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IDIOMATICITY AND ANALOGY IN INFLECTION: A USAGE-BASED INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRELATION BETWEEN SPATIAL CASES AND LEXICAL-SEMANTIC CLASSES IN HUNGARIAN

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Abstract

There has been little discussion on two problems of spatial cases, which might relate to lexical-semantic classification: neither the issue of semantic opacity, nor alternation has been dealt with in depth. The present paper has as its objective to broaden our current knowledge on Hungarian spatial cases by exploring how they correlate with lexical-semantic classes. The paper focuses on the Hungarian bidimensional spatial case system in which the so-called ON-configuration, IN-configuration, and AT-configuration markers express the image schema of the Ground, and, at the same time, they also express whether the Ground is a source, a location, or a destination in relation to the Figure. The paper argues that inflection is lexically organized, and analogy is responsible for the productivity of constructions as well as for the semantic opacity (idiomaticity) of inflected word forms. It also argues that locative alternation is mainly due to the highlighting of different semantic substructures in the nominal's meaning, to metonymy, and to differences in semantic grounding. Through typical linguistic examples and corpus analyses, the relationships between ON-configuration, IN-configuration, and AT-configuration markers and some lexical-semantic classes are demonstrated. As for cognitive motivation, perceptual experiences are obviously crucial to the establishment of a morpholexical cluster. However, based on an analysis of relatively opaque word forms, the paper argues that speakers tend to overlook kinaesthetic perceptual experiences when an already established exemplar cluster gains a new member by analogical extension mainly based on culturally accessible associative information.

Keywords: inflection, case, locative, idiom, analogy

1. Introduction

The crucial role of semantic restrictions in word-formation processes has been widely observed. Certain derivative and compounding structures even serve to produce culturally definable types of nouns (such as names of professions), which is also known as systematic lexicalisation (Kastovsky 1982). Several studies on derivation have been carried out from a strong semantic perspective, with comparative semantic categories (Štekauer et al. 2020). However, the role of semantic classification and systematic lexicalisation in inflection is far from obvious. On the one hand, a semantic class with a particular inflectional pattern does not count as an exceptional phenomenon; for instance, the occurrence of plural markers is reduced to animate nouns in many languages (not to mention the semantic basis of gender systems). Moreover, one can find instances for a lexicalised case function as well; for example, temporal nouns mark time by taking instrumental case in Russian (e.g., *utr-om* 'in the morning', *dn-em* 'in the afternoon', *večer-om* 'in the evening', *noč-ju* 'at night') and Hungarian (e.g., *éj-jel* 'at night', *nap-pal* 'in the daytime'). On the other hand, a lexically conditioned inflectional pattern in Hungarian (see material nouns) is interpreted in the literature (Kiefer 2000) as a result of distinctly incidental semantic factors. Furthermore, common knowledge on the correlations between cases and lexical-semantic classes is limited to the particularities of nouns

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that tend to have unique spatial markers (e.g., geographical names, note in this regard that some Hungarian town names preserve an ancient locative ending, see *Győr-ött*), and to the grammaticalisation of spatial affixes that originate from body-part terms (see Heine et al. 1991). In sum, the significance of lexical-semantic classification has still not found general acceptance in inflectional morphology (cf. Aristar 1997; Gaeta 2008; Luraghi 2003).

Accordingly, there has been little discussion on two problems concerning locative expressions, which, in our view, relate to lexical-semantic classification: neither the issue of (at least relative) semantic opacity (see the examples in (1)), nor alternation (see examples (1), (2), (3a), (3b) and (4)) has been dealt with in depth.

(1a) metró-ra száll
metro-SUB board
'take the metro'

(1b) a metró-n
the metro-SUP'
'on the metro'

(2a) metró-ba száll
metro-ILL board
'take the metro'

(2b) a metró-ban
the metro-INE'
'in the metro'

(3a) a lakodalom-ban
wedding-INE
'at the wedding'

(3b) a lakodalm-on
the wedding-SUP
'at the wedding'

(4) az esküvő-n
the wedding-SUP
'at the wedding'

The present paper has as its objective to broaden our current knowledge on Hungarian spatial cases by exploring how they correlate with lexical-semantic classes. It proposes a usage-based framework to model the network of Hungarian locative constructions, and it raises the following basic yet significant questions about morphological knowledge: What are the principles of morphological organisation that might account for the productivity as well as semantic opacity (idiomaticity) of spatial constructs? Which semantic operations give rise to locative alternation? These theoretical issues are outlined in the second part. The paper focuses on the Hungarian bidimensional spatial case system, in which the so-called ON-configuration, IN-configuration, and AT-configuration markers (see Creissels 2008) as second-order schemas (Booij 2015) express the image schema (Johnson 1987) of the Ground, and, at the same time, they express whether the Ground is a source, a location, or a destination (ablative, locative, and lative cases, respectively) in relation to the Figure. On this basis, the paper asks: Which lexical-semantic classes are associated with ON-configuration, IN-configuration, and AT-configuration markers? The description also addresses the issue of locative alternation: Which are the systemic patterns of locative alternation? The assumed correlations are dealt with according to these questions in the third part of the paper, and a corpus-based morphosemantic investigation is applied to test some descriptive hypotheses. The fourth part of the paper concludes.

2. Usage-based theoretical considerations

In this section it is argued that inflection is lexically organised, and analogy as a domain-general cognitive process (Bybee 2010) is responsible for the productivity of constructions as exemplar-based form–meaning pairings as well as for the semantic opacity (idiomaticity) of inflected word-forms. In addition, it is argued that locative alternation is mainly due to the highlighting of different semantic substructures of the nominal meaning, to metonymy, and to differences in semantic grounding.

