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CONSTRUING INFERENCE: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF GROUNDING PREDICATIONS WITH THE VERB *GONDOL* 'THINK'¹

NÓRA KUGLER

Abstract

This paper reports on an empirical study of epistential (epistemic-inferential) predicates. In the corpus compiled by the author (Corpus for the study of inferentiality), the marking of the speaker's vantage point is more frequent, and subjectification is more common in dialogue turns profiling inferences and beliefs than in narrative accounts of observations.

*Three constructions of *gondol* 'think' are distinguished, each is characterized by the fact that the situation being construed as possible is elaborated in a separate (subordinate) clause. The negative patterns *nem gondolom/gondolnám* 'I don't/wouldn't think' express 1) a belief that the target situation has a low degree of probability; 2) a discarded possibility as the speaker is providing access to the building up and decay of her inferences; 3) the discarding of what is known or inferred to be the discourse partner's belief in a polite, indirect way (*litotes*).*

Keywords: cognitive verb, epistemic-inferential (epistential) modality, grounding predication, inferentiality, subjectification

1. Aims and methods

In this paper, I am going to report on an empirical study of epistemic-inferential modality. I will also call it „epistential” for short, since the two aspects, epistemic and inferential, are closely intertwined. The functioning of epistential modality can be defined like this: the speaker, on the basis of her prior knowledge or information from the ongoing discourse, communicates her inference about the possibility or probability that a given situation holds.

An epistential predicate is an expression functioning as reference point (cf. Langacker 1991: 207, 2008: 83, Pelyvás 1998, 2006). It highlights the fact that the situation in the target structure is accessed through the mental operations (inferences, beliefs) of the speaker as a vantage point. Therefore, the situation is interpreted as possible or probable (only).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>gondolom</i>
<i>think</i> .1SG | <i>valami</i>
INDF.PRON | <i>irodai</i>
office.ADJ.DERIV | <i>munkája</i>
job.POSS.3SG | <i>lehet</i>
<i>be</i> .POT.3SG | (I) ² ₃₂ |
| | ‘I think _[obj] he may have _[s subj] | | some kind of office job.’ | | | |
| (2) | <i>Hát</i>
well | <i>valószínűleg</i>
<i>probably</i> | <i>ismeri</i>
know.3SG | <i>a</i>
DEF.ART | <i>helyszínt, [...]</i>
place.ACC | (I) ₂₈ |
| | ‘Well, probably _[subj] he is familiar with the place.’ | | | | | |

¹ The research reported here was sponsored by the Bolyai János Research Grant (BO/00584/10/1) and the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA, K100717).

² Informant, with her/his number

In the subscripts, [obj] and [subj] refer to the objectivized or subjectivized nature of construal in the sense of Langacker (2006: 18, 2008) (cf. Pelyvás 2006). The mental process of the speaker goes 'onstage' in the first example, and remains 'offstage' in the second one.

To investigate epistential modality, I created a corpus (Corpus for the study of inferentiality, abbreviated as Kivi in Hungarian). A key element of corpus design was the requirement that each informant observe the same event. To achieve this, I devised a simple scenario with a single character and a time span of 32 seconds, and recorded it with a digital camera.

From the recording, it is not clear

- whether or not the small-size white envelope belongs to the young man
- whether or not the search is being conducted in his own room/flat
- whether the envelope was indeed what he was looking for, or finding the envelope merely interrupted or ended the search without success.

The film gives no clue whatsoever as to the motive behind the search, the reason for the hurry, or what the young man needs the envelope for, etc.

After playing the recording, I first asked informants to narrate the events they have just observed. In the second phase, I inquired about the inferences and beliefs they have shared, asking them to back up their claims.

There was a total of 45 informants, of whom 43 were university students, one was a teacher with a university degree, and one worked in the university's administration. The participants included 38 women and 7 men. The recordings I made had a full running time of 74 minutes and 21 seconds (4461 seconds), with an average share of 1.5 minutes (99 seconds) for each informant. The corpus consists of 8658 word tokens, of which a sample of 8326 word tokens was put to analysis (3130 word tokens of narrative and 5196 word tokens of dialogue, mostly inferences).

The main questions are the following: 1) Is there a difference between the discourse types as to whether or not the speaker explicitly marks her inference-making? 2) What do the tokens of *gondol* 'think', the most general and most frequent mental verb in the corpus, show about the linguistic construal of this mental process?

2. The two discourse types

Two types of signals or markers have been considered:

a) first person singular forms (personal pronoun, suffix) anchored to the speaker; in this group, special attention was paid to *szerintem* 'in my opinion'. *Szerintem* is the most frequent Hungarian expression marking a mental vantage point anchored to the speaker.

- (3) – Kinek a szobája ez?
 'Whose room is this?'
 – Szerintem_[obj] a fiúé. (A₃)
 accordingly.1SG DEF.ART boy.POSS

'In my opinion it is the boy's.'

b) I checked the frequency of epistential/modal adverbs. The epistential operation anchored to the speaker is subjectively construed by the modal adverb (e.g. *valószínűleg* 'probably'; *feltehetőleg* 'presumably', *talán* 'perhaps').

Table 1 and Figure 1 show the number of first person singular forms in the narratives and the informants' turns in the dialogues.

	pc	frequency (pc/million words)
narratives	74	23642
dialogues	187	35989

Table 1: First person singular forms in narratives and dialogues

The narratives include 74 forms referring to the speaker (which translates into a frequency of 23642 tokens / million words), whereas the dialogues contained 187 such occurrences (35989 tokens / million words). That is, the frequency of such forms was 50% higher in dialogues.

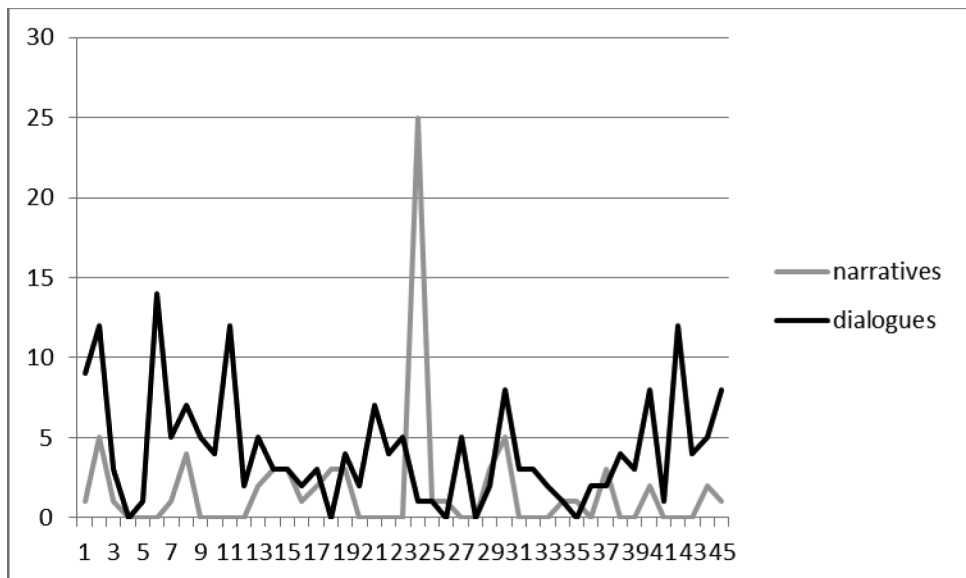


Figure 1: First person singular forms in narratives and dialogues

Informant A₂₄ was highly self-conscious. In her narrative, she kept monitoring herself and reflecting on her vantage point as an observer.

Overall, what is striking about the data is that dialogues have a higher frequency of forms referring to the speaker, highlighting her inferences and beliefs.

Even more spectacular is the difference between discourse types in terms of the frequency of *szerintem* 'in my opinion':

	tokens	frequency (pc/million words)
narratives	3	958
dialogues	26	5004

Table 2: The frequency of *szerintem*

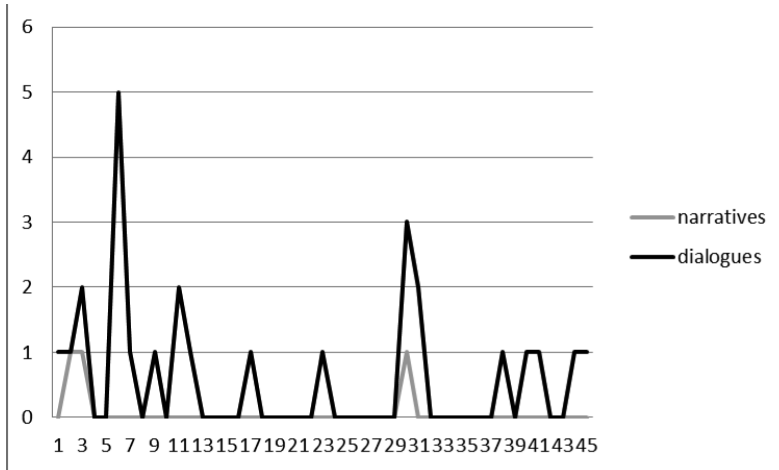


Figure 2: The frequency of occurrence of *szerintem* in narratives and dialogues

Compared to the narrative discourse type, *szerintem* 'in my opinion' has a 5.2 times higher frequency of occurrence in dialogues.

The higher degree of subjectification in dialogues is also shown by the frequency of epistential modal adverbs.

	tokens	frequency pc/million words
narratives	23	7348
dialogues	51	9815

Table 3: Epistential adverbs

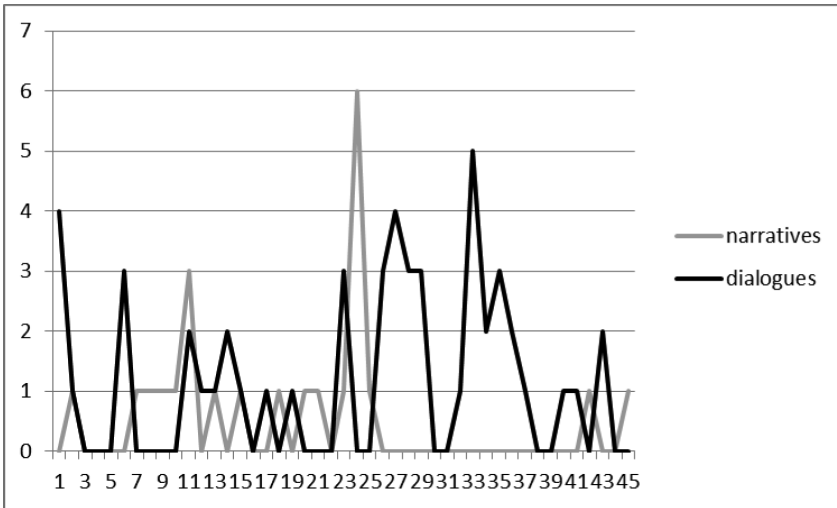


Figure 3: Epistential modal adverbs in narratives and dialogues

The data provide clear evidence for a difference between the two discourse types in terms of the markedness of the speaker’s vantage point, with regard to both objectively and subjectively construed mental processes. The marking of the speaker’s vantage point is more frequent, and subjectification is more common in dialogue turns profiling inferences and beliefs than in narrative accounts of observations.

3. The occurrences of *gondol* ‘think’

Based on my Kivi corpus, the cognitive verb *gondol* ‘think’ is the prototypical, central verb for profiling the mental processes associated with inference (Bybee 2010: 18–19, 24–25, 75). In the corpus, its first person singular inflected form has a total of 33 occurrences. This makes it the most frequent verb form anchored to the speaker, accounting for 41.25% of all verbs in first person singular.

The most common meaning of *gondol* ‘think’, with 31 occurrences, is the following: ‘the speaker makes an inference from her (evaluated) experience, creating some mental content’, or ‘the speaker builds a mental construct based on unspecified prior knowledge’.

The meaning can surface in various constructions (for data on occurrences, see Table 4). In Table 4 three types of constructions are distinguished. Each is characterized by the fact that the situation being construed as possible is elaborated in a separate (subordinate) clause.

semantic domain	syntactic structure	pc	informant
INFERENCE-MAKING, ASSESSMENT OF PROBABILITY	<i>gondol</i> .1SG + subordinate clause	31	
Type 1: with reference to the base of inference	<i>ezért/azért gondolom</i> ‘this/that is why I think’	9	I ₁ , I ₁₀ , I ₁₃ , I ₁₆ , I ₂₃ , I ₂₇ , I ₃₈
	<i>ebből/abból/miből gondolom</i> ‘from this/that/which I think’	5	I ₃ , I ₁₉ , I ₄₃ , I ₁₉ , I ₂₅

Type 2: without reference to the base of inference	<i>ezt/azt (úgy) gondoltam</i> 'I thought this/that'	3	I ₂ , I ₁₆ , I ₄₅
	<i>erre/arra gondolok</i> 'I am thinkin of this/that'	4	I ₁ , I ₃₀ , I ₃₃
	<i>gondolom(, hogy)</i> 'I think (that)'	7	I ₂₃ , I ₂₉ , I ₃₂ , I ₃₇ , I ₄₃ , I ₄₄ , I ₄₅
	<i>úgy gondolom</i> 'I think'	3	I ₅ , I ₃₆ , I ₃₉
Type 3: SIMULATION OF HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION	<i>nem gondolnám, hogy</i> 'I wouldn't think that'	1	I ₁₉
in total:		32	

Table 4: Occurrences of *gondol* 'think' anchored to the speaker

One occurrence of *gondol* belongs to the semantic domain QUALIFICATION-EVALUATION (*gondol valaminek* 'consider as'). This will not be discussed in this paper.

semantic domain	syntactic structure	pc	informant
CATEGORIZATION, QUALIFICATION-EVALUATION	<i>gondol valaminek [valamit]</i> 'consider [something] as something'	1	I ₃₂
	<i>Hát inkább ilyen dolgozószobának gondolom</i> 'Well, I'd rather consider it as a study room'		

Table 5: Occurrence of *gondol* 'consider' anchored to the speaker

3.1. Constructions of *gondol*-1SG expressing inference and assessment of probability: Type 1

Type 1 is characterized by the linguistic elaboration of the base of inference (anaphorically/ by discourse deixis in the examples). The base can be conceptualized in either of two ways (pattern A, pattern B).

Pattern A)

ezért/azért gondolom, hogy (9 occurrences)

PRON.CAUS think.1SG CONJ

'this/that is why I think that'

In pattern A), the base is construed as a reason prompting the mental subject to conceptualize the situation expressed in the subordinate clause. Its underlying image schema is the BILLIARD BALL MODEL (for a force dynamic account of the operation, see Pelyvás 2006).

- (4) – És megtalálta, amit kerestett?
 'And did he find what he was looking for?'
 – [...] az asztalon volt ugye az a doboz, amit kiöntött, vagy kiöntötte a tartalmát, és ilyen dobozban nem papírokat tart általában az ember, hanem kisebb tárgyakat. *És én ezért gondolom_[obj] hogy talán_[subj] nem azt a papírdarabot kereste.* (I₁)
 'on the table there was this box you know, which he poured out, I mean he poured out its content, and in a box like this you don't normally store paper but rather small objects. *And that's why I think_[obj] that maybe_[subj] he wasn't looking for that piece of paper.'* (I₁)

In pattern B), the base is a point of departure, the mental process adopts the image schema of TAKING SOMETHING OUT OF A CONTAINER (a specific version of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema).

Pattern B)

ebből/abból/miből *gondolom,* *hogy* (5 occurrences)

PRON.ELAT think.1SG CONJ

'from this / from that / from which I think that'

- (5) – Megtalálta, amit kerestett?
 'Did he find what he was looking for?'
 – Hát szerintem igen, [...] azt a papírt megtalálta, és akkor egyből el is hagyta a szobát, *ebből gondolom_[obj] hogy* hogy azt kereste. (I₃)
 'Well in my opinion he did, [...] he found that paper and then left the room right away, *from this I think_[obj] that* that's what he was looking for.'

When other constructions are employed, the base of inference can also be elaborated by the speaker but only externally to the structure under examination.

3.2. Type 2

The operation at work in Type 2: putting the mental process on stage as a reference point for accessing the target situation (the result of inference) in the subordinate clause. It is characterized by the fact that the base of inference remains in the background, it is not elaborated linguistically, and the result of inference (the potential event) is foregrounded instead.

Pattern A)

[azt] gondolom, hogy (10 occurrences)

PRON.DIST.ACC think.1SG CONJ

'I think that'

Pattern B)

arra	gondolok,	hogy	(4 occurrences)
PRON.DIST.LAT	think.1SG	CONJ	
'I am thinking of [the fact] that'			

Pattern C)

úgy	gondolom,	hogy	(3 occurrences)
PRON.DIST.MANNER	think.1SG	CONJ	
that way		think.I	
'I think that'			

- (6) – Milyen viszony van a fiatalember és a helyszín között?
 'What is the relation between the young man and the place?'
 – *Hát úgy gondolom, hogy* ő ez egy ilyen irodajellegű szoba lehetett, de akár lehetett a saját lakószobája is. (I₃₉)
 'Well I think that... eeer... this room was possibly some kind of office, but it may also have been his own room.'

The ordering of patterns A, B and C illustrates the continuum in the polysemy of *gondol* 'think' which ranges from 'conceiving of something, coming up with a thought' (Pattern A) and more subjective meanings (cf. Traugott 1995, Tolcsvai Nagy 2013: 165–168). The complement with lative case (Pattern B) suggests less complete control over the object of conceptualization. Collocating with cognitive verbs, the word *úgy*, which originally meaning 'so, in that way, like that', has developed an abstract attitude marking function, namely the expression of mental distance ('way of thinking; nature of one's attitude to something') (Pattern C).

Incidentally, the expression *úgy látom* 'I see that way, I see like that' is also used to provide access to a belief (in 11 out of 12, i.e. 92% of cases in the Hungarian National Corpus). Thus, it also profiles attitude rather than the way in which something is visually perceived.

3.3. Type 3

The operation at work in Type 3: as a result of a mental process, the speaker creates a mental construct of a hypothetical situation which she does not believe to be probable.

nem	gondolnám,	hogy	(1 occurrence)
NEG	think.COND.1SG	CONJ	
'I wouldn't think that'			

Conceptualizing situations which are unlikely or impossible may help in assessing the probability of alternative scenarios, and thus in convincing the discourse partner.

Negative construal, however, is a marked phenomenon, compared to positive which represents the unmarked default: in general, we are talking about what we do believe to be

probable rather than the opposite. Negative construal as a departure from what is typical may have a range of functions.

- (7) – Azt mondtad, hogy vagy a saját lakásában volt, vagy nem. Miért?
 ‘You’ve said [the guy] was either in his own flat or not. Why?’
 – Igazából úgy nézett ki mint egy iroda. *És nem gondolnám*, hogy ennek a fiúnak volt egy saját irodája vagy egy dolgozószobája otthon, és abból gondoltam, hogy talán nem is a saját szobájában kutatott, vagy ott, ahol ahol az ő dolgai vannak. Hát vagy másnak keresett valamit, vagy vagy magának, de nem a saját dolgai között. Vagy csak túl sok krimi néztem? (A₁₉)
 ‘Actually it looked like an office. And I wouldn’t think that this guy had an office of his own or a study room at home, and from that I thought (concluded) that maybe he wasn’t searching in his own room or wherever he was keeping his belongings. So he was either doing the search for somebody else, or for himself, but not where his own stuff was. Or have I watched too many thrillers?’ (I₁₉)

Speaker I₁₉ is reporting on her own inference-making, attempting to reconstruct the path leading to her conclusion. As an observer and interpreter of events, she is trying to construct a meaning representation that is coherent and makes sense (cf. Tátrai 2011: 172). In the creation of this meaning representation, a key role is played not only by ongoing observation but also such factors as schemas abstracted from experience and the processes of inference. As suggested by (Vonk–Noordman 2001: 7430), inferences are built up and decay over time. In assessments of probability, speakers often construe multiple scenarios as possible (e.g. the place may have been a room in somebody’s home or in an office). These assessments of probability are generally not made simultaneously, but rather possibility is extended from one situation to another (when further factors are considered, e.g. previous experience gets activated). For example, the inference that the place may be an office becomes the base for further inferences: if the person in the film is a young boy, he cannot have an office of his own. The building up and decay of inferences is made accessible by the speaker when she is reflecting on these processes. Reporting on her beliefs, she contrasts the situation regarded as probable with a less probable or unlikely one, excludes the latter, and thereby strengthens her inference.

The discourse situation of asking for an explanation for beliefs elicits an account about the discarding of possibilities, as well as arguments supporting that decision. The reinforcement of a previous inference, or its adjustment and weakening (cf. the last sentence of (7)) primarily depends on whether or not the situation being assessed for probability fits into the story (world representation) being constructed. The significance of negative construal is in the speaker adding coherence to her world representation by discarding possibilities which might challenge the integrity of the story.

A similar function is fulfilled by negative construal when the pattern *nem gondolnám* ‘I wouldn’t think’ frames a belief that was voiced by the discourse partner, or one that may be attributed to her through inference. The synonymous expression *nem feltételezném* ‘I wouldn’t suppose’ serves as an example in (8).

- (8) – Miért gondolod, hogy a sajátja volt [a szoba]?
 'Why do you think that [the room] was his own?
 – Ez csak olyan megérzés vagy feltételezés._[subj] Tehát hogy *nem feltételezném*_[obj]
 róla, hogy ő betört volna valaki máshoz, hogy valamit elloption. (I₇)
 'This is just intuition or a hypothesis_[subj]. I mean *I wouldn't suppose*_[obj] about him
 that he would have broken into somebody's home in order to steal something.

In Hungarian, the event in the target structure can be construed either positively or negatively; in both cases, the main clause profiles the mental activity leading up to it.

- (9) Azt gondolom, hogy van saját szobája.
 that.ACC think.1SG CONJ be.3SG own room.PX.3SG
 'I think he has a room of his own.'
- (10) Azt gondolom, hogy nincs saját szobája.
 that.ACC think.1SG CONJ be.NEG.3SG own room.PX.3SG
 'I think he does not have a room of his own.'
- (11) Nem gondolom/gondolnám, hogy van/volna saját szobája.
 NEG think.IND.1SG/think.COND.1SG CONJ be.3SG/be.COND.3SG
 own room.PX.3SG
 'I don't/wouldn't think that he has/would have a room of his own.'
- (12) Nem gondolom/gondolnám, hogy nincs/ne volna saját szobája.
 NEG think.IND.1SG/think.COND.1SG CONJ be.NEG.3SG/NEG be.COND.3SG
 own room.PX.3SG
 'I don't/wouldn't think that he doesn't/wouldn't have a room of his own.'

