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Contents

A THREE TIMES MARKED POSSESSIVE STRUCTURE IN HUNGARIAN

BENCE POMÁZI

ELKH Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics
pomazi.bence@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4732-4956

Abstract

The paper presents a unique construction of possessing, in which the fact of the possessing is marked three times. On the regent of the construction (which refers to the possessed thing) there is a possessive suffix, and two other linguistic elements refer to the possessor. Both are personal pronouns, the first is in nominative, the second is in dative case. The study looks through the role of this structure in the secondary grammaticalization of the suffix. The paper suggests that the grammaticalization is not a one way, linear path. First, because there can be junctions in the grammaticalizational paths. Second, because in the semantic extension, the newly appearing functions may have an effect on the already existing system. The paper offers a corpus based analysis on how emphasizing the possessor can be related to the ethical dative function. The ethical dative usually occurs on the personal pronoun in the first or second persons *(me, you)* and refers to a figure that is highly involved in the communicative situation. Thus, both structure types (the three times marked possessing and the ethical dative) elaborate emphasizing personal relations in the communicative situation.

Keywords: possession, ethical dative, dative case, grammaticalization, secondary grammaticalization

1. Introduction

The paper discusses a particular structure type in relation to the semantic structure of the Hungarian dative case suffix *-nak/-nek,* with special regard to the role of this structure type in the grammaticalization of the suffix. The structure type described in the title of the paper is the following:

(1) neki az ő élete
    he/she.DAT[1] the he/she.NOM life.PX.3SG
    'his/her life'

The uniqueness of the structure is in the fact that the possessive relation is triple marked: the possessor is marked by a possessive personal suffix (*élet-e* life-Px.3SG) on the head of the structure and also by two pronouns: one personal pronoun in dative case form *(neki)* and another one in nominative form (*ő* 'his/her').

The main question of the study is how this construction relates to other functions in the semantic structure of the suffix *-nak/-nek*, and how it provides a link to other functions arising via meaning extension. The semantic analysis of the structures shows that the dative element appears in the discourse more as an involved figure or perspective marker. Therefore, the structure will be presented in this context in the paper.

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[1] In the morphologic annotation of the Hungarian I mark suffix *-nak/-nek* with DAT whatever function it fulfills in the sentence. It must be noted, though, that it has a remarkable number of functions, see in Section 4.

The research is corpus-based, using mainly the Old Hungarian Corpus (OHC), but also other historical corpora (Old and Middle Hungarian Corpus of informal language use, abbreviated OMHC, and Hungarian Historical Corpus, abbr. HHC) as well as contemporary text databases (Hungarian gigaword corpus, abbr. HNC).

The paper starts with the theoretical framework (2), in which the process of grammaticalization and studies on secondary grammaticalization are discussed, with a review of the literature on the meaning extension of *-nak/-nek*. Section 3 presents the methodology used for the study, followed by a discussion of the results (4). The paper concludes with a summary (5). The study was conducted within a functional cognitive theoretical framework.

2. Theoretical framework

The paper presents one chain in the extension of the meaning of *-nak/-nek*. In the study, I examined this semantic change within a functional cognitive framework (cf. Langacker 1987; Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2017). According to the functional cognitive description, most linguistic items have multiple meanings, and this is true not only for lexical items with conceptual meanings, but also for grammatical items such as case markers in Hungarian. The system of semantically related meanings of a linguistic element is called polysemy (Tolcsvai Nagy 2013: 232; Langacker 2008: 38).

Functional cognitive language description examines polysemy in the context of prototype categorisation. According to prototype categorization (cf. Rosch 1973), categories are created in the course of cognition, based on the abstraction of common properties of experienced phenomena, and category elements are organized around a central, prototypical instance. The prototype has most of the characteristic properties of a category. New meanings in the network of meanings arise by the extension of the central category element, which provides the cognitive motivation for meaning extension (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007: 148).

2.1. Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is a type of linguistic change in which a lexical meaning of a linguistic element develops into a more grammatical meaning, or the meaning of an already grammatical linguistic element becomes more grammatical (Heine–Claudi–Hünnemeyer 1992: 2). On this basis, we can talk about primary and secondary grammaticalization processes (Traugott 2002: 26–27). The present study falls into the latter, i.e. it investigates the semantic change of a linguistic element whose meaning is already highly abstract (Narrog–Heine 2012: 3). In the early stages of grammaticalization research, attention focused primarily on formal changes, but more recently the pragmatic perspective has also become a focus of investigations (Dér 2008). For example, the function of a case marker may be extended by a change in its distribution: it may appear in contexts in which it did not before, and it may be able to take on new meanings with new kinds of heads. These are what Diewald calls 'untypical contexts' (Diewald 2006). Diewald also draws attention to the fact that the new meanings appear in use.

The process of grammaticalization is usually referred to as a path (e.g. Dér 2008) or a chain (e.g. Heine–Claudi–Hünnemeyer 1991: 220–229). These terms refer to the overlapping stages of the process and to the fact that each stage cannot be broken down into discrete elements. Narrog and Heine (2012: 2) note that one of the driving forces of the grammaticalization process is frequency of use along with variation in uses. In the case of case markers, this means that a linguistic element that has progressed along the grammaticalization path, previously occurring after certain types of nouns defined according to semantic criteria, loses this specificity and occurs with an increasing number of nouns (Heine 2008: 463). The semantic consequence of this frequency is what Heine calls desemanticisation, by which he means that the linguistic element going through the process loses its lexical meaning (cf. bleaching). According to Hopper and Traugott (2003:

94), this approach reflects the fact that grammatical descriptions usually view linguistic change from the perspective of the origin of the process, rather than from the point of what the end result will be. In the context of the latter viewpoint, Sweetser (1988: 392) notes that it is more meaningful to view change from both directions: as the lexical meaning is obscured, the linguistic element is also enriched; namely, by the expression of a new grammatical function (cf. loss and gain).

The grammaticalization of *-nak/-nek* is typically described in the literature from the historically primary lative meaning to the expression of possession. The historical grammar reports the following for the functions of the suffix *-nak/-nek*: Korompay (1991a: 311−315) refers to the so-called dative suffix as *-nak/-nek*[1], and to the genitive suffix as *-nak/-nek*[2]. The case marker *-nak/-nek*[1] is originally shown as a suffix answering the question *where to?*, i.e. as a spatial complement with a lative orientation; after that, it is reported in dative, essive and dative possessive structures, a type of structure in which the noun with *-nak/-nek* at the end (and which refers to a possessor) is a dependent of the possessive substantive verb *van, nincs* or *sincs*. At the end of the line, the 'abstract relations' appear, with *-nak/-nek*[2] treated as the possessive marker. The *Historical grammar* (Korompay 1991a) does not report on the processes and tendencies of meaning expansion, only on the functions that can be discerned.

From a cognitive semantic point of view, Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy (2005) reviews certain functions of the suffix. His description focuses on how the Hungarian possessive structure can be understood as a metaphorical extension of a spatial relation. Thus, he shows the divergence of the meaning of the suffix in four steps, from the direct, spatial relation involving contact (*falnak megy* − wall.DAT go.PRES.3SG 'going to the wall') through the contactless spatial relation expressing direction (*délnek tart* − south-DAT aim-PRES.3SG 'going south') and *-nak/-nek* denoting the recipient of a transactional process (*ad egy könyvet a fiúnak* − give-PRES.3SG a book.ACC the boy.DAT 'giving a book to the son'; in metaphorical space: *üdvözletét küldi az apjának* − greetings.PX.3SG.ACC send.PRES.3SG the father.PX.3SG.DAT 'sending greetings to his father') to the expression of the possessive relation (*a fiúnak a könyve* − the boy.DAT the book.PX.3SG 'the boy's book').

The present paper argues that grammaticalization is not a strictly one-way process: new functions can refer back to functions already in the semantic structure, either structurally or semantically. The paper places the triply marked possessive structure on the grammaticalization map of the *-nak/-nek* suffix.

3. Method

For this paper I used the Hungarian Historical Generative Syntax Corpus (Old Hungarian Corpus) (cf. Simon 2014). Part of the corpus is only in original orthograph, a smaller part is normalized, i.e. it is also transcribed according to contemporary orthography. Moreover, some texts are also morphologically analysed, i.e. the morphological properties of individual word forms are labelled, which can thus be searched for in a targeted way.

I carried out several queries on the corpus. First, I performed a statistical analysis by function. To do this, I searched for nouns ending with *-nak* and *-nek* in the normalised, analysed texts. This resulted in a total of 10,106 tokens. From the data, I selected a random sample of 400 tokens using Excel (which turned out to be a sufficient number to be representative of the whole sample). These were then analysed manually by function. The list of 400 resulted in 11 blind hits, so the figures should be understood in the light of the 389 valuable hits. In addition to these, I also performed targeted searches, these are indicated next to the data with a TS mark, indicating the corpus from which they originated. The sources of the targeted searches are the Hungarian Historical Corpus (HHC), the Old and Middle Hungarian corpus of informal language use (OMHC), the Hungarian National (gigaword) Corpus (HNC v2.0.5) and the Old Hungarian Corpus.

The corpus data should be interpreted in the light of the specificity of the texts. Most of the examples analysed are from codices, many of them are from the biblical or religious literature translated from Latin, and the specific features of these examples will be discussed in the respective examples.

In the morphological labelling I indicate possessive relations, noun cases and the information of the verbs.

4. Results

Among the randomly selected data, I have distinguished the following functions (1–9). In the list, I name the function or semantic role that the suffix *-nak/-nek* plays in its construction. Each function is followed by an example.

1. possessive belonging, which conceptualises not only ownership but also other kinds of relatedness (219 words in the text): *Istennek angyala* – God.DAT angel.PX.3SG 'the angel of God';

2. RECIPIENT of a process / beneficiary or maleficiary of a scene: BENEFICIENT[2] (85): *mondá a gyülekezetnek* – say.PAST.3SG the assembly.DAT 'he said to the assembly; *mit használ embernek* – what.ACC avail.PRES.3SG man.DAT 'how is it good for man';

3. those nouns ending with *-nak/-nek* that occur in a postpositional phrase, and the postposition has a possessive suffix at the end (40): *az képnek alatta* – the picture.DAT under.PX.3SG 'under the picture';

4. pronouns indicating the end point of a process of mental evaluation (19): *boldognak mondanak engem* – happy.DAT say.PRES.3PL me.ACC 'they say I am happy';

5. in a construction with the possessive meaning existential verbs '(not) to be', expressing the possessor (dative possessive) (16): *ezeknek gyökerük nincs* – these.DAT root.PX.3PL not be.PRES.3SG 'they have no roots';

6. a noun expressing the potential AGENT/EXPERIENCER of a scene or process: *miképpen szokott az embernek gyönyörködni az jó vendégségbe?* – how used to the man.DAT enjoy.INF the good hospitality.INE 'how does one enjoy good hospitality?';

7. a noun expressing the motivating reason for a process: *minek menétek ki látni?* – what.DAT go.PAST.2PL see.INF 'why did you go out to see (something)?';

8. the entity denoted by the noun with *-nak/-nek* at the end is both involved in the process and has a possessive relation with another noun (possessive dative structures) (2): *embereknek ez világi jószágukat elorozzák* – people.DAT this wordly goods.PX.3PL-ACC take.away.PRES.3PL 'people have their worldly goods snatched away';

9. a pronoun expressing the spatial endpoint of a kinetic process (1): *lábaimnak tőröket hajigált* – feet.PX.1SG.DAT daggers.ACC throw.PAST.3PL 'he threw daggers at my feet'.

So I have primarily considered function in the separation, but of course some of the functions occur in constructions with typical structures. The obvious exception to this separation is group 3, namely the postpositional phrases. However, it is worth treating this as a separate group because of several peculiarities of its genesis. Groups 5, 6 and 8 also have a typical constructional pattern. Figure 1 shows the whole grammaticalizational map of the suffix. However, this paper only examines one of the chains. (For a larger, comprehensive study on the grammaticalization of the suffix, see Pomázi 2021: 23–50.)

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[2] In this study I do not make any difference between the semantic roles of BENEFICIENT and MALEFICIENT.
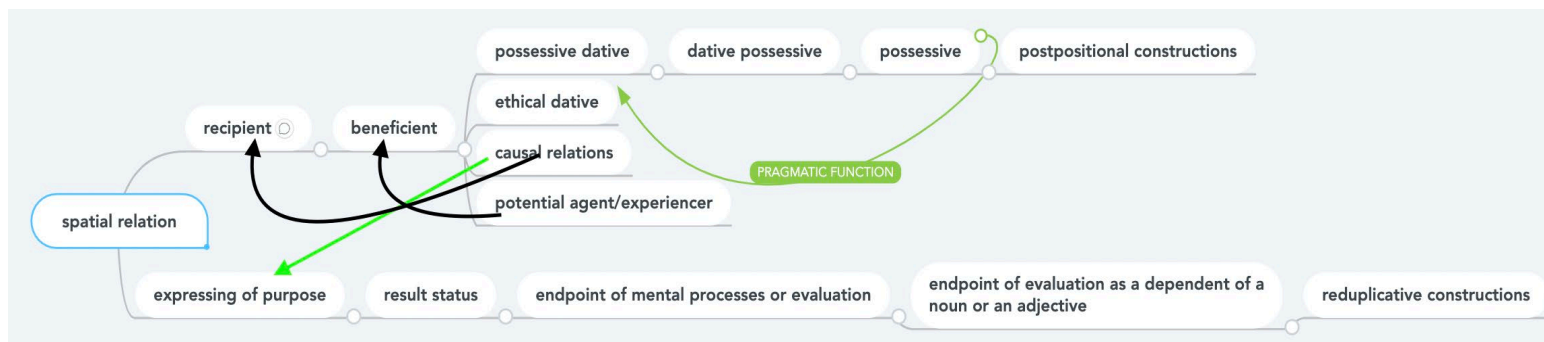
Figure 1. The grammaticalization map of the suffix

4.1. A brief description of the abstraction of meaning up to possessive constructions

The abstraction of the meaning of the suffix can be briefly outlined below. The marking of the spatial relation in the case of the suffix indicates the construing of the target in a directional relation ((2): *lábaimnak* 'in the direction of my legs'), and directionality is also present in the expression of the RECIPIENT.

> (2) hálókat vetett nekem ellenségem, valahova megyek vala,
> és én *lábaimnak* tőröket hajigált
>
> nets.ACC cast.PAST.3SG me.DAT enemy.PX.1SG, anywhere.LAT go.1SG
> be.AUX.PAST, and I feet.PX.1SG-DAT daggers.ACC throw.PAST.3SG
> 'My enemy cast nets for me anywhere I was going,
> and he threw daggers *at my feet'.*

> (3) [Jézus a kenyeret] adta *azoknak*, kik ővele valának
> [Jesus the bread-ACC] give.PAST.3SG those.DAT, who him.COM be.PAST.3PL
> 'Jesus gave the bread *to those,* who were with him.'

In (3), *azoknak* 'to those' elaborates the endpoint of a transactional process: it designates the persons in space to whom the thing moved, the bread, is delivered. Attention may also focus on whether the scene is beneficial (4) or harmful (5) to the agent(s):

> (4) dicsőség *Atyának* és *Fiúnak* és *Szentléleknek*
> Glory Father.DAT and Son.DAT and Holy.Spirit.DAT
> 'Glory *to the Father*, and *to the Son*, and *to the Holy Spirit*'

> (5) mit használ embernek, ha mindez teljes világot elnyerje,
> ő *lelkének* kediglen veszedelmet leljen?
> what.ACC avail.PRES.3SG man.DAT, if this whole world.ACC gain.SUBJ.PRES.3SG,
> they soul.PX.3SG.DAT although peril.ACC find.SUBJ.PRES.3SG[3]
> 'What profit is it to a man, should they gain the whole world,
> and should they find peril *to his soul* in exchange?

The transitions between the dative and the genitive functions are stages in the process of meaning expansion that have a characteristic constructional pattern.

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[3] The abbreviation SUBJ refers to subjunctive mood in the glosses.

(6) gonoszabbak az rágalmazók az orvaknál és az tolvajoknál,
    kik *embereknek* ez világi jószágukat elorozzák

    wicked.COMP.PL the slanderer.PL the blind.PL.ADE and the thief.PL.ADE,
    who.PL people.DAT this wordly goods.PX.3PL.ACC take.away.PRES.3PL
    'more wicked are the slanderers than the blind and the thieves,
    who take away the worldly goods *of people'*.

(7) ezeknek gyökerük nincs

    these.DAT root.PX.3PL not.be.PRES.3SG
    'they have no roots'

Sentence (6) is an example of a possessive dative construction. The possessive dative (*embereknek* 'of people') is subordinated to a verb (*eloroz* 'take away') and is grammatically in a possessive relation with a noun having a possessive personal suffix (*jószág-uk-at* – goods-PX.3PL-ACC 'their goods') that agrees in number and in person with it. The participant elaborated by the *-nek* suffixed word can thus be processed in the scene as both possessor and beneficient/maleficient (see Elekfi 1993). With regard to the word order pattern, the study does not pay special attention to where the noun with the possessive suffix and the one with *-nak/-nek* at the end occur in the actual clause in relation to the verb. The dative possessive in (7) represents a structure in which the noun with *-nak/-nek* at the end is a dependent of the existential verb *van* having a possessive meaning, *nincs/sincs* 'not to be', and it expresses the possessor. The former is thus closer to the dative node of meaning, the latter to the genitive. A more abstract stage in the grammaticalization is the marking of the possessor in a certain structure, where the head of the structure is always a noun.

4.2. The possessive structures

More than half of the data express a relationship of a genitive nature, therefore relatedness. This relatedness is, semantically speaking, highly varied (cf. Hadrovics 1969: 139–177). For ease of treatment, I will treat them here as belonging to one category.

In her study of the frequency of the genitive role of *-nak/-nek* suffixed nouns in codices, Klára Korompay came to the following conclusions (Korompay 1991b: 375, 1992b: 358–361, 406–408). The *-nak/-nek* suffix in this function is the second most frequent noun suffix in the codices after the accusative suffix *-t*, which is also due to the influence of Latin texts. Since the Latin genitive is always realised as an overt morpheme, translators striving for faithful morpheme-by-morpheme translation used this variant in Hungarian instead of expressing the possessor with a default nominative form.

In the Old Hungarian Corpus, there are also structures expressing multiple possession where several of these functions are formally marked with the *-nak/-nek* suffix:

(8) Jézus Krisztus, Isten *fiának evangéliumának* eredete

    Jesus Christ, God son.PX.3SG.DAT gospel.PX.3SG.DAT origin.PX.3SG
    'The origin *of the Gospel of the* God's *Son,* Jesus Christ'

(9) hisztek *Istennek fiának* nevében

    believe.PRES.2PL God.DAT son.PX.3SG.DAT name.PX.3SG.INE
    'you believe in the name *of the Son of God'*

(10) lakozik vala az pusztában *Izraelnek kijelentésének* ideiglen

     dwell be.AUX.PAST the wilderness.INE Israel.DAT revelation.PX.3SG.DAT time.PX.3SG.TERM
     '[he] was dwelling in the wilderness at the time *of Israel's revelation'*

There are three possessive structures in (8), two of which are marked with a *-nak/-nek* suffix. In (9), both possessive structures are marked with *-nak/-nek*, although the omission of one of them would not affect intelligibility, the multiple markedness (one possessive suffix on the head, and another one on the dependent) being motivated by the multiple possessive relations themselves (Korompay 1991a: 301). In (10), in the structure *kijelentésének ideiglen,* the relation is apparently marked once, since it is not read *idejéiglen.* At the same time, the root *idő* is a type that can alternate the tone and duration of its last vowel, so that the possessive personal suffix *-i* inside the form *idejéiglen* and the *i* of the terminative case marker *-ig(len)* coincide. This construction *kijelentésének ideiglen* is related to the postpositional structures that require a noun with *-nak/-nek* at the end. The structure is embedded into the syntactic structure of the sentence by *ideiglen,* and *kijelentésének ideiglen* together marks the time of the predicate *lakozik vala* 'was dwelling'.

This is also consistent with the fact that, according to the findings of language historians, the marking of the possessive relation has progressed from simpler to more marked (Korompay 1991a: 300). Therefore the relationship between other meanings of the suffix (especially the lative and dative as the historically primary and one of the most common functions, respectively) and the above mentioned meaning of *-nak/-nek* should be considered as motivated.

In the random sample, there were some items in which the possessor's person was marked more than once. These are:

(11) illik *embernek ő* fiának felmagasztatni?

ought man.DAT he/she son.PX.3SG.DAT exalt.PASS.INF
'is the *man's* son ought to be exalted?'

(12) édes *megváltónknak ő* szent evangéliumában

sweet saviour.PX.1PL.DAT he saint gospel.PX.3SG.INE
'in the holy gospel *of* our sweet *Saviour*'

(13) nincs *valakinek ő* élete a bőségben

not.be.PRES.3SG somebody.DAT he/she life.PX.3SG abundance.INE
'no man has *their* life in abundance'

In examples (11)−(13), the possessor marked with the case suffix *-nak/-nek* is accompanied by the personal pronoun *ő* 'she/he' in nominative form, which also refers to the person of the possessor. The relation between the two is coreferential, i.e. they refer to the same character in the discourse universe. The inclusion of the nominative personal pronoun in this case may serve the role of emphasis (Sipos 1991: 362). This means that it has a pragmatical role by putting an emphasis on the person of the possessor. If we accept that *valakinek ő* in (13) is the dependent of *élete*, the construction cannot be interpreted as dative possessive, because in that case they would be the dependents of *nincs*. Also, *nincs* in (13) has an existential rather than a possessive meaning.

In the Old Hungarian corpus, I searched for the following types of structures in the plural possessive structures: *nekem az én* (me.DAT the I, 'my'), *neked a te* (you.DAT the you, 'your'), *neki az ő* (he/she.DAT the he/she 'his/her'). In this way, I wanted to find structures in which the person of the possessor is marked in multiple ways: with a personal pronoun in the dative case and a personal pronoun in the nominative case. Klára Korompay (1992a: 347) points out that multiple marking may be a stylistic peculiarity of the text: in the codex texts, the translator wants to render the original Latin text in a structurally faithful way. The equivalents of *én* 'my' and *te* 'your' in the Latin original may be in the dative case, but in the third person singular, the structure does not contain a dative pronoun. Although the Latin pattern is not followed in every case (G. Varga 1992: 461), its influence is still predominant in the Old Hungarian period. I have investigated this in the following first and second person possessive structure obtained by a targeted search (from the normalized part of the corpus, the source is mentioned in brackets at the end of the example):

(14) Mert valaki azt cselekszi, az mit akar az Isten,
    az *nekem az én atyámfia*, néném és anyám

    Because somebody that.ACC act.PRES.3SG, that what.ACC want.PRES.3SG the
    God, that me.DAT the I brother (literally: father.PX.1SG.son.PX.3SG),
    sister.PX.1SG and   mother-PX.1SG
   'For whosoever will do the will of God, that is *my brother*, and my sister,
    and my mother' (Károli Bible, Gospel of Mark 3/35)

(15) mit mondasz felőle, hogy megnyitotta *neked a te szemeidet*?

    what.ACC say.PRES.2SG about.PX.3SG, that open.PAST.3SG you.DAT the you
    eyes.PX.2SG.ACC
    'what do you say about him, who has opened *your eyes*?'
    (Gábor Pesti: Novum testamentum, Gospel of John, 9/17)

Nekem az én 'my' is used 11 times, and *neked a te* 'your' is used 5 times in the orthographically normalized part of the corpus. From these I have chosen one at random. The structures highlighted in (14)–(15) have the following Latin equivalents:[4]

(16) "Qui enim fecerit voluntatem Dei, hic frater meus et soror mea et mater est."

(17) "Tu quid dicis de illo, qui aperuit oculos tuos?"

In example (15), note that *neked* could also designate a beneficiary, and in (14) *nekem* could be interpreted in the Hungarian version as 'for me', too. The Latin equivalents do not include the personal pronoun *me, you* in dative. This means that in these particular cases, it was not the translator's concern for structural fidelity that could have been the reason for the inclusion of the dative inflected form of the personal pronoun and the formally unmarked form of the pronoun expressing the possessor in the Hungarian version.

In these cases, the *nekem, neked* components of the structure seem to be close to the dativus ethicus function. About dativus ethicus, Rácz and Szemere (1985: 86) note that it occurs in Hungarian in the form *nekem* (so the first person singular pronoun in dative case) and is a feature of impulsive speech. German descriptive grammarians emphasize that dativus ethicus expresses the personal, inner interest of the speaker (Pete 1998: 302), i.e. here too its use is reduced to first person singular. In Czech, the dative form of the second person singular personal pronoun can also express this function. Fried (2014: 13–14) emphasizes the discourse-building function of the pronoun: the actor it expresses is a participant in the discourse itself, it emphasizes them.

Pete (1998: 302–303) furthermore points out that this structure-function type exists in most European languages (French, German, Polish, Czech, etc.). She thus assumes the influence of a mediating language behind the phenomenon. As a source structure, she identifies the following type (with the relevant correspondences marked in italics):

(18) Quid *mihi* Celsius agit? 'What does my Celsius do *for me?*'

Ágnes Pete derives the dativus ethicus from such constructions, which foreground one of the participants of the discourse. However, the situation of the third person is different in Hungarian, too. Although lexical nouns can be substituted for *nekem/neked,* in this case the article is omitted (cf. sentences (11)–(13)). The following example can be found by searching for „*neki az ő*" – he/she-DAT the he/she in the normalized part of the corpus (ignoring those where *neki* clearly refers to a RECIPIENT/BENEFICIENT, and not a possessor):

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(19) *neki az ő* élete nem hagyatott az koporsóban
    he.DAT the he life.PX.3SG not leave.PASS.PAST.3SG the coffin.INE
    '*his* life was not left in the coffin'

The structure type "*nekem az én* – I-DAT the I" can also occur in sentences in which the personal pronoun in dative case is the dependent of a verb, and which designates the addressee of the process in the sentence (20):

(20) elég *nekem* az én nyomorom (HNC)
    enough I.DAT the I misery.PX.1SG
    'my misery is enough *for me*' (HNC)

In terms of dependencies, (20) is different from the structures presented in sentences (14), (15), (17). If we accept that, because of following the Latin pattern, the dative personal pronouns *(nekem, neked, neki)* in the latter sentences reinforce the person of the possessor, they are in a chain with the nominative case pronouns *(én, te, ő)*. In sentence (20), the personal pronoun *nekem* 'for me' is a dependent of the predicate *elég* 'enough', while *én* 'my' refers to the possessor and is the dependent of *nyomorom* 'my misery', so they are not in the same chain.

    However, it also occurs in sentences where it is not easy to decide whether it is an ethical dative or a pronoun that makes the possessor's person more explicit (20):

(21) Ne bántalmazzák *nekem az én* őrizeteseimet. (HNC)
    not abuse.IMP.PRES.3PL I.DAT the I detainee.PL.PX.1SG.ACC
    'Do not abuse *my* detainees (?*for me*)' (HNC)

Sentence (21) confirms the functional closeness of the dative personal pronoun indicating the multiple elaboration of possession, and the one in ethical dative function. The occurrence of the negator *ne* 'don't' makes this occurrence even closer to the ethical dative, since the ethical dative is often found in prohibitive sentences.

    For *nekem az én* (me.DAT the I) search, the Hungarian National Corpus (HNC) gives 88 tokens including repetitions, subtracting those there are 74 tokens. Of these, 5 hits make the same possession more elaborate. This occurs even in the predicate position, with the pronoun *enyém* 'mine':

(22) Ők nem az én gyerekeim, […] *nekem az enyémek* az I/B-sek. (HNC)
    They not the my children.PL.PX.1SG, I.DAT the mine.PL the I/B.PL
    'They are not my children, […] (*as for me*) *mine* are the those in class I/B.'

The examples show a detail of the intertwined and interrelated system of different realisations of the suffix in the mental processing. One can see examples in multiple functions, where the construction schema includes both the nominative (formally unmarked) and dative case forms of a given lexeme. Here we find cases in which a) the inflected noun and the one in nominative occur in different functions, b) the dative accentuates the nominative in its possessive function, c) the noun in dative emphasises one of the participants in a communicative situation. Thus, whether the function of the structure type is to indicate the possessive or to emphasise the role of the participant, this function involves foregrounding one of the participants in the situation: its function is thus primarily pragmatic, as it is able to display the point of view of the conceptualizer.

    The examples also show that the specific pragmatic function of the dative form of the personal pronoun is to emphasize the deeper involvement of the discourse participant in the scene. This is also reflected in uses where it is not easy to decide whether the role of the pronoun in the sentence is closer to that of marking the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIENT or EXPERIENCER or the possessor.

(23) *Nekem* a kis *nyugdíjamnak* tavaly is a legnagyobb érvágásnak
    a gázszámla bizonyult. (HNC)
    me.DAT the small pension.PX.1SG.DAT (last year) too the biggest drain.DAT
    the gas.bill turn.out.PAST.3SG
    '(?*For me,*) the biggest drain on *my* small *pension* last year was the gas bill.'

(24) *neked* a *nettódnak* ugyan annyinak kellene lenni most, mint korábban. (HNC)
    you.DAT the net.PX.2SG.DAT same.DAT should.COND be.INF now, than before
    '*Your net income* should be the same (*?for you*) now as it was before.'

(25) *nekem* a *múltamnak* köszönhetően egyáltalán nem jelentett problémát
    [egy csapatba bekapcsolódni] (HNC)
    I.DAT the past.PX.1SG.DAT thanks.to at.all not mean.PAST.3SG problem.ACC
    [a group.ILL join.INF]
    '(?*I had / It meant*) no problem at all [to join a team] thanks to *my past*'

(26) *Nekem* a *szüleimnek* a szülei mind nagy zenészek voltak. (HNC)
    I.DAT the parent.PL.PX.1SG.DAT the parent.PL.PX.3SG all big musicians
    be.PAST.3PL
    '*My parents*' parents were all great musicians.'

(27) *nekem* a *kislányomnak* sok volt a bukása (HNC)
    I.DAT the daughter.PX.1SG.DAT lot be(COP).PAST.3SG the failure.PX.3SG
    '*my daughter* had a lot of failures'

The construction schema of the structures presented is as follows: a personal pronoun in dative case form, followed (either after an attribute or a chain of attributive syntagmatic structures) by a noun with the suffix *-nak/-nek* at the end and also having a possessive suffix, which is in number and person agreement with the pronoun. And in examples (23) to (25), the anchored verb (or core sentence, see Imrényi 2017) of the clause requires a dative dependent.

The analytical problem is that in examples (23)–(25) the pronouns *nekem, neked,* etc. can be interpreted as markers of the possessor in terms of dependency relations, but it is also important to note the extension of involvedness, as they do not necessarily mark the BENEFICIENTs described by the clauses but rather possibly the conceptualizers of the scene, by which the pronouns highlight the conceptualizers' points of view. Analysing them as marking the possessors is also supported by the fact that the pronouns agree in person with the nouns ending with *-nak/-nek*. However, the dative interpretation can also be explained by this extension of involvedness.

This point is of particular importance in the interpretation of sentence (25). The core of the clause (*problémát jelent* 'cause a problem') requires the elaboration of the dative complement, i.e. it must be made explicit to whom the subject (*bekapcsolódni* 'to join') is harmful. However, *múltamnak* 'to my past' is not an appropriate candidate for elaborating this, since it is incorporated into the syntactic structure of the sentence with the postposition *köszönhetően* 'thanks to', and the *múltamnak köszönhetően* 'thanks to my past' composite structure thus participates in the dependency representation as an adverbial of cause. Thus the only suitable candidate for the role of the dative complement is *nekem* 'for me', which is thus processed both as a participant and as a possessor in the background (since the possessor of *múltam(nak)* 'my past' is also the first person singular speaker: **nekem nekem a múltamnak köszönhetően…* 'for me, thanks to my past'…, but of course double elaboration would be superfluous).

In (26)–(27) the situation is different in that the nouns ending with *-nak/-nek* (*szüleimnek* 'my parents'', *kislányomnak* 'my daughter's') are not dependents of a verb, but of another noun (*szülei* 'parents', *bukása* 'failure'). Thus, the structure is more likely to be interpreted as the first possessive marker of a double possessive structure than as a dative complement; the latter interpretation would

be supported by the sentence position (in this case, the speaker of the sentence would communicate as a lived experience that their grandparents are musicians or that their daughter failed at school).

The examples in (23)–(27) also show that there is no rigid boundary between the different functions of the suffix *-nak/-nek*. A structurally constructed possessive component may also have properties that semantically bring the occurrence closer to the dative meaning node. The dynamic processing of the sentence also plays a role: the appearance of a noun having a possessive suffix, for example, opens up the interpretation that there is a possessive relation in the sentence.

In particular, this ambiguity may be true of pronouns, which have a schematic meaning and whose function in a sentence depends to a large extent on the context in which they occur.

Thus, the study has argued that this pragmatic function of the suffix provides a link between meanings in the extension of meaning. In this way, the following grammaticalization path from the historically primary, locational to possessive relation marking can be outlined:

Figure 2. One of the grammaticalization chains of the suffix *-nak/-nek*

The diagram shows how the extension of meaning from the lative meaning to the expression of possession and belonging happens. The paper suggests that grammaticalization should not be understood as a linear process, but should be considered in a more dynamic model. On the one hand, grammaticalization should be considered as a process that may involve branching into multiple pathways. This is particularly important in the case of the extremely rich meaning network of the suffix *-nak/-nek,* especially when looking back at the functions isolated in the corpus analysis. On the other hand, any new features that emerge may also reflect back on the already existing system as a whole. Thus, for example, both the ethical dative and the possessive structure may share the pragmatic function of emphasising a human participant in the scene (the discourse actor in the case of the ethical dative, and the person of the possessor in the possessive structure).

5. Conclusion

The study examined aspects of the grammaticalization of the suffix *-nak/-nek*. The central issue of the study was a type of structure in which the person of the possessor is marked twice: with a base-form (nominative) and a dative case-form personal pronoun. The novelty of the study was that it provided a corpus-based analysis of the grammaticalization of a case suffix.

The study has shown that the accentuation of the person of the possessor with the personal pronouns *nekem, neked, neki* (which coincide morphologically in Hungarian, so can both mean 'for me, you, him/her' and 'my, your, his/her') etc. can have a pragmatic linking function in the grammaticalization of the suffix, which can also extend to other functions. By foregrounding the actor of the speech situation, it can be related to the ethical dative, whose most typical form of elaboration is also the first and second person dative personal pronoun. In addition, the study has provided examples of how the foregrounding of participants in a speech situation or the point of view of the speaker by means of the personal pronouns *nekem, neked* can be situated on the continuum between dative and genitive functions.

The investigation will continue by constructing a grammaticalization map of the entire meaning network, which can be supported by the parameters of secondary grammaticalization processes.

Sources

HNC = Hungarian National Corpus (v2.0.5.). http://mnsz.nytud.hu/index_eng.html
HHC = Hungarian Historical Corpus. http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz
OMHC = Old and Middle Hungarian corpus of informal language use. http://tmk.nytud.hu/about.php
Old Hungarian Corpus = Hungarian Generative Historical Syntax. http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/

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ON SOME HUNGARIAN MEANS OF EXPRESSION OF PASSIVE CONTENTS: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

BERNADETT MODRIÁN-HORVÁTH

University of Szeged
bernadett.modrianhorvath@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3834-9163

Abstract

Hungarian is widely considered as a language without any productive morphological passive, while some linguists insist on the idea of a Hungarian analytical stative passive. This paper examines the use of genuine morphosyntactic word formation means and alternatives which express passive contents, focusing mainly on the clause level. According to the mainstream definition of passive in cognitive linguistics, passive is defined as a reversal of the focal participants (trajector and landmark). After an overview of the most important functions of the usage of passive, the paper discusses Hungarian means of expression for passive content and passive-equivalents known and described in the Hungarian literature.

The theoretical part is followed by the presentation of an empirical survey concerning the means of expression of passive in Hungarian. The first analysis investigates the constructions expressing passive contents in a corpus consisting of scientific texts in an explorative way. Afterwards, the investigation of the diachronic development of the construction Verb + -va/-ve + lenni/van in several corpora is presented, providing evidence that this construction is more and more productive in the sense of a stative passive. Finally, an analysis of derivations with the inherently middle suffix -ódik/-ődik shows that the use of this construction as a means of expression for passive contents is (still) quite restricted.

Keywords: voice, passive, corpus-based, adverbial participle constructions, impersonal 3PL constructions

1. Introduction

This paper examines the formal expressions of passive function, the constructional schemas conveying passive meanings and their realizations in Hungarian. The categories of voice (diathesis)[1], which can be distinguished on the basis of the "number of participants, their characteristic types and their orientation, as well as the characteristics of the event structure related to the figures" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 331),[2] form a continuum (see also the work of Shibatani (1985)). The detecting of a "Hungarian passive" is often hindered by the assumption that one function is expressed by one form, and vice versa − which is highly untypical of the categories of natural languages. Accordingly, among the morphological and syntactic means of expression characteristic of certain voices, we often find polysemous derivational suffixes (Szili 1999) and structures (Honti − H. Varga 2013). This paper considers "means of expression" as constructions or construction schemas, which consist of an association of form and function.

In addition to the complex relationships between form and function, the investigation is complicated by the different notions of passive meanings according to different approaches (see amongst

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[1] The terms *voice* and *diathesis* are treated interchangeably in this paper.
[2] Throughout the paper, Hungarian passages from the specialized literature are quoted in the author's English translation.

others Givón 1994; Langacker 2006b; H. Tóth 1996; Szili 1999; H. Varga 2015; Molnár 2018). In my paper, I mainly use functional cognitive approaches to voice and passive voice.

The Hungarian expressions of passive functions have been mostly examined in comparison with various foreign languages (cf. Sturm 1995; Berényi 2001; H. Varga 2015; Modrián-Horváth 2021), predominantly based on the results of the examination of parallel corpora. However, a comprehensive corpus-based study of the phenomenon has not yet taken place in authentic Hungarian texts, and the present work aims to take steps towards filling this gap. Corpus-based analyses are of particular importance when one is applying a theoretical framework, here functional theory, which adopts a usage-based approach to linguistic phenomena.

2. Passive as a form and a function

2.1. Formal and functional definitions of passive diathesis

When looking at definitions of voice, we can find various morphosyntactic and semantic criteria and their combinations. The literature of formal linguistics considers passive primarily as a syntactic transformation, which entails a change in the appearance of theta roles in the surface structure (cf. Chomsky 1981; Perlmutter 1983). In this way, it is not able to account for the importance of passive in discourse, the typological diversity of its appearance and the frequent extensions of the morphosyntactic patterns associated with diathesis change, on which the present paper places particular emphasis. In semantic definitions, the abstract meaning type of verbs (e.g. action verbs, stative verbs) and the semantic role of the main figure of the sentence are relevant. The advantage of the latter approach is that voice is defined as an inherently functional category, but the disadvantage is that it does not make the construction schemas for expressing or changing diathesis obvious. This is probably why the combination of the two aspects is often used in different approaches; for example, in Hungarian Grammar (Lengyel 2000, 83ff.), action verbs are characterized as "active", with a subject of the type "agent", while the defining characteristics of causative and passive verbs, respectively, are their characteristic derivational suffixes (*-at/-et*, *-tat/-tet*, or *-at(ik)/-et(ik)*, *-tat(ik)/-tet(ik)*).

Voices form a continuum according to the observation of both Hungarian and other functional linguists (e.g. Shibatani 1985; Kemmer 1993; Langacker 1987; Tolcsvai Nagy 2017), depending on the prototypicality and distinguishability of the agent and the patient (cf. 2.2). The prototypical passive verb is defined in Osiris Grammar (Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2017) as follows: About the schematic figures in the semantic structure of the verb, the trajector and landmark, it can be said that

> the primary figure (trajector) is patient, the undergoer of the events expressed by the verb, the process takes place on it, it is overtly present, it requires elaboration in the sentence, the secondary figure (landmark) is a resource, a hidden (implicit) actor that performs the event (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 334).

Using the passive verb, the figure affected by the process is placed in the foreground. In the event structure, "in the force dynamic relationship, the implicit secondary figure causes the primary figure to undergo some process" (ibid.). According to Tolcsvai Nagy, *elítéltetik* (*elítél* 'condemn' + suffix *-tetik*, 'is condemned') is a typical passive verb in which the trajector is the undergoer of the judgment, it requires an overt elaboration; the landmark is an implicit, "institutional legal or moral instance" (ibid.).

2.2. Characteristic functions of passive voice

Among the most often mentioned functions of passive, we can find the followings: agent-defocusing (agent suppression), patient promotion, re-perspectivization of the verb, or trajector−landmark reversal, expression of an event perspective, and various discourse functions: reducing transitivity and increasing stativity in the sense of Hopper−Thompson (1980).

2.2.1. Agent defocusing/suppression

According to the literature, one of the most important functions of passive is turning away from the agent (cf. Shibatani 1985). This may be due, for example, to the fact that the identity of the agent is unknown, not important, or anaphorically or cataphorically accessible/predictable, but intentional "concealment" may also occur, even for pragmatic reasons (cf. Givón 1990: 567 ff.; F. Gulyás 2016). Hrenek (2021) points out that also experiencer-defocusing can occur.

    The criterion of agent defocusing seems to contradict the fact that the agent may appear (even in an emphatic position) in passive sentences; the existence of other agent-defocusing structures also seems to provide counter-evidence (e.g. impersonal 3PL constructions in Hungarian or English, see Sansò 2006, which most people do not consider as passive, but Givón (1990) is treating it as impersonal passive). Although frequency-based typological studies mostly find that the agent is most often absent from passive sentences, research on type-based and canonical realizations shows that the possibility of agent marking is a feature of canonical passive structures, since it allows passive to be distinguished from other diatheses on the multidimensional voice continuum (cf. Siewierska–Bakker 2013).

2.2.2. Patient "promotion", focusing on non-agent participants

Another highlighted semantic and syntactic feature of passive conversion[3] is focusing on the patient or other non-agent participants. This is often, but far from always, accompanied by the subject role of the patient.

    Although it can indeed be observed that passive sentences typically use the patient as a neutral vantage point, it also must be considered that, on the one hand, that there are also subjectless/impersonal passives,[4] and on the other hand, that not only the patient but also participants in other semantic roles may appear in the subject role in passive sentences (e.g. English *John was given an apple*, or German *Johann hat einen Apfel geschenkt bekommen* − 'An apple was given/gifted to John/Johann', where John/Johann is the recipient/beneficient of the action).