2.1. Constructions and idiomaticity

The traditional view is that while the semantics of derivation and compounding pose serious problems for morphological description even in productive word formation, there are no semantic issues in the case of inflection. The high degree of semantic transparency in inflection is emphasised even in the recent usage-based grammar of Hungarian (Ladányi 2017: 527). Semantic regularity is partly explained by the sharp distinction between inflection and the lexicon. For instance, Stump (1998: 17) claims that derived lexemes are listed in the lexicon, which allows their meanings to "drift" idiosyncratically, while regularly inflected forms are not listed, which requires their meanings to remain rule-governed. Nevertheless, Kracht considers the opaque instantiations of Hungarian spatial cases below (see also examples 1–4) to be idiosyncrasies motivated by a peculiar (or non-existent) shape of a location and concludes that "the choice of localisers is not completely random but at the same time largely unpredictable" (2005: 151).

(5a)	hajó-ra	száll		(5b)	a hajó-n
	ship-SUB	board			the ship-SUP
	'take a ship'				'on the ship'
(6a)	csónak-ba	száll		(6b)	a csónak-ban
	boat-ILL	board			the boat-INE
	'sit in(to) a boat'				'in the boat'

As far as the motivations behind locatives are concerned, many attempts have been made in cognitive linguistics to describe their experiential basis (see Kothencz 2012; Szilágyi 1996; Tolcsvai Nagy 2013). However, kinaesthetic and/or perceptual experiences, per se, do not account for instances such as examples (1), (5) and (6), where a bounded space is conceptualised as a SURFACE and an open space is conceptualised as a CONTAINER, respectively. A further factor to consider is that boarding a ship typically (or traditionally) involves upward movement, whereas a boat is lower, thus no upward movement is required for boarding. Hence, the association between the concept UP with ON-configuration markers may motivate the word forms *hajó-ra* ship-SUB and *hajó-n* ship-SUP. Still, a morphological framework that mainly relies on 'online' spatial and motional conceptualisations fails to handle the apparently idiomatic nature of certain word forms (see *metró-ra* metro-SUB and *metró-n* metro-SUP).

Indeed, the concept of constructions is based on the observation that, in language, unpredictable, phonologically and semantically highly specific idioms, as well as completely schematic and regular morphosyntactic structures, can be placed at the two ends of an idiomaticity scale (Fillmore et al., 1988). Under this approach, the meaning of a linguistic structure, including morphological structures, is rarely (if ever) fully compositional, cannot be traced back to the meaning of its parts, such as the spatial case and the nominal meaning. A construction is a schematic form–meaning pairing which may have a variety of idiosyncratic features originated in the factors of usage. A usage-based constructional approach can account for 'unpredictable' inflected forms, as they are treated as instantiations of word-level constructions in terms of schematic form–meaning pairings (cf. Booij 2010) that are generalisations over the lexicon (cf. Blevins 2006). Accordingly, the present paper argues that the characteristics of lexical organisation are detectable in inflection as well, with semantic restrictions being directly associated with the inflectional constructions themselves, thus, there are systemic interrelations between spatial constructions and the lexical-semantic classes of nouns (cf. the concept of systemic lexicalisation in derivation). For instance, it can be hypothesised that Hungarian nouns that denote artefacts with an elaborate structure to store other objects are conceptually compatible with the locative function of inessive case, and vice versa, when a concrete noun's locative is in inessive case, it can be conceptualised as referring to an artefact with an elaborate structure to store other objects (see also other open, only partially bounded objects like *láda* 'crate', *korsó* 'mug' etc.). This may explain the use of inessive in the case

of *csónak* 'boat' which is a word used for the transportation and (temporary) storage of certain entities (such as fish). The assumed form–meaning pairing is formalised below (following the formalisation proposed by Booij 2010), where $_{N}$ refers to a noun, and $_{i}$ may refer to an artefact with an elaborate structure to store other objects.

$$< [[x]_{Ni}\text{-bAn}]_j \leftrightarrow [\text{inside SEM}_i]_j >$$

In what follows, analogy is described as an underlying process responsible for both the productivity of a construction and the idiomaticity of word forms.

2.2. Analogy and idiomaticity

Schematic, word-level morphological constructions represent the basic unit of the present usage-based description, but they are not considered to be fully independent of their instantiations. Our central assumption is that the productivity of a morphological construction (MC below) rests upon its bidirectional relatedness with an exemplar cluster (see Bybee 2010), as the already existing complex words (CW_n below) provide indirect associative links to potential roots or stems (SW_a below) via their own (SW_n below) that can then serve as reference points for analogical extensions. The network that enables the basic relations of analogy ($CW_n \leftrightarrow SW_n$, $SW_n \leftrightarrow SW_a$) and the possible ways of analogical extension are formalised below. The symbol $_{n}$ indicates that analogical extension is motivated by a certain number of instances for productive constructions.

Underlying network of morphological constructions:	$[MC] \leftrightarrow CW_n \leftrightarrow SW_n \leftrightarrow SW_a$		
The analogical motivation behind productivity:	$SW_n : SW_a$	::	$CW_n : X$
	$SW_n : CW_n$	::	$SW_a : X$
			$X = CW_a$

Supportive evidence for the assumption outlined above comes from derivation: it has been widely observed that lexicalisation of derivatives is in correlation with loss of productivity (see Marle 1988). That is to say, lexicalised derivatives (CW_n above) do not activate their bases (SW_n above), thus they do not provide constructions ([MC] above) with access to potential bases (SW_a above).