The use of conditional forms in main and subordinate clauses marks increased epistemic distance (Niemeier n.d.). In the main clause, this distance is motivated by the effort inherent in simulation, whereas in the subordinate clause it has a dubitative function (expressing doubt). Among the patterns in (9)–(12), the first one is the simplest with regard to semantic complexity, and the last one is the most complex. In (12), both clauses involve negation, which makes this sentence the most difficult to comprehend (cf. Osgood 1980). The main clauses in (11) and (12) are not used to negate the mental process (literally) expressed by the verb, as the speaker does conceptualize the target structure. Rather, these negative main clauses mark the discarding of a possibility, or an assessment that the target event has very low probability.

4. Summary

Epistential predicates typically mark the fact that the mental subject (which is the same as the speaker by default) is performing some kind of inference or assessment of probability. This operation provides access to the target structure. In cases of negative construal, first person singular occurrences of *gondol* 'think' suggest that the speaker does not regard the target situation as probable. Therefore, the negative patterns *nem gondolom/gondolnám* 'I

don't/wouldn't think' do not mean that the speaker fails to perform the cognitive operation in question. Nor does it imply in Hungarian that the operation being performed applies to a negatively contextualized situation. Under an adequate interpretation, negative construal may express

- a) a belief that the target situation has a low degree of probability, which may be a way of avoiding direct negation (litotes);
- b) a discarded possibility as the speaker is providing access to the building up and decay of her inferences;
- c) the discarding of what is known or inferred to be the discourse partner's belief in a polite, indirect way (again a case of litotes).

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ZUR ROLLE UND FUNKTION VON DISKURSMARKERN IN ARGUMENTATIVEN ABITURTEXTEN

PATRÍCIA KERTES

Abstract

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel, über die Funktionen von Diskursmarkern in argumentativen Abiturtexten einen Überblick zu gewinnen. In einer Auseinandersetzung mit den theoretischen Grundlagen der Arbeit wird erläutert, wie argumentative Abiturtexte mit Hilfe von Kategorien der kognitiven Texttypologie erfasst werden können. Darauf aufbauend wird der Begriff Diskursmarker eingeführt und als texttypologische Variable beschrieben. In der Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse wird darauf eingegangen, welche Funktionen die Diskursmarker in argumentativen Abiturtexten erfüllen, wie sie metapragmatische Bewusstheit signalisieren und darüber hinaus welche Feststellungen über weitere textsortenspezifische Merkmale der Textsorte zu treffen sind.

Schlüsselwörter: Diskursmarker, metapragmatische Bewusstheit, argumentativer Abiturtext, Funktionen von Diskursmarkern

1. Einleitung

Die vorliegende Arbeit befasst sich mit Funktionen von Diskursmarkern in argumentativen Abiturtexten. Durch die Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse werden nicht nur wichtige textsortenspezifische Merkmale der genannten Textsorte dargelegt, sondern auch die funktionale Kategorie bzw. die textuellen Funktionen von Diskursmarkern beleuchtet.

Zur Verdeutlichung einer holistisch-kognitiven Herangehensweise an argumentative Abiturtexte werden die für die Analyse relevanten Aspekte der kognitiven Textlinguistik und Texttypologie beschrieben. Darauf folgend wird der Begriff *Diskursmarker* charakterisiert und als texttypologische Variable dargestellt. Der zweite Teil der Arbeit widmet sich der Auswertung von Analyseergebnissen im Hinblick auf Funktionen und metapragmatische Bewusstheit, wobei auch weitere textsortenspezifische Merkmale aufgegriffen werden. Grundlage für die vorliegende Untersuchung bildete die Analyse von 17 argumentativen Abiturtexten aus dem Németh László Gymnasium.

2. Der argumentative Abiturtext in der holistisch-kognitiven Herangehensweise

Im Folgenden werden die theoretischen Grundlagen der Analyse von argumentativen Abiturtexten erläutert. Auf Grund dieser Auseinandersetzung wird ein Überblick darüber gewonnen, wie sich textsortenspezifische Merkmale von Textsorten mit Hilfe der kognitiven

Texttypologie erfassen lassen. Da Diskursmarker in der vorliegenden Arbeit im Mittelpunkt stehen, wird aus den Analyseaspekten der Texttypologie dieser Gesichtspunkt hervorgehoben und ausführlicher behandelt.

2.1. Text und Textsorte in der holistisch-kognitiven Auffassung

In der holistisch-kognitiven Textlinguistik liegt dem Textbegriff die kommunikative und kognitive Komplexität zugrunde. Der Text und die mit ihm im Zusammenhang stehenden Prozesse werden in diesem theoretischen Rahmen als ein Ökosystem verstanden (Rickheit–Strohner 1993: 16), in dem das Verhältnis zwischen dem Textproduzierenden, dem Textrezipierenden und der Situation verändert wird. Daher wird der Text als Zusammenspiel von mentaler Kognition und Umwelt verstanden (Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 34). In diesem Sinne kann der Text auf Grund der kognitiven und kommunikativen Komplexität mit Hilfe folgender Feststellungen definiert werden (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006a: 150–151):

- Der Text funktioniert in sprachlichen Interaktionen, in denen Textproduzierende und Textrezipierende mit ihrem aktivierten Wissen in Bezug auf das Thema und die Situation aktive Teilnehmer der Interaktion sind;
- Merkmale des Textes und die Voraussetzungen für sein Verstehen sind den teils universalen, teils kulturspezifischen Schemata gleichgesetzt, die als komplexe mentale Repräsentationen des aktivierten Wissens der Teilnehmer in Bezug auf das Thema und die Situation aufgefasst werden;
- Bei der Textrezeption und -produktion kommen sowohl das strukturelle als auch das prozedurale Wissen der Textproduzierenden und Textrezipierenden zur Geltung, da während dieser Prozesse die Textelemente parallel und aufeinander bezogen verarbeitet werden und die übergreifenden Textzusammenhänge anhand des Verstehens des ganzen Textes überblickt werden.

Diese Feststellungen zeigen, dass die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit dem Text von mehreren Gesichtspunkten ausgehend erfolgen kann. Für eine textlinguistische Herangehensweise sind drei Merkmale wesentlich: der Text in seiner physischen Realität (z. B. der Anfang und das Ende des Textes, seine Gliederung – im engen Zusammenhang mit den kommunikativen Merkmalen), die prozedurale Verarbeitung des Textes (z. B. die Prozesse des Textverstehens in Bezug auf sprachliche Ausdrücke, Strukturen und ihre Zusammenhänge) und die Verarbeitung der komplexen konzeptuellen Textstruktur (Einordnung der Bedeutung des Textes in komplexe mentale Repräsentationen) (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006b: 68–69).

Auf Grund der theoretischen und methodischen Leitlinien der jeweiligen sprachwissenschaftlichen Rahmentheorie¹ kann auf die Art und Weise geschlossen werden, wie das komplexe Verhältnis von Text und Textsorte beschrieben werden kann. In der auf empirischem Realismus beruhenden holistisch-kognitiven Linguistik wird als Ausgangspunkt für die Beschreibung der Textsorten der Gebrauch in den Vordergrund gestellt, die textsortenspezifischen Merkmale und die Funktionen der jeweiligen Textsorte werden aus einer

¹ Eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit den theoretischen und methodischen Rahmen der holistisch-kognitiven Texttypologie ist bei Tolcsvai Nagy (2006b) zu lesen.

empirischen Perspektive betrachtet beschrieben (Ladányi – Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 17–58). Für den theoretischen und methodischen Rahmen einer holistisch-kognitiven Texttypologie sind neben den oben genannten Herangehensweisen an den Textbegriff der theoretische Rahmen der holistisch-kognitiven Linguistik und die in der Kategorisation zur Geltung kommende Prototypentheorie ausschlaggebend (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006b: 70–73). Nach dieser Auffassung wird die Textsorte nicht als eine in sich geschlossene Struktur, sondern als ein Schema definiert, das den Teilnehmern der sprachlichen Interaktion mehr oder weniger zur Verfügung steht und dessen Verwendung mehr oder weniger mentalen Aufwand mit sich bringt (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006b: 67). Als Grundlagen für dynamische Prozesse der Textproduktion und -rezeption gelten Ziele und Erwartungen der Teilnehmer der sprachlichen Interaktion, sowie Thema, aktuelle Textwelt und schematisches Wissen über die Textsorte. In diesem dynamischen Prozess sind Textsorten keine mechanischen Realisierungen von Schemata (Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 43). Des Weiteren geht aus diesem dynamischen Verhältnis hervor, dass Kategorisation und Prototypentheorie (ausführlich s. Langacker 2008) auch bei der Beschreibung der Textsorten wichtige Faktoren sind. In der holistisch-kognitiven Texttypologie werden darauf basierend Variablen für die Beschreibung der Textsorten angegeben, die in jedem Text zur Geltung kommen.

2.2. Texttypologie in der holistisch-kognitiven Auffassung

Die texttypologischen Variablen sind anhand der textlinguistischen Herangehensweise an den Textbegriff in drei Bereichen zu untergliedern, und zwar die texttypologischen Variablen des Textes (Tolcsvai Nagy 2006b: 75–85):

- in seiner physischen Realität
 - die Länge
 - die Gliederung des Textes;
- in der prozeduralen Verarbeitung des Textes
 - Textwelt;
 - Perspektivierung;
 - Subjektivierung;
 - Aufmerksamkeitslenkung;
 - die Variablen auf der Makroebene
 - ⇒ Struktur, Aufbau des Textes;
 - die Variablen auf der Mesoebene
 - ⇒ Diskursdeixis
 - ⇒ Koreferenz
 - ⇒ Diskursmarker
 - ⇒ Texttopik und -fokus
 - ⇒ Nebenordnung von Sätzen
 - ⇒ Schemata
 - ⇒ Abschnitt;
 - die Variablen auf der Mikroebene
 - ⇒ Deixis
 - ⇒ Diskursdeixis
 - ⇒ Koreferenz
 - ⇒ Diskursmarker;
- in der Verarbeitung der komplexen konzeptuellen Textstruktur.

Eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit den Begriffen dieser stichwortartigen Liste würde den Rahmen dieser Arbeit sprengen, deshalb soll an dieser Stelle nur kurz darauf hingewiesen werden, dass sie keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhebt und sich als ein wichtiger Ausgangspunkt für weitere texttypologische Untersuchungen erweist.

2.3. Der argumentative Abiturtext

Im abstrahierten Sinne kommt der Text in zwei (Erscheinungs-)Formen vor: in der dialogischen, gesprochenen, spontanen, weniger kohärenten und in der monologischen, schriftlichen, geplanten, strukturierten und kohärenten Form (Tolcsvai Nagy 2008: 44). Der argumentative Abiturtext ist die Realisierung der letzteren Form. Wie bei den meisten Textsorten dieser Gruppe werden die Kenntnisse auch bei dieser Textsorte nur teilweise durch praktische Erfahrungen erworben, sie werden zum größeren Teil durch einen mehr oder weniger bewusst gestalteten Prozess des schulischen Unterrichts modelliert. Im Unterricht sind Texte nicht nur Repräsentationsformen des Kommunizierens, sondern auch Kettenglieder interaktionalen sozialen Handelns der Kommunizierenden und kommen in den Input- und Outputfunktion bzw. Mitteilungs-, Muster- und Kontrollfunktion vor (Feld-Knapp 2005: 16 ff.). Da die Kenntnisse über die untersuchte Textsorte während des Unterrichts gelernt werden, wäre es zielführend, sich in einer ersten Annäherung an die Textsorte über die Themen und die Ziele des Unterrichts, die zur Entstehung des (schematischen) Wissens über die Textsorte beitragen, einen Überblick zu verschaffen.

Die Kenntnisse über Textsorten, die sich SchülerInnen während des Unterrichts aneignen, werden durch das Thema, die Methode und die Ziele des Unterrichts bestimmt, die in Input- und Outputregelungen offiziell vorgegeben werden. Die Inputregelungen werden auf verschiedenen Ebenen der Unterrichtsregelung formuliert: auf bildungspolitisch-erzieherischer Ebene (der Nationale Grundlehrplan (NAT)), auf didaktisch-methodischer Ebene (Rahmenrichtlinien) und auf unterrichtspraktischer Ebene (lokale Lehrpläne). Die folgende Tabelle veranschaulicht die Zielsetzungen des Nationalen Grundlehrplans im Hinblick auf das Argumentieren (OKM 2003):

Der Nationale Grundlehrplan	Die Zielsetzungen im Hinblick auf die Argumentation
Teil III. Grundlegende Ziele des schulischen Unterrichts	<u>Förderung von Schlüsselkompetenzen</u> , Förderung muttersprachlicher Kompetenz: der Situation entsprechende, überzeugende Formulierung von mündlichen und schriftlichen Argumenten; Fähigkeit zur kritischen und konstruktiven Auseinandersetzung; Wissen über die Wirkung der Sprache auf Andere <u>Die hervorgehobenen Förderungsaufgaben</u> : Lernen lernen: Förderung des logischen und kreativen Denkens (Systematisieren, Kombinieren, Schlussfolgern, Problemlösestrategien), Förderung der Fähigkeit zur Bewertung von Alternativen, zur Entscheidung, zum Argumentieren

Teil VII. <i>Aufbau von NAT</i> Kapitel II <i>Ungarische Sprache und Literatur</i>	<u>Bildungsgebiet <i>Ungarische Sprache und Literatur</i>:</u> Förderung der Textproduktion: Produzieren von Texten, die der Situation und den Gesprächspartnern entsprechen; fundierte Kenntnisse über Textsorten, v. a. ihre kommunikative, sprachliche und stilistische Charakteristika, Fähigkeit zur überzeugenden Stellungnahme
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Tabelle 1: Zielsetzungen des Nationalen Grundlehrplans im Hinblick auf die Argumentation (OKM 2003)

In der Rahmenrichtlinie für „Ungarische Sprache und Literatur“ wird hinsichtlich der Argumentation folgenden Themenkreisen eine zentrale Rolle zugewiesen (OKM 2004): kultiviertes Sprachverhalten, mündliche und schriftliche Textproduktion, private und öffentliche Kommunikation und wesentliche rhetorische Kenntnisse. Neben den Themenkreisen werden noch die für das Argumentieren wichtigen Textsorten genannt: Diskussion, Stellungnahme, Rede, Zusammenfassung, Abhandlung, Referat, Vortrag, Essay (Antalné 2003: 1–2). Auf unterrichtspraktischer Ebene beinhalten die lokalen Lehrpläne den Anforderungen des NAT und den Empfehlungen der Rahmenrichtlinien entsprechende argumentative Inhalte und Textsorten.

Als **Outputregelung** gelten nachstehende Prüfungsanforderungen² hinsichtlich Inhalt, Aufbau und Sprache (siehe: Tabelle 2).

Kriterien der Bewertung		
Inhalt	Aufbau, Struktur	Sprache
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Entsprechende Informiertheit im Thema – gedankliche Reife – klare, durchdachte Darlegung Herangehensweise an die Problematik – überzeugende Anwendung der Kenntnisse – ausführlich beschriebene Behauptungen – relevante Beispiele, Hinweise – glaubwürdige, überzeugende Gedanken – kritische Denkweise – persönliche Reflexionen – dargelegte/entfaltete Meinung, Standpunkt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – der Textsorte und dem Thema entsprechender Aufbau – im Zusammenhang mit der Logik des Textes stehende Texteinheiten (Einleitung, Hauptteil, Schluss) – gut strukturierte Texteinheiten – überzeugender, logischer, klarer Gedankengang – klarer Zusammenhang zwischen gedanklichen Einheiten und Behauptungen – globale und lineare Kohäsion – entsprechende Textlänge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – dem Thema, der Situation, der persönlichen Meinungsäußerung entsprechende sprachliche, stilistische Register – eindeutige, exakte Formulierung – abwechslungsreiche Satztypen (im Hinblick auf Inhalt und Struktur) – präziser, variabler Wortschatz im Interesse eines sinnvollen Gedankenganges – expressiver Stil

Tabelle 2: Ungarische Sprache und Literatur – Mittelstufenabitur; Korrekturrichtlinien (OKM 2006)

² Das zweistufige Abtiturssystem in Ungarn beschreibt Tóth (2009: 178).

Es wäre wichtig, neben den Input- und Outputregelungen **die praktische Umsetzung** der theoretischen Leitlinien zu untersuchen. Der Umgang mit Texten könnte im Späteren u. a. durch Analyse von Lehrwerken, Hospitieren, Interviews mit Schülern und Lehrern analysiert werden. Feld-Knapp (2009: 188–190) verweist auf die Wichtigkeit der Textanalyse im didaktischen Kontext, rückt im Sinne einer neuen veränderten Lehr- und Lernkultur die Fragen der differenzierten Beurteilung von Schülertexten in den Mittelpunkt und hebt auf diese Weise die Prozessorientierung der Textproduktion hervor. Diese Fragen können noch im Rahmen von weiteren Arbeiten untersucht werden.

Die Beschreibung in den Regelungen verdeutlicht, dass **rhetorische Traditionen** einen großen Einfluss auf die textsortenspezifischen Merkmale der argumentativen Texte ausüben. Man könnte sogar festhalten, dass die Rhetorik im Grunde genommen nicht nur das Argumentieren und die Textproduktion bestimmt hat, sondern auch den schulischen und universitären Unterricht selbst (Barthes 1997: 71). Für die textsortenspezifischen Merkmale der argumentativen Texte sind rhetorische Traditionen von großer Wichtigkeit. An dieser Stelle werden nur zwei Traditionen hervorgehoben, die für die untersuchte Textsorte besonders relevant sind. Erstens hat die Rhetorik den Aufbau, die Strukturierung der Texte in Einleitung, Hauptteil und Schluss bestimmt, welche als schematische Eigenschaft der monologischen, geplanten Texte betrachtet wird. Zweitens soll noch eine weitere wichtige rhetorische Tradition erwähnt werden, nämlich die klassische Rhetorik. Der zufolge werden drei aufeinander folgende Phasen der Textgestaltung genannt: *Inventio* (die gedankliche Findung des Stoffes), *Dispositio* (inhaltliche Anordnung, Gliederung) und *Elocutio* (Formulierung und Ausgestaltung des Textes) (Fehér 2006: 55), die den schulischen Schreibunterricht bis zum heutigen Tag wesentlich bestimmen.

Die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Textsorte fordert besondere Aufmerksamkeit hinsichtlich der Situation, in der die Texte entstehen. Der dynamische Prozess der Textproduktion läuft nämlich in einer eigenartigen Schreibsituation ab: Der Textproduzierende reagiert in einem bestimmten Zeitrahmen und in einer festgelegten Länge auf einen vorgegebenen Schreibimpuls. Der Text soll auf rhetorischen Traditionen basierenden, den Textproduzierenden bekannten Kriterien entsprechen. Um diesen Kriterien zu entsprechen, sollen Textproduzierende über einen hohen Grad pragmatischer und metapragmatischer Bewusstheit verfügen, daher lässt sich die letztere als wichtiges textsortenspezifisches Merkmal des argumentativen Abiturtextes bezeichnen.

3. Metapragmatische Bewusstheit als textsortenspezifisches Merkmal von argumentativen Abiturtexten

Im Folgenden werden die Begriffe pragmatische und metapragmatische Bewusstheit erläutert und letztere als textsortenspezifisches Merkmal der untersuchten Textsorte hervorgehoben. Im Prozess der Textproduktion kommen verschiedene Grade der Bewusstheit des Textproduzierenden zum Ausdruck. Die pragmatische Bewusstheit umfasst diejenigen Prozesse, die der Textproduzierende während der Textproduktion hervorbringt, die metapragmatische Bewusstheit bezieht sich auf diejenigen Prozesse, in denen er auf seine eigene sprachliche Tätigkeit, auf den eigenen Text Bezug nimmt (Verschueren 1999: 187–198). Das Ausmaß der pragmatischen und metapragmatischen Bewusstheit kann sich von Textsorte zu Textsorte ändern;

für dialogische, gesprochene, spontane, weniger kohärente Texte sind sie weniger typisch als für monologische, schriftliche, geplante, strukturierte und kohärente Texte.

Es ist wichtig zu betonen, dass der dynamische Prozess der Bedeutungskonstituierung dadurch beeinflusst wird, in welchem Grad der Textproduzierende die sprachlichen Mittel der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit verwendet (Tátrai 2011: 119–125). Nach der ersten Annäherung an die untersuchte Textsorte im vorigen Kapitel wurde festgestellt, dass im Falle des argumentativen Abiturtexes der Textproduzierende einen hohen Grad der Bewusstheit aufzeigen muss – sowohl in Bezug auf den Textproduktionsprozess als auch in Bezug auf die sprachliche Gestaltung und sprachliche Strukturiertheit des Textes. Für die Herausbildung dieser Art der Bewusstheit wäre metakognitives Wissen, d. h. Selbsteinschätzung der mentalen Zustände, Kontrolle und Steuerung der mentalen Aktivitäten sowie Reflexion über den eigenen Wissenskonstruktionsprozess eine Voraussetzung, worauf Feld-Knapp (2006: 136–137; 2009: 205–206) verweist.

Die Signale der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit, die „die ‚eigentliche‘ laufende Kommunikation zum Gegenstand haben“ (Graefen 1997: 159), sind die folgenden sprachlichen Mittel: Diskursdeixis, auch Textdeixis genannt (Canisius–Knipf 1996: 97–98), Diskursmarker, sprachliche Mittel des Zitierens und Hinweisens (Tátrai 2011: 119–125). Durch diese sprachlichen Mittel der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit kann nicht nur der Aufbau, die Struktur des Textes, sondern auch die textproduzierende und -rezipierende Tätigkeit zum Gegenstand der Reflexion werden (Tátrai 2011: 119–125). Die sprachlichen Mittel der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit erscheinen auf Mikro-, Meso- und Makroebene des Textes und können zur Herausbildung des Textsinns beitragen. Als ihr weiteres wesentliches Merkmal soll noch erwähnt werden, dass ihre sprachliche Ausdrucksweise in einem ikonischen Zusammenhang mit dem Grad der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit steht: Je ausführlicher sie formuliert werden, ein desto größerer Grad der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit ist für die Textsorte charakteristisch. Durch die metapragmatischen Mittel können die folgenden textuellen Funktionen erfüllt werden:

- Bezugnahme auf den eigenen Text, auf verschiedene Textstellen;
- bewusster und reflektierter Umgang mit den Prozessen der Textproduktion und Textrezeption;
- Bezugnahme auf andere Texte (im Zusammenhang mit dem Zitieren und Hinweisen)³.

