with three countries: Romania, Ukraine, and Slovakia. The historic Hungarian Szatmár, Bereg and Ung counties belong to the same dialect area, that of the northeastern dialect, however, the linguistic changes of the past half century occurred under different societal and language policy circumstances in different parts of this area. Earlier investigations of our research group as well as literature relevant for the region and results of linguistic atlas studies have convinced our research team that the characteristics of this dialect area can be comprehensively described only through involving research sites beyond the borders of the historic Szatmár county. The 18 research sites used for the project of our research team as well as for the research reported on in this study, the latter being based on the former, are as follows: Badaló/Badalovo (Ukraine), Barabás, Bátorliget, Beregsom/Som (Ukraine), Beregsurány, Beregszász/Berehove (Ukraine), Bótrágy/Batragy

(Ukraine), Börvely/Berveni (Romania), Csengersima, Kispeleske/Pelişor (Romania), Lónya, Mezőkaszony/Koszony or Koson' (Ukraine), Nagyar, Rozsály, Szamosdara/Dara (Romania), Tarpa, Tiszabecs, Tiszaújlak/Vilok (Ukraine). In the **selection of subjects** for the research, the methods of *The linguistic atlas of Hungarian dialects* (Deme–Samu 1968–1977; henceforth referred to as LAHD) were combined with sociolinguistic methodology. The sample of subjects has been stratified for age, gender, and level of education. **Data collection** was carried out using primarily the questionnaire method to elicit dialectal vocabulary. Of the lexemes of the nearly 400 item questionnaire, I have selected three to analyze in the present paper: *cérnametélt* 'string noodles', *szélesmetélt* 'wide noodles'', and *galuska* 'dumplings'. The choice of these items was motivated by my observation that the shapes and meanings of these kinds of pasta show a certain mixing both in relation to their standard forms and meanings and to their dialectal forms and meanings. For instance, the *galuska* lexeme has, as its first meaning listed in the *Concise defining dictionary of Hungarian* (Juhász et al. 1972, henceforth referred to as CDDH), the following: '1. Dough prepared by mixing or whipping, pinched to small bits and boiled.' In the region under examination, however, *galuska* is used for other semantic matrices and refers to other objects as well, namely, to the type of pasta called (*széles*)*metélt* in (possibly) most of the Hungarian language area, and referring to "pasta made of kneaded dough and cut to strips" (cf. standard *mákos metélt* "poppy seed pasta" vs. its dialectal variant *mákos galuska*). Using this fact as a starting point, we used a refined version of the relevant questions from the LAHD in our own questionnaire in order to gain empirical data to clarify the issue. The questions we used were as follows: 1. *Mi a neve a hosszú, vékony, szálakra vágott (metélt) kifőzött tésztának, amit a levesbe tesznek?* (*cérnametélt*) 'What is the name of the pasta cut to long and thin strips used in soup?' (*cérnametélt* 'string noodles'); 2. *Mi a neve a szélesre metélt (vágott), kifőzött tésztának?* (*szélesmetélt*) 'What is the name of the pasta which is cut to long, wide strips and boiled?' (*szélesmetélt* 'wide noodles'); 3. *Mi a neve a szaggatott kifőzött tésztának?* (*galuska*) 'What is the name of dough pinched to small bits and boiled?' (*galuska* 'dumplings'). With the precise listing of the profiled, prototypical characteristics of the kinds of pasta, these questions create the conditions for delimiting, that is, from the perspective of our original research goal, for listing the varied linguistic expressions received as answers to the circumscriptions of the objects in question, to be used in our sociolinguistically oriented geolinguistic study of language change. This way the subjects of the study had all the information available to them which contained the profiled characteristics of the cognitive domains that play a role in shaping the categories in the cognitive sense.

Our experiences gained during the processing of data are consistent with our previous experiences, namely, that even though the questions extend to all prototypical characteristics – with regard to all similarities and dissimilarities between the three kinds of pasta in question – which would allow for the categorisation illustrated in Figures 1 through 3 in section 5 below, still, the corpus has turned out to exhibit surprisingly great variability in the linguistic expressions found (cf. Figures 5 and 6). We had to face the fact that in the great majority of cases, in the answers provided to our questions about the kinds of pasta, the semantic matrices illustrated in section 5.1 were not realised. Also, the data we received in the answers to several questions of our questionnaire cannot be systematised following

reference points of regional dialectal lexicological investigations employed so far and could be regarded at first glance as subjects' errors. Such a multifaceted nature of data from real language use provides empirical support for the previous claim that the meanings of the examined kinds of pasta display a unique mixing in the region in question. But what can be behind such "variability"? My supposition is that the answer should be sought in causes rooted deeper in variety, well beyond the variety of naming (see section 5.2.1) originating in direct reference to the cognitive domains of the meaning matrix.

In the analysis part of this study I will first present, in a cognitive linguistic framework, the standard forms and semantic matrices of the examined lexemes (section 5.1). Thus, the comparison of standard semantic matrices against empirical language use data makes it possible to grasp the surplus and deficiency which characterise a local dialect in relation to educated urban speech as far as the lexical-semantic aspect of its vocabulary is concerned. In accordance with the onomasiological and semasiological aspect, I will separately present in the phase of data analysis the perspectives of designation and meaning and will then discuss (in section 5.3) the conclusions that can be drawn from the matrix that the two add up to. My aim is to shed light on the possible cognitive reasons behind variability based on data from real language use (section 5.2), more specifically; on the reasons of modification in the northeastern dialect region in the semantic matrices defined by the questions and discussed in section 5.1; on the system of semantic interrelatedness of the variable linguistic expressions in relation to each other and the differences in categorisation marked by these expressions. The research questions which the current study has generated and which I will seek to answer in the future are as follows: are there categories that stand out in a cognitive sense from among the others, that is, that are chosen with greater probability than others by the speakers of the examined region? If so, to what extent do they correspond to the categorisation of the possible majority of Hungarian native speakers? What factors govern such differential categorisation? And, in connection with the data, my question is whether these choices can be related, as far as the process of cognition is concerned, to the sociocultural situation of the speakers; and, as far as language contact effects are concerned, to the geographical position of the region or the intra-regional differences.

