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DISCOURSE PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY CONSTRUAL IN THE TEXT TYPE OF FUNERAL VALEDICTION

Fruzsina Krizsai

Abstract

Funeral valediction is a special text type which helps the social-cognitive process of accepting and getting over one's death. Primarily written by a cantor but based on the expectations of the community, each poem can be a realization of a pattern of the text type including its features but integrating personal details of the deceased into it as well.

In this paper I show different ways of construing social networks, especially family relationships in three communities. I present the members of the community as participants in the discourse of the farewell ceremony and as characters in the scenes made accessible by the language expressions through 110 analysed poems collected systematically by folklorists from different regions (Csanytelek, Felsőnyék and Dél-Gömör). I use a complex methodology following a basic principle of pragmatics in which sociolinguistics can be fruitfully applied in functional cognitive linguistic research. The present study shows certain connections between the vantage point and the role within the family highlighting general patterns and characteristics of it in each community.

Keywords: funeral valediction, context-dependent vantage point, apostrophe, discourse patterns, community

1. Introduction

Death is an abstract concept and prominent event of the lifetime. It is not possible to share one's own physical experiences of it because of its nature. Hungarian culture has certain genres which pertain to this event, like funeral oration, lament, wake song and funeral valediction (Gyöngyössy 2010: 27). The present study treats funeral valediction as a text type and detects its general features in a schema-instantiation relation. Bearing in mind the rarity of this text type, first I will highlight its general features, then underline the importance of social networks in the content and the structure of the text and the importance of social networks in the production of each text (section 2). After that I present why and how certain sociolinguistic aspects can be applied fruitfully in a basically functional cognitive linguistic research and how they can reinforce the relevant results of folkloristics of the text type and explain them in more detail. Then I introduce fundamental concepts of the investigation such as context-dependent vantage point and apostrophe (section 3). Section 4 presents certain concrete instances of the possible discourse patterns, shows the results of a quantitative analysis of viewpoint, and analyses viewpoint shift in different text groups. Finally I summarize my work and suggest avenues for future investigation.

2. The text type of funeral valediction

Funeral valediction is an occasional poem recited before the burial. A poem is written by a village cantor in general but also based on the expectations of members of the community. The closest relatives of the deceased visit the cantor to discuss the contents of the funeral valediction and also pay for the poem (Bartha 1995 1: 7–10, Keszeg 2008: 313–314). These circumstances allow the text type of funeral valediction to be analysed as a way of representing social networks. By this text type the community itself is construed from a prominent point of the lifetime, after the event of someone's death. This is how funeral valediction helps the social-cognitive process of accepting and getting over one's death (Bartha 1995: 130).

Poems have three conventionally defined structural and substantial parts. The introduction presents the deceased, along with his/her age and some main characteristics, sometimes the cause of death as well. Then the role of the deceased is detailed in the family and in the community. This has a very strict order, starting with the closest relatives and ending with friends and colleagues, with men usually mentioned before women, except those ones who took care of the deceased. The final verses give blessing for the dead and for the family of the dead and call the attendees for the farewell (Kríza 1993: 16, Gyöngyössy 2010: 28–33).

The most relevant information about the social network of the deceased is construed and his role in the community is described in great detail. Naturally, each person is unique in a community but there are types of tasks, typical acts during the lifetime which belong to different parts of one's life. In a different approach: the role of the deceased also depends on her or his age in the community. The importance of young children has a smaller range. They do not take part in the everyday life of the larger community, they do not work but are still essential for the maintenance of the community. Thus the intensity of grief is deeper inside the family, the larger community are less involved in this mental and social happening. The loss of a member of the second generation is quite different from this because the role of adults is different. They are at the top of their mental and physical capacity, do most of the work, and raise children, hence they are missed not only by their close relatives but also by the larger community. It can be observed that their funeral valedictions contain an explicit request. A member of the family is asked to take care of the others, especially of children. Finally, while respect for elders is important, it is hard to escape the fact that the elderly person is not able to do as much as before, his physical and mental state is not as great as it used to be. The elderly person knows and accepts this himself, so death becomes less feared, the emphasis shifts from the fear of death to deliverance from earthly suffering (Kunt 1987: 91–100, Gyöngyössy 2010: 44–52).

The farewell ceremony is the event of realizing and accepting the fact that somebody is not a member of the community anymore, so this representation of the social network is prompted by the event of death. It allows one to analyse linguistic construals of the ceremonial way in which a member is removed from a community. Furthermore it motivates the analysis of the deceased in the texts and lets one observe his fictive viewpoint and compare it to the viewpoint of the real utterer. I analyse one of the methods of identity construal in the texts, the motif of community membership as it is portrayed in funeral valedictions, and the expressions of change in the community's social network.

3. Theoretical background

In view of the complexity of the questions and the characteristics of the text type, a multidisciplinary background is required. Assumptions are the consequences of folkloristic results. Basically they are not about linguistic attributes of the text but they have aspects which can be analysed from a linguistic viewpoint. So linguistic analysis is able to highlight folkloristic statements from another point of view and make them into details (for a similar investigation see Baranyiné Kóczy 2014). A functional cognitive pragmatic perspective is adopted, which treats the cognitive, social and cultural embedment of these texts regarding language as a dynamic interaction, and supports the application of certain sociolinguistic aspects which can be fruitfully used in a fundamentally pragmatically framed investigation (Verschueren 1999: 6–8, Tátrai 2011: 17).

Gábor Simon (2012) proposes the possibility of a conceptual synthesis between sociolinguistics and functional linguistics. Although the relation between sociolinguistics and stylistics is more reflected and elaborated (see Eckert–Rickford 2001), the scope of these statements is not limited to stylistics. This study presents how social relations, patterns and networks interact with language usage in a specific text type and how they can be detected as discourse patterns (Verschueren 1999: 7). According to Coupland's concept of style and its relation to identity construals, discourse patterns can be analysed as a way in which the self creates his identity and recreates it from time to time as an individual in the society and indicates it to the others in language interactions (Coupland 2001: 202–204). Funeral valedictions can be analysed as conventional practises of identity from the perspective of a prominent event. Certain aspects of their territorial, cultural and cognitive embedment are made accessible by the analysis of one outstanding attribute of the text type. I analyse a pragmatically assigned phenomena in relation to identity construals.

There are questions thematised by the text type and the way in which these poems are created as well. The formation of a text is not a strictly individual or communal act. The members of the family order a poem for the deceased (and they also pay for it), so the cantor uses general schemas of funeral valediction while also adjusting the poem to some unique characteristics of the deceased. Consequently a strict distinction between the customer, the creator and the performer is not possible. Funeral valedictions function as community constructions. For this reason I present a particular phenomenon in relation with social networks, the analytic criteria are elaborated from this perspective. In addition, I also focus on finding similarities and differences among the texts from different territories and variability among three age groups.

In a communicative act the utterer – utilizing language symbols which are perspectivized in nature – is able to produce linguistic constructions not only from his own first person singular point of view. For this reason it is necessary to distinguish between context-dependent vantage points and the utterer's perspective (Tátrai 2011: 29–35, Sinha 1999). The participant who is construed as utterer is not identical to the real utterer all the time in the analysed texts, the centre of referential orientation can shift to the deceased, a person who is not able to initiate a language interaction in the presence of the referential scene and the event in progress. Following Sanders and Spooren (1997), Tátrai (2011: 34) distinguishes between the referential centre that forms the basis of the situative grounding of the narrative's spatio-temporal and interpersonal relations, and the subject of consciousness that plays a fundamental role in providing access to the mental processes of participants. However, for the purposes of the present study, this distinction will not be crucial. The analysed phenomena are not citations, hence different components of the context-dependent vantage point shift together.

From a functional cognitive perspective, apostrophe is a discourse in which the utterer turns away from the real interpreter initiating interaction with another person or entity. The created apostrophic discourse and its framing utterance are parallel and simultaneous (Tátrai 2011: 58, 2012: 198, 2015: 107). A special type of it, fictional apostrophe can be observed and analysed in the text type of funeral valediction. The utterer starts linguistic interaction with entities and persons leaving out of consideration the barriers of linguistic cognition (Tátrai 2012: 199, 2015: 108–115). The addressees of the utterance can be entities such as a deceased person, God or death in a personified form, so they are construed as interpreters and the factual interpreters are become subsidiary participants.

Different ways of community construction can be detected by analysing the phenomena of apostrophe and its organisation in the texts. This is a way in which social networks are made accessible in the presence of the farewell of the deceased recited by the cantor.

4. Analysed text groups

I analysed 110 poems from 3 different territories, Felsőnyék (Tolna county), Csanytelek (Csongrád county) and Dél-Gömör. Thanks to the systematic work of folklorists these collections of manuscripts of funeral valedictions are accessible from these areas. Each collection contains from 200 to 400 poems mostly produced in the 20th century, based on the original manuscripts of cantors. These manuscripts are mostly homogeneous in time (except Felsőnyék) and the poems can be related to certain cantors of these communities. I chose 30 poems from each collection, distinguishing 3 age groups (children, middle-aged and elderly people), thus there are 10 poems of each age group of each territory. Considering that the source from Felsőnyék spans a period of almost 100 years, it was reasonable to pay attention to the dimension of time and separate two text groups of these poems, one from the late 19th century and another from the middle of the 20th century.

I have marked the points at which there is a shift of the context-dependent vantage point in the poems, paying attention to the way how each shift is construed, and counted the verses of the utterer of the real and the fictive discourse, the deceased and the cantor.

5. General and local discourse patterns

5. 1. General discourse patterns

Main types of discourse patterns are distinguished by the context-dependent vantage point construed in the texts because the referential scene is possible to perceive from this point. Two possible centres of the referential orientation can be observed in the analysed funeral valedictions, a real one who is identical with the utterer and a fictive one who is construed as utterer in the text. The real utterer is the cantor who recites the poem. The deceased appears as a first person singular speaker of the scene of joint attention, portraying himself as part of the referential scene. So the cantor and the deceased are those people who are construed as utterers but the real utterer is naturally the cantor during the whole poem. I detect the participants of the discourse comparing their roles in the referential scene, with respect to the position of the deceased in the construed fictive discourse.

When the point of reference shifts from the real utterer and the deceased is construed as a first person singular utterer, sometimes the shift is signalled by an explicit expression but not in each case. The following instances are from the first verses of two poems from Csanytelek. The cantor can be observed as the centre of referential orientation in (1) and the ref-

erential scene makes accessible the event of the farewell of the deceased, so the phenomena of the shift are construed in the text. But the shift is possible without any metapragmatical references to this operation. Moreover a real utterer does not need to appear in the text to introduce a fictive one. Example (2) shows that the deceased can be construed as a first person singular speaker although not objectivised as in (1).

(1) De mielőtt tiszta lelke felszállva ég Urához,
Utolsó végbúcsúban így szól atya s anyjához (CsT)
('But before his pure soul is fallen to the Lord of the sky
In the last farewell he says to his father and mother')

(2) Fiatal szívemből kialudt az élet (CsT)
('Life has been extinguished in my young heart')

The discourse becomes fictive when the deceased is construed as a participant of it. The event of his death is addressed to him in (3) although all the relatives and the participants of the ceremony perceive the fact that he is not able to take part in a linguistic interaction. The apostrophic fictive and the real utterance are simultaneous. The real interpreters are those who bid farewell to the deceased but they are also construed in variable ways.

(3) Férfi korodnak delén, munka és gond között
Lelked e porladó testből jobb hazába költözött (FNy)
('In the middle of your adulthood, among work and problems
Your soul moved from your crumbling body to a better home')

The deceased is construed as a participant of the discourse in a fictive way, but he can also appear as a character of the referential scene. Example (4) presents the deceased in a referential scene in which the cantor is the utterer and the utterance is addressed for the members of the community. In these lines the community is construed in a holistic and homogeneous way even though the cantor is not the member of it. It can also be observed that he appears as a member of the community, for example in (5a) and (5b). The homogeneous community is construed as the interpreter of the discourse, the cantor speaks out from this group to this group in (5a). The deceased is a character of the referential scene of the second and the third line of this instance and the scene makes his farewell accessible. Example (5b) also represents the event of the farewell and the deceased mentioned in third person singular is a character of the scene but the apostrophic fiction is created by the speaker's turning away. The addressee is the personified form of death and he is asked about details of the event of death. Although death is construed as an interpreter this way, the real interpreter is also in the community in which the cantor takes part as well.

(4) Egy jó idős asszony nyugszik előttetek (DG)
('A good old lady is resting in front of you')

(5a) Szomoruan zeng ma közöttünk az ének:
Mert egy új lakója mitőlünk az égnek
Távozik el bucsut vesz – elszál mint a madár (FNy)
('A sad song resounds among us today

Because a new resident of the sky is going away,
says goodbye to us – flying away as a bird')

(5b) Miért vitted el őt tőlünk kegyetlen zord halál (DG)
('Why did you bring her from us, cruel grim death')

The presented instances show how the cantor is construed as a centre of referential orientation and as an utterer and how addressees are not only the participants of the ceremony but also fictive entities like the deceased or personified death. This way the real interpreters become secondary participants of the discourse, so even though they hear the utterance they are not the construed as participants of it.

Analysing the construed role of the deceased highlights some more details of community construction in the texts. As it was mentioned before, the deceased is construed as a first person singular utterer of the texts, so the context-dependent vantage point shifts to him. Although he can be the centre of referential orientation through the whole text, the shift does happen, interpreters have to perceive this position of the deceased. In example (6) the interpreters are members of the community in smaller groups, relatives at first, then neighbours and finally all the participants. (The importance of their order is detailed in section 2.) So the community is not only construed in a homogeneous and holistic way, its relevant members are elaborated in scenes like this and also appear as addressees of the discourse. The relatives of the deceased are also mentioned as individuals. Example (7) presents how the deceased turns to his godmother as an utterer. The godmother becomes the interpreter in the construed discourse. In (8) three relatives are construed with a second person plural form, although mentioned separately, too. This way the wife and the two children are addressees representing the small family and become interpreters of the fictive utterance of the deceased. So a referential scene is construed in (6), (7) and (8) in which the relevant participants of the farewell ceremony are elaborated and involved in a linguistic interaction with the deceased.

(6) Összes rokonaim s a kedves szomszédok
S mindazok kik itt-e temetésen vagytok,
Isten mind veletek mert én már elmegyek (CsT)
('All of my relatives and my dear neighbours
And all of those who are here at this funeral
Goodbye to you because I'm going away')

(7) Sebestyén Mária kedves +anyám
Feléd is búcsúra nyílik már kihűlt szám (CsT)
('Mária Sebestyén my dear godmother
my cold mouth is opening to you for saying goodbye')

(8) Távozás van írva az én koporsómra
Feleségem s 2 gyermekem jöjjetek egy szóra (DG)
('Farewell is written on my coffin,
My wife and my two children, come here for a word')

It is clear that the deceased does not turn to the cantor, neither can he be construed as a member of the community. Beyond these quite reasonable phenomena, some exceptions can be ob-

served. In (9), the deceased and his wife are construed together by first person plural affixes, and also by a first person plural pronoun (*mi* 'we'). So the deceased is not a member of a group but in a marriage and scenes like this represent the process of farewell or refer to a past event.