Für die untersuchte Textsorte sind alle drei Funktionen wichtig. Letztere wird in dieser Arbeit nicht behandelt, obwohl ihr in den argumentativen Abiturtexten eine große Bedeutung zukommt: Der Schreibimpuls ist der Ausgangspunkt der Argumentation, er wird in den Texten oft zitiert und auf ihn wird noch öfter hingewiesen. Wie das Zitieren und Hinweisen in diesen Arbeiten die metapragmatische Bewusstheit signalisieren, soll während einer späteren Auseinandersetzung mit der Textsorte untersucht werden.

³ Wie das Zitieren und Hinweisen als Mittel der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit funktionieren, wird von Csonotos–Tátrai (2008) ausführlich behandelt.

4. Diskursmarker

4.1. Begriffsbestimmung

Die Bezeichnungen für die funktionale Gruppe von Diskursmarkern⁴ sowie die Begriffsbestimmungen in der einschlägigen Literatur weisen ein vielfältiges Bild auf⁵. Es ist aber wichtig zu betonen, dass die Kategorie von Diskursmarkern durch ihre funktional-pragmatischen, und nicht durch ihre formalen Eigenschaften zu erfassen ist (Hansen 1998: 65). Zu dieser heterogenen Gruppe werden verschiedene Wortarten (Konjunktionen, Adverbien, konjugierte Verben, Substantive, Partikeln) und verschiedene sprachliche Einheiten (Lexeme, Syntagmen, Satzteile) gezählt (Dér 2008a: 3).

In der Vielzahl der Definitionsversuche soll eine gemeinsame Grundlage festgestellt werden, die Diskursorganisation, auch Text- und Gesprächsorganisation genannt (Auer-Günther 2003: 1). Durch diese Funktion wird im Diskurs eine verbindende, regierende Rolle erfüllt; durch sie werden Themen und Textteile miteinander verbunden und der Textrezipierende wird über den Aufbau, die sprachliche Gestaltung sowie die inhaltlichen Zusammenhänge des Textes informiert (Dér 2008a: 2). Die wichtigste Funktion, die textuelle Funktion von Diskursmarkern besteht darin, das Verhältnis zwischen dem von ihnen eingeführten Segment S2 und dem vorigen Segment S1 zu signalisieren (Fraser 1999: 931). Neben dem Segmentieren von Diskurs werden durch Diskursmarker das Verhältnis des Textproduzierenden zu bestimmten Teilen beziehungsweise sein emotionales Verhältnis zum Textrezipierenden ausgedrückt (Aijmer 2002: 55). Daneben tragen die Diskursmarker dazu bei, kohärente mentale Repräsentationen über die vermittelten Informationen herauszubilden (Louwerse-Mitchell 2003: 203). Für die Definition von Diskursmarkern sind neben den bisherigen Überlegungen einige Schlüsselwörter hervorzuheben (Dér 2005: 249–250):

- Konnektivität – Diskursmarker tragen zur Kohärenz bei, indem sie in einer textstrukturierenden Funktion auftreten;
- Multikategorialität – heterogene Kategorie im Hinblick auf die syntaktischen Eigenschaften;
- Metatextualität – nach Traugott (1995) ermöglichen die Diskursmarker den Textproduzierenden eine metatextuelle Arbeit;
- Bedeutungskonzeptionen – Kernbedeutung: Die Diskursmarker verfügen über eine invariante Bedeutung, die den gemeinsamen Kern bildet; Homonymie: Die Diskursmarker haben mehrere Bedeutungen, die voneinander unabhängig sind; Polysemie: Die Diskursmarker haben mehrere Bedeutungen, die miteinander zusammenhängen und durch den Kontext geprägt sind.

⁴ discourse marker, discourse particle, pragmatic marker, pragmatic particle, cue phrase, discourse operator, pragmatic connective, phatic connective, Diskursmarker, pragmatische Marker, beziehungsweise pragmatikai kötőszók (Német T. Enikő), metaszóvegbeli operátorok (Banczerowski Janus), bevezető szók és kifejezések (Keszler Borbála), társalgásszervező- és jelölő elemek (Kugler Nóra), konnektor (Csúry István), árnyaló partikula (Péteri Attila), diskurzuspártikula (Gyuris Beáta), diskurzusjelölő (Dér Csilla Ilona, Schirm Anita, Dömötör Adrienne) usw.

⁵ Über die Forschungen von Diskursmarkern bietet einen ausführlichen Überblick Csilla Ilona Dér (Dér 2009: 293–303).

Im Hinblick auf die Funktionen von Diskursmarkern nennt Schiffrin (1987) textuelle, interaktive und sich auf die Attitüde der Textproduzierenden beziehende Funktionen. Durch die textuelle Funktion wird die Beziehung zwischen Textstellen wie thematische Zusammenhänge, Zitieren oder Selbstkorrektur markiert. Die interaktive Funktion weist auf das Verhältnis der Textrezipierenden und Textproduzierenden hin, sei es eine Antwort, eine Meinung, eine Bewertung oder ein Hinweis auf das aktivierte gemeinsame Wissen. In dieser letzteren Funktion kommt der Fokussierung der Aufmerksamkeit eine wichtige Rolle zu. Die Funktion, die sich auf die Attitüde der Textproduzierenden bezieht, lässt sich auch als eine spezifische Art der interaktiven Funktion auffassen, da hier auf die Attitüde des Textproduzierenden ein größerer Wert gelegt wird. Die Attitüde bezeichnet eine mentale Repräsentation, die unsere Werturteile und Stellungnahmen bezüglich eines Objekts umfasst, durch die unser Verhalten wesentlich beeinflusst wird (Kiss 2004: 369).

4.2. Diskursmarker als texttypologische Variable

Wie Diskursmarker in einem Text auftreten und funktionieren, ist auch als texttypologische Variable zu untersuchen. Diskursmarker kommen häufiger in dialogischen, gesprochenen, spontanen, weniger kohärenten Texten (Dér 2008b: 445) vor, obwohl in der Fachliteratur, wie zum Beispiel bei Siepmann (2005) eine spezifische Gruppe von Diskursmarkern in der Wissenschaftssprache untersucht wird, und zwar jene Diskursmarker, die aus mehreren Wörtern bestehen und vor allem textuelle Funktion erfüllen.

Diskursmarkern als texttypologischer Variable werden in der oben angesprochenen Texttypologie folgende Rolle zugewiesen: In Bezug auf die prozedurale Verarbeitung des Textes können sie einerseits im Zusammenhang mit Perspektivierung, Subjektivierung und Aufmerksamkeitslenkung, andererseits als texttypologische Variable auf der Mikro- und Mesoebene untersucht werden. Auf der Mikro- und Mesoebene sind Funktionen, Bedeutungen, Wirkungskreis und sprachliche Formulierungen zu analysieren. Bei der Analyse von argumentativen Abiturtexten wäre noch ein weiterer wichtiger Untersuchungsaspekt einzubeziehen, und zwar die Auseinandersetzung mit den Diskursmarkern als sprachliche Signale der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit.

5. Diskursmarker in argumentativen Abiturtexten – Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse

Grundlage für die vorliegende Untersuchung bildete die Analyse von 17 argumentativen Abiturtexten. Die Texte wurden von ungarischen SchülerInnen aus dem Németh László Gymnasium im Rahmen des schriftlichen Mittelstufenabiturs im Fach „Ungarische Sprache und Literatur“ im Jahre 2009⁶ verfasst.

⁶ Die Aufgabe war Folgendes:

„Im folgenden Interviewausschnitt äußert György Spiró, der zeitgenössische Schriftsteller, seine Meinung über die heutige Situation des Lesens und des Schreibens von literarischen Werken.

„Im Zusammenhang mit der Sprache fällt mir übrigens auf, dass die ungarische Literatur in Gefahr ist, weil die Zahl der Leser in den jungen Generationen rasch sinkt. Seit Langem unterrichte ich an einer Universität, dort sehe ich es auch so. Das Problem ist, dass bei Kindern in der Grundschule keine Leselust geweckt wird. Es ist zu bedenken, ob man eine Menge von Werken der älteren ungarischen Literatur, wie die Romane von Jókai nicht

Die Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse beruht auf den folgenden Aspekten: In einem ersten Schritt der Analyse werden die Funktionen von Diskursmarkern zusammengefasst und mit Hilfe von Beispielen dargestellt. Zweitens werden Diskursmarker als Signale der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit untersucht. Drittens wird anhand der Analyseergebnisse auf weitere textsortenspezifische Merkmale geschlossen.

5.1. Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse im Hinblick auf die Funktionen

Fasst man die Analyseergebnisse im Hinblick auf die Funktionen von Diskursmarkern zusammen, sind folgende Funktionen resümierend herauszustellen:

- textuelle Funktionen
 - in Bezug auf eine Verbindung
 - in Bezug auf neue Formulierung
 - in Bezug auf Zusammenfassung
- interaktive Funktion
 - in Bezug auf das aktivierte gemeinsame Wissen
- Funktion in Bezug auf Attitüde
 - in Bezug auf die Einstellung zum Inhalt
 - in Bezug auf eine Stellungnahme, wertende Funktion

Unter den textuellen Funktionen trägt die Neuformulierung als Funktion (1-3) dazu bei, die vorherige Textstelle leichter und genauer verstehen zu können (Dömötör 2008: 430). Des Weiteren ist von der Definition von Fraser ausgehend zu untersuchen, wie der Diskursmarker die Bedeutung der S1-Segmente modifiziert: Die Neuformulierung kann neue Interpretation (1–2) oder eine inhaltliche Ergänzung (3) bedeuten.

- (1) **Magyarán** nem tudják elképzelni, amit olvasnak, ezért nem tudják élvezni azt.
[Mit anderen Worten: Sie können sich nicht vorstellen, was sie lesen, deshalb können sie es nicht genießen.]
- (2) **Valóban:** a régi magyar alkotásokat régi magyar nyelvhasználat jellemzi, ami sokszor nehezen érthető.
[Tatsächlich: Die Werke der früheren ungarischen Literatur werden durch den früheren ungarischen Sprachgebrauch charakterisiert, der oft schwierig zu verstehen ist.]
- (3) Azonban, **mint már említettem**, ezek kialakulásában, fejlődésének irányának meghatározásában a legnagyobb szerepe a szülőknek kell, hogy legyen, [...].
[Aber, wie ich schon erwähnt habe, müssen die Eltern bei deren Entstehung, der Bestimmung der Entwicklungslinie die größte Rolle haben.]

neu formulieren sollte, um sie genießen zu können. Die Hälfte der Wörter verstehen die heutigen ungarischen Kinder nicht.”

Argumentieren Sie für und/oder gegen die von György Spiró aufgeworfenen Probleme! Nehmen Sie dabei auf Ihre bisherigen Leseerlebnisse und -erfahrungen Bezug!”

In den Fällen, in denen die Diskursmarker eine verbindende Funktion erfüllen (4–5), wird die Aufmerksamkeit auf die inhaltliche Segmentierung der Textstelle gelenkt.

- (4) **Részint** azért, mert nekem, illetve rólam szól, **részint** pedig azért, mert egy felnőtt, egy irodalmár mondja el a véleményét rólunk fiatalokról, laikusokról, azaz egyszerű olvasókról.
[Teils, weil es mich anspricht und um mich geht, teils, weil ein Erwachsener, ein Literat seine Meinung über uns, Jugendliche, Laien, d. h. einfache Leser äußert.]
- (5) Esszémben erre kívánok reflektálni **mind** a közoktatás, **mind** rohanó világunk tükrében.
[In meinem Essay möchte ich das Thema im Spiegel sowohl unseres öffentlichen Schulsystems als auch unserer schnelllebigen Welt reflektieren.]

Die verbindende Funktion ist die häufigste textuelle Funktion in den analysierten Abiturtexten, die von Konjunktionen erfüllt wird. Sie kann beispielweise adversativ (6) oder kausal (7) sein.

- (6) **Viszont** ezzel az olvasás legfőbb lényegét söprik el, mégpedig a képzelőerő használatát.
[Aber dadurch wird das Wesentliche des Lesens und zwar die Verwendung der Vorstellungskraft außer Acht gelassen.]
- (7) **Tehát** az emberek változó nézőpontjainak is köze lehet az olvasás visszaeséséhez.
[Also die wechselnden Meinungen der Menschen können auch mit dem Rückgang des Lesens zu tun haben.]

Die textuelle Funktion 'Zusammenfassung' kommt in vielen Textstellen vor, wie es sich im folgenden Beispiel (8) zeigt.

- (8) **Egy szó mint száz**, az olvasás fontosságát vissza kell ültetni az emberek szokásai közé.
[Der langen Rede kurzer Sinn: Die Wichtigkeit des Lesens muss in die Gewohnheiten der Menschen wieder integriert werden.]

Die zweite funktionale Gruppe von Diskursmarkern ist die Gruppe von Diskursmarkern in der interaktiven Funktion. Bei dieser Funktion kommt der Hinweis auf das aktivierte gemeinsame Wissen mit Hilfe von Verben in der 1. Person Plural (9–10) zum Ausdruck. Neben den Verben in der 1. Person Plural kann diese Funktion auch durch Verben in der 3. Person Plural (11–12) erfüllt werden.

- (9) Okafogyott lenne azonban a problémát kizárólag az iskola hatáskörébe tartozó jelenségként föltüntetni, ugyanis, **mint tudjuk**, a fiatalok nevelése elsősorban otthon, és nem az iskolában dől el.

[Es gibt keinen Grund dafür, das Problem als ein ausschließlich den Zuständigkeitsbereich der Schule betreffendes Phänomen zu bezeichnen, denn, wie wir wissen, für die Erziehung der Jugendlichen nicht die Schule, sondern die Familie ausschlaggebend.]

- (10) **Arról se feledkezzünk meg**, hogy egy ilyen lépés etikai kérdéseket is felvet.
[Vergessen wir nicht, dass ein solcher Schritt auch ethische Fragen aufwirft.]
- (11) **Úgy gondolják sokan**, hogy a ház összképét rontja a könyvek látványa, és ez is befolyással lehet a gyerekekre, ugyanis hiába szeretne olvasni, ha nincs mit.
[Viele denken, dass das Gesamtbild des Hauses durch den Anblick der Bücher beeinträchtigt wird, und das kann auf das Kind einen Einfluss ausüben: Der Wunsch, zu Hause zu lesen, ist vergebens, wenn es dort keine Bücher gibt.]
- (12) **Sokan úgy gondolják**, minek olvasni, hiszen mindent megtudhatnak a tévéből.
[Viele denken, dass es keinen Sinn hat zu lesen, denn man kann sich durch das Fernsehen informieren.]

Durch die Funktion in Bezug auf Attitüde lässt sich die Einstellung zum Inhalt markieren, wobei der Inhalt der S2-Segmente modifiziert wird (13). Aus den Beispielen (14–15) geht hervor, dass bei dieser Funktion auch eine Stellungnahme ausgedrückt werden kann. Das häufigste Ausdrucksmittel in dieser letzteren Funktion ist der Diskursmarker *szerintem* 'meiner Meinung nach'.

- (13) **A könnyebb érthetőség kedvéért** különválasztom az irodalom olvasását, a kortársirodalom olvasását és kevésbé értékesnek tartott művek olvasását.
[Um es leichter verständlich zu machen, trenne ich das Lesen der Literatur vom Lesen zeitgenössischer Literatur und vom Lesen weniger wertvoller Werke.]
- (14) **Véleményem szerint** nem csak a fiatal generációkra, de a felnőttekre is igaz ez; nem csak Magyarországon, de globálisan is.
[Meiner Meinung nach gilt es nicht nur für die junge Generation, sondern auch für die Erwachsenen, nicht nur in Ungarn, sondern weltweit.]
- (15) **Az én álláspontom szerint** nem műveket kéne „átírni”, sokkal inkább műveket kéne kicserélni.
[Meiner Ansicht nach sollte man die Werke nicht umschreiben, sondern viel mehr austauschen.]

In den analysierten Abiturtexten sind auch solche Beispiele für Diskursmarker zu finden, bei denen zwei oder mehrere Diskursmarker in unterschiedlichen Funktionen parallel auftreten, wie zum Beispiel die textuellen, verbindenden und interaktiven, auf das aktivierte gemeinsame Wissen hinweisenden Funktionen (16). Neben den textuellen Funktionen 'Zusammenfassung' (17) und 'Verbindung' (18) kommt auch die Funktion in Bezug auf die Attitüde, die Stellungnahme vor.

- (16) A tananyag sokszor politikai célokat szolgálhat (lásd régebben), **így nem mondhatjuk**, hogy az olvasmányok eldöntése teljesen „liberális” okon folyik. [Der Unterrichtsstoff kann politischen Zwecken dienen (siehe früher), daher kann man nicht sagen, dass die Auswahl der Lektüre anhand „liberaler” Gründe erfolgt.]
- (17) **Összességében** tehát Spiró György olvasókról tett megállapításai **szerintem** helytállóak, azonban a klasszikusok problémájának megoldásában és a magyar irodalom helyzetében különbözik az álláspontunk. [Alles in allem sind meiner Meinung nach die Behauptungen von György Spiró über die Leser zutreffend, aber bezüglich der Lösung des Problems von Klassikern und der Situation der ungarischen Literatur stimme ich ihm nicht zu.]
- (18) Egyetértek az író feltevésével, **azonban véleményem szerint** a probléma orvoslására számos egyéb lehetőség is kínálkozik. [Ich bin mit der Annahme des Schriftstellers einverstanden, aber meiner Meinung nach bieten sich für die Lösung des Problems noch zahlreiche Möglichkeiten.]

5.2. Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse im Hinblick auf die metapragmatische Bewusstheit

Werden Diskursmarker als Signale für metapragmatische Bewusstheit betrachtet, muss noch einmal betont werden, dass ihre vorrangige Funktion darin besteht, auf die eigene sprachliche Tätigkeit Bezug zu nehmen (Tátrai 2011: 119–125). Des Weiteren wird durch Diskursmarker als Zeichen der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit ein reflektiertes Verhältnis zu textrezipierenden und -produzierenden Tätigkeiten ausgedrückt, wie im Folgenden aus den Beispielen hervorgeht.

In Anlehnung an die Analyse der Funktionen von Diskursmarkern werden sie im Folgenden auch als sprachliche Signale der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit untersucht. Bei dieser Untersuchung wird neben den typischen Funktionen auch darauf eingegangen, in welcher Texteinheit die metapragmatische Bewusstheit signalisierenden Diskursmarker vorkommen und wie groß ihr Wirkungskreis in dieser Funktion ist. Vor der Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse ist es wichtig voranzuschicken, dass sich der Grad der metapragmatischen Bewusstheit im Zusammenhang mit der sprachlichen Ausdrucksweise ändern kann.

In der Einleitung ist die häufigste Funktion die Stellungnahme, die Hervorhebung der eigenen Gedanken in Bezug auf den Schreibimpuls, das Zitat von György Spiró (18). Der Wirkungskreis dieser Diskursmarker umfasst einen Satz.

Im Hauptteil werden die Thesen formuliert, die Argumente genannt und Belege gesammelt. Im ersten Satz der Abschnitte erfüllen Diskursmarker interaktive Funktionen, wie Aufmerksamkeitslenkung (19) und wertende Funktion (20), wobei für Textrezipierende der Prozess der Aufnahme erleichtert wird.

- (19) **Visszatérve** személyes olvasási élményeiről az általánosabb problémára, a gimnázium alatti évek szintén nem bővelkednek túl gyakran olvasásában eltelt órákban.
[Nach meinen persönlichen Leseerlebnissen zurück zum allgemeineren Problem; so gesehen waren die Gymnasialjahre an Stunden, die man mit Lesen verbrachte, nicht besonders reich.]
- (20) **Az én személyes meglátásom szerint** a fiatalok igenis szeretnek olvasni, és nem itt keresendő a probléma.
[Nach meiner persönlichen Überzeugung lesen die Jugendlichen doch gern, und das Problem ist nicht hier zu suchen.]

Innerhalb der Abschnitte sind abwechslungsreiche Funktionen und Wirkungskreise zu beobachten. In der unten zitierten kürzeren Textstelle (21; 22a; 22b) sind Beispiele für wertende Funktion (22) und textuelle, verbindende Funktion (22a; 22b) zu lesen. Letztere ist besonders wichtig, weil sie den Text strukturiert und dadurch für Textrezipierende als Orientierungshilfe gilt.

- (21) **Szerintem** ez a megoldási javaslat több szempontból sem szerencsés:
[Meiner Meinung nach ist dieser Lösungsvorschlag aus mehreren Aspekten nicht erfreulich:]
- (22) a. **először** is az irodalmi művek stílusát épp a nyelvezet adja, ezért nagy veszteség lenne pont a nyelvezeten változtatni, hisz akkor már nem ugyanaz a mű lenne.
[zum Ersten ergibt sich der Stil von literarischen Werken aus ihrer Sprache, deshalb wäre es ein großer Verlust, die Sprache zu ändern, denn in diesem Fall wäre das Werk nicht dasselbe.]
- (22) b. **Másodsorban** pedig azért nem szerencsés, mert egy ilyen „műátírás” nem minden esetben kivitelezhető, hiszen a magyar például régebben több igeidővel rendelkezett háromnál, s ezeket az árnyalatnyi különbségeket nem lehetne pontosan átadni.
[Zum Zweiten ist es wiederum nicht erfreulich, weil eine solche „Umschreibung” nicht in jedem Fall durchzuführen ist, denn im Ungarischen gab es früher mehr als drei Tempora, und diese Bedeutungsnuancen lassen sich ins heutige Ungarische nicht genau übertragen.]