2.2.3. Change of verb perspectivization, trajector-landmark reversal

In a sense, the concept of "change of perspective" amounts to a combination of the first two above mentioned properties. According to this concept, the default grammatical functions of participants related to the lexical meaning of the verb express a certain 'primary' perspective, which is rooted in the speaking community, and this can be changed by syntactic operations (e.g. word order, passivation) (cf. Welke 1992, 2005).

    Langacker's proposal (1987, 2006b; cf. also Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 333f.) that passivation can change the trajector−landmark arrangement of the verb (figure−ground reversal) is related to this approach. Here, one criterion may be the requirement of derivation and conversivity, which distinguishes passive structure from word order inversion with information structural motivation and from impersonal structures (for the latter see Siewierska 2010; F. Gulyás 2016). On the other hand, passive verb constructions must be separated from other converse constructions that are not morphologically derived, e.g. Hung. *kap* 'get' (as a converse verb to the verb *ad* 'give'), in which the agent of the process/event expressed in the verb is defocused.[5]

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[3] By "conversion", I mean the predictions related to the change of perspective with opposite meanings, such as, more broadly, the pairs *receive* vs. *give, younger* vs. *elder, teacher* vs. *pupil*, etc.; I use the term in relation to passive, not in the morphological (word formation) sense.

[4] As an example, the German impersonal passive can be mentioned: *Es wurde getanzt* ('They danced', lit. 'It was being danced').

[5] This distinction serves definitory and methodological purposes; the functional similarity between the two types of constructions is highlighted by Imrényi (2020).

2.2.4. Expression of "event perspective" / "bare happening"

An additional function attributed to passive (and to some extent to impersonal structures, cf. Sansò 2006) or even used to define passive (e.g. Leiss 1992; Ágel 1996), is the expression of event perspective ('Geschehensperspektive'; 'bare happening' or 'general agentless event', cf. Sansò 2006).

According to Leiss (1992) and Ágel (1996), the main function of passive, the event perspective, characterizes the answers given to the question 'What happened?' and its most important feature is also agent decentralization. For example, according to Ágel, a sentence (1a) containing the (analytical) passive verb form Germ. *wurden aufgeschlagen*, can be considered as an event-oriented sentence in German, just like its Hungarian equivalent (1b). The latter is also an event-oriented sentence, although Hungarian uses 3PL, not passive voice, to express it.

(1a) Die Zelte wurden schnell aufgeschlagen. 'The tents were quickly set up.'
(1b) Gyorsan felállították a sátrakat. 'They quickly set up the tents.'

Sansò (2006: 241) describes the "event perspective" or the prototype of the "bare happening" on the basis of Myhill (1997): the individualization of the patient is low, it is not focused or not present; the individualization of the agent is low, it is unfocused, the elaboration of the event is low (almost blurred), the event is realistic, mostly past (perfective) and is not given as central information to the previous discourse (its contextual saliency is low).

Testing with the question Hung. *Mi történt?* 'What happened?', on the other hand, occurs also in conjunction with thetic judgments (cf. Maleczki 2002) or "out of the blue" sentences which can be found in sentences with predicate-focus information structure (cf. Lambrecht 1994). Therefore, although sentences with event-focus often go hand in hand with a passive predicate, it is not appropriate to equate the two. This can be seen if we notice that the above two sentences can be reconstrued so that the "tents" are placed in the focus of attention (higher focus/individualization), and yet the German passive or Hungarian 3PL structure is preserved:

(2a) Die Zelte wurden schnell aufgeschlagen. 'The tents were quickly set up.'
(2b) A sátrakat gyorsan felállították. 'The tents, they quickly set up.'

2.2.5. Discourse functions

The important functions of passive do not only concern the clause/sentence level, they extend to discourse, too. According to Givón (1994), passive structures are characterized by a high level of **topicality of the patient**, in addition to the decreased topicality of the agent – as opposed to the active voice, where reverse conditions are typical.

Furthermore, it can also be concluded from Givón (1994) that passive structures are typically used to express background events (mostly static ones) and tend to reduce transitivity in the sense of Hopper–Thompson (1980). According to Givón, the three main functional domains of the passive include (in addition to agent-defocusing and patient promotion) the **increasing of stativity** (see Givón 1990: 571f.). As suggested by Givón (ibid.), important tools of it include the use of the verb of existence and the use of "less" finite forms, such as adjectives, participles, or nominal forms.

2.3. Wider interpretation of voice phenomena

According to Langacker (2006b), passive is **an alternative method of construal**, mostly used by languages in which the canonical arrangement of participants is typically agent-oriented ("nominative" languages, as opposed to "ergative" – theme-oriented – languages). Therefore, a **narrower** interpretation of the change of voice contains an alternative choice of subject. Here it should be emphasized that Langacker does not define the subject by case, congruence or agency (although these are supposed to be symptomatic for the English subject). In the concept of subjecthood,

sequentiality also plays an important role due to the temporal dimension of speech, since the subject, as the trajector of the clause/sentence, serves as a reference point for processing the clause (Langacker 2001: 33; 42).

However, Langacker (2006b) also presents a **broader** interpretation of the voice phenomenon: this includes, for example, different stages of agent defocusing. In this case, the subject's elaboration and specificity decrease, as in the example series below, the structure of the subject is becoming less and less specific. Notably, in the opinion of Langacker, the agent is present and elaborated even in the English equivalent of the last sentence (*betörték az ablakot* 'They broke the window') – merely its specificity is much lower than with the expression *szomszéd* 'neighbour', for example.

(3a) Jenő betörte az ablakot. 'Jenő broke the window.'
(3b) Az egyik szomszéd betörte az ablakot. 'One of the neighbours broke the window.'
(3c) Egy ember betörte az ablakot. 'A man broke the window.'
(3d) Valaki betörte az ablakot. 'Someone broke the window.'
(3e) Betörték az ablakot. 'The window has been broken.'

2.4. Expressions and equivalents of passive in Hungarian according to the literature

In the examination of the expressions of passive function, two main lines of investigation can be observed in the Hungarian literature. One focuses on and examines the formal aspects of the supposed passive expressions, mainly from a historical point of view (e.g. H. Tóth 1996; Szili 1999). These studies and treatises state that the formal expressions they describe have several functions in Hungarian. For example, the canonical passive word formation suffix *-(t)atik/-(t)etik* can be found not only in passive, but in many cases in middle voice and reflexive occurrences, too (cf. H. Tóth 1996: 117 ff.), while in the case of the typically middle voice (reflexive) word formation suffix *-ódik/-ődik*, mediopassive and passive functions can also be observed (cf. Szili 1999). Similarly, a functional diversity of the structure *-va/ve van* is observed by Honti – H. Varga (2013: 260).

Another group of passive studies consists in contrastive and/or corpus-based research focusing on the Hungarian formal means of expression of passive function (see Sturm 1995; Berényi 2001; Pilarský ed. 2013; H. Varga 2015; Modrián-Horváth 2021).

The passive constructions that can be assumed in Hungarian are as follows (cf. mainly H. Varga 2015): middle verbs, *-va/-ve* adverbial participle[6] + *van* structures, function verb structures, impersonal structures (above all 3PL), modal impersonal structures (e.g. with the modal verb *kell*), participles and other deverbal adjectives, as well as verbs derived by the (now obsolescent) derivation suffix *-tatik/-tetik*.

2.4.1. Middle verbs

According to H. Varga (2015), verbs ending derived by *-Ódik, -Ul, -sUl, -Od(ik), -sOd(ik), -Ad, -An* and other, non-derived verbs (often with the *-ik* ending) (e.g. *fő; törik*) belong to this group. Among the middle verbs expressing passive meaning (as a kind of "replacement" for the obsolescent word formation suffix *-(t)Atik*) the verbs derived by the suffix *-Ódik* are mentioned in particular (cf. also Károly 1967; E. Abaffy 1978; Szili 1999).

Middle verbs, based on their semantic characteristics, are suitable for expressing passive meaning content. The semantic characteristics of prototypical middle verbs can be summarized as follows (based on Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 332). The participants are: two figures, the primary figure (trajector) serves as a theme or end-point of the state (change) it undergoes; the secondary figure (landmark) is conceptualized as initiator, energy source. Event structure: "the primary figure enters a state, something happens to it, under the influence of the mostly non-overt secondary figure"

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[6] In this case, adverbial participles are deverbal forms with the suffix *-va/-ve*, also called gerund or transgressive.

(ibid. 332). Middle verbs vary among others regarding the closeness of their semantic structure to the active or to the passive verbs.

Middle voice derivation suffixes are suitable candidates for constructing a passive meaning if an intentional agent is found in the meaning of the basic verb and the derived verb gives focal prominence to the patient, as in the case of the verb *megszidódik* ('to be scolded')[7], resulting in a change of perspective. The use of derivatives with middle suffixes in passive meaning is similar to English anticausatives in structures like *The book sells well* or to the German anticausatives with reflexive form like *Das Buch verkauft sich gut*, although, the suffixation being more explicit, the possibility of construing neologisms with it is much broader and more significant in Hungarian.

2.4.2. V-*vA van/lesz* stative structure

The adverbial participle V-*va/-ve* belongs to the non-finite forms. The peculiarity of infinites is that the event expressed in the verbal base is made available by summary scanning (cf. Langacker 1987: 249 for the English language). Adverbs derived from the transitive verb profile the patient (the undergoer) on their own, e.g. *zárva* 'closed'; *nyitva* 'open' (shop); *frissen festve* 'freshly painted' (bench); *Tengerre predesztinálva?* 'to sea?' (SciCorp 1, 41, cf. 3.1); the patient's state is the result of a process. The adverbial participle "usually expresses simultaneity" (Ladányi 2017: 623).

The temporality and sequential scanning of the V-*va/-ve van* structure is ensured by the verb of existence, which consists of a series of homogenous component states (imperfective), [8] so the structure expresses primarily a state created as a result of an action, therefore it can be considered as a typical stative passive in Hungarian. The similar structure of V-*va/-ve lesz* ('will be'/'become' + adverbial participle) is, on the other hand, dynamic in nature, due to the fact that the event structure of the verb *lesz* 'become' is not homogeneous unlike the event structure of *van; lesz* is a perfective verb. During the history of Hungarian, the productivity of the V-*va/-ve van* structure has increased enormously (cf. 3.2.1) and it has also become capable of profiling the states of patients of non-transitive verbs. The distribution of the structures V-*va/-ve van* and *lesz* should not be considered merely as stative vs. dynamic constructions, partly due to the suppletive paradigm of the verb *van* (*lesz* counts as the future form of *van* in this reading), partly because of the difficult distinction between stative and dynamic passive (this is not surprising, since, for example, the initially stative English passive schema (*be* + part. perf.) can profile dynamic events now, while the initially dynamic German Vorgangspassiv is increasingly gaining ground in the stative field as well).

2.4.3. Light verb constructions

According to H. Varga, most of the light verb constructions with the status still disputed are "impersonal structures with a general subject, not in an active meaning, but in a circumscribed passive structure" (H. Varga 2015: 304). The nominal element of light verb constructions has an event structure related to verbs (cf. ibid. 305). — Although I am not aware of any frequency studies on function-verb structures that could support the above finding with regard to active (e.g. *döntést hoz* 'make a decision') and passive (e.g. *eldöntésre kerül* 'is decided') function verb structures, they undoubtedly play an important role in the expression of passive meaning in scientific and press language, as mentioned by H. Varga (cf. also Pilarský 2013).

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[7] The somewhat astonishing neologism *megszidódik* 'scold + middle suffix' comes from a written language usage event. As a result of a shortage of homework incorrectly recorded in an e-journal, the teacher sent the following message to the parents: *elnézésüket kérem, hogy gyermekük az én hibám miatt szidódott meg* 'I apologize for your child being scolded for my mistake'. The teacher managed to defocus the agent by using the middle voice derivation suffix; alternative constructions are likely to be stigmatised (*meg lett szidva* 'has been scolded') or ambiguous (*szidásban részesült* 'received scolding'), while using an active form with agent – *szidták meg Önök* 'you scolded him' – would have been extremely face threatening.
[8] For further questions on verbal aspects, cf. Tolcsvai Nagy (2015: 115 ff. and 2017: 334 ff.).

2.4.4. Impersonal structures

The way the patient is centered in impersonal structures is a schematic representation of the agent, either with a general subject or with plural 3rd person forms, the subject of which is often not clearly identifiable, or in fact there is not a plural conceptualization behind it. Several attempts have been made to demarcate impersonality and passivity, one of the cardinal points of which is the persistence of verb transitivity in impersonal structures.

When presenting Langacker's (2006b) broader interpretation of voice (cf. 2.3), various levels of agent defocusing were mentioned. The different types of impersonal structures (*az ember* 'one'; 3PL with an unidentifiable reference) represent certain points on this scale. The Hungarian 3PL structure is probably more grammaticalized for the expression of agent decentralization than the English *they*-structure. In the case of English 3PL, the subject is marked by an obligatory personal pronoun, while in the case of Hungarian impersonal subjects with 3PL persons, schematicity is higher, in impersonal use, the subject pronoun cannot appear: *Betörték az ablakot* vs. *Ők törték be az ablakot* 'They broke the window / The window has been broken' vs. 'THEY broke the window / The window has been broken by them' – in the latter sentence, the subject referents can be identified in the ground or in the discourse, but not necessarily in the previous sentence. Therefore, Hungarian **impersonal 3PL structures** can rightly be considered as a typical **transitional phenomenon** between morphosyntactic voice change and (broadly construed) agent defocusing.

1PL structures can also be included among the means of expression of agent defocusing. Based on Sturm's (1995) studies, in certain types of text (recipes, instructions for use, patterns of tailoring), Hungarian uses first person plural to express impersonality in contexts where German uses passive structures (cf. Sturm 1995: 199).

2.4.5. Impersonal verbs and structures of a modal nature

H. Varga (2015) calls this group "verbs and other expressions with infinitival subjects or subject clauses". Based on her examples, we can find verbs and nominal predicates with modal (or aspectual or evaluative) meaning ("*kell, illik, sikerül, lehet, van, nincs // szükséges, muszáj, szabad, érdemes, tilos, jó, rossz, hasznos, fölösleges, hiábavaló, hiba*" 'must/have to, behove, succeed, may/can, is, is not // to be necessary, need, may/can, to be worth, to be forbidden, to be good, to be bad, to be useful, to be useless, to be of no avail, to be an error', see H. Varga 2015: 306), which also form impersonal constructions.

The above impersonal structures are suitable for changing perspective, since in infinitive structures, the figures can remain unelaborated, yet they are part of the immediate scope and are processed, so they are part of the event structure. The decisive factor here, then, is which referent is more accessible in the discourse, which will be mostly in the focus of attention.[9] The first of the following two contrived sentences (4) puts the agent of the potential action first, according to the default setting of the verb, while (5) foregrounds the patient:

(4) El kell mennem. 'I have to leave.'

(5) A szakdolgozatot november közepéig le kell adni.
    'The thesis must be submitted by mid-November.'

In sentence (4), the person designation on the infinitive overtly activates (objectifies)[10] the performer of the action *(go)*, but in sentence (5), the performer of the action (here: 'submitting') is present in the sentence in a subjective way. In both cases, the executor of the action, who obeys an external compulsion in the case of *kell,* could appear with a dative suffix, not in the unmarked

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[9] If this entity is regarded as a trajector should be treated as an open question for the time being.

[10] The terms *objectification* and *subjectification* I use in the terms of Langacker (2006a), so the term *objectification* means here overt linguistic realization.

subject case (cf. Kugler 2017: 484). The neutral vantage point of the second sentence (cf. Sanders–Spooren 1997) is the 'thesis' that has been made available in an elaborated form, which is why the change of perspective can take place.

2.4.6. Participles and adjectives

In this group, we find "participles" with the word formation suffix *-ható/-hető* ('-able') according to H. Varga (2015), but in my opinion, we could also include other productive word formation methods of an adjectival (participial) character, such as words derived by the word formation suffix *-hatatlan/-hetetlen* ('in-V-able'), the past participle and gerundive derivatives with the suffix *-(a)tlan/-(e)tlen*. These derivational suffixes can be productively used with transitive verbs, with focusing of the patient (cf. Ladányi 2017), some of them have modal meaning. Sturm (1995: 150) also mentions the (rare) passive use of the present participle, e.g. *kiadó lakás, eladó ház, félő, hogy* 'apartment for rent, house for sale, it is fearful / it can be feared / that...'. Kugler and Simon (2018: 39) assume the functioning of this passive *-ó/-ő* also in the aforementioned suffix *-ható/-hető*.

The passive meaning content in this group is linked to adjectives and participles, which do not exclusively occur or (e.g. in the case of the past participle and the derivatives with *-(a)tlan/-(e)tlen*)[11] typically do not occur as predicates, but rather as modifiers and as parts of closed construction units. However, if such nominal structures are taken into account, other constructions are noteworthy as well, e.g. nomen actionis or nomen acti noun derivates that can express a passive perspective (e.g. *vminek az emlegetése, vizsgálata* 'mentioning/examining of something'; cf. 3.1).

2.4.7. "Active verb forms"

H. Varga (2015: 307) makes reference to a parallel corpus analysis (not presented in detail) that investigated the equivalents of Italian passive structures; among the passive equivalents she also mentions 'active (!) verb forms' (sic), however, she does not give a detailed explanation of them. Modrián-Horváth (2021) found that the highest number of non-modal dynamic passive equivalents of German in the German-Hungarian parallel corpus were the 3PL impersonal structures referred to in Section 2.4.4 (see (6)) and transitive structures obtained by the reconstruction of the agent (see (7)). In the latter case, the change of perspective was carried out by information structural tools; H. Varga presumably understood similar cases by the group 'active verb forms'.

(6a) Ezt a vacakot csakugyan elviszik a rendőrségre, azután *lepecsételik*…
'This thing is really going to be taken to the police station, and *then they will stamp it* / it's going to be stamped...'[12]

(6b) Das Ding geht wirklich zur Polizei, *wird* dann *gestempelt*...[13]
'the stuff really goes to the police, then it will be stamped (pass.)'

(7a) és ha nem *szolgáljátok* ki a legelőzékenyebben, nagy balhé lesz a bódéban
'And if *you* don't *serve him* in the most obliging way, there's going to be a big mess in the stall.'

(7b) und wenn der nicht aufs Zuvorkommendste *bedient wird*, gibt es Krach hier in der (Bude)
'and if this man is not served (pass.) in the most obliging way, there will be trouble in this stall'

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[11] According to the literature on grammar, the past participle in the role of a predicate is most "acceptable" if the participle is more a lexicalized adjective; cf. Zimányi (2006).

[12] Sentences (6a) and (7a) are taken from Böll, Heinrich – Dorombay, Károly 1964/2001. *Biliárd fél tízkor*. Budapest: Könyvklub.

[13] Sentences (6b) and (7b) are taken from Böll, Heinrich 1959/2000. *Billard um halb zehn*. Munich: dtv.

Whether the above case also involves a "trajector reversal" in the Hungarian translation should be treated as an open question for the time being; the present paper focuses primarily on types of trajector–landmark reversal that are also marked by morphosyntactic means.[14]

2.4.8. Verbs from the derivation suffix -(t)atik/-(t)etik

Verbs derived by the word formation suffix *-(t)atik/-(t)etik are* considered by many to be a prototype of the Hungarian passive verb, see Tolcsvai Nagy's example *elítéltetik* 'to be condemned' (2017: 334) and Ladányi's following statement: "The word formation suffix *-(t)at(ik)/-(t)et(ik)* derives so-called passive verbs" (Ladányi 2017: 610). Both Hungarian Grammar (Keszler 2000: 310) and Osiris Grammar (OGr, Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2017) classify the derivation suffix as one of the productive derivation suffixes (taking transitive verbs as their base). According to the semantic description of passive structures in OGr, "the action is conceptualized from the perspective of the patient, and the active agent remains in the background [...]. The meaning of the schema is 'the action named in the verbal base takes place on the patient' [...]" (Ladányi 2017: 610). According to Ladányi (ibid.), the theoretically unlimited productivity is nuanced by the fact that the token frequency of verbs created by this schema is low (the most frequent ones, *adatik* 'to be given' and *íratik* 'to be written', occur a few thousand times in the one billion word HNC2; cf. Ladányi 2017: 610, fn. 170.). – Although the present paper analyses another derivation suffix, the derivation suffix *-ódik/-ődik* (see 3.2), it would be interesting to look into the type frequency of verbs derived by *-(t)atik/-(t)etik* in present-day Hungarian, since type frequency is much more strongly correlated with the productivity of the word formation suffix and with the strength of the schema (cf. Ladányi 2017: 539) than the frequency of tokens, which is more of a reliable indicator of conventionalization and lexicalization (cf. ibid. 538f.).

3. Expressions of change of perspective based on corpus analyses

In order to examine expressions of passive meaning in Hungarian, I considered it important to carry out a complex empirical study, in this case a corpus analysis, in accordance with the usage-based approach of functional language theories. The corpus analysis was carried out in two steps. I firstly obtained a comprehensive picture of passive expressions in a smaller scientific corpus in the framework of an exploratory study. As a second step, I examined two structures with passive meaning – the construction *-va/-ve van* and the verbs derived by the word formation suffix *-ódik/-ődik* – in larger electronic corpora.

3.1. Explorative study in a scientific corpus

For a comprehensive manual examination of the Hungarian means of expression of passive conversion, I have compiled a small corpus from the Digital Library containing scientific text excerpts consisting of around 10,000 words (4 texts from 4 different disciplines: human ecology, linguistics, medicine, sports science). The corpus will be referred to as SciCorp.

I chose scientific texts as the basis for the study because this functional style is generally characterized by the desire for impersonal wording, so a large number of expressions with passive function could be expected here in Hungarian as well.

I conducted the corpus analysis manually. I was looking for passages that have a patient-like trajector, as well as an agent present in the semantic structure (mostly subjectivized); according to

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[14] Modrián-Horváth (2021) argues that the subject is not always the "better trajector". In sentences such as *Melegem van* 'I'm hot', *Szükségem van egy új táskára* 'I need a new bag', but even *Jánost páni félelem fogta el* 'John was caught by panicking', the trajector appears in a grammatical form other than the grammatical subject. In the same way, in *Zénót elütötte a vonat* 'Zénó was hit by a train' (Imrényi 2017: 689) it can be assumed that Zénó, not the train, is in the focus of attention, so here we can suppose a trajector-landmark reversal realized only by means of word order and prosody.

the criterion of conversivity, the verbal basis had to have an active meaning. Here I present primarily the analysis of the predicates, but it should be noted that, taking into account the total syntactic organization of sentences in the texts, the proportion of passive hits is much higher (e.g. past participle in the role of a modifier, e.g. *a **legismertebb** gondolkodó*, 'the **most well-known** thinker' or nouns derived by the word formation suffix *-ás/-és*, e.g. *melyek **vizsgálatából** kiderül* 'which is found in the course of **an investigation**').

3.1.1. Expressions of passive

During the analysis, I have separated the following three groups (with gradual transitions), of which I will only deal with group a) in this paper:

a)   morphologically marked trajector-landmark reversal compared to the meaning of the verbal base (e.g. adverbial participle, adverbial participle structure, deverbal adjectives, see details below);

b)   other cases of agent defocusing, e.g. impersonal 1PL or 3PL, these have been disregarded in the analysis; e.g. *Összesen 31 pár gerincvelői ideget különítünk el* 'A total of 31 pairs of spinal nerves are isolated', literally: 'we isolate a total of 31 pairs of spinal nerves' (SciCorp18.34);

c)   only syntactic trajector-landmark reversal, ignored here, e.g.
A myelinhüvelyt a periférián a Schwann-sejtek alakítják ki
(ART myelin.shed.ACC ART periphery.SUPERESS ART Schwann-cell.PL form VERB PREF;
'The myelin shed is formed on the periphery by Schwann cells.' (SciCorp17,4).

Below are examples of morphosyntactic expressions. The last two categories are slightly different from the typical morphosyntactic marking: the impersonal 3PL marking, as explained above (2.2), represents a transition between the mere syntactic marking of trajector-landmark reversal and the real morphosyntactic marking, since 3PL cannot be expressed by a pronoun, its referent cannot be directly identified, so it marks a high level of agent defocusing – however, the agent remains the syntactic subject of the sentence. In the case of light verb constructions, or more broadly, phraseological units,[15] the verbal base construing the event is already in a more distant relationship with the expression as a whole.

- nouns derived by the word formation suffix *-ás/-és*: *A másik előny a túlszaporodás megakadályozása és az érzékeny természeti környezet megóvása.* (SciCorp 5,14) 'The other advantage is to prevent (literally: 'the prevention of') overgrowth and to protect (literally: 'the protection of') a sensitive natural environment.' (SciCorp 5,14)
- adverbial participle: *Tengerre predesztinálva?* 'Predestined to sea?' (SciCorp 1, 41)
- *-va/ve*: *ahol minden részdiszciplína csupán egyetlen fölérendelt tudomány alá van beosztva* 'where each subdisciplinary is assigned to only one parent science' (SciCorp 15,36)
- past participles: *A végkimenet azonban nem garantált* 'However, the outcome is not guaranteed' (SciCorp 6,9)
- *-ható/-hető*: *mert az itt szerzett képességek, technikai készségek jól hasznosíthatók a többi szeren is* 'because the skills and technical skills acquired here can be used well on other drugs' (SciCorp 27,10)
- *-tlan*: *megoldatlan* 'unresolved' (13,7), *-hatatlan/-heteten*: *elképzelhetetlen* 'unimaginable' (SciCorp 27,34)
- gerundive: *veendő* 'to be taken' (SciCorp 13,21)

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[15] Light verb constructions and other bound constructions are treated together as phraseological units in this paper.

- *-ódik/-ődik: a hátsó gyökérrostok egy-egy gerincvelői szelvénynek megfelelően összeszedőd-nek* 'the posterior root fibers are collected (literally: collect + middle suffix) according to a spinal cord section' (SciCorp 19,16)
- impersonal 3PL: *Ennek során a subarachnoidalis térségbe fecskendeznek érzéstelenítőszert* 'Anesthetic is injected into the subarachnoidal region' (literally: 'they inject') (SciCorp 21,22)
- phraseological unit, light verb construction: *Szemantikai modellek alkotására is történtek próbálkozások* 'Attempts were also made (literally: attempts also happened) to create semantic models' (SciCorp 13,6)

3.1.2. Distribution of morphosyntactic devices expressing passive meaning in the scientific corpus

Table 1. Distribution of morphosyntactic devices expressing passive meaning in the scientific corpus

	Type	Token
-Ás	21	25
-hAtÓ	28	47
-(hAtA)tlAn	3	4
-vA (van)	3	3
-(Vt)t (past part.)	3	3
-AndÓ	1	1
-Ódik	4	4
3. Pl.	6	6
phras.	5	5

The distribution of morphosyntactic devices expressing passive meaning in the scientific corpus is illustrated in Figure 1.
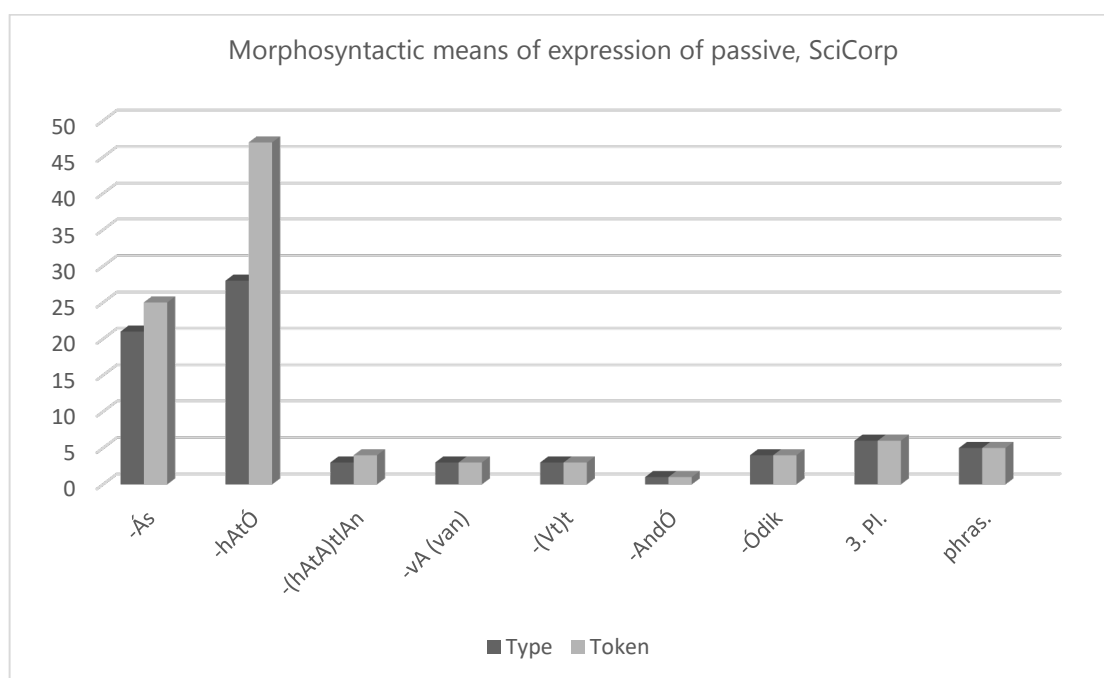

Figure 1. Distribution of morphosyntactic devices expressing passive meaning in SciCorp

As can be seen from the table and the graph, the most frequent means of expression for passive contents at sentence level was suffixation with *-ható/-hető*, which is the predicative use of a modal deverbal adjective. The number of associated types is 28, which is the number of the different deverbal adjectives derived by the suffix *-ható/-hető* in the corpus, while the overall number of the derived tokens (i.e., deverbal adjectives derived by *-ható/-hető* in a predicative role) was 47. The relatively lower type–token ratio suggests that certain adjectival predicates commonly recur (e.g. *található* 'can be found', *hasznosítható* 'can be utilised').

Surprisingly, the second most frequent means of expression was a construction that was not included in the literature review: the predicative use of nouns derived by the word formation suffix *-ás/-és*, represented by 21 types and 25 tokens.

This is followed by the constructions traditionally listed as passive alternatives: the impersonal structure 3PL (6 types, 6 tokens, i.e., a highly productivity structure), the phraseological units (with 5 types and 5 tokens), verbs derived by the suffix *-ódik/-ődik* (4 types, 4 tokens, which also indicates high productivity), deverbal adjectives with the suffix *-talan/-telen* (3 types, 4 tokens), the adverbial participle structure and the past participle structure (with 3 types and tokens each). Finally, the least frequent pattern is the modal gerundive predicate, occurring only once.

3.2. Corpus analysis of certain constructions[16] with passive meaning

In the following I examine two constructions with passive meaning in a corpus-based analysis of the constructions: the adverbial participle structure *-va/-ve van* as well as constructions containing verbs derived by the suffix *-ódik/-ődik*.

Due to the difficulties of distinguishing between the patterns *-va/-ve van* and *-va/-ve lesz,* and due to the low amount of data in some of the corpora, I included the verbal stems *le-* and *nincs* ('is not') in the character-based search in the Old Hungarian Corpus (OHC); the search engine of Historical Private Corpus (HPC) included the stem *le-* already in the lemmatization. When searching for large amounts of data in the electronic corpus, I combined the lexeme *van* with adverbial participle forms.[17] The search for the lexeme *van* in HNC included the stem *nincs*, so I also included this stem in the investigations.

3.2.1. Analysis of V-*va/-ve* + *van* structures

I examined the V-*va/-ve +van* structure diachronically in the OHC, HPC, HHC and HNC corpora. The use of different corpora presented several theoretical and practical difficulties. The databases named above are partly corpora defined on the basis of language history, yet there are overlaps between OHC and HPC (both contain old- and middle-Hungarian texts, albeit in different proportions) and between HHC and HNC. HHC contains texts until 2010, while HNC is intended to be a "general-purpose representative corpus of today's Hungarian written standard language" (http://corpus.nytud.hu/mnsz/) and contains a plethora of 20th-century texts. As the evolution of the epochs of language history is also the result of continuous changes, these overlaps can be accepted for methodological purposes in order to obtain a global picture of the linguistic changes examined.

The corpora differ in their structure, too. While in OHC we find codices, letters, bible translations, and in HPC protocols and private letters, these can be considered as so-called special corpora, HHC and HNC are collected with the claim for being reference corpora. These type differences can cause a shift in the corpus representation of certain verbs and constructions, for example, the structure *meg van írva* 'is written' is extremely frequent in OHC, whereas *fogva van* 'to be caught' is particularly common in HPC.

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[16] In the paper, I distinguish between "structure" and "construction". While "structure" refers to the formal side, the term "construction" is a pair of form meanings, as determined by Goldberg 1995.

[17] For character-based search (OHC, HHC), I examined all V-*va/-ve* + *van* constructions, in HPC I combined the search terms within a sentence, while in HNC 2 I filtered the verb and the adverbial participle in a distance of 2 words.

Practical problems arise, on the one hand, from the different sizes of corpora, which makes it difficult to compare data. An even more serious problem is that HHC is not morphologically anno-tated, subsequently only character-based searches could be carried out in it, which again led to difficulties in the search for the structure V-*va/-ve* + *van*. When searching in OHC, I preferred character-based search because in Old Hungarian, there were several types of adverbial participles.

In the following presentation of the results, I first indicate in a table the absolute frequency (for HHC and HNC the estimated frequency). The number of hits, i.e., the type and token frequency of the structure in V-*va/-ve* found in the above corpora, is summarised in Table 2 for the various types of verbal bases.[18]

Table 2. Type and token frequency of the structure -*va/-ve van* found in the above corpora

		OM	HPC[19]	HHC	HNC
act-pass	type	19	186	247	146
	token	99	368	493	175
pass-pass	type	2	6	11	0
	token	2	7	24	0
refl-med	type	3	67	29	12
	token	5	90	39	24
act	type	1	5	3	1
	token	1	7	4	1

The abbreviations in the table refer to the following structures:

- act-pass: number of types and of tokens of a passive-meaning construction derived from a transitive verb, e.g. *akadályozva van* 'is hindered'; type number always means the number of verbal bases (lexemes), and the number of tokens is the total number of occurrences of the given construction in the sample.
- pass-pass: a construction -*va/-ve van* derived from a morphologically passive base (here: a derivative with the suffix -*(t)at(ik)/-(t)et(ik)*);
- refl-med: construction derived from a reflexive or middle voice verbal base, e.g., *el van fog-lalva* 'is occupied' can be seen as derived from the base *elfoglalja magát* 'occupy oneself', *meg van győződve* 'is assured' can be traced back to the word *meggyőződik* 'to assure oneself'
- act: construction derived from an intransitive verb, e.g. *el van utazva* (literally:) 'is travelled (gone) away' from the verb *elutazik* 'travel (go) away'.

Relative or calculated frequency per million words is shown in Table 3; this table only allows for approximate orientation due to the above problems.

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[18] Verbal bases serve as starting points for the morphosyntactic schemas (they can be morphologically simple or complex). Regardless of spelling convention and grade of grammaticalization and lexicalization respectively, I handle each verb separately as a lexeme, i.e., the *leír* 'describe' and *megír* 'write' count as two different verbs. – Different writings due to different spelling conventions are not considered as separate forms *fogva/foghva/fogua, tive/téve* etc., nor dialect forms such as *öszvö/öszve*. Rarely occurring stem variants, e.g. *felejt/feled* 'forget', are counted as separate stems.

[19] Due to searching difficulties in HPC, only the form -*va* has been evaluated.

Table 3. Estimated frequency of structure V-*va/(-ve) van* in corpora – overview

	OHC	HPC	HHC (only the form -*va*)	HNC
total number of results	1491	542	9912	67306
sample size	1491	542	1000	250
number of relevant results	107	472	560	200
corpus size (million words)	3,2	0,85	30	187,6
relative / calculated frequency / million word	33,4375	555,2941	185,024	287,0192

In OHC and HPC, I divided the total of token numbers by the size of the corpus (/million words). Here, HPC shows an extremely high frequency of use of the structure, which can perhaps be explained by the corpus's proximity to conceptual orality.[20] In HHC and HNC, the estimated frequency was calculated from all hits (HHC: 9,912, HNC: 67,306 hits) using a correction factor (560/1000 hits in the HHC, 200/250 hits for the HNC).

Regarding the relative and calculated frequency of the structure V-*va/-ve van*, we can see a continuous upward tendency in each corpus studied. The exception to this is the extremely high frequency in the HPC, which far exceeds even the corpus of the present day (HNC). If all the calculations were correct, this outlier ratio is probably due to the conceptual orality of the HPC: the other three corpora examined contain conceptually and medially written texts, which may be the reason why the appearance of the structure with V-*va/ve* is limited. This may also indicate that the use of the structure in conceptual and medial orality may be much more common than in written language.

In the first appearances (OHC), by far the most occurrences are passive-meaning constructions (*meg vagyon írva* 'is written') derived from transitive active bases – this construction meaning seems to be the primary meaning of the structure. This construction appears with increasing frequency in later corpora and, in particular, with an increasing type–token ratio, and is the most dynamically expanding schema if the constructions of low-frequency intransitive active bases are ignored. On the basis of these criteria, the **construction V-*va/-ve*, derived from transitive verbs and having a passive meaning, can be classified as a strong schema** (cf. Ladányi 2017).

In older texts, another structure V-*va/-ve van* with passive meaning, derived from morphologically passive verbs (in this case with the suffix -*(t)atik/-(t)etik*) is also documented, e.g. *egybeszerkesztetve van* 'is assembled'. This type already appears in OHC, its productivity decreases until the texts of HHC, and then – parallel to the sharp decline in the use of the suffix -*(t)atik/-(t)etik* (cf. Ladányi 2017: 610), it disappears completely.[21]

The structure V-*va/-ve van* appears from middle-reflexive verbs (e.g. *el van hervadva* 'to be withered'), and even occurs with some active intransitive verbs (e.g. *elvonúlva van* 'to be secluded/retired'). The frequency of the use of reflexive-middle bases temporarily peaks in the texts of HPC and HHC, and then it declines proportionally in HNC.

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[20] For the concept of conceptually written and oral texts cf. Koch–Österreicher (1994).
[21] For the sake of visual awareness, a ratio of 0 is added to the corpus HNC, although the division 0 types / 0 tokens should actually be undefined.
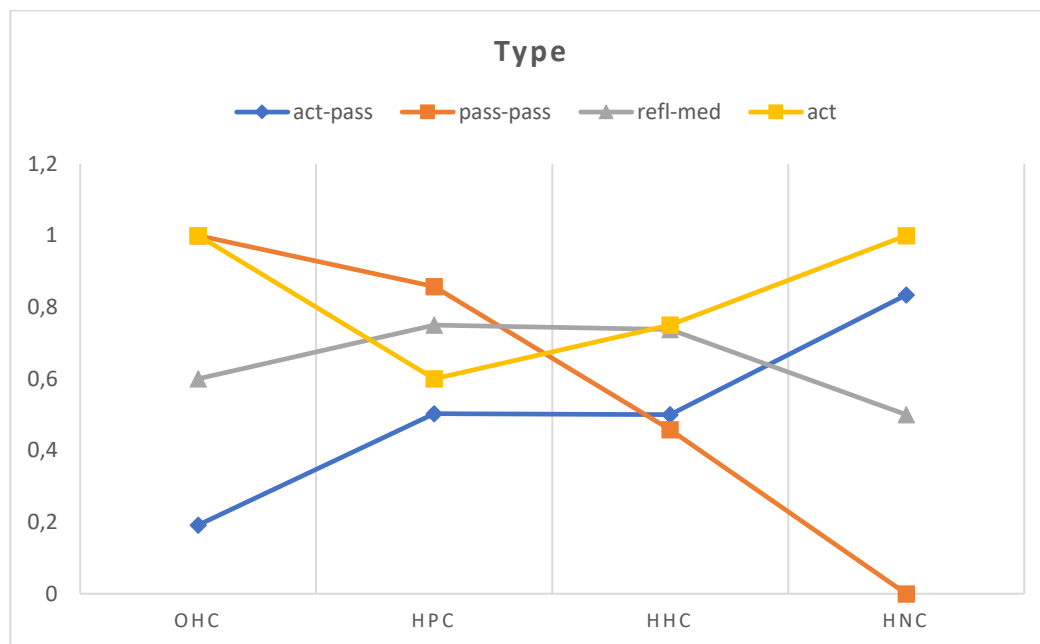
Figure 2. Diachronic change in the type-token ratio of each construction

Figure 2 illustrates the diachronic change in the type−token ratio of each construction. From the type−token ratio, with due care, we can draw conclusions about the productivity of each type of construction: the higher the type—token ratio, the higher the productivity of the structure. This does not apply, of course, to extremely rare types of construction. Thus, the 1.00 values for constructions with passive or intransitive bases shown in the figure can be ignored due to the low amount of data, which I left in the figure only for the sake of completeness.

    The most striking tendency is the **clear increase in the ratio of the passive-meaning construction derived from transitive verbs:** while this value in OHC was only 0.19, in the HNC it is already 0.83, i.e., it is close to one. In view of this, a strong increase in the productivity of this type of construction can be observed, and the extension of the construction over centuries can be observed.

    The other interesting trend is the temporary increase and then the decrease in the type−token ratio of the construction derived from reflexive or middle bases. The incidence of this type of construction, despite a sharp decrease in proportion, stabilizes at a lower level. Its type-token ratio (0.5) is due to the high frequency of some tokens (e.g. *meg van győződve* 'to be convinced').

    Constructions from passive bases (*-tatik/-tetik*) have few exemplars in the early stages, which leads to a high type-token ratio. Later we can see some extension of this construction, and then its complete decline.

3.2.2. Suffixation by *-ódik/-ődik*: from middle voice suffix to passive suffix?

The other structure subjected to closer examination is the structure derived by the suffix *-ódik/-ődik*. It is typically a **middle voice** suffix, but according to the findings of the literature it also appears in the function of a passive suffix ("suitable for [...] filling the gap resulting from the fading of the passive verb forms", Szili 1999; cf. 2.4.1). Ladányi (2017) gives an account for two meanings of the derivation suffix and the product-oriented schema based on it: a middle and a passive one. The latter can be described as follows: 'the process takes place as a result of the activity described in the base' (Ladányi 2017: 610).

    As already explained in Section 2.4.1, verbs derived by the suffix *-ódik/-ődik* (as well as other middle verbs) can be used to express passive contents because the boundary between the semantic structure of middle and passive verbs is fuzzy (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2017; Croft 1994). Passive

reading is facilitated by the use of the suffix when the basis contains a trajector of an emphatically agentive nature; this figure becomes a secondary figure in the verb derived by *-ódik/-ődik* and is mostly implicitly present. (According to Szili 1999, the agent cannot be expressed by a nominal with the suffix *-tól/-től* or with the postposition *által*; the lack of realisability with non-periphrastic means indicates that we do not have to do with a canonical passive, cf. Siewierska–Bakker 2013.)