(9) Eddig tartott boldog frigyünk mely ma véget ére;
Édes jó nőm nem válunk el mi azért örökre! (FNy)
('Our happy marriage has come this far, and come to an end today
My dear wife we aren't separated for ever')

Although the deceased is a fictive utterer, the apostrophic turn away is also possible from his position. He is able to initiate a discourse with real participants of his farewell and other fictive entities like god or personified death, as it can be observed in (10).

(10) Kioltá éltemet a halál hideg keze (FNy)
('The cold hand of death extinguished my life')

The construal of the deceased as an interpreter or an utterer is a way to represent the presence of the farewell ceremony and to show social networks in the community in details with regard to their complexity, to the hierarchy among the members from the point of the deceased. After the qualitative analysis of these general discourse patterns in the funeral valedictions, some local territorial schemas are presented and reinforced by a quantitative analysis.

5.2. Local patterns related to the viewpoint of the deceased

Discourse patterns vary with the age groups of the deceased in the texts under study. The ratio of utterances by real vs fictive speakers correlates with age groups, and shows general as well as local patterns. The following diagrams highlight the notable presence of the fictive viewpoint in the analysed texts. The horizontal axis represents different age groups, and the extension of the viewpoint of the deceased is illustrated by the vertical axis with the proportion of this viewpoint compared to the length of a text. (It is measured in verses because verse boundaries coincide with the point of shift in general.)

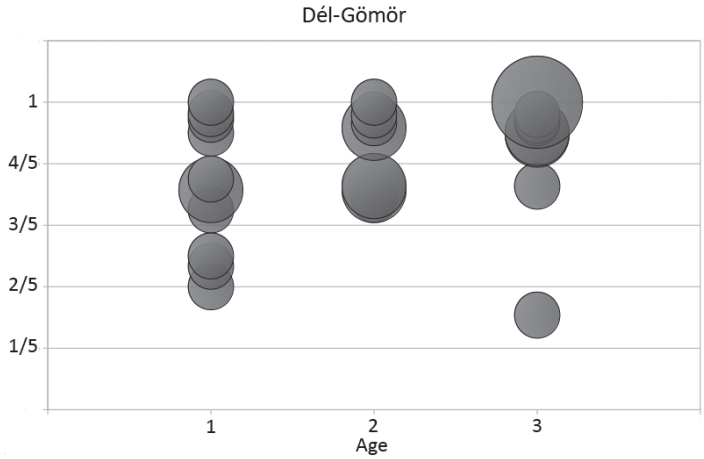

Diagram 1

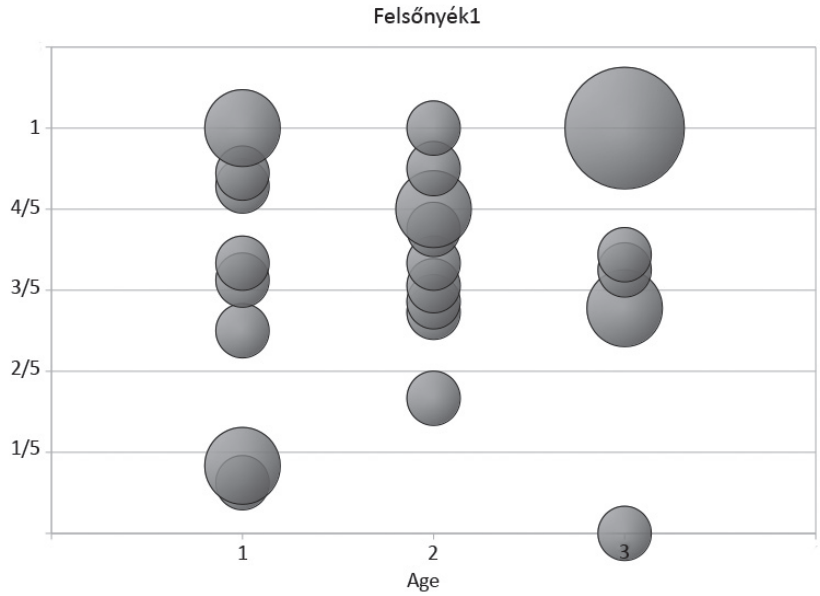

Diagram 2

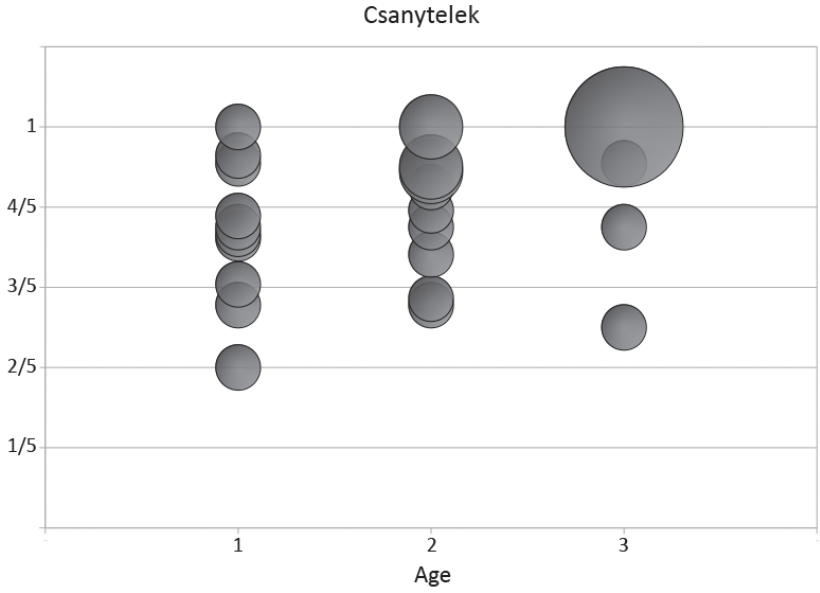

Diagram 3

The first person singular viewpoint of the elderly (deceased) prevails in all of the text groups but the largest divergence among territories also can be seen in this age group. The proportion of the first person singular viewpoint is the lowest in the age group of children within

the generally high rate of the fictive utterer. The share of first person singular utterances of the deceased is the highest in Csanytelek. This is the most homogeneous in the age group of middle-aged persons, particularly in the texts from Dél-Gömör.

We cannot leave out of consideration the length of each poem. The largest variety is observed in the poems from Csanytelek, with the texts measuring 4 to 30 verses. In Dél-Gömör and Felsőnyék, poems are 7 to 25 verses long (but the more recent texts from Felsőnyék are completely different, generally four-verse-long poems). It is clear that the length of a poem and the proportions of the real and the fictive utterer affects the presence of those general patterns which are detailed in section 5.1. The analysis of these effects is not the topic of this study but it is visible that different construals of the community depend on the centre of referential orientation.

The organisation of viewpoint shift also demonstrates the existence of local schemes. The cantor is the centre of referential orientation at the beginning of a poem and the viewpoint shifts to the deceased in the second part of the poem or the cantor's viewpoint appears during the first person singular utterance of the deceased in Dél-Gömör, then shifts back to the viewpoint of the deceased. The viewpoint of the real utterer can also be observed in the opening verses of the texts from Felsőnyék but his viewpoint also exists as a frame in these poems, the cantor is the centre of the referential orientation at the beginning and in the end while the deceased is construed as utterer during the farewell. Poems from Csanytelek show a wider variety in the organisation of viewpoint shifts. The viewpoint of the cantor may prevail in the first verses of the text (as in Felsőnyék and Dél-Gömör) and during the construed utterance of the deceased, the viewpoint can shift to the cantor then back to him (similarly to what we find in Dél-Gömör). A single exception of a more complex pattern can also be seen in a poem from Csanytelek. The cantor is the centre of referential orientation at the beginning then the viewpoint shifts to the deceased and shifts to the cantor and it happens again, so the shift in viewpoint occurs more times than generally. There is another exceptional instance in this text group: the viewpoint belongs to a family member, the mother of the deceased although for only one verse. While the instances just mentioned are not frequent in the texts from Csanytelek, they highlight clear territorial differences in the variety of viewpoint shifts in the texts.

Dél-Gömör	cantor → deceased deceased → cantor → deceased
Felsőnyék	cantor → deceased cantor → deceased → cantor
Csanytelek	cantor → deceased deceased → cantor → deceased deceased → cantor cantor → deceased → cantor → deceased → cantor (exception)

Table 1: The organisation of viewpoint shifts in the texts

5.3. The temporal dimension of variation: recent poems from Felsőnyék

The original reason for treating recent poems from Felsőnyék as a separate group was the wide spectrum of texts on the time scale but it received independent motivation from the study of linguistic features of the texts. The differences of this text group are visible in all

points of the analysis. Even age groups can be distinguished in a different way, it is not possible to separate three age groups but rather only two in recent poems of Felsőnyék. The farewell of the deceased has two schemas in these texts, one for young ones and another for elderly persons. These are used for all members of the community, so each schema does not belong to a certain age group as strictly as it was able to observe in the analysed three text groups.

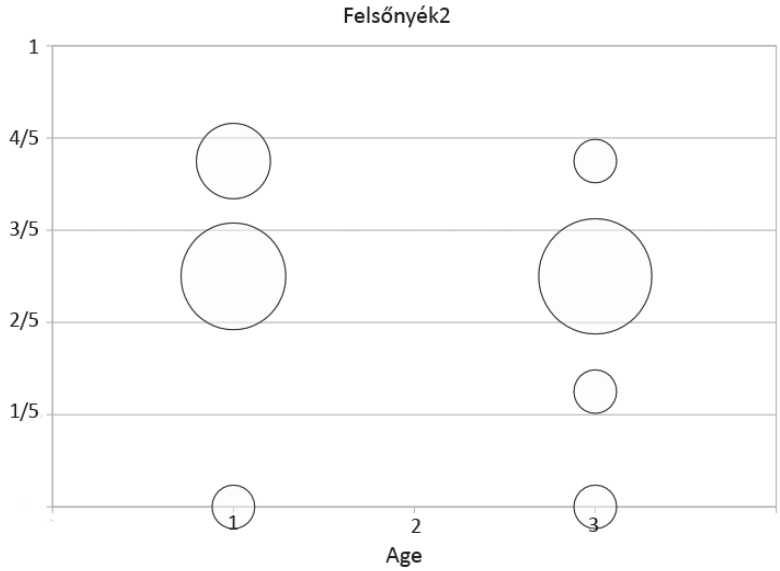

Diagram 4

Diagram 4 represents the share of utterances from the viewpoint of the deceased in these texts, indicating essential differences from the other territories and from the earlier texts in the same area. Generally the deceased does not dominate as a centre of referential orientation in these four-verse-long poems. The emphasis shifts from a fictive point of view to a real one, from the deceased to the cantor. Here the fictive utterer is not prevalent, the real utterance is more dominant than in the three other text groups. Thus the change of discourse patterns and the evolution of a text type cannot be left out of consideration. Although the change of text types is beyond the scope of this study, the detected attributes of the material from Felsőnyék open the possibility of analysing the evolution of schema-instantiation relations.

6. Summary

This paper has presented different discourse patterns, different representations of the community through an analysis of the context-dependent vantage point of funeral valedictions. The investigation applied certain aspects of sociolinguistics to the study of a fundamentally pragmatic issue. Drawing on the results of fokloristics and research on the linguistic representation of identity, I aimed to offer a complex view of the analysed phenomena with the potential of wide-ranging future application of the results.

Social networks are construed in diverse ways in the text type. The fact that the deceased is not a member of community any more is elaborated in the farewell. Most of the referential scenes make accessible the community without the deceased in such a way that he is able to talk about it himself. The investigation of the viewpoint of the fictive and the real speaker highlighted that the relevant construed parts of the social networks depend on the centre of referential orientation. Moreover social networks are construed in relation with and from the viewpoint of the deceased in the presented instances. The farewell is relevant from this viewpoint and this is why and how the community is detailed from this position.

The analysis of certain aspects of the context-dependent vantage point points to the existence of general and local patterns in the texts. Beyond the general schemas detailed in section 5.1., territorial variability may also be observed (section 5.2.). Local patterns can be detected in relation to their organisation in the texts and the distinguished age groups. Although the similarities and territorial differences are clear across the text groups, temporal characteristics of the texts cannot be left out of consideration and changes in the conventions of the text type can also be captured in this way.

Although this study is the first step of a wider and more detailed investigation, fundamental discourse patterns and their relation to the prominent event are already clear. The long-term aim of the current work is to establish a multidisciplinary methodology which can be fruitfully applied in functional pragmatic research. By adopting new aspects of sociolinguistic analysis, the work offers a possible way of examining identity construal in language use.

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ON THE COLOURFUL VARIETY OF COLOUR TERMS IN A HUNGARIAN DIALECT[1]

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Abstract

The paper discusses the basic colour term vörös (vërës) 'red' in the Hungarian Kolon dialect, in relation to piros, also 'red'. At present vörös still has its function, distinguished from piros in terms of both denotation and connotation. Functional differences are also due to the fact that the cognitive processes behind the two colour terms, as shown by their respective etymologies, had different bases. The colour term vörös (vërëss) goes back to vér 'blood', whereas piros has its source in pír 'flush, blush'. In addition, vörös conforms in every way to the criteria of basic colour terms. However, certain signs indicate that vörös is losing ground, according to the statistical data presented in the paper, partly as a result of areal effects.

Keywords: colour term, distribution of colour terms, frequency, Kolon dialect, standard Hungarian

1. Early research on Hungarian colour terms

Although from different perspectives and with different theoretical-methodological assumptions, both international and Hungarian investigations have long addressed the topic of colour terms. In Hungarian linguistics, interest in colour terms first appeared in the late 19th century and has continued to this day. More than half a century before the seminal work of Brent Berlin and Paul Kay was published, several papers in the journals *Magyar Nyelvőr* and *Magyar Nyelv* had been devoted to the use patterns of *piros* and *vörös* (both meaning 'red') (Csapodi 1899, Gárdonyi 1920, Kenedy 1921, Selényi 1948). Even after Berlin and Kay's (1969) theory was published, these two colour terms have been at the centre of the most heated debates on colour terminology in Hungarian.