Im letzten Satz der Abschnitte weisen Diskursmarker auf eine größere Texteinheit hin, durch sie werden die Gedanken resümiert und auf das vorher Gesagte Bezug genommen (23). Der Diskursmarker hat im genannten Beispiel die textuelle Funktion 'Verbindung' und 'Zusammenfassung'.

- (23) **Tehát** az emberek változó nézőpontjainak is köze lehet az olvasás visszaeséséhez.
[Also die wechselnden Meinungen der Menschen können auch mit dem Rückgang des Lesens zu tun haben.]

Im Schlussteil tragen Diskursmarker zur traditionellen Funktion dieser Texteinheit, zur Zusammenfassung des Gesagten (24) und der eigenen Gedanken (25) bei. Die textuelle, zusammenfassende Funktion ist mit dem größten Wirkungskreis verbunden, die Zusammenfassung des ganzen Textes wird durch den Hinweis auf das bisher Gesagte eingeführt (24). In dieser Texteinheit kommen Diskursmarker in wertender Funktion in einer großen Zahl vor (25).

- (24) **Összefoglalva** írásomat elmondhatom, hogy főleg Spiró György megállapítása mellet érveltem, néhol kiegészítve azt.
[Als Zusammenfassung meines Schreibens kann ich behaupten, dass ich vor allem für die Behauptung von György Spiró argumentiert habe, und sie an einigen Stellen ergänzt habe.]
- (25) Spiró György **szerintem** jogosan vette észre, hogy „az irodalom veszélyben van”.
[Meiner Meinung nach hat György Spiró berechtigt bemerkt, dass „die Literatur in Gefahr ist“.]

5. 3. Auswertung der Analyseergebnisse im Hinblick auf weitere textsortenspezifische Merkmale

Wie oben (vgl. 4.2.) angedeutet wurde, lässt sich die Untersuchung von Diskursmarkern als texttypologischen Variablen auch im Zusammenhang mit Perspektivität, Subjektivierung und Aufmerksamkeitslenkung durchführen. Im Folgenden werden die Analyseergebnisse im Hinblick auf diese textsortenspezifischen Merkmale ausgewertet.

Den oben ausgeführten Textbeispielen ist zu entnehmen, dass die Diskursmarker dazu beitragen können, die Perspektive des Textproduzierenden zu markieren. In den Fällen, in denen die Diskursmarker die Funktion in Bezug auf Attitüde, die wertende Funktion erfüllen (14–15), ist dieser Fall der Perspektivität besonders deutlich. Tritt die textuelle, zusammenfassende Funktion mit der Funktion in Bezug auf Attitüde parallel auf (17–18), wird auch die Perspektive des Textproduzierenden betont. Diesbezüglich lassen sich neben den Funktionen auch die Tempusformen untersuchen. Durch die Vergangenheitsform bei Verben in der 1. Person Singular wird die Perspektive auf ein früheres *Ich* übertragen, wie es sich am Beispiel (3) zeigt. Des Weiteren können Diskursmarker, vor allem Verben in der 1. Person Plural (10; 16) auch die Perspektive einer Gemeinschaft durch die Funktion in Bezug auf das aktivierte gemeinsame Wissen signalisieren. Im Zusammenhang mit der wertenden Funktion ist es wichtig zu betonen, dass sie das subjektive Verhältnis des Textproduzierenden zu Texteinheiten signalisiert und er dadurch offensichtlicher Beteiligter der Konzeptualisation wird. Dafür sind in den oben genannten Beispielen die Diskursmarker *szerintem*; *véleményem szerint* 'meiner Meinung nach'; *az én személyes meglátásom szerint* 'meiner persönlichen Ansicht nach' etc. typisch. Bei dieser Art der Subjektivierung ist der Textproduzierende für das Gesagte verantwortlich.

Der Aufmerksamkeitslenkung dienen vor allem die Diskursmarker in textuellen Funktionen. Bei dieser Textsorte stehen die in den Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit gestellten Begriffe in kausalen, adversativen und konsekutiven Beziehungen zueinander, wodurch

eine Argumentation ausgebaut werden kann. Die Neuformulierungen wie die inhaltliche Ergänzung und Neuinterpretation (1–3) bewirken bei den Textrezipierenden nicht nur eine Fokussierung der Aufmerksamkeit, sondern auch eine Erhöhung ihrer Aufmerksamkeit auf den hervorgehobenen Inhalt.

6. Fazit

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit lag in der Untersuchung der Funktionen von Diskursmarkern. Zusammenfassend lässt sich Folgendes feststellen:

- Diskursmarker kommen in dieser monologischen, schriftlichen, geplanten, strukturierten und kohärenten Textsorte häufig vor und erfüllen vielfältige Funktionen;
- die holistisch-kognitive Texttypologie erweist sich als solide Grundlage für texttypologische Untersuchungen.

Wie allerdings die Ergebnisse dieser auf der holistisch-kognitiver Texttypologie basierenden Untersuchung zeigen, müssen jedoch weitere Anstrengungen unternommen werden, um die textsortenspezifischen Merkmale von argumentativen Abiturtexten kennen zu lernen. Zum einen ist die Erstellung größerer Korpora erforderlich, zum anderen könnte das Miteinbeziehen weiterer Analyseaspekte der dargestellten kognitiven Texttypologie helfen, einen Überblick über die textsortenspezifischen Merkmale von argumentativen Abiturtexten zu erhalten.

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SEMANTIC CONSTRUAL IN METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS – THE EXAMPLE OF SPATIALITY¹

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Abstract

The study scrutinises the development of metaphorical meaning in Hungarian expressions referring to spatiality. The main presuppositions of investigating metaphorical meaning creation are (i) the distinction between conceptual representation and semantic structure, (ii) the theoretical extension of the usage-based principle, and (iii) the thesis of dual grounding. Adopting the description of construal in Cognitive Grammar, the development of metaphorical meaning can be grasped as the process of intensive reconfiguration of the semantic schema initiated by the autonomous structure in the dependent structure. The main conclusion of the analysis of expressions connected to spatiality is that metaphORIZATION is not limited to the conceptual representation traditionally regarded as target domain, but it also affects the source conception, i.e. the notion of space.

Keywords: autonomous structure, conceptual representation, connectionism, dependent structure, metaphor, schema-reconfiguration, semantic structure

1. Introduction

This study attempts to scrutinise the development of metaphorical meaning in some Hungarian expressions connected to spatiality. On the one hand I elaborate a new approach of the overall issue of metaphorical meaning, in other words, I examine how the metaphorical meaning is constructed through particular utterances (Croft 1993: 336). On the other hand I investigate the validity of the semantic description which follows from the proposed theoretical orientation, in certain Hungarian metaphorical expressions, in which – on the grounds of conceptual metaphor theory – the source domain is the notion of physical space or one dimension of it.

So the aims of the study are as follows: modelling theoretically the metaphorical semantic construal and mapping simultaneously the possibilities of practical use of this model. The main theoretical presupposition of the investigation is that the general problems of theory and the particular problems of analysis and application must be discussed in a tight interrelation, since their separation results either in mere speculation or in dogmatic descriptions. A further presupposition of the study is that the processes of dynamic meaning creation essentially have the same nature in the cases of literal and figurative expressions,

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consequently a rigid distinction between these categories is not justified (see Evans 2009: 25). The specific feature of metaphorical semantic construal can be characterised by the intensity of meaning creating procedures, not by its nature.

These theses follow closely from the usage-based principle (see Kemmer–Barlow 2000, Langacker 2000), which I interpret here not as a methodological principle of data collection, but as a theoretical starting point about the ontology of linguistic structures. According to the principle, our knowledge of language is a complex set of schematic structures. These schemas are entrenched and conventionalised through creating and processing particular utterances; in other words, our knowledge on operating with linguistic structures originates from language use itself. This is also true of metaphorical expressions, since language users process them as semantic structures, based on their knowledge of language. It is precisely this organisation of our linguistic knowledge into schemas, as well as the flexible implementation of these schemas, which makes novel ways of construal, i.e. creating and processing novel metaphoric expressions possible.

It seems necessary to point out in advance that according to the theoretical background sketched above I treat metaphors primarily as linguistic representations, i.e. as semantic structures (as opposed to the conceptual theory of metaphor; see Lakoff 2006, Simon 2014). This does not mean that I question the conceptual nature of metaphor and meaning in general, but I think that these findings have remained unclear in cognitive linguistics despite their central significance. It also follows partly from this that although several details of the conceptual representation of metaphors were revealed in the last few decades, a coherent model about the functioning of particular metaphorical utterances, as well as about their production and processing is not available at present.

It is easy to see that it is essential for elaborating such a model to reflect consistently upon the encyclopaedic character and conceptual nature of meaning. Therefore, the study first discusses in detail the relationship between conceptual representation and semantic structure (section 2), and then it dwells on the processes of semantic construal from a cognitive grammatical point of view (section 3). Following this I scrutinise meaning creation in metaphorical expressions related to spatiality (section 4). I finish the study by summing up the main results of the investigation (section 5).

2. The relationship between conceptual representation and semantic structure

Consider the following clause:

- (1) Péter a szobában van.
Peter.NOM the room.in is
'Peter is in the room.'

The semantic ground of this clause (which can be regarded as a complex composite structure) is the process profiled by the verb: the temporal relation of two schematic figures, in which the primary figure (the trajector, in this case a prototypically human being) is located in a container appearing as a secondary figure (landmark). The trajector of the verb is elaborated by the nominal *Péter* ('Peter'), while the landmark is elaborated by the nominal *a szobában* ('in the room') (the latter is itself a composite structure too).

This roughly outlined cognitive grammatical analysis raises an important problem even in itself if we look at it from the perspective of encyclopaedic meaning. If linguistic meanings make our conceptual knowledge of the world around us available to others, the questions arise as to what portion of this knowledge (for example of the knowledge about the participants of the process symbolised by the verb) is activated, and how this activation proceeds, i.e. how this part of knowledge becomes available in the course of meaning creation. It is worth noting at this point that there are no generally valid answers to the questions above even with the assumption of the encyclopaedic conceptual nature of semantic structures. These unanswered questions lead, however, to the identification of concept with meaning, which raises the problem of predispositional mentalism (the mental determination of linguistic phenomena; see Sandra 1998: 363), and on the other hand it makes it obvious that the main question pertains not to the amount of activated knowledge, but rather to the relationship between conceptual and semantic representations.

It is thus indispensable for the analysis of metaphorical semantic structures to give a full account of this relationship first. Based on Croft (1993: 336–345), it seems productive to model this relationship with the foreground/background alignment, or with the profile/base relation: our knowledge of the world is organised in a complex network in Croft's model; the relatively stable configurations emerge in the foreground of the network through individual practice and conventionalisation. These configurations are symbolised directly by conventional phonological structures of the language. To put it in another way, a semantic structure is an organisation of conceptual knowledge that becomes profiled in relation to a certain part of this knowledge as a base, through the process of language use. It is essential that the representational system outlined in this way is not organised along a taxonomical hierarchy, but in foreground/background alignment, consequently the relationship is not derivative between the conceptual representations, or between the conceptual and semantic structures. It is even more important that the profile/base relationship has an interdependent character; that is, parts of the encyclopaedic knowledge network function as a base through the operation of the profiled configuration, while the entrenched and conventionalised configurations can be profiled only in relation to this base as a conceptual background.

Ultimately, the assumption of the foreground/background relationship, as well as the focus on semantic structure can be related on a meta-scientific level to a perspective change in cognitive linguistics. In the last few years a research orientation has been formulated which is geared toward the detailed examination of linguistic semantic structures instead of the investigation of the conceptual grounds of linguistic phenomena (as backstage cognition; see Fauconnier 1994: xvii–xlvii), so it directs our attention to frontstage cognition (see Evans 2010: 603).

On these grounds, Evans (2009: xi–xii, 42–43) argues for distinguishing meaning representations more firmly than Croft does. He assumes two different representational systems: the system of conceptual structures available as rich meaning representations, and the system of semantic structures considered as schematic meanings. The theoretical vantage point of Evans is based on a very productive distinction: there is a conceptual system which is rich, detailed, but not available directly, whereas there is a linguistic system, which is albeit schematic, but makes access to the conceptual representations possible. Meaning creation results from the continuous co-functioning of these representational systems: “[T]he

linguistic system is evolved, in part, by facilitating more effective control of the extant representations in the conceptual system. That is, linguistic representations are specialized for providing a »scaffolding« to structure conceptual representations, thereby facilitating their use in communication” (Evans 2009: 43). It is important that in this model, conceptual structure is separated from semantic structure considering both its nature and its function: the former is a representation arising from perceptual and subjective states (e.g. from sensorimotor perception, proprioception and introspective states), while the latter is a conceptual representation which is developed for the linguistic coding of encyclopaedic knowledge. Thus Evans emphasises the ontological and functional separations of the two systems.

Before continuing with the details of the relationship between conceptual representation and semantic structure, a terminological specification is necessary. Although Langacker (2008: 30) draws a distinction between concept and meaning, but he identifies the latter with conceptualisation without elucidating the relationship between concept and conceptualisation in general. Croft (1993) uses the term ‘concept’ for semantic structure and the term ‘domain’ for conceptual structure, but on the other hand, he regards both as semantic in nature. Evans (2009) implements the above-mentioned accurate differentiation terminologically: he adopts the term ‘cognitive model’ for conceptual representation and the term ‘lexical concept’ for semantic structure. I apply the distinction (but not the separation) of conceptual and semantic structure in my own research, as one of its main features, thus it is manifested in terminology too, but I depart from Evans (2009) by using the terms ‘conceptual representation’ and ‘semantic structure’. However, in the case of metaphorical expressions, I also apply the term ‘domain’ as equivalent to conceptual representation, according to the conceptual metaphor theory.

The most important assumption of my theoretical model is that the differentiation between conceptual representation and semantic structure rests not on their ontological disparity but on their different cognitive statuses. In this respect I disagree with Evans’ assumption that there would be two distinct representational systems; I think it is more productive to elaborate a model which takes both the ontological homogeneity and the functional heterogeneity of the representational types into consideration. Since meaning is conceptual in nature, the semantic structures are also of the same character, that is, the representations can be arranged in a space which consists of ontologically homologous elements. Thus, conceptual representation and semantic structure form a continuum regarding their nature. They can be differentiated, however, considering their cognitive status. Conceptual representation is part of our encyclopaedic knowledge of the world organised in a network, it is extremely flexible and mobile, and it can be activated and connected with the other elements of the network easily. By contrast, semantic structure is a relatively stable structure, which makes certain part of the conceptual representation available, structuring it as a profile, in the course of the linguistic activity. The system of conceptual representations organised in a network is the semantic space itself, defined by Langacker (1987: 76) as “the multifaceted field of conceptual potential within which thought and conceptualization unfold”, and the semantic structure can be characterised as a configuration developed in this space. The difference between the cognitive status or function of conceptual representation and semantic structure can be grasped along this description: conceptual representation is a potentiality which functions as a base for developing more stable and more specific patterns (profiles) that can

be symbolised linguistically. It is especially important to emphasise that the elements of this complex system, as well as the relationship between them are flexible, they can be shaped in a great variability, since a conceptual representation can serve as the base for profiling some patterns, but the representation itself can become a profile in the foreground of other conceptual representations. The structures with different cognitive status can be arranged in the semantic space mainly on the basis of the centre/periphery principle: while the most entrenched and conventionalised semantic configurations can be located in the central region of semantic space, moving towards its periphery there are less and less delimited structures of conceptual representations connecting to the network, and finally on the periphery there may be conceptual representations which are not organised into semantic structures at all (these are for example certain emotions, sensations, or the fundamental perceptual representations of physical space), as we do not make them linguistically available.

For illustrating the foregoing consider the clause in (1) again. We have very rich encyclopaedic knowledge about the room as a place for human residence, which knowledge – organised into a network – constitutes a part of the semantic space. In this network the concept of ROOM is included; in its background a matrix of the concepts HOUSE, FLAT, RESIDENCE, BUILDING, CLOSED PHYSICAL SPACE functioning as a base, as well as the conceptual representations which characterise, detail and specify the concept of ROOM in different cognitive dimensions, such as canonical size, shape, furnishings (e.g. DOOR, WINDOW, FURNITURE), the canonical function (e.g. SLEEPING, WORKING, EATING, AMUSEMENT) and so forth. According to Cognitive Grammar (see Langacker 2008: 47–50), this complex conceptual organisation as a whole is the semantic structure of the noun *szoba* (*room*), that is to say, when we comprehend the meaning of the noun *szoba* (*room*), the whole conceptual network can become activated theoretically in the conceptualiser's mind. It is easy to see that the unlimited nature of meaning follows from this description. Langacker (1987: 163) points out that the entities marked by the symbolic units of language are in fact access points to the network. We can interpret this as follows: although the whole network is available as conceptual potential during meaning creation, the entities as semantic structures profiled by the linguistic symbols are configurations which make only the entry into the network possible (see Croft 1993: 337), but they do not involve the whole network. At this point the conceptual representation and the semantic structure become distinguishable: the former can be conceived as the activation of a (not limited) part of the network-like semantic space (arranged into foreground/background relationship), whereas the latter is a structure organising in the foreground of the activated conceptual potential, and it can be symbolised in language directly. So conceptual representation is a chunk of the encyclopaedic knowledge, a base, in relation to which a part of knowledge is profiled linguistically, and emerges as meaning in the actual utterance (as symbolic structure). In the case of (1) the CLOSED PHYSICAL SPACE, as well as the size (in comparison with the trajector) and the canonical function become profiled as semantic structure in the course of meaning creation.

It is conceivable that meaning as a structure is the foregrounded, profiled part of the conceptual potential, while as a process it is the foregrounding itself, or the act of arranging into structure, configuration (see Sinha 1999: 228–230). Grasped in this way, semantic structure can also be characterised in the dimension of schematicity, since semantic structure in itself is not equivalent to the actual meaning (see Evans 2009: 23). The schematic

semantic structure (the schema) is in fact an intermediary structure between the conceptual potential and the actual, instantiated semantic structure (the instantiation). Seen from the perspective of semantic space, it is the entrenched and conventional, but unspecified way of configuring and foregrounding the complex conceptual representation, whereas seen from the perspective of the utterance, it is the ground of the elaboration and specification in the course of dynamic meaning creation. Thus, the process of meaning creation can be conceived as multiple foregrounding, as multiple developing of profile structures, during which the activated conceptual representation (no matter how complex it is) becomes available as an actual semantic structure. The schematic semantic structures have an overriding importance in this process: by means of schemas, we can enter the encyclopaedic knowledge network with a little mental effort, and we can make it intersubjective through linguistic symbolisation, while in the course of semantic construal even the schemas can be altered, so the conceptualiser can mobilise the conceptual representations as well.

The complexity of the semantic space arises primarily from variability, i.e. from the flexible formation of the centre/periphery arrangement: we can access the encyclopaedic conceptual network not only at the conventional points, but also through novel semantic structures; moreover, novel, unusual representations can appear in the entrenched, conventional conceptual representation matrix activated in the background of the semantic structure as a profile. In addition to this flexibility, it is important to see that the conceptual representations of the semantic space have dual grounding (see Sinha 1999: 240–241): our conceptual representations (and the relations between them) emerge as a result of the processing of the fundamental experiences of embodiment on the one hand (embodied grounding; see Simon 2014 for details), but on the other hand there is production and comprehension of particular utterances, that is, of the intersubjective meaning creation (discursive grounding). In fact, this assumption is the extension of the usage-based theory: while linguistic meaning has an encyclopaedic character, not only does our knowledge about language originate from the use of linguistic structures, but also our knowledge about the world derives partly from the linguistic activity itself.

As a consequence of the outlined theoretical orientation, the central concept of cognitive metaphor theory, i.e. the conceptual metaphor, can be conceived as a connection of conceptual representations in the network of semantic space (cf. Croft 1993: 346, “the two base domains are equated”). One of the advantages of this explanation is that it evades the question of mental representation (which cannot be answered with linguistic methods): while the connection of conceptual representations is presumably very flexible and temporary in the case of novel metaphors, i.e. it can be modelled as conceptual integration, then, through the increase of the frequency of its connections, it forms a stable pattern, thus it functions as a conceptual metaphor. In the proposed approach, we can consider conceptual integration and conceptual metaphor not as competing, but as complementary phenomena, as complementary phases of metaphorisation (see Pelyvás 2002: 10–11).²

The other advantage of the reinterpretation of conceptual metaphor is that it is in harmony with the extension of the usage-based theory, as well as with the theory of dual grounding: the connection of conceptual representations can be motivated both by our physical experiencing

² Hereby I would like to give thanks to Péter Pelyvás for making his manuscript available to me.

of the world and by the intersubjective sharing of our knowledge about the world through linguistic activity. In other words, we think of the world metaphorically indeed, but this follows considerably from the metaphorical talking about it.

Nevertheless, conceptual metaphor does not lose its significance in the model elaborated here, since it functions as a base for profiling the metaphorical semantic structure, i.e. for metaphorical meaning creation. On the other hand, I foreground in my research those semantic structures that provide access to the metaphorical semantic space, and not the relationship between conceptual representations (i.e. between domains). I would like not only to define the field of research in a novel way (cf. Steen 2008), but also to scrutinise the problem of metaphorical meaning in cognitive grammatical terms. If conceptual metaphor cannot be considered primary in the explanation of metaphorical meaning (following partly from the usage-based orientation, partly from the dual grounding principle), the latter is not only the linguistic realisation of a conceptual metaphor, but it is a semantic structure that initiates, specifies and details the metaphorical connection of conceptual representations. For this reason, in the description of metaphorical semantic construal we must take the two directional relations between the conceptual representations and the implemented semantic structures into consideration.