5. Theoretical background and results

5.1. Cognitive semantics: theoretical framework and practise

The argumentation is based on the cognitive linguistic description of the individual as well as the relative standard semantic matrices of three kinds of pasta, which I consider prototypical things, that is, physical objects of delimited size existing in space, atemporal and made of a specific material (Figures 1, 2 and 3, based on Langacker). In connection with the cognitive semantic description of nouns I want to refer to relevant chapters of Langacker (1987, 1991a) as well as to papers by Tolcsvai Nagy (2002: 239–240, 2004: 146–147, 2005c, 2010: 50–56, 2013: 125–128,180–184).
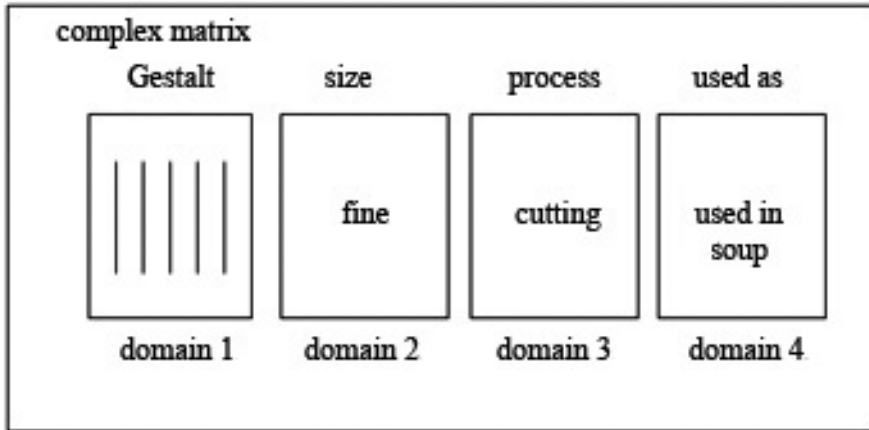
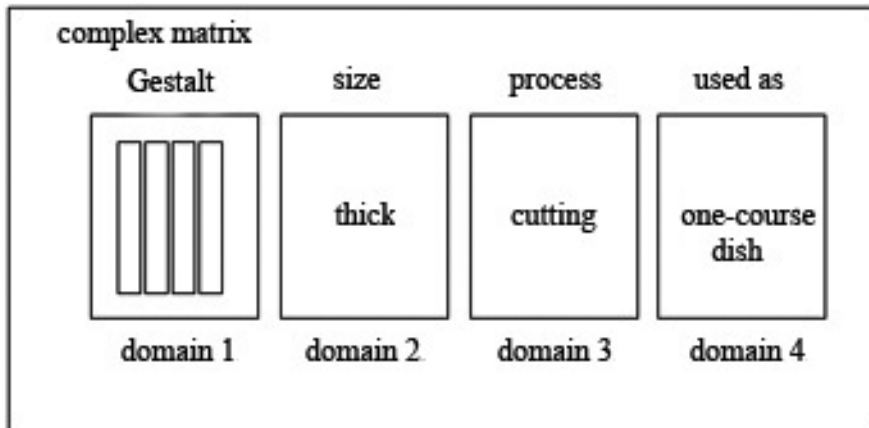**Figure 1:** The semantic representation of *cérnametélt* "string noodles"

Figure 2: The semantic representation of *szélesmetélt* "wide noodles"
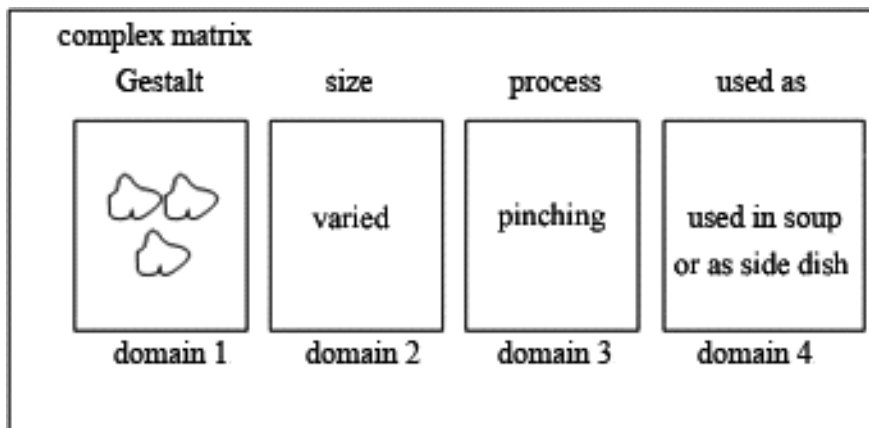
Figure 3: The semantic representation of *galuska* "dumplings"

Cognitive grammar describes the meaning and semantic matrix of a linguistic unit in terms of a matrix composed of several semantic domains, defines depicted content as spatial relationships of entities and demonstrates it through concepts such as perspective, prominence, trajector–landmark relations, visibility within the cognitive domain, and profile within the cognitive domain. In the schematic diagrams of the semantic matrices (encompassing the cognitive domains) of the linguistic tokens *cérnametélt*, *szélesmetélt* and *galuska*, the outer quadrangle symbolises the border of the semantic matrix, the smaller quadrangles inside it symbolise the cognitive domains while the figures or descriptions inside these stand for the profiled characteristics. (There are further domains within the matrix besides the schematised cognitive domains, see, for instance, Figure 4, but I do not discuss these in detail in the present paper.) In the cognitive domain a prototypical characteristic of a prototypical thing (physical object) is profiled against the background of other characteristics. In the size domain of the semantic matrix of a noun denoting a physical object such as *cérnametélt* 'string noodles' the prototypical size has a base in three-dimensional space; in the shape domain the thinly cut, long shape of the string noodles has a base in other shapes, that is, in relation to all other possible shapes.