1899 saw the appearance of István Csapodi's paper *Vörös and piros*, which, as the title suggests, discussed the usage of these two colour terms. Csapodi's paper, which had been presented at a meeting of the Budapest Royal Association of Doctors, made the proposal that the spheres of use of *piros* and *vörös* be distinguished on the basis of scientific convention. The article listed 23 hues of *vörös* and 16 hues of *piros*. To contextualize the proposal, Csapodi (1899) enumerated four "simple" or "major colours" (*vörös* 'red', *sárga* 'yellow', *zöld* 'green', *kék* 'blue') and two "colourless colours" (*fehér* 'white', *fekete* 'black'). Thus, for Csapodi (1899), *vörös* was among the four "major colours".

Csapodi's (1899: 203) proposal that "the *vörös* attribute be adopted to designate the red colour group turning into yellow", was dismissed by József Gárdonyi in his paper published

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in 1920 (*Piros vagy vörös*). His main argument referred to the terms *vörösrépa* (literally 'red beetroot', a folk term for 'beetroot') and *vöröskáposzta* 'red cabbage'. Subsequently he reached the conclusion on the basis of evidence from various sources (language records, fiction, folk songs, spoken discourse) that *piros* and *vörös* were names of the same colour, their use depending on whether the concept evoked a positive or negative, pleasant or unpleasant emotion, mood, or attitude in the individual. This implies that the choice between the two terms is not arbitrary; rather, both have their specific functions.

Chronologically the next was an article by Géza Kenedy (1921). While agreeing with Gárdonyi (1920) on the issue of the two colour terms, Kenedy (1921) was adding that the distinction between *piros* and *vörös* was made not only on an emotional basis, but rather the two "also differ in their actual colour effects, both having a real autonomy in our consciousness" (Kenedy 1921: 33). He regarded *vörös* as a basic colour term, and speculated that it would push *piros* out of existence, since the two were often mixed up in the prestigious language use of his era, with *piros* replaced by *vörös*. Today's research data suggest precisely the opposite, however (see Section 2).

Finally, Pál Selényi's paper in 1948 did little more than summarize the views just mentioned (Selényi 1948: 12–14).

2. The theory of basic colour terms by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay

1969 marked a breakthrough in international research on colour terminology. This is the year when the monograph *Basic Color Terms* was published (Berlin–Kay 1969), opening up new avenues in research on the universals of colour term lexicalization, and also suggesting new, thought-provoking analytic possibilities with regard to the names of colours in Hungarian. Their theory refuted the previously dominant view that had seen the names of basic colours as arbitrary, language-specific, and thus supporting no universal generalizations. Berlin and Kay (1969) argued for the non-arbitrary basis of basic colour terms, showing up semantic universals behind the selection and ordering of their lexicalization. Although the theory has faced a fair amount of criticism, most of today's research on colour terminology still regards it as foundational.

As is well known, the number of colour terms varies significantly across cultures. However, despite the heterogeneity of cultures, basic colour terms "implement a universal list of colours, generally in a universal order of importance" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2013: 116). Further support for Berlin and Kay's theory has come from prototype theory, commonly adopted in cognitive linguistics, which has developed similar views about the emergence of colour terms by exploring correspondences between language and general cognition. Folk categorization (as opposed to scientific categorization) is based on the prototype principle, and correlates strongly with naming, which was first successfully established with respect to the hierarchy of colour terms (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 26).

Quantitative cross-cultural differences in colour terminology are generally motivated by the level of cultural and technological development of a given society. This view is not without empirical support, as the technologically least developed societies employ the lowest number of colour terms, whereas technologically advanced societies make use of all eleven colour terms. This can also be put down to the fact that the colour spectrum has objective reality outside of our consciousness, but despite the underlying similarity of human thought across societies, cultural and technological progress necessarily gives rise to a more fine-grained classification (cf. Wardhaugh 1995: 207).

Based on the study of colour terms in 98 languages, Berlin and Kay (1969) reached the following two conclusions. Firstly, each languages selects the colours to be named out of a list of 11 basic colour categories, and these are the basic colours in each language. Secondly, not all languages possess each of the 11 colour terms; however, the emergence of colour terms follows a specific order involving seven stages.

The 11 colour terms are the following.

white		> yellow	> green			> orange
	> red			> blue	> brown	> pink
black		> green	> yellow			> purple
						> grey
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII

When a language has only two basic colour terms, then these are always *white* and *black.* When a third one emerges, then this is *red.* A new basic colour term only appears when those to its left in the hierarchy are already part of the language (Kicsi 1988: 458). In addition, Berlin and Kay (1969) noted that some languages have more than 11 basic colour terms, e.g. with Russian having *sinij* 'dark blue' as well as *goluboj* 'light blue'. The authors also assume that in Hungarian, the colour red is designated by two basic colour terms, *piros* and *vörös*, the former being the primary and the latter the secondary variant (Berlin–Kay 1969: 36).

Berlin and Kay (1969) also defined criteria for basic colour terms. A basic colour term has the following properties: 1) it is monolexemic, or at least morphologically simple, 2) it is in general and frequent use, 3) its signification is not included in that of any other term, 4) its application is not restricted to a narrow class of objects, 5) it is not a new loanword, although older borrowings are permitted (e.g. *sárga* 'yellow', *zöld* 'green', *kék* 'blue' in Hungarian).

3. Recent studies on Hungarian colour terms.

Berlin and Kay's (1969) theory was presented in detail with illustrations from Hungarian and other languages by Kicsi (1988). In his paper, the lexicalization patterns and stages of Hungarian colour terms were highlighted with examples from the standard variety of the language, supplemented by some remarks on dialectal differences (Kicsi 1988: 456−467).

More recent studies usually take Berlin and Kay (1969) as a point of departure, and in the context of presenting the Hungarian system, they place special emphasis on *piros* and *vörös*. Unlike what we find in early research on the distinction (cf. Section 1), new investigations address the question whether both *piros* and *vörös* are basic colour terms, and if only one of them, then which one. Research has been conducted in a variety of theoretical and methodological frameworks (sociolinguistic, cognitive, contrastive and areal linguistic), whose detailed overview is beyond the scope of this paper. These frameworks have given a new impetus to research into colour terminology (cf. Barratt–Kontra 1996; Kiss–Forbes 2001, De Bie-Kerékjártó 2003, Kiss 2004, Uusküla–Sutrop 2007, Uusküla 2011, Benczes and Tóth-Czifra 2013). The researchers agree on the basic colour term status of *piros*, with the controversy surrounding *vörös* only. One group of researchers finds both *piros* and *vörös* to be basic colour terms (see e.g. De Bie-Kerékjártó 2003, Kiss 2004). Another group takes *vörös* to denote only a hue within the domain of the basic colour term *piros* (cf. Uusküla– Sutrop 2007,

Uusküla 2011, Benczes and Tóth-Czifra 2013). In one of her studies, Mari Uusküla (2011) approaches the corresponding pairs of colour terms in Hungarian and Czech (*piros, vörös* : *červená, rudá*) from an areal linguistic perspetive, and reaches the conclusion that both languages have only one basic colour term for designating the colour in question, *piros* in Hungarian and *červená* in Czech, with *vörös* and *rudá* consequently not counting as basic colour terms.[2]

Most of the studies presented so far, including earlier investigations, are predominantly based on data from standard Hungarian. Although some papers include a limited number of remarks on the usage of dialectal colour terms (cf. Gárdonyi 1920, Kicsi 1988), the colour terms in their data sample are usually only phonologically different from their standard equivalents. Most works on dialectal colour terms were published in the early decades of the 20th century (Mátray 1910, Csűri 1922, Bartha 1937, Sándor 1937). Thus it would be worthwhile conducting a new survey on dialectal variation in colour terminology, since recent decades have seen unprecedented changes in the traditional society, and concomitantly also the language and culture of Hungarian villages. Furthermore, the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects (*A magyar nyelvjárások atlasza [MNyA]*, 1968−1977), considered as a treasure trove of Hungarian dialectology, and especially the five volumes of the New Hungarian Dialectal Dictionary (*Új Magyar Tájszótár [ÚMTsz],* 1979−2010) would supply ample material for studying the Hungarian "folk" terminology of colours.

The linguistic, cultural and social situation just depicted has prompted me to explore colour terms in the Kolon dialect of Hungarian. The section below discusses data collected in 2014.

4. Colour terms of the Kolon dialects

My investigatons concern colour terms in the Palóc dialect of Kolon (Kolíňany, Slovakia) in the Nitra region. Based the previously collected data and observations (I live in the village), I started the research with the hypothesis that speakers of the dialect knew and were using the standard colour terms, but would turn out to know dialectal colour terms (preserved archaisms) as well. I further assumed that these latter might bring us closer to an understanding of the hierarchy and evolution of colour terms in the Kolon dialect, and also to an account of the differences in meaning and use between *piros* and *vörös.*

In short, the research had the objective of describing the system of colour terms in the Kolon dialect.

The municipality of Kolon is a characteristic village of the Hungarian language island of the Nitra region. Its Palóc dialect and folk culture have preserved several archaic properties, which have attracted the interest of dialectologists and ethnographers since the late 19th century. According to the 2011 census, Kolon had 1570 residents, with the Hungarian population accounting for 49,7% and the Slovaks for 43,2% (Mózes 2012).

The dominant Hungarian language variety of the village is the dialect, used most consistently by the elderly, especially the women. With this situation and the research objective in mind, I selected 10 informants (from 62 to 85 years of age) from elderly women. These

[2] Mari Uusküla presents the results of her research conducted in 2002-2003, involving 125 dialectal speakers in Hungary, in the paper "Terms for red in Central Europe. An areal phenomenon in Hungarian and Czech". A similar study of colour terminology was subsequently carried out in Prague and Brno in 2007, with 52 informants (Uusküla 2011: 148−149).

informants had all been for a longer or shorter period members of the local folklore group, knew and had a habit of wearing the traditional clothes of Kolon (some even on a daily basis). Therefore I had reason to suppose that they were well aware of colour terms typical of this dialect, including archaic ones. In particular, I assumed that they would still remember the language use of their parents and grandparents, hence even more or less obsolete colour terms could be brought to the surface. The informants, who are by their own admission dominant bilingual speakers of Hungarian, responded to my questions about colour terms as part of a directed interview conducted in their homes in September 2014.

4.1. Colour terms in the Kolon dialect

Answers to the first question (*Sorolja fel, milyen színneveket ismer?* 'Please list which colour names you know' included the 46 colour terms in Figure 1 below, here listed in order of frequency. The data were transcribed phonologically, i.e. I ignored the unrounded *ȧ* and rounded *ā* sounds characteristic of the Palóc dialect which were systematically produced by the informants.

Order of frequency	Colour term	Frequency of occurrence
1. 12 colour terms in total:	*piross* 'red', *bordó* 'claret', *szürke* 'grey, *fehír* 'white', *rúzsaszínyő~rúzsaszín* 'pink', *ződ* 'green', *barna* 'brown', *kík* 'blue', *sárga* 'yellow', *lila* 'purple', *vërëss* 'red', *fekete* 'black'.	10
2. 3 colour terms in total:	*kávészínyő~kávésbarna* 'coffee coloured ~coffee brown' , *hamuszínyő~hamuszürke* 'ash-coloured~ash-grey', *narancsszínyő~-narancssárga* 'orange-coloured~ orange-yellow'	9
3. 5 colour terms in total:	*vëlágoskík* 'light blue', *sëtítkík* 'dark blue', *tíglaszínyő* 'brick-coloured', *halványkík* 'pale blue', *ékszínkík* 'sky blue'	8
4. 8 colour terms in total:	*lángszínyő* 'flame-coloured', *halványződ* 'pale green', *sëtítződ* 'dark green', *tíglavërëss* 'brick red', *libaződ* 'goose green', *világosbarna* 'light brown', *sëtítbarna* 'dark brown', *gyëngekík* 'weak blue'	7
5. 6 colour terms in total:	*bézs* 'beige', *krémszínyő* 'cream-coloured', *világosződ* 'light green', *katonaződ* 'soldier green', *szivaszínyő* 'plum-coloured', *füstszínyő* 'smoke-coloured'	6

Order of frequency	Colour term	Frequency of occurrence
6. 7 colour terms in total:	*agyagszínyő* 'clay-coloured', *drapp* 'drab', *fűződ* 'grass green', *fődszínyő* 'earth-coloured', *aranyszínyő* 'gold-coloured', *gyëngekík* 'weak blue', *borsóződ* 'pea green'	5
7. 3 colour terms in total:	*szivakík* 'plum blue', *ibolyakík* 'violet blue', *füstszínyő* 'smoke-coloured'	4
8. 1 colour term:	*okkër* 'ocher'	3
9. 2 colour terms:	*sárszínyő* 'mud-coloured', *szarszínyő* 'shit-coloured'	1
47 colour terms in total		

Figure 1: Colour terms in the Kolon dialect in order of frequency

As we compare the frequency of colour terms in the Kolon dialect with the findings of Gábor Kiss about standard Hungarian (based on data from 98 informants), we can say that the 12 most frequent colour terms are identical, with the exception of *narancssárga* 'orange', which is missing from the Kolon data (cf. Kiss–Forbes 2001: 194). A similar result is obtained when these data are compared with those of Réka Benczes and Erzsébet Tóth-Czifra (2013: 129), who established the order of frequency of colour terms on the basis of the Hungarian National Corpus. This (i.e. standard and dialectal data are similar) marks one of the differences from the investigations carried out by Mari Uusküla and Urmas Sutrop, the other one concerning the frequency of *vörös*. While in my Kolon data, *vörös* is one of the 12 most frequent colour terms, it does not make it into the top 12 in Uusküla and Sutrop (2007: 108). Finally, it deserves special mention that circumscriptions substituting for colour terms in the Kolon dialect more strongly reflect folk conceptualizations derived from local knowledge, as evidenced by data which are absent from standard Hungarian (see below).

In terms of morphological structure, the 47 colour terms of the Kolon dialect include 14 monolexemes and 32 compounds.

Monolexemes designate either basic colours (*fehír* 'white', *fekete* 'black', *vërëss* 'red', *piross* 'red', *sárga* 'yellow', *ződ* 'green', *kík* 'blue', *barna* 'brown', *lila* 'purple', *szürke* 'grey'), or they are later borrowings denoting special hues (*bézs*, *bordó, drapp, okkër*; cf. Tótfalusi 2004: 109; TESz. [Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian]. 1/344, 677; 2/107−1071).

Compounds include circumscriptions for hues as well as paraphrases for basic colour terms.