HNC2 is an order of magnitude larger, morphosyntactically annotated corpus containing more than one billion words; in the Hungarian subcorpus of this, I examined verbs derived by the suffix *-ódik/-ődik*. The search resulted in 516,302 (regarding the suffix *-ódik*) and 627,473 (regarding the suffix *-ődik*) results.

For a further, manual analysis, I requested a random sample of 2*250 elements from the concordance to determine whether their meaning was passive or middle. Here again, I was looking for results where the semantic structure of the verbal base definitely contained an agent. As a result of the study, I found only a small number of constructions (7 in total) with more passive meaning, although the classification of the hits was far from always clear, since, as has been stated several times above, the transitions between passive and middle voice are gradual. Three examples of the rare passive hits are listed below:[22]

> (8) Kérdésem egyszerű: milyen nyelven *íródtak* és köttettek meg az M1-es és M5-ös autópályák koncessziós szerződései?
> 'My question is simple: in what language have the concession contracts for the M1 and M5 motorways *been written* and concluded?'

The verb *íródik* 'to be written' is one of the passive word-formation products of high token frequency; this may be motivated by the fact that the author of written works is often anaphorically (or possibly cataphorically) accessible – which is why the re-setting of the agent is avoided – or is partly unknown or irrelevant like in the present context. The passive reading is disambiguated and supported by the archaic form *köttettek meg* 'were bound' which is derived by the obsolescent suffix *-tatik/-tetik*.

> (9) A másik ilyen problematikus dolog, amit Perlaki Jenő és a mi képviselőink közül is néhányan említettek, hogy a preambulumban mintegy korrupcióellenes törvény *tüntetődik fel* ez a törvényjavaslat.
> 'The other problem that Jenő Perlaki and some of our representatives mentioned is that in the preamble this bill *is presented* as an anticorruption law.'
>
> (10) következésképpen a jövőben munkahelyek *teremtődnek*
> 'consequently, in the future, jobs are going to be *created*'

In the examples (9) and (10) we can again find a near-passive reading, due to the semantics of the verbs *feltüntet* 'indicate' and *teremt* 'create'. According to the related semantic frame, the activities expressed by these verbs do not occur without intentionality. To present something as something else implies an intentional misrepresentation, while to create something presupposes an intention to accomplish something, so the processing of an intentional agent necessarily takes place despite the lack of overt linguistic realization (subjectification).

4. Summary and conclusion

The main question of this paper was which constructional schemas are used to express passive contents in Hungarian and how their productivity turns out to be. The term passive was primarily

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[22] All data (inclusive spelling) are presented in the same form as in the HNC.

defined as a reversal of the focal participants, the trajector and the landmark, but the requirements of derivation and conversivity also served as criteria.

In an exploratory examination of the constructions in scientific texts, the schema using the word formation suffix (of theoretically unlimited productivity) -tatik/-tetik did not occur at all among the means of expression, but the predicative use of deverbal nouns derived by the suffix -ás/-és which cannot be found in the literature as a means of passive expression was relatively common. A high proportion of adjectives derived by the suffix -ható/-hető occurred as predicates, although the type–token ratio was much lower than that of predicates containing nouns with -ás/-és, which indicates frequent repetition of conventionalized forms rather than a genuinely productive schema of passive word formation.

The V-va/-ve + van pattern is one of the most important constructions expressing passive content in Hungarian, although it does not only express passive contents, but is also connected to other stative meanings. I tried to map the development of the structure in various constructions (with passive, reflexive-middle, transitive active and intransitive active bases) within the framework of a diachronic study. The clearest historical trend is the rise of a stative passive structure derived from transitive verbs in Modern Hungarian, characterized by a gradual increase in the type–token ratio of these structures. In the randomized data of the HNC corpus, an extremely high type–token ratio (about 83%) can be observed, which indicates the high productivity of the stative passive meaning V-va/-ve van in present-day Hungarian. At the same time, the estimated frequency of the structure V-va/-ve van also showed a continuous upward tendency (except for the outlier result of the HPC, which is probably due to the conceptual orality of the texts). It can therefore be concluded that there is a strong, productive (stative) passive constructional schema in Hungarian, the structure V-va/-ve van, with transitive verbs as bases. The passive construction with verb bases derived by -tatik/-tetik disappears as the suffix becomes obsolescent. The constructions derived from reflexive-middle base verbs reached a resting point after a temporary recovery at a lower type–token ratio, but while this ratio was associated with a more even distribution of token frequency in the corpora of previous language stages, in HNC it is due to the outlier frequency of some verbs (like meggyőződik 'to convince oneself'), which indicates a decrease in productivity.

Another study, which was more qualitative in nature, focused on verbs derived by the suffix -ódik/-ődik. The investigation showed that usage of the structure with a distinctly passive meaning (i.e., the semantic structure of which strongly includes an agent as a secondary figure, e.g. megszidódik 'scolded' or elhalasztódik 'postponed') occurs with an extremely low frequency in the corpus. Therefore, the vast majority of the verbs derived by -ódik/-ődik have a middle voice reading, the passive-meaning construction has proved to be a weak passive formation schema with a low type frequency for the time being, so it is not possible to talk about the role of the derivation suffix as taking over the function or replace the passive derivation suffix -tatik/-tetik.

The functional cognitive interpretation of voices is of paramount importance for the results of the study in several points. Based on the cognitive interpretation of middle and passive voice, it can be observed that they contain adjoined semantic domains, since it is a question of grade whether the force acting on the patient is a hidden resource or an active agent (especially in metaphorical uses). Thus, construction schemas can be extended easily. This allows, on the one hand, the extension of the schema V-va/-ve van with transitive-passive meaning to a schema with reflexive or middle bases, thus motivating the wider use of the structure. On the other hand, it enables middle verbs and the middle voice word formation suffix -ódik/-ődik to express passive meanings.

The present studies carried out only a small part of the research on Hungarian constructions expressing passive meanings. It would be necessary and instructive, on the one hand, to carry out extensive explorative investigations in other text types, and, on the other hand, to explore the type and token frequency of other constructional schemas, including verbs derived by the suffix -(t)atik/-(t)etik and adjectives derived by -ható/-hető, as well as to examine Hungarian impersonal 3PL constructions in more detail.

Acknowledgements

Sources

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HNC 2: Hungarian National Archives2 v2.0.5
     http://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/bonito/run.cgi/first_form
HHC: Hungarian Historical Archives
     http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz/run.cgi/first_form?corpname=mtsz;lemma=;lpos=
OHC: Old Hungarian Corpus http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/
HPC: Historical Private Corpus http://HPC.nytud.hu/
SciCorp: Scientific Corpus - excerpts from the texts of the Digital Library

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SEMANTIC MOTIVATIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF RANGES OF SYNONYMS INVOLVING LIGHT VERBS: SYNONYMOUS CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE '*FELEDÉSBE* + VERB' TYPE

ÉVA HRENEK

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University
hrenek.eva@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4232-8528

Abstract

The meanings of light verb constructions are primarily determined by the meanings of the nouns in them (Dobos 2009). However, the light verbs cannot be regarded as "empty", meaningless elements with only grammatical functions, either (cf. Cetnarowska 2014): they contribute to the meaning of the construction by adding their specific nuances of meaning.

In the present case study, based on data from the Hungarian National Corpus 2 (MNSZ2), I examine light verb constructions following the scheme *feledésbe* + verb, meaning 'be forgotten' (e.g., *feledésbe merül ~ feledésbe homályosodik ~ feledésbe enyészik* 'sink/dim/vanish into oblivion'). First, I briefly review the constructions that make up the range of synonyms and outline the way these light verb constructions (as analytic expressions) and the synonymous verb *elfelejtődik* 'get forgotten' (as a synthetic expression) are related. Then, via the analysis of a single expression, *feledésbe merül* 'fall into oblivion', I strive to find out what semantic factors can affect whether a light verb construction becomes conventionalized and assumes a central position within a given range of synonyms.

Keywords: light verb constructions, polisemy, synonymy, ranges of synonyms, metaphorization

1. Introduction

In the present paper, I interpret 'light verb constructions' as a specific, heterogeneous group of verbal constructions with a metaphorical meaning (cf. Lanstyák 2019; Dobos 2009; Hrenek 2019a); they can be defined as expressions that are interchangeable with a single verb and the nominal elements of which are, from a morphological point of view, clearly linked to the verb that is synonymous[1] with the construction (e.g., the element *virág-ba* 'into bloom' of the construction *virágba borul* 'burst into bloom' is morphologically related to the verb *(ki)-virág-zik* 'effloresce' that is synonymous with the construction). Thus, this interpretation does not determine the construction type based on the generality of the meaning of the verb: in this approach, the extent to which the meaning of the (light) verb in the construction can be regarded as a general or grammatical meaning is not the basis of the definition but rather merely a potential organizational principle. Light verb constructions can be categorized into several groups with respect to the functions, schematization, and grammaticalization of the verbs included, as well as the features of the metaphorization processes (cf. Hrenek 2016, 2019a). Also, they can be assigned to points in a scale that is, at one end, open to verb constructions with very specific meanings and, at the other end, to constructions

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[1] In this paper, I do not examine the phenomenon of synonymy – with its possibilities for interpretation and (probable) graduality, its connection with semantic relations, etc. – in detail and from a theoretical point of view. I think that synonymy can be understood as a similarity across the meanings of diverse linguistic expressions, built upon (interpreted as) common components (cf. e.g. Ladányi 1993), and is closely related to, but cannot be simply identified with, the phenomenon of interchangeability (cf. e.g. Murphy 2003).

including verbs with highly schematic (grammatical) meanings and verbs with complex morpho-logical structures, containing grammatical elements (derivational suffixes).[2] This is presented in Figure 1:
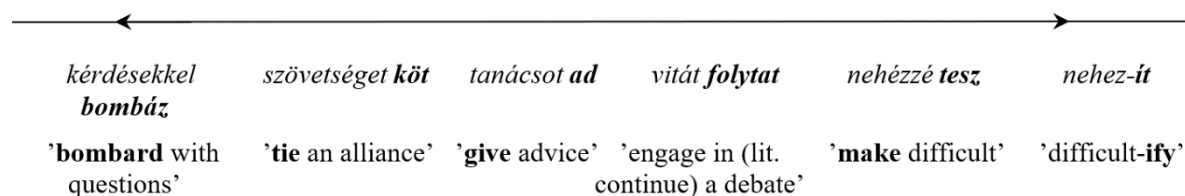

Figure 1. Light verb constructions in the system of verbal constructions with metaphorical meanings

The expressions belonging to the *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten'[3] range of synonyms discussed in the present paper differ from each other, *inter alia*, in the extent to which the meaning of the light verbs included in them are specific or general. Accordingly, the diverse elements of the range of syno-nyms can be assigned to different parts of the scale above (e.g., *feledésbe szitál* 'sift into oblivion' is specific, while *feledésbe kerül* 'get into oblivion' can be categorized as a light verb construction containing a verb with a very general meaning). However, I do not discuss this issue in the present paper as it is not closely linked to the organization of the range of synonyms.

2. The objectives of the research: research questions

In this case study, aiming at a better understanding of the phenomenon and features of synonymy that occurs among light verb constructions, I focus on a single range of synonyms:[4] in particular, I examine instantiations of the verbal constructions following the *feledésbe* + verb (*feledésbe V*) scheme (e.g. *feledésbe merül ~ kerül ~ megy ~ vész ~ enyészik ~ süllyed* 'fall ~ pass ~ slide ~ fade ~ vanish ~ sink into oblivion') in the corpus, and then I analyse the expression *feledésbe merül* 'fall [literally: sink] into oblivion' in more detail. The research is based on The Hungarian National Corpus 2 (MNSZ2), and addresses two issues covering and including several sub-issues:

1. What is the relation between the meaning of the expressions *feledésbe V* and the meaning of the synonymous verb *elfelejtődik*?

2. What semantic factors motivated *feledésbe merül* to become the most conventional of the synonymous light verb constructions, and to make it the centre of that range of synonyms?

3. Can the meaning system of the verb *merül* 'sink' and the specific meaning components that can be recognized in the light verb meaning of *merül* have any role in this, and if so, what role they can have?

I seek answers to these issues using qualitative methods, relying on the search tool Mazsola developed for the examination of verbal constructions, primarily on the corpus of MNSZ2, and the data of the Hungarian Historical Corpus (MTSZ), but in the semantic analyses (cf. section 4), I take into account data from some Hungarian monolingual dictionaries as well, especially the Dictionary of the

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[2] The scale presented here attempts to illustrate the synchronic connections across the verbal expressions discussed. In the present paper, I do not offer a discussion of the issue of the probable grammaticalization processes of light verb constructions or a diachronic approach to their description (Ittzés 2016; Bowner 2008; Butt–Lahiri 2013).

[3] *Feledésbe* is a word form of the noun *feledés* 'oblivion' with the case ending *-be* 'into'.

[4] It is, of course, not only light verb constructions involving the same nominal elements that the light verb const-ructions at hand can be connected with. However, in outlining the range of light verb synonyms, I take into account only this specific case of synonyms.

Hungarian Language (ÉrtSz.), Concise Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (ÉKsz.[2]) and the Comprehensive Dictionary of Hungarian (Nsz.).

During this research, I rely on the conceptual framework and meaning interpretation of organic language theory (cf. e.g. Zsilka 1975; NyMDK 1–11; for more details see Hrenek 2019a), and the relevant principles and results of cognitive linguistics (cf. e.g. Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2017). I also use some of the findings of works examining light verb constructions with a variety of approaches (e.g. Dobos 2009; Lanstyák 2019). However, in the present paper – due to its case study nature –, I do not discuss the theoretical aspects of the emerging topics in detail.

3. The expressions included in this study

The *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten' construction is supposedly based on the *feledésbe* + motion verb (especially *feledésbe megy/merül* 'go/fall into oblivion') constructions and its (semantic) constructional meaning may also have been developed in these constructions, and have been abstracted from them. However, after the development of the constructional schema – on the analogy of the expressions *feledésbe megy/merül* (cf. 4.2.) – other motion verbs and additional verbs related to the semantic meaning of the construction as a whole (e.g. *vész* 'vanish' which prioritizes the component of 'loss') could also enter the construction. The new verbs and the new resultant constructions, however, can have an impact on the meaning of the construction in question – so the verbs do not simply integrate into an existing/given frame, but (can) shape, tinge and modify the construction in which they appear. The meaning of the variants – that is, the light verb expressions containing different verbs but involving the same nominal element and based on a similar semantic and structural schema (e.g., *feledésbe merül ~ enyészik ~ oszlik* 'fall/fade/disperse into oblivion') – is also determined by the common, general meaning of 'be forgotten', so the constructions mentioned are organized into a single range of synonyms.

I used MNSZ2 to prepare a list of light verb constructions that belong to the *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten' range of synonyms. From the hit list of a total of 3.115 elements including all the occurrences of the word-form *feledésbe* in the corpus, I selected the expressions in which the construction means 'get forgotten'. I compiled a list of the verbs that occur in these constructions, then (also in the MNSZ2) I picked the *feledésbe + V* constructions with targeted search.

According to data from MNSZ2, the following expressions are included in the *feledésbe V* range of synonyms, listed (in alphabetical order) in Table 1.[5]

Table 1. The occurrences of the *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten' constructions in HNC2

Feledésbe V	Frequency
borul 'be turned'	2
enyészik 'fade'	1
homályosodik 'dim'	1
hull(ik) 'fall'	5
kerül 'get'	16
megy 'go'	227
merül 'sink'	2077
múlik 'pass'	1
oszlik 'disperse'	1
süllyed 'ebb'	10
süpped 'subside'	1

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[5] In this case, 'frequency' means the number of times the linguistic units examined occurs in the corpus. Due to the small number of occurrences, there is no way to calculate relative frequency in this case.

szitál 'sift'	1
tűnik 'disappear'	5
vész/veszik 'perish'	16

I removed both recurrent examples and false hits from the hit list I got for each expression – therefore, the frequency data in Table 1 do not display the results of the automatic analysis of MNSZ2 but rather the actual frequency of the constructions developed with the various verbs in the corpus.

At the same time, it is also clear that six of the fourteen constructions that belong to the range of synonyms examined can be regarded as hapaxes – that is, they can be found only once in the particular corpus –, and only two expressions (*feledésbe merül* and *feledésbe megy*) occur with high frequency. I will discuss the interpretation of synchronic frequency data and the conclusions that can be drawn from them in detail in section 5, examining the organization of the *feledésbe V* range of synonyms. Before this, though – in order to outline the general features of the particular light verb constructions –, I briefly review what semantic and usage-based connections can be found between the construction *feledésbe V* and the synonymous verb *elfelejtődik* from studying the corpus data.

4. The relation between the construction *feledésbe V* and the verb *elfelejtődik*

In Hungarian, it is the middle verb *elfelejt* 'forget' that typically refers to the process of forgetting. It shows the particular process to be linked to a person but basically as an event that is independent of the intentions of the person in question (cf. e.g. Forgács 1998: 305). (Contrary to, for instance, the verb *emlékezik* 'remember' that refers to a deliberate recollection of memories assuming a conscious act.) In contrast, both the medio-passive verb *elfelejtődik* and the light verb construction *feledésbe V* can be regarded as specific. The data described below demonstrate that, compared to the verb *elfelejtődik*, the light verb constructions are not secondary in terms of their frequency of use or semantic complexity.

4.1. The semantic and pragmatic features of *elfelejtődik*

The verb *elfelejtődik* (as a stem) occurs only 567 times[6] in the corpus of MNSZ2 – as opposed to *feledésbe merül*, of which there are 2.077 hits, and the verb *elfelejt* 'forget' that appears 29.838 times. The low frequency of *elfelejtődik* is expected given that (i) this verb as a medio-passive verb (unlike the verb *(el)felejt*) construes the process of forgetting in a specific, non-typical aspect, and (ii) it can imply specific utterance attitudes.

Modrián-Horváth (2020) mentions the following features of passive constructions: a shift in perspective, the defocusing of the agent and the fact that these expressions primarily direct the attention of the addressee to some non-agent participant. Of course, we cannot identify an agent in relation to *elfelejtődik* or the process of forgetting as an event. However, the shift in perspective (compared to the use of *elfelejt*) can be noticed in the case of *elfelejtődik* and it can also be observed that the primary character of the construction *elfelejt vki vmit* 'somebody forgets something' – that is, the experiencer of the process of forgetting – is pushed into the background, and instead, the emphasis is on the forgotten token of memory as a patient. In constructions containing the verb *elfelejtődik*, however, the defocusing of the experiencer is often merely apparent and typically has pragmatic reasons. According to the data of MNSZ2, the experiencer – an individual, group or community – that is in many cases not specified in the broader context but can be inferred from the text/context, can be:

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[6] The automatic search provided 692 results, out of which 125 turned out to be repetitions or false hits.

- somebody who used to think, feel, know something that they no longer think, feel or know;
- somebody whose task or responsibility would have been to have an unfinished business dealt with;
- somebody who promised something which was not fulfilled later;
- somebody who should have done something that they did not do;
- somebody (typically a debate participant) who does not consider something or does not accept something that would be important in the speaker's view;
- a person or a group who knew about something / knew somebody but after a while they ignored it/them;
- the broader community (speaking community, public awareness, public opinion, etc.) that operates / could operate the collective memory, but they do not;
- the community that could follow the (e.g. linguistic, behavioural, moral) norms that used to play an important role in the life of the community and could carry on the community-shaping customs and traditions but they do not.

Thus, not only memories in the strict sense, or pieces of information, thoughts or tasks, can be forgotten:[7] likewise, emotions, beliefs, attitudes/approaches to somebody/something, skills (e.g. *elfelejtett biciklizni* '(she) forgot how to ride a bicycle', *elfelejtett spanyolul* '(she) forgot how to speak Spanish'), customs, behaviours, etc.[8]

However, as the verb *elfelejtődik* does not involve an agent but an experiencer, and instead of the person in question, it seemingly prioritizes the forgotten thing, this way of expression can be suitable for the speaker to express indirect and implicit negative attitudes, criticism, calling to account or even reproach that are still relatively easy for the recipient to understand.

In addition, *elfelejtődik* can refer to ignoring somebody or something. In this case, too, the verb can imply that, according to the speaker, it is not deliberate exclusion but merely an accidental process of forgetting. If the instance of forgetting to be expressed is that somebody – for any reason, and either deliberately or accidentally – ignores an aspect, piece of information, argument, etc. which the speaker believes to be significant, for example, during a decision or debate, *elfelejtődik* can, at the same time, suggest (often in a manipulative way or as part of an ironic utterance) that the particular factor might have accidentally escaped the attention of the person mentioned, while the authenticity, availability, relevance and importance of the piece of information in question is interpreted as an unquestionable presupposition.

Nonetheless, given all this, the corpus data suggest that – although as a medio-passive verb, it is considered to be a specific, non-typical way of construal and (not independently from this) its use can have powerful pragmatic motivations as well – the meaning of *elfelejtődik* cannot be regarded as specific compared to the meaning of either *elfelejt* 'forget' or *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten'. Thus, from a semantic point of view, out of the construction variants examined, this verb is closest to the expression *feledésbe kerül* 'pass into oblivion' which contains a verb with an extremely general meaning.

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[7] The verb *elfelejtődik* clearly refers to forgetting some memory of an event or image of memory in only a few examples.
[8] It is worth mentioning here that it is not only the representations of events experienced earlier that can be regarded as memories in a psychological-neurological sense, either. Besides the "I know" type of memories that belong to declarative memory in a narrow sense and refer to memories of knowledge (semantic memory) and the "I remember" type of memories of events (episodic memory), the habits, skills and rules related to procedural (non-declarative) memory and are manifested in automatisms and behaviours can also be interpreted as memories in a broad sense (cf. e.g. Knowlton–Squire 1995).

4.2. The construction *feledésbe V* and the verb *elfelejtődik*

In every case, the verbal elements of the *feledésbe V* type constructions – similarly to the verb *merül* 'sink' (section 1.6.) – tinge the meaning 'get forgotten' that overarches the range of synonyms with some specific component, so they do not only refer to the process itself, but also to its manner and circumstances, and they can also express the speaker's attitude to the particular event. (For example, the verb that appears in the construction *feledésbe enyészik* 'vanish into oblivion' depicts the act of forgetting as decay – the decay/destruction of memories – and loss and by emphasizing the negative consequences, it evaluates the process as obviously negative. On the other hand, the verb *szitál* 'sift' in the expression *feledésbe szitál* 'sift into oblivion' emphasizes the slow and gradual nature of the process, at the same time referring to the tiny parts or details falling out of memory (and into oblivion); cf. Hrenek (2021a).) Presumably, in a significant number of cases, these are precisely the features that motivate the use of light verb constructions.

By contrast, the synonymous verb *elfelejtődik* is semantically non-specific, but specific pragmatic functions are connected to its use, so this way of expression is suitable for referring to the speaker's attitudes implicitly. These (typically negative) attitudes, in almost every case, concern the person who forgets or ignores something, while the light verb constructions rather reveal the speaker's attitude to the process.

However, not only differences but also similarities can be noticed between these two ways of expression since – contrary to the more usual and more widely used *elfelejt* – both construe forgetting as an event that is independent of the will of the person in question, a spontaneous, not a deliberate event. At the same time, the experiencer is – seemingly or actually – pushed into the background and often remains implicit (that is, the experiencer is defocused, cf. Modrián-Horváth 2020), while the patient is prioritized: it is not the person, but the forgotten thing, the memory that is in the centre. (In some cases, this can be done in a way that the particular memory appears in the linguistic expression to be anthropomorphized, e.g. as the actor of a conscious, departing motion, cf. *feledésbe megy* 'pass into oblivion'.)

The common and the different features of the verb and the verbal constructions are summarized in Figure 2.
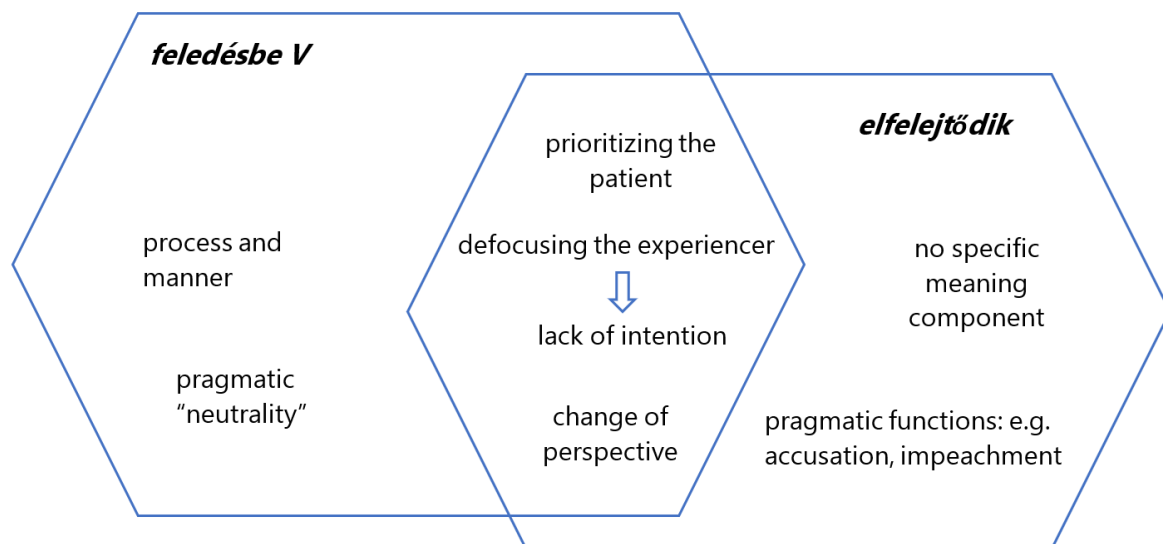

Figure 2. The relationship of *feledésbe V* constructions and the verb *elfelejtődik*

5. The organization of the range of synonyms *feledésbe V*

From a semantic aspect, the most important specificity of light verb constructions (compared to both the verb *elfelejt* and the verb *elfelejtődik*) is that they construe memories as perceptions of object-like phenomena, and it is not their getting out of memory but their falling into oblivion that they put into the forefront of attention. The *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten' expressions primarily emphasize the fact that, although the particular memory does not cease to exist, it becomes inaccessible or difficult to access during the process of forgetting. However, variants of the construction specify the process of getting forgotten in different ways and there can be large differences across the construction variants in terms of frequency.

Based on the data in Table 1, it is obvious that within the range of synonyms, *feledésbe merül* can be regarded as the most frequent and most central construction synchronically, around which the particular light verb construction range of synonyms is arranged and on the analogy of which novel, hapax-type expressions can be developed and interpreted. Its outstanding frequency (within the particular range of synonyms) can, at the same time, possibly refer to the large-scale conventionalization of the construction.[9] However, data from the *Hungarian Historical Corpus* (MTSZ) suggest that in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, this range of synonyms was not organized or determined by this expression – and these historical data (precisely because they reveal change) can be important in understanding what factors may have contributed to some constructions becoming central within a particular range of synonyms. Table 2 reviews, in the chronological order of their first occurrence, what verbs have been used to develop constructions and how frequently they have occurred in the texts from the MTSZ over the past 180 years.[10]

Table 2. The verbal elements of the *feledésbe V* in the MTSZ.

19th century (since 1841)	
tűnik 'disappear'	1
merül 'sink'	1
megy 'pass'	11
jut 'get'	1
süllyed 'ebb'	1
20th century (since 1900)	
merül 'sink'	74
megy 'pass'	29
vész 'vanish'	2
borul 'be turned'	2
kerül 'get'	1
szóródik 'be scattered'	1
süllyed 'ebb'	1

During the interpretation of the data, it is important to bear in mind that in the texts that cover the approximately 180-year time scale mentioned, the *feledésbe V* 'get forgotten' construction occurs only 125 times – this extremely small sample does not make it possible to reconstruct the change

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[9] During the description of the light verb construction range of synonyms, I presume proportionality between the extent to which the constructions are conventionalized and their frequency – at the same time bearing in mind that frequency is only one of the possible indicators of the extent of conventionalization, and that the two phenomena can by no means be identified with each other (cf. e.g. Dogruöz–Gries 2012). I do not discuss the (possible) connections between the phenomena of conventionality and frequency from a theoretical point of view.

[10] I did the search on the entire material of the corpus; I did not narrow it down to a time scale. Searching the word form *feledésbe* 'into oblivion', the first construction meaning 'get forgotten' was from 1841.

processes in a nuanced and reliable way by any means, nor does it enable one to explore how the particular range of synonyms was organized in different eras, what constructions constituted them and how the individual expressions (could) relate to each other. Some possible relationships, however, can be offered as assumptions based on the above-mentioned data.

Firstly, it can be stated that – in accordance with the previously described data of the MNSZ2 – also among the historical data, constructions mostly developed with motion verbs and verbs which, in terms of their primary meaning, designate motion. The only exceptions seem to be *tűnik* and *vész* – however, if we take it into consideration that according to the Historical-etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (TESz.), *tűnik* originally referred to metaphorically understood motion related to thoughts and mental processes (e.g. *vkinek az eszébe, gondolataiba tűnik vmi* 'sg comes into sb's mind/thoughts'), this verb can also be integrated into the group of broadly interpreted motion verbs which do not necessarily refer to change of location in a concrete physical sense. On the other hand, *vész* presumably – in connection with the meaning component 'cease to be perceivable' which is emphasized in the meanings of both verbs – could have primarily entered the construction on the analogy of *tűnik*.

Besides, it is apparent that within the range of synonyms, based on data from the MTSZ, *feledésbe megy* and *feledésbe merül* can be considered to be the most frequent. It is worth, however, taking a closer look at the above-mentioned frequency data in more detail, regarding narrower time frames.

Table 3. The change of the frequency of *feledésbe megy ~ merül* (MTSZ)

	1841–1899	1900-1949	after 1950	Total
feledésbe megy	11	17	12	40
feledésbe merül	1	19	55	75

As can be observed, in the 19th-century texts of the corpus, it is *feledésbe megy* that obviously occurs more frequently (with approximately one order of magnitude than *feledésbe merül*), in the first half of the 20th century the frequency of the two expressions is almost identical (17 vs. 19 occurrences) but in the second half of the 20th century, *feledésbe merül* becomes more widespread. The data regarding occurrences in the last two-thirds of the 20th century in Table 3 are in accordance with the frequency data of MNSZ2.

If we take into account the fact that the *feledésbe V* expressions construe oblivion as an accessible internal place where memories get as a result of the process of forgetting, it becomes clear why the construction with *megy* 'go' (that can be regarded as a prototypical motion verb) in which the motion verb with a relatively general meaning construes the memories in an anthropomorphized way, as independent entities capable of deliberate, departing motion, has a prominent role in the range of synonyms. The question of how and why the construction *feledésbe merül*, containing a verb with a more specific meaning, rather than *feledésbe megy*, became a central expression with the role of organizing the range of synonyms will be examined in the next section where I review the semantic features of the verb *merül* 'sink'.

6. The semantic factors motivating the conventionalization of *feledésbe merül*

In what follows, I make an attempt to review the meaning system of the verb *merül*. During the analysis, I seek to answer (i) what meaning system its light verb meaning is integrated into,[11] and

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[11] I assume that the semantic relationships the components of a meaning are organized around in a particular meaning system, and the other components they interact with, are affected by how the recognizable components in the individual meanings – such as in the light verb meaning of *merül* – can be interpreted. (Note that, within the meaning system of a verb, the individual meaning components are present organized as one single unit. In addition, they constantly affect each other and create specific variants in specific combinations (cf. Hrenek 2019b). For instance, the component of 'intensity' in the meaning system of *vet* 'throw', is closely related to the component of 'vigorousness', while in the meaning system of *csap* 'strike', it is in close connection with the component 'with force', so in the meaning of the two verbs, we cannot actually recognize the same component of 'intensity'; hence, the notion of component itself is a kind of abstraction.)

(ii) how it can contribute to the conventionalization of *feledésbe merül* as a unit, and thus, to the construction at hand assuming a central position within the examined range of synonyms.

The examples in the analysis below are data from MNSZ2, most of which I extracted from the database using the Mazsola search tool. For the analysis, I used the relevant entries of several Hungarian monolingual dictionaries – the Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (ÉrtSz.), the Concise Dictionary of Hungarian (ÉKsz.[2]), and the Historical-etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language (TESz.) – but during the isolation and interpretation of the individual meanings of the verb examined, I did not proceed on the basis of the definitions in the dictionaries, but primarily on the basis of exact corpus data.[12] In terms of methodology, the analyses – as indicated earlier – are based on the meaning analyses of Zsilka (1978a) and the series Works of the Research group on the dialectics of the motion forms in language 1–11 (NyMDK. 1982–1994).

Before the analysis of the meanings of the verb *merül*, I briefly outline in section 6.1 the approach of János Zsilka's organic language theory regarding the system of verbal meanings.

6.1. Verbal meanings in organic language theory

Organic language theory differentiates three levels of meaning (Zsilka 1975). These are:

- the primary meaning, that is, the most direct meaning of the verb (or word),
- the metaphorical meaning(s), and
- the hypothetical meaning, which can most easily be determined as the abstract meaning generalized from (and reflected in) the metaphorical meanings.

If a word has only one (primary) meaning, the rich extra-linguistic situation which a verbal meaning may refer to can be described in detail but it cannot be identified which pieces of that description can be regarded as the components of the verb's meaning: the components cannot be isolated from each other. In this case, the primary meaning appears as a monolithic unit that can be understood directly without analysis. However, when the use of the word expands via metaphorization and becomes the marker of different (but in some way linkable) processes, the individual components of the primary meaning become recognizable;[13] that is, the structure of meaning is developed and becomes increasingly differentiated as a result of metaphorization.

In some metaphorical meanings of the verb, only one or perhaps a few of the components – recognizable, identifiable and describable in light of the various metaphorical meanings – of the primary meaning occur, so the meanings of some words might seem to be very distant from each other (e.g., 'lustre' and 'be ashamed', both from *ég* 'burn'). In this case, the unity of meaning is provided by the fact that every metaphorical meaning is connected to the primary meaning, although via different components (e.g., the meaning 'lustre' is primarily connected through the component 'emit light', while 'be ashamed' is linked especially through the component '[become] red' to the primary meaning of the verb *ég* 'burn'.)

The connection of metaphorical meanings to primary ones is not external, though: these meanings are not simply built on the primary ones but, at the same time, they also make the primary meaning resolvable and internally articulated by organizing its linguistically relevant components. Therefore, the movement between primary and metaphorical meanings is two-way:

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[12] The material that the analysis is based on – besides supplementary dictionary data taken into account – is a random sample of 500 items from the MNSZ2 and a complete hit list for the search [*merül* + *-ba/-be* 'sink into'] by the Mazsola search tool.

[13] For instance, the meaning components 'harshly' and 'away from oneself' in the primary meaning of the verb *taszít* 'push' become recognizable during metaphorization, in light of the metaphorical meaning of the verb (e.g. *kétségbeesésbe taszít*(met) *vkit* 'push somebody into despair' ⊃ 'harshly'; *vki messzire taszít*(met) *magától vkit* 'push somebody far away [e.g. with one's behaviour]' ⊃ 'away from oneself').

(i) the metaphorical meanings can be derived from the primary ones, and

(ii) the primary meaning becomes analysable through the metaphorical one.

Similarly, a two-way movement can be observed between metaphorical meanings and abstract, general, so-called hypothetical meanings developed from them. The hypothetical meaning is developed from the metaphorical meanings as a result of simultaneous generalization processes; however, once it has developed, the metaphorical meanings can be derived from it deductively and new metaphorical meanings can also be created.[14]

From a different aspect, the hypothetical meaning can be considered to be a different, expanded form of the primary meaning as the components of the primary meaning are present in it in a general and analysed form.[15] It is also important to mention that the connection between the primary and the hypothetical meaning is also two-way – that is, dual motions operate across all three levels of meaning (more exactly: between each pair of the levels).

At the same time, these dual motions determine the methods of the analyses carried out in this theoretical framework; the primary and the metaphorical meanings – just like the various components of the individual meanings – are closely related to each other, they interpret and modify each other during the analysis.

It also follows from this approach that the components are not static building blocks of a meaning and they can by no means be preestablished or preestablishable: the recognized components of the primary meaning can be modified during the analysis (or during the processes of the changes of meaning), they can be tinged and, to some extent, diverge from each other. However, the new components derived from the individual components are not in stark contrast with each other: despite their partial differences, they create a unit ensuring the cohesive nature of the meaning system of the particular verb.

6.2. The meaning system of the verb *merül*

Next, I will discuss the verbal element of the central construction in the *feledésbe V* range of synonyms in more detail. Within the framework of the present paper, it is not possible to take all the meanings of the verb *merül* into account, so the following analyses are limited to the exploration and brief outlining of some meanings that are closely related to its light verb meaning.

6.2.1. The primary meaning of *merül*

According to organic language theory, the primary meaning of *merül* can be determined as the most direct meaning in the synchronic sense. In what follows, though, I apply the term in a partially modified sense: I take 'primary meaning' to be the meaning that can be interpreted as a meaning central to the analysis, that is, the one that contains most of the components that will become relevant in the metaphorical meanings.

According to this approach, the primary meaning of *merül* is shown in, for instance, the following utterance extract (1):

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[14] The hypothetical meanings, "a group of common elements which hold the different meanings the same verb together" (Zsilka 1978b: 450), can be explored as a result of specific linguistic analyses. The denomination *hypothetical* refers to the fact that the hypothetical meaning does not occur linguistically.

[15] The metaphorical meanings of the verb are often built on different verbal contents (cf. e.g. Zsilka 1978a) and from these, an abstract component of the hypothetical meaning is generalized that ranges over the verbal contents of both the primary meaning and the metaphorical meanings. For example, "in the hypothetical meaning of the verb *álmodik* 'dream', a component of the primary meaning 'sleep' and the various mental activities ('daydream', 'think of something', 'long for something') that are integrated into the metaphorical meanings appear in a generalized way, as states (of mind)" (Ladányi 2016: 99).

(1) egy óriási robbanás történt és a tengeralattjáró mint a vízbe dobott kő merült a fenékre[16]
'a huge explosion occurred and the submarine sank to the seabed as a rock thrown into water'

In this example, the verb directly refers to a process that takes place in the particular, exact, physical sense. If we want to describe the process involved, it is advisable to highlight among the features of the situation that an object (in this case, the submarine injured during the explosion) gradually sinks into the depth of the water by its own weight: the water covers it more and more until the structure completely sinks like a rock. Which of these features becomes linguistically relevant (and in what form, integrated into what context) in the meaning of *merül* can be explored – in accordance with what was said in 6.1. – by relying on its metaphorical meanings.

6.2.2. Some metaphorical meanings of *merül*

The metaphorical meanings that are closest to the primary meaning of the verb are those in which – similarly to example (1) – the verb refers to an object getting into water or water-like substance in a physical sense. The metaphorical meanings that can be classified in this range of meanings, in many cases, preserve certain components of the primary meaning in an unchanged (or almost unchanged) form, so they often cannot be clearly isolated from the primary meaning of the verb.[17] For instance:

(2) Egyre nyugodtabban evezett, a félelem okozta görcs elmúlt, az evezők simán merültek a vízbe, a csapások egyenletesekké váltak
'He/she was paddling more and more calmly, the spasm caused by fear was gone and the paddles smoothly sank into the water, the strikes became even'

The example in (2) also directly refers to a particular process that takes place in a physical sense – the process of sinking into water. However, in this specific meaning of the verb, only the components 'get into' and 'cover' are present, while in the primary meaning (as it is pointed out by other metaphorical meanings), the reference to the lack of intention and the complete nature of immersion can also be detected.

Example (3) also refers to getting into something and motion in a physical sense but in this case, the substance in question is not (or not completely) made up of a liquid, so instead of the component of hiding, covering, what becomes crucial is that the steam (filling the available space) completely covers the face of the person:

(3) Az arca könnyű fűszeres gőzökbe merült
'His/her face was submerged in the spicy steam'

In other cases, the component of 'completeness' can also be connected with 'disappear' which is related to the component 'cover', but interprets it from a different perspective:

(4) Ismered a nagy kertek mélységét, ahogy sötétbe merülnek a fák? Csak a tanár ablaka világít.
'Do you know the depth of large gardens as the trees sink into the dark? Only the teacher's window beacons.'

The verb in example (4) – similarly to the examples mentioned previously – is related to an exact, visually perceivable phenomenon, namely visible changes in the physical environment (how the

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[16] I present the examples without modification, keeping the original spelling in every case.
[17] The isolation of the primary and metaphorical meanings, the question whether the differentiation between the two levels is justified and whether it is really necessary for the exploration of semantic relations, might be explored in further research.
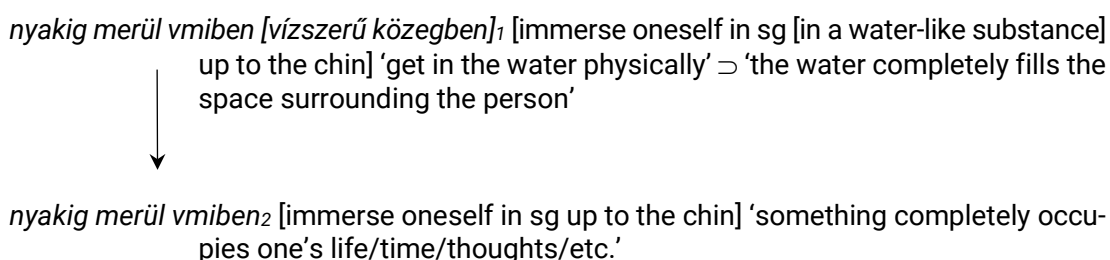
trees blend into the darkness as the landscape gets dark). However, it does not refer to actual movement, but a process of change conceptualized as a process of immersion. It seems as if the darkness that appears as a substance, water-like medium (cf. *depth*) surrounded or absorbed the trees and made them disappear by completely filling the substance in which they are. Therefore, the component of 'completeness' and 'disappearing: becoming invisible' – recalling the image of sinking in water – is prioritized in the meaning of *merül* in this case.

The constructions developed with the verb *merül* can often be related to the idea of sinking in water in other cases as well – especially when, in the metaphorical meaning of the verb, it refers to getting into a state, participating (actively, intensively) in an activity or dealing with a certain activity, thing, mental content, etc. intensively.[18] This relation and association are, on occasion, explicitly indicated by some elements of the utterance. For instance:

(5) Fiatalon *nyakig* merült az országot *elöntő* eszme*áradat*ba.
'When he was young, he immersed *up to the chin* in the *flow* of ideas *flooding* the country.'