We can make a differentiation between semantic matrices illustrated in Figures 1–3 on the basis of profiled prototypical characteristics belonging to the cognitive domains (shape, size, action, function) – that is, we categorise (into *cérnametélt*, *szélesmetélt*, and *galuska*). We cannot differentiate on the basis of method and material, since all three are boiled and are of dough. A partial differentiation can be made by the domain of action since *galuska* 'dumplings' is pinched, while *cérnametélt* 'string noodles' and *szélesmetélt* 'wide noodles' are cut. A clearcut differentiation can be achieved by introducing the domain of size, since *szélesmetélt* is wide, while *cérnametélt* is thin, and this difference is illustrated by the size domain depicting the Gestalt itself. The three also differ in their function, since *cérnametélt* is used in soup, *szélesmetélt* with a topping, while *galuska* can be used in soup or a side dish (Figure 4).

	material	method	action	size	shape	function
cérnametélt 'string noodles'	+	+	+	-	-	-
szélesmetélt 'wide noodles'	+	+	+	-	-	-
galuska 'dumplings'	+	+	-	-	-	-

Figure 4: The relative semantic matrices of *cérnametélt*, *szélesmetélt* and *galuska* ("+" refers to shared, while "–" to different cognitive domains)

The description of the semantic matrices discussed above is motivated by both methodological and content considerations. With regard to the methodology of data collection, the items of the questionnaire have to clearly elicit those features belonging to the cognitive domains that provide the semantic matrix of each investigated object so that the semantic differences of the dialectal region under investigation can be thoroughly explored. Through a comparison

of the standard semantic matrices with the empirical data, the reasons underlying variability can be scrutinised as we will see in the next section.

5.2. Possible cognitive reasons of variability

The same entity or thing can be interpreted differently – this can be related to various cognitive processes. From among these operations of interpretation, in the following sections, I will deal with the focus of attention and with categorisation in the light of the collected data. In addition to analyzing the data (N=767) provided to the three questions by the 240 subjects (subjects were provided with the option of giving alternative answers), I will also refer to the relevant data from LAHD and *The linguistic atlas of Hungarian regional dialects in Subcarpathia* (Lizanec 1992, henceforth referred to as LAHS).

5.2.1. Indirect reasons of the variability: profiling in designation

Now, let us see how the cognitive domains of the above discussed semantic matrices are interpreted in the linguistic expressions in designation by the investigated speech community.

		N=303		
		%		
metélt 'noodles'	▲	16.83		
tészta 'noodles'	●	4.95		
eperleveles 'strawberry leaf shaped noodles'	■	0.33		
cérnatészta 'string noodles'	■	●	0.99	
hosszútészta 'long noodles'	○	●	1.32	
zabszemtészta 'risoni'	■	●	0.33	
húslevestészta 'meat soup noodles'		●	-	
levestészta 'soup noodles'	♦	●	5.94	The cognitive domains occurring in the naming:
cérnametélt 'string noodles'	■	▲	24.75	
szélesmetélt 'wide noodles'	○	▲	1.65	
vastagmetélt 'thick noodles'	○	▲	0.66	■	shape
hosszúmetélt 'long noodles'	○	▲	0.99	○	size
metélt tészta 'cut noodles'	▲	●	6.27	▲	action
szaggatott tészta 'pinched noodles'	▲	●	6.93	●	material
főtt tészta 'boiled noodles'	▽	●	2.97	♦	function
berakott tészta 'layered noodles'	▽	●	0.33	▽	method
víkonlaska 'thin noodles'	○	-	-	

vastaglaska 'thick noodles'	○	-	1.98	
aprólaska 'small noodles'	○	-	0.33	
cérnalaska 'string noodles'	■	-	0.66	
laskatészta 'pasta noodles'	-	●	17.82	
szaggatott galuska/haluska 'pinched dumplings'	▲	-	0.99	
felvert galuska/haluska 'beaten dumplings'	▲	-	1.65	
nyögő tészta 'moaning noodles'	-	●	0.33	
			100%	

Figure 5: The interpreted cognitive domains in the linguistic expressions given as answers to questionnaire questions (In the N=tokens column the rows with "–" are data from LAHS, which provides no frequency figures interpretable in percentages.)