In the case of **hues**, the first component expresses a hue of the basic colour denoted by the second component. The first component may be an adjective, or it may be a noun motivated by some perceived similarity. Typical members of the former group include *halvány-* 'pale', *sëtít-~sötít* 'dark', *vëlágos-~világos* 'light', cf. *vëlágoskík* 'light blue', *sëtítkík* 'dark blue', *halványkík* 'pale blue', *halványződ* 'pale green', *világosződ* 'light green', *sëtítződ* 'dark green', *sëtítbarna* 'dark brown', *világosbarna* 'light brown', etc. A peculiar element not used in standard Hungarian in this way is *gyënge-* 'weak', as in *gyëngekík* 'weak blue (pale blue)'.

Nominal first components of paraphrases based on perceptual similarity are related to concepts known to the entire community, cf. *borsóző́d* 'pea green'*, fűző́d* 'grass green'*, libaződ* 'goose green'; *ibolyakík* 'violet blue'*, szivakík* 'plum blue'; *tíglavërëss* 'brick red', etc.

The second component of a compound may be a basic colour term (see above), or the adjective *-színyő* (standard *-színű*, 'coloured'). In the latter case the first component denotes a familiar concept whose choice is motivated by perceived similarity. Examples include *agyagszínyő* 'clay coloured', *fődszínyő* 'earth-coloured', *krémszínyő* 'cream-coloured'*, lángszínyő* 'flame-coloured'*, narancsszínyő* 'orange-coloured'*, sárszínyő* 'mud-coloured' and *tíglaszínyő* 'brick-coloured'.

Circumscriptions for present-day basic colour terms include *hamuszínyő* 'grey (literally ash-coloured)'*, kávészínyő* 'brown (lit. coffee-coloured)'*, szivaszínyő* 'blue (lit. plum-coloured)'. So far I have not managed to elicit a paraphrase for *lila* 'purple' from my informants, but Arany's monograph on the Kolon dialect does include the word *ciklaszínyő* 'beetroot-coloured' in this capacity (Arany 1944/1967: 98). The colour terms of Kolon listed above stand for four basic colour terms of today's language use which have a more recent history in the dialect (*kík* 'blue', *barna* 'brown'*, lila* 'purple', *szürke* 'grey'). The circumscriptions are becoming increasingly obsolete, with elderly people still recognizing and occasionally using them but even they tend to adopt the standard colour terms instead.

Let us now bring the expression *kávészínyő* 'brown' under closer scrutiny. The standard colour term *barna* 'brown' can be traced back to the 13th century in the history of Hungarian; however, in earlier periods and in dialects it was/is functioning as a synonym of *sötét* 'dark' (cf. TESz. 1/253; ÚMTsz. [New Hungarian Dialectal Dictionary] 1/352). In reference to people it continues to denotes a dark colour of the skin, hair or eyes: *szíb barna embër* 'nice man with brown skin, hair or eyes (lit. nice brown man'. In other words, *barna* was not a basic colour term originally, and it is a typical strategy of communities employing fewer basic colour terms that they use circumscriptions for the missing ones. The circumscriptions still in currency today can be seen as residual elements surviving from an earlier period when they occupied the positions that would be later replaced by today's standard colour terms (*kík : szivaszínyő*, *barna : kávészínyő, lila : ciklaszínyő*, *szürke : hamuszínyő*). However, the circumscriptions must have been applicable to a more restricted set of objects. Paraphrases expressing 'brown' have also been documented in other dialectal regions. In Martos, for example, *kávéfalú* used to mean 'brown', cf. *Kávéfalú keszkenyő vót a fejëmën* 'A brown kerchief was on my head'. A 1926 record from Magyarókereke has a similar meaning, namely *kávéföldű: kávéfőggyű* 'brown <kerchief>' (ÚMTsz.: 3/156). These data support the conclusion that instead of today's basic colour term *barna* 'brown', metaphorical circumscriptions were previously in use.

It is common phenomenon in colour terminology that when there are fewer basic colour terms, each of these spans a larger colour spectrum (cf. Kicsi 1988: 459). This is also attested in my Kolon data. In the 1970's, I noted that the oldest residents of the village were calling the colour brown *piros*, cf. *piros fazëcska* 'small brown pot'. In other words, the basic colour term *piros* referred to a broader colour spectrum, also covering the region now denoted by *barna* 'brown'. This is also the likely reason for *piros* used to denote the colour of horse or cattle, cf. *piros tehén* 'brown cow', *piros ló* ('light bay horse', 'horse with a brownish colour', cf. ÉKsz. [Dictionary of the Hungarian Language] 1071; ÚMTsz. 4/501). In addition, it may motivate the expression *a hús/kalácsot pirosra sütjük* 'we are frying the meet/baking the milk loaf [until it is] brown'.

4.2. The distinction between *piros* and *vörös*

To the question *Mi a különbség a **piros** és a **vörös** között*? 'What is the difference between *piros* and *vörös*?', each informant began the explanation with the definition of *vörös.* The colour denoted by *vörös* (or *vërëss*, as it is pronounced in Kolon) is *sëtítebb, intenzívebb, élénkebb, rikítósabb* 'darker, more intense, more vivid, more flashy', whereas *piros* is a *vëlágosabb, kevésbé élénk, teltebb szín* 'lighter, less vivid, richer colour'.

The next question, *Mi lehet piros, ill. vörös?* 'What can be *piros* or *vörös*?' was already directed at patterns of use. According to the answers,

a) **the following can only be *piros*** (24 concepts in total): *alma* 'apple', *autó* 'car', *blúz* 'blouse', *bor* 'wine', *cipő* 'shoe', *csërësnye* 'cherry', *csinvatt* ('woven pillow case'), *csipke* 'lace', *epër* 'strawberry', *hejkötő/hajkötő/szallag* 'hair ribbon', *kazsmír nyagbaval ó (kendő)* 'kashmir scarf', *labda* 'ball', *málna* 'raspberry', *muskátli* 'geranium', *paradicsom* 'tomato', *pipacs* 'poppy flower', *pirospaprika* 'red pepper', *puszrik* ('folk waistcoat for women'), *pünkösd* 'pentecost', *retëk* 'radish', *ribizlyi/ribizli* 'red currant', *szív* 'heart', *szoknya* 'skirt', *tulipán* 'tulip'.
b) **the following can only be *vörös*** (3 concepts in total): *csillag* 'star', *haj* 'hair', *róka* 'fox'.
c) **the following can be either *piros* or *vörös*** (9 concepts in total): *hús* 'meat', *köröm* 'nail (on finger)', *ló* 'horse', *mëggy* 'sour cherry', *orca/arc* 'face', *orr* 'nose', *rúzsa/rózsa* 'rose', *száj* ('lip'), *zászló* 'flag'.

As we compare these data to those gathered about standard Hungarian, we may draw the conclusion that the only discrepancy (apart from concepts specific to local folk culture) concerns *bor* 'wine', which collocates with *vörös* in standard Hungarian, although *piros* is also documented (cf. Kiss 2004: 162). The local dialectal norm of Kolon requires the use of *piros*, however, and this is generally considered by locals to derive from Slovak linguistic influence (cf. *červené víno* 'red wine', in which the Slovak basic colour term *červený* is found). Alternatively, the phenomenon may be a preserved archaism as well, supported by the fact that it also occurs in dialects which have no contact with the Slovak language (see Gárdonyi 1920: 86). In any case, intense contact with the Slovak language must have reinforced the survival of the pattern.

With one exception, concepts demanding the use of *vörös* are identical to the data in Gábor Kiss's article (2004: 162–163). The exception concerns *meggy* 'sour cherry', which can only be *vörös* according to Kiss's corpus, whereas in the Kolon dialect it may be either *piros* or *vörös*. In the context of fruit descriptions, my informants from Kolon are of the opinion that *vörös* may suggest overripe state or poor quality.

In reference to parts of the human body (*orca/arc* 'face', *száj* 'lip' [in standard Hungarian, 'mouth'], *köröm* 'nail', *orr* 'nose'), the informants unanimously claim that the attribute *vërëss* has a negative meaning. Some interview subjects brought up the proverb *Vërës róka, vërës ló, vërëss embër ëty së jó* 'Red fox, red horse, red man: none of them is good' in support of this view. In their opinion, *vërëss orca/arc* refers to a red face resulting from anger or humiliation, whereas *piros orca/arc* designates a nice and healthy face. The informants also demonstrated the difference by comparing the verbs *elvërësëdëtt, kivërësëdëtt* and *elpirosodott, kipirosodott*, all of which denote the process of turning red, but with negative vs. positive connotations depending on their roots. The interview subjects believe that *vörös orr* 'red nose' is used to refer to a red nose resulting from drunkenness. Finally, *vërës*

száj (‘red lip’, i.e. ‘strongly rouged lip‘) and *vërës köröm* ‘red nail’ designate what have until recently been highly stigmatized phenomena, receiving angry, often vulgar criticism.

5. Summary

To summarize what has been said above, *vörös* (*vërëss*) ‘red’ continues to be a basic colour term in the Kolon dialect. However, certain signs indicate that it is losing ground, partly as a result of areal effects (with neigbouring languages, excepting Czech, only using one basic colour term for ‘red’). At present *vörös* still has its function, distinguished from *piros* in terms of both denotation and connotation. Functional differences are also due to the fact that the cognitive processes behind the two colour terms, as shown by their respective etymologies, had different bases. The colour term *vörös* (*vërëss*) goes back to *vér* ‘blood’, whereas *piros* has its source in *pír* ‘flush, blush’ (TESz. 3/1178; 3/208). In addition, *vörös* conforms in every way to the criteria of basic colour terms discussed above. The fact that this monolexemic colour term has been part of Hungarian for a long time, and thus also in all probability of the Kolon dialect as well, is demonstrated by its first written record. In particular, after the records of *fehér* ‘white’ and *fekete* ‘black’ from 1055 (TESz. 1/860, 867), the next colour term to show up is *vörös* from the year 1121 (TESz. 3/1178), followed more than a hundred years later by *piros* in 1237 (TESz.3/208). Thus of the two colour terms under study, *vörös* has the earlier record. The same also goes for written records of family names, with *Veres* appearing almost a hundred years earlier than *Piros.* In the Dictionary of Old Hungarian Family Names, the earlies record of *Fekete* is from 1340, followed by *Veres* (1341), *Fehér* (1366) and *Piros* (1435) (Kázmér 1993: 354, 350, 857, 1136). These data by all means confirm the fact that *vörös* is an old basic colour term of Hungarian.

Today, the Kolon dialect includes 10 basic colour terms, namely *fehír* ‘white’*, fekete* ‘black’*, piross* ‘red’*, vërëss* ‘red’*, ződ* ‘green’*, sárga* ‘yellow’*, kík* ‘blue’*, barna* ‘brown’*, szürke* ‘grey’ and *lila* ‘purple’. *Rúzsaszínyő ~ rúzsaszín* ‘pink’ and *narancsszínyő ~ narancssárga* ‘orange’ fail to meet the criteria of basic colours on multiple counts. Of these two colour terms, *rózsaszín* ‘pink’ is closer to becoming a basic colour term, as shown not only by its frequency but also by the fact that its hues are starting to be distinguished by the younger generation. By contrast, *narancssárga* ‘orange’ is only a hue in the colour spectrum of *sárga* ‘yellow’ for most informants. The reason may be that while the fruit name *narancs* ‘orange’ appears in Hungarian as early as the 15th century (TESz. 2/999), dialectal data are only available since the beginning of the 20th century (ÚMTsz. 4/41). In the rural community of Kolon, the fruit itself only became generally known in the 20th century, whereafter it could finally be exploited as a cognitive basis of colour terminology.

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SEMANTIC MOTIVATION IN WORD FORMATIONS OF THE LANGUAGE REFORM MOVEMENT[1]

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Abstract

From the last decades of the 18th century on to the 1840s, a cultural movement intended to "re-vitalize" the Hungarian language, i.e. to update its lexicon and semantic networks in order to cope with recent European intellectual, economic and technical innovations. The present paper focuses on non-spontaneous word formations invented by the language reform movement, presented as instantiations of universal modes of construal also adopted in Hungarian. The noun fogalom 'concept' is partly a calque, partly a result of metaphorization, anyag 'material' is a calque, könnyelmű 'light-minded' represents conceptual integration (blend), while alak 'form' marks the renovation of an obsolete Hungarian word. Each semantic structure is conceptually strongly motivated, providing sufficient reason for the language reformers to invent these lexemes. A much larger part of words created by the language reform movement conforms to conventionalized conceptual and linguistic construal patterns of Hungarian (to the "nature of the Hungarian language") than has been recognized in the specialized literature on the basis of evaluative criteria. The semantic analyses show that artificial word formation follows general cognitive schemas, albeit with a naïve linguistic knowledge.

Keywords: conceptual integration (blend), metaphor, motivation, language reform movement, word formation, calque

1. It is widely known that the Hungarian language reform movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries brought with it a high number of new word formations. Furthermore, it is also common knowledge that the newly formed words following varied patterns prompted several debates. Typical reactions to new word formations included outright rejection (with the new words considered incompatible with the nature of the language) and amazement at the curious, exotic word formation processes.

Upon closer inspection, however, at least certain types of word formation popular in the language reform movement display widely used patterns of semantic construal both with regard to the history of Hungarian and to universal tendencies. Thus, a semantic analysis produces the (otherwise not particularly surprising) conclusion that the word formations in question are neither incompatible with the nature of the language nor especially exotic. In what follows, I will discuss four examples in detail, each instantiating a characteristic type of word formation.

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The word *fogalom* 'concept' is an instance of calque and metaphorization at the same time, *anyag* 'material' is a calque, *könnyelmű* 'light-minded, frivolous' is the result of conceptual integration (blending), whereas *alak* 'form' comes from the restoration of an archaic, obsolete word. I will illustrate the basically consensual views of Hungarian langauge historians with excerpts from Géza Bárczi's influential presentation of the "biography" of Hungarian as part of cultural history (Bárczi 1966), and contrast these views with cognitive semantic analyses (see Langacker 1987, 2008; Tolcsvai Nagy 2011, 2013).

As a prerequiste for the analysis, it is necessary to outline what meaning is, how it relates to knowledge of the world and to the form of linguistic expressions. Through their meanings, linguistic expressions represent and symbolize some part of the world. Meaning is conceptual in character. Concepts are formed via processes of human cognition. Concepts have an experiential basis, they are derived from experiences. As part of cognition, percepts are processed by the human mind, abstracting crucial components (e.g. properties) and schematically arranging them into groups, categories, i.e. concepts. A concept thus derived or a part thereof constitutes the semantic pole of a linguistic sign, standing in symbolic correspondence to the phonological pole.

As a function of human cognition, linguistic sign represent conceptually structured, mentally construed contents. Language does not reflect entities of the world, but rather represents them as they are re-construed mentally via cognition. The speaker is not searching for or employing meanings of ready-made expressions, but rather conceptually processes comprehended things and phenomena of the world, and expresses them by more or less conventional conceptual structures, i.e. semantic structures associated with symbolic linguistic expressions. As the semantic poles of linguistic expressions, concepts can still undergo adjustments in the wake of newly processed experiences.