(6) kevés idővel ezután a két első ülés utasa már megint *nyakig* merült az intellektuális eszme-csere oly kellemes *pezsgőfürdőjébe*
'shortly thereafter, the passengers of the two front seats were immersed *up to the chin* in the pleasant *bubble bath* of intellectual conversation again'

In these examples, the components 'completeness', 'cover' of the meaning system of *merül* are present in the combination 'completely lose oneself in something', that is, the verb refers to large-scale, deep involvement interpreted as immersion – expressing that the thing, activity, thought (etc.) in question surrounds a person like water, swallowing them up, so to speak. Some additional, similar examples of the meanings of the verb in this meaning system (also from the corpus of MNSZ2) are: *álomba merül* 'fall into a slumber'; *a rajzok, fametszetek csodálatába merültem* 'I lost myself in admiring the drawings and woodcuts'; *Iván komoly szemlélődésbe merült* 'Iván was absorbed in serious contemplation'; *egyre jobban saját depressziós gondolataikba merültek* 'they got more and more absorbed by their depressive thoughts'; *mindhárman hallgatásba merültek* 'all three of them subsided into silence'.

In examples (5) and (6), the expression *nyakig merül vmiben* 'immerse oneself in sg' that has a metaphorical meaning, can be understood as the result of the further metaphorization of a verbal construction referring to locomotion in an exact, physical sense (as a unit), that is, as an allegory or allegorical expression[19] as well:

nyakig merül vmiben [vízszerű közegben]₁ [immerse oneself in sg [in a water-like substance] up to the chin] 'get in the water physically' ⊃ 'the water completely fills the space surrounding the person'

nyakig merül vmiben₂ [immerse oneself in sg up to the chin] 'something completely occupies one's life/time/thoughts/etc.'

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[18] Therefore, it is clear that the component 'intensity' mentioned in footnote 11 fits in the relations that are different from the above-mentioned ones, even within the meaning system of *merül*, and as a result, it cannot completely be identified with the relevant components of the verbs *vet* 'throw' and *csap* 'strike'.

[19] In the framework of organic language theory, the term *allegory* typically refers to metaphorical verbal constructions having unit status. An allegory may result from the metaphorization of a verbal construction having literal meaning. Alternatively, it may also emerge when a construction involving a metaphorically interpreted verb comes to behave as a (tighter) unit, serving as a starting point for further processes of metaphorization (cf. NyMDK. 11).

In other cases, though, in accordance with the component 'disappear' mentioned previously, the aspect of immersion that is prioritized is that whatever gets under water becomes inaccessible – it will be unavailable, impossible to seize not only visually, but for perception and consciousness as well. This inaccessibility can refer to the events of the past (cf. (7), (8)) as well as those of the future (cf. (9)):

(7) Nem akarja, hogy a semmibe merüljön, rögzíteni akarja azt, ami elmúlt – úgy látszik, ez is egyik legfőbb ösztönző ereje a művésznek.
'He does not want what is gone to fade into nothingness, he wants to capture it – it seems that this is one of the artist's main incentives.'

(8) Egy estényi pillanatra feledésbe merülnek a makacs nagyhatalmi érdekek
'The stubborn interests of power are forgotten for an evening-long moment'

(9) A település további sorsa homályba merül.
'The further fate of the settlement fades into obscurity.'

Thus, this is the group of meanings which the expression *feledésbe merül* – along with other phrasal constructions (e.g. *semmibe merül* 'fade into nothingness' or *homályba merül* 'fade into obscurity') – is integrated into. In these cases, *merül* refers to recognition/recognizability and recollection, that is, mental access, made difficult or impossible – also recalling the image of sinking in water; however, it also draws attention to an aspect that the entity that sinks in the water (although it does not cease to exist) completely disappears from the perceiver, it becomes invisible, inaccessible and impossible to manipulate. Accordingly, in this particular meaning of the verb, besides the obviously dominant 'become inaccessible' (in the appropriate context) that can be related to the limits of perception and access, the components 'completeness' and 'graduality' can also be recognized.

However, it is worth noting that in the case of the expressions that are conventionalized as units – such as *feledésbe merül* –, the verb is, in a semantic sense, closely linked to the noun it constitutes a construction with: the meanings of the two elements mutually presuppose and interpret each other. I discuss this question briefly in section 6.3.

6.3. The factors that motivated *feledésbe merül* to become central

In view of the foregoing, the question arises why *feledésbe merül* is in the centre of the range of synonyms examined,[20] and what may explain the fact that in a few decades *merül* became significantly more frequent in the construction than the verb *megy* 'go' which was more typical in the 19th century (cf. Table 3).

Reviewing the list of the verbs that occur in the *feledésbe V* construction (Table 1) and some specific meanings of the verb *merül* (section 6.2), it is clear that *merül* is intermediate between verbs of very specific meaning (e.g. *szitál* 'sift') and ones of very general meaning (e.g. *kerül* 'get'): its meaning is neither too specific, nor too general. This feature of (the meaning of) the verb, allowing for a relatively widespread use of the expression,[21] may have contributed to *feledésbe merül* becoming conventionalized.

It also seems to be an important factor that nominal elements with the suffix *-ba/-be* 'into' are typical and frequent complements of *merül* as a verb expressing downward movement; and this

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[20] The central position of *feledésbe merül* is supported by the frequency data in Tables 1–3.

[21] Although, in this case, we cannot talk about grammaticalization, it is worth referring to the findings of research on grammaticalization according to which grammaticalization processes typically proceed on the basis of linguistic units that denote basic-level categories (e.g. Heine−Claudi−Hünnemeyer 1991: 32−36; Ladányi 1999: 126−127; Dér 2008). Both experience and the linguistic construal of experience are related to basic-level categories and the use of linguistic units denoting such categories is the least limited – that is, these expressions can be applied in a broader range and in a significantly higher number of contexts than more specific or general terms (related to sub- or superordinate categories).

relation – as we could see in the analyses above – is made especially salient by the fact that in the metaphorical meanings the verb often invokes the idea of sinking into water.

The motivation for being conventionalized as a unit – and therefore for taking the central position within the range of synonyms – may be the close, essential semantic relationship between *merül* and *feledés(be)*. The verb also refers to the presumably inherent and crucial components of the process of forgetting marked by the noun – becoming inaccessible by sinking into the depth of consciousness –, while it construes forgetting as a relatively slow, gradual process, as a result of which forgotten memories do not dissolve or cease to exist, they merely become (temporarily or irrevocably) inaccessible, impossible to recall and manipulate.[22] Therefore, *merül* emphasizes the specific and dominant components of the meaning of the noun.

7. Summary

In the present paper, I discussed the light verb constructions following the schema *feledésbe* + verb, meaning 'be forgotten', and constituting a range of synonyms. After comparing synthetic and analytic ways of expression, and a brief demonstration of the organization of the range of synonyms, I presented a case study through the semantic analysis of the verbal element of *feledésbe merül* to determine what semantic factors could contribute to a light verb construction becoming conventional and assuming a central position within this particular range of synonyms.

Based on the results of the research – although the examination of a single range of synonyms does not allow general conclusions to be formulated –, it can be assumed that in the case of light verb constructions, the semantic features of the verb have a crucial role in the development of the organization of the range of synonyms and in which expression becomes central in a particular range of synonyms. It is important that the meaning of the verb should not limit – either due to its generality or due to its specificity – the use (and along with this, the conventionalization) of the construction to a significant extent and its close semantic connection to the nominal element of the construction: it should capture the essential components (or those understood to be essential) of the process and those of the nominal elements referring to it. However, further analyses and the processing of a larger material are needed for the description of these connections.

Although the present paper did not deal with this issue, during the collection of *feledésbe V* constructions it became clear that this range of synonyms overlaps and is closely linked to other ranges of synonyms (*homályba V* 'become faded', *sötét(ség)be V* 'sink into darkness') as well (about the connection between ranges of synonyms cf. Hrenek 2021b). This suggests that it might be worth extending the research on the light verb ranges of synonyms with other possible relations and interactions across ranges of synonyms that are in connection at multiple points, as the exploration of these connections can also contribute to a better understanding of the individual ranges of synonyms and that of the semantic specifications of the light verb constructions belonging to them.

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[22] Similar components are prioritized by *süllyed* 'subside' as well, however, this verb – contrary to *merül* – carries a negative evaluation and implicit value judgement, so its use is more limited. On the other hand, *megy* 'go' is related to getting into oblivion (as an internal place) and demonstrates forgetting as movement in a metaphorical sense, but it does not refer to the features of the process, so it is connected to the complement *feledésbe* and the construction *feledésbe V* less closely than *merül* is.

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MONDÁ – MONDTA. THE CONSTRUAL PATTERNS OF THE IMPERFECTIVE AND THE SIMPLE PAST TENSE IN 19TH CENTURY HUNGARIAN DIARIES[1]

Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University
tolcsvai.nagy.gabor@btk.elte.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1780-3710

Abstract

There is a characteristic distribution of finite verbs in imperfective and simple past tense in five Hungarian diaries written in the 1830s and 1840s. This division demonstrates the last phase in a historical change: these are almost the last spontaneous and regular occurrences of the Hungarian imperfective past before its extinction still in the 19th century. The present investigation is focused on the verb *mond* 'say, tell'. This verb is construed in the corpus almost exclusively in the imperfective past tense, usually as the main (matrix) clause, with a reconstrued quotation by the act of saying in a subordinate clause, with the *hogy* 'that' conjunction. This highly subjectivized use of *mond* 'say, tell' in the entries of the diaries perspectivizes the linguistic activity of a participant with epistemic immediacy. The quoting act is evoked from a participatory, witnessing perspective by the diary writer. This simulative perspective profiles the narrated quoting as an ongoing continuous process through the imperfective past, while the simple past tense expresses events completed prior to the processing time. This type of construal shows the close and dynamic relation between the diary's communicative situation and the evoked quoting situation, in contrast with other activities described often in the simple past tense in the diaries.

Keywords: diary, immediacy, imperfective past, past, simple past, temporality, witnessing

1. Introduction

In present-day Hungarian, only one form of past tense is used the past construed with the suffix *-t*. The past with *-t* covers all kinds of epistemic pasts.

(1) a. A főnök mindig sokat *beszél*.
    'The boss always speaks a lot'

b. A főnök tegnap sokat *beszélt*.
    'The boss spoke a lot yesterday'

Until the end of the 19th century, however, there were also other possibilities to express past time reference. The system of past tenses went through changes during the historical periods from the 12th to the 19th century (see E. Abaffy 1992; Mohay 2020). Focusing now on the 19th century, besides rarely used complex past tenses (with certain forms of the auxiliary be, not discussed here), the imperfective past construed with the suffix *-e/-a* was used quite often in written discourses. The two past tenses were used in a specific distribution, although the imperfective past slowly but

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[1] This is the shortened English version of the paper *Mondá – mondta. A folyamatos és az egyszerű múlt idő konstruálási mintázatai 19. századi naplókban*, *Magyar Nyelvőr* 145. 2021: 432–447.

definitely became extinct by the end of the 19th century (as for its use and non-use in contemporary fiction and poetry, see J. Soltész 1957).

The past with -*t*, the simple past tense, expressed past without any immediate experience or witnessing of the speaker about the event put on scene in the clause (see Brisard 2002). With the simple past tense, the speaker construed an event from a perfective view, the event was accomplished before the time of the utterance. The simple past was general in every-day communication, also in rural dialects.

The past with -*e/-a*, the imperfective past, expressed a past event with immediate experience or witnessing of the speaker about the event put on scene in the clause. With the imperfective past tense, the speaker construed an event from an imperfective, though past view, as if the conceived time of the past event were witnessed parallel with the present process of talking (as for conceived and processing time, see Langacker 2008: 79). Thus, with the imperfective past the speaker construed the event in the clause from a continuous perspective. The imperfective past was used in written discourses: essays, scientific works, literary texts, diaries etc.

The distribution of the two past tenses shows that the imperfective past slowly but definitely lost its functional role. The distribution of the two past tenses based on the factors mentioned above was almost never totally consistent, a clear differentiation of the tenses can be found rather in texts written at the beginning of the 19th century, e.g., in the works of Ferenc Kazinczy (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2020). Simple and imperfective past forms are mixed in many written texts seemingly without any systematic functional difference. In other cases, the distribution matches textual patterns, e.g. in the diary of Antónia Kölcsey (1838–1844) many entries start with a one clause summary of a daily event in simple past, then this event is detailed in imperfective past (c.f. Tolcsvai Nagy 2021). Also, in many written discourses in the middle of the 19th century, imperfective past disappears in the course of the text; while both past tenses are used in the first parts, imperfective past is rarely used in the last sections.

The present paper analyses the distribution of finite verbs in imperfective and simple past tenses in five Hungarian diaries written in the 1830s and 1840s. The investigation is focused on the verb *mond* 'say, tell'. This verb is construed in the corpus almost exclusively in the imperfective past tense, usually as the main (matrix) clause, with a reconstrued quotation by the act of saying in a subordinate clause, with the *hogy* 'that' conjunction. This highly subjectivized use of *mond* 'say, tell' in the entries of the diaries perspectivizes the linguistic activity of a participant with epistemic immediacy. The quoting act is evoked from a participatory, witnessing perspective by the diary writer. This simulative perspective profiles the narrated quoting as an ongoing continuous process through the imperfective past, while the simple past tense expresses events completed prior to the processing time. The second part of the paper presents the analysed data. In the third section the construal features of the diary as a discourse type is outlined from the author's perspective, in the fourth section the focus is on the diary's temporal structure. In the fifth section the imperfective past tense of the verb *mond* 'say', dominant in the entries of the five dairies, is detailed. The paper is closed with the summary.

2. The corpus

The main data from the diaries examined in the present study in terms of past tenses are as follows (see the bibliographic descriptions under Sources).

The diary of László Bártfay was published between January 1838 and December 1841. The diary consists of 138,000 words (980,000 characters including spaces). The details of the verb mond 'say' are as follows. Verb forms in imperfective past: *mondám* 'I said' 68, *mondá, monda* 's/he said' 155, *mondánk* 'we said' 2, *mondák* 'they said' 9. Verb forms in simple past: *mondtam* 'I said' 3, *mondta* 's/he said' (also with a prefix) 4; *mondták* 'they said' 2. Imperfective past figure 234, simple past figure 9.

The diary of Antónia Kölcsey was written between May 1838 and December 1844, with major omissions. The diary has a length of 25,600 words (162,600 characters including spaces). Details of the verb *mond* 'say': *monda* 's/he said' 4, *mondá* 's/he said' 29, *mondám* 'I said' 2. Imperfective past 36. Simple past tense: *mondta* 's/he said', *mondtam* 'I said', *mondták* 'they said', a total of 6 tokens.

The Parliamentary diary of Ferenc Kölcsey was compiled between December 1832 and August 1833. The diary is 65,000 words long (428,000 characters including spaces). Details of the verb *mond* 'say': *mondám* 'I said' 5, *mondád* 'you said' 1, *mondá* 's/he said' (also with a prefix) 12, *mondánk* 'we said' 3, *mondák* 'they said' 22, *mondának* 'they said' 9. Imperfective past tense: 52, simple past tense: 0.

The diary of Etelka Slachta quoted here was written between December 1838 and April 1840. The diary consists of 31,000 words (214,000 characters including spaces). The details of the verb *mond* 'say' are as follows. Verb forms in imperfective past: *mondám* 'I said' 23, *mondá* 's/he said' 120, *mondánk* 'we said' 3, *mondák* 'they said' 5. Verb forms in simple past: *mondtam* 'I said' 2, *mondta* 's/he said' 4, *mondtuk* 'we said' 1, *mondtak* 'they said' 1, *mondták* 'they said' 1. Imperfective past figure: 151, simple past tense figure: 9.

The first parts of Péter Tóth's diary examined here were written between June 1836 and February 1837 (pages 1−152 in the 1984 edition). The length of this section of the diary is 27,000 words (170,000 characters including spaces). The data of the verb *mond* 'say' are as follows. Verb forms in imperfective past: *mondám* 'I said' 35, *mondá* 's/he said' 69, *mond* 's/he said' 4 (form 3PSg), *mondánk* 'we said' 2, *mondók* 'we said' 2, *mondák* 'they said' 1. Verb forms in simple past: *mondtam* 'I said' 5, *mondta* 's/he said' 2, *mondott* 's/he said' 1, *mondtuk* 'we said' 3. Imperfective past figure: 113, simple past figure: 10.

The seemingly simple taxonomy shows a fairly clear picture: the five diary writers, who are very different in their habitus, social status, and relation to writing, uniformly use the narrative past tense in the vast majority of linguistic structures constructed with the verb *mond* 'say'. This ratio is similar for other communication verbs not mentioned here.

In the following, I present the distribution of the two past tense forms of the verb *mond* 'say' and the functions of the imperfective past tense in the context of construal process.

3. The text type of the diary

Literary studies, especially the formalist theories, have placed the genre of the diary on the periphery. Yet, in the 19th century, the importance of the diary increased, in the literary processes of Romanticism in particular (cf. Szegedy-Maszák 2002). This development has gone beyond the narrower scope of literature, and forms of activity such as writing, remembering, documenting, and linguistic construction have developed, in line with European processes. These forms address the linguistic construction of personality, events, reflections (e.g. emotional tensions, crises), capture feelings, plans, dreams in real and virtual networks. The diary is the discourse of self-representation and the entry of the persons and events and relationships that come into contact with the diary writer (see Lejeune 2014; Kalff−Vedder 2016).

Diary writing is personal, and therefore partly spontaneous, but at the same time a linguistic action of conscious formation. The diary is a monologic, written and planned text type, i.e., the speaker (the diary writer) speaks alone, and is even alone during the entry, since the act of diary writing belongs to the private sphere. In this solitary situation, the diary writer largely consciously creates his text, and chooses what to record in what language. The diary writer creates his own communication space and form of activity. The basic unit of the diary is the entry. The structure of entries by date is chronological, usually in daily units. An important feature is continuity, the sequence of entries. "[D]iaries can usually be placed between the extremes of a purposefully advancing confession and the fragments of a fragmentary set of records" (cf. Szegedy-Maszák 2002).

The diary is typically perspectivized: it is not the taxonomy of events that is decisive, but the mention of what is important to the diary writer. Diary writing is a referential and factual linguistic activity (not imaginary; see Z. Varga 2020: 330). In the viewpoint structure of the diary, on the one hand, the speaker's own point of view (the reference centre; cf. Sanders−Spooren 1997; Tátrai 2017: 940) is constantly present, the diary writer speaks, mostly in first person singular. On the other hand, within this viewpoint structure, the subject of consciousness is emphatically the diary writer, he is the source of information, he is responsible for the credibility of what is written.

The diary writer speaks in the first person, decides what is to be entered from this reference center. This mode of talking amplifies several features of the monologue. A diary writer basically speaks to himself when he writes about himself. The diary entries in the corpus examined here show different degrees of self-reflection, in addition to the direct objective and reflexive recording of events and relationships. The distance between the narrator and the narrated self varies; for example, in Etelka Slachta's diary, the relationship seems very close, as in László Bártfay's text; while in the diary of Péter Tóth or Ferenc Kölcsey the larger distance is also marked due to the strong personal reflections.

The diary entry is usually subjectivized (as all 1st person singular speech to some extent), but at the same time objectified, insofar as it writes about itself as a participant in events and processes (see Langacker 2006; Kugler 2013). The frequency of subjectivizing parts (such as first person singular entries and the presence of an implicit evaluative speaker) is usually the result of the short, concise nature of the diary entry: the text also contains unspoken, implicit, suggested contents that become available in subjectivization structures (if at all), for the external reader of the diary.

It is emphatically part of the above brief description that, at the same time, the diary is not primarily intended for publication, and the diaries discussed here, written in the 1830s and 1840s, are certainly not. The diary writer speaks to himself, turns inward, speaks confidentially in the private and even intimate spheres, but knows that this is inevitably outward, and others can read it. It is personal, and therefore partly spontaneous, but at the same time carefully crafted writing.

Already in the first half of the 19th century, diary writing was not a mere listing of events, but the construction of an autonomous personality, with cultural improvement, the personal cultivation of writing, in a consciously discursive order. In the period examined here, in one of the initial significant stages of the establishment of the Hungarian middle classes, this moment is emphatically present.

The textual characterization of the diary summarized here combines the two perspectives that have developed in text research, more specifically in text typology studies, over the past few decades. The first perspective is the functional linguistic description of the structure of the text, more precisely the vehiculum and the processing (i.e. comprehension) structure of the text. The second point of view is the genre-based approach, which approaches the discourse type from the contextual, situational side and scripts of communication activity (cf. Stukker–Spooren–Steen 2016; Simon 2017; Taavitsainen 2004).

4. The temporal structure of the diary

The diary writer always does the entry writing in the present time of this action. Of course, this circumstance is not limited to the diary. However, the default position of the diary entry already evokes the temporal relationship in which the present of the speaking in the diary (the entry) is the day on which the writer records previous events.

The diary is characterized by quasi-simultaneity (Z. Varga 2020: 332), temporal proximity to the daily experiences. The diary writer knows this, and it is clear to the reader of the diary that the now as a single day includes the events of the whole day and at the end of it the action of the entry writing itself. In the entries as units of the discourse, however, the diary writer divides this closeness in time: the linguistic marker of the temporal grounding of daily events is the deictic past tense of the verbs. The act of entry, on the other hand, is emphatically continuous in the present time in relation to the time narrated, and this is profiled, even if the present is mostly unmarked linguistically.

The sequences of entries are multi-temporal. There is no teleology in the structure of the diary, there is no final closure (Z. Varga 2020: 332), at the time of entry writing it is not necessarily possible to know what will come next day or in the following days. The entry as a unit of time is restarted with every day, the events of the immediate past are narrated in the present of the end of the day. The writer is included in the event(s), and the perspective and the temporal structure are re-construed in each entry.

The act of recording has the effect of simultaneity of the entered event and the recording event, as well as their succession in time, at the same time. The temporal varieties of the five diaries examined here show their characters here. In the default discursive relationship, the writer speaks in the present of the writing, usually unmarked, with no explicit reference to the temporal act of recording the described event. In the diary of László Bártfay, on the other hand, there are many present references to the weather conditions at the time of the entry, always at the end of the entry, for example, "The weather is muddy, sloppy. The evening is starless and foggy." (Bártfay, 19 February 1839). Ferenc Kölcsey often discusses the conditions of his accommodation in Pozsony (Bratislava), the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom at that time, as well as the mental and atmospheric conditions at the time of the registration.

For the diary writer, the continuous but intermittent writing of a diary, along with the narration of events, is the narration of time and the existential experience of time, broken down into daily units, but at the same time extending beyond. The recorded events provide the essential components of the space experienced, at the same time always opening the horizon of expectations for the still unknown (cf. Koselleck 1988).

All this takes place in an interactive and intersubjective situation: the diary writer knows that in his text he is the subject of consciousness, the information comes from him, he is the source of authenticity, in the context and sequence of his own earlier and expected later entries. He is also the reader of his own diary, even if he only remembers the details he wrote earlier, and this inclusion obviously influences the reader's current interpretation of his own life.

The author of the diary writes to a fictive imaginary reader. Both the reader and the author of the diary, as its reader, can read only in time. The time and time structure of the reading process does not match the time structure of the daily sequence of the entry, but it is related to it, the reader also perceives the temporal sequence. Each entry is tied not only to a date, but also to the imagined, recalled duration and the reception time of the narrated events and reflections. In the writing and reading of the diary, the relationship between conceived and processing time is overtly present in the sequential nature of the entries.

The entries in the five diaries in the corpus examined here are very mixed in terms of past tenses. Not only is the application of the imperfective past inconsistent in the diaries of the individual authors, but also with respect to the decade during which the five diaries analyzed here were written. There is a greater regularity in Antónia Kölcsey's diary (where the entries begin with a high frequency in the simple past tense evoking an event with a general effect about the given day, followed by personal episodes narrated in the imperfective past). In Ferenc Kölcsey's parliamentary diary, he uses the imperfective past in general (but not exclusively) to describe scenes he has personally experienced, and the simple past to events that have taken place in the earlier past related to the day of the entry and not witnessed directly. László Bártfay's diary shows a strong mix: there are parts or complete entries with (almost) purely simple past and parts or complete entries with (almost) purely imperfective past, regardless of the author's personal involvement in the narrated event. In the diary of Péter Tóth, the imperfective past is also characteristic of parts describing events he personally experienced and reports with direct witnessing, but a significant amount of similar data involves the simple past. In Etelka Slachta's diary, the imperfective past with communication verbs and movement verbs is very common, but in other respects the use of the simple past cannot be considered regular.

Using the simple past tense in the five diaries, the writer construes each event from a distance in an objectified temporal frame. The clear difference between the time of the entry and the time of each intraday closed event is decisive. The speaker sees himself from the outside in an earlier phase, from the same objectifying temporal distance as the other characters.

Using the imperfective past tense, the diary writer construes events as experienced processes in the temporal reference frame with a greater degree of subjectivization. The timing of the entry is in direct simulative correspondence with the narrated events, which are not separated sharply from episode to episode. However, the two main types thus separated are implemented in several

versions. In these variants, the functional difference between the two past tenses varies in a scalar manner, they differ greatly in one extreme region of the scale and are close in the other.

5. The verb *mond* 'say' in the dairy entries

The verb *mond* 'say' is a transitive active verb in Hungarian. The main schematic figures are the following: someone says something to someone (see Csontos 2012: 198–199). The primary figure (trajector) is an active human agent who says something, that is, he is the speaking, deliberately acting agent. Its elaboration in the clause is typically the subject. One secondary figure (landmark) is the content of the saying, its semantic role is passive theme. It is elaborated in a main clause typically by a pronominal grammatical object in the accusative and the dependent clause that elaborates it as a quotation. The other secondary figure (landmark) is the hearer of the saying, in the semantic role experiencer or beneficiary, its elaboration in the clause is typically ba means of a dative dependent. The trajector's (speaker's) degree of volition and effect is high, that of the listener is small. The aim of the event is to direct the attention of the hearer, to foreground a certain content within the intersubjective attention frame, to change the mental state of the hearer. The entire event is active.

The verb *mond* 'say' is imperfect, unbounded in time, uninterrupted. Its event structure is loud speaking, a purpose-oriented real-time event, in order to make a certain content (conceptual structure) available through speech in an intersubjective comprehension process. The content is construed by the speaker, along with the hearer's comprehension process.

In the basic schema of the verb *mond* 'say', the most important complements can be named in three schematic figures: someone speaks, someone says something, to someone. In this speech construal, the speaker (the primary figure of the verb *mond* 'say', the one who quotes in the structures examined here) is the starting point, the deictic centre of the reference frame, the action of saying is expressed from this point of view. The speaker's speaking is directed, on the one hand, to the momentary listener. The speaker's speaking, on the other hand, focuses on the object of attention, that is, the object of the saying, the construed scene in the centre of joint attention, its content. With the verb *mond* 'say', the speaker thus construes the act of the saying itself, typically limited to the content and time of an utterance.

One of the most important realizations of the verb *mond* 'say' is a complex sentence involving a subordinate clause with the conjunction *hogy* 'that'; this sentence construction is the schema of the realizations of the verb *mond* 'say' examined here: *azt mondja, hogy…* 'he says that…', *azt mondta, hogy…* 'he said that…'.

In accordance with the schema of the complex sentence with the conjunction *hogy* 'that', the main clause expresses the mental process and communication activity of the agent (the speaker) of the construed scene from the speaker's point of view. Also, the *azt* 'that' accusative pronoun denotes the mental space of the saying, elaborated in the subordinate clause (Kugler 2017: 823). The main clause expresses the action value of speaking, also twice: on the one hand, that of the actual speaker who construes and narrates the scene of the saying, and on the other hand, that of the speaker who acts and speaks within the scene. This perspectivizes and contextualizes the scene while the subject of consciousness is the speaker of the scene expressed by the sentence (Kugler 2017: 823, 831, 839). For more details on the modality of using the verb *mond* 'say', see Csontos (2012: 200–201).

One determinant factor in the clausal implementation of the verb *mond* 'say' is the temporal reference frame, in particular the relationship between the inherent temporality (conceived time) and the processing time. This is so because the subordinate sentence containing the verb *mond* 'say' profiles the temporal process of the saying separately in the main clause, and the semantic content of the saying in the mental space of the saying in the subordinate clause with the conjunction *hogy* 'that', which is also construed as a scene in time. Both elementary scenes are epistemically grounded to its speaker as the base. These successive two inherent and at the same time grounded temporalities are related to the temporal component of the comprehension process of the speaker who speaks or writes both and the reader who receives them, through processing time.

In the complex sentences of the five diaries examined here construed with the verb *mond* 'say', the distribution and functioning of the imperfective and the simple past tense take place in this temporal reference frame. The reference frame is set up by the diary writer. One of the starting points in the temporal reference frame is the vantage point of the diary writer, the time of his speaking, in particular. The vantage point of the diary writer is a temporal reference point because the time of the narrated scene is relative to the processing time of the grounded speaking, the entry writing. It is from this grounding relationship that the deictic verb tense arises. The diary writer evokes another earlier speaker in his complex sentence, who actually tells what he is telling as an utterance of the act of saying, but already as a quote.

The temporal reference frame thus, on the one hand, establishes the diary writer's vantage point for the whole text (or part of it), which he processes in the diary as his present time and which the reader of the diary (even the author himself) reads the entry as past and present at the same time, knowing that the entry was made earlier, but the nature of reporting and recall is quasi-present compared to what was said in the entry, related to an earlier event. Related to this is the vantage point of the recalled speaker by the diary writer, which is also temporally related to the scene narrated by the recalled speaker and is grounded to the base of the diary writer. This base, as discussed above, is related to the here and now present of the act of the entry writing, and at the same time to the sequence of entries in the broader context of the diary. Another component of the resulting temporal structure is the characteristic function of the communicative verbs shown here, which "makes the fact of citation explicit while also depicting the process of creating the original discourse" (Csontos 2012: 196−200). The present study does not treat this detail.

In complex sentences containing the verb *mond* 'say', it is the intersubjective relationship between the diary writer and the speaker he recalls that is primarily profiled in the reference frame. At this point, it becomes important that in complex sentences containing the verb *mond*, the elaboration of the content of the saying, i.e. its mental space, is a quotation (see Csontos 2012; Csontos−Tátrai 2008; Csontos−Dér−Furkó 2019). In this construction, the quoting part is the act of the saying, while the quotation itself is "a re-construal of an already existing and linguistically represented event" (Csontos 2012: 196−204; Csontos 2016). Re-construal is done by processing the quotation and the act of the citation within the reference frame of the diary entry also in terms of time. In the framework of the present study, the question is: how the diary writer, as a text writer, relates in his own speaking time (processing time) to the time of the act of a saying made earlier and recalled by him, how does he construe this grounding relationship with the grammatical possibilities available in Hungarian.

In the temporal structure of sentences with the verb *mond*, different variants are realized in the diaries examined here, according to the relationship between the tense of the verbs and the inherent temporality of the verb, as well as between other factors of the sentence and the text:

- functions of the present, past, and future tense in finite verb forms,
- variations in the syncretism and disparity of tense and base,
- the space-time continuum of the current discourse space and the boundary of the construed scene,
- the relationship between the length of the scene and the length of the speaking time.

Based on the factors presented above, the use of the verb *mond* 'say' in the corpus is characterized by the following.

The inherent (lexical level) temporality of the verb *mond* is imperfect (the beginning and end points are outside the immediate conceptual scope). The duration of the saying is always longer than a moment, and a perceptible time (at least one or two seconds) is required for the utterance to be uttered, perceived and understood.

As a scene realized in the diary texts, the verb *mond* is in the past compared to the processing time (related to the time of the diary entry as the speaker's reference point). Two basic versions of past can be distinguished within the speaker's perspective in the reference frame:

- the past is accomplished, closed, distal, and objectified past time, epistemically non-direct; there is no correspondence between the sequential elements of the recalled action process of the saying and the temporality of the writing process of the diary entry – this past is expressed with simple past tense in the diaries;

- the past is continuous, it is continuously experienced as a past event, the epistemic immediacy is continuous, the perception of the saying is imaginative, its simulative evocation is overtly processual; there is a correspondence between the recalled action process of the saying and the temporally sequential elements of the writing process of the diary entry, as if the recalling of a past scene would be done in the continuum of the present tense of the entry writing, with a high degree of grammatically signified subjectivization – this past is expressed with imperfective past tense in the diaries.

From the above overview and the data, it can be seen that in all five diaries, the imperfective past of the verb *mond* 'say' (and mostly the communication verbs) have a prominent place in the linguistic, discursive construal of the diaries. The verbs in imperfective past tense show further variability. This variability depends on the relationship between the entry and the quoting main clause: the extent to which the saying is a direct element of the narrated episode or not. It also depends on how much the diary writer identifies himself with the point of view of the speaker quoted by him over time, or how much he or she focuses on the citation itself. The explicit use of the *azt* 'that' pronoun and the *hogy* 'that' conjunction or, conversely, their avoidance play a role in the construal of the variants: the marked use rather strengthens objectivity, the avoidance of the pronoun and the conjunction results in a more subjectivized structure in which the quotation begins to resemble to indirect speech and even free indirect speech, with the temporal and perspectival proximity or fusion of the speech of the diary writer and the quoted speaker.

In (2) the entry begins with an accomplished event (*feljött* [simple past] 'came up and is there'), then during the recall of the conversation the continuous, in-presence, epistemically immediate character of the verbs *olvasám* [imperfective] 'I was reading' and *mondá* [imperfective] 'he was saying' becomes decisive in the process of narration. That is, while the event is narrated with verbs whose start or end points are within the immediate semantic scope of the current meaning of the verb, the quotation phrase is continuous in the past, the start and end points are not profiled.

(2) Mihelyt *feljött*, *olvasám* neki a levelet, magyarázatokat *tett rá*, még azt is *mondá*, „szeretném tudni az ilyen kettős barátság egyez-e az emberi természettel?" (Tóth, 1836. télelő [december] 6.)

As soon as he came up [simple past], I read [imperfective] the letter to him, he explained [simple past] it, he even said [imperfective], "I want to know if such a double friendship fits human nature?" (Tóth 6 December 1836).

In (3), the narration of the event occurred to the diary writer is construed in simple past tense as a default, although the introduction is in present. The narration contains one episode of saying in the imperfective past, with the dramatic story of the bread stealing in present tense. However, the story itself is fundamentally construed in an objectifying, removing past tense. The imperfective past tense of the verb *mond*, which profiles the immediacy of the quoted utterance, the direct perception and understanding of the speaking in the story, brings a momentary change to this.

(3) […] robajjal *fut* a szónoksegéd, „jertek, nálam van Fekete Mátyás" (kékesi plebanus). Öltöztünk s mentünk. Alant *kezdett* a beszéd s *fölhágott* az örök erőre, Krisztusra, szóval a vallás legfölebb tárgyira. *Mondá* ő, hogy ezekhez hit kell, én óh, bizonyosan az kellene […] (Tóth, 1836. nyárhó [július] 24.)

[…] the assistant pastor runs in [present] with a bang, "come, Fekete Mátyás has arrived at me" (parson from Kékes). We got dressed [simple past] and went [simple past]. The conversation began [simple past] low and ascended [simple past] to the eternal power, Christ, so the supreme object of religion. He said [imperfective] that these require faith, me oh, certainly it should […] (Tóth 24 July 1836)

In the interrupted recording of the evening of the great flood in Pest on March 13, 1838, in (4) László Bártfay construes the events in the city from a double perspective. He recounts his own actions in the imperfective past, in a personally subjectified framework, in the marked role of the subject of consciousness, along the re-experienced continuity of events. External events, on the other hand, are expressed in the simple past (as in most of the rest of the daily entry not cited here). In the excerpt, the verbs with simple past refer to the actions of Miklós Wesselényi. This sequence is interrupted by the verb *mondá* 'he said' in imperfective past, then quoting Wesselényi's utterance (formally in present, referring to the near future). This quoting main clause with epistemic immediacy in imperfective past (*azt mondá* 'he said') fits into the series of accomplished actions quickly following one another expressed in simple past. This brings a momentary change in the past tenses, therefore the correspondence between its directness and the process of recalling is contextually smaller. The intersubjective relationship between the diary writer Bártfay and the speaking Wesselényi stays in the background.

(4) A' legszelidebb holdvilágos estve *volt*: de a' harangok folyvást *zúgtak*. Vizet sehol sem látva, szokott utamon, a' Muzeum mellett, fütyülve *jövék* haza. B[áró]. Wesselényi Miklóst már itthon *találtam*. Ő valamivel korábban *hagyá el* a' színházat. Velünk *vacsorált* valami keveset. Annakutána mindjárt *átküldött* a' köztelekre, hol lovainak istallója *volt*, egyet *megnyergeltetett*, és *ellovagolt* az áradás' jelenségeit, irányát, terjedését a' városon mindenfelé vizsgálandó. Azt *mondá*, majd hírt hoz ha visszajő. *Lefekvénk*, nyugottan, mint máskor. Szokásom ágyban olvasni. *Olvastam* ekkor is, sokáig: részint mivel érdekes könyvet *kaptam* e' napokban „Napoleon und der Herzog von Vicenza" német fordításban, részint a' Bárót 's annak híreit várva. De az éjfélig nem *jött vissza*. *Hallám* a' tizenkettőt ütni, gyertyámat *eloltám* 's *elaludtam*. (Bártfay, 1838. március 13.)

It was [simple past] the mildest moonlit evening: but the bells were continuously ringing [simple past]. Seeing nowhere water, I came [imperfective] home on my usual way, next to the Museum, whistling. I already found [simple past] B[aron] Miklós Wesselényi at home. He left [imperfective] the theater a little earlier. He dined [simple past] with us a little. Immediately afterwards, he sent [simple past] [one of his people] to the plot, where he had [simple past] a stable for his horses, saddled [simple past] one, and rode away [simple past] to examine the developments, direction, and spread of the flood everywhere in the city. He said [imperfective] he would bring news when he came back [present]. We went [imperfective] to bed, as calmly as usual. I used to read in bed. I read [simple past] this time, too, for a long time: partly because I received [simple past] an interesting book in these days, the German translation of 'Napoleon und der Herzog von Vicenza', partly waiting for the Baron and his news. But he didn't come back [simple past] until midnight. I heard [imperfective] striking twelve, put out [imperfective] my candle and fell [simple past] asleep. (Bártfay 13 March 1838)

In (5), Ferenc Kölcsey summarizes a daily episode of the struggle on the introduction or refusal to publish the parliamentary diary (the publication of abstract minutes and parliamentary speeches). The actions of those who opposed the protocol are first mentioned in the simple past by Kölcsey:

nem akartak emlékezni 'they did not want to remember'. The narration of this act of the representatives is continued in the imperfective past with the verb *mond*: *Azt mondák* 'they said'. And the recording of the next episode of the event is also in the imperfective past tense: *Hiában monda Pázmándy* 'in vain said Pázmándy'. Although the argumentation is in present (both in the present time of the intention to introduce the parliamentary diary and that of the author's diary writing), still the parliamentary episode itself ends in the simple past tense, expressing the accomplishment of the whole scene: *Mindezek nem használtak* 'all of these were in vain'. In this example, therefore, the imperfective past differs only slightly from the grounding content of the simple past, although it emphasizes the nature of the creative and receptive process of the saying.

(5) Most tehát hogy a napkönyvet, amennyire lehetséges, a szerkesztők szabadkéjű csonkításaitól megmentsük, az alnádor által ajánlott záradék ellen viadalra *szállánk*, és nyertesek *maradánk*. De e nyereséget a napkönyvi kivonat felett támadt harcban kétszeresen *vesztettük el*. Embereink a január 10-diki végzésre, minélfogva a kivonat *megállíttaték*, *nem akartak* emlékezni. Azt *mondák*: nekik s küldőiknek nem napkönyvi kivonat, hanem újság *kell*. Hiában *monda* Pázmándy, miképpen e kivonat nem *akar* az újság surrogatuma lenni, miképpen az újság iránt jogainkat *fenntartjuk*, s most csak egy lépést *akarunk* a nagyobb publicitás felé stb. Mindezek nem *használtak*; a magyarnak vagy a *kellett* amit ő akart, vagy semmi sem. (Kölcsey Ferenc, 1833. május 18.)

So now, to save the parliamentary diary as much as possible from the free mutilation of the editors, we went [imperfective] to fight against the clause recommended by the vice governor and remained [imperfective] winners. But we lost [simple past] that profit twice in the fight over the diary abstract. Our people did not want to remember [simple past] the order of January 10, by which the abstract was stopped [imperfective]. They said that they and their senders did not need a diary extract, but a newspaper. In vain did Pázmándy say [imperfective] how this extract does not want [present] to be the surrogate of the newspaper, how we reserve [present] our rights to the newspaper, and now we only want [present] one step towards greater publicity, and so on. All of these were [simple past] in vain; Hungarians either needed [simple past] what they wanted or nothing. (Ferenc Kölcsey 1833: May 18.)

6. Summary

The paper analysed the distribution of simple and imperfective past tense forms in the use of the verb *mond* 'say' in five 19th-century Hungarian diaries written in the 1830s and 1840s. The data show that the verb *mond* (and communication verbs in general) is grounded in the imperfective past in almost all cases, usually in the main clause of a complex sentence, followed by a re-construed quote in the subordinate clause as the elaboration of the pronominal grammatical object of the verb *mond* in the main clause. With this highly subjectivized use of the verb *mond* in the diary entries express the linguistic activity of one character in the diary text with epistemic immediacy, the diary writer presents a conversation with the participation of a speaker or the diary writer in a witnessing, participatory, simulative way. At the same time, this mode of construal profiles the continuous character of the narration; the simulative evoking of the past quoting act is construed as a directly experienced process. There is a correspondence between the recalled act of saying and the sequential elements of the temporal process of the entry writing. This rather consistent use of the verb *mond* shows a close correlation between the communicatitive situation recalled and the communicative situation of the diary writing, as opposed to the temporality of other types of events often expressed in the corpus with the simple past.

Acknowledgements

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CLOSED CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS IN HUNGARIAN CANONICAL POETRY: A CORPUS LINGUISTIC APPROACH

PÉTER HORVÁTH

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University
horvath.peeteer@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3517-5623

Abstract

The paper shows how the distribution of different concepts within a closed conceptual domain can be used for quantitative analysis of poetic corpora. The method is presented in three case studies based on the complete poems of 23 canonical Hungarian poets. The first case study analyzes the frequency of the concept NIGHT, which is part of the conceptual domain TIMES OF DAY. The second case study analyzes the frequencies of the four season concepts, and the third case study assesses the frequencies of color concepts. The change in the frequencies of the concepts analyzed seems to reflect the well-known poetic change in Hungarian poetry at the beginning of the 20th century. The paper also demonstrates that in canonical Hungarian authors' poetry, there is a strong positive correlation between the frequencies of the three conceptual domains, which may mean that referring to these domains is part of the same poetic toolkit aiming to highlight sensory impressions of the physical setting of poems. Finally, the paper shows which concepts from the three different conceptual domains co-occur in the same poems with a higher mutual information score.