As for motivation, there are several spatial expressions concerning culturally definable 'places' (see examples 3 and 4) that are hardly motivated by direct perceptual experiences. The role of perceptual experiences can only be raised metaphorically, however, the operativeness of metaphorical extensions on the individual level (see Kövecses 2002) is questionable. Instead, analogy provides an exemplar-based explanation for the similarities of nouns that elaborate constructions as well as for their (relative) semantic opacity. Locatives are motivated, structured and sanctioned by exemplar clusters that function as analogous groups, and analogy is based on lexical-semantic features. Thus, in examples like (1–6), it is not only the combination of the case meaning and the nominal meaning that we need to consider but also the word forms that may be used analogously. For instance, if we look at nouns that show distributional similarity with the word *hajó* 'ship' according to the Thesaurus tool of SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) applied to Hungarian Web corpora (huTenTen2023), we find that *jármű* 'vehicle' occurs most often in similar contexts, and indeed, vehicle can be treated as a superordinate category of SHIP. According to the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (Oravecz et al. 2014), the word *jármű* 'vehicle' is more frequently used with ON-configuration constructions than IN-configuration ones: vehicle.SUP 3484 tokens > vehicle.INE 2120 tokens, vehicle.SUB 3516 > vehicle.ILL 1113. It may well be that the analogy between the two words (and others in the relevant lexical-semantic class) could motivate the use of spatial cases for *hajó* 'ship', and the markedness (unusualness) of the *hajó-ban* ship-INE, *hajó-ba* ship-ILL word forms. Overall, analogy can lead to semantically less transparent locative forms if the analogical extension is based on functional rather than perceptual similarities:

jármű	:	jármű-ON	::	hajó	:	X
jármű	:	hajó	::	jármű-ON	:	X
						X = hajó-On

The assumed associative relationship between the lexical-semantic class of vehicles and ON-configuration constructions is examined on a corpus basis in the third part of the paper.

2.3. Encyclopaedic knowledge, idiomaticity, and locative alternation

As regards one's theoretical approach to the semantic transparency of inflected word forms, it is also important to note that certain aspects of encyclopaedic knowledge (Wierzbicka 1995) associated with a word are more salient than others (Langacker 1987). For instance, the central semantic component to the meaning of *asztal* 'table' is the tabletop as the structurally most typical and functionally most relevant part. Therefore, as illustrated in Figure 1, the word *az asztal-on* 'on the table' denotes the surface of the tabletop (not that of the whole table or its legs), it is its profile (Langacker 1987). Accordingly, the locative expression *az asztal alatt* 'under the table' refers to the spatial region under the tabletop (and not under the whole object).

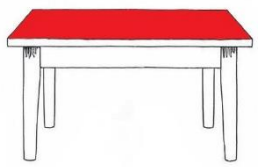

Figure 1. Semantic schema of *asztal-on* table-SUP 'on the table'

Thus, an inflected form's semantic transparency is relative in nature. Even when a locative construction is productive, the word forms as instantiations can be considered idiomatic and opaque to some extent.

To understand the alternation of locatives it is important to bear in mind that lexical-semantic classes are also considered dynamic representations. Semantic classification is a context-dependent categorising process that correlates with the chosen way of conceptualisation known as construal (Langacker 1987). A noun invokes several abstract properties arranged in line with a variety of cognitive domains (SHAPE, STRUCTURE, CANONICAL FUNCTION, MATERIAL, etc.), thus "it consists of a set of semantic exemplars" (Bybee 2010: 22) of which "only a limited number can be activated on a given occasion" (Langacker 1987: 57). For example, in the examples below, the different cognitive domains and semantic substructures of a car are profiled in relation to the conceived base.

(7a)	nagy autó	'big car'	SIZE
(7b)	családi autó	'family car'	FUNCTION
(7c)	kék autó	'blue car'	COLOR, STRUCTURE (body part)
(7d)	kényelmes autó	'comfortable car'	FUNCTION, STRUCTURE (cabin part)

Therefore, the same lexical item can direct one's attention to a transportation device (~ CANONICAL FUNCTION domain) or to a bounded, built object with doors and windows (~ STRUCTURE AND SHAPE DOMAINS) depending on the foregrounded semantic substructure, also known as the active zone (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 216–218), which might partially explain the alternation of locatives, see again examples (1) and (2). IN-configuration constructions (*metró-ban* 'in the metro') may highlight

structural semantic substructures, while ON-configuration constructions (*metró-n* 'on the metro') can activate the functional zones of nominal meaning.

The alternation of localisers might rest upon metonymy as well. Several metonymic patterns have been identified concerning Hungarian nouns (Pethő 2004). Due to systematically arising metonymic shifts, a noun might belong to more than one lexical-semantic class. Thus, a noun can direct our attention to the area of an institution or to the institution itself, and, via the alternation of locatives, localisers might contribute to expressing these subtle semantic distinctions, see example (8) below. For (8a), the university building serves as a reference point to the institution, while for (8b) the university is directly represented as an institution.

(8a)	levél	az	egyetem-ről		(8b)	levél	az	egyetem-től
	letter	the	university-DEL			letter	the	university-ABL
	'a letter from the university'					'a letter from the university'		

Both metonymy and active zone are based on a whole–part relationship. The distinction between them can be made by observing whether the whole and the part belong to the same cognitive ontology (Paradis 2005). The related conceptualisations share cognitive ontology in zone activation (conceptual continuity), while they differ in this respect in metonymy (conceptual contiguity).

The alternation of localisers can also be motivated by grounding. ON-configuration and IN-configuration markers can sometimes be in contrastive distribution in this regard. This claim is based on conventional pairs such as *az utcá-n* the street-SUP 'on the street' in a generic sense ↔ *az utcá-ban* the street-INE 'in the street' in a specific sense; *falu-n* village-SUP 'in a village' in a generic sense ↔ *a falu-ban* the village-INE 'in the village' in a specific sense. From a theoretical perspective, it would be a considerable result to validate this claim since Hungarian spatial expressions are not considered typical grounding elements in contrast to determiners and number markers (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 359–361). This issue is also examined on a corpus basis in the next part of the paper.

3. Correlations between lexical-semantic classes and spatial constructions

This part addresses the following questions: a) Which lexical-semantic classes are associated with ON-configuration, IN-configuration, and AT-configuration markers? b) Which are the systemic patterns of locative alternation? Through typical linguistic examples and corpus analyses, the relationships between some spatial constructions and lexical-semantic classes are illustrated.

3.1. Assumed lexical–inflectional correlations

In Hungarian, ON-configuration marker sister schemas (Booij 2015) (superessive, sublative, and delative) are associated with the lexical-semantic classes of {vehicles}, {social events}, and {institutional areas}. This claim is based on conventional structures such as *hajó-n* ship-SUP 'on a ship', *a temetés-en* funeral-SUP 'at a funeral', *egyetem-en* university-SUP 'at the university'.