The conceptual patterns underlying semantic structures follow general patterns of cognition. Cognitive processes shape the semantic structures of linguistic elements in several ways. Key semantic factors resting on cognitive processes include categorization, the directing of attention, perspectivization, figure/ground alignment and construal.

2. Bárczi (1996: 308) has the following to say about calques, i.e. translations of words on a morpheme-by-morpheme basis: "As in the case of derivations of the language reform movement, the results of compounding can also be criticized for the fact that many new words are literal translations, or calques, of foreign words, and reflect views which are alien [from Hungarian]".[2] Our first example, the noun *fogalom* 'concept' demonstrates the dual nature of calques with its semantic structure. On the one hand, the pattern is "alien", coming from another language. On the other, it is also well-integrated into the Hungarian way of construing the concept in question, supported by semantic networks.

The noun *fogalom*, symbolizing the concept of CONCEPT, is a morphological and semantic structure constituted by the verb *fog* and the nominalizing suffix *-alom* according to the Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian (Benkő ed. 1967: 936). The noun was the product of the language reform movement (with its first record coming from 1828), based on artificial (non-spontaneous) word formation. The dictionary lists the following, historically documented meanings of the word: i. knowledge, comprehension, ii. a basic contentful unit

[2] „Mint a nyelvújítási szóképzés esetében, az összetétellel kapcsolatban is joggal lehet kifogásolni, hogy számos új szó más nyelvek szavainak szó szerinti fordítása, tükörszava, és idegen szemléleten alapszik."

of thought, iii. ability to comprehend, iv. composition, formulation v. a person or object that is an outstanding specimen of its kind.

The creation of the Hungarian noun *fogalom* was supported by the analogy of Latin, where the noun *conceptus* is derived from the verb *concipere* 'hold together'. The other morphological and semantic schema at work was the German equivalent *der Begriff*, derived from the verb *begreifen* 'grasp, comprehend'. Even at first sight it may be obvious that the Latin word *conceptus* and its family (such as *conceptio*) are related to the concept of CONCEIVE. In Hungarian, the words *fogan* 'conceive (of a baby)' and *fogantatás* 'conception' also come from the verb *fog*, this derivation going back to a much earlier period.

Here, only two factors can be discussed in detail that motivate the production and comprehension of the semantic structure of *fogalom* 'concept'. One is the metaphorical basis of the noun *fogalom* 'concept' (this must have played an important role in the semantic history of the corresponding Latin, German and English nouns). The other is the supporting matrix, the immediate conceptual network surrounding the word in Hungarian.

The morphological root of *fogalom* is the verb *fog*, an ancient element of Hungarian whose primary meaning is 'grasp, hold in one's hand'. What is the semantic relationship between HOLDING IN ONE'S HAND and CONCEPT? From the point of view of objectivist, logical semantics, they seem to have nothing in common. However, human cognition, the mental processing of the world's phenomena operates on the principle of analogy: the cognizing human mind connects two different conceptual domains if there is sufficient reason for it. Metaphor is one of the most overt and frequent example for this conceptual structure. The central semantic component of *fogalom* is a metaphorical correspondence.

Metaphor is among other things the key operation at work for understanding a mentally less accessible concept with the help of more accessible ones (cf. Lakoff–Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2005; Gibbs ed. 2008). The basis of metaphor is a mapping between two semantic matrices, in other words two conceptually grounded semantic structures.

The most common type of metaphorical mapping is the understanding of abstract concepts through the expression of more concrete ones. Grasping, or holding an object in one's hand, is a directly physical experience whose linguistic, semantic representations include the verb *fog* and the noun *fogás* 'grasping, holding in one's hand'. By contrast, the meaning of *concept* is by definition abstract. Hungarian has a variety of expressions which relate the concept symbolized by *fog* to those associated with *megért* 'understand' and *tud* 'know', for example *átfog* 'grasp, span, comprehend'*, egybefog* 'hold together, understand as related'*, felfog* 'comprehend'*, megfog* 'grasp, understand'*, összefoglal* 'summarize'*, megragad (vmit, vminek a lényegét)* 'grasp (something, the essence of something)' and *tapint, rátapint* (*az elevenére, a lényegre*) 'touch on, put one's finger on (the essence)'. Somebody can be *gyors* or *lassú felfogású* 'quick or slow to grasp things'*, fogékony* 'susceptible, responsive', we can learn about his *felfogás* 'conception, view'. A text or an event can be *felfogható* 'comprehensible' or *felfoghatatlan* 'incomprehensible'. In Hungarian, as in many other languages, the concept of GRASPING helps access the concept of COMPREHENSION, CONCEPT FORMATION, via metaphorical mappings. One key component of these mappings is the concept of CONTROL. In the source domain of the metaphor, this pertains to physical control over an object (as a matter of direct sensorimotor experience), whereas in the target domain it concerns mental control over the phenomena that one has understood, i.e. knowledge as a more indirect, abstract kind of experience (see Sweetser 1990; Tolcsvai Nagy 2001).

Next I will outline conceptual, semantic network of the noun *fogalom* based on Hungarian data. This can be carried out in two domains: firstly, by examining metaphorical exten-

sions in the family of words associated with *fog*, and secondly by presenting the semantic structures of words of Uralic origin which are synonymous with it.

As is clear from the above, the noun *fogalom* 'concept' is derived from the verb *fog* 'grasp, hold'. Similar derivations motivated by the same kinds of semantic operations include *fogad, fogadalom, fogadás, fogadkozik, fogadó, fogalmaz, fogalmazvány, fogamzás, fogan, foganat, fogantatás, fogantyú, fogás, fogat, fogékony, foglal, foglalkozás, foglalkozik, foglaló, fogó, fogós,* and *fogság*. Even without detailed analysis, it is well-known that derivations from *fog* have been created in Hungarian in significant numbers, and further, that these derived words are interrelated to varying degrees semantically, with each expression having its own rich polysemy network including several meanings. While some of the semantic (conceptual) relations between particular pairs of words may not be transparent for the average native speaker, elements of the network reinforce each other conceptually: primary and derivative meanings of the verb *fog*, as well as the direct and common experiential basis of the primary meaning facilitate mental access to the abstract meanings of derived words such as the noun *fogalom*. Therefore, even though the noun *fogalom* was first produced as a calque, it had its natural place in conventionalized semantic networks of Hungarian. The vast network of words in the family of *fog* made it relatively easy to process the new calque which had been formed on a partially artificial basis. Most words produced by the language reform movement were motivated to a similar extent both semantically and morpho-phonologically.

Concepts are complex bodies of knowledge formed by abstraction and schematization of experience processed by the human mind. The knowledge thus attained is not finite and closed, rather it is susceptible to change in the wake of newly processed experience. As the semantic analysis of *fogalom* made it clear, knowledge as it is understood here is related to the concept of acquiring knowledge in the linguistic data. In Hungarian, as in many other Uralic languages, lexical expressions of CONCEPT are related to the concepts of PHYSICAL PERCEPTION and CONTROL. With regard to *ért* 'understand', the Historical-Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian says that "its primary meaning may have been 'touch'. […] A similar change is widely documented in both Hungarian and other languages, cf. *ésszel fölér* ['grasp mentally'], *felfog* ['understand'], *fogalom* ['concept'], *megfoghatatlan* 'érthetetlen' ['incomprehensible']; compare also Latin *concipere, percipere*; Italian *capire;* French *comprendre*; German *begreifen, auffassen*; Finnish *käsittää*: 'megért, felfog' ['understand'] (basically each of these meaning 'megragad, kézbe vesz' ['grasp, take in one's hand'])" (Benkő ed. 1967: 792).[3]

Similar conceptual and semantic structures are presented by the Historical-Etymological Dictionary with regard to the verbs *ért* 'understand' and *tud* 'know'. The historical root of the Hungarian verbs *ért, megért* 'understand', viz. *ér-*, comes from the mapping of a tactile experience, as still evidenced by the the verbs *érint, hozzáér* 'touch'. *Tud* 'know' can also be traced back historically to a meaning related to touching and holding. Moreover,equivalents of *ért* and *tud* in other Uralic languages also have the same conceptual background. To summarize, a large number of Hungarian expressions denoting 'understanding' reflect metaphoric construals with the source domains of touching and holding. This fact contributed to the accommodation, spread and easy comprehension of the newly derived word *fogalom* 'concept'.

[3] „[Az *ért*] eredeti jelentése 'megérint' lehetett. […] Ilyen változásra mind a magyarból, mind más nyelvekből számos példa idézhető; vö. *ésszel fölér, felfog, fogalom, megfoghatatlan* 'érthetetlen'; továbbá lat. *concipere, percipere*; ol. *capire;* fr. *comprendre*; ném. *begreifen, auffassen*; finn *käsittää*: 'megért, felfog' (valamennyi tkp. 'megragad, kézbe vesz')."

Géza Bárczi voices similar disapproval with respect to the noun *anyag* 'material'. "With many newly derived words, the starting point, the base, i.e. the root is already objectionable, since its meaning does not match the meaning of the derived word; thus, the derivation is alien from Hungarian perceptions of the world, the whole structure is based on the literal translation of a foreign word which hardly makes any sense in Hungarian"[4] (Bárczi 1966: 305). Here, the examples are *rajong* 'adore' and *üzem* 'factory', among others. In these cases, the criticism is more justified, since the meaning of the roots *raj* 'swarm' and *űz* 'chase; do [in e.g. *sportot űz* 'do sport', *mesterséget űz* 'do some profession']' are difficult to activate in the meaning of the derived word.

The Hungarian noun *anyag* 'material' indeed follows the pattern of the Latin word *materia*. The latter includes the component *mater* 'mother', this is why language reformers saw it justified to derive the Hungarian noun from *anya* 'mother'. However, the concept of MATERIAL presents a complex issue, thus the derivation cannot be simply put down to the imitation of a foreign pattern. The definition of the concept and its corresponding semantically motivated name go beyond direct experience and folk categorization. Since language reformers aimed to anchor new derivations to existing and previously conventionalized concepts and the words symbolizing them, knowledge and beliefs about particular concepts had a strong influence on word formation. In the case of material, a key motivational basis may have been the view whereby material is what the natural body consists of, i.e. it is the raw material from which human creations are derived. This BEING DERIVED FROM SOMETHING is the metaphorical basis of the correspondences *mater ~ materia* and *anya ~ anyag.* In a philosophical system the correspondences are justified, going back as far as Aristotle's Physics and Metaphysics. Involving the concept of MOTHER into the linguistic mapping of MATERIAL was thus a motivated choice in the language reformers' eyes.

3. Historians of Hungarian language and culture regard the renovation of obsolete words as one of the most successful methods of word formation during the language reform movement. Still, disapproving remarks are not uncommon. In his Biography of the Hungarian language, Bárczi expresses the following view: "Sometimes when an old word was given a new lease of life, the old meaning was modified as a result of misunderstanding, forced interpretation or arbitrary decisions. For instance, the old meaning of *alak* 'form' had been 'baby doll', *agy* 'brain' used to mean 'skull'; *börtön* 'prison' and *alkalom* 'occasion' had previously meant 'hangman' and 'contract, bargain', respectively"[5] (BÁRCZI 1966: 297). The first example deserves closer scrutiny. According to the Historical-Etymological Dictionary, the first record of *alak* comes from 1405, its first meaning is 'baby doll, puppet', its further meanings 'mask', '(my) dear', 'form' (Benkő ed. 1967: 125).

A BABY DOLL or PUPPET represents a person in the form of a physical object. One of its main features is its shape, its contours (Gestalt), which mirrors the general shape of the human body in form and structure (head, trunk, limbs, with appropriate positions and proportions), at varied levels of elaboration and aesthetic appeal. The shape of a human being is

[4] „Számos újonnan képzett szónak már a kiindulópontja, az alapja, azaz a töve kifogásolható, mert ennek jelentése nem illik a származék jelentéséhez; így a származékszó a magyar szemlélettől idegen, az egész képződmény egy idegen szó szolgai fordítása, amelynek a magyarban szinte semmi értelme sincs."

[5] „Olykor e fölelevenítés során az eredeti jelentés félreértés, belemagyarázás vagy tudatos önkény által módosult. Így az *alak* régi jelentése 'bábu' volt, az *agy* régen annyi mint 'koponya'; *börtön* régen 'hóhér', *alkalom* régen 'szerződés, kötés, alku'."

stored as a dominant mental schema in our conceptualization of humans, and consists in a schematic human body in standing position, with a head, trunk and limbs in appropriate positions. A doll or puppet, whatever its size and function, maps this schematic human form as a physical object. Thus, language reformers did not modify the older meaning of the noun *alak* by "misunderstanding, forced interpretation or arbitrary decisions", but rather by relying on straightforward if perhaps not fully overt conceptual motivations. The key motivating factor is the similarity in shape between the doll or puppet and the human body. Metaphorical extension and metonymic attention shift may both have played a role in the semantic change. On the one hand, there are conceptual correspondences between the doll and the human body (its form and structure). On the other, the conceptualizer's attention is shifting from the whole body to its shape and contour, in a part/whole relation (for metonymy, see Kövecses 2005; Kövecses–Radden 1998; Panther–Thornburg eds. 2003; for motivation, cf. Radden–Panther 2004).

4. The greatest sensation and the most heated debates are provoked by results of contraction or blending. The noun *rovar* 'insect', which was derived rrom *rovátkolt* 'notched' and *barom* 'animal', makes for popular learning material even at secondary school lessons. Géza Bárczi discusses this phenomenon as follows: "The strangest method of word formation is the contraction of two truncated words (or a truncated and a full word), such as *csőr* 'beak' < *cső* 'pipe' + *orr* 'nose' (at first also as *csörr*), *könnyelmű* 'light-minded' < *könnyű elméjű* 'light minded', *lég* 'air' < *levegő-ég* 'floating-sky', *rovar* 'insect', formerly *robar* < *rovátkolt* 'notched' + *barom* 'animal', *higany* 'mercury' < *hig* 'thin' + *anyag* 'material' etc. These of course no longer make a comic impression, as we are not thinking about their origins; nor are they incomprehensible as they have entered common usage; however, they must have struck contemporary observers in the same way as we struck by *ding* 'the green outer cover of walnuts, which was created by contraction from *dió* 'walnut' and *ing* 'shirt'"[6] (Bárczi 1966: 307).

This method of word formation may seem less comic when its general semantic and morphophological schemas are explored in detail. *Rovar* and its companions, including *könnyelmű* (to be highlighted here) were created by the imporant operation of conceptualization and semantic construal known as conceptual integration. Linguistic expressions (e.g. words) are simply put next to one another in a larger construction (phrase or clause), but rather they are linked by many kinds of semantically important elaborative relations. The conceptual mapping of some part of the world is made possible by the establishing of connections between conceptually and therefore also semantically related linguistic elements.