3. The processes of semantic construal

In functional cognitive linguistics, metaphor can be regarded as a semantic structure which has a complex representation developing in the network of conceptual knowledge, but on the other hand it is first of all a schema in the linguistic system. The former can be modelled both as conceptual integration and as conceptual metaphor, and the latter can be conceived as constructional schema with the notion of conventional linguistic composite structure. In this approach, metaphorical meaning can be described in two directions: from the perspective of dynamic meaning creation, considering the relation between schema and instantiation, and from the perspective of the conceptual nature of meaning, regarding the profile/base relation between schematic semantic structure and complex conceptual representation. Whereas in the case of non-figurative structures the constructional schema is usually actualised, i.e. specified without structural changes (see Langacker 2000: 23), metaphorical meaning is developed through changing these schemas, and the result of these processes is the rearrangement of semantic space. Of course, the novel schematic structure itself can also become entrenched and conventionalised (reaching the status of unit), consequently changing the schema is not always necessary for construing metaphorical meaning. However, in the case of novel, creative metaphorical expressions it happens presumably always (which is supported by the results of Giora's psycholinguistic experiments concerning the comprehension of figurative language use; see Giora 1997).

As can be seen, in my descriptive model it is the schematic semantic structure which is in the centre of interest, since this structure is linked both with the system of conceptual representations and with the actual meaning in the discourse. Consequently, one aspect of the operation with the schema is the activation of the connection with which semantic structure as a profiled configuration makes the potentiality of the semantic space as structured network of representations (i.e. as a base) available. The other aspect is the process of implementation

of the schematic semantic structure, i.e. dynamic meaning creation. Of course these two subsystems of meaning creation cannot be separated from one another, since on the one hand they are in contact through the structure of the schema, on the other hand their functioning can be assumed only in being interaction with one another: the semantic structure and its implementation can be developed only on the ground of the conceptual base, while the interpretation of the particular utterance specifies partly the actual delimitation and the internal organisation of the base. In what follows I intend to scrutinise this bidirectional system primarily from the aspect of dynamic meaning creation, by the examination of the processes of semantic construal in relation to schema and instantiation.

In Cognitive Grammar (see Langacker 1987, 1991, 2000, 2008), linguistic structures – not only lexical units, but also grammatical structures – can be described as semantic structures. That is to say grammar contributes to meaning creation by being itself a meaningful system: the grammatical connection of linguistic elements symbolises their functional relationship, their contribution to meaning creation. Thus this approach is not confined to the configurational analysis of linguistic constructions into sentences (to the study of constituency), but it explains meaning through the complex relation between the grammatical construction and the sanctioning schema.

It is important that in Cognitive Grammar the dynamic nature of meaning creation can be interpreted not only as the temporal process of construal, but also as the relation between schema and instantiation. Grammar (i.e. the language user's knowledge about linguistic structures) in Langacker's approach is a system of conventional schematic semantic structures of different complexity. The semantic structures being in symbolic relationship with phonological structures code our conceptualisations, our conceptual structures linguistically. Coding is creating a linguistic expression which is appropriate to the conceptualisation (Langacker 1987: 65). The result of coding is an actual linguistic structure, a usage event. In the course of coding, grammar offers conventional schematic semantic structures to the language user, and the adequate target structure can be developed through the implementation of one of them. The linguistic structure instantiates the schema in this process and the schema sanctions the instantiations, as well as categorising it (Langacker 2000: 10). The usage event, i.e. the particular linguistic expression specifies the schematic semantic structure in all cases: it details some substructures of the schema, thus instantiation elaborates the schema. On the other hand, the instantiation can be considered a structure of the given language only if a schema categorises it, i.e. if the schema sanctions the expression. In the optimal case, the conceptualisation can be symbolised with a linguistic structure straightforwardly, because grammar includes the appropriate conventional schematic structure. This is the case of full sanction, which is the clearest when the sanctioning schematic structure and the instantiating target structure fully correspond to each other (Langacker 1987: 66–68). But it is important to note that identity, namely zero specification of the schema is quite rare, since the usage events usually elaborate the sanctioning schema to some degree, so there is always some elaborative distance between schema and instantiation (Langacker 1987: 69). In other words, the conventional use of language is inherently dynamic, since schemas of grammar are not simply mirrored in linguistic expressions, but they are instantiated as specific semantic structures in the process of elaboration. (Therefore, actual meaning is not equivalent with schematic semantic structure.) On the other hand schemas are developed as

the results of abstraction and schematisation, i.e. as the result of language use. That is why the usage-based approach is required.

However, in the course of coding it is not always possible to activate the schema appropriate to the conceptualisation (or to select the appropriate one among the competing schemas; see Langacker 2000: 15), in many cases the conceptual representation cannot be coded with any of the entrenched and conventionalised schematic structures. Thus in these cases the selected schema sanctions the instantiation only partially (partial sanction; see Langacker 1987: 68–71). Thus, not only some parts of the schema are specified in the process of elaboration, but the schematic structure itself may not correspond to the conceptual representation completely. Consequently in the course of instantiation the partially sanctioning schema cannot function completely as a sample in construing the linguistic expression, its only role is to categorise the instantiation (Langacker 2000: 18). Therefore, the structure of the schema is changed in the categorisation temporally: it is extended, it is reconfigured, a novel substructure is added to it, or else the function of its substructures within the schema or the relation between them is altered. If this partial sanction is implemented again through the reconfiguration or extension of the schema, the reconfiguration or extension itself can become conventionalised (Langacker 2000: 19), thus a new schema is established.

In my proposal, the processes of semantic construal are interpretable primarily in the dynamic relationship between schema and instantiation. In other words, they can be grasped as the processes by means of which the schematic semantic structures of the linguistic system become particular semantic structures (actual meanings) in the utterance. I describe this approximately as follows. The vantage point in coding and processing is the grammatical construction, the symbolic arrangement of component structures linked with correspondences and categorisation (i.e. the instantiation of the complex composite structure; see Langacker 1991: 548). The grammatical constructions can be characterised with constructional schemas, since these schemas become parts of the linguistic system through schematisation of specific constructions, and then they sanction and categorise the created constructions. A further essential factor is the compositional path of the constructional schema, which in fact can be interpreted as the arranged sequence of the component structures, and which thus contributes to the formation of complex constructions, defining the order of the component structures, their foreground/background arrangement in the course of elaboration (Langacker 1991: 546, 2008: 61). In my interpretation, compositional path is similar to the active zone of a semantic matrix; it is the default way of the structure's semantic elaboration. The formation and process of a grammatical construction takes place in elaborating and implementing the schema sanctioning the construction, according to the compositional path. I interpret the overall process of semantic construal as follows: the complex grammatical construction is processed as a gestalt, so in the process of semantic construal, on the macro-level we create linguistic expressions instantiating the schemas along the compositional path. The semantic construal of component structures fits in this process on the micro-level, since the elaboration of component structures and the establishment of the correspondences between them make the creation of the complex structure possible, on the other hand, however, we perform the integration of component structures along the compositional path of the constructional schema. As a result, we can regard the construction as an emergent semantic structure which is elaborated holistically. In addition, it is worth noting that constructional

schema and compositional path can be transformed flexibly in the formation of the usage event, and if this transformation itself becomes entrenched, a novel schema is established with its own compositional path. We can consider this a temporal or a permanent schema-reconfiguration.

Regarding the implementation process of the constructional schema we must take furthermore the autonomy/dependency (A/D) alignment (see Langacker 2008: 199–202) into consideration as a general characteristic of linguistic structures. In Cognitive Grammar (in the description of composite structures), autonomous and dependent structures are conceived in relation to each other: a structure is dependent if it has a schematic substructure that is elaborated and specified by another, autonomous structure. Autonomy and dependency is relative, it can be ascertained setting out from the composite structure.

On these grounds I outline the process of dynamic meaning creation with regard to the clause in (1). We can describe the holistic constructional schema with the *SOMEbody IS SOMEwhere* schematic structure, which has the temporal relation profiled in the verb as its semantic ground: the sequential scanning of spatial arrangement of two schematic figures. As I demonstrated earlier, the primary schematic figure (the trajector) is prototypically a human being, and the secondary schematic figure (the landmark) is a physical place that can be interpreted in three-dimensional space. This schema is specified by the nominal *Péter* (*Peter*), and by the composite structure *a szobában* (*in the room*). It can be noted that the verb is dependent structure on the level of the clause, because its substructures (its schematic figures) are elaborated by the nominals.

It is important again that the expression which elaborates the secondary participant of the process profiled in the verb is itself a complex structure: the semantic integration of a case marker and a noun. In this composite, the case marker is the profile determinant, which profiles a closed physical space with a crossable boundary, i.e. a schematic *CONTAINER*. Since the noun *szoba* (*room*) elaborates the schematic container within the semantic structure of the case marker, the semantic structure of the noun is autonomous whereas the semantic structure of the case marker is dependent.

Thus in this very simple composite structure the composite *a szobában* (*in the room*) takes part in A/D relation of two different kinds: within the composite it is the case marker which is dependent and the noun is autonomous, while in the clause it is the composite itself which is autonomous, and the verb is dependent. The structure *a szobában* (*in the room*) not only elaborates the landmark of the verb, but it also specifies it: the *THREE-DIMENSIONAL PHYSICAL SPACE* is conceptualised as a *CONTAINER* in the course of dynamic meaning creation.

We can see that in meaning creation the constructional schema is implemented unproblematically. This is possible because the constructional schema of the clause initiates access to the *THREE-DIMENSIONAL PHYSICAL SPACE* conceptual representation (i.e. it activates the representation), and the *CONTAINER* conceptual representation appearing in the course of the instantiation of the schema is not inconsistent with the conceptual base: in fact it functions as a profile in comparison with this base. For this reason there is no schema-reconfiguration, since the actual semantic structure in the foreground of the activated representation network of the semantic space can be interpreted as specification. Thus the schema, albeit partially, sanctions the instantiation, and there is a small elaborative distance between the conceptual

base activated by the schema and the semantic structure developed in the instantiation of the secondary schematic substructure of the verb.

4. The process of metaphorical semantic construal

Consider now the following clauses:

- (2) Péter jó hangulatban van.
Peter good mood.in is
'Peter is in a good mood.'
- (3) Péter rossz kedvében van.
Peter bad humour.PX(3SG).in is
'Peter is in bad humour.'

According to the conceptual theory of metaphor, the meaning of these utterances results from the STATES ARE CONTAINERS conceptual metaphor (see Kövecses 2010: 39). This explanation is however unsatisfactory in some respects. It can be questioned on the one hand whether the explicated form of conceptual metaphor is adequate in the meaning creation (why it does not have the form EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS OF EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL PLACES). It is worth citing Evans again in connection with the problem: conceptual metaphors are effective patterns in grasping conceptual structures generally, but the linguistic data show that we can reveal patterns that are more specific. "The problem with the level of generalisation at which metaphor scholars have assumed cross-domain mappings can be stated is that it may simply constitute a post hoc analysis due to the analyst. While the linguistic facts do support the view that there is a primary metaphor which might be stated as TIME IS MOTION (...), there is no reason that just because such a pattern can be adduced by the analyst, that it must, ipso facto, have psychological reality for the language user" (Evans 2003: 75). In other words, though conceptual metaphor can be a useful tool for grasping certain connections, we cannot explain the development of metaphorical meaning with it (since it is a post hoc generalization), neither can we describe accurately the evolving conceptual relations (since it is not elaborated properly).

From these it follows that it is very important to raise the problem of construing metaphorical meaning, for if we regard the conceptual metaphors as relatively stable patterns being established in the conceptual representation system, the metaphorical meaning cannot be derived from them (although they make it motivated). Moreover, according to the usage-based theory, in a certain phase of metaphorisation conceptual metaphors themselves are the consequences of the processes of metaphorical semantic construal.

Some questions remain unanswered among others in connection with (2) and (3): what part of the structure must be processed for activating the conceptual metaphor that motivates the meaning, and whether the scope of the conceptual metaphor extends over the whole clause or not. In both metaphorical clauses there is one element (a composite structure) through which we can have access to the domains of the conceptual metaphor formulated above, these are the expression *hangulatban* ('in a mood') and the expression *kedvében*

(‘in his/her humour’). Consequently, the emergence of metaphorical meaning would be described as a process within which the target domain is activated by the noun and the case marker activates the source domain.³ This extremely simplifying description narrows the scope of metaphorical meaning to a single component of the clause; furthermore, it implicates the idea of compositionality.

At this point let me consider the processes of semantic construal in the metaphorical clauses above, according to the analysis of (1), starting from the composite structures including the case marker. It is the case marker which has a dependent nature, and which profiles a schematic CLOSED PHYSICAL SPACE with a crossable boundary, i.e. a CONTAINER. But this schematic figure must be elaborated in the process of construal with a nominal semantic structure which cannot be characterised as a container-like entity, in other words it has no such cognitive domain in its semantic matrix which characterises the given emotional state as entity in the physical dimension. From this it follows that in the course of semantic integration both semantic structures undergo schema-reconfiguration. The semantic matrix of the noun is supplemented temporally with the domain of PHYSICAL EXTENT in three-dimensional space, within which the CONTAINER is profiled; on the other hand, the schematic CONTAINER figured in the semantic structure of the case marker becomes more abstract, for it is elaborated not as prototypical physical space. That is exactly why it is productive to regard conceptual metaphor as the connection of two conceptual representations in the activated network of semantic space, since in this way the unidirectionality hypothesis on metaphorical mappings can be revised.

The latter of the two schema-reconfigurations is more radical, since it comes more considerably into the focus of attention during the process of construal. This follows partly from the fact that the dependent structure of the case marker can be instantiated only through the contribution of the autonomous structure of the noun, so the language user forms the former more flexibly. According to Croft (1993: 359), we can state that in the grammatical combination of an autonomous and a dependent structure it is the autonomous structure which initiates the cross-domain (metaphorical) mappings in the dependent structure. Due to this, the re-arrangement of the dependent structure becomes more intensive.

In addition to the dependent nature the case marker also has a profile determining function: the whole composite structure fits through the profile of the case marker into the larger composite, into the clause in this case. In these examples too the constructional schema of the clause is the temporal relationship profiled by the verb: locating a prototypically human being in physical space. However, while the meaning of the composite structure including the case marker becomes metaphorical, this process initiates a reconfiguration also in the constructional schema of the clause. This can be described in two ways. On the one hand the actual elaboration of the secondary figure of the verb can be carried out only in the foreground of a conceptual base within which the conceptual representations of THREE-DIMENSIONAL PHYSICAL SPACE and EMOTIONAL STATE are connected with each other. Thus on the holistic level of clausal meaning creation it is the metaphorical connection of the conceptual representations that is initiated again, for this reason metaphor is not limited to the nominal structure even conceptually, so its scope extends to the whole clause. On the

³ The corresponding component in English is a preposition (*in*), but since the subject of this study is metaphorical semantic construal in Hungarian, I refer to it as a case marker in the following.

other hand it is the autonomous structure again (the nominal *hangulatban* [‘in a mood’] and the nominal *kedvében* [‘in his/her humour’]), which initiates the schema-reconfiguration in the dependent structure, i.e. in the semantic schema of the verb (and hence of the clause). Therefore the secondary schematic figure of the verb is elaborated not only as PHYSICAL SPACE, but also as EMOTIONAL STATE, in other words as EMOTIONAL SPACE. Consequently, the rearrangement of the constructional schema of the clause can be grasped with the change of the nature of the secondary figure, which involves the process that the base becomes more complex and it is rearranged metaphorically.

Presumably, the metaphorisation of the semantic structure has an effect on directing attention within the clause. Although in the case of non-metaphorical instantiation the secondary figure of the verb comes into the focus of attention only temporally (in fact the structure can be considered a reference point structure; see Evans 2009: 40), but as a consequence of metaphorical semantic construal (i.e. due to the reconfiguration of the schemas) the secondary figure remains in the foreground of the attention. Therefore the compositional path of the construction is changed.

Finally I consider the effect of metaphorical meaning creation on the semantic space. In accordance with the conceptual theory of metaphor, in the metaphorical expressions scrutinised above it is the CONTAINER as physical space which functions as the source domain and with which the target domain (in this case the EMOTIONAL STATE) is conceptualised. It would follow from this explanation that it is the target domain’s conceptual representation which is changed radically, whereas the source domain remains unchanged in the process. Such unidirectional process cannot be assumed even in conceptual processing, as it follows from the recent analysis. As we have seen, the metaphorical semantic construal induces schema-reconfiguration in the elaboration of the nominal semantic structure being profiled in the foreground of the target domain, and the semantic structure of the case marker as well as the verbal semantic structure being profiled in the foreground of the source domain. Furthermore, the reconfiguration of the case marker and the secondary figure of the verb is more radical, which follows partly from their dependent nature, partly from the more permanent direction of attention on them. It results from the findings demonstrated here that the metaphorisation of meaning concerns not only the target domain, but also the source domain. Not only does EMOTIONAL STATE become metaphorical through the conceptual representation of CONTAINER, but also the CONTAINER, i.e. the PHYSICAL SPACE representations become available in the semantic space in another (non-conventional) way. In general: as the conceptual representation of PHYSICAL SPACE (grounded in direct experience) functions as scaffolding for mapping more abstract conceptual structures, this conceptualising process also alters the conceptual representation of PHYSICAL SPACE, more accurately the conceptual access to this representation, thus the metaphorisation of space also needs to be included in the account.

5. Conclusion

In this study I approached metaphor from the aspect of dynamic meaning creation, according to the conception of cognitive linguistics as the research of frontstage cognition. I regard metaphor as a semantic structure which emerges through the processes of semantic construal implemented more intensively. The fundamental background assumption of the examination is the distinction between conceptual representation and semantic structure. The differentiation between the semantic space with encyclopaedic nature and network structure and the semantic configuration developed and stabilised in this space proved to be productive, because it makes conceivable that metaphorical meaning is operationally more complex and more specific in comparison with metaphorical conceptual pattern. Moreover, it became discernible through the assumption of a foreground/background relationship between semantic structure and conceptual representation that metaphorical conceptualisation is also motivated by language itself: since semantic structures function as scaffolding for more effective use of the conceptual potential, the schema-rearrangement peculiar to metaphorical construal makes it possible to access the network of semantic space in a non-conventional way. This means that metaphorical conceptual patterns rest not only on experiencing of the world physically, as well as on conceptual processing of the experiences, but also on the semantic construal of particular utterances. Ultimately, this is an extension of the usage-based theory.

The concept of schema has a central significance in modelling metaphorical meaning creation with cognitive grammatical terms. The schema-reconfiguration observed during the analyses is the implementation of the partial sanctioning relation between schema and instantiation, thus metaphorical meaning can be approached through conventional construal processes in the model proposed here. It is important, however, that metaphorical reconfiguration is initiated in the dependent structure by the autonomous structure, consequently it takes place in the dependent structure more intensively, although it concerns both structures. On the basis of the observations, the reconfiguration process affects the constructional schemas of the composites at higher level, as well as on the compositional path. From this it follows that the scope of metaphorical meaning extends to the autonomous and dependent structures whose semantic integration results in schema-reconfiguration. Generally the semantic structure of the clause can be considered as a gestalt which is the conventional scope of the construal of metaphorical meanings.

If we regard semantic schemas as representing an intermediary structure between the actual meaning and the semantic space, they have even more crucial role in the explanatory model. It is the schema itself which is changed due to the rearrangement in metaphorical construal in order to sanction the target structure, and through which the language user enters the network of semantic space at a new point, which initiates the novel, metaphorical conceptualisation. This finding is essential because it shows that metaphor conceived to be a conceptual phenomenon is not unidirectional in its nature: it does not fit in the experience → conceptual thinking → linguistic activity model of cognition considering its motivation, nor is the source domain → target domain mapping schema appropriate regarding its inherent structure. We must assume bidirectionality in both respects, as it can be seen in the metaphorisation of space by the expressions being connected with spatiality. If we make

the network of encyclopaedic knowledge available in another, non-conventional manner, it produces an effect on each activated conceptual representation.

Based on all these, it seems necessary to extend the investigation to further metaphorical expressions with spatial reference. First of all the orientational metaphors are worth scrutinising since presumably not only the construal of spatial direction contributes to metaphorical meaning, but also the force-dynamic schemas of the verbs participating in the structure. As can be seen, multiple additional research areas can be defined in the examination of metaphorical semantic construal, and there is no doubt that the detailed description of them will take us closer to the systematic description of Hungarian from a functional cognitive vantage point, making the continuity between literal and figurative language graspable.

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THE METAPHORICAL POTENTIAL OF SPACE IN HUNGARIAN FOLK SONGS

JUDIT BARANYINÉ KÓCZY

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 irigyem 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	<p>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)</p> <p>2. primary events, relations: motions (tendency, quality) force-dynamic interactions (force tendencies, conditions of power)</p> <p>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</p>
	<p>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</p>

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)
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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,
Mehajtja 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.
Bujdosam én az vadakkal,
Sirtam 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 dove on 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 deixis

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 rozsmaringbokor 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.