IN-configuration marker sister schemas (inessive, illative, and elative) are associated with the lexical-semantic classes of {built objects}, {community}, and {social events}. This claim is based on conventional structures such as *sátor-ban* tent-INE 'in a tent', *közösség-ben* community-INE 'in a community', *bál-ba* ball-ILL 'to the ball'.

AT-configuration marker sister schemas (adessive, allative, and ablative) are associated with the lexical-semantic classes of {persons}, and {establishments}. This claim is based on conventional structures such as *fordász-hoz* hairdresser-ALL 'to the hairdresser', *a Nokiá-nál* Nokia-ADE 'at Nokia'.

As far as the semantic networks of the spatial constructions are concerned, it is highly debatable whether the multiple functions of the constructions are semantically related to each other. For instance, the lexical-semantic class of {persons} is related to the cluster of {establishments} that can be characterised by personification, which makes the 'polysemist position' (cf. Haspelmath

2003) tenable concerning the AT-configuration marker constructions. Furthermore, there is a strong probability that Hungarian ON-configuration markers are associated with multiple morpholexical clusters that are classified according to their canonical function (see {social events} and {institutional areas}). Vehicles may provide a family resemblance link between these clusters; their spatial and instrumental meanings can even be blended: *teherautó-n szállít* (truck-SUP transport) 'transport by/on truck'.

3.2. Assumed systemic locative alternation

Locative alternation exhibits systemic patterns as a function of lexical polysemic networks. The claim is based on conventional structures (see below). The alternations can be described as follows:

IN-configuration {built objects} – ON-configuration {vehicles}
(9) a buszban 'in the bus.INE' / a buszon 'on the bus.SUP'

ON-configuration {institutional areas} – AT-configuration {establishments}
(10) (levél) az egyetemről / az egyetemtől '(letter) from the university.DEL/ABL'

IN-configuration {built objects} – AT-configuration {establishments}
(11) (valaki) az iskolából / az iskolától '(someone) from the school.ELA/ABL'

ON-configuration {institutional areas} – IN-configuration {built objects}
(12) konyhán / a konyhában (dolgozik) '(work) in a/the kitchen.SUP/INE'

IN-configuration {community} – AT-configuration {establishments}
(13) (belép) a rendőrségbe / a rendőrséghez 'enter the Police.ILL/ALL'

IN-configuration {social events} – ON-configuration {social events}
(14) bálba / bálra (megy) '(go) to the ball.ILL/SUB'

The organisation of the patterns above is not homogeneous. The choice of the localiser can mark major distinctions (see (12)), while in other cases (see (14)) there are competing constructions with subtle semantic differences to be explored.

The lexical–inflectional interrelations are partially responsible for the multifunctionality of inflectional constructions as well. It can be observed that the use of morphological constructions might be lexically conditioned even when they contribute to the meaning of a syntactic construction, and they are associated with a thematic role. For instance, a member of {musical instruments} can fill the INSTRUMENT thematic role in a few lexically conditioned syntactic constructions such as *gitár-on játszik* (guitar-SUP play) 'play the guitar', *gitár-on kísér* (guitar-SUP accompany) 'accompany on guitar'. These expressions represent the transition between idiomatic locative structures and formally (morphologically) fixed syntactic arguments. The less important a specific lexical-semantic class is in filling a thematic role in an argument structure, the less the spatial meaning contributes to the meaning of the syntactic construction. This appears to be true even when the use of a spatial construction is originally motivated in a syntactic construction but its meaning is already backgrounded in relation to the meaning of the syntactic pattern as a whole. In Hungarian, a typical sign of separation from a lexical-semantic class is the lack of alternation and the fact that the case construction no longer forms a second-order schema (Booij 2015), i.e. they do not imply each other. There are no morphological alternatives for the constructs (instantiated constructions) *beszél valamiről* (talk something.DEL) 'talk about something' or *büszke valamire* (proud something.SUB) 'proud of something', and the other ON-configuration marker constructions no longer play a role.

3.3. Corpus-based investigations

Corpus-based morphosemantic investigations can be applied to test the descriptive assumptions outlined above. Through the use of corpora, it is possible to demonstrate correlations between lexical-semantic classes and spatial cases, to analyse the alternation of locatives, and to explore the central cognitive domain of nouns. It is the examination of relative frequency (distribution of a construction in a noun's inflectional pattern) that enables us to establish the extent to which a noun is associated with a construction. The method relies upon the assumption that when a localiser is associated with a lexical-semantic class, members of the assumed morpholexical cluster exhibit similarities in the distribution of the construction. In the Hungarian National Corpus (HNC) (Oravecz et. al 2014), we have examined the relative frequency of ON-configuration and IN-configuration marker constructions for twenty nouns naming vehicles and buildings, and found that the nouns differ according to their lexical-semantic properties. Figure 2 shows the partition of the nouns into two clusters by k-means clustering. The green squares illustrate the {vehicles} cluster, while the blue ones represent {buildings}. The filled green and blue squares indicate the means, in other words, cluster centroids.

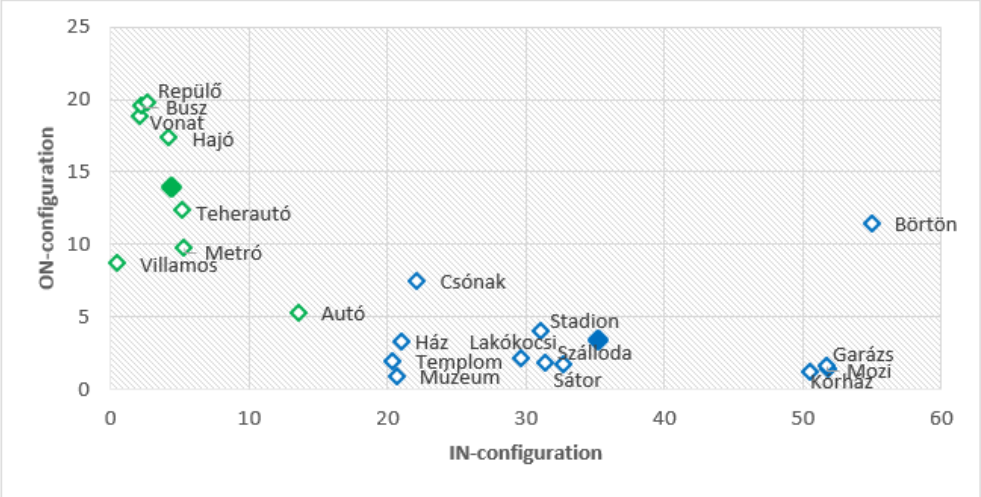

Figure 2. Clustering of nouns that belong to different lexical-semantic classes according to the percentage distribution of different configuration markers