Only about half of the data can be used to demonstrate this synchronically, since those tokens whose motivation is unclear cannot be used in the examination – cf. dialectal loanwords and expressions that fossilise as a result of contact effects. In the collected data (cf. Figure 5) it is most often the profiled characteristics of the cognitive domains of material ● (23.76%) e.g. *tészta* 'noodles'; shape and action ■▲ (24.75%) e.g. *cérnametélt* 'string noodles'; action ▲ (19.47%) e.g. *metélt* 'noodles'; and action and material ▲● (13.53% e.g. *metélt tészta* 'cut noodles') that are reflected in the designations. The designations of low frequency in the data are those focusing solely on shape ■ (0.9 % e.g. *eperleveles* 'strawberry leaf shaped'); solely on size ○ (2.31% e.g. *vastaglaska* 'thick noodles'); shape and material ■ ● (1.32% e.g. *cérnatészta* 'string noodles'); function and material ♦● (5.94% e.g. *levestészta* 'soup noodles'); size and action ○▲ (3.3% e.g. *szélesmetélt* 'thick noodles'); size and material ○● (1.32% e.g. *hosszútészta* 'long noodles') and method and material ∇● (3.3% e.g. *főtt tészta* 'boiled noodles'). An overview of the above data from a cognitive linguistic perspective suggests that variability seems to stem solely from the following: which given or profiled characteristics mentioned in the instructions were foregrounded in the designation given in the answers, and the characteristics belonging to which cognitive domain the speaker wanted to emphasise and mark in the word creation. [Naturally, complex profiling occurs in the process of construction even if its motivation is non-transparent, that is, if in the designation of the linguistic unit it does not always get manifested unequivocally, e.g. *nokedli* 'dumplings', Bavarian and Austrian *nockäl* 'small dumpling' (<: Bav.- Austr. *nokk*, *nok* 'same') cf. Benkő 1967–1984.]

The data presented above is in accordance with the observation of cognitively focused descriptions according to which within the conceptual frame there is a possibility to focus on various elements of the frame and certain characteristics of the given thing in order to construct different linguistic expressions depending on which element is foregrounded. The importance of the focus of attention (cf. Talmy 2000, Langacker 1987, in Hungary e.g. Kövecses–Benczes 2010: 145–149, Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 32, Tolcsvai Nagy 2013: 142,176) was first emphasised by Talmy, who referred to it as one of the main aspects defining both notion based semantic structures and the dynamic formative characteristic of language.

According to Langacker, a linguistic expression is based on a conceptual construal of a thing or process, which is always done from a specific conceptual perspective (defined by conceptualisation), that is, through a linguistic and conceptual filter. Langacker holds that, when it comes to observing the world, every language works as such a filter. His point of departure is that the same thing or process can be construed in many different ways conceptually, and, therefore, semantically as well. In his view, differences in linguistic structures indicate differences of perspective: it is the embedment of each language in culture that defines what conventionalised cognitive schemata are used to express meanings in different languages, and how the encountered experiences are structured and construed. That is, Langacker does not simply emphasise the central role of semantics but, at least in part, also its language- and culture specific character. Through the great variety of designations, the presented dialectal examples also raise the issues of language variety and subculture specificity of semantics. I assume that the process of the conceptual construal of entities and the conventionalised cognitive schemata can vary not only across languages but also across language varieties.

5.2.2. Direct reasons of variability: experience and categorisation

In this section, an attempt will be made to go beyond the reason for variability discussed above and highlight deeper seated reasons of profiling as well as some other relevant reasons: experience → profiling → categorisation → (different) designation ← different categorisation ← different profiling ← different experience.

   Our ability to categorise is innate, we assign things we find around us to meaningful groups, i.e. categories. The most important question of the theory of science in connection with categorisation is whether categories exist objectively or subjectively, that is, independently of humans or as products of the human mind. Experientially inclined cognitivists have devoted numerous works to this issue, in which they stress the anthropocentrism of cognition, and the fact that the most important organising principle of the experience that serves as the base to language as knowledge is categorisation carried out according to the prototype principle (cf. e.g. E. Rosch 1977, Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987, Taylor 1991; for summaries in Hungarian, see e.g. Tolcsvai Nagy 2005a, 2010: 24–29, Bańczerowski 2000, 2002, Tolcsvai Nagy 2013: 114–129). According to this view, people do not talk in closed categories and tokens entirely fitting categorial criteria but classify linguistic tokens into types following the center–periphery principle if they see a sufficient reason to do so. It is important to stress that in this view objects belong under categories in a scalar and gradual way with fuzzy boundaries between them. Developing the prototype model (cf. Berlin–Kay 1969) further, several authors (Barsalau 1993, Gibbs 2003) have pointed out that categories are not always represented by constant, abstract prototypes – instead, it is more likely that category structures are flexible, temporal, and basically dependent on situation or, in a wider sense, on subculture and culture. It depends on which characteristic of the category (thing or entity) a speaker (the subject) profiles in a given speech situation, that is, which characteristic they consider important (cf. Figure 6). Accordingly, everyday categorisations, which are closely related to designations, can differ from culture to culture, dialect to dialect, speech community to speech community, and even individual to individual. In terms of

variability of linguistic data and standard semantic structures this means that the profiled and prototypical characteristics illustrated in section 5.1 can generally be considered prototypical characteristics only from the perspective of a group of native speakers of Hungarian (standard speakers), and the possibility has to be taken into account that these characteristics can change from culture to culture, speech community to speech community, and even individual to individual. And this, in turn, shows that categorisation and the notion of prototype can be interpreted subjectively. The data presented in Figure 6 exemplify such different, cognitively based categorisation on a community level. The questions of the questionnaire in a way define the boundaries "hypothetically" by providing the supposedly prototypical and characteristic features of entities.

It is my hypothesis that from the variability of the linguistic representation of certain entities and from the comparison of the linguistic expressions provided to "category delimitations" of entities through questions it is possible to draw conclusions about regional dialectal subjects' (or, through the measurement of frequency, about the speech community's) differential "vertical" and "horizontal" categorisation, i.e. the specific vs. generic categorisation and mutually overlapping categorisation of different things, respectively. Taking this as a starting point, I will examine the community level data on linguistic expressions.