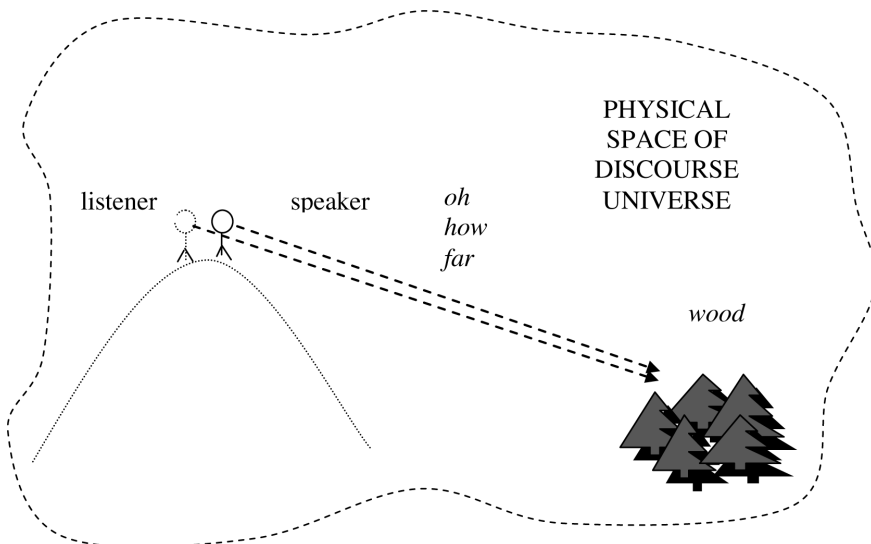


Figure 2: The world of the text that develops from the initial *there below* distal spatial deixis

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):

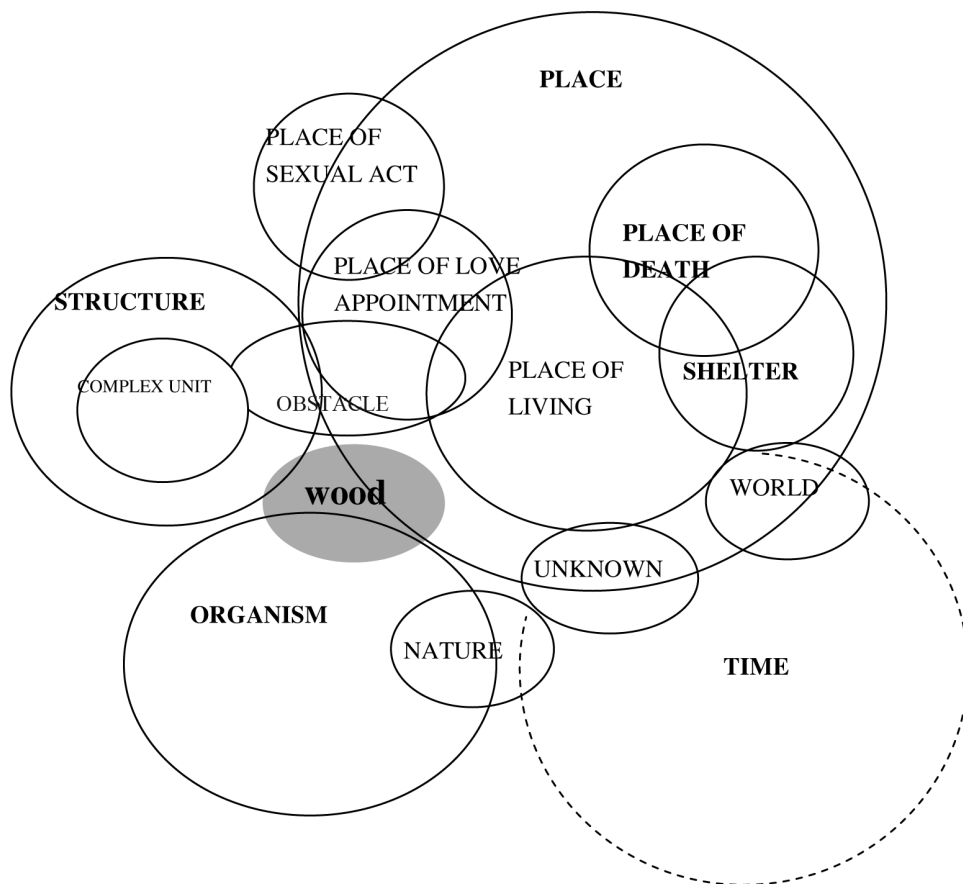


Figure 3: The reconstruction of semantic structure of the concept wood in folk songs

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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**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 Bańcerowski 1999, Tolcsvai Nagy 2005b, Kiefer ed. 2006: 184–186, Ladányi and Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2008: 17–58, and especially 23–33, Bańcerowski 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–Szabó Mihály 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, Kispeske/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).

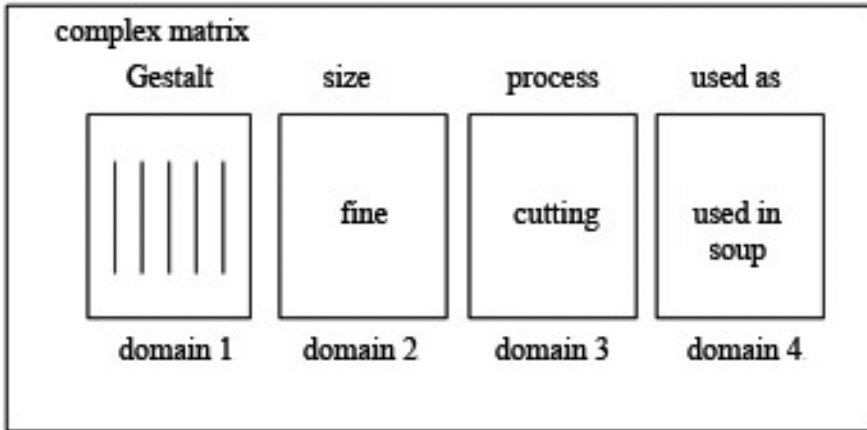


Figure 1: The semantic representation of *cérnametélt* “string noodles”

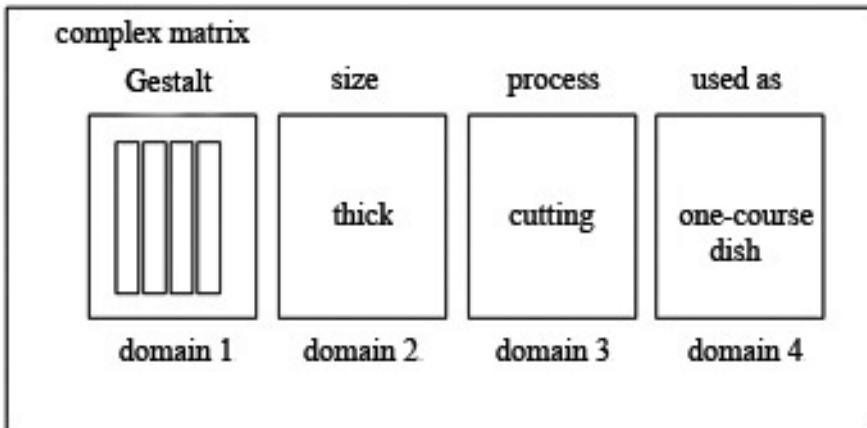


Figure 2: The semantic representation of *szélesmetélt* “wide noodles”

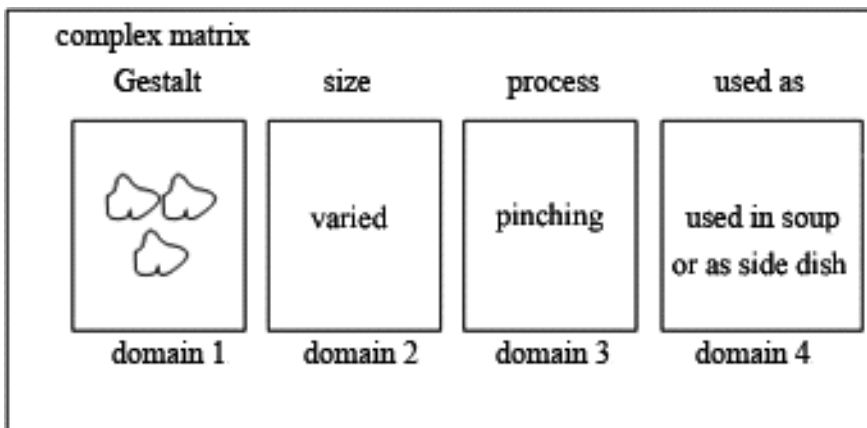


Figure 3: The semantic representation of *galuska* “dumplings”

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 *cérnemetélt*, *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 *cérnemetélt* ‘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 *cérnemetélt*, *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 *cérnemetélt* ‘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 *cérnemetélt* is thin, and this difference is illustrated by the size domain depicting the Gestalt itself. The three also differ in their function, since *cérnemetélt* 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
<i>cérnemetélt</i> ‘string noodles’	+	+	+	-	-	-
<i>szélesmetélt</i> ‘wide noodles’	+	+	+	-	-	-
<i>galuska</i> ‘dumplings’	+	+	-	-	-	-

Figure 4: The relative semantic matrices of *cérnemetélt*, *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		
			%		
<i>metélt</i> ‘noodles’	▲		16.83		
<i>tészta</i> ‘noodles’	●		4.95		
<i>eperleveles</i> ‘strawberry leaf shaped noodles’	■		0.33		
<i>cérnatészta</i> ‘string noodles’	■	●	0.99		
<i>hosszútészta</i> ‘long noodles’	○	●	1.32		
<i>zabszemtészta</i> ‘risoni’	■	●	0.33		
<i>húslevestészta</i> ‘meat soup noodles’		●	-		
<i>levestészta</i> ‘soup noodles’	◆	●	5.94	The cognitive domains occurring in the naming:	
<i>cérnametélt</i> ‘string noodles’	■	▲	24.75		
<i>szélesmetélt</i> ‘wide noodles’	○	▲	1.65		
<i>vastagmetélt</i> ‘thick noodles’	○	▲	0.66	■	shape
<i>hosszúmetélt</i> ‘long noodles’	○	▲	0.99	○	size
<i>metélt tészta</i> ‘cut noodles’	▲	●	6.27	▲	action
<i>szaggatott tészta</i> ‘pinched noodles’	▲	●	6.93	●	material
<i>főtt tészta</i> ‘boiled noodles’	▽	●	2.97	◆	function
<i>berakott tészta</i> ‘layered noodles’	▽	●	0.33	▽	method
<i>vikonlaska</i> ‘thin noodles’	○	-	-		

<i>vastaglaska</i> ‘thick noodles’	○	-	1.98	
<i>aprólaska</i> ‘small noodles’	○	-	0.33	
<i>cérmalaska</i> ‘string noodles’	■	-	0.66	
<i>laskatészta</i> ‘pasta noodles’	-	●	17.82	
<i>szaggatott galuska/haluska</i> ‘pinched dumplings’	▲	-	0.99	
<i>felvert galuska/haluska</i> ‘beaten dumplings’	▲	-	1.65	
<i>nyögő tészta</i> ‘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. *cérmametélt* ‘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. *cérmatészta* ‘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, Bańcerowski 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 (Barsalou 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’, *cérmametélt* ‘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
<i>tészta</i> 'noodles'	0.37	<i>tészta</i> 'noodles'	-	<i>tészta</i> 'noodles'	4.42	-	<i>tészta</i> 'noodles'	1.48	-
<i>haluska</i> 'dumplings'	0.37	-	-	<i>galuska,</i> <i>haluska</i> 'dumplings'	44.24	<i>haluska</i> 'dumplings'	<i>galuska,</i> <i>haluska</i> 'dumplings'	22.22	-
<i>laska</i> 'noodles'	29.89	<i>laska</i> 'noodles'	<i>laska</i> 'noodles'	<i>laska</i> 'noodles'	8.85	<i>laska</i> 'noodles'	<i>laska</i> 'noodles'	0.37	-
<i>laskatészta</i> 'noodle pasta'	15.87	<i>laskatészta</i> 'noodle pasta'	<i>laskatészta</i> 'noodle pasta'	<i>laskatészta</i> 'noodle pasta'	4.87	<i>laskatészta</i> 'noodle pasta'	-	-	-
<i>metélt</i> 'noodles'	14.02	-	-	<i>metélt</i> 'noodles'	5.75	<i>metélt</i> 'noodles'	-	-	-
<i>cérnametélt</i> 'string noodles'	26.2	-	-	<i>cérnametélt</i> 'string noodles'	1.77	-	-	-	-
<i>metélt tészta</i> 'cut noodles'	3.69	-	-	<i>metélt tészta</i> 'cut noodles'	3.98	-	-	-	-
<i>levestészta</i> 'soup noodles'	4.8	<i>levestészta</i> 'soup noodles'	-	<i>levestészta</i> 'soup noodles'	2.21	-	-	-	-
<i>hosszú metélt</i> 'long noodles'	0.74	-	-	<i>hosszúmetélt</i> 'long noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>főtt tészta</i> 'boiled noodles'	3.1	-	<i>főtt tészta</i> 'boiled noodles'	0.74	-
-	-	-	-	<i>felvert galuska/ haluska</i> 'beaten dumplings'	0.44	-	<i>felvert galuska/ haluska</i> 'beaten dumplings'	1.48	<i>felvert haluska</i> 'beaten dumplings'
-	-	-	-	<i>szaggatott galuska/ haluska</i> 'pinched dumplings'	0.44	-	<i>szaggatott galuska/ haluska</i> 'pinched dumplings'	0.74	<i>szaggatott haluska</i> 'pinched dumplings'

-	-	-	-	<i>nokedli</i> 'dumplings'	3.54	-	<i>nokedli,</i> <i>nokelli</i> 'dumplings'	57.78	<i>nokedli</i> 'dumplings'
-	-	-	-	<i>grízgaluska</i> 'semolina dumplings'	0.44	-	<i>grízgaluska</i> 'semolina dumplings'	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	<i>nyögvenyelő</i> 'moaning noodles'	0.44	-	<i>nyögvenyelő,</i> <i>nyögő</i> 'moaning noodles'	4.07	-
<i>cérnatészta</i> 'string noodles'	1.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>hosszútészta</i> 'long noodles'	1.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mákos tészta</i> 'poppyseed noodles'	0.37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	<i>vikonlaska</i> 'thin noodles'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	<i>húsleves-tészta</i> 'meat soup noodles'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	<i>hosszútészta</i> 'long noodles'	<i>hosszútészta</i> 'long noodles'	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>szélesmetélt</i> 'wide noodles'	2.21	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>vastagmetélt</i> 'thick noodles'	0.88	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>vastaglaska</i> 'thick noodles'	2.65	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>zabszeméltés</i> 'risoni'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>eperleveles</i> 'strawberry leaf noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>laskára vágott</i> <i>tészta</i> 'cut noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>makaróni</i> 'macaroni'	0.44	-	-	-	-

-	-	-	-	<i>berakott tészta</i> 'layered noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>csusza</i> 'noodles'	1.33	<i>csusza</i> 'noodles'	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>száraz tészta</i> 'dry noodles'	1.33	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>haluskatészta</i> 'dumpling noodles'	0.88	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>káposztás laska</i> 'cabbage noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>krumpli-haluska</i> 'potato dumplings'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>aprólaska</i> 'small noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	<i>nyújtott tészta</i> 'rolled noodles'	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>szaggatott tészta</i> 'pinched noodles'	7.78	<i>szaggatott tészta</i> 'pinched noodles'
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>csipkedli</i> 'pinchies'	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>nyögőtészta</i> 'moaning noodles'	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>felvert tészta</i> '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 of ‘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 Kispeske/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 Nagyár, Hungary, as well as Kispeske/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 (Nagyár and Rozsály) and one in Romanian (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’ /*lábás* ‘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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THE POSSIBLE MEANINGS OF THE LEXEMES
ALSÓ ‘LOWER’ AND FELSŐ ‘UPPER’ IN HUNGARIAN TOPONYMS

The use of toponyms and space perception
in the Transylvanian town Négyfalu¹

MÁRIA HOCHBAUER

Abstract

When the users of the toponyms discussed in my paper talk about familiar places, they rely on the complex system of a mental map based on their collective spatial knowledge. However, they do not orient themselves on this map according to the points of the compass, but rather in a particular way: they take a so called „standard position” and correlate everything to this position. Since the settlement I have examined is located in a mountainous region, the standard point of reference here is always the forest. Wherever they are, the users of these local names locate the places on their mental map through going straight upwards, towards the forest, and they stick to this orientation as regards denomination as well. This assumption is supported by the fact that the branches of the rivers are not referred to within the settlement in conformity with the standard geographical norms: the one that would be the right branch according to geographical norms is called left branch in this area, whereas the actual left branch is called right branch. For it is not the course of the water that determines denomination, but the position of the person going towards the forest, straight forward.

Keywords: bipolar names, DOWN-places, human-centered orientation, mental map, spatial knowledge, spatial orientation, spatial-relational elements, standard point of reference, space perception model, UP-places

1. Introduction

The present paper focuses on the analysis of spatial-relational elements occurring frequently in toponyms, an undeservedly neglected area of onomatology. It will concentrate particularly on place names containing the lexical elements *alsó*- and *felső*-.² I will seek to answer some questions concerning the relationship between the use of toponyms and space perception

¹ Négyfalu (Săcele in Romanian, Vierdörfer in German) is a town of mixed population situated in the Burzenland, a southeast Transylvanian region. Besides the official Romanian name, the traditional Hungarian and German names are also in use, as in the case of most multi-ethnic settlements in Transylvania.

² The topic of the present paper is closely related to that of my doctoral thesis. The fragments used as exemplifying material are from my master’s thesis, which may be considered a preliminary study to my doctoral research, and which has been published in a shortened form under the title *Helyzetviszonyító elemek a barcasági Négyfalu helynévrendszerében (Spatial-relational Elements in the Toponymic System of Négyfalu)* in the volume comprising the papers presented at the 4th Conference of Onomastics, entitled *Név és valóság (Name and Reality)*.

through the study of the spatial-relational elements occurring explicitly in place names: when, and in what situation the people of Négyfalu feel the need to code the segmentation of space through toponymy in their linguistic practice; what makes this space perception unique, and how this uniqueness is reflected in the semantics of spatial-relational elements.

The site of investigation is the town of Négyfalu, which may nowadays be considered a suburb of the city of Brassó.³ An interesting aspect of the chosen site from the perspective of this investigation is that the toponymy used by locals has been influenced not only by the special geographical location of the settlement, but also by the process of forced urbanisation that took place in the second half of the 20th century.

One of the most exciting questions raised by the present paper is how toponyms encode spatial relationships: to what extent the spatial relations encoded in place names reflect the spatial structures existing in the mind of the users of these toponyms, and to what extent these correspond to physical reality. This question justifies the setting of this topic, conventionally approached from an onomasiological point of view, in a cognitive linguistic framework.

2. An experimental method

The approach of the material from this perspective requires a new method of investigation. Although onomastics offers a wide range of methods for the analysis of the available toponymical data, the cognitive approach may broaden our perspective. It puts the language user into the centre of analysis, and seeks to find out who uses the given toponym, how and in what context he/she uses it, precisely why he/she chooses to use it, and precisely why in that specific way. The monitoring and analysis of toponyms from this point of view are only possible if toponyms are not treated as isolated linguistic data, but rather studied in their own written or spoken context. Taking this into consideration, I decided to base my study on a series of structured interviews while also relying on the local toponymical set of data, which basically concentrates on the way toponyms are used.

I do not claim that either the method or the approach is my own, since they have been applied already by others. The first experiments in this regard took place independently from each other, but at about the same time, in 1999 and 2000, at the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj under the leadership of Sándor Szilágyi N., as well as in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics led by Stephen C. Levinson.

At the Department of Hungarian and General Linguistics of the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj, fourteen BA and MA theses have been written in the cognitive workshop led by Szilágyi N. Sándor since the mid-1990s, all of which study the semantics of various spatial relations, and are based on original research.⁴ The BA thesis written in 2000 by Andrea

³ Braşov in Romanian, Kronstadt in German.

⁴ Árpád Galaczi discussed the semantics of the relational element *RAJTA* (1995), László Páll – the lexeme *BENNE* (1998), and the relations expressed by the verbal particle *KI* (1999), Enikő Andor – the relations expressed by the particle *EL* (1999) Hajnal Dénes – the possessive relation (1999), Hajnalka Epli – the lexemes *ÖSSZE/SZÉT* (1999), Attila Imre – the lexeme *ÁT* (1999), Noémi Kuti – the lexeme *BENNE/IN* in Hungarian and English (1999), József Somkereké – the lexemes *ALATT/FÖLÖTT* (1999), Ibolya Zsombori – the English *ON* (1999), Csilla Szabó – the lexeme *ÖSSZES/SZÉT* in Hungarian and German (2000), Réka Orsolya Kún – the lexemes *ELŐTT/UTÁN/MÖGÖTT* (2004), Emőke Pál – the verbal particle *MEG* (2004), Zita Székely – the suffix *-VAL/-VEL* (2006). Some of these theses are available on the internet, too, and may be downloaded from: <http://mnytud.arts.klte.hu/szilagyii>.

Heinrich, entitled *The Toponyms of Szaniszló. A Cognitive Approach* was also closely related to this field of research. A great merit of this thesis was that, by applying the cognitive point of view, it opened up new perspectives and possibilities for toponymy.

It should be emphasised, however, that this new approach offers only a possible additional aspect in the study of place names by investigating them in practice. The data collection method used here may form the basis of studies of the same type and purpose, but it cannot be used for mapping the whole toponymic material of the settlement. Nor can it serve as a basis for onomatopysiological research. It may facilitate the exploration of name usage habits in a given community, but it is not suitable for investigating the name usage tradition of larger regions or of a whole language area. This is due not only to the fact that the creation and processing of recordings is extremely time consuming and would be feasible only by involving a substantial amount of human resources, but also to the fact that it is impossible to draw up such a uniform questionnaire or form of interview which could be evaluated according to certain criteria so that the results would be comparable. These interviews are of a mixed type and only partially structured, that is, some questions may be omitted, some of them merged together, depending on the situation. Moreover, if the situation requires so, they may always be completed by additional questions. Planning and conducting interviews necessitates a certain level of local knowledge, which should be reflected in the questions posed. This is part of the reason why the method becomes inapplicable for a more comprehensive study, as each interview may only be used in the case of the settlement for which it has been devised. Since sampling occurs in a certain time interval at a certain place, involving randomly chosen informants, it cannot be representative. The data produced are not comparable, and results gained cannot be considered of general importance, only hypothetical. It is also important to emphasise that these hypothetical conclusions are only valid for the studied settlement, no general conclusions concerning the name usage habits or the space perception of a whole region or language area can be drawn from them.

Research using a similar approach in the study of natural languages was carried out at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics based in Nijmegen within the framework of the Space-project in the first half of the 2000s. The annual reports downloadable from the website of the Institute (Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik, *Annual Report, 2001–2006*) offer a most comprehensive review of their research work. One of the main topics their studies focused on was the linguistic representation of space conceptualised through the human body. Special attention was given to the linguistic and conceptual categorisation of the environment directly surrounding people, too. Although these studies were much broader in scope (regarding both their topics and their sites of investigation) than the attempts of the Cluj school, the results still proved to be mutually reinforcing.

In the present paper, following the traditions of the Cluj school, I will analyse in more detail a point of intersection between these studies, rethinking and continuing some earlier results and the findings of my field research. These findings suggest that human space perception and the linguistic representation of the space surrounding people, including place-name usage, are strongly influenced by the geographical environment.

3. The place and circumstances of data collection

The spoken language data that forms the basis of the present study are the result of my two field trips. These two complementary collection trips took place in the autumn of 2004 and the spring of 2005 in the town of Négyfalu (Săcele, Vierdörfer) situated in the southeastern corner of Transylvania, next to the town of Brassó (Braşov, Kronstadt) in the Carpathian bend area.