Buildings and vehicles are both built objects with many structural similarities, the difference between them is functional in terms of their mobility or lack thereof. We can observe in Figure 2 that the locative patterns of buildings (*ház* 'house', *múzeum* 'museum', *templom* 'church', *stadion* 'stadium', *szálloda* 'hotel', *kórház* 'hospital', *mozi* 'cinema', *garázs* 'garage', and *börtön* 'prison') differ from that of vehicles for public and/or commercial transportation (*repülő* 'airplane', *busz* 'bus', *vonat* 'train', *hajó* 'ship', *teherautó* 'truck', *metró* 'metro', and *villamos* 'tram'). The latter tend to be used with ON-configuration markers regardless of their shape. However, vehicles for personal use (*autó* 'car' and *csónak* 'boat') are relatively far from both means, and they seem to be associated with the IN-configuration markers to a greater extent than other vehicles, though it is still possible to foreground their telic 'mobility' semantic aspects and background their structural properties by integrating the superessive with a semantically corresponding verb: *autó-n megy* (car-SUP go) 'go by car', *csónak-on megy* (boat-SUP) 'go by boat'. *Lakókocsi* 'caravan', for its part, shows similarity in the distribution of localisers to other objects for accommodation such as *sátor* 'tent', and *szálloda* 'hotel', probably because it might also be classified as a {building}. This illustrates that class membership may be relatively fixed in usage patterns, and lexical meaning can be characterised by centrality in terms of likelihood of activation (see 2.3.). Accordingly, some of the nouns in the sample could

be viewed as an institutional area; however, they are conceptualised as being bounded regardless of their function, hence it seems that the STRUCTURE cognitive domain is central to their meaning.

Though the results of this method need to be interpreted with caution, the position of *börtön* 'prison' in the figure above shows that taking several configuration markers into account provides an adequate tool for the research. The noun in question constitutes a strong collocated expression with *ítél* 'to sentence' in sublative case (*börtönre ítél* 'sentence to prison.SUB'). However, this metonymic use of the noun does not make *börtön* 'prison' similar to the nouns naming vehicles. This is because actual spatial meaning is a frequently elaborated semantic substructure of nouns.

Evidence for the assumed associative relationships in 3.1. can also be found by looking at the verbs with which the locatives co-occur. Verbs activate different aspects of nominal meaning. Even in the case of alternation, our assumptions predict that the distribution of localisers differs according to the cognitive domains the verbs evoke. For instance, taking again the nouns naming vehicles into account, the token frequency of superessive is higher in the context of a verb such as *utazik* 'travel', a word that directly activates the CANONICAL FUNCTION domain, than in the context of *ül* 'sit', which might primarily evoke the STRUCTURE domain. This is shown in columns I. and II. in Figure 3. Accordingly, though superessive is more frequently used with the latter verb (see columns I. and III.), the token frequency of inessive is still higher in its context than in that of *utazik* 'travel' (see columns III. and IV.). To make this technique more reliable, it is crucial to compare the distribution of cases to their overall distribution within the argument structure of the verbs in question. The distribution of the two cases is balanced for *ül* 'sit' (48,10% SUP : 51,9% INE) in the corpus of Verb Argument Browser (v0.7.1) (Sass 2009), while the token frequency of superessive is higher in the argument structure of *utazik* 'travel' in general (58,64% SUP : 41,36% INE). However, this minor distinction still does not explain the data below. Instead, as excepted, it suggests an interrelation between spatial cases and lexical meaning.

	SUPE		**INE**	
	I. *ül* 'sit'	II. *utazik* 'travel'	III. *ül* 'sit'	IV. *utazik* 'travel'
metró 'metro'	55	480	15	10
villamos 'tram'	88	313	10	2
vonat 'train'	363	756	27	26
busz 'bus'	364	1650	64	47
repülő 'plane'	140	150	3	2

Figure 3. The use of superessive and inessive in the context of the verbs *ül* 'sit' and *utazik* 'travel' for nouns that denote means of public transport

To test the assumed contrastive distribution of configuration markers concerning grounding (see 2.3.), typical grounding elements need to be analysed. For instance, when there is a contrast in distribution between IN-configuration markers and ON-configuration markers, it is reflected in the distribution of possessive structures that make nouns definite in Hungarian. This prediction can be tested by searching according to complex morphological parameters in HNC. Indeed, examining the nouns *buli* 'party', *lakodalom* 'wedding', and *bál* 'ball', which belong to the lexical-semantic class of {social events} and exhibit balanced locative alternation, results suggest that ON-configuration marker constructions are much more frequently used with possessive structures in this class. On the other hand, as shown in Figure 4, IN-configuration marker constructions are hardly used with them. Numbers on the left indicate percentages, with vectors showing the overall relative frequency of possessive structures. Since possessive structure is a reference-point construction (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017: 250), the reference of an ON-configurational word form tends to be more salient in comparison to that of an IN-configurational one. Needless to say, this examination could be extended to other nouns naming social events to clarify the difference between social events that are associated only with the ON-configuration and those which are associated with IN-configuration as well. In any case, the markedness of structures like *buli-já-ban* party-PX3Sg-INE, *bál-já-ban* ball-

PX3Sg-INE, *lakodalm-á-ban* wedding party-PX3Sg-INE is striking in comparison with the more natural word forms *buli-já-n* party-PX3Sg-SUP, *bál-já-n* ball-PX3Sg-SUP, *lakodalm-á-n* wedding party-PX3Sg-SUP, which may be related to the grounding function of the ON-configuration constructions.