5.3. The onomasiological and semasiological aspect

The vertical axis of Figure 6 shows the onomasiological, while the horizontal axis indicates the semasiological arrangement of the data. The columns show that, for instance, the meaning 'pasta cut to long and thin strips used in soup' (1) is assigned to the linguistic units of *tészta* 'noodles', *laska* 'noodles', *laskatészta* 'noodle pasta', *metélt* 'noodles', *cérnametélt* 'string noodles', *metélt tészta* 'cut noodles', *levestészta* 'soup pasta', and *hosszúmetélt* 'long noodles'. The meaning 'pasta which is cut to long, wide strips and boiled' (2) occurs with all the above mentioned linguistic units as well as with *főtt tészta* 'boiled noodles', *galuska/haluska* 'dumplings', *szélesmetélt* 'wide noodles', *vastaglaska* 'thick noodles', *vastagmetélt* 'thick noodles'. The meaning 'dough pinched to small bits and boiled' (3) occurs with linguistic units *tészta* 'noodles', *laska* 'noodles', *főtt tészta* 'boiled noodles', *galuska/haluska* 'dumplings' - which already occurred with either (1) or (2) - as well as with *szaggatott tészta* 'pinched noodles', *felvert haluska* 'beaten dumplings' and *nokedli/nokelli* 'dumplings' (Figure 6).

The variety in designations is connected, on the one hand, with how generally or specifically speakers name something as a result of categorisation within the framework of human cognition. Despite the fact that the items of the questionnaire refer to specificities, the same thing can have several generic designations within the examined corpus, e.g. *tészta* 'noodles', *főtt tészta* 'boiled noodles', *metélt tészta* 'cut noodles', and *levestészta* 'soup noodles'. Cognitive approaches draw our attention to the fact that things of the world are not simply categorised but also compared to each other based on genericity and specificity. These examples point to the fact that scalarity and gradualness are also manifested in terms of category hierarchies.

1. What is the name of the pasta cut to long and thin strips used in soup?				2. What is the name of the pasta which is cut to long, wide strips and boiled?			3. What is the name of dough pinched to small bits and boiled?		
cérnametélt 'string noodles'				szélesmetélt 'wide noodles'			galuska 'dumplings'		
our data	N= 271	LAHS	LAHD	our data	N= 226	LAHS	our data	N= 270	LAHS
SZT/28	%	I./278	410	SZT/31	%	I./277	SZT/30	%	I./276
tészta **'noodles'**	0.37	*tíszta* **'noodles'**	-	*tészta* **'noodles'**	4.42	-	*tészta* **'noodles'**	1.48	-
haluska **'dumplings'**	0.37	-	-	*galuska, haluska* **'dumplings'**	44.24	*haluska* **'dumplings'**	*galuska, haluska* **'dumplings'**	22.22	
laska **'noodles'**	29.89	*laska* **'noodles'**	*laska* **'noodles'**	*laska* **'noodles'**	8.85	*laska* **'noodles'**	*laska* **'noodles'**	0.37	-
laskatészta **'noodle pasta'**	15.87	*laskatészta* **'noodle pasta'**	*laskatészta* **'noodle pasta'**	*laskatészta* **'noodle pasta'**	4.87	*laskatészta* **'noodle pasta'**			-
metélt **'noodles'**	14.02	-	-	*metélt* **'noodles'**	5.75	*metélt* **'noodles'**			
cérnametélt **'string noodles'**	26.2	-	-	*cérnametélt* **'string noodles'**	1.77	-			-
metélt tészta **'cut noodles'**	3.69	-	-	*metélt tészta* **'cut noodles'**	3.98				-
levestészta **'soup noodles'**	4.8	*levestészta* **'soup noodles'**	-	*levestészta* **'soup noodles'**	2.21	-			-
hosszú metélt **'long noodles'**	0.74	-	-	*hosszúmetélt* **'long noodles'**	0.44	-			-
-	-	-	-	*főtt tészta* **'boiled noodles'**	3.1	-	*főtt tészta* **'boiled noodles'**	0.74	-
-	-	-	-	*felvert galuska/haluska* **'beaten dumplings'**	0.44	-	*felvert galuska/haluska* **'beaten dumplings'**	1.48	*felvert haluska* **'beaten dumplings'**
-	-	-	-	*szaggatott galuska/haluska* **'pinched dumplings'**	0.44	-	*szaggatott galuska/haluska* **'pinched dumplings'**	0.74	*szaggatott haluska* **'pinched dumplings'**

-	-	-	-	***nokedli* 'dumplings'**	3.54	-	***nokedli, nokelli* 'dumplings'**	**57.78**	***nokedli* 'dumplings'**
-	-	-	-	***grízgaluska* 'semolina dumplings'**	0.44	-	***grízgaluska* 'semolina dumplings'**	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	***nyögvenyelő* 'moaning noodles'**	0.44	-	***nyögvenyelő, nyögő* 'moaning noodles'**	4.07	-
cérnatészta 'string noodles'	1.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
hosszútészta 'long noodles'	1.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
mákos tészta 'poppyseed noodles'	0.37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	*víkonlaska* 'thin noodles'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	*húslevestészta* 'meat soup noodles'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	*hosszútészta* 'long noodles'	*hosszútészta* 'long noodles'	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*szélesmetélt* 'wide noodles'	2.21	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*vastagmetélt* 'thick noodles'	0.88	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*vastaglaska* 'thick noodles'	2.65	-	-	-	.
-	-	-	-	*zabszemtészta* 'risoni'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*eperleveles* 'strawberry leaf noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*laskára vágott tészta* 'cut noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*makaróni* 'macaroni'	0.44	-	-	-	-