This urban settlement has come into being by the unification of four former villages of the Burzenland⁵: Bácsfalu (Baciu in Romanian, Batschendorf in German), Türkös (Turcheş, Türkeschdorf), Csernátfalu (Cernatu, Zerndorf) and Hosszúfalu (Satulung, Langendorf). Although these four settlements had already met by the 19th century, it was not until 1950 that they were officially unified under the name of Szecseleváros (Săcele, Vierdörfer). Négyfalu, the earlier popular name version became the official Hungarian name of the unified settlement in 2004. The former villages separated from each other by small creeks are still considered separate quarters of the settlement, but the visible boundaries of the villages disappeared after the covering of the streams by concrete slabs.

The area is characterised by diverse topographical forms. According to the cadastral data at the mayor's office, the most typical topographical form of this area of about 32,000 hectares is mountainous terrain, with 21,000 hectares of wooded area. A portion of the area, registered as 3,500 hectares of pasture and 3,070 hectares of hay meadow, lies on hillsides, but most of it consists of alpine pastures and meadows. A further 2,881 hectares of arable land is not located on hillsides but in the interior plains of the Braşov basin. The town lies in a curve at the foot of the mountains inclining towards the Burzenland basin. The town bordered by the streams Tömös (Timiş), Tatrang (Tărlung) and Garcsin (Gârcin) is surrounded by the Nagykőhavas (Piatra Mare, Hohenstein) in the south, and by the rugged mountain range of the Csukás (the Ciucaş Mountains) in the east. The other three villages situated in the north-east at about a 5 km distance from Négyfalu – Tatrang (Tărlung, Tatrangen), Zajzon (Zizin, Zaisendorf) and Pürkerec (Purcăreni, Purchuressen) – administratively form part of the rural municipality of Tatrang. These three villages grown almost together form the cluster called Háromfalu (Trei Sate)⁶. Négyfalu and Háromfalu together form the group of settlements called Hétfalu (Şapte sate, Siebendörfer)⁷.

Négyfalu has always been a settlement of mixed population with an ethnic composition that has been varying in proportions. According to the data of the census conducted in 2002, 71% of the total population of 29,915 inhabitants are Romanian (21,364 people), 23.94% Hungarian (7,164 people), 4.31% Roma (1,291 people), and a small proportion of the population claimed to be of other nationality. Ethnicity roughly predicts the mother tongue distribution, too, a significant difference can only be perceived in the case of the Roma ethnicity, a substantial number of whom being Romanian-speaking. Local Hungarians call themselves Csangos of the Burzenland,⁸ and most of them are Lutheran, whereas those

⁵ The already mentioned multi-ethnic region in southeastern Transylvania called Barcaság in Hungarian and Țara Bârsei in Romanian.

⁶ Literally: three villages. Non-official name used in Hungarian.

⁷ Literally: seven villages.

⁸ In Hungarian: barcasági csángók.

coming from other regions are evenly divided between the Reformed and Roman Catholic denominations. The majority of Romanians are Orthodox, but there are some Roman Catholics as well among newer settlers. The native Romanians of Négyfalu call themselves Mokans⁹.

In the first stage of the collection process I worked with fourteen middle-aged and elderly informants. Most of them were old or middle-aged men who were well acquainted with the topography of the region due to their occupation, so they may be considered local specialists in geographic names. The data collection method was interviewing in order to record toponyms by types of places. The second stage of the data collection process complemented the first data-focused interview with spoken language data. Since among the place names collected at the first stage there were many so-called bipolar name pairs, I focused on these in the second phase of collection. The discussions were tape-recorded, the non-verbal signs accompanying speech (facial expressions, gestures) were recorded in writing.

This paper presents the results of the second phase of my collection work, focusing on the so-called bipolar name pairs, which always occur in pairs within the given microtoponymic system, and their prefixes contain a spatial-relational element (*Alsó Kecskeláb* meaning *Lower Goat Leg* in English, *Felső Kecskeláb*, meaning *Upper Goat Leg*).

4. The theoretical framework

This topic that would traditionally call for an onomastic approach is put into new light by the cognitive linguistic perspective. The basic hypothesis has as a starting point one of the best-known theories of the holistic trend in cognitive linguistics, the metaphor theory of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson. This theory assumes that behind metaphorical structures there stand conceptual metaphors¹⁰, which organise our understanding of the world, and by which the information about the surrounding world is conceptualised by us. Lakoff and Johnson sharply differentiate between structural metaphors, orientational metaphors and ontological metaphors. We may speak of structural metaphors if a specific concept of the source domain structures, in other words, organises, constructs the other abstract concept in the target domain, while orientational metaphors form an independent conceptual system, the elements of which may be determined depending on one another (Lakoff–Johnson 1980: 16). According to Lakoff and Johnson, the spatiality of orientational metaphors originates primarily from the structure of the human body and from the way the human body manifests itself in the physical environment. “Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation [...] Such metaphorical orientations are not arbitrary. They have a basis in our physical and cultural experience” (Lakoff–Johnson 1980: 16). They are based on elementary spatial directions, and usually contain a judgment of value: upward orientation is, for example, positive, while downward orientation is negative. In the case of orientational metaphors there are not necessarily actual metaphorical images involved, but rather image schemas, which are usually much more schematic than metaphors, but may often form their

⁹ In Hungarian: mokán.

¹⁰ Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish between *conceptual metaphors* and *metaphoric expressions*. While metaphoric expressions are basically linguistic constructions, conceptual metaphors connect two semantic domains: a concrete source domain and an abstract target domain which is difficult to grasp.

basis. Image schemas, according to Lakoff's definition (1987: 267) are "relatively simple structures that constantly recur in our bodily experience": containers, paths, directions and relations (up–down, front–back, part–whole, center–periphery, etc.).

Most languages distinguish among five basic spatial relations (see Heine 1995: 120, Kövecses 2010: 99). They are as follows: on, under, front, back and in. These five basic spatial relations are conceptualised through human bodily experience: the starting point of the orientation model based on parts of the body is the body position of the standing person, in which case UP means the direction of the head, and DOWN the direction of the feet (Heine 1995: 121, Szilágyi N. 1996: 15). The primary status of the VERTICALITY schema involving the relation UP/DOWN among the schemas expressing spatial directions and relations may be partly due to this. Although the linguistic and cultural elements associated with UP and DOWN may differ according to languages and cultures (Heine 1995: 126, 128, Szilágyi N. 1996: 15), the basic direction determined by the direction of gravity is universal. The human body and its position form the basis for three-dimensional spatial orientation.

5. The UPPER/LOWER relation in the complementary place names of Négyfalu

This paper aims to examine how spatial signifying structures are organised within a microtoponymic system in the name usage of a community. The semantic analysis I conducted covers only the complex toponyms that contain some kind of spatial-relational element. These names always occur in pairs, never alone, that is why they are known as *bipolar* names in onomastics (Pesti 1969: 230). There is usually a complementary (either/or) relationship, that is, they form a unified couple while being mutually exclusive (e.g. *Alsó-Kecskeláb* and *Felső Kecskeláb*, meaning *Lower* and *Upper Goat Leg* in English, *Kicsi-Paláj* and *Nagy-Paláj* meaning *Little* and *Great Paláj*, *Tészla bal ága* and *Tészla jobb ága* meaning *the left* and *right branch [of the valley] of Tészla*). We will see that the spatial relations expressed by the relational elements of complex toponyms are perceived, in contrast with other earlier assumptions (for example: Pesti 1969: 231, J. Soltész 1959: 25–26, 125), not in relation to the points of the compass, but rather according to a human-centered approach, relative to the position of the standing human body.

Unsurprisingly, the most important and most numerous group of names in this system of toponyms is the group of place names containing the spatial-relational element upper/lower, since, as I have already mentioned, the up/down relation is the most important one among spatial relations. These complementary lexemes appear in names designating almost every kind of place¹¹ (hydronyms – only river names; names of terrain configurations – mountains, valleys, parts of mountains and valleys; border names – field names, names of gardens, pastures, hayfields; names of populated areas – parts of the village, streets, parts of streets, roads, lanes). Although these geographic locations are perceived either as horizontally or as vertically divided in the empirical world, we do not implement this distinction in the linguistic dimension. Geographical objects bearing names that contain the complementary spatial-relational element upper/lower belong to the same category, in other words, horizontal fragmentation also appears as vertical.

¹¹ On possible perspectives in the differentiation of place types see the typology of Hoffmann István (Hoffmann 1993, 36–41).

It is perfectly normal that different norms are applied during the naming process in the case of each type of name, this being rooted in the differences among denotates as different entities, and in the different categories of perception working in each case (Hoffman 1993, 33). In the following I will try to find out and analyze how and according to what norms naming happened in the case of the different types of names.

As a starting point, I assume that the meaning of the lexemes *upper/lower* differ depending on the type of toponym, as follows:

- 1) In the case of **oronyms**, the lexemes mark primarily **level difference** (more exactly **difference in height**), and secondly **difference of dimension**. The two meanings are directly connected due to the question of size: lower means smaller, or taking up less space at the same time. The name containing the lexeme *alsó-* means the lower and thus smaller mountain or the lower, smaller part of the same mountain, whereas names containing the lexeme *felső-* mean the higher and larger mountains, as well as the higher, larger part of the same mountain.
- 2) In the case of **valley names**, similarly, the lexemes *alsó-/felső-* mean primarily level difference, but in this case the difference in level is not in altitude, but **in depth**¹². The name containing the lexeme *alsó-* will denote the valley lying lower, as well as the lower part of the same valley, whereas names containing the lexeme *felső-* will mean the valley lying higher, as well as the higher part of the same valley.
- 3) In the **names of living waters** the lexemes *alsó-/felső-* refer primarily to the **source** place and the source branch of the river, retaining in the meantime the original meaning marking **level difference**. If the source region of the stream branch lies (a bit) higher, then the lexeme *felső-* will appear in its name, if it lies at a lower level, then the lexeme *alsó-* is used.
- 4) In the **names of parts of villages**, the pair *alsó-/felső-* refers again primarily to level difference, to variation in altitude, as in oronyms: the name containing the lexeme *felső-, fel-* (*upper, up*) refers to the part of the settlement closer to the forest (therefore lying higher), which is the *outer (külső)* part also, whereas the name containing the lexeme *alsó-, al-* (*lower, low*) refers to the *inner (belső)*, central part, situated closer to the town.
- 5) The **names of streets** follow roughly the same logic, the names containing the spatial-relational element *alsó-* will refer to streets located in the lower part or lower end of the village, whereas the name containing the spatial-relational element *felső-* lies at the upper end, in the upper part of the settlement.
- 6) In the **names of lanes** the meaning of the complementary pair *alsó-/felső-* is completed with an additional semantic aspect of *inner/outer*: *alsó-* meaning the section of the lane that is closer to the village center, *felső-* meaning the part stretching outward, situated further away from the village, closer to the outer border of the village.

¹² If we consider the position relative to sea level, then we are speaking of altitude here, too, but in comparison with mountains this is negative height, that is, depth. Let us just think about how one goes **up** the mountain and goes **down** into the valley.

When the lexemes *ALSÓ-* and *FELSŐ-* are used in place names, one usually refers to two geographical objects (or sometimes one object, perceived as double, divided into two or bipolar) of the same type, denoting the same kind of place, one of them being considered by default the lower or bottom part, and the other the high-lying or upper part. We may find that in the case of several place names containing the lexemes *ALSÓ-/FELSŐ-*, the geographical object they denote is perceived as horizontally divided or bipolar, however, the linguistic articulation of their names still suggests a vertical division. (These are mainly names of village areas, streets, gardens and lanes.) The data referring to the semantic history of these words reflect the same.

According to the Historical-Etyimological Dictionary of Hungarian (abbr.: TESz.) the lexeme *alsó* is a derivative. It has been derived from the noun *al* meaning ‘low-lying area, lower part’ by the addition of the complex derivational suffix *-só* meaning location, being somewhere (TESz. 1. 143), *felső-*, on the other hand, being derived from the noun *fel* meaning ‘high-lying area, upper part’ by the addition of the complex derivational suffix *-ső* (TESz. 1. 878).

In this sense, the prototypical place names containing the relational elements *ALSÓ-/FELSŐ-* are the complementary name pairs denoting **mountains**, since the reference to the vertical division of the earth’s surface appears in these in its most evident form: *Alsó-Lovak havasa* (*Lower Horse-Mountain*) meaning ‘the lower part of the *Lovak havasa* (*Horse-Mountain*)’, while *Felső-Lovak havasa* (*Upper Horse-Mountain*) means ‘the higher part of the *Lovak havasa* (*Horse-Mountain*)’.

5.1. The types of the UPPER/LOWER relation in oronyms

The name pairs in which the relational elements *ALSÓ-/FELSŐ-* appear in their basic meaning denote places situated at two different poles of the same geographic object, as parts of the same unit having different geographic locations. There is a pronounced difference in altitude between the two parts: the *FELSŐ* is higher (larger) and lies also higher than the *ALSÓ*. They lie relatively close to each other, thus these relational elements refer to a certain, less pronounced but actually existing specific spatial relation, which is not vertical, but not completely horizontal either: the *NEAR/FAR* relation. *Alsó-* will denote the more accessible part situated closer to the village, while *Felső-* the upper part lying further away, which takes more time to reach.

These places may be categorised into two groups according to whether they refer two a double or triple division. The names following the pattern *Alsó-Lovak havasa/Felső-Lovak havasa*, *Alsó-Vidás-bérc/Felső-Vidás-bérc* (*bérc* meaning ‘crag, peak’) refer to a double division, the name referring to them jointly suggesting that the users of these toponyms perceive the two opposite poles of the place as belonging to one geographic unit (*Lovak havasa*, *Vidás-bérc*).

The only evidence of the existence of a possible triple division may be found in the names: *Alsó-Kecskeláb*, *Felső-Kecskeláb*, *Középső-Kecskeláb* (meaning *Lower*, *Upper* and *Middle Goat Leg*), the collective denomination (*Kecskelábak* meaning *Goat legs*) showing most clearly that these places are perceived as three separate but contiguous units. It is likely, in my opinion, that the explanation for this division is to be found in the difference

in size of the above mentioned geographic units, the area of the *Kecskeláb* being much larger and having a more fragmented geographic structure than the *Vidás-bérc* or the *Lovak havasa* mountain. Another fact that supports this theory is the only aspect in which the members of this group differ from the members of the former group: the difference in size of the three *Kecskeláb* mountains, the *Felső-Kecskeláb* being not only higher, but also much larger and more massive than the *Alsó-Kecskeláb*. Another evidence of this naming principle could be the synonymous name pairs of the mentioned name variants: *Kicsi-Kecskeláb* and *Nagy-Kecskeláb* meaning *Little* and respectively *Big Goat Leg*, as well as the Romanian counterparts: *Capra-Mică*, *Capra-Mare* meaning similarly *Little* and *Big (Goat)*. The middle part, *Középső-Kecskeláb*, lies between the *Alsó-Kecskeláb* and *Felső-Kecskeláb*, but interestingly, I have not been able to identify the Romanian name referring to it, neither with the aid of the informants, nor using the available maps.

*“A Kecskeláb az a Babarunkátuól jobbra, elüőre. Ott van kettüő... egy kicsike s a nagy. A kicsike eltiér jobbra az elágazásnál, a bal megy egyenesen elüőre, Regát felé. [...] Ott fenn eltiér jobbra a Kicsi-Kecskeláb, s megy elüőre a nagy. [...] Nagyobb a legelüője... az egyik... hosszabb... Na... a másik visszatiér ide egiész a Markosán alá, úgyhogy küssebb annak a területe mint a nagynek... Itt van neki a különbsiége...”*¹³ (A. J., Hosszúfalu)

Not only do these few sentences confirm what has been said above, but they also reveal much about the speaker's cognitive map, as well as about the main lines of orientation according to which this cognitive map is drawn. Thus, the locations referred to as FENT-, that is, UP-places, are situated in front of the person going upwards¹⁴, whereas those referred to as LENT-, that is, DOWN-places are those that are located below the UP places, usually not horizontally, but obliquely (in a different angle). UP-places, LARGE-places are far away, they are considered strange, unfamiliar to us (it is no accident that the point of reference used by the informant is the *Regát*, meaning the *Romanian Old Kingdom*, that is, the part of Romania beyond the Carpathians, meaning thus *not Transylvania*), while DOWN-places, LOW-places are close, familiar to us, ours (the *Kicsi-Kecskeláb* “comes back *here*, under the *Markosán*”). From the point of view of orientation the horizontal directions are also important, the lexemes *bal* (*left*) and *jobb* (*right*) are used by the speaker to indicate these. However, these directions are used only as a support system, additionally. The main, more accurate indicators of directions

¹³ In standard language translation: “*The Kecskeláb, that is to the right, ahead from the Babarunka. There are two of them... a little one and that big one. The little one turns right at the fork, the left side one goes ahead towards the Regát[...]. Up there the Little Goat Leg turns to the right, and the big one goes ahead. [...] It has a larger pasture... one of them... it's longer... Right... the other one comes all the way back here under the Markosán, so it has a smaller territory than the big one... Here lies the difference...*”

¹⁴ It may be observed not only here, but in the case of all the toponyms in the onomastic corpus that the position of the person going straight upwards is considered the standard position. This rule also applies in the case of waterways, since the standard scientific method would be to divide the stream into a lower and upper part with respect to an observer looking in the flow direction, the people of Négyfalu, however, will not name the different branches from top to bottom, going downwards. On the contrary, they advance in the opposite direction, against the flow direction of the stream, when naming the branches.

refer to the vertical axis even when speaking about these horizontal¹⁵ imaginary directions. The point of reference remains the person advancing straight upward: what is located on his/her right side, is considered right side place, what is on the left will be referred to as left side place.

The UPPER/LOWER relation, prototypically meaning a vertical division, has a third type, too, which differs from the two previous meanings in the sense that the places the spatial relation refers to are two separate geographic objects lying in close proximity to each other. Although there is no direct contact between them, this differentiation is justified by the fact that they denote the same kind of geographic object lying on the two sides of a different kind of a geographic formation (in our case: a valley, the valley named *Markosán völgye*). The toponyms *Markosán alsó éle* (*the lower edge of the Markosán*) referring to the mountain ridge stretching along the northern, left side of the valley and *Markosán felső éle* (*upper edge of Markosán*) to the mountain ridge rising along the southern, right side of the valley.

The oronyms belonging to the following, fourth type of names including the elements ALSÓ-/FELSŐ- are the mountain names in which the modifiers are complex toponyms, and their function is the clear indication of a place in relation to a different geographic name, therefore, they refer to a spatial relation indicating a horizontal division only indirectly, in the modifiers of their names: *Alsó-Csóra éle/Felső-Csóra éle/Középső-Csóra éle* (*the edge of Lower Csóra/ the edge of Upper Csóra/ the edge of Middle Csóra*), *Alsó-Hideg-völgy éle/Felső-Hideg-völgy éle* (*the edge of Lower Cold valley/ the edge of Upper Cold valley*), *Alsó-Sötét-völgy éle/Felső-Sötét-völgy éle* (*the edge of Lower Dark valley/ the edge of Upper Dark valley*), *Alsó-Fűrész éle/Felső-Fűrész éle* (*the edge of Lower Saw / the edge of Upper Saw*). In these names the common geographic noun *él* has the meaning of ‘mountain ridge’, and appears as the head element of already complementary name pairs, unlike in the former case, where the spatial-relational element was part of the common geographic noun forming the head of the toponym: the name *Alsó-Csóra éle* refers to the mountain ridge stretching along the southern side of the stream named *Alsó-Csóra*. The common condition of this kind of perception in the case of these places is the vertically perceivable height difference between the two poles, as well as the fact that these are located close to each other, in each other’s projection,¹⁶ on the two opposite (north or south) sides of a geographic object (stream, valley) different from them.

5.2. The types of UPPER/LOWER relation in valley names

In valley names we may find other types of UPPER/LOWER relations. Although there may be found many similarities between these and the actual spatial relations expressed in mountain names, these are not discussed in the same subsection because verticality in this case is of a different nature than in the previous one. It is of a different nature in the sense that mountains and valleys are perceived differently in terms of verticality. While mountains

¹⁵ It has already been mentioned that these horizontal directions are mostly not completely horizontal, but shifted in an angle with respect to the horizontal. They are called so only for the sake of simplicity. It is not a geometrically correct horizontal and vertical coordinate system we are speaking about here, but the horizontal and vertical division of the terrain.

¹⁶ The plane of projection is the horizontal section of the object with the largest surface area, and this is projected in the direction of gravity, up and down. On the notion of projection see: Somkereki 1999, 10–11.

are characterised by height, valleys are characterised by depth, thus, as regards the UPPER/LOWER relation, mountains are determined by their UPPER extreme, whereas valleys by their LOWER extreme. Another feature of this relation is that in addition to the still strong vertical division, the horizontal fragmentation, the dimension NEAR/FAR is stronger in comparison with mountains.

The first type of these relations includes those valley pairs that are perceived in the following way: one of them lies at a lower altitude than the other, the lower and the upper parts have no direct contact with each other, they lie parallelly, one above the other, on the same side of a geographic formation of the same kind (valley that is larger than them). This category of valleys includes the *Alsó-Pap-völgy* (meaning *Lower Priest Valley*), the left side tributary valley of the Tatrang Valley, and the *Felső-Pap-völgy* (*Upper Priest Valley*) the left side tributary valley of the Tatrang Valley lying to the south from the *Alsó-Pap-völgy*; the *Alsó-Hideg-völgy* (*Lower Cold Valley*), which is the right side tributary valley of the Döjtöne Valley, and the *Felső-Hideg-völgy* (*Upper Cold Valley*), the right side tributary valley of the Döjtöne Valley lying to the south from the *Alsó-Hideg-völgy*; the *Alsó-Geván árka* (*Lower Geván Trench*), the northernmost of the three small valleys stretching down the side of the Geván mountain toward the valley of the Kis-ág (Little Branch), the *Felső-Geván árka* (*Upper Geván Trench*), the southernmost of the three small valleys stretching down the side of the Geván toward the valley of the Kis-ág and the *Közép-Geván árka* (*Middle Geván Trench*), the small valley lying between the above mentioned two small valleys.