Keywords: closed conceptual domain, poetry, corpus linguistics, correlation, MI-score, time of day, season, color

1. Introduction

The paper presents a quantitative, corpus linguistic approach of Hungarian poetry, based on the distribution of concepts of closed conceptual domains. The method can contribute to distant reading techniques applied to poetry (on distant reading see Moretti 2000, 2005). Until now, relatively little quantitative corpus linguistic research has been done on Hungarian poetry. These studies usually focus either on the poems of a single Hungarian poet (see Jékel–Papp 1974; Jékel–Szuromi 1980; Lesi 2008; Labádi 2018) or on a few poems by several poets (see Fónagy 1959; Zsilka 1974; Simon 2020). Technological advances in recent years have made it possible to study corpora containing all the poems of many Hungarian poets. The corpus analysis presented below aims to demonstrate the new possibilities inherent in the quantitative investigation of Hungarian poetry, by using a much larger corpus than previous studies.

I apply the term *closed conceptual domain* for well-delimited conceptual fields consisting of a finite number of concepts. For instance, the domain of COLORS has a finite number of concepts expressed by the color terms. By measuring the occurrences of the concepts of a closed conceptual domain, we can gain frequency data about the appearance of the investigated closed conceptual domain in a corpus of poetry and we can compare different subcorpora with each other on the basis of these frequency data. In corpus linguistics, the quantitative analysis of the occurrence of concepts is not new. Rayson (2008), for example, used the keyword method to analyze semantic domains in texts (see also McIntyre 2013). The distribution of the concepts of a closed conceptual domain in a set of poems can direct our attention to features which cannot be revealed by methods

of close reading. These features are typically related to general features of the physical, social and mental spheres of the constructed fictive worlds of poems (cf. Tátrai 2011: 171–189, 2015a)[1].

The paper presents the method by means of frequency analysis of three closed conceptual domains in the complete poems of 23 Hungarian canonical poets. The three closed conceptual domains are the following: TIMES OF DAY, SEASONS and COLORS. These domains pertain to the physical sphere of the poems, they contribute to the constitution of the physical setting of the narrated scene or the fictive lyrical speech situation in which a fictive speaker directs the attention of a fictive addressee to a fictive scene (on the apostrophic nature of lyrical discourses, see Culler 1981: 135–154; Tátrai 2015b). By the investigation of these conceptual domains, we can learn about the physical setting of a given set of poems, and by comparing different sets of poems on the basis of these domains, typical and atypical patterns can be identified.

Section 2 presents the main properties of the research corpus, and the tools of frequency analyses. Section 3 shows the frequency data of the concept NIGHT, which is related to the closed conceptual domain TIMES OF DAY, section 4 presents the frequency data of the domain SEASONS, and section 5 shows the frequency data of the domain COLORS. Section 6 demonstrates the existence of a strong positive correlation between the frequencies of the three conceptual domains. Section 7 presents the results of the co-occurrence analysis of the concepts from different conceptual domains. Section 8 briefly summarizes the research with some final remarks.

2. Corpus and tools

The research corpus for the frequency analyses presented here consists of the complete poems of 23 Hungarian poets. This corpus was extracted from the ELTE Poetry Corpus,[2] which is a database consisting of the complete poems of 49 canonical Hungarian poets. I used the poems of those poets who have more than 100 poems in the ELTE Poetry Corpus and who were not born before Csokonai. Besides lyrical poems, the research corpus also included the authors' longer narrative poems. The format of the corpus is TEI XML (TEI Consortium 2019). The TEI XML files contain not only the text of the poems but among other types of annotations, the lemma, the part of speech and the morphosyntactic features of words as well. These grammatical annotations have been created by the program e-magyar, an NLP tool for the automatic analysis of the grammatical features of Hungarian texts (Váradi et al. 2018; Indig et al. 2019). The research corpus containing the texts of 23 Hungarian poets has 11,262 poems and 2,120,996 words. Table 1 presents the 23 authors with their dates of birth and death, and the number of poems and words, respectively. The authors are shown in birth order. The subsequent tables also sort the frequency data in this order.

For the frequency analysis, the programming language Python was used, with the lxml library,[3] which makes the query of XML files simple. The gained frequency data were loaded into a spreadsheet program, where further frequency analyses were accomplished. The search terms referring to the concepts analyzed were collected manually, on the basis of thesauruses and my own research intuition.

Table 1. Content of the research corpus

Author	Birth and death	Number of poems	Number of words
Csokonai Vitéz, Mihály	1773–1805	394	125,421
Berzsenyi, Dániel	1776–1836	136	20,763
Kisfaludy, Károly	1788–1830	123	24,001
Kölcsey, Ferenc	1790–1838	149	18,833
Vörösmarty, Mihály	1800 – 1855	662	210,244

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[1] Tátrai (2011, 2015a) applied his tripartite model to narrative fiction, but it can be applied to lyrical fiction as well.
[2] https://github.com/ELTE-DH/poetry-corpus
[3] https://lxml.de

Arany, János	1817–1882	417	276,092
Tompa, Mihály	1817–1868	491	172,565
Petőfi, Sándor	1823–1849	839	148,466
Madách, Imre	1823–1864	319	67,287
Gyulai, Pál	1826–1909	156	32,525
Vajda, János	1827–1897	199	95,260
Reviczky, Gyula	1855–1889	335	50,485
Komjáthy, Jenő	1858–1895	246	47,908
Ady, Endre	1877–1919	1116	121,526
Kaffka, Margit	1880–1918	102	22,329
Somlyó, Zoltán	1882–1937	379	66,672
Juhász, Gyula	1883–1937	1278	113,222
Babits, Mihály	1883–1941	514	95,758
Kosztolányi, Dezső	1885–1936	630	85,026
Tóth, Árpád	1886–1928	451	60,147
Reményik, Sándor	1890–1941	667	82,309
József, Attila	1905–1937	599	64,717
Dsida, Jenő	1907–1938	1060	119,440
All	1773–1941	11262	2,120,996

3. The conceptual domain of TIMES OF DAY

The first closed conceptual domain investigated is the domain of TIMES OF DAY. We divide days into time spans. The two largest time spans of a day are daytime and night, which are based on the different physical settings related to the position of the sun. In our conceptual system, the default time of day is DAYTIME, since usually this is the time of our active life. For instance, when somebody tells a story that happened to her and does not specify the time of day, we tend to think that it took place in daytime, except in the case of some special activities typically related to night, such as drinking beer in a pub or dancing in a club. This is also true for the reception of poems. When the fictive lyrical speaker does not specify the time of day, we usually do not think that the time of the fictive speech situation or the narrated events is night. We are led to think so only when the fictive speaker makes it explicit by means of linguistic expressions. Signifying that the time of the fictive lyrical speech situation or the narrated scene or events is night is a deviation from the default parameter setting for time. An interesting question is the extent to which different authors have deviated from this default.

The first case study analyzes the frequencies of those poems in the research corpus in which the concept of NIGHT comes up, in other words, where there is a deviation from the default time setting. The analysis used a list of synonymous lemmas as search terms referring to the time of NIGHT. Since the corpus specifies the lemma of each word, it was possible to query the lemmas directly, without spending a considerable amount of time by collecting all of the word forms of a lemma, which is a typical problem of using unlemmatized Hungarian corpora. The search terms are shown in (1) with the English translations. As the noun and the adjective forms of the concept NIGHT are expressed differently in Hungarian, the part of speech labels are also indicated. In addition to the standard forms, archaic forms and spelling variants have also been added to the search terms. I have also used verbs, participles/participial adjectives, and nouns derived by the *-ás/-és* suffix from the verbs with the Hungarian prefix *be* and *rá* as search terms (e.g. *beesteledik* [night is falling], *ráesteledik* [benight]). For the sake of clarity, these prefixed lemmas are not included in the list in (1) below.

(1) *este, estve, est* (evening NOUN), *éjszaka, éjjszaka, éjjel, éjel, éj, éjj* (night NOUN), *éjfél, éjjfél* (midnight NOUN), *alkony, alkonyat, alkonyulat, szürkület* (twilight NOUN), *estefelé, estefele* (around evening ADV), *esti, estvei* (evening ADJ), *éjszakai, éjjszakai, éjjeli, éjeli, éji, éjji* (night ADJ), *éjféli, éjjféli* (midnight ADJ), *alkonyi, alkonyati, alkonyulati, szürkületi* (twilight ADJ), *esteledik, estveledik, alkonyodik, alkonyul, sötétedik* (night is falling VERB), *esteledő, estveledő, alkonyodó, alkonyuló* (darkening ADJ: present participle), *esteledett, estveledett, alkonyodott, alkonyult* (darkened ADJ: past participle), *esteledés, estveledés, alkonyodás, alkonyulás, sötétedés* (nightfall NOUN)

As (1) shows, the method does not take grammatical categories into account. In the list, there are nouns and (participial) adjectives as well as verbs. The goal was to collect (nearly) all of the Hungarian lemmas referring directly to the concept of NIGHT, regardless of grammatical category. I wrote a simple Python script that went through the XML files of the poems and checked if the poems contained any of the lemmas in the list. In the case of each author, the script's output was the number of poems containing at least one lemma from the list. These frequency numbers indicate the measure of deviation of a given author's poetry from the default time setting. The resulting frequency data are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequencies of poems referring to NIGHT

Author	Number of poems	Poems with NIGHT	NIGHT %	Rank
Csokonai	394	86	21.8%	17
Berzsenyi	136	29	21.3%	19
Kisfaludy	123	47	38.2%	8
Kölcsey	149	58	38.9%	5
Vörösmarty	662	133	20.1%	23
Arany	417	118	28.3%	13
Tompa	491	270	55.0%	1
Petőfi	839	210	25.0%	15
Madách	319	86	27.0%	14
Gyulai	156	50	32.1%	11
Vajda	199	71	35.7%	10
Reviczky	335	69	20.6%	21
Komjáthy	246	50	20.3%	22
Ady	1116	236	21.1%	20
Kaffka	102	45	44.1%	3
Somlyó	379	160	42.2%	4
Juhász	1278	481	37.6%	9
Babits	514	164	31.9%	12
Kosztolányi	630	305	48.4%	2
Tóth	451	174	38.6%	6
Reményik	667	162	24.3%	16
József	599	130	21.7%	18
Dsida	1060	408	38.5%	7
Mean			31.9	
Median			31.9	

The number of poems in which the concept of NIGHT appears is shown in column 3. The proportions of these poems to the number of all poems are given in column 4. The last column shows the ranks

of the authors, based on the proportions. Proportionally, Tompa has the most poems containing the concept of NIGHT. In his case, 55% of the poems contains at least one of the lemmas listed in (1). In second place, we find Kosztolányi, with 48.4% of his poems referring to NIGHT. Proportionally the fewest poems containing expressions of NIGHT are found in the case of Vörösmarty, where only 20.1% of poems are categorized as such. The mean and median of the proportions are also indicated in the table, which are 31.9%. The table shows that the number of poems referring to NIGHT is proportionally higher for poets of the early 20th century. The proportions of these poems in the case of Kaffka, Somlyó, Juhász, Kosztolányi, Tóth and Dsida are higher than the mean and median. Interestingly, Ady, who was also a contributor to the modernist Hungarian literary journal *Nyugat*, wrote proportionally far fewer poems referring to NIGHT than the authors mentioned above. In this respect, his poetry is much more similar to Reviczky's and Komjáthy's poetry from the end of the 19th century.

4. The conceptual domain of SEASONS

The second short case study investigates the appearance of the conceptual domain of SEASONS. In this case, there is no default setting based on real life experiences. We cannot say that one season plays a more prominent role in human life than the others. However, it is possible that in a given poetic tradition, referring to one season is more typical than another. It is also possible that there is a typical frequency order of seasons in a poetic tradition. If there is a kind of order, usually there is deviation from that order as well. It is an interesting question which authors deviate from the typical patterns in the use of season concepts, which may shed light on certain idiosyncratic aspects of these authors' poetry. The frequency analysis used the lemmas in (2) referring to the four seasons. The part of speech of each Hungarian lemma is indicated in brackets. As the search terms in list (2) show, the meaning of "spring is coming" can be expressed with one word in Hungarian, but in the case of summer, autumn and winter, there is no one-word equivalent of this kind of meaning, it can only be expressed analytically, as in English.

(2)
  I.　SPRING: *tavasz* (NOUN), *tavaszi* (ADJ), *tavaszodik* (spring comes VERB), *tavaszodó (*ADJ: present participle*), tavaszodott* (ADJ: past participle*), tavaszodás* (turning into spring NOUN), *kitavaszodik* (spring comes VERB), *kitavaszodó* (ADJ: present participle*), kitavaszodott* (ADJ: past participle*), kitavaszodás* (turning into spring NOUN), *kikelet* (NOUN), *kikeleti* (ADJ)
  II.　SUMMER: *nyár* (NOUN), *nyári* (ADJ)
  III.　AUTUMN: *ősz* (NOUN), *őszi* (ADJ)
  IV.　WINTER: *tél* (NOUN), *téli* (ADJ)

The Python script went through the poems of each author and for each season it produced the number of poems containing at least one expression for that season. Naturally, a poem can belong to several season categories if it contains the expressions of two or more different seasons. The resulting frequency data are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequencies of poems referring to NIGHT

Author	Seasons %	1.		2.		3.		4.	
		season	%	season	%	season	%	season	%
Csokonai	18.0%	spring	9.9%	summer	7.6%	winter	6.6%	autumn	3.3%
Berzsenyi	13.2%	spring	9.6%	autumn	3.7%	winter	2.2%	summer	1.5%
Kisfaludy	20.3%	spring	13.8%	autumn	7.3%	winter	4.9%	summer	2.4%
Kölcsey	16.8%	summer	8.1%	spring	6.7%	winter	4.7%	autumn	2.0%

Vörösmarty	13.7%	spring	8.8%	winter	7.1%	autumn	4.1%	summer	2.9%
Arany	21.1%	winter	11.0%	summer	10.1%	spring	8.6%	autumn	8.6%
Tompa	36.3%	spring	20.0%	winter	13.8%	autumn	13.2%	summer	10.8%
Petőfi	17.2%	spring	10.0%	autumn	6.9%	winter	6.3%	summer	3.6%
Madách	28.2%	spring	16.3%	autumn	9.4%	winter	8.5%	summer	7.8%
Gyulai	25.0%	spring	18.6%	autumn	10.3%	summer	6.4%	winter	5.1%
Vajda	26.6%	summer	15.6%	spring	10.1%	winter	8.5%	autumn	4.5%
Reviczky	26.3%	spring	14.6%	summer	9.9%	autumn	7.5%	winter	4.2%
Komjáthy	15.0%	summer	8.9%	spring	5.3%	autumn	2.0%	winter	1.6%
Ady	17.0%	spring	6.3%	autumn	5.4%	summer	5.3%	winter	5.1%
Kaffka	20.6%	summer	9.8%	spring	8.8%	winter	7.8%	autumn	2.9%
Somlyó	30.1%	winter	12.1%	autumn	10.6%	summer	10.0%	spring	6.6%
Juhász	31.1%	spring	15.0%	autumn	11.4%	summer	8.5%	winter	5.9%
Babits	23.9%	winter	10.7%	spring	10.3%	summer	8.4%	autumn	6.6%
Kosztolányi	24.9%	summer	10.0%	autumn	9.7%	winter	9.7%	spring	4.1%
Tóth	22.2%	spring	8.6%	autumn	8.0%	summer	6.2%	winter	4.0%
Reményik	20.4%	autumn	10.9%	spring	6.6%	summer	5.2%	winter	5.2%
József	14.5%	summer	5.7%	winter	5.0%	autumn	4.5%	spring	3.3%
Dsida	27.5%	autumn	12.7%	spring	10.2%	summer	7.7%	winter	5.2%
Mean	22.2%								
Median	21.1%								
I.		spring (12)		autumn (10)		winter (9)		winter (8)	
II.		summer (6)		spring (7)		summer (8)		summer (6) autumn (6)	
III.		winter (3)		winter (3) summer (3)		autumn (5)		spring (3)	
IV.		autumn (2)				spring (1)			

The second column of Table 3 shows the proportions of poems referring to any of the four seasons. The central values are also indicated. The mean is 22.2% and the median is 21.1%. The frequency values show that authors from the end of the 18th century and from the first half of the 19th century (Csokonai, Berzsenyi, Kisfaludy, Kölcsey, Vörösmarty) are below the mean and median. They wrote proportionally fewer poems containing expressions of seasons than the later authors. The lowest frequency values are found in the case of Vörösmarty and Berzsenyi. The highest proportion of poems referring to seasons is found among the works of Tompa. Interestingly, Tompa also wrote proportionally the most poems referring to NIGHT.

Table 3 also shows, in descending order for each poet, the proportions of poems referring to SPRING, SUMMER, AUTUMN and WINTER. For instance, in the case of Csokonai, 9.9% of his poems refer to SPRING, 7.6% of his poems refer to SUMMER, 6.6% of his poems refer to WINTER, and 3.3% of his poems contain reference to AUTUMN. The last four rows indicate the rank order of the four seasons in the four frequency positions. From these fields, it can be seen that 12 authors used SPRING and 6 authors used SUMMER as the most frequent season in their poetry. These numbers show that warm seasons were more popular than cold seasons. Five authors deviate from this pattern: Arany, Somlyó, Babits, Reményik and Dsida. In their poetry, one of the two cold seasons, WINTER or AUTUMN, is the most frequent. It is striking that four of them are from the 20th century. It is also worth noting that until the end of the 19th century, SPRING was the most popular season in the case of the poets analyzed, after which the pattern becomes much more heterogeneous. In the second frequency position, AUTUMN is at the top, which means that AUTUMN is the second most frequent season in the case of most poets. The most typical frequency order of seasons is SPRING, AUTUMN, SUMMER|WINTER.

The pipe indicates that the order of SUMMER and WINTER is reversible, they can be either in the third or in the fourth position. There are 8 authors who follow this pattern.

5. The conceptual domain of COLORS

The last closed conceptual domain analyzed here is the domain of COLORS. The questions are similar to those for NIGHT and SEASONS. Which authors used color concepts more? Are there more typical, more widely used colors in Hungarian canonical poetry? What is the distribution of the most popular colors over time? The investigated lemmas referring to colors are shown in (3). In addition to standard forms, I have also listed archaic forms as well as spelling variants. Contrary to the expressions of NIGHT and SEASONS, in this case there are color terms which can be nouns and adjectives as well. The lemmas searched for included the verbs in (3) with the verbal prefixes *el, meg, be, ki, át* and *össze* (e.g. *megfeketedik, átfeketül*), the present and past participle forms of the prefixed and non-prefixed verbs (e.g. *feketedő, megfeketedő, feketedett, megfeketedett*), as well as nouns derived from the verb stem (with and without the prefixes) by the *-ás/-és* suffix (e.g. *feketülés, megfeketülés, elfeketedés*). These lemmas are not shown in list (3) due to lack of space.

(3)

I.   BLACK: *fekete* (black NOUN ADJ), *feketeség* (blackness NOUN), *feketés* (blackish ADJ), *feketésség* (blackishness NOUN), *feketül, feketedik* (turn black VERB), *feketél, feketéll, feketéllik* (look black VERB), *feketít, feketit* (make it black VERB)

II. WHITE: *fehér* (white NOUN ADJ), *fehérség* (whiteness NOUN), *fehéres* (whitish ADJ), *fehéresség* (whitishness NOUN), *fehérül, fehéredik* (turn white VERB), *fehérel, fehérell, fehérellik, fehérlik* (look white VERB), *fehérít, fehérit* (make it white VERB)

III. GRAY: *szürke* (gray NOUN ADJ), *szürkeség* (grayness NOUN), *szürkés* (grayish ADJ), *szürkésség* (grayishness NOUN), *szürkül, szürkülödik* (turn gray VERB), *szürkél, szürkéll, szürkéllik* (look gray VERB), *szürkít, szürkit (make it gray VERB)*

IV. RED: *piros* (red NOUN ADJ), *pirosság* (redness NOUN), *pirosas* (reddish ADJ), *pirosasság* (reddishness NOUN), *pirosul, pirosodik* (turn red VERB), *pirosol, pirosoll, pirosollik, piroslik* (look red VERB), *pirosít, pirosit* (make it red VERB), *vörös* (red NOUN ADJ), *vörösség* (redness NOUN), *vöröses* (reddish ADJ), *vörösesség* (reddishness NOUN), *vörösül, vörösödik* (turn red VERB), *vörösöl, vörösöll, vörösöllik* (look red VERB), *vörösít, vörösit* (make it red VERB), *vörösedik* (turn red VERB), *vörösel, vörösell, vörösellik, vöröslik* (look red VERB), *vöres* (red NOUN ADJ), *vöresség* (redness NOUN), *vöreses* (reddish ADJ), *vöresesség* (reddishness NOUN), *vöresül, vöresedik* (look red VERB), *vöresel, vöresell, vöresellik, vöreslik* (look red VERB), *vöresít, vöresit* (make it red VERB), *veres* (red NOUN ADJ), *veresség* (redness NOUN), *vereses* (reddish ADJ), *veresesség* (reddishness NOUN), *veresül, veresedik* (turn red VERB), *veresel, veresell, veresellik, vereslik* (look red VERB), *veresít, veresit* (make it red VERB)

V.   BLUE: *kék* (blue NOUN ADJ), *kékség* (blueness NOUN), *kékes* (bluish ADJ), *kékesség* (bluishness NOUN), *kékül* (turn blue VERB), *kékel, kékell, kékellik, kéklik* (look blue VERB), *kékít, kékit* (make it blue VERB)

VI. GREEN: *zöld* (green NOUN ADJ),[4] *zöldes* (greenish ADJ), *zöldesség* (greennishness NOUN), *zöldül* (turn green VERB), *zöldel, zöldell, zöldellik*, zöldlik (look green VERB), *zöldít, zöldit (*make it green VERB*)

VII. YELLOW: *sárga* (yellow NOUN ADJ), *sárgaság* (yellowness NOUN), *sárgás* (yellowish ADJ), *sárgásság* (yellowishness NOUN), *sárgul* (turn yellow VERB), *sárgál, sárgáll, sárgállik* (look yellow VERB), *sárgít, sárgit* (make it yellow VERB)

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[4] I have not used the noun *zöldség* (zöld[ADJ] + ség), since its main meaning is 'vegetable'.

VIII. BROWN: *barna* (brown NOUN ADJ), *barnaság* (brownness NOUN), *barnás* (brownish ADJ), *barnásság* (brownishness NOUN), *barnul* (turn brown VERB), *barnál, barnáll, barnállik* (look brown VERB), *barnít, barnit* (make it brown VERB)

The method was the same as in the case of the two previous conceptual domains. The Python script assigned a poem into a specific color group when the poem contained any of the expressions in (3) referring to that color. A poem can be categorized as a member of several color groups if it contains the expressions of more than one color. Table 4 shows the resulting frequency data in a similar way as in the case of seasons.

Table 4. Frequencies of poems referring to COLORS

Author	Colors %	1.		2.		3.		4.	
		color	%	color	%	color	%	color	%
Csokonai	22.3%	red	9.4%	blue	7.9%	black	5.3%	yellow	5.3%
Berzsenyi	27.9%	green	13.2%	brown	7.4%	blue	4.4%	yellow	3.7%
Kisfaludy	34.1%	brown	12.2%	green	10.6%	red	8.1%	blue	7.3%
Kölcsey	34.9%	green	22.1%	blue	10.7%	brown	8.7%	red	2.7%
Vörösmarty	18.9%	brown	6.2%	green	5.9%	red	4.5%	black	4.4%
Arany	31.9%	green	16.5%	red	11.3%	white	9.8%	blue	9.6%
Tompa	57.2%	green	28.5%	white	15.1%	red	13.8%	blue	13.6%
Petőfi	23.0%	red	7.6%	green	5.7%	blue	5.5%	black	4.9%
Madách	25.1%	brown	8.2%	white	6.3%	blue	5.3%	red	5.0%
Gyulai	27.6%	green	12.8%	blue	10.9%	red	6.4%	white	5.8%
Vajda	25.1%	black	9.5%	green	9.5%	white	9.0%	red	8.0%
Reviczky	17.9%	blue	7.8%	green	3.9%	red	3.6%	white	2.7%
Komjáthy	12.6%	black	4.1%	blue	4.1%	green	3.7%	white	2.0%
Ady	24.5%	red	8.9%	white	7.5%	black	4.1%	blue	3.5%
Kaffka	46.1%	white	26.5%	blue	13.7%	gray	11.8%	black	9.8%
Somlyó	48.3%	white	16.1%	black	14.0%	red	10.3%	blue	7.7%
Juhász	33.8%	gray	9.3%	blue	7.4%	red	7.0%	black	6.4%
Babits	42.2%	blue	11.7%	white	11.3%	green	10.9%	red	10.1%
Kosztolányi	48.4%	white	17.5%	black	12.1%	red	11.9%	blue	11.1%
Tóth	41.2%	yellow	12.2%	blue	9.8%	black	8.9%	red	8.6%
Reményik	29.2%	black	7.5%	white	7.2%	gray	6.6%	blue	6.0%
József	29.2%	red	8.7%	blue	6.8%	white	6.0%	black	5.2%
Dsida	48.2%	white	17.1%	black	12.9%	red	11.6%	blue	10.0%
Mean	32,6%								
Median	29,2%								
I.		green (5), white (4), red (4)							
II.		green (10), blue (10), white (9)							
III.		red (14), blue (13), green (12), white (12)							
IV.		blue (21), red (19), white (15), black (14)							

The second column shows the proportions of poems referring to at least one color from the eight color concepts analyzed. The spread of the proportions is quite large. The highest proportion, 57.2%, is found for Tompa, as in the case of SEASONS and NIGHT. Kaffka, Somlyó, Kosztolányi and

Dsida are at the top of the frequency list as well, with more than 45%. It seems that authors of the early 20th century preferred to use color concepts more than the earlier authors (Juhász, Babits and Tóth are above the mean and median too). These higher frequencies of 20th century poems referring to COLORS, as well as the higher frequencies of 20th century poems referring to NIGHT may reflect the well-known poetic change known as the emergence of classical modernism in Hungarian literature at the beginning of the 20th century. It is worth noting that the proportions for Reményik and József are lower than for the other 20th century poets (except Ady). Similar patterns can be detected in the case of NIGHT and SEASONS. Another interesting result is that the frequency found for Ady is much more similar to the frequencies found for the 19th century authors than to the frequencies found for the early 20th century authors. A similar trend holds for the domain of NIGHT. If we were to separate literary periods solely on the basis of the frequency data of these two conceptual domains, Ady would not be classified with the other authors of the early 20th century. There are also authors who refer to colors much less frequently. For instance, only 12.6% of Komjáthy's poems contain expressions for colors. Vörösmarty and Reviczky are also below 20%.

The bottom four rows show which colors appear most often among the first, the first and second, the first, second and third, and the first, second, third and fourth most commonly used colors. It can be seen that among the first most commonly used colors, GREEN is used by the most authors, and WHITE and RED are used by the second most authors. Looking at the most and second most commonly used colors as one group (row II.), GREEN and BLUE are the most popular color. There is an interesting distribution of the most preferred colors over time. GREEN appears in the poetry of almost all 19th century authors as the most or second most frequent color. However, this color does not appear at all among the most and second most frequently used colors in the poems of the 20th century poets. In the case of WHITE there is a reversed tendency. For most 20th century poets, WHITE is the most or second most frequently used color. On the other hand, in the case of the 19th century authors, WHITE occurs only two times among the most and second most frequent colors. It seems that the disappearance of GREEN and the emergence of WHITE among the most preferable colors also reflect the change between two poetic eras of Hungarian literature at the beginning of the 20th century.

Another question is which authors used the most colors to a large extent. To answer the question, the mean and the standard deviation of the frequencies of the eight colors have been calculated for each poet. These data are shown in Table 5. A high mean with a low standard deviation indicates that the author used many colors with a similarly higher frequency. For instance, Table 5 shows that in the case of Babits, the mean is high, 9.03, and the standard deviation is only 2.33, which is a fairly low value compared to the other standard deviations associated with high means. This leads to the conclusion that in Babits's poetry there are not just one or two salient, more frequent colors but rather he used several colors in similarly high frequency, which implies a more impressionistic poetic attitude, more attentive to sensory impressions.

Table 5. Means and standard deviations of the frequencies of poems referring to different colors

Author	Mean	Standard deviation
Csokonai	4.29	3.34
Berzsenyi	4.31	4.26
Kisfaludy	5.69	4.46
Kölcsey	5.7	7.81
Vörösmarty	4.1	1.48
Arany	9.01	3.94
Tompa	12.88	7.64
Petőfi	4.36	2.14
Madách	4.66	2.38
Gyulai	4.96	4.87

Vajda	6.19	3.52
Reviczky	2.85	2.35
Komjáthy	1.99	1.72
Ady	3.88	2.87
Kaffka	10.16	7.63
Somlyó	9.11	3.99
Juhász	5.95	2.22
Babits	9.03	2.33
Kosztolányi	9.97	4.25
Tóth	8.05	2.48
Reményik	4.7	2.53
József	5.36	1.85
Dsida	9.16	4.82

6. Correlation of conceptual domains

The frequency data of the three conceptual domains display similar tendencies. For instance, we have seen that Tompa used the concepts of NIGHT, SEASONS and COLORS with the highest frequency. It has also been detected that the frequencies of the conceptual domains (especially NIGHT and COLORS) are higher in the case of many authors from the 20th century than with a number of earlier authors. Based on these results, it seemed to be a plausible assumption that there is a positive correlation between the frequencies of the three conceptual domains in the case of the canonical Hungarian authors analyzed. To test this hypothesis, Pearson correlation coefficient has been calculated for the three possible pairs of the three domains. The coefficient is always between -1 and 1. Zero means that there is no correlation at all between the two datasets, 1 and -1 mean perfect positive and perfect negative correlation. The resulting correlation coefficients are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Correlation of the frequencies of poems referring to NIGHT, SEASONS and COLORS

	Pearson's r
NIGHT − SEASONS	0.67
NIGHT − COLORS	0.88
SEASONS − COLORS	0.58

All three correlation coefficients are above 0.5, which means that there is a strong positive correlation between the frequencies of the conceptual domains. The value of 0.88 indicates a particularly strong correlation between the two variables. The strong positive correlation between the frequencies of the conceptual domains means that an increase in the number of occurrences of one conceptual domain usually goes together with an increase in the number of occurrences of the other two conceptual domains, and the decrease of the occurrences of one domain usually goes together with the decrease of occurrences of the other two domains. In other words, the majority of authors referring to NIGHT to a higher extent refer to SEASONS and COLORS to a higher extent as well and the majority of authors referring to SEASONS to a higher extent also refer to COLORS to a higher extent. The positive correlation between the frequencies of the three conceptual domains may mean that referring to these domains is part of the same poetic toolkit, which aims to highlight the sensory impressions of the physical setting of the lyrical situation.

7. Co-occurrences of the concepts from different conceptual domains

The concepts from different conceptual domains can co-occur in the same poem in different combinations. It is an interesting question whether certain combinations are more typical than others. It can be revealing as well if some combinations are less typical than others. For the assessment of typicality and atypicality of combinations, the mutual information scores have been calculated. Although in linguistics, mutual information was introduced as an association measure for surface proximity and syntactic co-occurrence (Church–Hanks 1990), it is also suitable for measuring the co-occurrence of concepts in the same poems (this is the case of textual co-occurrence, see Evert 2009: 1220–1224). An MI-score greater than zero means that the two concepts occur together in the same poem more times than would be expected by chance. In this case, the subcorpora of the different authors were taken as one single corpus and the calculations were carried out on this basis. The formula of MI-score is shown in (4). A is the number of poems containing concept 1, B is the number of poems containing concept 2, C is the number of all poems in the corpus, and O is the number of poems containing concept 1 and concept 2 as well.

$$(4) \quad MI = log_2 \frac{O}{\left(\frac{A \times B}{C}\right)}$$

The higher the mutual information score, the stronger the association between the two concepts, in other words, they are more likely to co-occur in the same poem. Negative MI-score means that there is a tendency that the two concepts do not occur together. For the calculation, a script was used, which counted the co-occurrences of all possible two concepts from different conceptual domains in the same poem and calculated the mutual information scores. I excluded poems longer than 300 words from the analysis as these longer texts distort the results of the co-occurrence analysis. Table 7 shows the top 20 highest scoring pairs of concepts belonging to different conceptual domains. These concepts are more likely to appear in the same poems than the other concepts under study. It can be said that they attract each other in Hungarian canonical poetry. The fourth column shows the MI-score and the fifth column shows the number of poems in which both concepts appear.

Table 7. MI-score of concept pairs occurring in the same poems

	Concept 1	Concept 2	MI-score	Occurrence
1	autumn	yellow	1.86	87
2	spring	green	1.28	115
3	summer	yellow	1.03	40
4	autumn	gray	0.98	54
5	winter	green	0.96	59
6	summer	green	0.84	58
7	spring	blue	0.82	100
8	autumn	green	0.81	69
9	winter	white	0.76	67
10	spring	yellow	0.74	48
11	autumn	red	0.72	81
12	autumn	blue	0.7	76
13	night	white	0.67	318
14	night	gray	0.65	166
15	summer	red	0.62	62

16	summer	blue	0.61	59
17	night	black	0.59	247
18	winter	yellow	0.56	27
19	night	brown	0.54	141
20	night	yellow	0.53	133

It is worth noting that the concept of NIGHT is not associated with any SEASONS with an MI-score greater than 0.5. It seems that in Hungarian canonical poetry, NIGHT and SEASONS do not attract each other as much as NIGHT and certain COLORS or SEASONS and certain COLORS. It is also striking that the concept of NIGHT does not appear among the top 12 highest scoring pairs of concepts. This may be due to the simple fact that sensory information, especially color, fades at night. This explanation is supported by the fact that the first four of the five concepts occurring with NIGHT in the top 20 highest scoring pairs are "colorless" colors: WHITE, GRAY, BLACK and BROWN. There is one pair with a negative MI-score: SPRING − BROWN (MI: -0.22, occurrence: 26). The negative MI-score means that these concepts repel each other, that is, they tend not to occur in the same poems.

8. Summary and some final remarks

The paper has presented a quantitative approach of poetry based on the distribution of the concepts of closed conceptual domains. Closed conceptual domains are well-delimited conceptual fields consisting of a finite number of concepts. In the present study, three closed conceptual domains are analyzed in Hungarian canonical poetry: the domains of TIMES OF DAY, SEASONS and COLORS. The frequencies of the concepts of these domains highlight certain aspects of the physical setting of the authors' poetry. We have seen a general trend that the frequencies of the conceptual domains NIGHT and COLORS are usually higher for early 20th century authors than for earlier authors. It has also been shown that the most frequent seasons for 20th century poets are much more varied than for earlier poets, and that while GREEN was the most popular color until the end of the 19th century, WHITE was the most popular color afterwards. The change in these frequencies seems to reflect a poetic change known as the emergence of classical modernism in Hungarian literature at the beginning of the 20th century. Another interesting result is that the frequency of NIGHT and COLORS found for Ady, who is considered by literary historians to be the first great poet of Hungarian classical modernism, is much more similar to the frequencies found for the 19th century authors than to the frequencies found for the early 20th century authors.

It has also been demonstrated that in the poetry of the Hungarian canonical authors under study, there is a strong positive correlation between the proportions of poems referring to the three conceptual domains. This means that in the case of authors where the frequency of the author's poems referring to one of the three conceptual domains is higher, the frequency of poems referring to the other two conceptual domains is usually higher as well. Such positive correlation between the frequencies of the three conceptual domains implies that referring to the three conceptual domains is part of the same poetic toolkit aiming to highlight the sensory aspects of the physical setting of poems. Finally, the mutual information scores of all pairs of concepts from different conceptual domains were calculated. This method was applied to identify pairs of concepts which occur more often in the same poem than would be expected by chance.

It is worth mentioning that the three conceptual domains analyzed have a strong metaphorical potential. The concept NIGHT is usually a metaphorical source domain for SADNESS, LONELINESS, DEATH, INACTIVENESS, NON-EXISTENCE, etc. Similarly, WINTER can be a metaphorical source domain for such concepts as well. On the other hand, SPRING and SUMMER are typical source domains for LOVE, LIFE, HAPPINESS, ACTIVENESS, etc. (on conceptual metaphors, see Lakoff–Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1992). The analysis presented here did not take these concepts as metaphorical source domains into account. It is a future task to elaborate more sophisticated methods, which can combine the quantitative analysis of closed conceptual domains with the description of semantic functions.

Acknowledgements

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IS IRONY IRONIC?
THE ROLE OF SENSE OF HUMOUR IN THE PRODUCTION AND INTERPRETATION OF IRONY

VERONIKA SVINDT

ELKH Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics
svindt.veronika@nytud.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6027-9029

SZILÁRD TÁTRAI

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University / Jagiellonian University
tatrai.szilard@btk.elte.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1069-6676

Abstract

The paper explores correlations between irony and sense of humour (HQ). Its questions are informed by functional cognitive pragmatics, with irony considered an emergent way of exploiting reflexivity (the meta-pragmatic awareness of discourse participants) as an essential feature of linguistic cognition. Accordingly, the research focuses on the folk category of irony, i.e. those utterances are treated as ironic, which informants so judged.

The initial hypothesis of the research was that HQ was in positive correlation with both the production and the interpretation of irony. Our study followed a two-step procedure: two consecutive questionnaire studies measured the correlation between HQ and the production and interpretation of irony. HQ was measured with the Humor Styles Questionnaire, whereas 15 visual stimuli elicited the production and recognition of irony. 397 subjects participated in the study. Performing statistical analysis, we found that participants judged utterances produced by above-average HQ significantly more ironic than those produced by average or below-average HQ. However, there was no significant difference between the below-average and above-average HQ groups in most cases about the interpretation of utterances. At the same time, utterances that contain an appropriate instance of irony were judged significantly more ironic by informants with higher HQ than by informants with low HQ.

Keywords: irony production, irony comprehension, sense of humor, humor styles, metapragmatic awareness, metapragmatic reflexivity

1. Introduction

Recent years have seen an upsurge of interest in the study of irony, and more particularly, the link between irony and sense of humour, not only in linguistic pragmatics but also in cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics (see, e.g. Attardo 2002; Gibbs–Colston eds. 2007; Gibbs et al. 2014; Brône 2012; Gurillo–Ortega 2013). The present paper joins this ongoing discourse by the empirical study of a relatively under-researched topic, namely the correlation between the processing of irony and the subjects' sense of humour.

1.1. Theoretical background assumptions

Our research is not aimed at justifying a pre-existing interpretation of irony, nor does it offer a new model for understanding the phenomenon. However, significant implications derive from the fact

that the study is grounded in cognitive linguistics, which puts a premium on the interplay between theory and empirical data (see, e.g. Langacker 1987 and 2008; Kemmer–Barlow 2000). Accordingly, we consider it essential to highlight the theoretical assumptions motivating our research, thereby facilitating a continuous re-assessment of the fundamental issues at stake in linguistically oriented research on irony.

Since we interpret irony as an integral part of socio-cultural praxis, we have based our research on the folk category of irony. Thus, those utterances are evaluated and interpreted as ironic, which are so regarded by everyday language users. In a previous study, we examined everyday attitudes to irony (Svindt 2007). In a questionnaire study involving 108 participants, the informants were asked to produce judgments on a five-point Likert scale about characteristic personality traits of people who often make ironic remarks and the key features of irony. The results showed that language users considered criticism and humour the two most crucial components of irony. Furthermore, people often resorting to irony were believed to have a good sense of humour, an advanced capacity for expressing themselves and high intelligence (on the correlation between intelligence and irony, see also Jacob et al. 2016). Adopting a corpus-linguistic analogy, we can characterise the present study starting with the folk category of irony as *usage-driven* in terms of its handling of data (instances of irony are identified based on informants' judgments) and *usage-based* when it comes to data analysis (which is also informed by theory-specific background assumptions) (cf. Simon 2018).

The other key feature of the research is that it treats irony as a fundamentally metapragmatic phenomenon. The notion of metapragmatic awareness pertains to the reflexive attitude of discourse participants to the linguistic activity they are engaged in and to dynamic meaning generation in the context of that activity (cf. Verschueren 1999; Verschueren–Brisard 2009; Tátrai 2017). We assume that in its particular way, irony draws on a unique opportunity inherent in linguistic cognition, namely people's ability to adopt a reflexive attitude to the use of various linguistic constructions and the cognitive processes as well as socio-cultural expectations they evoke. We intend to contribute to the development and implementation of a pragmatic theoretical framework that derives irony from the overriding of a linguistically overt representation (construed from a particular vantage point) by an implicit rather than explicit perspective which questions the adequacy of that vantage point under the contextual circumstances being processed by discourse participants (Tátrai 2010 and 2017). In short, irony exploits the opportunities inherent in perspectivization (in the displacement of one's vantage point, cf. Sanders–Spooren 1997) by functioning as a covert form of metapragmatic reflection. As a fundamental precondition and corollary of the ironic interpretation of a construction, the conceptualiser needs to be aware that the current speaker is deferring responsibility for the validity of what s/he is saying as far as that linguistic representation (and the underlying conceptualisation) is concerned. However, irony also demands awareness of a distance in interpretation and evaluation (cf. Livnat 2004; Curcó 2000; Sperber–Wilson 1981 and 1989) that separates the speaker's perspective from the perspective associated with the linguistic construction s/he is employing with regard to the object of conceptualisation (cf. Kotthoff 2002).

In terms of background assumptions, our research brings the following theoretical tenets to bear on the interpretation of irony.

(1) As an aspect of socio-cultural praxis, irony is a feature of linguistic cognition that can be acquired in a spontaneous way without explicit learning.

(2) Irony exploits reflexivity as a key component of linguistic cognition (more specifically, the metapragmatic awareness of discourse participants) in an emergent manner.

(3) The use of irony facilitates context-dependent implicit evaluation.

(4) The ironicity of a linguistic construction is a matter of degree.

(5) The metapragmatic reflexivity involved in the use of linguistic constructions is a crucial feature not only of irony but also of humour, among other phenomena *(*cf. Brône–Feyaerts–Veale 2006).