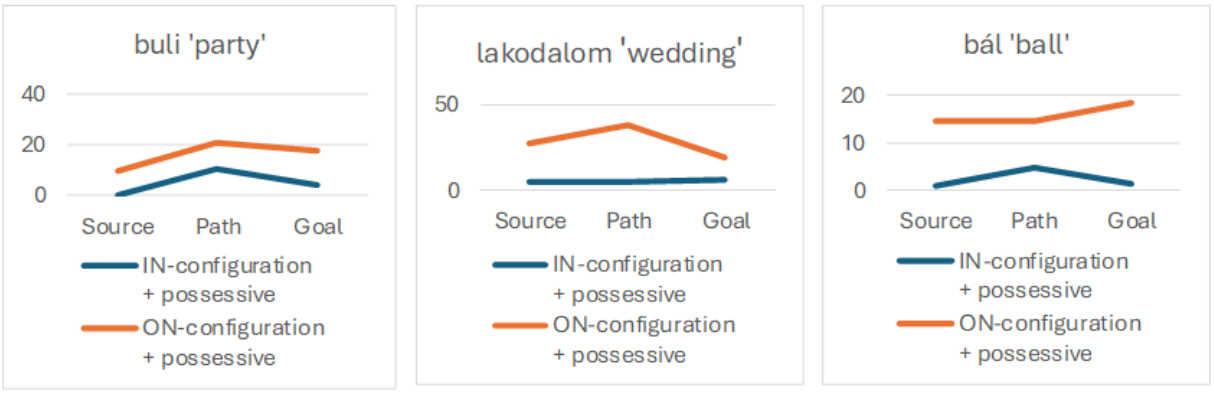

Figure 4. Percentage occurrence of the possessive in different types of locative constructions of nouns that denote a social event

4. Conclusions

The paper aimed at demonstrating the role of idiomaticity and analogy in inflection by observing interrelations between lexical-semantic classes and spatial constructions. It also intended to provide an explanation for locative alternation and opacity, and to shed new light on spatial morphological constructions. As for conceptualisation and motivation, perceptual experiences are obviously crucial to the establishment of a morpholexical cluster, e.g., buses, trams, etc. usually had steps that passengers had to ascend, which might explain the assumed associative relationship between ON-configuration and public vehicles. However, on the basis of relatively opaque word forms, the paper argued that speakers tend to overlook kinaesthetic perceptual experiences when an already established exemplar cluster gains a new member by analogical extension mainly based on culturally accessible associative information, as formally summarised below.

busz {public vehicle} : buszra [sublative] :: metró {public vehicle} : x
busz {public vehicle} : metró {public vehicle} :: buszra [sublative] : x
x = metróra

The investigations detailed above might support the claim that analogy plays an important role in inflection, which would provide a new insight into the use of spatial cases. They may also challenge traditional claims on the semantic transparency and regularity of inflection, and call into question cognitive semantic analyses that only attach importance to image-schemas and metaphorisation in the functioning of spatial cases.

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THE ACQUISITION OF HUNGARIAN RECURSIVE POSSESSIVES

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to address two principal inquiries. The first question to be addressed is the age at which children begin to comprehend and produce recursive possessives in a manner that is consistent with the adult data. Secondly, what patterns of comprehension and production are observed prior to this age.

The acquisition of recursion tends to occur at a later age in the language learning process (Roeper 2011, Hollebrandse–Roeper 2014 and Roeper–Oseki 2018), and therefore the cross-linguistic literature indicates that the age of comprehension of recursive constructions is around 5–6 years and the age of production is around 7–9 years. The data will demonstrate that the acquisition of Hungarian recursive possessives can be dated earlier than previously thought. The experiments conducted indicate that comprehension of the structure under study reaches ceiling-level performance at the age of four, while the production of the full structure occurs at the age of six. In the event of an error, the target structure is typically only partially produced.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 1 describes linguistic recursion, Section 2 discusses the acquisition of recursion, Section 3 presents the syntactic features of recursive possessives. In Section 4, the previous cross-linguistic and Hungarian results on the structure under investigation are presented in detail. Section 5 presents the main experiments. Finally, Section 6 summarises the conclusions.

Keywords: recursion, comprehension, production, possessives, language acquisition

1. Linguistic recursion

In their 2002 publication, Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch posit that recursion represents a pivotal aspect of the faculty of language in a narrow sense (FLN). They make a crucial distinction between the faculty of language in a broad sense and the faculty of language in a narrow sense. The faculty of language in a broad sense (FLB) encompasses, for instance, the sensorimotor system (motoric and perceptual) and the conceptual-intentional system (i.e. the system of conceptual relations and intentions). The faculty of language in a narrow sense is a component of the faculty of language in a broad sense, which encompasses the mechanism of recursion.[1] Similarly to the genetic code, language is believed to be hierarchical, generative and recursive.

According to Chomsky, the operation of merge is responsible for generating recursive structures. This is an operation that creates larger units from smaller ones (Chomsky 1959, 1993; Freidin 2014; Gervain 2014; Watumull et. al. 2014; Mota 2017). That is to say, given units a and b, unit g can be created from them. G is thus generated by merging two elements, a and b, which are considered to be constituents of g. This operation can be described as follows: g = {d, {a, b}}, in which d defines the properties of g, i.e. d becomes the label of g. This is category-neutral recursion, so it is valid for any syntactic category. This is how linguistic structures are constructed in general.

However, there is also a more specific, narrower notion of recursion (1).

[1] Chomsky's idea of a category-neutral operation of *merge* is what is meant here.