The last of these groups of names is different from the other two only because of its triple division. It includes three valleys, not two, which are not seen as tributary, but as three smaller, separate valleys leading into a larger valley.

There is a slight difference between how the two *Hideg-völgy* valleys and the two *Pap-völgy* valleys are perceived: while there is no spectacular difference in size between the lower and upper *Pap-völgy* valleys, informants mention that the lower *Hideg-völgy* valley is noticeably shorter than the upper *Hideg-völgy*.

“Az [Hideg-völgy] is van kettűő: az alsó s a felső... me’ott egy kicsit huzatosabb, s azér’ mondják, Hideg-vüölgy. [...] Hol? Itt az Ósántol eltiérni jobbra, erről a Főútról felmenni mig elágazik az ut. Egy megy a Tigájnak, a másik megy elüőre... s attól az elágazástól körülbelül egy kilométerre vann... egy vüölgy ki balra, ami az Alsó-Hideg völgye... s akkor onnat még megy egy kilometret, meginn kitiér balra, az a... Felső-Hideg-vüölgy. [...] Az [az alsó] közelebb vann... na... s a kettő között ugy egy kilometer távolság van. Csak aztán a... na... a Felső-Hideg-vüölgy az elágazik, kimegy a havasokra egiészen... Ez is kimegy, de ide a Vajda havasára... a rövidebb...”¹⁷ (A. J., Hosszúfalu)

¹⁷ In standard language translation: “There are two of that [Hideg-völgy valley], two: the lower and the upper... ‘cause it is a bit more draughty there, that’s why they call it Cold Valley. [...] Where? Here you turn to the right at the Ósanc, then you go upwards from the main road until the road forks. One way goes up the Tigáj, the other one forward... and at a distance of about one km there is... a valley out to the left, that is the Alsó-Hideg völgye (Lower Cold Valley)... and from there you go on for another km, again you turn out, to the left, and that is the... Felső-Hideg-vüölgy (Upper Cold Valley). [...] That [the lower valley] is closer... well... and there is one km distance between the two. Only that the... whatsit... the Felső-Hideg-vüölgy valley forks into two, goes all the way out to the mountains... This also goes out, but here, onto the Vajda havasa mountain... that is shorter...”

On the cognitive map of the informant the UP/DOWN and the CLOSE/FAR dimensions are completed by or shifting towards an IN/OUT dimension. What is outside the village, towards the forest, is regarded as an OUT-place, but, concluding from the above fragment, the OUT -places situated on the outer boundary of the village may be of two kinds, too: there are OUT- and “OUTER” places. OUT -places are those situated nearer to the village, that is, they are OUT HERE: “*This also goes out, but here, onto the Vajda havasa mountain*”, whereas OUTER -places are OUT THERE, that is, *very out*, far away, from the point of view of the speaker. The informant says at the same time, that it *goes out onto the Vajda havasa mountain*, which means the valley leads upwards, onto the mountains, according to this linguistic imagery.

Another type of UPPER/LOWER relation appears in the names of the valleys perceived by locals as the opposite poles of a geographic formation with the same name and of the same kind, and these poles are ON the geographic entity observed by the speakers as one, but divided by them in two sections in order to specify the place in question more accurately. The complementary pair *Alsó-Lapjas/Felső-Lapjas* (*Lower Lapjas/Upper Lapjas*), the name *Alsó-Lapjas* referring to the northern, lower-lying part of the valley, the *Felső-Lapjas*, on the other hand, its southern, high-lying part.

I classified in a different category the valleys; in which the same UPPER/LOWER relation appears, but the linguistic expression of this spatial relation is incomplete. What I mean here is that while one of the opposite poles is specified by the aid of a spatial relational lexeme, the specific linguistic reference is missing from its complementary name pair. The pairs *Alsó-Medvés-völgy/Medvés-völgy* (*Lower Bear Valley/Bear valley*) and *Alsó-Erős-árok/Erős-árok* (*Lower Steep Trench/Steep Trench*). The first name pair refers to valleys that lie in close proximity to each other so that they are not directly connected, but still, they are situated on the same side of the same valley, being its parallel tributary valleys: the *Medvés-völgy* valley is the right side tributary valley of the Garcsin valley, while *Alsó-Medvés-völgy* is the name of the small valley lying to the north of the *Medvés völgy* valley. The perceptual conditions in the case of the other name pair have only one different aspect, namely that the *Alsó-Erős-árok* valley is part of the *Erős-árok* valley, which is the left side tributary valley of the Döjtöne valley lying between the *Felső-Mély-árok* (*Upper Deep Trench*) and the *Alsó-Bejer-völgy* (*Lower Bejer Valley*), and the *Alsó-Erős-árok* is the northern, low-lying part of the *Erős-árok* valley.

The group of names containing the common geographical noun *árok* (*trench*) is a transitional type of toponyms in which the appellative head element of the toponym does not mean *valley*, as in the case of the *Erős-árok*, but has the meaning of *valley and its stream* (eg. *Alsó-Mély-árok/Felső-Mély-árok*). In the case of these places there are two types of verticality present in the empirical world, but we observe a single vertical plane linguistically. The places on the two extreme poles of the vertical plane are not directly in contact with each other in the empirical world, but they have a common element of contact: they are the tributaries of the same valley.

Before moving on to the discussion of the vertical spatial relation UPPER/LOWER characteristic of rivers, we should mention the group of valleys that are conceived of as two separate branches of the same valley. These two geographic objects perceived as different have a direct surface of contact, and vertical division is emphatic in their case. The pair of toponyms *Hideg-völgy alsó ága/Hideg-völgy felső ága* (*lower branch of the Cold Valley/*

upper branch of the Cold Valley) belongs to this type, the *Hideg-völgy alsó ága* being the northern, right side branch of the Felső-Hideg-völgy valley¹⁸, while the *Hideg-völgy felső ága* is the southern, left side branch of the Felső-Hideg-völgy valley. Another name pair belonging to this group is: *Len-földek alsó ága/Len-földek felső ága* (*lower branch of the Flax fields/upper branch of the Flax fields*), the *Len-földek alsó ága* being the small valley lying in the north of the Len-földek meadow, while the *Len-földek felső ága* is the name of the small valley lying in the south of the Len-földek.

5.3. The types of UPPER/LOWER relation in river names

The UPPER/LOWER relation in river names represents a third type of spatial division, which differs from the previous two types primarily because of its emphatic horizontality in physical orientation at the expense of verticality. The vertical height difference is still important, but the NEAR/FAR dimension grows stronger. The village as a point of reference becomes increasingly important, since some of the streams and rivers flow near or through the settlement. In fact, linguistic orientation is characterised by the relation UPPER/LOWER, that is, verticality. In reality, however, this appears at the horizontal level. In other words, despite the fact that waters seem to belong to the horizontal dimension, and there is little level difference between the two different sections, the two branches, they are still structured on a vertical plane in linguistic expression. The upper part of a stream course is always 'upper' relative to the flow direction.

The UPPER/LOWER relations in river names seem to be less differentiated than the different types of this spatial relation in the complementary name pairs of mountains and valleys.

The **first type** of this UPPER/LOWER relation differing from those previously discussed, is characterised by a structuring in which the geographic objects forming this relation, located at the poles of the vertical axis in the imaginary coordinate system, are the tributaries located on the same side of a geographic object (in our case the river) of the same kind, but bearing another name. These affluents are located below one another, if seen on a vertical plane, but the fact that they are almost parallel shifts this kind of verticality towards horizontality. These geographic objects do not have direct contact with one another. For example, such pairs include *Alsó-Bejer-patak/Felső-Bejer-patak* (*Lower Bejer Stream/Upper Bejer Stream*) and *Alsó-Havas-patak/Felső-Havas-patak* (*Lower Havas Stream/Upper Havas Stream*), *Alsó-Bejer-patak* being a left side tributary stream of the Döjtöne, while *Felső-Bejer-patak* a left side tributary of the Döjtöne located north of the Alsó-Bejer stream. The *Alsó-Havas-patak* is the name of the stream flowing along the foot of the Alsó-Kecskeláb mountain, north of the Felső-Havas stream, and flowing into the Kecske-Tatrag, while the *Felső-Havas-patak* is the stream located south of the Alsó-Havas stream, flowing parallelly with it into the Kecske-Tatrag.

The **second group** includes the places in the name of which the relational elements LOWER/UPPER/MIDDLE mark a type of triple division that has not been discussed yet: these

¹⁸ In these specifications concerning toponyms the right and left sides are always understood in the geographic sense rather than from the perspective of the standard speaker. From the point of view of local speakers, the part that we call the right side is in fact the left side part, and the part considered the left side is actually the right side part.

objects are also in direct contact with one another, two of them (the lower and middle) are connected at one end, the third one (the upper) at both ends. If we try to think in terms of an extremely simplified geometric space, as before, then this means that if the geographic objects belonging to the former group could be imagined as located along two parallel lines in the vertical dimension, then those belonging to this group are located along lines running together. There is only one example in our corpus for this kind of relation (at least in the category of hydronyms): *Alsó-Kecske-Tatrang/Felső-Kecske-Tatrang/Középső-Kecske-Tatrang*, the *Alsó-Kecske-Tatrang* being the name of the stream springing from the Alsó-Kecskeláb mountain, the *Felső-Kecske-Tatrang* being the left side tributary of the Alsó-Kecske-Tatrang, and the *Középső-Kecske-Tatrang* the right side tributary of the Felső-Kecske-Tatrang stream, on the side of the Kecske-Tatrang.

The **third group** includes the following type of names: *Alsó-Hideg-völgy vize* (*water of the Lower Cold Valley*), the name of the stream flowing in the Alsó-Hideg-völgy valley, as well as the *Felső-Hideg-völgy vize* (*water of the Upper Cold Valley*), referring to the stream flowing in the Felső-Hideg-völgy valley. These sites are not directly connected with each other, neither do they have a common contact surface. The relational lexemes appearing in complex modifiers are, in fact, the modifiers of the modifier. This means that the function of the modifier (*Alsó-Hideg-völgy* and *Felső-Hideg-völgy* in the present case) is, from a functional semantic perspective, to express the relation of a geographic formation to another formation (in the present case the relation of a waterway to a valley), namely its exact location, relative to the other. Since relational lexemes appear as the modifiers of modifiers, an UPPER/LOWER relation exists not between the places these names denote, but between the places the complex modifiers refer to (eg. between the *Alsó-Hideg-völgy* and *Felső-Hideg-völgy*). Bearing in mind that the two geographic objects in this relation have a direct contact area of a similar kind (the Döjtöne valley), the watercourses of *Alsó-Hideg-völgy vize* and the *Felső-Hideg-völgy vize* have an indirect, secondary contact area. The hydronyms *Len-földek alsó ága vize* and *Len-földek felső ága vize* may be classified into this category, too, the former meaning the stream flowing in the *Len-földek alsó ága* valley, the latter referring to the stream flowing in the *Len-földek felső ága* valley. The valleys named *Len-földek alsó ága* and *Len-földek felső ága* lie on the two sides of the meadow named Len-földek (Flax fields) so that the two do not meet, but they both have contact with a third geographic formation, and are determined in relation to that common point of reference.

The bipolar geographic names belonging to the **fourth group** refer to places that are structured according to the following conditions: the two geographic objects of the same kind lie along two imaginary oblique lines, which meet each other at some point, and continue their course together from then on. Consequently, this type of UPPER/LOWER relation cannot be seen as conceivable wholly on a vertical plane, but neither as on a horizontal plane. If it has to be categorised, then a third dimension should be invented to fit the scheme: a dimension which might be called **quasi-vertical**, that is, a bit more vertical than horizontal. In this quasi-vertical dimension the lower-lying branch of the watercourse, which is nearer the village, could be positioned to the LOWER end, whereas the branch referred to as UPPER would be the higher-lying branch to be found farther away from the village. The UPPER/LOWER relation expressed by the lexemes ALSÓ-/FELSŐ- appear in this sense in names like: *Horvátka alsó ága/Horvátka felső ága* (*lower branch of Horvátka/upper branch of Horvátka*), the

former meaning the right branch of the Horvátka stream, which is closer to the village of Türkös, the latter referring to the left branch of the Horvátka stream, which is further away from Türkös. In fact these branches are the lower and the upper source branches of the Horvátka stream, which are perceived by locals as lying closer or further from the village, respectively, and as stretching on the right and left side of the larger stream formed from the interflow of the two branches.

In the following, I will distinguish between two terrain configurations. The first type is perceived along the vertical (or quasi-vertical) dimension in the empirical world (such as mountains and valleys, as well as forest roads and forest trails), whereas the second type profiles horizontal (or quasi-horizontal) dimensions (such as streets, parts of streets, settlements, parts of settlements, country lanes, country roads).¹⁹ Waterways, in my view, form a separate category, classifiable in both groups depending on whether it is the quasi-vertical or quasi-horizontal dimension that dominates in perception.

It must be emphasised again here that the (imaginary) coordinate system along which we visualise spatial dimensions is not a geometric coordinate system. Neither are horizontal and vertical dimensions spatial parameters measured with mathematical precision, but mostly rather distorted. This means that the axes we call horizontal and vertical are in most cases quasi-vertical and quasi-horizontal, somewhere between horizontality and verticality. Depending on whether these imaginary axes are seen to be closer to the horizontal or the vertical axis we call them quasi-horizontal or quasi-vertical axes.

In the following we will briefly survey the semantics of the geographic names in the case of which the denoted place lies along the horizontal or quasi-horizontal dimension. We are going to see that in the case of these names the aspects NEAR/FAR, FRONT/BACK, INNER/OUTER will be prevalent in the semantic field of the relation UPPER/LOWER discussed here, so that these become of prior importance while the original and specific meaning of the lexemes *alsó*-/*felső*- (lying at the bottom/at the top) fades into the background. Thus, beyond their specific meaning which makes reference to a vertical division, new, more abstract connotations may appear, which refer to a horizontal division of the earth's surface: *lower* – 1. closer, inner place, 2. the front part of something; *upper* – 1. lying farther, outer, 2. the back, rear part of something. These meanings associated with a horizontal division may all be found among the types of UPPER/LOWER relations discussed in the previous section, too, but only secondarily, implicitly, since the primary sense of the lexemes is their specific vertical meaning there.

If instead of the relational lexemes themselves, we put their concrete and abstract meanings to the four poles of an imaginary coordinate system in which vertical spatial relations are visualised along the vertical axis and horizontal spatial relations along the horizontal axis, then we turn the axis representing the horizontal dimension to the right by 90 degrees, we will see that these meanings are grouped into two arrays (according to the affinity principle of solidary values²⁰). See Figure 1.

¹⁹ The word "rather" must be emphasized here, since the streets and parts of streets may be seen along the vertical dimension, too, depending on the geographical location of the settlement.

²⁰ Sándor Szilágyi N. speaks of the attraction of solidary values in connection with value meanings suggesting that words with a positive value will attract positive words, while negative values attract negative ones. Szilágyi defines value meaning as the evaluating attitude of the speaker toward the subject. In this sense the web of significance formed through the affinity of values is the contact network of value meanings (Szilágyi 1996: 11-12).

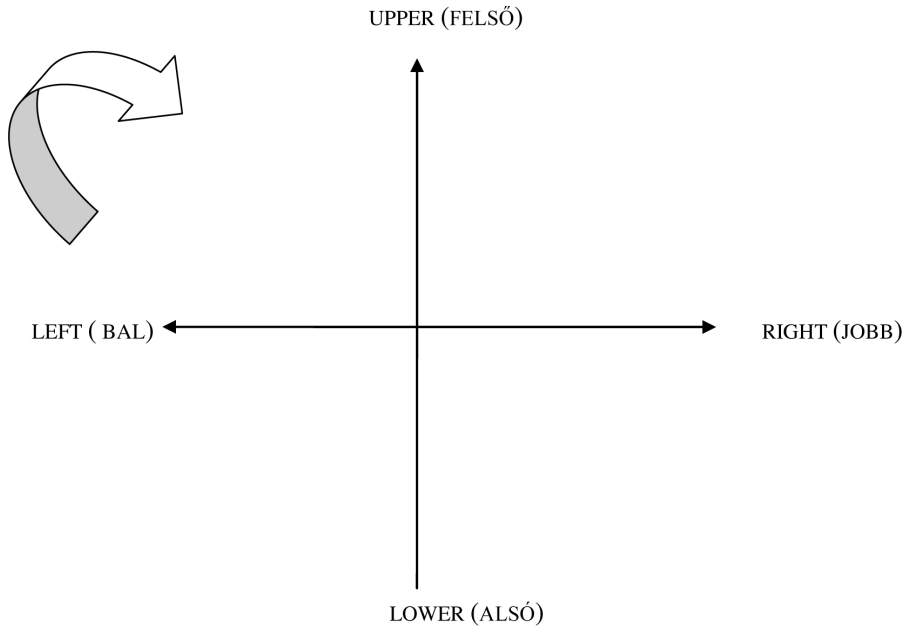


Figure 1: The coordinate system of spatial relations

In the linguistic world there is thus only one “coordinate axis”, and it marks the vertical dimension: all we perceive in the empirical world as horizontal is converted by a mental rotation of 90 degrees into vertical in the linguistic world. Meanings are thus grouped into two arrays, and the central organising element of these arrays is the UPPER/LOWER relation. LOWER means all those places that are closer to us (NEAR-places), that are more easily accessible (FRONT-/THIS SIDE-places), that are familiar IN-places. The connotations of UPPER include all those meanings that are further away from us, out there (FAR-places), that are difficult to reach (BACK/OTHER SIDE-places), unknown OUT-places. The DOWN-places are generally lower, SMALL-places, while the UP-places are usually LARGE-places.

LOWER	UPPER
RIGHT	LEFT
FRONT	BACK
NEAR	FAR
INNER	OUTER
SMALL	LARGE
(KNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)

Figure 2: The space perception model

This space perception model partly corresponds to what Lakoff and Johnson call ME-first orientation (1980:132), according to which positive values are associated with UP, negative values with DOWN, since "... people typically function in an upright position, see and move forward, spend most of their time performing actions, and view themselves as being basically good, we have a basis in our experience for viewing ourselves as more UP than DOWN, more FRONT than BACK, more ACTIVE than PASSIVE, more GOOD than BAD." The interesting phenomenon that local toponymy in Négyfalu reflects that positive values are associated with DOWN rather than UP, follows probably from the fact that people always determine their spatial positions in relation to the surrounding mountains, and the centre of their universe, their own home is perceived as a DOWN-place.

6. Conclusions

In the present paper I tried to analyze the lexemes referring to specific spatial relations in the toponyms used by the inhabitants of the southeast Transylvanian town of Négyfalu, using a cognitive linguistic approach. I started from the assumption that the relations reflected by the names can very simply be mapped if grouped around the four poles of a two-dimensional coordinate system, forming four different semantic arrays, in which the elements of every array are correlated with each other semantically. This assumption has partly been confirmed. Only partly, because the spatial dimensions of the empirical world are mapped a little differently in the linguistic world. What is perceived in the empirical world as two different dimensions, overlaps in linguistic expression, and thus semantic correlations are actually grouped around two poles, in two large arrays and every element in these arrays has a pair with opposite meaning in the other array, and the relation between them is complementary. This does not mean, however that the two dimensions are not differentiated in the linguistic world. It only means that one is projected onto the other, or more precisely, one of them is rotated towards the other by 90 degrees.

It has also been observed that the vertical and horizontal dimensions do not always mean complete verticality or horizontality, since these parameters are almost always conceivable only as quasi-vertical and quasi-horizontal. However, these diverse quasi-vertical and quasi-horizontal relations are always expressed linguistically by the same means.

When listening to the recorded spoken language corpus I noticed that the same particular perspective prevails in all complementary name pairs irrespective of the type of place denoted by them: if locals speak of toponyms "they take a standard position" in imagination and from there they go straight forward, upwards, towards the forest.²¹ I assumed that, the starting point being their village, they move outward straight ahead, but this theory was disproved by the names of lanes. According to this logic, if moving outward from the village, LOWER should refer to the part of the lane that is closer to the populated areas, and UPPER should modify the name of the part situated farther from the village. However, since this is not the

²¹ Judging from the small amount of data in Romanian language it may be assumed that the standard position of Romanian-speaking informants differs greatly from the position of the Hungarian-speaking population. They choose a high position (top of a mountain or cliff), a position they take imaginarily, facing the village, and they advance downwards starting from there. This observation, however, is only hypothetical in the absence of enough data.

case, and actually the opposite is true, I came to the conclusion that the standard (absolute?) point of reference is not the village, but the forest. Wherever one stands, in imagination he/she always starts straight ahead upwards, towards the forest. This would explain also the fact that the names of rivers and valley branches are not named as expected (see Figure 1), and the horizontal line of the LEFT-RIGHT relation needs a rotation of 270 degrees instead of 90, the RIGHT branch corresponding to the UPPER branch and the LEFT to the LOWER, thus the semantic arrays are restructured (see Figure 3).

LOWER	UPPER
RIGHT SIDE	LEFT SIDE
(LEFT)!	(RIGHT)!
FRONT	BACK
NEAR	FAR
INNER	OUTER
SMALL	LARGE
(KNOWN)	(UNKNOWN)

Figure 3: The space perception model of Hungarian speakers of Négyfalu

From all this it follows clearly that local people perceive spatial relations primarily not according to the cardinal points but rather from a human-centered perspective. The question is how much this spatial perception corresponding to an anthropocentric approach is influenced by the geographic location of one's home or by the topographical features of the environment. Considering that the cognitive map the residents of Négyfalu have in mind of their own hometown resembles much more an inclined plane sloping downward than a knobby crescent shape (as it appears for instance on the aerial map shown by the Google Maps satellite), we must conclude that it is definitely influenced by the former.

Penelope Brown, the researcher of MPI in Nijmegen, has observed something similar while studying the space perception of the Tzeltal community: the mountain represents the absolute point of reference for the speakers of the Tzeltal language, all spatial relations are grouped along the vertical UPHILL/DOWNHILL coordinate (Brown 2008). It is no accident either that the speakers of the Tzeltal language perceive the space around them in the form of an inclined plane, and speak of it in these terms, just like the inhabitants of Négyfalu.

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