-	-	-	-	*berakott tészta* 'layered noodles'	0.44	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*csusza* 'noodles'	1.33	*csusza* 'noodles'		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*száraz tészta* 'dry noodles'	1.33	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*haluskatészta* 'dumpling noodles'	0.88	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*káposztás laska* 'cabbage noodles'	0.44	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*krumplihaluska* 'potato dumplings'	0.44	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*aprólaska* 'small noodles'	0.44	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	*nyújtott tészta* 'rolled noodles'	0.44	-		-	-	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*szaggatott tészta* 'pinched noodles'	7.78	*szaggatott tészta* 'pinched noodles"	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*csipkedli* 'pinchies'	0.37		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*nyögőtészta* 'moaning noodles'	0.37		
-	-	-	-	-	-	-			*felvert tészta* 'beaten noodles'	

Figure 6

On the other hand, the comparison of the same linguistic expressions that were given in answer to questions designating the denotations provides further possibilities for the "horizontal" interpretation of cognitively based categorisation (cf. the data given in boldface in Figure 6). Thus, for instance, *tészta*, *laska* and *galuska*/*haluska* can all mark long cut, wide cut, or pinched boiled noodles, just like, for instance, *nokedli*, *főtt tészta*, *felvert tészta* and *szaggatott galuska*/*haluska* mark wide cut, boiled, or pinched noodles as a denotation,

according to the illustrated data from subjects. Similarly, for example,. the linguistic units *metélt*, *metélt tészta*, *cérnametélt*, *hosszúmetélt* or *levestészta* have been found to mark both thinly or thickly cut noodles.

These overlaps between categories often arise, in connection with the degree of genericity, from the speaker referring to a characteristic belonging to a cognitive domain in the process of construal. On this basis, however, we cannot differentiate between the denotations in question (Figure 4), cf. *főtt tészta* 'boiled noodles' vs. *tészta* 'noodles'. (The possible reasons behind the genericity of the designations are discussed in the second part of this section.)

It is important to decide whether cognitively based categorisation occurs at the individual level, whether it depends on the speech situation and psycholinguistic factors, etc., or whether it is generally present in the language use of the regional speech community. My research question connected to this issue is whether there are categories which stand out, from a cognitive perspective, from among the rest, that is, which are more likely chosen by the language users of the region than others. Is there categorisation that differs between regional speech communities?

If we accept the claim that categorisation uses a human perspective then we have to accept the fact that it is not exclusively a cognitive process but, due to the biological, psychological and social nature of humans, is decisively shaped by the wider context, i.e. the culture or the subculture as well. And if the differently experienced and, thus, differently profiled characteristics of things become often used, and, depending on their frequency, possibly become conventionalised, then they can be regarded as generally accepted in the language use of the given speech community. Whether categorisation of such different kind is truly generally accepted within a speech community, however, can only be decided adequately on the basis of frequency data.

Looking at the columns in Figure 6, we see the answers given most frequently in cells marked with thicker borders. Their frequency is also supported by data from and notes in LAHS as well as by data from LAHD. According to these, almost half of the subjects (45.76%) associate the forms *laska* and *laskatészta* with the meaning 'pasta cut to long and thin strips, boiled and used in soup' (1), and only slightly fewer of them (44.24%) associate the forms *galuska* and *haluska* with the meaning 'pasta cut to wide strips and boiled' (2). The meaning 'pinched and boiled pasta' is associated with the linguistic units *nokedli* and *nokelli* by a surprisingly high, approximately 60% proportion of the subjects. In connection with this issue it is also important to examine to what extent the collected linguistic data correspond to standard forms and meanings, and also, to what extent the categorisation of the speakers of the examined dialect region corresponds to that of the majority of Hungarian native speakers. The standard categorisation corresponds to that provided by the dialect speakers to a proportion of 26.2% in the first case, a mere 2.21% in the second, and 22.22% in the third. In the remaining cases we find other linguistic expressions, cognitively speaking different meanings – that is, we are dealing with cases of different "vertical" or of different "vertical" and "horizontal" categorisation at the same time: in the examined speech community, the meaning 'pasta cut to thin strips and boiled' is associated with forms *laskatészta* and *laska* (45.76%) rather than with *cérnametélt*, although the form *metélt*, stressing the cognitive domain of action, is also used (14.02%). The standard categorisation (*szélesmetélt*) corresponds to the empirical findings least (2.21%) in the case of 'pasta cut to wide strips

and boiled', the question about which was answered, in the largest proportion, with *galuska/haluska* (with a combined rate of 44.24%), followed by answers, in a decreasing order, such as *laska* and *laskatészta* (13.72%). Together with the answer *nokedli/nokelli* (57.78%), the answer *szaggatott tészta*, stressing the cognitive domains of action and material, was also often given (7.78%) to the meaning 'pinched and boiled pasta'.

From the above it also becomes apparent that in the examined region the use of the same linguistic units for parallel designations is not uncommon. The data provided in the same rows in Figure 6 which do not correspond to the question to which they were given is most frequent in the cases of *laska*, *laskatészta*, *metélt*, and *galuska/haluska*. Thus, we can conclude that on the basis of cognitive schemata conventionalised in the semantic structure of *laska*, *laskatészta* and *metélt,* in the northeastern dialect region no differentiation is made between widely cut (*szélesmetélt*) vs. thinly cut (*cérnametélt*) boiled pasta in terms of function either (i.e. whether it is used in soup or eaten as a side dish). The case of the empirical findings for *galuska/haluska* is similar, since no shape, action, size or function differentiation is made between the semantic structures of *szélesmetélt* and *galuska* as far as the semantic structures described in section 4 are concerned. On the basis of the data we can also conclude that the parallel use of the linguistic items under discussion constitutes a characteristic of the language use norms of the speech community under investigation. Through this it can be demonstrated on the basis of language use data that in the northeastern dialect region the word *galuska* is used unlike in the standard where it refers to 'pinched and boiled pasta' as the designation of 'pasta cut to wide strips and boiled' (the rate of correspondence between the categorisations of the dialect data vs. the standard was only 22.22%, whereas the dialectal categorisation was used almost exactly twice as often, 44.24%). *Laska* and *laskatészta* are used for both long, thin and wide boiled pasta, but frequency rates show that the former meaning is used almost three times as often (45.76% vs. 13.77%).