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(1) [*the* [*witch's* [*duck's apple*]]]

This sense is applicable to cases where a syntactic component of a given type of structure is a syntactic phrase of the same type, embedded as it were. This implies that there are recursive pre- or postpositional phrases, recursive possessives (1), and that the structure can be recursive at the level of CPs as well. In the following, the term 'recursion' will be used to refer to category-dependent recursion, that is, the acquisition of a more specific, narrowly defined recursion.

2. The acquisition of recursion: initial conjunctive reading

In the context of the theory of the acquisition of recursive structures, Hollebrandse–Roeper (2014) and Roeper (2011) claim that children begin the acquisition of recursive structures through a process of conjunctive reading. Thus, the sentence *John's sister's bike* is first interpreted as *John's and his sister's bike*.

In summary, the authors state that:

- At around two or three years of age, children are giving a purely conjunctive reading to recursive sentences.
- At the age of four or five, there is a transition to recursive reading, although at this age children still give predominantly conjunctive responses.
- The acquisition of recursive skills is observed to begin after the age of six.

The focus of most authors is on the comprehension of recursive structures rather than their production, but examples of both are presented in Section 4.

3. Syntactic features of the structure under study

The following subsections discuss the syntactic features of Hungarian possessive and recursive possessive structures.

3.1. Features of the Hungarian possessive structure

In accordance with the findings of Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992, in: É. Kiss 2003), there are two distinct types of possessive structures in Hungarian: one with an unmarked possessor (Figure 1.) and the other with a marked -NAK possessor (Figure 2.).

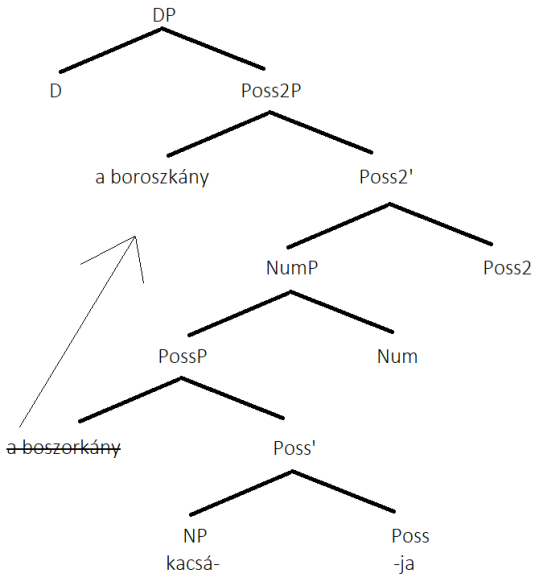

Figure 1. *a boszorkány kacsá-ja* (2a)
the witch duck-POSS
'the witch's duck'

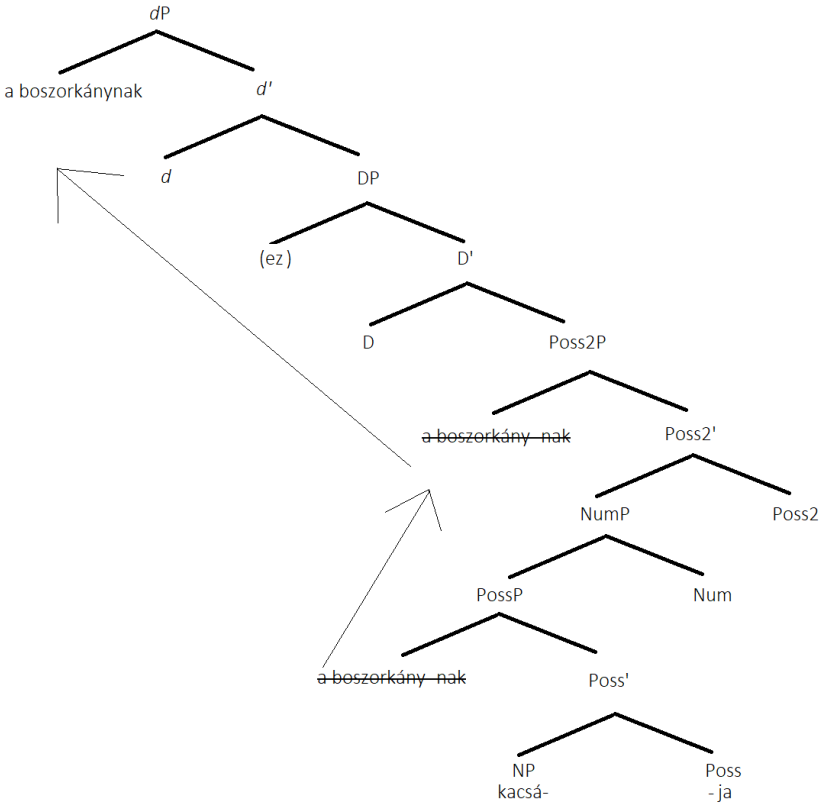

Figure 2. *a boszorkány-nak a kacsá-ja* (2b)
the witch-DAT the duck-POSS
'the witch's duck'

As demonstrated by Dékány (2021), the unmarked possessor is positioned below D (Figure 1), whereas the possessor with the (-NAK) case-marker is situated above D in the structure (Figure 2). The two figures presented here are based on Dékány's theory, with the example used being my own.

3.2. Structural properties of Recursive Possessives

This section examines the structural characteristics of multiple (recursive) possessives as previously outlined by Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992). The authors note that X-bar Theory predicts the existence of these structures. In the case of a possessor in the DP, a possessive structure with a possessor in a specifier position can be placed in it. It is proposed that a total of four possible recursive possessive structures can be imagined in Hungarian, as illustrated in (3a–d).

(3a) *?a maci* *doboz-a* *szalag-ja*
the teddy bear box-Poss ribbon-Poss

(3b) *?a maci-nak* *a doboz-á-nak* *a szalag-ja*
the teddy bear-DAT the box-Poss-DAT the ribbon-Poss

(3c) **a maci-nak* *a doboz-a* *szalag-ja*
the teddy bear-DAT the box-Poss ribbon-Poss

(3d) *a maci* *doboz-á-nak* *a szalag-ja*
the teddy bear box-Poss-DAT the ribbon-Poss
'The teddy bear's box's ribbon'

The authors posit that while structures (3a and 3b) are indeed unusual, they are not ungrammatical. Two additional structures are observed containing the three possessive structures: 3e and 3f.