1.2. The link between irony and sense of humour

In recent decades of cognitive linguistic research, both irony and humour have been studied in great detail (see, e.g. Brône−Feyaerts−Veale eds. 2015), and in view of the frequent co-occurrence of the two phenomena, their link has also been addressed by several analyses (see, e.g. Attardo 2002; Gurillo−Ortega 2013; Hirsch 2011; Ritchie 2005; Brône 2012; Gibbs et al. 2014). However, only a few studies investigate the impact of the sense of humour on the production and interpretation of irony. Our previous study mentioned above (Svindt 2007) has shown that HQ constitutes an essential factor in the folk category of irony. We use empirical tests to examine this everyday impression and observation in the present research. Our goal is to learn about the extent to which an individual's sense of humour influences her production and interpretation of irony.

Sense of humour (HQ) is an umbrella term that therefore comes short of allowing for an accurate description of the variation found at both individual and (socio-)cultural levels. Several procedures have been proposed for its measurement (e.g. Feingold−Mazzella 1991; Köhler−Ruch 1996; Martin−Lefcourt 1984; Ruch 1996; Svebak 1996; Thorson−Powell 1993). In recent decades, several works have replaced the notion of the sense of humour with that of *humour style* (Craik−Lampert−Nelson 1996; Martin et al. 2003) to offer a more precise and detailed picture of an individual's humour and its social implications. In our research, we use our Hungarian translation of the Humor Styles Questionnaire, a standardised test adapted to a variety of languages. The test measures for two adaptive (affiliative and self-enhancing) and two maladaptive (aggressive and self-defeating) humour styles, regarded as crucial factors behind an individual's sense of humour (Martin et al. 2003). Affiliative humour is a humour style whose primary function is to entertain others and make them laugh without offending anybody. Self-enhancing humour is a positive form of an individual's problem-solving strategy, which consists of the use of humour for stress relief. Aggressive humour involves contempt for and the depreciation of others; it is sarcastic and offensive (for the link between sarcasm and irony, see Haiman 1998; Attardo et al. 2003). Finally, self-defeating humour is a humour style in which an individual tries to make others laugh by making herself the object of derision. Research data suggest that adaptive humour styles positively impact social relationships on an individual's well-being and reputation. It stands in positive correlation with the individual's level of self-confidence and negatively correlates with depressive behaviour and anxiety (Cann−Matson 2014; Dyck−Holtzman 2013; Martin et al. 2003). Researchers also found a positive correlation between adaptive humour styles and emotional intelligence and a negative correlation between maladaptive humour styles and EQ (Gignac et al. 2014; Yip−Martin 2006). Similar results have been produced for the link between humour styles and social competence as well as social skills (Yip−Martin 2006).

However, the present research is primarily motivated by our assumption that not only irony but also the sense of humour correlates with the metapragmatic awareness of language users, i.e. with their ability to have a reflexive attitude to various linguistic constructions and the cognitive processes as well as socio-cultural expectations they evoke (cf. Brône et al. 2006; Verschueren 1999; Tátrai 2017). Our central assumption is that the features of humour highlighted by various semantically or pragmatically oriented humour theories, such as *unexpectedness, unusualness, norm violation, incongruence* (cf. Attardo 2000a, 2000b and 2002; Nemesi 2015), *creativity* and *intelligence* (cf. Cann−Matson 2014) are fundamentally linked to the language users' reflexive attitude to context-dependent meaning generation (cf. metarepresentional reasoning abilities, Gibbs et al. 2014).

2. Material and methods

2.1. Aims and hypotheses

The goal of our research has been to learn how an individual's HQ influences the everyday use, production and interpretation of irony. In keeping with our functional cognitive theoretical perspective, we apply a reflexive attitude to the category of irony as it functions in the socio-cultural practice of speakers. As mentioned above, irony is a socioculturally-enhanced non-binary phenomenon whose meaning depends highly on the current circumstances. Consequently, the manner, the

forms, and the success of irony production and interpretation are fundamentally determined by the individual's − including the irony researcher − knowledge and schemes about irony and ironicity. Therefore, we took special care to avoid applying the typical examples of the phenomenon that are re-used repeatedly in the literature. To this end, we asked one group of participants to produce utterances themselves that they feel and think ironic. The other group of participants judged the degree of ironicity of these utterances.

Based on the theoretical assumptions discussed above, our hypotheses were the following. We assume that an individual's sense of humour (HQ) relates positively to producing and interpreting an ironic utterance. Therefore,

(H1) we expect a positive relationship between the HQ of the individual producing an ironic utterance and the judgements of other individuals about that utterance. That is to say, the higher the HQ of the individual producing an ironic utterance, the more ironic the utterance will be judged by informants;

(H2) we suppose that the individuals' HQ influences the interpretation and/or recognition of irony, i.e. those with below-average HQ are less perceptive of ironic utterances than those with average or above-average HQ. This fact could become conspicuous in at least two ways. One the one hand, we expect persons with below-average HQ to be less likely to make unequivocal judgments than those with high HQ. On the other hand, fewer utterances may be judged as ironic by individuals with below-average HQ.

2.2. Procedure

In our research, we used a two-step questionnaire study to find out about the processes of irony production and interpretation (Table 1). In the first questionnaire, we measured the production of irony, and in the second questionnaire, informants evaluated it. Both questionnaires were divided into two sections. The first section was the same in both questionnaires, with the registering of demographic data (gender, age, and education) followed by the measuring of HQ with the help of the Humor Styles Questionnaire. The second sections of the two questionnaires were different. The second section of the first questionnaire was an irony production task, whereas, in the second questionnaire, informants were asked to evaluate utterances intended to be ironic produced by those filling in the first questionnaire.

Table 1. The procedures of the study

	Questionnaire 1 The production of irony	Questionnaire 2 The evaluation of irony
Measuring of HQ	Humor Styles Questionnaire (HSQ) Martin et al. 2003.	
Measuring of irony	Production of captions intended to be ironic for 15 press photos	Evaluation of the ironicity of 20 (5x4) captions

We translated the self-administered questionnaire for measuring HQ from English. The Hungarian version is not standardised, but its reliability is good (Cronbach's alpha = 0,862). The test consists of four modules, each containing 8 questions; it measures two adaptive (affiliative humour, self-enhancing humour) and two maladaptive humour styles (aggressive humour, self-defeating humour) on a seven-point Likert scale.

For the questionnaire about irony production, we selected 15 press photos depicting situations from human life. While selecting photos, we did not strive to find images that would elicit irony with a significant probability according to our judgments. On the contrary, we intended to select photos at random. In the second questionnaire focusing on evaluating irony, 5 of the 15 photos included in the first questionnaire were presented to each informant.

In the first questionnaire, informants were instructed to add ironic captions to each of the 15 photos as if they were image editors for a daily newspaper. Since participants had been explicitly asked to produce irony, we assumed they regarded the captions they had produced themselves as ironic. From the 130 informants, we received 1173 captions, which means that, on average, respondents captioned only 60% of the photos. We interpreted this result by assuming that informants typically left the space blank when they did not come up with an ironic utterance for a photo. These blank spaces support the assumption that the responses had been intended to be ironic by the informants themselves.

Informants were subsequently divided into three groups based on their HQ: those with below-average, average, and above-average HQ. Informants were attributed average HQ when they were within 1 standard deviation (SD) of the mean of the entire group of participants. Informants falling beyond this deviation were evaluated as having below-average or above-average HQ. Accordingly, informants' (supposedly) ironic utterances were also classified into three groups, namely those produced by informants with below-average, average, and above-average HQ. Finally, for the second questionnaire, all photos were assigned one caption (selected by the computer at random) from each utterance group so created.

To test our theoretical background assumptions about irony, we also selected for each photo an utterance that we regarded as ironic to the highest extent based on the theoretical assumptions discussed in the introductory section. We typically selected utterances for testing which did not foreground incongruence by semantic means (e.g. by the use of contrast or negation) but rather exploited the opportunities inherent in perspectivization without recourse to such devices in a less salient way.

In the manner just described, each photo was captioned by four (supposedly) ironic utterances according to the HQ of those producing them: (1) utterances produced by participants with below-average HQ; (2) utterances produced by participants with average HQ; (3) utterances produced by participants with above-average HQ; (4) utterances selected by ourselves.

Those filling in the second questionnaire and making judgments about irony had to evaluate the ironicity of these captions on a five-point scale. Since each of the 15 photos had 4 different captions, adding up to 60 utterances, evaluating all of them would have taken too long for the informants. Therefore each participant was asked to evaluate one-third of the total number of photos and utterances, i.e. 5 photos and the associated 20 (5×4) supposedly ironic utterances. Captions of the four types ((1)–(4)) appeared in random order under the photos.

Statistical analysis was performed by SPSS 22.0.

2.3. Participants

The demographic distribution of participants filling in the two questionnaires is shown in Table 2 below. A total of 397 people participated in the study.

Table 2. Participants

	1. Participants of the questionnaire measuring irony production (n=130)	2. Participants of the questionnaire measuring irony interpretation (n=267)
Gender male : female (%)	33 : 67	15 : 85
Age (mean, range)	37 [13–78]	43 [15–76]
Education in years (mean, SD)	15,7 ± 2,6	16,4 ± 2,5

3. Results

3.1. Results in humour style measurements

In our analysis of the questionnaire measuring HQ and humour styles, mean values in the subtests for particular humour styles were determined based on data from all participants (n = 397). The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Results of the measurement of humour styles

Humour style subscale (mean, SD)	All participants (n = 397)	Male (n = 81)	Female (n = 316)	F (1, 396)	p-value (95% C.I.)
Affiliative humor	44,3 ± 8,9	44,7 ± 8,02	44,2 ± 9,2	0,214	0,644
Self-enhancing humor	33,0 ± 8,3	33,1 ± 8,1	33,0 ±8,4	0,015	0,903
Aggressive humor	27,4 ± 8,4	30,2 ± 7,8	26,8 ±8,3	10,956	0,001*
Self-defeating humor	24,2 ± 8,03	26,9 ± 7,1	23,5 ± 8,1	11,246	0,001*

One-way ANOVA revealed no significant differences between men and women in adaptive humour styles. However, in maladaptive humour styles men had a significantly higher score than women (aggressive humor: U = 9678, p = ,001; self-defeating humor: U = 9876,5, p = ,002). Informants achieved higher scores in positive, adaptive humour styles than negative, maladaptive ones. Since previous studies (see Section 1.2) found the most remarkable correlations with the affiliative humour style, we focus only on this humour style in the following sections.

3.2. The effect of HQ on irony production

The results show that judgments about the ironicity of utterances are affected by the HQ of the individuals producing them (Figure 1).
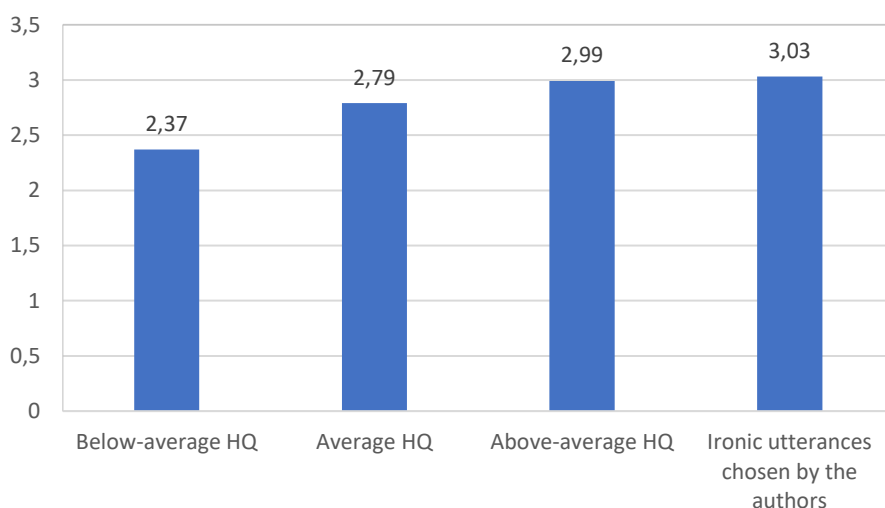
Figure 1. Mean values of judgments about the ironicity of utterances function as the HQ of the individuals producing them

Analysing the results by Friedman's Anova model, we found a significant difference in the evaluation of utterances as a function of the HQ of those producing them: the higher the HQ of the person producing an utterance, the more ironic it is considered to be by informants (n =267, $\chi^2(3)$ =131,02,

p <,001). According to the post hoc analysis with Wilcoxon signed-rank tests, only the judgments of utterances we selected and those produced by above-average HQ did not show any significant difference (z = -,821, p =,405); informants judged these utterances to be ironic to a similar extent. The utterances produced by participants with below-average HQ received the lowest scores; the informants considered the least ironic. Ironic utterances of participants with average HQ received significantly higher scores than those produced by participants with below-average HQ (z = -6,216, p < ,001), but significantly lower scores in comparison with the above-average group (z = -3,784, p < ,001) and the ironic utterances we had selected (z = -4,559, p < ,001).

3.3. The effect of HQ on irony interpretation

We expected that those with above-average affiliative HQ would judge utterances produced by above-average HQ to be more ironic than those with below-average HQ.

Table 4. Mean values of judgments (on a five-level Likert scale) sorted by the HQ of informants for caption types grouped by the HQ of the speaker producing the utterance

Caption type of the utterances	Judgements (mean)		
	Below-average HQ (n=39)*	Above average HQ (n=42)*	p-value
Below-average HQ**	2,47	2,38	0,704
Average HQ**	2,82	2,86	0.812
Above-average HQ**	3,13	3,18	0,770
Utterances chosen by the authors	2,98	3,17	0,261

Notes: *HQ of the individual *judging* the utterance
    **HQ of the individual *producing* the utterance

Contrary to our expectations, the informants made similar judgments about utterances produced by below-average, average or above-average HQ as well as about utterances we had selected ourselves, independently of their HQ (Table 4). Furthermore, one-way ANOVA did not reveal a significant difference for any caption type between the results of those with below-average and above-average HQ.

Independently of their degree of HQ, informants judge utterances similarly, with those produced by higher-HQ participants receiving significantly higher scores than those produced by lower-HQ ones (see Figure 1).

In addition, it is also worth examining how unequivocally the participants accepted or rejected particular caption types. Since in the second questionnaire exploring the interpretation of irony, participants were asked to what extent they regarded the captions as ironic, their answers do not give information on whether or not they interpret a given utterance as ironic. Rather, these answers show to what extent informants consider an utterance as a good (or not so good) example for irony; to what extent particular utterances invited or allowed an ironic interpretation.

Grouping (supposedly) ironic utterances according to the HQ of those producing them, we find significant differences in the proportion of firm judgments (Figure 2.). We consider the two extremes of the five-level Likert scale as representing firm judgments, i.e. when the respondent completely rejected (1: "not ironic at all") or completely accepted (5: "absolutely ironic") a given utterance. It seems that some utterances are rejected by a larger proportion of informants than others.
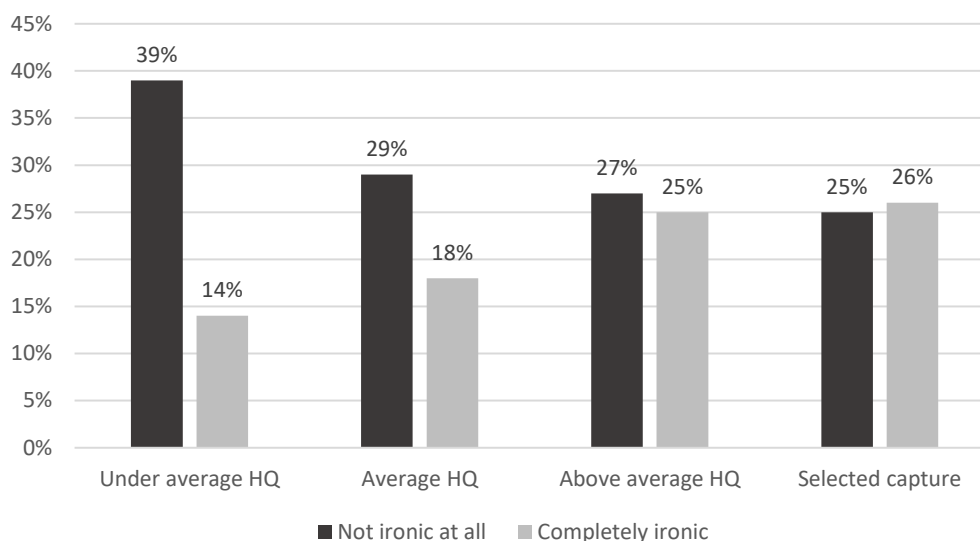
Figure 2. The proportion of firm judgments in the case of particular caption types

The results of the study performed in Friedman's Anova model shows that there is a significant difference between particular caption types in their degrees of being rejected ($\chi^2(3) = 63{,}05$, p <,001). The post hoc analysis with Wilcoxon signed-rank test has revealed a significant difference in the judgment of utterances produced by negative humour styles concerning other utterances. Utterances produced by below-average HQ are significantly more likely to be completely rejected than those produced by average HQ (Z = -4,470, p <,001) or above-average HQ (Z = -6,190, p <,001) and than those that we had selected ourselves (Z = -7,373, p <,001). Utterances produced by average HQ are significantly often rejected by informants than those produced by above-average HQ (Z = -2,137, p =,033) and those we had selected (Z = -3,159, p =,002). Finally, there is no significant difference between utterances produced by above-average HQ and the utterances we selected in the degree to which they are rejected (Z = -1,478, p =,139).

When it comes to the complete acceptance as ironic of utterances grouped according to the HQ of those producing them, Friedman's ANOVA test again detects significant differences ($\chi^2(3) = 80{,}557$, p <,001). Informants judged utterances produced by below-average HQ to be clearly ironic in significantly fewer cases than other utterances. The Wilcoxon test shows that utterances produced by below-average HQ differ significantly in terms of the degree of acceptance from those produced by average HQ (Z = -2,893, p <,001) or above-average HQ (Z= -6,853, p <,001) and also from the utterances we selected (Z= -4,743, p <,001). Utterances produced by average HQ were judged to be completely ironic in a significantly lower proportion than those produced by above-average HQ (Z = -4,743, p <,001) and then those that we had selected (Z = -4,917, p <,001). However, there is no significant difference between the degrees to which utterances produced by above-average HQ and our manually selected utterances were accepted (Z = -,618, p =,537).

Utterances produced by below-average HQ were rejected significantly more than accepted as ironic (Z = -8,102, p <,001). A significant difference is also found between the acceptance and rejection of utterances produced by average HQ (Z = -4,813, p <,001). However, no significant difference has been found between the acceptance and rejection of utterances produced by above-average HQ (Z = -,942, p=,346), and the same also holds for the utterances we selected (Z = -,277, p =,782). In the case of both utterance groups, approximately the same proportion of informants accepted and completely rejected a given utterance.

We expected that the higher the HQ of an informant was, the more firm judgements she would make about the ironicity of utterances, in contrast with those of below-average HQ.

Table 5. Mean number of the firm judgments (total number of utterances per caption type: 5)

Caption type of the utterances	How many judgments were firm? (mean)		
	Below-average HQ* (n=39)	Above-average HQ* (n=42)	p-values (QI: 95%)
Below-average HQ**			
not ironic at all	1,69	2,24	0,136
completely ironic	0,85	0,86	0,965
Average HQ**			
not ironic at all	1,39	1,76	0,169
completely ironic	0,79	1,29	0,072
Above-average HQ**			
not ironic at all	1,21	1,21	0,966
completely ironic	1,44	1,66	0,551
Utterance chosen by the authors			
not ironic at all	1,13	1,19	0,821
completely ironic	**0,97**	**1,62**	**0,012**
Number of total firm judgments	**9,41**	**11,79**	**0,007**

Notes: *HQ of the individual *judging* the utterance
      **HQ of the individual *producing* the utterance
      Bold: significant differences

A significant difference was found between persons of below- and above-average HQ in the judgment of utterances chosen by us: individuals with above-average HQ were significantly more likely to judge these utterances as "completely ironic" than individuals with below-average HQ. There was no significant difference in the firm judgments of other caption types. However, results show that individuals with above-average HQ made significantly more firm judgments in the whole questionnaire than those with below-average HQ.

4. Discussion

Our main study question was whether an individual's sense of humour affects the successful production and interpretation of ironic utterances. The results show that the relationship between irony and HQ are more complex than previously thought.

In our first hypothesis (H1), we assumed that the higher the HQ of the person producing an ironic utterance, the more ironic the utterance would be judged by our informants. This hypothesis was verified. The results indicate that one's sense of humour affects one's ability to produce an appropriate instance of irony. The higher a person's HQ who produces an ironic utterance, the more ironic her utterance is judged by people, and conversely, the lower a person's HQ, the less she can produce an appropriately ironic utterance.

The HQ of the person who produces the ironic utterance has a larger impact on the interpretation of irony than the HQ of the interpreter. In our second hypothesis (H2), we assumed that the interpreter's HQ would affect the manner of irony interpretation. Namely, we expected that individuals with lower HQ were less susceptible to irony and would make less confident decisions about ironicity than those with a higher HQ rate. Therefore, we considered that the higher a participant's HQ, the firmer her decisions would be about irony. Analysing the distribution of judgements, we found that utterances produced with below-average HQ were more likely to be judged as "completely nonironic" – regardless of the interpreter's HQ – than utterances produced with average or above-average HQ. In contrast, those utterances that contained an appropriate instance of irony (utterances chosen by us) were judged significantly more ironic by informants with higher HQ than informants with low HQ.

Examining the proportions of clearly negative ("not ironic at all") or clearly positive ("completely ironic") judgments, we saw that 31% of all judgments were explicit rejections, whereas complete acceptance had a share of 21%. This result suggests that language users, independently of their

HQ level, made firmer judgments about what they did not consider to be good irony (as a sufficiently ironic utterance) than about what they did consider ironic. This result may indicate no consensus about what constitutes a fine example of irony in a particular context in everyday language use. The fact that utterances produced by above-average HQ received around the same number of completely rejecting and accepting judgments suggest that the answer to the question "What is irony?" may be much more complex than what a simple definition affords. Since in the present paper, we did not raise questions about the reasons underlying particular judgments, we cannot be sure what social, cultural, learning-related or personality-based differences (and clusters thereof) may account for the fact that some utterances receive rejecting and accepting judgments in the same proportions.

Although we took special care in examining the folk category of irony, i.e. what people *assume* to be ironic, we also wanted to measure the acceptance of our theoretically based irony definition (see chapter 1.1). Because of this, in the second questionnaire, informants also had to judge utterances that we considered clear-cut example of irony. These utterances mostly contained an implicit, less salient form of irony. That is to say, we selected captions from the first questionnaire that did not foreground incongruence by semantic means (e.g. by the use of contrast or negation) but rather exploited the opportunities inherent in perspectivization even without recourse to explicit contrast, highlighting a distance in interpretation and evaluation between the speaker's perspective and the perspective evoked by the construction. For example, for a photo showing a man as a tiny dot on a snowy landscape, shovelling snow by himself, we selected the following utterance: '*Charming, independent, rich man is looking for his life partner for social activities!' (Sármos, önálló, gazdag férfi keresi élete párját társas eseményekre!)*. Analysing judgments about the utterances chosen by us, we found the following results. Firstly, these utterances reached the highest overall score among utterances sorted by the HQ of the individual who produced them. People interpreted these utterances significantly more ironic than utterances produced with below-average or average HQ. This result suggests that the ironicity of an utterance is a matter of degree: there are more and less appropriate instances of irony. These outcomes seem to reinforce the relevance of the functional cognitive approach to irony, which derives the production and interpretation of irony from the metapragmatic awareness of discourse participants, thereby linking the phenomenon to the participants' HQ. In this framework, discourse participants' metapragmatic awareness indicates their capability of having a reflexive attitude to particular linguistic constructions and the associated cognitive processes and socio-cultural conventions, both as speakers and recipients (see Tátrai 2020).

This outcome also confirms the assumption that language users (typically irrespective of their HQ) have convergent preferences and expectations about what constitutes good irony. Secondly, we found that the higher an individual's HQ was, the more easily she made a clear decision about this type of irony. Results show that people with above-average HQ were significantly more likely to judge utterances selected by us as "completely ironic" than those with below-average HQ. However, people with above-average HQ were more confident in judging all types of utterances as ironic or non-ironic. Finally, we found significant differences between below-average HQ and above-average HQ groups in the rate of complete rejection or complete acceptance. Individuals with below-average HQ tended not to make a clear decision and they were less able to identify the most prominent instances of irony than did individuals with above-average HQ. This result aligns with Jacob and his colleagues (2016) study on correlations between emotional intelligence and irony recognition. They found that higher emotional intelligence induces faster decisions in recognition of irony and that with a higher EQ, less incongruent instances of irony were also more easily recognised. These results show that a finer-grained study based on more specific factors (e.g. only involving adaptive humour styles within the broader realm of HQ) may reveal certain trends so that the metapragmatic and socio-cultural factors underlying the production and evaluation of irony may be better identified.

To conclude, it seems that an ironic utterance can reach its goal in at least two ways. On the one hand, people identify an utterance as more ironic when the person who produced this utterance has a high HQ. On the other hand, irony as a phenomenon seems to have less and more clear-cut examples. Instances are identifiable regardless of the person's HQ, but they can be identified more efficiently with a high HQ.

Limitations

It was not the goal of the present paper to give a detailed analysis of sentence/photo pairs as a function of the participants HQ, although we are aware that the photos themselves may have affected judgments about the ironicity of supposedly ironic captions attached them. Instead, we plan to present a thorough analysis of sentence/photo pairs and the possible effects of visual stimuli in a separate paper.

A further limitation of the paper is that the questionnaires did not directly ask informants to provide a working definition of irony that they adhered to, hence we have gained no insight into what attitude, knowledge or other factors may have influenced the evaluation of particular, supposedly ironic utterances.

5. Conclusion

An important implication of the present study focusing on the folk category of irony is that irony, and the ironicity of a linguistic construction can hardly be articulated as a simple "yes or no" question. The complexity of the phenomenon is shown by the ironicity of utterances intended to be par excellence examples of irony are far from being evident for informants. The ironicity of a supposedly ironic utterance, its compliance with expectations regarding ironic utterances, is a matter of degree. The question as to what these expectations are (beyond high HQ) invites further investigations.

Declaration of interest statements

We declare that we have no financial or personal relationships with other people or organisations that could inappropriately influence the work reported in this paper. We have no affiliation with any organisation with a financial interest, direct or indirect, in the subject matter or materials discussed in the manuscript that might affect the conduct or reporting of the work submitted.

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SIGNALS OF METAPRAGMATIC AWARENESS IN INTERNET-MEDIATED DISCOURSES

Krisztina Laczkó

ELTE Eötvös Loránd University
laczko.krisztina@btk.elte.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7708-4108

Abstract

This paper offers an investigation of signals of metapragmatic awareness on the basis of the background assumptions of functional pragmatics. In this framework, metapragmatic awareness means the reflexive attitudes of discourse participants to various linguistic constructions and to the cognitive processes and socio-cultural expectations related to them. By employing a variety of metapragmatic signals, speakers can reflect on their own or their interlocutors' current activity as message senders and/or addressees, or that of third parties, as well as on the organization of the discourse. The paper focuses on the types of metapragmatic signals. The empirical material is provided by two genres of computer-mediated Hungarian communication: thematically unrestricted and thematically restricted topics. As a result of an analysis of two connected samples of 200 and 500 contributions, respectively, fourteen types of metapragmatic signals have been differentiated, depending on what the given reflections are aimed at, and proportions of their types have been compared across the two samples. The analysis confirmed the claim that metapragmatic signals operate in narrative discourses as background items and reflect on the organization of the referential scene in the largest number of cases, whereas in spontaneous written conversations, they are far more in the foreground of attention and tend to refer to some aspect of the shared scene of attention.

Keywords: metapragmatic awareness, types of metapragmatic signals, internet-mediated discourse, functional pragmatics

1. Introduction[1]

The study examines the signals of metapragmatic awareness in internet-mediated discourses (cf. Laczkó–Tátrai 2015a) starting from the background assumptions of functional cognitive pragmatics, using the model of intersubjective context and joint attentional scene (Verschueren 1999, 2004; Croft 2009; Tátrai 2017). In this context metapragmatic awareness means that participants in the discourse are able to display a reflexive attitude to linguistic constructions and the related cognitive processes and sociocultural expectations. Using various metapragmatic signals, speakers can reflect on their own, the recipient's or other third persons' speech and recipient activities, as well as the organization of the discourse. There is a fundamentally iconic relationship between the extent and elaboration of metapragmatic signals and the degree of metapragmatic awareness: the more extensive and semantically elaborated the metapragmatic signals, the greater the degree of metapragmatic awareness.

The focus of the study is on different linguistic realizations of a reflexive attitude towards the joint attentional scene and the referencial scene. The empirical study is provided by two Hungarian computer-mediated genres: the so-called thematically non-restricted topic (http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9157953&la=134947965, daily written spontaneous polylogical conversation) and the thematically restricted topic (http: //forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle? t = 9017476 & la

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[1] An extended version of the lecture given at the 2021 IPrA conference.

= 125481821, storytelling in the form of a polylogue). I manually annotated the linguistic realizations relating to the formation and reception of the utterances and to the referencial scene in two coherent samples of 200 and 500 posts, respectively. In the analyses, I focused on qualitative characteristics, and I used quantitative aspects to indicate the proportions characteristic of discourse types.

The research questions are as follows. 1. What types of metapragmatic signals reflecting intersubjective meaning construction can be distinguished which show strong degrees in their scope and semantic elaboration (the gradation presupposes scalarity: from utterences containing anchored verbal and cognitive verbs to desemantised discourse markers)? 2. What common and different features do the two samples representing the two different subtypes of a given genre (spontaneous and informal everyday discourse and more construed storytelling) contain, and what genre-specific characteristics can be observed?

According to my preliminary assumptions, the presence of metapragmatic signals with characteristic differences in elaboration and structural pattern can be considered a strong genre-specific feature in both samples. In spontaneous informal discourses, they appear more desemantized, according to the spontaneity of the discourse, following the spoken language pattern, especially in the first part of the utterances, for example, to indicate turn-taking in the discourse. In the more planned discourses, we find more linguistically elaborated realizations, in a specific arrangement, at the beginning and at the end of the texts, but also as part of the direction of attention during the discourse.

These studies aim to contribute to a more consistent description and understanding of the genre-specific functioning of internet-mediated discourses within the issue of metapragmatic awareness.

The structure of the study is as follows. First, I describe the most important features of functional cognitive pragmatics (2.), and then I define the approach to metapragmatic awareness within this theoretical framework (3.). This is followed by an outline of the material and methods of the two empirical analyzes (4.), after which I present the results with a focus on the functional groups of the metapragmatic markers (5.), and a comparison of the two samples (6.) before the summary (7.) closes the study.

2. The model of the functional cognitive pragmatics

Functional cognitive linguistics includes various models that have a fruitful discourse with each other. Their common feature is that they emphasize the non-formal nature of language, in these models grammar is not interpreted as an autonomous system, but from the point of view of speech activity, with an essential role attributed to cognitive processes (cf. eg. Croft−Cruse 2004; Geeraerts−Cuycens eds. 2007; Evans−Poursel eds. 2009; Kövecses−Benczes 2010; Tolcsvai Nagy 2013; Tolcsvai Nagy ed. 2017). Thus, the functioning of the elements of the language system is presented from the point of view of the current speaker, starting from their natural discursive medium, emphasizing their role in the formation of dynamic meaning. (Tolcsvai Nagy 2010: 11−3). In categorization operations, prototype theory is the starting point (cf. Rosch 1977). At the same time, these models differ partly in their questions and approaches, allowing for, among other things, the grasp of language-specific features, methodologies that fit the theoretical framework but also take into account cross-linguistic differences, since the semantic structure is not universal but is largely based on language-specific, conventional representations, its relation to the knowledge structure is relative. In the recent decades, several theoretical research studies, mainly due to certain socio-psychological and pragmatic insights, have focused on the social (interactional and intersubjective) basis of linguistic cognition and its consequences in the functional cognitive descriptions (see eg. Sinha 1999, 2009; Tomasello 2002, 2003, 2011; Croft 2009). This social cognitive starting point can be fruitfully combined with the pragmatic point of view, which lets the cognitive and sociocultural conditions of language use be seen together in relation to each other, describes language use as a social cognitive activity, and puts the problem of context-dependent, dynamic meaning construction into focus (see Verschueren 1999; Sandra et al. eds. 2009; Tátrai 2011, 2013, 2017).

In the Hungarian literature, Szilárd Tátrai developed a dynamic model to describe the process of context-dependent, dynamic meaning construction (cf. Tátrai 2011, 2017). The basic point of this model is that the discourses of the ongoing process, which are realized as a common attentional scene, provide a frame (see Tomasello 2002; Sinha 2005). Discourses, whether they are everyday conversations or literary texts, are generally characterized by the fact that their participants interact with each other in the medium of a natural language (or languages) and, by directing or following the other's attention, create referencial scenes with which they aim at adaptively satisfying their communicative needs (cf. Verschueren 1999; Verschueren–Brisard 2009). The joint attentional scene is thus an essential condition for symbolic linguistic communication, participation in it is an intersubjective human activity in which it is possible to direct the other's attention to the things and events of the world (the referencial scene) and thus to influence her mental orientation (attention, understanding) (for details see Tátrai 2011: 29–35). Linguistic symbols thus create different possibilities for the conceptual construction of world experiences (see Langacker 2008: 55–89; Verhagen 2007). On the one hand, linguistic symbols represent conceptually differently construed experiences, and on the other hand, they initiate different conceptual constructions of experiences (see Sinha 1999, 2005).

The construal and understanding of referencial scenes in narrative discourses or spontaneous conversations is fundamentally influenced by which of the participants in the discourse directs the conceptual construction of experiences, the processing of the referencial scene, i.e. who determines how and from where the events of the referencial scene are represented. Accordingly, the fundamental question is where and how the conceptually processable physical and social world of the participants of the referencial scene is constructed, in which their actions and happenings take place, and their mental world, in which their active conscious processes take place (see Tátrai 2011: 171–89; Bruner 1986: 14). In this study, however, the central question is fundamentally not at what and how our attention is directed when we try to understand the various referencial scenes, but how all of this can become the subject of metapragmatic reflection.

3. The concept of metapragmatic awareness

The concept of metapragmatic awareness refers to the reflexive attitude of the participants of the discourse towards the linguistic activity and the dynamic meaning construction that takes place in its medium (for details see Versucheren 1999; Tátrai 2011: 119–25; 2017: 1045–53). This is because the persons who are just expressing themselves can reflect on their own, the recipient's or another person's communicative activities; moreover, they can also reflect on the current discourse itself and its organization. This means that the participants are able to display a reflexive attitude to various linguistic representations and the social cognitive processes and sociocultural expectations associated with them. There are observable linguistic traces of metapragmatic awareness that are called metapragmatic signals. The semantic elaboration of metapragmatic signals shows an iconic correlation with the degree of awareness, since the greater semantic elaboration of metapragmatic reflections testifies to a greater degree of metapragmatic awareness of the speaker. At the same time, metapragmatic awareness does not simply mean the use of linguistic signals but rather also the different degrees of reflexive attitude of the participants towards their common linguistic activity, the dynamic meaning construction, to which the speaker draws attention with these signals.

Thus, metapragmatic awareness is always present in language use, but its extent can vary considerably and it can also show a strong correlation with the type of the discourse. Presumably, not only is the degree of metapragmatic awareness subject to differences concerning characteristics of the discourse type and genre, but also the many types of linguistic signals expressing reflexivity are arranged in various patterns. This is because the linguistic form of metapragmatic reflections can be realized in many ways, they can be extremely diverse both in terms of their function and the degree of their semantic elaboration, as well as in terms of their structure and scope. From semantically and linguistically elaborated signals (e.g. *let's pause for a moment and take a closer look at*

this fact; I'll get to the most important point in what follows) to desemantized discourse markers *(so, well),* the scale can even remain implicit, and it can be grasped along a kind of continuum (cf. Versucheren 1999: 188; Kuna−Hámori 2019: 219). Furthermore, metapragmatic awareness shows complex realizations not only formally but also functionally: it can reflect on the activity of attention control (the speaker's reflections may relate to his/her own language activity, the control of the recipient's attention, which also includes manifestations of his/her mental and emotional views and states, his/her own potential attention and vica versa: also to the recipient's potential attention and language activity), on the aiding of comprehension, and in the meantime metapragmatic signals can be realised as contextualisation introductions. Metapragmatic signals can be used to construct the referential scene: the processing and articulation of the discourse, which promotes the recipient's comprehension processes during the construction of meaning, or the linguistic-stylistic aspects of the discourse. Language users take advantage of these opportunities in many ways (cf. Kuna−Hámori 2019: 219): they can be various cognitive goals, such as efforts to arrange the proceeding of the discourse, such as efforts to direct attention, reinforcement, clarification, elimination of misunderstandings, and social goals such as courtesy, face protection (cf. Domonkosi 2019), impression and manipulation (cf. Hámori 2008).

In the following two case studies, I analyze the function-types of metapragmatic signals with the help of two Internet-mediated discourse genres, using a top-down method: that is, I have listed and grouped the linguistic realizations of metapragmatic awareness by reviewing selected sample texts.

4. Material and method

For the analysis, I chose two types of Internet-mediated discourse representing spontaneous writing: the so-called thematically unrestricted and the thematically restricted topic. The first is titled The Purple Mothers' Philosophic Topic (PM), the second is The Story of My Humiliation (SH), both of which can be found on the Index Forum and contain multi-year, day-to-day discourses.[2] The basic features of computer-mediated Internet discourses can be summarized as follows: they consist of several interconnected attention activities, always with several participants, i.e. they are polylogic and spontaneous to different degrees, the interaction is indirect, the participants are not present in the discourse in the same space and at the same time due to the physical realization of the discourse (computer), genre expectations are codified to a lesser extent. The first is the so-called thematically unrestricted topic (PM): a polylogue that can be broken into networked sequences, characterized by a higher degree of multi-round sequences and openness, as well as a greater degree of spontaneity.[3] The second is the so-called thematically restricted topic (SH): it is also a polylogue, which in our case is organized around the act of storytelling, the essential element is the creation of narratives, characterized by a greater degree of planning in text construction. Both topics are characterized by the fact that participants mostly do not know each other at all or only a little, many do not meet in the real world, yet they have relatively less shared knowledge of each other (gender, age, social status, etc.), which shows stronger knowledge patterns over time, especially as discourse progresses – this is the case mainly for PM. Participants' actions during the joint attentional scene are clearer and more circumscribed because of the vehicle than in the real world (they write or read on a computer). The linguistic explanation does not exceed what is considered necessary by the participants. Sampling was developed as follows:

The PM sample from March 2013 contains 500 consecutive posts (that's 19,647 text words and 131,803 keystrokes), with 14 members participating in the discourse, intellectual women between the ages of 30 and 50, with a common interest.

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[2] Purple Mothers: http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9017476&la=125481821; The Story of my Humiliation: http://forum.index.hu/Article/showArticle?t=9017476&la=125483459.

[3] Spontaneity in this sense can be interpreted as the property of spontaneous writing on the Internet (cf. Petykó 2011). According to my knowledge, there is no analysis of the characteristic linguistic differences between spontaneous speaking and spontaneous writing.

The SH sample is from December 2013 to January 2014, contains 200 stories (28,131 text words, 187,409 keystrokes), 19 participants can be listed in the discourse, their age cannot be specified precisely, men and women mixed. In this case, I highlighted narratives from the whole discourse in the sample, so unlike PM, it is not a continuus text, I did not take into account spontaneous discourses between storytelling actions, as my goal was to compare Internet-mediated discourse types.

In the two samples, I manually annotated the metapragmatic signals and used the above-mentioned top-bottom method to establish the categories according to the basic function, which, although the study is qualitative, I have supplied percentages for the aim of comparison. I found a total of 497 metapragmatic markers in the PM corpus and 787 in the SH corpus. The text-by-word index of the two samples for metapragmatic signals is very close: 39.5 and 35.7. That is, in terms of their proportions, the two different types of Internet-mediated discourse testify to essentially nearly the same degree of metapragmatic awareness. In the following, I describe the distribution of metapragmatic signals according to their function and relevance.

5. Results

5.1. The classification of metapragmatic signals

In the two samples, I distinguished a total of eight large groups, essentially depending on which part of the process of common dynamic meaning construction the metapragmatic reflection refers to. I use examples from both samples to illustrate the different types.

I. Reflection on direct linguistic activity

1) *Reflection on the speaker's own direct linguistic activity*

(1) Hali, én is *mondok* egyet. Nem annyira égő, inkább vicces.
  'Hey, I tell you another one. It is not so embarrassing, rather funny.'

(2) Hu, csak azért *írok,* mert az előbbi óvszeres sztorin enyhébb röhögőgörcsöt kaptam…
  'I am writing only because I burst into laughter from this condom story.'

(3) Inkább nem akarok *beszélni* róla
  'I would rather not talk about it.'

(4) De pont azért *írtam le*…
  'That is why I wrote it down.'

(5) *Olvaslak* titeket folyamatosan
  'I've followed your comments right from the beginning.'

The first four examples show the speaking activity of the speaker, which serves as a basic and typical starting point for linguistic activity (see the Bühler origins – *I, here* and *now* – as well). The verbs of saying are typical in this category, and in terms of the Internet, the *speak, say,* and *write* forms (as well as their other synonyms) are mixed. This kind of mixing is typical of Internet-mediated spontaneous writing: although language activity in topics is a written form, this type of text differs from the two prototypical discourse types, the spoken and the written forms, in its spontaneity, ie. the written form shows a spontaneous nature realization, which is much more a feature of spoken language (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2008; Tátrai 2017). The participants of Internet discourses alternately place the focus on one or the other, so the verbal activity is partly reflected in the words of speaking and partly of writing (I did not examine the proportions and the context in this respect. the appearance of two solutions seems balanced at first). Just as it is also noticeable that these reflections may relate to the current linguistic activity (1, 2, 4), in this case they are basically realized with the first-

person verb form anchored in the present *(I say, write, I want to speak)* and may refer to the past, primarily for close-to-time, linguistic activity (3), apparently with anchoring in the past *(I have described it)*. For example, (3) reflects, explains and clarifies the former's own entry, thereby facilitating comprehension and the recipients's processing. (I do not analyze the relationship between present and past verbs in this article.)

Example (5) reflects on the linguistic activity of the potential recipient. This is quite rare in the samples and is much less profiled according to Internet discourses than speaking activity but not unprecedented: in this case it is always represented by the appropriate form of the verb *read*. Presumably, the appearance of this metapragmatic signal in everyday spontaneous conversations is not significant either, but it cannot be ruled out (cf. *I am listening*, literary *I am hearing;* it is much more likely in more formal situations, for example in doctor-patient communication; cf. Kuna–Hámori 2019), and is not expected to be used in storytelling.

2) *Reflection on the recipient's direct linguistic activity*

(6) *Elmesélhetted volna…*
'You could have told me.'