In conclusion, we can say that the categorisation of linguistic tokens given in bold in Figure 6 differs in the northeastern dialect region at the speech community level (!) from the usual categorisation. As a consequence, the linguistic form created depends on how the given linguistic token is perceived by the speech community, which of its characteristics is profiled (independently of whether this surfaces in the linguistic form or not, cf. dialectal loanwords), and how it is then assigned to a category. The continuity of categories (the principle of continuity) is manifested even more strongly at the level of regional varieties: as far as the base domains of the semantic structures provided in the questions are concerned, no differentiation is made, they are assigned to the same category. The categorisation that can be put forward on the basis of the profiled characteristics given in the questions does not always correspond to the categorisation put forward by the dialect speaker (speech community), that is, to the characteristics foregrounded and profiled by them. Differential experience and differential profiling, then, result in differential categorisation both at the level of the classification of things by specificity vs. genericity and because of different things overlapping.

5.4. Other factors influencing differential categorisation

In previous sections the question of what is behind variability has been answered. But what factors determine differential categorisation in the examined region? Even though a broader discussion of this is certainly beyond the scope of the present paper, examples indicate that the geolinguistic characteristics of the region, specifically, the **meaning modifying effect of language contact**, need to be taken into account, cf. *galuska/haluska* and *laska/laskatészta* (for more on their origin, see Kótyuk 2007; Benkő 1969–1984; Lizanec 1992; for more on the cognitive background of meaning variants of loanwords, see e.g. Benő 2004). In these cases it might be the insufficiency of the cognitive process, the lack of experience, or, the consequence of the process of "non-acquisition", so to speak, that causes at the community level the use of more generic categories that overlap with more than one standard category. (Cf. the way the linguistic units *laska* and *laskatészta* are used at the community level with the meanings 'pasta cut long and thin, then boiled and used in soup' and 'pasta cut wide and boiled', as well as the use of the linguistic unit *galuska/haluska* with the meanings 'pasta cut wide and boiled' and 'pasta pinched and boiled'.

Besides categorisations accepted generally by the speech community, we have also recorded other similar examples, but those are mostly incidental, and in their cases construction depends on what characteristic of a thing a speaker considers to be important in a given situation. Beyond **individual psycholinguistic reasons** as factors playing a role in the cognitively based creation of categories, another important factor is whether cognitive abilities required for categorisation are fully employed or not, for instance, in how and how often a certain thing is encountered or experienced. **Sociolinguistic factors**, i.e. independent variables (indispensable in dialectology as well) can be of assistance in exploring this. I can illustrate this only with a few examples. In Figure 6, the lexemes with differential categorisation under question 1 are as follows: *tészta* 'noodles' (young woman from Hungary); *metélt tészta* 'cut noodles' (middle aged and older men); under question 2: *vastagmetélt* 'wide noodles' (older man from outside Hungary); *csusza* 'noodles' (younger woman from outside Hungary); *eperleveles* 'strawberry leaf noodles' (middle aged man from Hungary); *szaggatott haluska* 'pinched dumplings' (older man from Hungary); *felvert haluska* 'beaten dumplings' (older man from Hungary); *berakott tészta* 'layered noodles' (younger woman from outside Hungary). I considered data to be incidentally occurring if its frequency was below 10%. Considering age, in the answers to 'pasta cut long and thin, then boiled and used in soup' more than twice as many individual linguistic expressions were provided by young people (22.07%) than by the elderly (14.87%), and almost four times as many than by the middle aged (6.11%). A similar tendency appears, although not as strongly, in the case of 'pasta cut wide and boiled': again, young people provided 19.7% of the tokens, the middle aged 9.76%, and the elderly 16.38%. Level of education as an independent variable produced similar correlations. In the case of two meanings, university educated subjects provided the highest proportion of special linguistic expressions marked by individual categorisation, with the exception being the data referring to 'pinched and boiled pasta', where university educated subjects provided the general linguistic units. Of the independent variables used in the analysis, gender provides a clear-cut correlation: in all three of the examined cases, men provided more situationally influenced data. Even though

the presented percentages suggest that a lack of experience and knowledge of the pasta making process is associated with the independent variables of gender and age in providing differentially categorised answers, more detailed research would be necessary for a stronger claim on this issue.

In the remaining part of this section I will examine briefly whether there are **geographical divisions** within the region under examination as far as the designations are concerned, and, also, whether on the basis of the frequency data national borders influence language use from a cognitive perspective as well. In the parts of the region that fall outside Hungary, the token *cérnametélt* 'string pasta' did not occur (except in Beregszász/Berehove, Ukraine), with *laska* 'noodles' and *laskatészta* 'pasta noodles' being the most widely used, with a result of over 60% at every research site, and with Beregsom/Som, Ukraine (95%), and Kispeleske/Pelişor, Romania, standing out especially. As far as the research sites inside Hungary are concerned, in most of them (Beregsurány, Csengersima, and Bátorliget) the use of *cérnametélt* 'string pasta' is more frequent, about twice as frequent as that of *laska* and *laskatészta*. Their use is approximately equal in Tiszabecs and Rozsály: in the former, which lies close to the Ukrainian border, their use is at 38.64% and 40%, respectively, while it is 26.67% for each in the latter, close to the Romanian border. Barabás constitutes an exception: even though it is in Hungary, the occurrence of *laska* and *laskatészta* is higher than that of *cérnametélt* (47.05% and 35.29%, respectively), which is likely due to a contact effect of Ukrainian on the cognitive process as well.