One method for this is the emergence of cognitive connections pertaining to context. In linguistic interactions, information is always processes within a context, which consists partly of the speech situation and partly from the preceding and following discourse. Cognition arranges experiences in mentally separated domains (e.g. semantic structures and substructures thereof). These domains are connected on the basis of various semantic pat-

[6] „A legfurcsább szóalkotásmód azonban két megcsonkított (vagy egy csonka és egy teljes) szó összevonása, ilyenek, mint *csőr* < *cső* + *orr* (eleinte *csörr* is), *könnyelmű* < *könnyű elméjű*, *lég* < *levegő-ég*, *rovar*, előbb *robar* < *rovátkolt* + *barom*, *higany* < *hig* + *anyag* stb. Ezek persze ma már nem látszanak komikusnak, mert nem gondolunk keletkezésük módjára, s nem is érthetetlenek, mert régen átmentek a közhasználatba, ámde a kortársakra úgy hathatott egy-egy ilyen szó, mint miránk például a *ding* 'a zöld dió burka', melyet a *dió* meg az *ing* szavak összerántásával alkotott teremtője."

terns (such as composite structures and reference-point constructions), giving rise to a new linguistic unit. In other cases the connection between concepts emerges when the understanding of one of them facilitates the understanding of the other (cf. metaphor and metonymy). These modes of connection may also co-occur. Conceptual integration is a dynamic conceptual structure evolving in the current discourse space: as part of a larger linguistic structure (clause or text), two or more concepts give rise to the emergence of complex and new meaning within a particular context (cf. Fauconnier 1985; Fauconnier–Sweetser eds. 1996; Kövecses–Benczes 2010: 173–191). The new meaning may or may not undergo conventionalization.

In conceptual integration, multiple domains are connected, with each cognitive domain being a mental space. Mental spaces are conceptual "packages" that the speaker and the hearer are create on-the-fly during discourse from parts of their previous knowledge, for purposes of understanding the information conveyed. These mental spaces are connected, transformed and replaced as discourse unfolds (cf. Fauconnier–Turner 1998: 139; Fauconnier–Turner 2002).

It deserves special emphasis that mental spaces are often created in the spur of the moment and that discourse and thought are characterized by the building up of networks of mental spaces. While mental spaces are not identical with linguistic structures, they are built up as prompted by linguistic expressions. Linguistic expressions may build new mental spaces, populated by elements and their relations. Expressions creating new spaces or referring to mental spaces previously introduced in the discourse are called space builders, and they include adpositional phrases, adverbials, conjunctions and subject-verb constructions. In the process of building up mental spaces in a text, one mental space may be used to generate another.

The emergence of a blend is linked to five optimality conditions. These are the following (Fauconnier–Turner 1998: 162–163):

> "Integration: The blend must constitute a tightly integrated scene that can be manipulated as a unit. More generally, every space in the blend structure should have integration.
> Topology: For any input space and any element in that space projected into the blend, it is optimal for the relations of the element in the blend to match the relations of its counterpart.
> Web: Manipulating the blend as a unit must maintain the web of appropriate connections to the input spaces easily and without additional surveillance or computation.
> Unpacking: The blend alone must enable the understander to unpack the blend to reconstruct the inputs, the cross-space mapping, the generic space, and the network of connections between all these spaces
> Good reason: All things being equal, if an element appears in the blend, there will be pressure to find significance for this element. Significance will include relevant links to other spaces and relevant functions in running the blend."

The adjective *könnyelmű* 'frivolous, light-minded' is the product of conceptual integration from the multiword expression *könnyű elméjű*, where *könnyű* means 'light' and *elméjű* means 'minded'. More precisely, it displays both conceptual and phonological integration (or phonological fusion) at the same time. Conceptually, the two mental spaces of *könnyű* 'not fully responsible, somewhat superficial' and *elméjű* '[person] characterized by some kind of mind-

set, thought pattern' give rise to a single blend, a mixed conceptual structure. Phonologically, three parts of the two words' phonological structure make it into the blend (marked by italics: *könny*ű *elm*éj*ű*). This operation is not unknown to Hungarian, and it cannot be considered rare either. Well-known examples of conceptual as well as phonological integration include *csalagút* 'channel tunnel' (from *csatorna* 'channel' and *alagút* 'tunnel'), *csokréta* 'bouquet' (from *csokor* 'bunch of flowers' and *bokréta* 'bouquet') and *ordibál* 'shout' (from *ordít* 'shout' and *kiabál* 'shout'). In the latter two examples, the synonymy of integrated elements also plays a part. Figure 1 below presents conceptual integration in the case of *könnyelmű.*

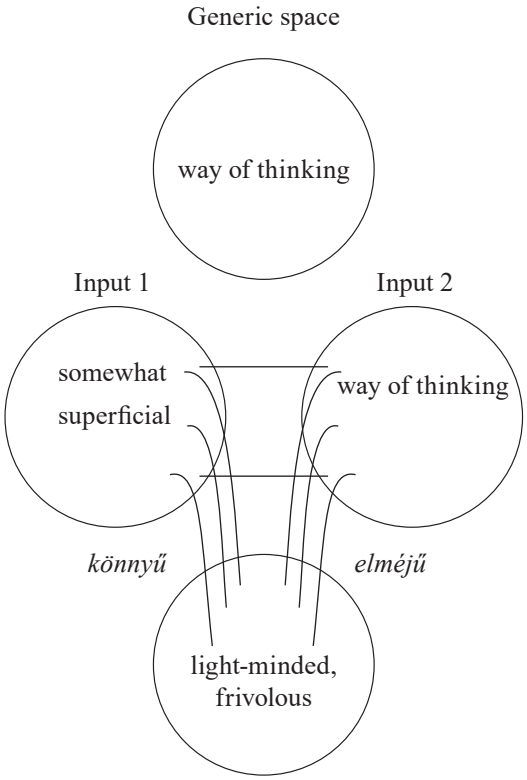

Figure 1: Conceptual integration in the semantic structure of *könnyelmű*

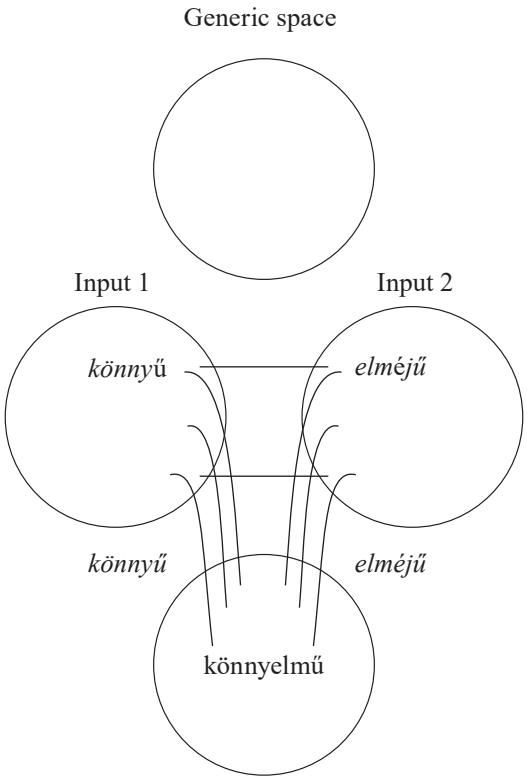

Figure 2: Phonological integration in the case of *könnyelmű*
(with elements transferred to the blend marked by italics)

Könnyelmű only partially conforms to the optimality conditions of integration. In this blend, i. a well-integrated conceptualization emerges, ii. relations between elements in the input spaces correspond to relations between elements in the blend, iii. the connections between the blend and the input spaces are conceptually adequate but phonologically less so, the blend is not easy to manage phonologically, iv. Hungarian speakers find it difficult to unpack the blend, the two input spaces are hard to recognize, v. the significance of elements in the blend is appropriate, independently of the difficulty of phonological unpacking, since *könnyelmű* represents a successful innovation.

Conceptual integration is an important process type of word formation and neologism. In the Hungarian lexicon, it has supported several neologisms. These include for example *csokoholista* 'person addicted to chocolate'*, kutyaszitter* 'dog-sitter' (*kutya* 'dog')*, gerillakertész* 'guerilla gardener'*, kormányablak* 'an interface for managing administrative duties', literally 'government window' (for a detailed survey, see Sólyom 2014).

5. Processes of semantic and morphophonological construal adopted by speakers in the long history of Hungarian word formation deserve detailed investigations. In this paper, the focus has been on non-spontaneous word formations invented by the language reform movement, presented as instantiations of universal modes of construal also adopted in Hungarian. The noun *fogalom* 'concept' is partly a calque, partly a result of metaphorization, *anyag* 'materi-

al' is a calque, *könnyelmű* 'light-minded' represents conceptual integration (blend), while *alak* 'form' marks the renovation of an obsolete Hungarian word. Each example has been shown to be conceptually strongly motivated, providing sufficient reason for the language reformers to invent these lexemes. A much larger part of words created by the language reform movement conforms to conventionalized conceptual and lingustic construal patterns of Hungarian (to the "nature of the Hungarian language") than has been recognized in the specialized literature on the basis of evaluative criteria. Impressions of a word's strange, unusual, comic or foreign character are prompted by the novelty of the word in question rather than being grounded in a system of well-founded causes in cognition, at least in the examples discussed in this paper.

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QUANTITATIVE CORPUS-BASED INVESTIGATION OF THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL STATUS OF CHARACTERS IN NARRATIVE TEXTS ABOUT HISTORY[1]

PÉTER HORVÁTH

Abstract

The paper investigates how the epistemological status of discourse characters is construed in narrative texts about history. Epistemological status is a property of characters which is determined by the degree of mental access of the character to the factual world of the narrative. The first half of the paper describes the three types of cognition associated with characters by means of Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces: knowledge, thought and the lack of knowledge. The second half of the paper presents a quantitative study of the epistemological status of 17 historical figures and 12 nations. The corpus of the research is the American texts of Google Books written between 2000 and 2010. The investigation focuses on the frequency of the following collocations expressing knowledge, thought and the lack of knowledge: name of person/nation + knew*, name of person/nation* + thought*, name of person/nation* + did not know, *name of person/nation* + knew nothing. *The proportions of the occurrences of the collocations in the cases of historical figures and nations do not show remarkable differences, which means that the construal of the epistemological status of historical figures and nations follows the same general schema. I also compared the frequencies of the conceptualizations of cognition related to nations with the frequencies experienced in the case of historical figures. The results show that the frequency in the case of nations is not less than in the case of historical figures.*

Keywords: historiography, narratology, construal, epistemological status, mental space theory, cognitive factive verbs, corpus

1. Introduction

The goal of the paper is to examine how the narrator construes the epistemological status of discourse characters in non-fictional narrative texts about history. The epistemological status of characters is related to the characters' cognition. It is a property of characters which is determined by the degree of mental access of the character to the factual world of the narrative. In section 2, I briefly sketch the functional cognitive linguistic approach to non-fictional narrative texts about history. Section 3 describes the three types of cognition of characters by means of Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces: knowledge, thought and the lack of knowledge. In section 4, using the categories set up in section 3, I show through a quantitative corpus-based investigation that the construal of the epistemological status of historical figures is motivated

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by a well definable general schema. The corpus is the American texts of Google Books written between 2000 and 2010. In section 5, I extend the quantitative investigation to nations and show that the construal of the epistemological status of nations is motivated by the same general schema as in the case of historical figures. In section 6, I examine the question whether the frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition related to nations differs from what we find in the case of historical figures. Section 7 briefly summarizes the results of the paper.

2. The functional cognitive approach to non-fictional narrative texts about history

My analysis of discourses about history is based on the functional pragmatic model elaborated by Tátrai (2011), which emphasizes the intersubjective, shared and perspectivized nature of language. In this framework, language use is interpreted as a social activity whose goal is to share our experiences and coordinate our actions (see also Croft 2009). Every language activity involves a speaker and a recipient who participate in a joint attentional scene. In the intersubjective use of language, the speaker adopts linguistic symbols to direct the attention of the recipient to a referential scene, i.e. to a linguistically represented scene of the world. The linguistic symbols used by the speaker construe the referential scene from a certain viewpoint. In other words, they construe the referential scene in a way that highlights certain aspects and hides other aspects of it (see also Sinha 1999, 2001; Tomasello 1999; Verhagen 2007; Langacker 2008: 55–89). As defined by Langacker, "[c]onstrual is our multifaceted capacity to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways" (Langacker 2007: 435). The functional cognitive approach also emphasizes th e importance of context in language use (Tátrai 2004, 2011: 51–67; Brisard 2002; Langacker 2008: 259–309). Context consists of the physical, social and mental worlds of the speech event. The mental world embodies the discourse participants' knowledge about the topic of discourse. This knowledge is activated in the form of scripts and frames during the interpretation and creation of discourses.

Discourses about history are created and interpreted in a speech event where usually the recipient is in a different space and time than the speaker. The writer by means of linguistic symbols directs the reader's attention to referential scenes of the past which are assumed to be non-fictional. The linguistic symbols used by the writer construe the scenes of the past in a certain way, i.e. they highlight certain aspects and hide other aspects of it. In the course of the creation and interpretation of the discourse, the participants of the interaction activate numerous scripts and frames. The activated scripts and frames acquired from earlier discourses about history can concern the specific topic of the discourse as well as general, mostly culturally inherited ideas about the "course of history".

Discourses concerning the non-fictional presentation of past events activate a factual narrative schema. An important characteristic of the factual narrative schema is the deictic connection – based on spatial and temporal contiguity – between the speech event and the referential scene, in other words it is assumed that the narrated events and the speech event pertain to the same world (for more on the factual narrative schema, see Tátrai 2013). The narrator of a factual narrative has access to the world of the narrative only from his restricted cognitive perspective which means that as opposed to an omniscient (all-knowing) narrator s/he can report only those things which s/he has experienced or inferred from her/his experiences. Naturally, in the case of narratives about history experiences and inferences are based on historical sources and on other historians' texts. It is worth noting that fictional texts can also apply this factual schema of narratives (cf. Tátrai 2011: 176–188). In these cases the writer construes a restricted cognitive perspective for the narrator which can simulate spatial

and temporal contiguity between the fictive speech event and the fictive narrated events. Consequently, from the restricted cognitive perspective of the narrator it does not follow necessarily that the narrative is non-fictional. In deciding whether a narrative is a fictional or non-fictional representation of the past, paratexts and further culturally inherited schemas activated in the course of discourse and typically related to fictional and non-fictional narratives can serve as guidelines.