(7) Ha nem *írtok…*
'If you do not write'

(8) Hát gyere, és *kiabálj*
'Then come and shout.'

(9) Ha *elértetek* idáig az *olvasásban*
'If you have reached this point in reading'

Examples (6–8) construct reflections on the linguistic activity of the recipient in two ways. On the one hand, when the recipient is constructed as the earlier participant of the discourse, in this case the verb is anchored in the past (6, 7), and on the other hand, when the recipient appears as the future potential participant, the verb is in imperative mode and metapragmatic reflection is also realized as a speech act (8). Example (9) reflects on the linguistic activity of the recipient, this type of metapragmatic signal is also quite rare in Internet-mediated discourses.

In both cases, as in the previous type, it is clear that according to the nature of Internet-mediated discourses, both the choice of verbs corresponding to spoken language activities *(narrate, shout)* and the signals of linguistic activity characteristic of the written language vary *(write, read),* relatively balanced in proportion.

In the case of the above two types (reflections on speaker's and recipients's linguistic activities), it should be noted that participants can reflect on direct linguistic activities in two additional forms: in the first person plural and with impersonal constructions, typically with noun forms.

(10) Eredetileg *beszélgettünk*, és normális hangnemben eszmét *cseréltünk*, néha *vitatkoztunk*.
'Originally, we talked and exchanged ideas in a normal tone and sometimes we argued.'

(11) Érdemes *rászánni* 20 percet (ti. a történetek olvasására)
'It is worth spending 20 minutes of your time on it (ie. reading stories)'

In (10), the participants are constructed as a group, in the example the anchor of the first-person plural verb appears as an exclusive plural (for the use of the exclusive plural, see Laczkó–Tátrai 2015b), thus the discursive activity for the participants is interpreted together, while in (11) the reflection takes place without numerical and personal anchoring, which can thus be interpreted primarily for the recipient's activity, both for the recipients together and separately.

II. Reflection on the direction and function of attention

3) *Reflections on the direction of the recipient's attention*

(12) *Figyu,* tanárok!
'Listen, teachers!'

(13) Na akkor ezt *figyeljétek*!
'Then watch this!'

These realizations serve to create and maintain the joint attentional scene, primarily with the appropriate forms of the verb of attention *(listen)*. I could not get a first-person example *(I am listening)* that maintains the speaker's attention in the samples. In addition, reflections on directing attention and creating the joint attentional scene have appeared in relatively small numbers (typically in the second person plural according to the polylogical form and in the imperative mode), and this rare appearance is presumably a feature of Internet-mediated communication. Unlike every-day conversations, the participants do not appear in the same physical space and do not necessarily appear at the same time during the discourse, the web interface clearly indicates the boundaries of the utterances (the comments), there is no possibility to talk together, so there is no need for metapragmatic reflections to profile the creation or maintenance of the joint attentional scene. The above examples function much more as discourse markers, which obviously also contribute to the construction of the joint attentional scene, but create this function not in a foreground, but rather as a background element. In (12), the shorten form of the verb *listen* which acts mainly as a particle used in the spoken language, appears *(figyu),* and the complete, anchored verb forms typically take a position of beginning.

III. Reflection on the participant's mental activity

The signals of metapragmatic awareness may refer not only to the direct linguistic activity or the closely related attention control, but also to the mental activity and states of the participants in the joint attentional scene. Reflections on mental processes: understanding, knowledge, thinking, beliefs, mental states, emotions are also part of the process of dynamic meaning-construction. In Internet-mediated discourses, these reflections become particularly important, as the interface organizes and clearly outlines the liguistic activity, as it has already been mentioned above: there is no possibility of co-discussion, overlaps, so there is no real need for participants to arrange metapragmatic cues, word transfer, change of turn, control and follow-up of attention, change of the roles, etc., but it is also obvious that because they do not share a common physical space, they have no sensory representations about each other during the discourse, so gestures and facial expressions do not help to express and percept their mental states. Consequently, there is no doubt that reflections on participants' mental and emotional processes play a much greater role in Internet-mediated discourses than in everyday life and play a greater role than reflections on linguistic activity. The latter often appear as a discourse organizing schema, but reflections on mental and emotional states typically characterize and inform participants about their opinions, beliefs, knowledge, thinking, and so on. These reflections numerically far outnumber those of language activity in discourses (see numerical comparison later).

4) *Reflection on the speaker's mental activity*

(14) Azóta égek, ha *rágondolok*
'If I am thinking about it, I cannot help to feel embarrassed*.*'

(15) *Eszembe jutott* erről még egy
'I just remembered another one'

(16) Nem nagyon *értem,* mi a baj
      'I do not really understand what is the problem'

(17) Azon sem *csodálkoznék*
      'I would not be surprised if…'

(18) *Nem tudom*, hol láttam megfelelőt
      'I do not know where I saw a suitable one…'

(19) *Azt hiszem*, ideje lesz azt a könyvet beszerezni
      'I think it is time to get that book.'

(20) *Szerintem* ez nem igaz
      'In my opinion this is not true.'

Most of the metapragmatic signals in this category are also realized with verbs anchored in the first person, the so-called cognitive verbs, which are by far much more varied than the previous types: *think, know, believe, wonder, understand,* and so on. The discourse marker *szerintem* ('in my opinion') also plays an important role, of which I classify interpersonal functioning (agreement, disagreement, image protection) among its various functions (cf. Dér 2021), including the opinion-marking function.

5) *Reflection on the recipient's mental activity*

(21) *Kitalálhatjátok*, ki lépett ki az ajtón
      'Guess, who just left the room.'

(22) *Tudtok* már valamit?
      'Do you know something?'

(23) Ezt *higgyétek el* végre nekem!
      'Believe me if I say.'

(24) *El tudjátok képzelni* a hangulatot!
      'Can you imagine the atmosphere?'

(25) *Nem tévedsz, jól gondolod…*
      'You are not mistaken, You are right.'

(26) *Szerintetek* mi történt?
      'What do you think has happened?'

Reflections on the recipient's mental activity are construed in a similar way to those on the speaker's, with the difference that the cognitive verbs *(guess, know, believe, imagine, mistake, think)* that are dominant here are anchored in the second person plural, and the discourse marker *szerintetek* (in your opinion) is also in the second person plural. Their frequency is lower than in the above type.
    Impersonal construal also appears in this main category (III.).

(27) *Tudomásul kell venni,* hogy a topik már nem tölti be az eredeti funkcióját.
      'It should be noted that the topic no longer fulfils its original function.'

(28) *Felesleges agyalni*, pontosan *lehet tudni*.
      'No need to think, one can exactly know.'

(29) *Sajnos* ebben az iskolában mindig a fiúk járnak rosszul.
      'Unfortunately in this school it is always the boys who come off badly.'

Note, think, know, and similar verbs occur in an infinitive form, mostly with a modal auxiliary verb, without a personal pronoun, thus creating the possibility that their relation can be generalized to each of the participants together or even separately. A similar situation is created by the use of evaluative attitude markers *(unfortunately, fortunately),* which, depending on the thematic context, may relate to the mental attitude of the speaker or the recipient.

IV. Reference to other discourses, quotations, self-citations: reflection on indirect linguistic activity (6)

> (30) *egy ismerősöm mesélte* ezt
> 'An acquaintance of mine told me this'

> (31) *haverok mesélték a következő sztorit*, szerintem nem igaz (őket ismerve), de nem is a lényeg
> 'Friends told me the following story, I think it's not true (knowing them), but that's not the point.'

> (32) na igen, pont *ezeket mondja más is*
> 'Well yes, that's exactly what others are saying'

> (33) *olvastam* több helyen, hogy…
> 'I read it in several places that…'

A special type of metapragmatic awareness is the case where the speaker does not refer to the discourse that is currently taking place, but to one that has already been said or described. It can be an utterance, a reflection, a thought, a belief of someone else, or a reflection on one's own earlier utterance produced in a different context. It can be seen as a form of quotation in which, for example, the speaker typically reflects on the retelling of a story and at the same time the narrative activity of someone else. In the case of self-quotation, it is obvious that it is the linguistic activity of the former self of the speaker, which he or she uses primarily to support and emphasize his or her current message. It is common to name an external source, especially in the second sample, where the retelling signal is more strongly profiled when telling stories, and its reason is clearly because the thematically restricted topic asks for sharing of participants' own experiences and is already thematized under its title (The Story of my Humiliation). (33) is an example of quoting someone else's mental activity that he or she has experienced in some form before, or at least believes that he or she is aware of a third party's beliefs.

V. Reflection on the development of the discourse

While types I–IV. of the metapragmatic reflections focus on the joint attentional scene, the next category refers to the referential scene, its organization, process, articulation, and is essentially deictic in nature. Of course, the metapragmatic reflections on the referential scene are closely related to the direction of attention, the processes of common meaning construction and understanding. Several subgroups are worth distinguishing.

7) *Reflection that objectively constructs the discourse as a whole*

> (34) Következzék az én *történetem*
> 'Let my story begin'

> (35) A napokban *történt meg* velem.
> 'It happened to me one of these days.'

> (36) Az én egyik nagy *égésem*
> 'It is one of my big embarrassments'

> (37) Belefér egy ilyen is a *témába*
> 'It may fit into the subject'

In the SH ample, reflections on the discourse as a whole thematize the story itself as a referencial scene, with a fairly high frequency and typically with the nouns *story, humiliation,* less often with other nouns *(theme)* or with the past tense form of the verb *(happen)* itself.

In the case of thematically unrestricted PM topic, this kind of thematization does not appear, the participants reflect on the discourse as a whole metonymically with the Internet genre *(topic),* which also means a reflection on the operation of the discourse.

(38) Azért azt tudd, hogy erről fog szólni a *topik* pár hónapig.
'You should know that is what the topic will be about for a few months.'

(39) Bár az is tény, hogy erre csináltunk másik *topikot*.
'Although it is a fact, we made a new topic for that.'

8) *Reflection on certain parts of the discourse: thematization within the referential scene*

(40) a történet *utóhatása*
'postlude of the story'

(41) *slusszpoén*
'ultimate punchline'

(42) Ez a *szemlélet* okozta a problémát
'This aspect caused the problem'

(43) *Adalékok* a műszaki analfabétizmusomhoz
'Some data to my technical analphabetism'

(44) Köszönöm a *tippeket*
'Thank you for the tips'

(45) *Kérdés:*
'The question is…'

(46) *Pró és kontra érvek*
'Pro and contra arguments'

This kind of metapragmatic reflection appears in large numbers in both samples, with a highly deictic character. Thematic nouns can be anaphorical or cataphorical. In the above examples, (42) and (44) are anaphorical, as they thematize earlier discourse parts, while the other examples, and this is more typical, cataphorically realized, they are followed by the thematic notation.

9) *Reflection on the discourse as a metaphorical space: the role of the discourse deixis in the organization of the discourse*

(47) *Ez* még fontos lesz a következőkben
'This will be important in the following'

(48) De nem *ez* a lényeg
'But that is not the point'

(49) *Ez* azt jelentette…
'That meant…'

(50) *Ennyit erről*
'So much about that'

(51) a régi oviban is *így* volt
'so it was in the old kindergarten'

(52) *ilyen* marhaságot még nem hallottam
    'I have never heard such bullshit'

(53) *erre* másnap elkap engem is a nő
    'so the woman catches me the next day'

Reflections focused on this category are typically constructed with the front voweled pronoun *ez* (this) in independent use, with a smaller number of adverbs *(thus, here)* and adjectival pronoun *ilyen* (such), the latter mostly associated with nominals (52). Each pronoun form helps the orientation in discourse and exploits the DISCOURSE SPACE metaphor (cf. Laczkó 2019).

Demonstrative pronominal discourse deixis has a definite anaphorical or cataphorical direction. The anaphorical use corresponding to mental processes clearly dominates in both samples (cf. Laczkó 2019: 257). In addition, there is a discourse marker-like function of the demonstrative pronoun when, as a result of desemantization, the signal of the direction and thus the contextual reference are pushed into the background and the function reflecting the organization of the discourse comes to the foreground (53). And *ennyi* ('that much') in a discourse deictic role is a characteristic final formula for storytelling (50).

It should also be mentioned that the pronoun *ez* ('this') is often associated with nouns that do thematize the discourse (see the above category), for example: *this story, this case,* etc., i.e., these realizations are often combined with additional discourse-deictic elements. In (54), the function of the pronoun is to designate the part of the discourse where the speaker is currently present, both thematically connected with the thematic noun *(point),* and concerning the process of the discourse.

(54) *Ezen a ponton* szoktam le a pletykálkodásról
    'At this point I quit the habit of gossiping'

Of course, the discourse deictic use of the pronoun represents only one characteristic way to denote the process and organization of the discourse. Other, rarer realizations also occur.

(55) A barátom mesélte *következő* sztorit
    'My friend told me the *following* story'

(56) Oké, legyenek katonasztorik, az *első*:
    'Fine, let there be soldier's stories, here's the *first* one'

In (55) the adjective *next* appearing before the thematic noun *story* has a cataphorical direction, in (56) this role is played by the adjective form *first*.

10) *Discourse markers*

(57) *Szoval* par honappal ezelott Perthben (Ausztralia) tanultam es akkoriban probalgattam angolul beszelni… mar amennyire.
    'So I studied in Perth, Australia a couple of months ago and at the time I was trying to speak English as much as I could.'

(58) *Nos,* ott vagyunk, nem rohanunk, videozgattunk kicsit stb.
    'Well, we're there, we're not in a hurry, we've been watching videos a little, etc.'

(59) *Na,* akkora már eléggé döglődtünk, de még volt pénzmag.
    'Well, we were dead enough, but we still had money.'

(60) Akkor leesett a dolog, sűrű bocsánatkérés... *Hát* égett a fejem.
    'Then the penny dropped, apologies…. Well, my head was burning.'

(61) A doktornő a legkisebb betegségre is vagy háromféle gyógyszert felírt. *Nomármost,* az én influenzámra is kaptunk egy csomót.
'The doctress always prescribed at least three types of medicine for even the slightest illness. Well, we got a lot for my flu, too.'

Various schematic, desemantized discourse markers are also part of the metapragmatic aware-ness, as they play a significant role in marking the organization of discourses: they segment the parts, connect the adjacent parts of the discourse, so they also play an important role in directing attention. For example: *nos, na, namost, szóval, mondjuk, hát, ugye,* etc. (all roughly meaning 'well').

Thus, in the case of discourse markers, neither the degree nor the complexity of language development is high, according to their desemanticization, and the function of the discourse markers themselves is very diverse (cf. eg. Furkó 2020; Dér 2020) but their metapragmatic role is indisputable in the construction of the referencial scenes. In the case of the above examples, they take part in the organization of the discourses, in their breakdown into sequences, typically in the opening po-sition, their function is mostly to summarize or pass on the preceeding part of the discourse, to perform a thematic change, to indicate a thematic turnoff or a return to the main thematic unit. In the case of example (60), *hát* introduces the deduction of the consequence from the story, reflecting on the mental state of the speaker at that time, while in example (61) the role of *namármost* is the sequence change, returning from the representation of the doctress's characterization to the course of the events. However, the following example shows that the discourse marker reflects on the propo-sitional content of a statement created by another, while questioning the constructed statement.

(62) *Hááát,* erősen helye válogatja...
'Weeeeeeeeell, it strongly depends on the place...'

The antecedent in this case was the utterance that "otherwise I don't understand the school, in this case they usually give the mark 5 for the skill subjects" and this utterance was questioned in response by one of the participants with the above form of *hát,* which arranges the discourse sequentially appearing in the first part of the utterance.

11) *Emotional reflection on the referential scenes*

(63) Webshop szerint:
ÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁÁ. Szörnyű.
'According to the webshop: http://www.sootersfoto.hu/fotosarkos-/-bereagasztos Aaaaaaaaaaaa, it is horrible.'

(64) *úú :-(* mennyi idős a mosógéped és milyen?
'Uu :-(how old is your washing machine and what is it like?'

This type includes short onomatopoetic words whose function is to express a negative or positive emotional reaction, irony, self-irony in relation to the referencial scene or any part of it, for example: *hujuj, hm, áááááááá, hááááát, upsz, basszus, ajaj, huh.* This kind of reaction may refer to the referen-cial scene constructed by oneself or others, a part of it, showing relatively balanced realizations in the PM corpus, as this pattern represents the most informal form of spontaneous writing, and SH is clearly dominated by emotional reflections on its own discourse of the participants, according to storytelling.

Example (63) shows a metapragmatic reflection on the speaker's own part of the discourse in this category, (64) shows one on a part created by another. In (63), the commenter shows a web page as a link, then gives a strongly negative reaction to it with a basically onomatopoetic element, also explaining her opinion with the adjective *horrible.* In (64), the utterance refers to an earlier part of the discourse, also as a negative emotional reaction to the state of the washing machine. In many

cases, the referential emotional expression of a given utterance is associated with the expression of a speech act, such as the expression of regret. An example of this is (64), in addition:

> (65) *Jaj,* bokor, nem tudom, de gyors jobbulást!
>   'Ouch, bokor, I don't know, but get well soon!'

Example (65) expresses a reaction to the fact of a disease.

VI. Reflection on the way of the language use formulation (12)

> (66) *Röviden*
>   'In short'

> (67) A dobást *szó szerint* kell érteni
>   'throwing should be taken literally'

> (68) Általában nem szoktam *csúnyán beszélni*
>   'I don't usually talk ugly'

> (69) Nem kell *részleteznem*
>   'I don't have to go into details'

> (70) Itt nem lehet *érzékeltetni a hangsúlyt*.
>   'Here it is impossible to express the tones.'

These metapragmatic reflections refer to the way of language formation and the use of the language (cf. Hámori 2012), mainly in connection with the speaker's own linguistic activity (66, 68–70), but may also be related to this aspect of the recipient's understanding, such as (67), in which the meaning of the word *throw* is (literally) explained by the utterer in such a way as to give priority to the language activity of the recipient using the verb *ért* ('understand') in an impersonal auxiliary verb construction, that is to say, generalized to everyone. The degree of elaboration of the reflections on linguistic formality can be characteristically different, from structures anchored in number and in person with a verb *(I don't usually talk ugly; I don't have to go into detail),* through impersonal constructions *(emphasis cannot be placed; it is to be taken literally)* to elliptical patterns *(in short).*

VII. Reflection on the vehicle (13)

> (71) Mire ideértem…
>   'By the time I got here'

> (72) Nem akarok odanézni
>   'I don't want to look at it [ie. at a photo on the site]'

> (73) Nohát, nincs itt senki?
>   'Well, isn't there anyone here?'

> (74) Csomagolom a topikot a kedvencek közé
>   'I'm packing the topic into my favourites'

> (75) Ez a topik tényleg király, bár egy kicsit elkezdett süllyedni, de nem baj, felhozzuk.
>   'This topic is really great, although it is already starting to sink a little bit, it is okey, we will bring it up.'

Reflections on the field of linguistic activity are presumably more characteristic in the Internet-mediated discourse than in offline conversations or storytelling events. Due to their positions, participants often reflect on the virtual space as a part of metapragmatic awareness.

In the case of (71) and (72), the symbolic space deixis constructed by the prefix *(here, there)* reflects the virtual space, and the verb *(arrive)* expresses involvement in the discourse, at a given time it expresses that the participant is present, and the verb *look there* refers to an image displayed on the Internet interface. (73) represents the possibility of the pronominal space deixis in Internet-mediated discourses, the non-determinative demonstrative pronoun (*itt* 'here') clearly denotes the virtual space, and the utterance is used to ask whether no one of the participants is present in the discourse at that moment (as has already been mentioned, participants do not have a visual representation of each other, and the process of discourse does not allow participants to engage in conversation at the same time, so this issue has real relevance, not merely a conversation-building element). These examples (71–73) differ from the discourse deictic ones marked as type 9 above in that they clearly prioritize the virtual space, i.e., they are symbolic space deictic elements, and do not profile the content reference concerning the discourse.

Examples (74) and (75) objectify the space of the speech event *(topics),* in (74) the metaphorically used verb *pack* expresses that the utterer archives the entire discourse as a link on his or her computer under the Favorites label for easy access, in (75) the verb sink means that the various labeled links to discourses are placed one below the other on the screen, with those in which active language activity takes place always appearing at the top. So if a discourse link goes down, it means that there has been no discourse activity in it, but if someone creates a new post, the link will be at the top of the page (cf. *we will bring it up*). The latter two examples also strongly overlap with type 7 above, but as long as the reflection on the whole of the discourse is profiled there, here the virtual space comes to the foreground metonymically when we examine the starting point of the observer scene.

VIII. Speech acts (14)

(76) Drukkolok neked
   'I am cheering for You'

(77) Szeretnék egy kis drukkot kérni
   'I'd like to ask for some cheer'

(78) Köszönöm, hogy gazdagítjátok a topikot
   'Thank You for enriching the topic'

(79) Éppen kérni akartam egy linket
   'I just wanted to ask You to get the link'

(80) Lefogadom, hogy
   'I bet that…'

Speech acts are communicative actions originating from the utterances. These are essentially constructions that are realized through linguistic activity by being pronounced or named by the speaker (Austin 1962). There are two types of grouping: according to the type of communicative actions (cf. assertives, commissives, expressives, directives, declarations) and according to sentence types (cf. Tátrai 2017: 1014−9). The overlap with metapragmatic awareness is worth examining on the basis of the first grouping, among other things, according to the extent to which these realizations have become conventionalized and developed. Based on the latter, there are direct speech acts that, due to their conventional nature, can be considered more typical than indirect speech acts, in which the understanding of the action value of the utterance is related to the mobilization of contextual background knowledge, the latter category includes sentence word elements that are realized as unstructured sentences (see also Type 11). In the type grouping of metapragmatic signals, I primarily classified performativities into this category, i.e., those realizations that are formed by a performative verb and can be considered as partially conventionalized expressions. It should be

noted that in type 1, the metapragmatic signals constructed with the verb in first person singular, are also performative, creating assumptions, but I treat them as a separate type in this categorization.

Examples (76) and (77) show a kind of traditional discursive practice of the PM topic: if a participant or a relative is in a situation that has posed a challenge and requires a solution (e.g., job interview, exam, medical examination), then the other participants expressed their sympathy, support with so-called cheering. The use of this speech act has become almost ceremonial in this speech community. Many times this discursive action appears only with the noun *drukk* (cheer) alone, without anchoring. In the SH sample, of course, there is no data on this realization, as the PM sample, the spontaneous internet conversation, clearly contains additional performative expressions in profile: in (78) for example the expressive act of thanksgiving, in (79) the act of request, in (80) an unreal commutative representation of betting.

5.2. The complexity of metapragmatic awareness

After counting the types, it is important to mention the issue of complexity as well. It can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it can be interpreted in terms of the degree of semantic elaboration of metapragmatic reflections. The more elaborated, the more complex the representation can be considered. On the other hand, the type of metapragmatic reflections that appear together in a given utterance may also be an important aspect of analysis. I refer to both aspects briefly below, as in both cases further detailed analysis will be needed in addition to the generalizations.

Graduality presupposes scalarity, and it can be declared that metapragmatic reflections in the form of personal deixis or situational anchoring represent the most semantically elaborated pole (such as the utterance with the verbs of saying and the cognitive verb in first or second person), the less elaborated ones are the desemantized schematic discourse markers as well as the sentence word realizations. Metapragmatic reflections which are not anchored with personal deixis and the demonstrative prono discourse deixis show an intermediate degree. I highlight three typical examples, all three from the SH sample (cf. Laczkó–Tátrai 2015):

(81) Itt az ideje, hogy én is gazdagítsam ezt a fórumot egy beégéssel, ami nem az enyém, ezt a sztorit a barátom mesélte el nekem.
'It's time for me to enrich this forum with a humiliation story that isn't mine, my friend told me this story.'

(82) Logikus, nem?
'It makes sense, doesn't it?'

(83) A doktornő a legkisebb betegségre is vagy háromféle gyógyszert felírt. *Nomármost,* az én influenzámra is kaptunk egy csomót.
'The doctress always prescribed at least three types of medicament for even the slightest illness. Well, we got a lot for my flu, too.'

In example (81), the narrator's storytelling activity is anchored due to the personal pronoun and the inflexional morphemes, the *enrich forum* structure makes the storytelling activity explicit. In this way the storyteller objects to his own linguistic activity within himself, making it part of the referencial scene. Thus, the referencial scene consists not only of the story (the observed scene) but also of a meta-level (the observer scene), which is represented as an elementary sentence separated from the elementary sentences depicting the narrated events (see Tátrai 2011: 121; cf. Langacker 2002). In addition, from the joint attentional scene, the story itself is objectified by the expressions *humiliation* and *story*, and the speaker explores the space of the speech act *(this forum)* by means of discourse deixis and reflects on the story being retold, makes explicit from whom the story originated and emphasizes it with the help of an anchored personal deictic expression in negative form that this is not his or her own experience *(not mine).* If we take only the reflections of metapragmatic awareness, we can not only talk about a high degree of semantic elaboration but we can say that

also the reflection is complex as in addition to storytelling, there is a reference to the discourse, reflection on the discourse as a whole and the utterance reflects on the cited form of the story.

Example (82) is also complex in this respect, as it reflects on the referencial scene itself (elliptically) as well as the mental activity of the recipient *(logical).* However, it is not anchored by personal deixis, only the anchoring role of the present tense indicates the metapragmatic function (stories are typically anchored in the past). Thus, it can be considered a semantically less elaborate realization, but the utterance objectifies the observer scene here as well.

Example (83) contains a clear discourse marker, neither the degree of elaboration (desemantized element) nor its complexity is high, its role is to change the sequence in the representation of the doctress's trait in the process of the events (see also above).

Similarly complex examples from the PM sample:

(84) azért ez nem ilyen eccerü volt, tényleg nincs antennád a finom árnyalatokra...
    'so it wasn't so simple, you really don't have an antenna for subtle shades...'

(85) H_G, ha már itt vagy, megkérdeznélek erről:
    http://reflexshop.hu/aerobie-aeropress-kavefozo?keyword=aero%20press.
    nagy hülyeség?
    'H_G, if You are here, I'd ask about this:
    http://reflexshop.hu/aerobie-aeropress- kavefozo?keyword=aero%20press.
    big nonsense?'

(86) lehet, tudomasul kell venni, hogy a topik mar nem tolti be az eredeti funkciojat, kifujt
    'it may be necessary to note that the topic is no longer in its original function, it has run out of steam'

(87) Mire ide jutottam, aktualitását vesztette a drukk, de azért remélem, sikerültek a vizsgák!
    'By the time I got here, the cheer had lost its relevance, but I hope the exams were successful!'

(88) Azta, hogy sikerült leírnom ilyen szépen, hogy ínhüvelygyulladás? És ez már a javított verzió volt, mert eredetileg úgy nézett ki, hogy ínüvelyyulladás.
    'Wow, how did I manage to describe so nicely [the word] ínhüvelygyulladás ['tendonitis']? And it was already an improved version because it originally looked like ínüvelyyulladás.'

In (84), the speaker reflects on the previous part of the discourse, the utterance is addressed to a specific recipient, the demonstrative pronoun *ez* ('this') functioning as discourse deixis refers back to the previous part of the discourse, and *the lack of an antenna* reflects on the attentional, interpretational action of the recipient. (85) also shows more complex metapragmatic awareness: after the specific address, the vehicle is reflected on by the speaker referring to the presence of the participants, then the speech activity is subjected to metapragmatic reflection with a cataphorical discourse deixis, and after the link there is an anaphorically construed reflection on the theme included in the link. (86) refers to the discourse itself with the notation of *topic* and focuses on the function of the discourse, its altered role and destruction, and the impersonal auxiliary verb structure *(it may be necessary to note)* should be extended to all participants and generalized to the mental activity of the recipient. In connection with the exam in (87), the reflection of the speaker refers to the space of the discourse, metaphorically constructing the space *(by the time I got here),* thereby objectifying the speaker's action related to its own linguistic activity. The speech act of cheering appears, more precisely the participant indicates its unnecessariness, and he makes his own mental activity objectively explicit *(I hope).* Finally, (88) shows a reflection on the formal way of writing. The full utterance refers to an inappropriate description of one of the words previously recorded, the utterance refers back to the previous utterance activity with a first-person verb, and explains the process of spoiling the description, also strongly objectifying the observer scene.

6. Comparison of the two samples according to the function of different types

In order to see the proportions of the types of metapragmatic signals in the two samples, I tabulated the percentage data. All indications in each sample represent 100 percent, and the numbers in the table show the percentages in each case. In what follows, I focus on the most characteristic proportions.

Table 1. Percentages of metapragmatic signals in the two samples

Types	Sample SH (787 = 100%)	Sample PM (497 = 100%)
1. Reflections ont he speaker's own linguistic activity	6	7
2. Reflections on the recipient's linguistic activity	2	3
3. Reflections on the direction of the recipients's attention	2	3
4. Reflections ont he speaker's mental activity	**15**	**20**
5. Reflections on the recipient's mental activity	5	4
6. Reflections on indirect linguistic activity	4	5
7. Refelctions ont he discourse as a whole	**16**	1
8. Reflections on a certain part of the discourse	5	6
9. Discourse deixis	**11**	5
10. Discourse markers	**22**	**13**
11. Emotional reflections on the referential scene	2	2
12. Reflections on language use	4	2
13. Reflections on the vehicle	3	8
14. Speech acts	3	**21**

It can be seen from the table that all types appear in both samples, and these data are highly correlated with the types found in Kuna–Hámori's physician-patient interactions (Kuna–Hámori 2019). From this fact it can be concluded that metapragmatic reflections include basic types and patterns that are independent of the genre and the vehicle, and, of course, some that are more related to characteristic discourse types and discourse communities.

In Internet-mediated storytelling (SH sample), we find four types that stand out in proportion: discourse markers (22%), reflection on discourse as a whole (16%), reflections on the mental activity of the speaker (15%), and discourse as space (11%). The other types appear in a roughly balanced proportions. Presumably, these proportions show a kind of correlation for the metapragmatic signals of everyday storytelling, especially for types 7 and 10, and this is also a pattern for Internet-mediated narratives. In narrative discourses, the metapragmatic construction of the referencial scene is basically constructed with discourse deixis and discourse markers. Attention is focused on the story itself, the role of the desemantized elements is a kind of discursive segmentation of the referencial scene, the marking of the thematically connected parts, the marking of the changes of subject, and they obviously play an important role in the direction of attention as well. However, the higher proportion of types 4 and 9 can already be explained by the vehicle. Reflections on discourse as a space typically function at the beginning of the stories as a kind of introduction, linked to other kinds of reflections, such as the act of storytelling. This introductory metapragmatic element plays an important role in online storytelling. The dominantly appearing reflections are tied to the referencial scene, according to the discursive nature of storytelling. However, the following type is related to the joint attentional scene: the strong appearance of reflections on the speaker's mental activity is presumably connected to the Internet transmission, and not only in storytelling, but also in other genres, as there is no direct, real-space connection between participants, so beliefs, thoughts, etc. should be made more explicit.

There are three prominent types of spontaneous online conversations: speech acts (21%), reflections on the mental activity of the speaker (20%), and discourse markers (13%). It can also be seen that here the main metapragmatic reflections are tied to the joint attentional scene, and it is only the discourse markers that ensure the organization of the referencial scene. This proportional exchange between the referencial scene and the joint attentional scene is not surprising, but rather

a genre feature, thus it conforms to the preliminary expectations. The remarkably large number of speech acts seems much more surprising. However, all this is related to the specific nature and situation of the PM sample. In 2013, after nearly 10 years of daily conversation, participants began using the Facebook community portal instead of the PM topic. During this period, participants already knew each other well, factions developed, conflicts arose, and in fact they didn't have much to say to each other on the open surface of the topic. As one of the participants remarked: "The groups have a dynamics, it's just going downhill right now. There are many reasons for this, including the fact that after so much time, conflicts are inevitable for so many different people (although sometimes a little exaggerated – I think), it is also that we are much more busy than we were years ago when our Index career started, all over at the end of the year. And yes, there is also the fact that the focus has inevitably shifted to Fb." As a result, the conversation was constructed according to the following scheme: someone asked a question, asked for advice, and the others tried to respond to something. The topic emptied thematically, and participants began to use it primarily to write or print birthday or nameday greetings for each other in a given situation (this became almost a ceremony and on request, "topic cheering" became a kind of concept in this medium. All this explains why the role of speech acts in discourse has become prominent. In the PM sample, 8% of the reflections on the vehicle are also related to this phenomenon (see also the quote above): participants themselves often debated the function and the process of the topic. Obviously, it would be worthwhile to have an analysis of metapragmatic signals that compares the initial, substantive, and final, vacant stages of the discourse.

Thus, comparing the two samples with the highest proportion of metapragmatic signals, it can be seen that the SH sample shows a large number of realizations according to the genre, rather in the reflections on the referencial scene and the PM sample on the joint attentionial scene. However, two types are common: discourse markers and reflections on the mental activity of the speakers. Desemantized discourse markers presumably play a very important role in the organization of a wide variety of discourses, regardless of genre, in different proportions. However, the high number of reflections on the mental activity of the speaker is presumably a feature of Internet-mediated discourses. As I mentioned above, it becomes extremely important for fundamentally unknown and invisible participants to explicitly account for their beliefs, thoughts, and so on. It is also important to note that among these metapragmatic reflections, there are some that become desemantized and they can be considered discourse markers, for example: *I think,* or for the recipient: *you know*.

7. Conclusion

The aim of the study was to detect types of metapragmatic signals in samples of two Internet-mediated genres, spontaneous written conversation and narrative storytelling, and to compare their proportions. The results of the comparison did not fully support the preliminary assumptions. Metapragmatic signals are clearly present in high numbers in both samples, so they can be considered as relevant genre-specific features, but with no characteristic differences in their elaboration. Both discourses contain linguistically elaborated examples as well as fully desemantized realizations, with transitions between the two that can be understood as a continuum. However, the patterns of metapragmatic signals in the narrative and conversational genres also differ greatly. In storytelling, these signals appear mostly at the beginning of the story, reflecting on the joint attentional scene as a kind of contextualizing element, and the large number of reflections referring to the referencial scene are mostly discourse markers and discourse deixis that organize storytelling. We can say that metapragmatic signals appear as background elements in storytelling. In contrast, in the spontaneous conversation, they are much more in the foreground, they constantly play a role at every point of the conversation, they organize the conversation. Reflections on the linguistic and mental activity of the speaker or recipient have a more dominant function, as this type of Internet-mediated conversation is highly organised according to conversational patterns, along group dynamics and participant roles.

Acknowledgements

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FREQUENCY AND TYPES OF INDIRECT REQUESTS IN HUNGARIAN

Agnieszka Veres-Guśpiel

Jagiellonian University
agnieszka.veres-guspiel@uj.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0032-7359

Abstract

The paper presents the frequency and types of illocutionary metonymy in Hungarian directives in various social contexts, taking into account the evoked elements of the request scenarios. The recognized and construed social relations have an impact not only on addressive forms but also on the appearance of other elements such as indirectness and its scalarity, which clearly shows that human language activity reflects the physical and social worlds of the intersubjective context (cf. Verschueren 1999).

Indirect directives are based on illocutionary metonymic scenarios (Panther–Thornburg 1998) and by evoking a part of the scenario referring to the core action, they give access to the illocutionary scenario domain. The scalar nature of indirectness (Panther–Thornburg 1997, 1999, 2007) depends on the number of evoked elements and their conceptual distance from the core of the request. As the gathered material shows, social context has an impact not only on indirectness of the request but also its structure and type.

The paper, based on a discourse completion test conducted among Hungarian data providers, presents not only the frequency of particular types of illocutionary indirectness in specific social contexts but also analyses the most frequent strategies attested by Hungarian data, taking into consideration their type and place in the illocutionary request scenario and compares the social contexts of indirectness with the social context of direct directives. The analysis of material gathered by a discourse completion test shows a correlation between social context and directness in requests in Hungarian, also highlighting the practices of being indirect by using hints, referring to common background knowledge, and employing conventional indirect requests.

Keywords: social contexts, indirectness, illocutionary metonymy, illocutionary scenarios

1. Introduction

Based on Hungarian data, the paper presents the frequency of illocutionary metonymy in directives in various social contexts, evoked by various elements of request scenarios and analyses the types of appearing request scenarios. The adopted perspective takes into account the socio-cultural situatedness of language activity (Croft 2009), since grammatical constructions and operations are manifestations of domain-general cognitive abilities (Tátrai 2013: 199) and knowledge about our social world.

As human language activity is understood in social interaction, and at the same time as social interaction, the recognized and construed social relations have an impact on the usage of addressive forms, often understood as main markers of linguistic politeness. Nevertheless, as the presented research shows, social context has an impact on the appearance of indirectness and its scalarity. Indirectness in directives is based on illocutionary metonymic scenarios (Panther–Thornburg 1998). By referring to the part – but not to the core – of the scenario, access is granted to the scenario domain, and the indirect request can be contextualized in the frames of the referred scenario (for more on the role of domains in metonymy, see Croft 1993).

Depending on the part of the scenario being evoked, directives may be based on the BEFORE, CORE, or AFTER metonymy. In the gathered material, both in Polish and Hungarian, the majority of indirect requests is based on the BEFORE metonymy. When being direct the data providers referred to the CORE of the scenario.

The scalarity of indirectness (Panther–Thornburg 1998, 1999, 2007; Thornburg–Panther 1997), is governed by the accessibility of the scenario domain – the more accessible it is, the clearer and more evident the request is perceived, leaving a small possibility of other interpretations of the speaker's intentions. The scenario domain's accessibility in turn depends on the number of evoked elements and the conceptual distance of elements from the core. As the presented research shows, referring to the most distant parts of the domain could be observed in distant social relations, and when the request was perceived as a big and difficult one. However, the accessibility of the domain does not only depend on how we place the scenario evoked in the request in terms of the request scenario, but also on how mentally distant a given element is. This mental distance can be shaped by language-specific language conventions, conventional and frequent use of a given type of indirect request, but also but the shared knowledge and experiences of participants. This question will be analysed in more detailed way in the analytic part of the paper (Section 4).

The paper, by presenting the types of illocutionary metonymy appearing in various social contexts, shows that the understood and construed social context correlates not only with the addressive forms being adopted and the use of grammatical person but also on other aspects of the request such as its indirectness, showing also – depending on the social context – patterns in the use of various types of indirectness (for the interaction of metonymy and grammar see: Brdar–Brdar-Szabó 2017: 126–149).

As human language activity consists in social interaction, the recognized and construed social relations have an impact on the usage of addressive forms, oftentimes understood as main markers of linguistic politeness. Nevertheless, as the presented research shows, social context has an impact on the appearance of indirectness, its type and number of supportive strategies.

2. Research method and preliminary remarks

The research is based on data elicited from Hungarian informants (aged 19 to 35, total number of L1 data providers: 44) in their L1 by a discourse completion test. The test contained 9 different situations, with socio-culturally diverse situations, adding up to a total of 28 situations. The collected data (1232 answers in total) was analysed regarding the types, number, frequency and social context of instances of illocutionary metonymy in directives.

The informants were aged 19 to 35. 90.7% of Hungarian women had finished secondary education, and 9.3% of Hungarians had completed higher education.

Table 1. Number and education level of participants

L1	HUNGARIAN			
GENDER	WOMEN		MEN	
education level	secondary	higher	secondary	higher
Number of participants	30	2	9	2
Percentage	69.8	4.65	20.9	4.65

The social relations differed in terms of hierarchy (boss, teacher), acquaintanceship (stranger, acquaintance, friend) and family bonds (sibling, mother, mother-in-law, grandmother). The analysed directives also differed in terms of the type of request.

The discourse completion test (DCT) was filled in by participants on hard copies, within a specified time frame (45 minutes), and was designed to examine conventional linguistic knowledge in recurring contexts. As in other questionnaire-type tests, the more conventional was the given situation the more similar answers were given, which shows that DCT's examine conventional employment of language in conventional social contexts. The aim of the study was to examine types of indirectness appearing in Hungarian requests, and their hypothetical co-occurrence in conventional social

contexts. The repetitiveness of the context was provided by DCT, and the need to employ the most mentally accessible devices in a given social context was reinforced by the time limit.

The research was driven by the research questions presented below:

- What types of indirectness appear in Hungarian request?
- Is there a co-occurrence of given type of indirectness and social context?
- In what social context direct request appear?
- And if indirectness/directness shows correlation with social context can it be considered as social marker in our linguistic activity?

The paper presents answers gathered among Hungarian data providers, nevertheless the analogical DCT was taken among Polish data providers, so the appearance of indirectness and its co-occurrence with social context can be examined in other languages, as using metonymical structures in language and thought are commonly used in human activity.

As the research by Csató and Pléh (1988) showed that the type of request had an impact on the appearance of indirectness in the analysis the answers were classified for the types of directive (asking for an object, or making an effort), furthermore they were classified in terms of the directness/indirectness, and conventionality of used indirectness. In the next step happened the analysis of the type of the employed non-conventional indirectness and its consequences in terms of construing. The occurrence and frequency of given types of the requests was analysed in various social to verify the hypothetical co-occurrence of the type on the request and social context.

3. Indirectness as metonymic structure in requests

The main interest of presented paper are metonymical structures in Hungarian request and their co-occurrence with social context. Indirectness in our language activity has a crucial role in expressing the metonymic nature of our thinking. Metonymy (similarly to metaphor) is one of the basic conceptual and linguistic figures of thought and language (Panther–Thornburg 2017: 275; Panther–Thornburg 2011: 239; Panther–Radden 1999; Barcelona 2000), which is present not only in language activity but also in interpreting meanings in general (Panther–Thornburg 2007). In the processes of metonymy, one entity in a conceptual domain is reached through another entity (Langacker 1993: 30; see also: Kövecses 2005: 149; and Kövecses–Radden 1998: 21). Metonymic structures build relations within conceptual domains so that the target content can be reached through another element, the source content. The relation's strength is subject to variation, with the distance between the two elements determining to what extent the source element is salient (Panther–Thornburg 2011: 242). Language activity is perceived here as social cognitive activity, and as the perception of social context has an impact on our linguistic choices the arising question is whether the social context has an influence on indirectness, and if so, what is its type and frequency. Therefore the main topic of the study is not requests as a directive speech act, but the appearance of indirectness in them as a marker of perception of our social word (for the link between politeness and indirectness, see Wierzbicka 1991; Blum-Kulka 1987, 1989)

The classification of speech acts is not always easy since illocutionary force is often defined by the speaker's intention (Sadock 2006: 53), which can often be associated with conventional devices for given community. Speech acts, including directives, can be implemented with sentences belonging to different sentence types. Moreover, the sentence types belonging to each type belong to conventional constructions that are related to a conventional speech action value (Croft 1994; Goldberg 1998, 2006; König–Siemund 2007; Sadock–Zwicky 1985). The sentence type expressing a given speech act value involves typical constructive solutions in a typical social context. These solutions are language-specific, but for the given type show common features in terms of indirectness, supportive strategies, epistemic uncertainty, and the fact that their elaboration shows typical connections with the social context.