As I have already pointed out above, standard categorisation was met in the data the least for 'pasta cut wide and boiled' (*szélesmetélt* 'wide noodles' was given in 2.21% of the cases), and only at research sites within Hungary, specifically in Beregsurány and Tarpa. Besides *galuska/haluska*, the items *laska* and *laskatészta* were also used at almost all of the sites – with the exception of Nagyar, Hungary, as well as Kispeleske/Pelişor and Szamosdara/Dara, Romania. The rate of occurrence of the former varies: it is highest along the Ukrainian–Hungarian border (and especially high in places on the Ukrainian side of it, in Beregszász/Berehove and Bótrágy/Batragy), which is the result of language contact. Besides the exceptions mentioned, at all research sites, the frequency of the rate of occurrence of *galuska/haluska* is several times higher in most places than that of *laska* and *laskatészta*.

The designation for 'pinched and boiled pasta' was primarily *galuska/haluska* 'dumplings', while *nokedli/nokelli* 'dumplings' and, even more rarely, *szaggatott tészta* 'pinched pasta' (which stresses the cognitive domains of action and material) were secondary. Even though *galuska/haluska* occurred everywhere except in two sites in Hungary (Nagyar and Rozsály) and one in Romaniai (Szamosdara/Dara), in most cases the rate of occurrence of *nokedli/ nokelli* was several times higher than that of the standard form.

As I have stressed above, it is important to keep in mind that the conclusions that can be drawn from these data are valid at the level of the community. In order to get a more precise picture of tendencies of differential categorisation, the results need to be looked at in more detail regarding how the designations given to the three meanings are interconnected in the answers of individual subjects. In terms of the examined lexemes, for instance, if 'pasta cut long and thin, then boiled and used in soup' is called *laska* and *laskatészta*, then, is there a different designation that is used for 'pasta cut wide and boiled' or is the same used? And, similarly, if 'pasta cut wide and boiled' is called *galuska*, then, is the name for 'pasta

pinched and boiled' the same, or is it *nokedli* in exactly this case, or is yet another linguistic unit used? These results as well as a comparison of findings presented in this paper would provide further insight into the investigation of the applicability of a cognitive approach in dialectal lexicology.

6. Conclusion

The present paper provides a first attempt, on the one hand, to show the viability of a new approach to a somewhat difficult set of issues, and, on the other, to enumerate the possible gains from such an interrelationship of disciplines. Since the approach presented here has few antecedents, there are questions that still require answers in regard to both its details and terminological issues – these will need to be dealt with elsewhere. Despite the fact that integrative tendencies are growing stronger in linguistics, circumstances that make them difficult should not be ignored either. They include the highly differentiated nature of linguistics, the fact that differences of perspective are in some cases incompatible, and the expectation of complex competencies as well, since integration requires a high level of familiarity with the disciplines to be integrated even if they are relatively far from each other.

Beyond the common tasks of the two disciplines (such as the emphasis on the usage side of language and the objective analysis of actual language use), the basis of the necessary intersection of cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics is the possibility of mutual renewal of the two. Accordingly, cognitive linguistics needs to adopt primarily empirical methods and to emphasise sociocultural aspects, involving independent variables, as well as to broaden the examination of variability to include language varieties in order to situate several of its basic principles in a wider context of interconnectedness and to be thus affirmed from the other discipline. In exchange, its rich, bottom-up theoretical framework can contribute to a better understanding of variation phenomena.

The issue of assigning several designations to the same notion has interested dialectologists for a long time, at least since the "Wörter und Sachen" approach, and since the beginning of geolinguistic thinking. The new perspective can focus on the reasons lying behind variability and provide new impetus for dialectology through the foregrounding of semantics. Being well-supported by data (cf. atlases and dictionaries), it provides primarily language use data for such research, and, through the use of the notions of cognitive linguistics (such as conceptualisation, categorisation, profiling, the continuum-principle, and the dialectological interpretation of the theory of meaning, it can demonstrate the applicability of the cognitive framework in other disciplines. The theoretical framework of the cognitive perspective can provide dialectology with new aspects to consider. Some of the variants treated as erroneous data under the "traditional" approach can be reinterpreted within a cognitive frame. The conclusion mentioned earlier, that questions need to include all the profiled characteristics of the cognitive domain that provide the semantic structure of the expected lexeme draws attention to the necessity to word questions with precision and in such a way that they induce the desired data, and also, possibly, further differentiate it semantically. By connecting the structured analysis of the system of notion designations with the cognitive perspective and word geographical investigations, it might become possible to present the differential

linguistic structuring of reality following at the same time both the cognitive and the geographical, a basically "cognitive map"-like structure.

It is plausible to expect that, beyond the names of pastas, other elements of the given corpus of data: for instance, lexemes referring to kitchen utensils such as *serpenyő* 'saucepan' /*lábas* 'pot' /*bogrács* 'pot that can be hung' /*üst* 'kettle' and seats such as *pad* 'bench' /*lóca* 'small bench' /*zsámoly* 'footstool' – can also be analyzed. Future examinations should be broadened (i) in such a way as to be able to investigate what cohort groups (by age, gender, and level of education) are more likely to use geographically bound linguistic expressions that cover differential categorisation; (ii) to include the individual level, in order to get information on differences between idiolects in this sense as well; and (iii) to include the interdialectal level. In addition to these it would also be important to consider following the discussed issues along in time as well in the form of an investigation of synchronic language change or that of a diachronic analysis.

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