In the social cognitive framework, narrative is not only a mode of text formation with a long tradition but also a form of thinking which represents experiences in a specific way, emphasizing the temporal relations between events (on narrative thinking see e.g. Bruner 1986; Brown 1994; Carr 1997; László 2005; Tátrai 2006, 2011: 171–189). The non-fictional narratives about history can be seen as extensions of the narrative schema motivating patterns of thought about everyday life. The extension of the narrative schema of everyday life concerns many aspects of narratives. In this paper, I refer only to the three most important aspects: time, space and characters. While in narratives of everyday life, time and space are usually more local and they are close to the time and space of the speech event, narratives about history often concern a longer period and a more global space of the past. While the characters of everyday narratives are persons, the characters of narratives about history may be abstract entities such as nations, armies and states as well. These abstract entities are construed in a similar way as persons in everyday narratives: they perform actions motivated by different kinds of emotions, thoughts, goals, etc. (cf. Lakoff 1991).

3. The three types of cognition associated with characters

Tátrai (2011: 171–189) differentiates between three spheres of a narrative: the physical world, the social world and the mental world. In this paper, I focus on the mental world of narratives. The mental world is created by the linguistic representations of mental states and processes of characters. One of the principal components of a narrative's mental world is the way its characters' cognition is represented. Conceptualizations of the characters' cognition ususally involve perspectivization. Perspectivization is the moving of the subject of consciousness from the speaker to a character. The subject of consciousness "is the subject, either the speaker or the character in the discourse, to whom the responsibility for the information is attributed" (Sanders–Spooren 1997: 87, see also Sanders–Redeker 1996; Tátrai 2011).

The linguistic elements moving the subject of consciousness from the speaker to a character can be analysed as space builders in Fauconnier's theory of mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985, see also Sweetser–Fauconnier 1996; Fauconnier 2007). Space builders are linguistic expressions which set up new mental spaces in discourse. "Mental spaces are very partial assemblies constructed as we think and talk for purposes of local understanding and action. They contain elements and are structured by frames and cognitive models" (Fauconnier 2007: 351). Space builders open new mental spaces derived from a base space. In the case at hand, the base space is the narrator's reality, i.e. the factual world of the narrative. The factual world of the narrative could contain elements from the physical, the social and the mental world of the narrative as well. The moving of the subject of consciousness from the narrator to the characters sets up new mental spaces with different factual status in relation to the base space.

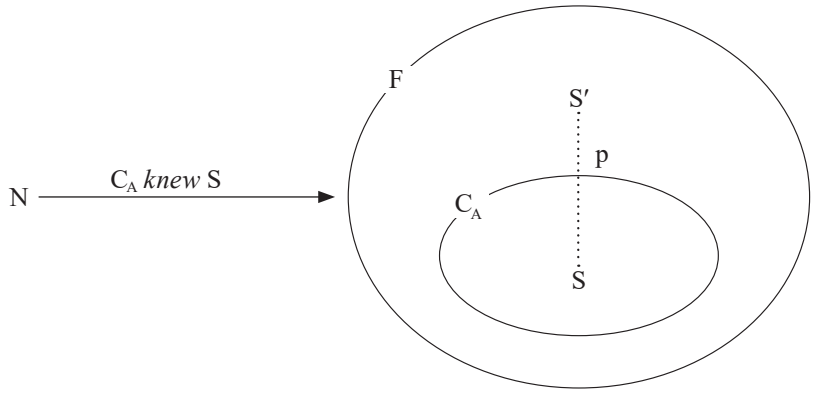
The narrator can conceptualize the characters' cognition in three ways: as knowledge, as thoughts and as the lack of knowledge. The mode of conceptualization is determined by the type of space builder. In what follows, I show through some examples how we can analyse

the three types of cognition in Fauconniers' theory of mental spaces. The utterances investigated here have been found in the corpus of Google Books.

In utterance (1), the narrator conceptualizes Augustus's cognition as knowledge.

(1) Augustus knew that the administration of such a vast domain could not remain in the hands of a self-electing and centralized group of Roman citizens (McCarty, Nick 2008. *Rome. The greatest empire of the ancient world*. New York: The Rosen. 80.)

In utterance (1), the subject of consciousness is moved from the narrator to Augustus by the cognitive factive verb *knew*. In the case of factive verbs we take the truth of the state of affairs expressed in the subordinate clause as given (Kiefer 1983: 192, see also Declerck 2011: 41). The verb *knew* functioning as space builder sets up a new mental space embedded in the base space, i.e. in the factual world of the narrative. The new mental space represents Augustus's mental world. In this case Augustus's mental world contains the belief that the administration of the Roman Empire cannot remain in the hands of a self-electing and centralized group of Roman citizens. By using the factive verb, the narrator conceptualizes this state of affairs not only as part of Augustus's belief, but also as part of the narrator's reality, i.e. the factual world of the narrative. This latter, implicit meaning is the factive presupposition of the sentence. The semantic structure of sentences triggering presuppositions can be described as a figure-ground relationship (Marmaridou 2000: 142–149). While the explicit statement about the mental world of Augustus is in the foreground of attention, the factive presupposition triggered by the factive verb – namely the implicit information that the circumstances conceptualized as part of Augustus's mental world exist in the factual world of the narrative as well – is in the background of attention. We can also say that the narrator conceptualizes the mental world of Augustus as part of the referential scene, in other words it is construed objectively, whereas the narrator's own mental processes – the view that Augustus's assessment is in accordance with the factual world of the narrative – is construed subjectively (on objective and subjective construal, see Langacker 2006: 77–78, 260–64; Kugler 2013). Figure 1 represents the mental space configuration of utterance (1):



p = factive presupposition F = factual world (base space) N = narrator
C = character S = state of affairs

Figure 1: The mental space configuration of knowledge

N represents the narrator who construes a referential scene by utterance (1). Above the arrow I have marked the space builder which constitutes the mental space configuration of the utterance. The circle marked by F represents the base space, i.e. the factual world of the narrative. The smaller circle marked by C_A represents the new mental space related to Augustus' mental world. S in circle C_A shows that the state of affairs related to the administration of the Roman Empire exists in Augustus' mental world. S' in the base space shows that this state of affairs is conceptualized as part of the factual world of the narrative as well. The dotted line marked by p shows the connection of the state of affairs in space C_A and space F triggered by the factive verb.

In utterance (2), the narrator conceptualizes the Romans' cognition as thought.

(2) The Romans thought they were attacked by the entire Carthaginian army, and ran away (Tarassov, Vladimir 2002. *The art of management fighting.* Tallinn: Kvibek Trade. 113.)

In sentence (2), the subject of consciousness is moved from the narrator to the Romans by the cognitive verb *thought,* which functions as a space builder. The new mental space represents the Romans' mental world in which a state of affairs, namely the attack of the entire Carthaginian army, exists. But contrary to the previous example, this verb is non-factive, i.e. it does not presuppose the existence of the state of affairs in the factual world of the narrative. Therefore we cannot say whether the state of affairs exists in the factual world of the narrative or not. I marked this uncertainty by a question mark. Nevertheless, the use of cognitive non-factive verbs in past tense often implies that the state of affairs does not exist in the factual world of the narrative. Figure 2 shows the mental space configuration of utterance (2).

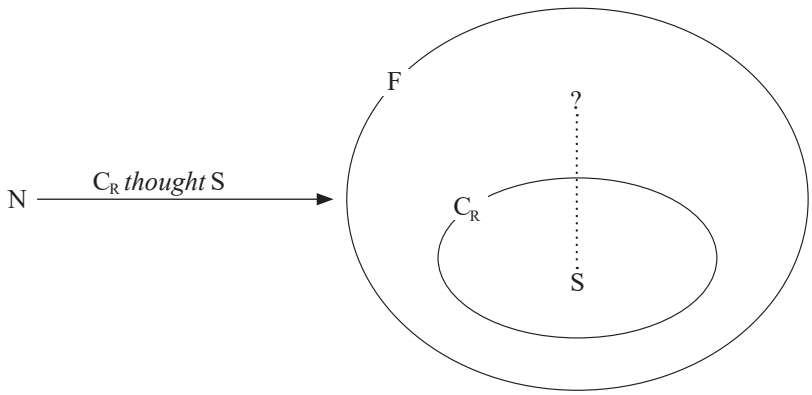


Figure 2: The mental space configuration of thought

In utterance (3), the narrator conceptualizes Japan's cognition as the lack of knowledge.

(3) Japan did not know that Josef Stalin had promised Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference in the Crimea in February 1945 that the Soviet Union would join the war against Japan (Auer, James E. – Watanabe, Tsuneo (eds.) 2006. *From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor. Who was responsible?* Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun. 38.)

In sentence (3), the negated cognitive factive verb *did not know* sets up a new mental space. The new mental space represents Japan's mental world, but in this case the utterance conceptualizes Japan's mental world as lacking information about a state of affairs, the promise of Stalin. The S crossed out illustrates that in Japan's mental world the state of affairs does not exist. At the same time, because of the factiveness of the verb, S is conceptualized as part of the base space, i.e. the factual world of the narrative. It is the general property of factive verbs that the negative particle does not cancel the factive presupposition because "the factive presupposition is the presupposition of the speaker, and the listener or the person referred to by the subject of the main clause do not have to necessarily know about this presupposition" (Kiefer 1983: 192). Figure 3 shows the mental space configuration of utterance (3).

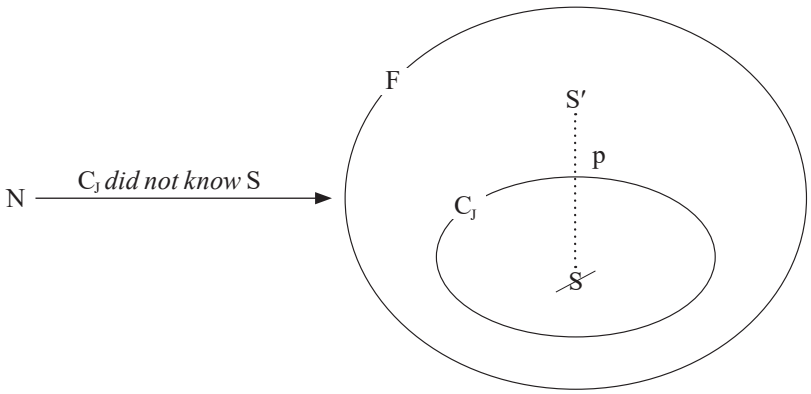


Figure 3: The mental space configuration of the lack of knowledge

The narrator has the possibility to conceptualize the thought of a character through negative construal as we see in example (4).

(4) Churchill did not think that Soviet Russia wanted war (Neillands, Robin. 2003. *Winston Churchill. Statesman of the century.* Cold Spring Harbor, NY: Cold Spring. 196.)

The meaning of utterance (4) is not about the lack of a thought since the sentence means the same as sentence (5).

(5) Churchill thought that Soviet Russia did not want war.

Thus (4) expresses a thought: it is about a state of affairs which exists in the mental world of Churchill, but it does not necessarily exist in the factual world of the narrative. The only difference between (4) and (5) is that in the case of utterance (4) the narrator conceptualizes Churchill's thought via negative construal (on the negative construal of thoughts, see Kugler 2014: 61–62)

The above presented examples show that the narrator can conceptualize a character's cognition as knowledge, as thought and as the lack of knowledge. Thoughts can be conceptualized through positive and negative construal as well, but the latter is very rare. The three types of cognition reflect three types of relation between the character's mental world and the factual world of the narrative. These relations are constituted by two factors: 1. whether

or not the given state of affairs is a component of the factual world of the narrative; 2. whether or not the given state of affairs is a component of the character's mental world. In the case of the first factor, the decisive point is the factiveness or non-factiveness of the cognitive verb. When the narrator uses factive verbs, the given state of affairs becomes part of the factual world of the narrative. When the narrator uses non-factive verbs, the state of affairs is not part of the factual world, or it is impossible to say whether it is part of the factual world or not. In the case of the second factor, the crucial point is the presence of the negative particle. In the case of cognitive factive verbs, the presence of the negative particle marks that the given state of affairs is not part of the character's mental world. At the same time the state of affairs is part of the factual world of the narrative because the negative particle does not cancel the factive presupposition of the factive verb. However, in the case of cognitive non-factive verbs, the construction with negative particle does not express the lack of thought but expresses a thought of a character through negative construal. Table 1 represents the possible relations between the characters' mental world and the factual world of the narrative, i.e. the three types of cognition of characters and the types of constructions expressing them.

type of relation	character's mental world	factual world of the narrative	types of construction
knowledge	the state of affairs exists	the state of affairs exists	cognitive factive verb
lack of knowledge	the state of affairs does not exists	the state of affairs exists	negative particle + cognitive factive verb
thought (through positive or negative construal)	the state of affairs exists	the state of affairs does not (necessarily) exist	cognitive non-factive verb or negative particle + cognitive non-factive verb

Table 1: Types of characters' cognition

4. Quantitative corpus-based investigation of the epistemological status of historical figures

In the second part of the paper I investigate the schemas that motivate the construal of the epistemological status of characters in texts about history. The Hungarian antecedents of the investigation include Tóth–Vincze–László (2006) and Vincze–László (2010) within the framework of narrative psychology. The authors scrutinized the role of narrative perspective in the mediation of identity in Hungarian and Austrian textbooks on history. Applying a quantitative approach, they analysed the types of characters and actions and the types of characters' mental states conceptualized by cognitive and emotional verbs. In my view, the criteria of my investigation based on a distinction between various types of cognition can complement the results of these studies.

The corpus of my investigation was the American texts of Google Books written between 2000 and 2010.[2] For the queries I used the search interface of the site http://googlebooks.byu.edu/x.asp developed by Mark Davies. A character's epistemological status is determined by

[2] The results of the research reflect the state of the corpus on 19 October 2015.

the degree of mental access of the character to the factual world of the narrative. The narrator construes the epistemological status of characters through conceptualizations of the characters' cognition. In the case of each character, the higher the frequency of conceptualizations of knowledge, compared to conceptualizations of thought or the lack of knowledge, the higher the degree of the character's mental access to the factual world of the narrative.