In the gathered material the purpose of the utterance is to make a recipient act in such a way that is expected by the speaker, and in such terms − regarding illocutionary force − that should be understood as matching the speaker's intention (see also: Szili 2004) − therefore utterances gathered in the discourse completion test should be regarded as directives. For the prupose of the study regarding the requests, I will make a few brief remarks only. With regard to requests one should take into account their elaboration − the extent to which the request is elaborated (addressive forms, preparatory strategies, supportive strategies), and in what way it is elaborated (indirectness, lexical choices, expressed epistemic uncertainness, conventionality). The presented paper is focused on in indirectness in request and its co-occurrence with social context. Requests were used on purpose, since if one wants to be successful with his/her request s/he should take into consideration social context by employing the most appropriate linguistic expressions, including the construction of the request. The second factor that can have an impact on the form of a directive is the weight of the request (Csató−Pléh 1989; Pléh 2012). The request is perceived as bigger if the investment of time or effort in fulfilling it is considered to be big, or smaller if the investment of time or energy needed to fulfil the request is smaller. While considering the weight of the request, the speaker takes into account his/her socio-cultural knowledge about what one can ask in the given type of relation and whether this kind of request is conventional in a given situation.

Indirect requests do not express the intention of the speaker in an obvious way but rather through metonymic structures which refer to the intended action, relying on elements from the script associated with the request. Characteristically for metonymy, one of the elements activates (in varying degrees of strength) the script of the action, depending on how far conceptually it is in a conceptual frame (see Panther−Thornburg 2011: 256). Conventionally, indirect requests are also based on metonymic relations; in Hungarian, they involve the *tud* ('can') auxiliary verb and conditional mood. When making requests, the speaker should take into account the character of his or her social relation with the addressee and the type of request. Depending on the type, fulfilling it demands various amounts of energy, time or money. In the case of an information request, the amount of invested energy is relatively small; this type requires verbal action and the sharing of information from the speech partner. In the research presented here, the sharing of information − on the whereabouts of a fitting room and a street − did not have any strategic value. In the case of asking for value, the addressee had to give or lend something and in the case of asking for a favour, he or she had to make a time and energy investment.

Panther and Thornburg do not only discuss predicative, propositional, or referential metonymy (Panther−Thornburg 2011: 246−247). In a series of other papers (Panther−Thornburg 1998, 1999, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009) they state that metonymy appears also at the speech act level, which they call illocutionary metonymy. An indirect speech act presents one of the parts of the scenario for a given speech act, and depending on which part is presented, the BEFORE, CORE, or AFTER type indirect speech act is adopted.

Depending on which part of the scenario is being represented, that before the requested action (BEFORE), that after the action (AFTER) or a part of the action itself (CORE), a BEFORE, CORE or AFTER indirectness appears. When asking about ability (e.g. *Can you pass the salt, please?*), an indirect metonymic structure is presented in such a way that the BEFORE part of the scenario is highlighted, where we assume an ability to execute an action.

If the speech act contains more elements of a given scenario, the target is more easily identified, and it is easier to understand the intention of the speaker. That is why indirectness should be considered as a scalar phenomenon, as it varies in extent, it has a scalar nature (Panther−Thornburg 1998: 768). It is plausible to assume that the extent to which supportive strategies are involved in evoking elements of an action scenario will have an impact on how the indirectness of the utterance is perceived.

This is because meaning, including discursive meaning, is presented through frames (Fillmore [1982] 2006), ICMs (Lakoff 1987) and scenarios (Panther−Thornburg 1998:756). The scenarios are built up from elements that are in metonymic relation with the entire scenario, and the elements that create a connection between the whole scenario and the evoked elements build up the context

of the utterance. Also, it is important to mention that during socialization, through experience, we learn a variety of scenarios, and thus the interpretation of indirect acts is connected with identifying a proper scenario by the speaker and the addressee. These scenarios contain sets of actions combined with typical (language-specific) language activity.

As Panther and Thornburg argue in several papers, the scalarity of indirectness is also governed by the place of the element in the illocutionary scenario, a model of which is presented below:

H CAN DO A

NO GOOD REASONS FOR H NOT TO DO A   S WANTS H TO DO A   BEFORE

S ASKS H TO DO A   CORE: ILL ACT t_0

H IS UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO DO A   RESULTANT OBLIGATION

H IS WILLING TO DO A   RESULTANT WILLINGNESS

H WILL DO A   AFTER

T

S = Speaker
H = Hearer
A = Action
t_0 = Utterance time
T = Time axis
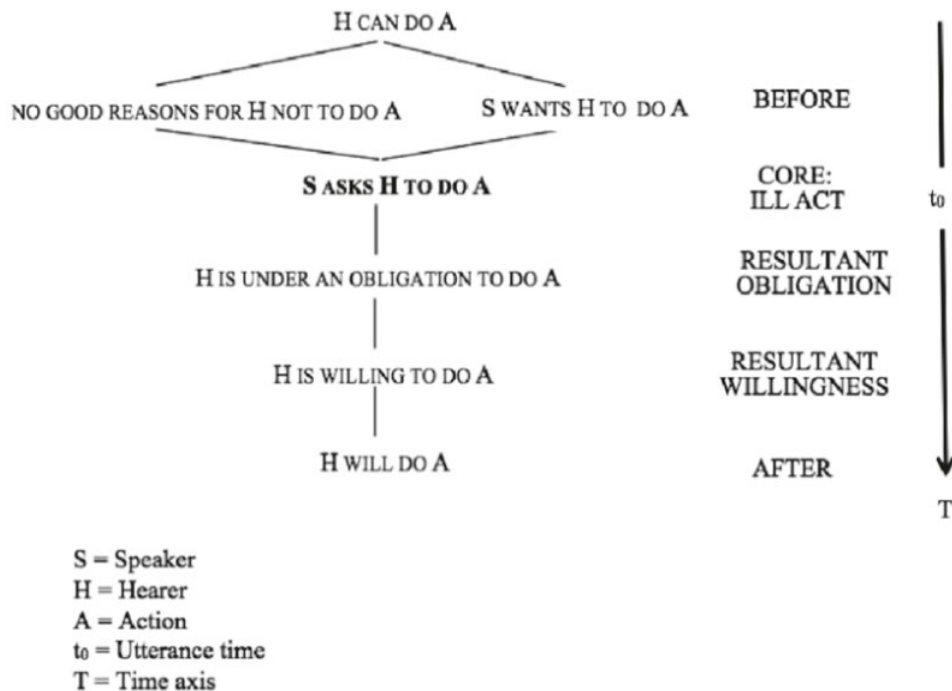
Figure 1. Illocutionary frame of the request (Panther–Thornburg 2017: 282)

The scalarity in their model depends on whether the evoked element is closer to or more distant from the CORE of the scenario, and the closer it is to the core, the more easily it is accessed, in this way reducing the extent of indirectness. Also a higher number of evoked elements of the request scenario will make it more accessible, easier to identify, and thus less indirect.

The metonymic structures appearing in utterances evoke a part of the scenario, namely the part preceding the action (BEFORE type indirectness), the consequences of the action (AFTER), or the action itself (CORE). This is why the metonymic structure of asking about ability *(Could you pass the salt?)* highlights the fact that in the scenario of fulfilment there should be an ability to do the requested action in the first place.

In the results presented below, the main strategies concentrated on the presence of the needed item *(Nincs egy fölösleges jegyed?* Eng. *Do you have a spare ticket?),* asking about ability (using auxiliary verbs both in Polish and in Hungarian), mentioning that there is no good reason not to give/pass the item, or no good reason not to carry out the requested action, so indirectness was based on the conditions of fulfilling the scenario, in other words, the BEFORE type indirectness played a dominant role.

The CORE type directives are realized as direct ones, with the speaker asking the addressee to do something for him/her without using metonymic structures. E.g.:

(1) Adjál egy ezrest!
　　'Give me one thousand!'

(2) Kapcsod ki a zenét!
'Switch off the music!'

The research shows that this strategy was used in the case of small social distance, mainly among friends, provided that the nature of request was not perceived as a big one or potentially offensive one. The CORE type strategy is based on expressing obligation *(must, should, mustn't, shouldn't)*, and it did not appear in the collected material (answers provided by Hungarians data providers). Predicative metonymy, based on the expression of obligation *(must)*, ability *(can, could)* or permission *(to be allowed)* is productive in English or German but its application in Hungarian is much more limited (Panther–Thornburg 2017: 281).

In Hungarian answers, the AFTER type metonymy did not appear at all. Panther and Thornburg (2017: 282–283) mention only one strategy in this type, in which the addressee is going to give the requested item to the speaker (realized by *will, won't, would, wouldn't* auxiliary).

It should be mentioned, however, that understanding indirect directives containing metonymic structures requires not only accessing the domain of the illocutionary scenario but also that the speaker and the addressee, relying on shared socio-cultural and contextual knowledge, should access the same scenarios, so they can identify each others' intentions (for more on identifying intentions, see Tomasello 2016: 33–54; Gazzaniga [2008] 2011), which are crucial for identifying the type of speech act (Tátrai 2017) and accessing the right scenario. This mental accessibility is not only governed by where we can place a request on the above presented request scenario schema, but also by mutually shared knowledge and experiences of the participants. If, for example, one is driving with his/her friend and does not like the music, they can say:

(3) Oh, not Dankó radio again!

When the participants share mutual knowledge, the meaning of this utterance will be clear for the other participant, and he/she can switch off the radio or change the music without being directly asked to do it. The mutual knowledge, that is, that the participant cannot stand Dankó radio, enables him/her to interpret this linguistic behaviour as an indirect request and leads him/her to action. In the used example other elements express negative attitude, but with mutually shared, well-entrenched knowledge the participants will be able to adequately interpret an utterance such as (4) as well.

(4) Oh, Dankó radio!

Being indirect is not only the representation of our metonymic way of thinking but it should also be considered as a politeness strategy. When using an indirect speech act, the speaker can still be understood while also giving the addressee more space. In particular, the latter can react in such a way as if he or she had understood the utterance differently (in some cases directly) and in this way the addressee with his or her reaction can override the intended meaning, which can save him or her from saying "no".

The outcome of the research shows that the appearance of indirect directives correlates with social context – the number of indirect directives increased when social distance between speech partners increased, and when fulfilling the request demanded more (energy or value) investment. Politeness here is not understood in the way presented in Brown and Levinson's (1987) work, but rather as being adequate in a given social context (Watts 2003; Watts–Locher 2005). The received answers show that metonymic structures appear in specific patterns depending on the social context of the directive.

The same request is differently formulated in different social contexts and social context has an influence on the type of indirectness, so its appearance should also correlate with the use of T/V, where T stands for second person singular forms of verbs, and V for third person singular forms of verbs and associated addressive forms; for more on this distinction see Wardhaugh ([1995] 2005: 233–256). As Veres-Guśpiel (2017) shows, a correlation between social distance, the

use of T/V forms, and the appearance of indirectness can be experienced not only in Hungarian but also in Polish (Veres-Guśpiel 2017: 75–78). Their occurrence depends on social context, as shown below with percentage data. The figures show the occurrence and type of indirect directives used when informants asked for a bus ticket (Figures no. 2 and 3) and when they were supposed to ask the listener to stop smoking (Figure no. 4 and 5). The above mentioned is illustrated with Figures 2 and 3, and Figures 4 and 5.

When the speaker was asking for a spare ticket, direct requests appeared only when the addressee was a friend, in the rest of cases indirect BEFORE requests were used.
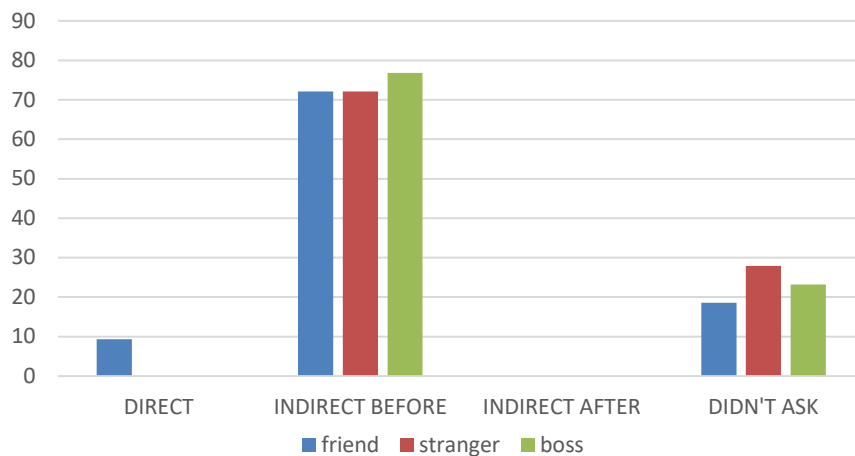
Figure 2. Asking for a ticket (%)

As the next figure shows, the supportive strategies rarely appeared in the case of direct requests, and when used with indirect requests their rate increased when the social distance grew between participants.
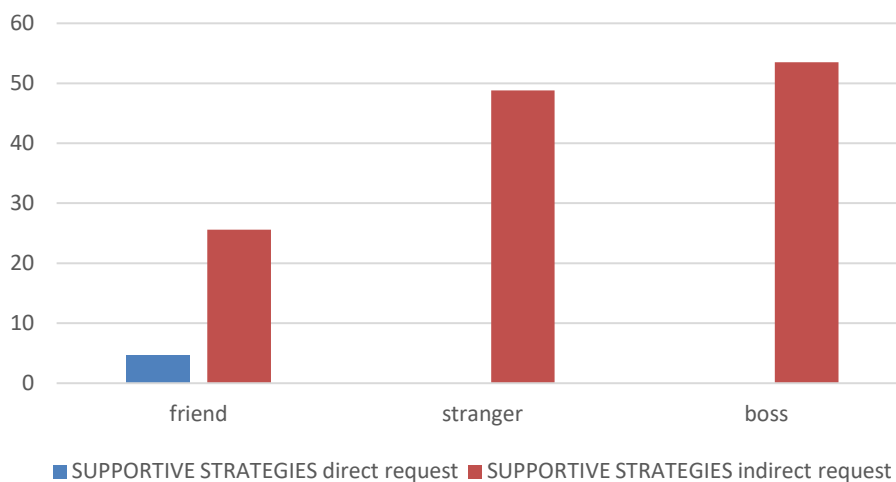
Figure 3. Supportive strategies when asking for a ticket (%)

In the second presented situation (when data providers were to ask someone to stop smoking), the direct request appeared in relations in which T addressive forms were used and V forms as well, nevertheless in the case of V addressive forms a smaller number of data providers decided to make any remark. The supportive strategies once again appeared more frequently in the case of indirect request (see Figure 5).
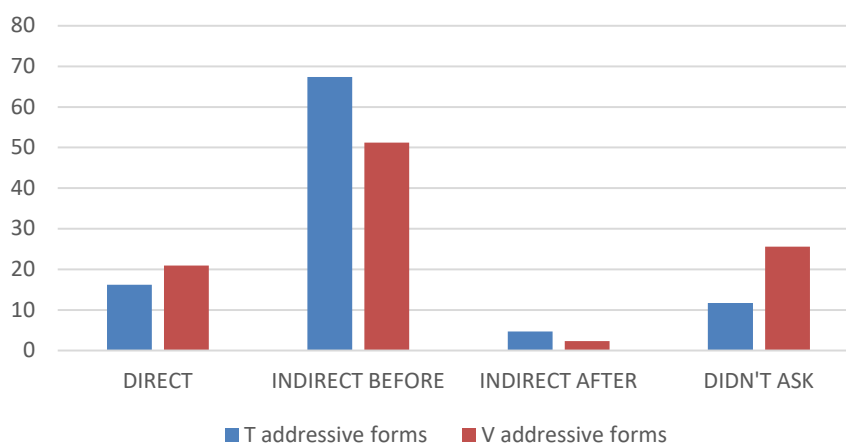
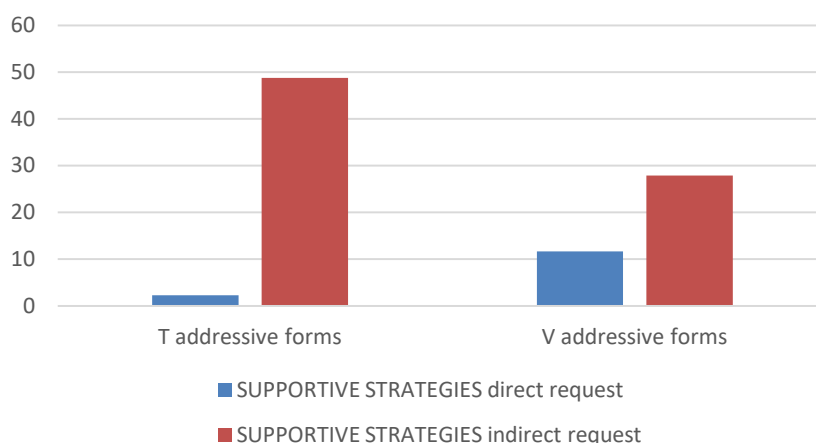**Figure 4.** Asking someone to stop smoking (%)

Figure 5. Supportive strategies for asking someone to stop smoking (%)

Initial data show that dependencies can be experienced between social context, nature of request and its construction.

A further remark that should be made at this point is that, as previous research has shown (Blum-Kulka–Olshtain 1984), the structure of a given speech act is language-specific, and so the type of illocutionary indirectness and also its appearance may vary cross-linguistically. As indirectness is based on evoking one or more elements of the request scenario, the way of our linguistic socialization will have an impact on how we interpret a given element in context – if our addressee can access similar scenarios, s/he can interpret it in accordance with our intentions. Nevertheless, interpretation can be influenced by one's own mental world and other contextual factors depending on which element of experience-based knowledge is activated.

Before presenting detailed results, a few general remarks are in order. According to the research data, the number of non-conventionally indirect directives increased with social distance and the weight of the request. Being direct was restricted only to close social relations (e.g. friend, sibling, mother). In Hungarian, however, the most conventional way for asking for something is to adopt the *tud* auxiliary verb, and thus this kind of request can be regarded as a conventional indirect request. As the object of a request gets more unconventional or the request itself can be perceived as a big one, the rate of this strategy decreases and we see more diversity in answers regarding types of request.

Conventional indirect directives appeared in typical social relations and social situations, non-conventional indirectness and hinting appeared in the case of non-typical requests, in both close and distant social relations, or requests perceived as face-threatening. Finally, hinting was based on evoking the very first elements of the scenario or a condition of fulfilling it and often relied on shared contextual knowledge.

4. Results

The gathered material has been analysed and presented accordingly to the results of Csató–Pléh (1988), taking into consideration the weight of the request and the social context of the request. As for the types of request, one group was formed by requests of an item, value (bus ticket, loan and key), the second category was formed by requests that had a potentially face-threatening character (asking someone to stop smoking or to switch off the radio) and the third group were requests of favour (handing over a letter and proofreading). The first group of the request needed a sort of financial investment, the second one (FTA request) could be potentially hurtful for the addressee, and the third one was connected with energy and time investment. In each category, requests differed in terms of the how much efforts should be invested to fulfil the request, or how much they can be considered as face-threatening. In each situation, the same request was made in various social contexts evoking close and distant relationships based on solidarity and hierarchy as well.

4.1. Directness in Hungarian

Before presenting the appearance of indirect directives in Hungarian answers, it is worth taking a look at what social context directness appears in.

In the Hungarian material, direct requests did not have a high share and appeared in specific situations. In the case of asking for an item, they appeared when speakers were requesting it from a relative (mother: 35%, sibling: 44.3%), grandmother: 25.6%, but only 6.8% in the case of a mother-in-law. What is more, the numbers presented above show that the number of direct requests decreased as social distance increased.

When asking for a favour, direct requests appear when the speaker is asking a friend to change the music in the car (39%), asking friends to stop smoking in a non-smoking train compartment (41%) and asking a friend to proofread a translation (16%).

This shows that direct requests appear with small social distance (friend), and close family relations (sibling, mother). Not only Hungarian data but also Polish data show that when choosing whether to be direct or indirect the social distance plays a crucial role (for a detailed cross-linguistic comparison, see Veres-Guśpiel 2020) and has a similar impact on frequency of in/directness. When analysing indirectness, one should not only take into consideration the proportion of direct and indirect requests, but also types of indirectness scenarios appearing in various social contexts. Close relations are often characterized by mutually shared knowledge, and that is why being indirect can exploit this shared knowledge at the same time also highlighting the discourse partners' relation and sense of community, especially in such situations when the request can be potentially perceived as hurtful or invasive.

Although the paper focuses on indirectness, it should be said that in the analysed material direct requests – in a small rate – also appeared. In requests for an item or value (loan, bus ticket, key), the social context and the nature of request had a big impact on being/not being direct. In requests for a loan, direct requests appeared in a small rate (4,5%) and only in the case of close relations (friend – 4,5%, acquaintance – 4,5%). In requests for a bus ticket, direct request appeared when addressed to a friend (9%). In the case of asking for a value or item, direct requests appeared with the biggest frequency in family relations. Age gap had a clear impact on their frequency – when asking their grandmother, 25% of data providers used direct request, whilst when asking their mother, 43,2% employed direct requests. The second factor that had an influence on their frequency was the type of family bond and associated distance – when asking their mother-in-law, only 6,8% of

responders used a direct form, while when asking a grandmother 25% and with a sibling 34%. Other studies (Veres-Guśpiel 2017) show that in Hungarian, age is a social factor that also has an impact on how we interpret the virtual use of WE in requests, so age gap between participants is potentially significantly influencing our understanding of the social world.

In requests for a favour, direct requests appeared between friends (39% asking someone to change the music, 41% asking someone to stop smoking), and when a request was connected with obeying the rules (asking someone to stop smoking in a non-smoking area). In this case it appeared also in requests directed at a stranger (13.6%), teacher (11.4%) and a boss (6.8%). Although the request was justified by general rules, the data show that not only social distance had an impact on being direct/indirect, but also relations of dominance. In the case of favours that demanded an investment of time and energy, direct requests appeared in a small rate when the speaker was asking someone to give back a letter (young speaker and an elderly neighbour 2.3%-2.3%), and more frequently when they were asking someone to proofread a translation – 15.9% of data providers were direct when asking a friend, and 11.4 when asking a teacher addressed with T forms, and 4.5% when asking a teacher addressed with V forms.

Based on these data it should be said that direct requests appear mainly in close social relations, and often when a speaker has justification to make the request (direct requests appeared most frequently when the speaker was asking someone to stop smoking in a non-smoking area), which shows that directness often appears when a speaker can perceive a directive as an instruction.

4.2. Social context and types of indirectness

In the gathered material, indirect requests played a dominant role, and in the case of Hungarian the BEFORE type of request was typical. In the presented work, I do not analyse the prevalence of the supportive strategies. However, it can be observed that in various social contexts the supportive strategies appear in different percentages, indicating certain tendency patterns.

4.2.1. Asking for an item, value

In two situations, the data providers were to ask for a small loan (from a friend and a teacher acquaintance), for a bus ticket at a bus stop (from a friend, a stranger and a boss), and for a key to the apartment (from their mother, sibling, grandmother and mother-in-law).

When asking for the item (bus ticket, key), the most frequent strategy was an indirect request. The most conventional device involves the *tud* 'can' auxiliary verb and a conditional suffix, expressing uncertainty as to whether one's partner will be willing to fulfill the request.

(5) Tudnál nekem adni egy jegyet?
    'Could you give me a ticket?'

(6) Tudnál adni jegyet?
    'Could you give a ticket?'

This conventionally indirect strategy introduces the condition of fulfilling the request. As this is the most typical way of requesting in Hungarian, the accessibility of the request meaning is high, but also as it is one of the most conventional ways, it can be perceived as the most neutral and thus adequate when asking a stranger about whom the utterer has a limited knowledge.

When asking for a ticket at a bus stop, the informants asked if the addressee had a spare ticket (stranger: 27.3%, boss: 36.4%, friend: 43.2%).

(7) Elnézést, nincs egy felesleges jegye?
    'Excuse me, don't you have a spare ticket?

(8) Ne haragudjon. Nincs véletlenül egy felesleges jegye?
    'Excuse me. Don't you have a spare ticket by any chance?'

This strategy differs in some ways from the above-mentioned one – first of all the utterer asks about having a ticket, so the physical condition of fulfilling the request. Considering the request scenario this strategy should be placed just before the very starting point on the presented schema (Panther–Thornburg 2017: 282). It is worth adding that in the case of asking for a ticket from a boss such preparatory and supportive strategies appear as giving a reason, saying that one does not have a ticket and has no possibility to buy one, or promising to give back its price.

Being indirect and asking the addressee about having a ticket, the speaker gives the opportunity for the hearer to deny fulfilling the request just by saying that he/she does not have one. When s/he is willing to fulfil the request, the discourse partner creates a sense of solidarity not only by handing over the ticket or giving a loan but also by the request's adequate interpretation.

When informants asked for a key to the apartment, in close family relations (mother, sibling), direct requests appeared (mother: 43.2%, sibling: 34%), and when the distance grew, attention was directed onto the speaker with the expression *elkérhetem* ('May I ask'), which is by its form drawing attention to the first person. This expression also involves the *-hat/-het* morpheme used when asking for permission, and is used normally by a person in asymmetrical social relations (younger to older, children to parents, student to teacher, etc.).

(9) Csókolom! Elkérhetem az X néni kulcsát egy kis időre? Nagyon fontos lenne... Az enyémet odaadtam...
'Good morning! May I ask for a key for a little time? I would be really important... I have lent mine...'

(10) Ne haragudjon, kölcsönkérhetném a kulcsát addig, amíg vissza nem kapom a sajátomat?
'Excuse meg, may I ask for a key till I get back mine?'

This strategy also is an indirect BEFORE strategy pointing not only to the person of the speaker and should be placed just at the beginning of the request illocutionary scenario since the speaker asks if s/he can pose a question. As it can be seen in other situations, this type of indirectness appears mainly in social contexts characterized by larger distance.

The *tud* ('can') verb plus conditional was the most frequent choice in requests for a loan (friend: 45.5%, acquaintance: 41%), or when the social distance was regarded as fairly large (mother-in-law, asking for a key: 34%). What should be said, though, is that this construction appeared in similar rates (between 23% and 34%) in the case of close family relationships (mother and siblings). The second most popular strategy was a direct request and in the case of larger social distance (mother-in-law). Then came the *elkérhetem* 'may I ask' expression. This shows that the conditional form of *tud* ('can') can be used in various social contexts and can be perceived as a neutral device.
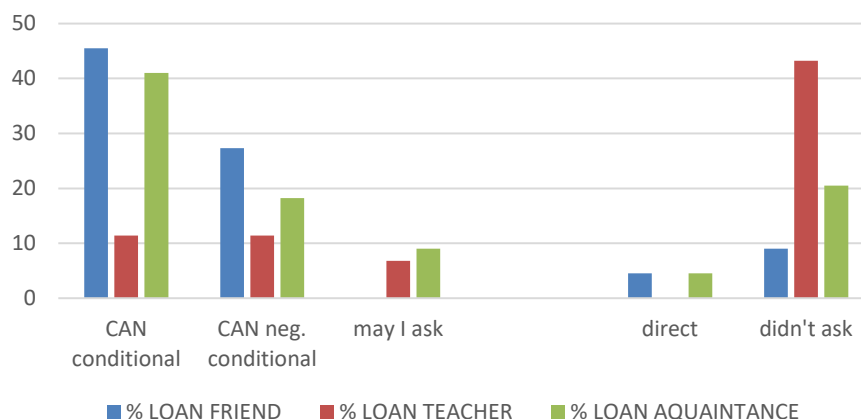

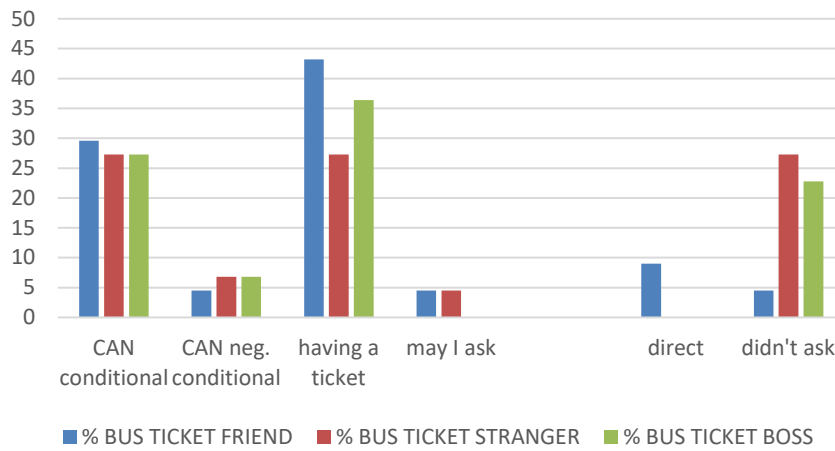**Figure 6.** Asking for a loan – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)

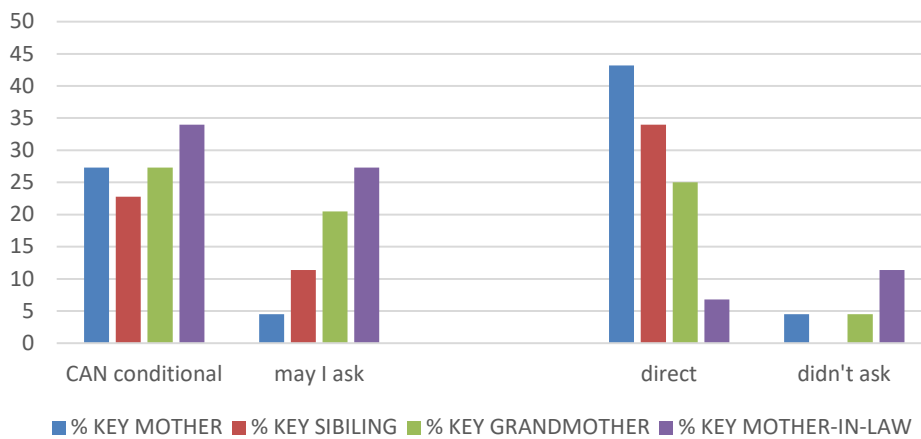**Figure 7.** Asking for a bus ticket – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)

Figure 8. Asking for a key – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)

To summarize, direct requests typically appeared in the case of small social distance, a high amount of shared background knowledge, and close family relations. Social relations had an impact on expressing uncertainty regarding fulfilling the request, at the same time expressing various expectations if the request could/should be fulfilled. In the case of typically smaller social distance, the expression of uncertainty decreased, and in the event of larger distance, it grew.

4.2.2. FTA (Face-Threatening Act) type of request

In the first of two requests considered next, data providers were to ask their friend, acquaintance, boss and teacher to change the music or switch off the radio in a car, which is connected with expressing displeasure and questioning another person's taste. By violating the addressee's self-esteem, choice or taste, these can be considered as FTAs – face- threatening acts (Brown–Levinson 1987). In the second situation, the participants were to ask a friend, stranger, boss, and teacher to stop smoking in a non-smoking area, and in this situation, they had to point to the fact that the other person was violating the rules.
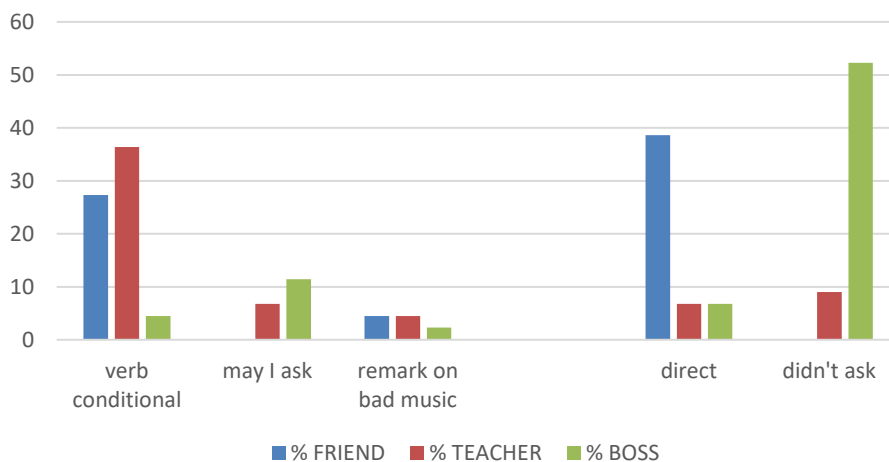
Figure 9. Asking someone to change the music – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)
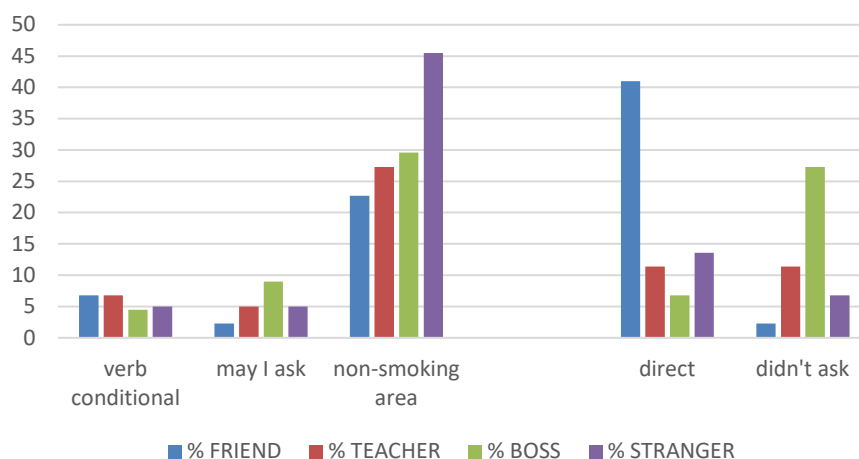

Figure 10. Asking someone to stop smoking – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)

Both requests can be regarded as FTA requests, as they show our displeasure with the behaviour of the addressee. In this case, direct requests appeared in interactions with friends (music: 39%, smoking: 41%). When asking a teacher or a stranger to stop smoking, the number of direct requests was over 10%, but here it has to be added that the speaker had justification to ask for it, as it was a non-smoking area. These types of directives were perceived as awkward and it is shown also that several informants decided to stay silent, especially when hierarchical relations came into consideration (boss, teacher).

The second strategy that appeared was the use of *tud* ('can') in conditional mood and often in first person plural (*Why couldn't we...*), which appeared when the speaker was asking someone to change the music. It was characteristic of the situations where both the speaker and the addressee were in the same closed space, but the action itself should be executed by one person only (preferably the owner of the car), so first plural person was used in a virtual manner (Veres-Guśpiel 2017), and it was a way to express solidarity with the other person and mentally incorporate him/her in the action. This mental incorporation not only expresses solidarity but also implies that both the speaker and the addressee have the same interests.

(11) Nem hallgathatnánk másik zenét?
    'Couldn't we listen to some other music?'

(12) Bocsi, nem hallgathatnánk valami mást?
    'Sorry, couldn't we listen to something else?

When addressing their boss, a case of increased social distance, informants once more resorted to the *megkérhetem, hogy* expression ('May I ask') (11.4%). This strategy appears when the social distance grows and complying with the request is considered difficult. Hence, this context is similar to the case when the data providers were to ask for keys. This tendency can be observed also in the next situation.

The data providers were to make a remark expressing that the other person was violating the rules. The most popular strategy was to state that the compartment was a non-smoking compartment, i.e. they pointed at the very first element of the speech act scenario. As the social distance grew, this strategy was more frequent (friend – 22.7%, teacher (T) 27.3%, boss – 29.6%, stranger 45.5%). The *megkérhetem, hogy* ('May I ask') expression also appeared in requests directed at a boss (9%).

4.2.3. Asking for a favour

In the next two situations, participants had to ask someone to check a few pages of translation, which required the investment of time and effort (from a friend, a teacher addressed with T address forms, and a teacher addressed with V forms), and to ask for a letter that has fallen on the neighbour's balcony (here the variants concerned the age of the neighbour – young, elderly and middle-aged).
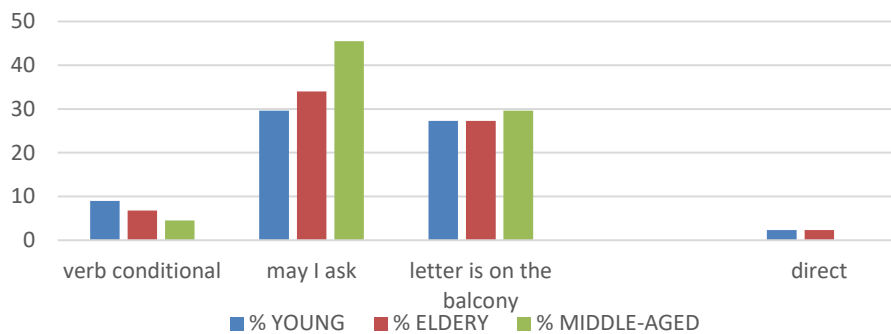
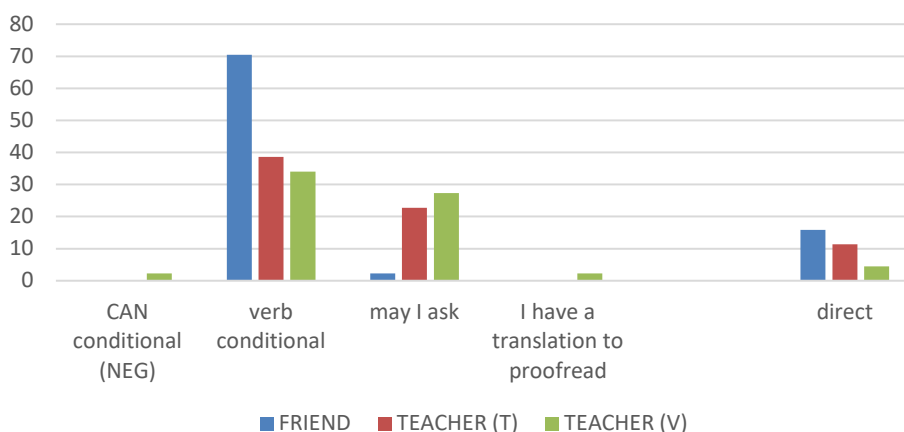**Figure 11.** Asking for a letter – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)

Figure 12. Asking for proofreading – the most popular strategies (%) (Hungarian)

In the first situation, one of the most popular strategies was to say that the letter has fallen down, and it was used in similar rates in each case (26-30%).

> (13) Bocsi, az erkélyetekre leesett egy levelem.
>   'Sorry, my letter has fallen down on your balcony'

> (14) Szia! Ne haragudj, leesett egy fontos levél az erkélyetekre...
>   'Hi, my bad, an important letter has fallen down on your balcony…'

The second most popular strategy was to make a request by using the *megkérhetem, hogy* ('May I ask that…') expression and its frequency grew with the age difference (and in fact, it surpassed the frequency of stating that the letter had fallen down when the neighbour was older than the informant). A similar tendency can be seen in the case of asking someone to proofread a translation (2nd person singular verb in conditional: friend: 70.5%, teacher (T address forms): 38.6%, teacher (V address forms): 34%). The *megkérhetlek* ('May I ask you…') form had a ratio of 2.3% in requests directed at a friend, 22.3% in utterances targeted at a teacher (T address forms), and 27.3% when the addressee was a teacher with whom the speaker uses V address forms.

> (15) Megkérhetlek, hogy nézd át a fordításomat?
>   literal translation: Eng. May I ask you to proofread my translation?

> (16) Megkérhetném, hogy nézze át a fordításomat?
>   literal translation: Eng. May I ask you Sir to proofread my translation?

The frequency of direct requests deceased as social distance grew: friend 15,9%, teacher (T address forms): 11,4%, teacher (V address forms): 4.5%.

5. Summary

In the collected material, a majority of indirect directives were observed, and the indirectness included in them is of the BEFORE type, there was no example for the AFTER type indirectness.

The gathered material shows that indirect directives were used in few different patterns and clearly co-occur with specific social contexts: one was asking about having/not having a physical item needed to fulfil the request (eg.: ticket). The second strategy, used mainly in the case of larger social distance (mother-in-law, teacher, boss), was represented by indirect directives inquiring if one can ask for something. These request involved the *-hat/-het* morpheme (*megkérhetem/ megkérhetlek* 'may I ask you'), often appearing in Hungarian requests for permission. This strategy was the most popular not only in the case of larger social distance but also when the relationship between the participants was strongly hierarchical.

In both cases these strategies are BEFORE indirect directives, and requests in this type should be placed just at the beginning of the illocutionary scenario.

When complying with the request is considered difficult, especially in the case of larger social distance, informants used shifting the attention to first person singular and often they made a statement of discomfort (eg. *Zavar a füst* 'The smoke bothers me'), building the foundation for the the requested action, based on the assumption that our communicative actions are intentionally motivated.

In some contexts, using the first person plural was also seen as a device for making a request that potentially could be considered as violating one's taste (asking to change the music). In such cases, using the first person plural pronoun 'we' expressed solidarity, but clearly it was employed in the virtual use when the addressee was the participant who was expected to take an action. This form mentally engaged the addressee as well, whilst expressing common interests.

Hungarian equivalents of the *can* auxiliary are used in conditional and indicative forms and the variety of situations and social contexts in which this device appeared shows its universal character in Hungarian requests.

Activating the very first element of the speech-act scenario, as mentioned before, appeared in various forms, but with two different outcomes. Exploiting the very first step of the illocutionary scenario (an expression of displeasure, pointing out the violation of rules, asking about the possibility of meeting the conditions) shows that this type of indirect directives can be perceived as strong instructions (in the case of large social distance, and when the speaker is pointing out the addressee's violation of a rule). In interactions with friends and family members, they indicate higher intimacy and the existence of a substantial amount of shared background knowledge. Exploiting background knowledge underlines shared experiences and suggests that there is no reason to express the request in an explicit way, since the speaker and the addressee understand each other with no need to put it bald on-record.

Direct directives appear when the relations between participants could be interpreted as close ones, based on shared background knowledge about each other, or between participants classified as close family members. With the increase of social distance, the number of direct directives decreased.

In the end, it is worth mentioning that the more conventional the request, the smaller the variety of answers. In conventional situations the tendencies are stronger, since it is in conventional situations that we tend to make conventional linguistic choices, as we pay less attention to them, perceiving no need for additional linguistic effort. Consequently, non-conventional language choices in very conventional situations can be seen as conveying extra pragmatic meaning.

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