My preliminary assumption was that the construal of the epistemological status of historical figures follows different schemas, in other words the frequencies of the conceptualizations of knowledge, of thought and of the lack of knowledge show remarkable differences across historical figures. Thus on the basis of this assumption, I expected that in the analysed corpus the proportions of the investigated factive, non-factive and negated factive constructions collocating with names of historical figures vary considerably from one historical figure to the other. The analysed proper names, typically referring to historical figures, are the following in alphabetical order:[3] *Augustus*, *Brezhnev*, *Caesar*, *Charlemagne*, *Churchill*, *Eisenhower*, *Gorbachev*, *Hitler*, *Khrushchev*, *Lenin*, *Mussolini*, *Nixon*, *Reagan*, *Robespierre*, *Stalin*, *Thatcher*, *Truman*. Table 2 shows the investigated collocations:

type of cognition	type of construction	collocation
knowledge	factive construction	name + *knew* (e.g. *Augustus knew*)
thought	non-factive construction	name + *thought* (e.g. *Augustus thought*)
lack of knowledge	negated factive construction	name + *did not know* (e.g. *Augustus did not know*) name + *knew nothing* (e.g. *Augustus knew nothing*)

Table 2: The investigated collocations

In the case of the name + *thought* constructions, the name + *thought of* and the name + *thought to be* patterns were ruled out from the investigation. Table 3 shows the results of the queries. The second column shows the number of the occurrences of the name + *knew* factive constructions. The third column shows the proportions of the name + *thought* non-factive constructions to the occurrences of the name + *knew* constructions. Between parentheses I have also given the number of occurrences of each construction. The fourth column in the same way shows the proportions of the name + *did not know* / *knew nothing* negated factive constructions to the occurrences of the name + *knew* constructions. The number of occurrences of the negated factive constructions is given between parentheses. The data of the table were sorted in accordance with the growing order of the proportions of the name + *thought* constructions represented in the third column.

[3] Naturally in a computer-based quantitative research there could be findings that do not refer to the given historical figure. However, I tried to choose names that would minimize this possibility.

name	name + *knew* (knowledge)	name + *thought* (thought)	name + *did not know / knew nothing* (lack of knowledge)
Lenin	87	0.24 (21)	0.07 (6)
Gorbachev	73	0.4 (29)	0 (0)
Charlemagne	18	0.44 (8)	0 (0)
Caesar	218	0.45 (99)	0.06 (14)
Reagan	473	0.45 (211)	0.13 (61)
Stalin	416	0.46 (191)	0.04 (18)
Robespierre	8	0.5 (4)	0 (0)
Truman	325	0.54 (175)	0.1 (32)
Churchill	439	0.56 (245)	0.06 (27)
Hitler	658	0.62 (407)	0.16 (102)
Nixon	471	0.64 (303)	0.04 (20)
Eisenhower	350	0.67 (234)	0.09 (31)
Mussolini	51	0.9 (46)	0 (0)
Augustus	51	0.96 (49)	0 (0)
Khrushchev	73	1.19 (87)	0 (0)
Thatcher	25	3.4 (85)	0 (0)
Brezhnev	0	(0)	(0)
mean		**0.78**	
trimmed mean[4]		**0.55**	
median		**0.63**	

Table 3: The epistemological status of historical figures

The table shows that compared to occurrences of the name + *knew* construction, the lowest proportion of occurrences of the name + *thought* construction appears in the case of the representation of Lenin's cognition. At the other extreme of the scale there is Thatcher. In her case the proportion of occurrences of the name + *thought* construction is outstandingly high. Even if we set the non-factive construction and the two negated factive constructions as one category against the factive construction, there are Lenin and Thatcher at the two extremes of the scale. In other words while Lenin is represented as a character whose cognition, compared to other historical figures, is in accordance with the factual world of the narrative to a high degree, Thatcher is represented as a character whose cognition is not in accordance with the factual world of the narrative in many cases, or at least we cannot say whether it fits in with the factual world or not. The proportions of occurrences of the two negated factive constructions expressing the lack of knowledge are very low. However, it is

[4] In this paper the trimming is always 10%.

worth noting that these constructions occur in the highest proportion in the case of Hitler, which reveals typical assumptions related to him.

As we see in the case of Lenin or Thatcher, some of the differences are striking. However, in contrast with the preliminary assumption of the research, similarity between the patterns related to different historical figures is much more dominant than diversity. In most of the cases, 14 out of 16,[5] the name + *knew* construction has a higher share than the name + *thought* construction. The name + *did not know* and the name + *knew nothing* constructions expressing the lack of knowledge occur always in a lower proportion than the name + *thought* construction and the name + *knew* construction respectively. If we suppose that the proportions of the investigated constructions represent the proportions of thoughts, knowledge and the lack of knowledge of characters, then we can draw the conclusion that typically the character's knowledge is more likely to be conceptualized than the character's thoughts, and the lack of knowledge of characters is conceptualized much less frequently than the characters' thoughts. (I emphasise that I did not conduct any research concerning the representativeness of these constructions.)

From the values of the table it is apparent that the patterns of the epistemological status (representation of cognition) of characters are organized by a prototype. One dimension of this prototype can be approached by the measures of central tendency of the proportions of the name + *thought* construction (it is important to note that this is only an approximation because the sample is not random and the number of elements is low). The mean of the proportions of the construction is 0.78, and the median is 0.55. Due to the high idiosyncratic value of Thatcher, the prototype can be better approached by the trimmed mean, excluding the lowest and the highest values, which is 0.63. I pass over the indication of central values of the negated factive constructions.

Since the patterns related to different historical figures are similar, it can be stated, in contrast with the preliminary assumption, that the narrative construal of the epistemological status of different historical figures is motivated by the same general schema, and idiosyncratic schemas related to specific characters appear only in extraordinary cases, for instance in the construal of Thatcher's epistemological status. In other words, in the case of a historical figure the proportions of the factive, non-factive and negated factive constructions conceptualizing knowledge, thoughts and the lack of knowledge are mostly not the specific property of that historical figure but rather the consequence of a general schema related to the conceptualization of a character as mental agent.

5. Quantitative corpus-based investigation of the epistemological status of nations

In the first part of the paper, I presented some examples which show that the characters of history can be conceptualized not only as persons. Many times they are conceptualized in more abstract ways. Armies, governments, nations, states are typical conceptual elaborations of characters of texts about history. However, in many respects these abstract characters are conceptualized in a way similar to human characters: they are mental agents, who have emotio ns, assumptions, goals, etc. Nevertheless we could ask whether the epistemological status of abstract characters is represented analogously to what we find with human characters. To answer the

[5] Because in the case of Brezhnev I have not found any occurrences of the investigated constructions, I ignore it in the assessment of the results.

question, I investigated the frequencies of occurrences of 12 nations' names collocating with the same factive, non-factive and negated factive constructions as in the previous section. The corpus is the same as well: Google Books, American texts, 2000–2010. The investigated names of nations in alphabetical order are the following: *Americans*, *Austrians*, *Germans*, *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Hungarians*, *Italians*, *Mexicans*, *Persians*, *Romans*, *Russians*, *Turks*. Because in the case of the name + *thought* construction, *the English* type names can be adjectives as well, I could choose only from those names which had an *-s* plural morpheme. I also excluded from the investigation those constructions which had an *of* preposition at the beginning, because in these cases the constructions' meaning is not about the cognition of the nation occurring in the construction. Table 4 shows the results of the queries in the same way as Table 3.

name	**name + *knew* (knowledge)**	**name + *thought* (thought)**	**name + *did not know / knew nothing* (lack of knowledge)**
Turks	62	0 (0)	0.08 (5)
Russians	425	0.48 (203)	0.1 (41)
Germans	1074	0.49 (528)	0.14 (155)
Hungarians	22	0.5 (11)	0 (0)
Romans	668	0.53 (351)	0.07 (50)
Egyptians	423	0.56 (237)	0.08 (32)
Italians	115	0.62 (71)	0.05 (6)
Mexicans	92	0.74 (68)	0.05 (5)
Austrians	25	0.76 (19)	0 (0)
Greeks	905	0.81 (730)	0.08 (70)
Americans	1991	1.06 (2116)	0.18 (349)
Persians	25	1.08 (27)	0.12 (3)
mean		**0.64**	
trimmed mean		**0.66**	
median		**0.59**	

Table 4: The epistemological status of nations

The table shows that the proportions of the occurrences of the factive, non-factive and negated factive constructions are similar to those experienced in the case of historical figures. In 10 cases out of 12, the name + *knew* construction expressing knowledge occurs in larger proportion than the name + *thought* construction expressing thought. The name + *did not know* and the name + *knew nothing* constructions expressing the lack of knowledge appear in a much lower proportion than the name + *thought* and the name + *knew* constructions. The central tendency of the proportions of the name + *thought* construction is also similar to what we see in the case of historical figures: the mean is 0.64, the trimmed mean excluding the two extremes is 0.66 and the median is 0.59. On the basis of these results, we can draw the conclusion that the construal of the epistemological status of nations and historical figures does not show remarkable differences, which means that in the two cases we probably activate the same general schema.

It is worth noting that the nation name *Americans* occurs in the second largest proportion in the case of name + *thought* construction and in the largest proportion in the case of name + *did not know* / *knew nothing* constructions. Probably these proportions are related to the fact that the investigated corpus consists of American texts. It could be the consequence of the American perspective of the writers that the thoughts and the lack of knowledge of the Americans are represented in a more elaborated way than in the case of other nations.

6. The frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition of historical figures and nations

A further question is the frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition of nations in comparison with historical figures. Does the abstractness of the characters influence the frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition? The simplest way to answer the question is to look at the sum of the above investigated factive, non-factive and negated factive constructions in the case of every investigated historical figure and nation and then to compare these values with all of the occurrences of the names of the historical figures and nations (the corpus is the same as previously). The results are shown in Table 5. The second column shows the number of all occurrences of the names of historical figures and nations. The following two columns show the number of the investigated conceptualizations of cognition collocating with the name of the historical figure or nation and the proportion of this value compared to the number of occurrences represented in the second column. The values of proportions are expressed in per thousand. The data of the table were sorted in accordance with the growing order of these values of proportions. The mean, the trimmed mean excluding the two extremes and the median of the proportions are represented at the bottom of the table.

historical figures			
name	**number of tokens**	**conceptualization of cognition**	
		number	**proportion**
Brezhnev	15738	0	**0‰**
Robespierre	13165	12	**0.91‰**
Charlemagne	28175	26	**0.92‰**
Augustus	106396	100	**0.94‰**
Lenin	81821	114	**1.39‰**
Mussolini	64478	97	**1.5‰**
Caesar	179179	331	**1.85‰**
Gorbachev	53194	102	**1.92‰**
Reagan	317883	745	**2.34‰**
Thatcher	44908	110	**2.45‰**
Khrushchev	55939	160	**2.86‰**
Churchill	242324	711	**2.93‰**
Hitler	393148	1167	**2.97‰**
Truman	178689	532	**2.98‰**
Nixon	266658	794	**2.98‰**

Stalin	180117	625	**3.47‰**
Eisenhower	164632	615	**3.74‰**
mean			**2.13‰**
trimmed mean			**2.16‰**
median			**2.34‰**

nations			
name	**number of tokens**	**conceptualization of cognition**	
		number	**proportion**
Turks	112240	67	**0.6‰**
Persians	54281	55	**1.01‰**
Mexicans	149066	165	**1.11‰**
Hungarians	23429	33	**1.41‰**
Italians	122477	192	**1.57‰**
Austrians	27585	44	**1.6‰**
Americans	2437648	4456	**1.83‰**
Russians	225859	669	**2.96‰**
Germans	491148	1757	**3.58‰**
Romans	295271	1069	**3.62‰**
Egyptians	111980	692	**6.18‰**
Greeks	235789	1705	**7.23‰**
mean			**2.73‰**
trimmed mean			**2.49‰**
median			**1.72‰**

Table 5: The frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition

The proportions show that the frequencies of the conceptualizations of cognition related to nations are not lower than in the case of historical figures. Moreover, in the case of the Egyptians and the Greeks the frequency is much higher than the highest frequency in the case of historical figures. Probably these high frequencies are motivated by the fact that the Egyptians and the Greeks are thought to be culturally significant nations whose world views, ideas are depicted in a wide range of texts.

The results are interesting because one might expect that in the case of less humanlike, more abstract characters the frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition is lower than in the case of historical figures. But on the basis of the results we can assume that the schema motivating the conceptualization of the characters' cognition is general and strong enough to override the effect of abstractness.

7. Summary

The paper investigated how the epistemological status of characters is construed in texts about history. In the first part of the study, I showed in Fauconnier's framework of mental space theory how the narrator can conceptualize the cognition of characters as knowledge, as thought and as the lack of knowledge. The conceptualization of knowledge and of the lack of knowledge of characters is symbolized by factive and negated factive cognitive verbs functioning as space builders. The thoughts of characters are symbolized by cognitive non-factive verbs functioning as space builders.

In the second part of the paper, I presented the results of a quantitative corpus-based study. The corpus consisted of the American texts of Google Books written between 2000 and 2010. First I analysed the frequencies of the names of 17 historical figures collocating with the verb form *knew* expressing knowledge, with the verb form *thought* expressing thought and with the verbal constructions *did not know* and *knew nothing* expressing the lack of knowledge. The results showed that the construal of the epistemological status of historical figures is mostly motivated by the same general schema and idiosyncratic schemas related to specific historical figures appear only in extraordinary cases. Then I looked at the proportions of the occurrences of the same verbs and verbal constructions in the case of 12 nation names. The results were similar to those experienced in the case of historical figures, which means that the construal of the epistemological status of nations and historical figures is motivated by the same general schema.

Finally, I examined the frequencies of the conceptualizations of cognition in the case of historical figures and nations. The results showed that despite the abstractness of nations, the frequency of the conceptualizations of cognition related to them is not lower than in the case of historical figures. Moreover, in the case of two nations, the Egyptians and the Greeks, the frequencies are much higher than the highest frequency in the case of historical figures.

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Please keep formatting to a minimum, and apply the following settings: 12p Times New Roman, plain text, justified, no hyphenation at line breaks, first line of each section aligned to the left. The structural layout of the paper should be as follows: Author, Title (and possibly subtitle) of paper. Introduction (decimally numbered as section I), Body of text divided into sections and subsections (decimally numbered), Conclusion, References (not numbered).

Highlighting: in the body of the text, use italics for linguistic data, small caps for names of concepts, and bold face for emphasis. Numbered examples (containing words, phrases, clauses, or longer excerpts) should be set in regular font style, intented, and numbered with a single list throughout the paper.

(1)
(2) a.
b.

Hungarian examples, especially those with relevant internal morphosyntactic structure, are to be supplied with interlinear morphemic glosses and translation, as in the sample below:

(1)	A fiú	becsukta	az ablakot.
	the boy.NOM	PERF.close.PAST.3SG	the window.ACC
	The boy closed the window.		

For in-text citation, use the following conventions:
... as Kocsány (1996: 55) explains, ...
... as Kocsány (1995: 287–289, 1996: 55–59) explains, ...
... the main points are as follows (see e.g. Langacker 1987, Barlow – Kemmer 2000, Geeraerts – Cuyckens eds. 2007)

Use footnotes, not endnotes.

In the list of references, follow the conventions illustrated below.

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