(3e) *a maci* *doboz-a* *szalag-já-nak* *az ár-a*
the teddy bear box-Poss ribbon-Poss-DAT the price-Poss

(3f) *a maci* *doboz-á-nak* *a szalag-já-nak* *az ár-a*
the teddy bear box-Poss-DAT the ribbon-Poss-DAT the price-Poss
'The teddy bear's box's ribbon's price.'

Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992) propose that structure (3c) is not a grammatical structure. In contrast, structures (3a and 3b) can be part of other constructions (3e and 3f). Sentence (3d) represents the most acceptable case of recursive possessives in Hungarian.

The three possible recursive possessive constructions based on the theory of Szabolcsi and Laczkó (1992) are presented in Figures 3–5, accompanied by illustrative examples.

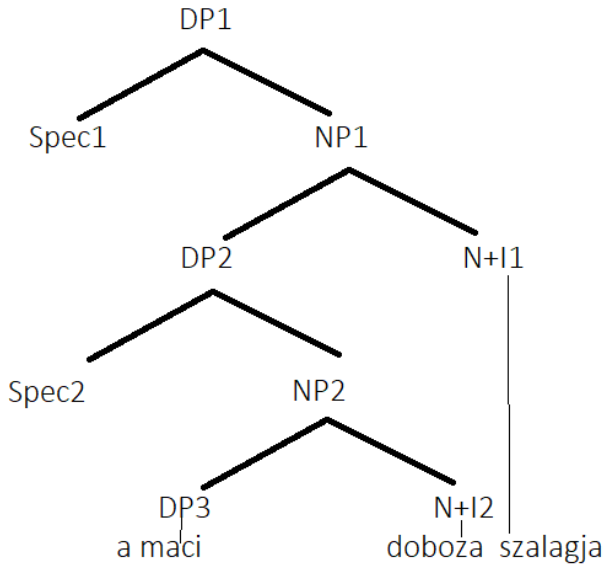

Figure 3. *A maci doboza szalagja* (3a)
The teddy bear's box's ribbon

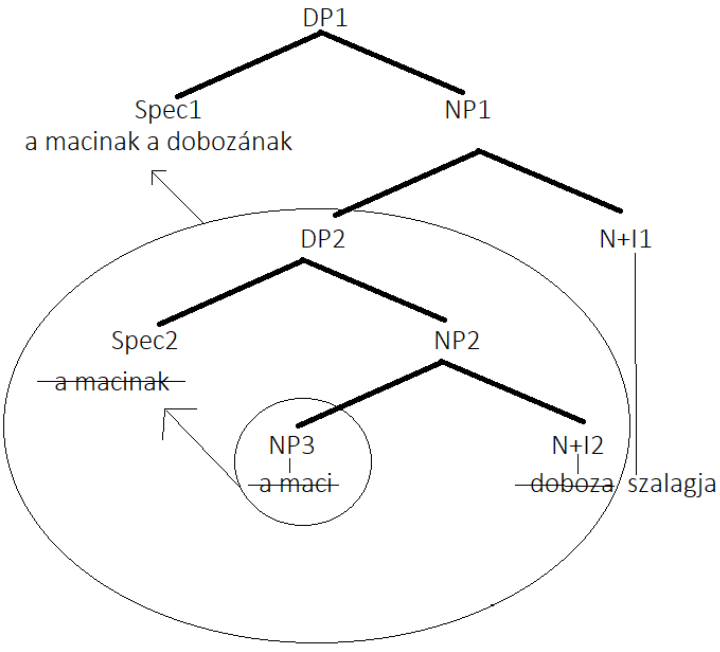

Figure 4. *A macinak a dobozának a szalagja* (3b)
The teddy bear's box's ribbon

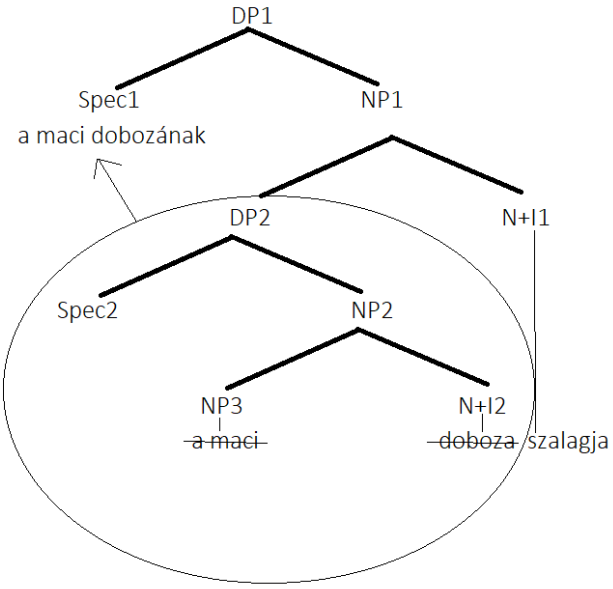

Figure 5. *A maci dobozának a szalagja* (3d)
The teddy bear's box's ribbon

In their theoretical framework, SpecDP is also considered to be an operator position. As the aforementioned possessors are not operators, it is optional to transfer them to the specifier position. However, if they were to be relocated there, they would effectively become operators themselves.

4. Previous research on the acquisition of Recursive Possessives

This chapter presents a framework for the study of recursive possessive structures, beginning with cross-linguistic data and subsequently introducing Hungarian evidence.

4.1. Cross-linguistic data

Roeper and Hollebrandse (2014) aimed to investigate how and when children begin to correctly interpret recursive possessive constructions, and to what extent this is preceded by the use of conjunctive reading. The children were presented with a series of tasks designed to assess their ability to interpret recursive possessive structures. The tasks included sentence completion and picture matching tasks.

In their respective works, Roeper (2011) and Hollebrandse and Roeper (2014) cite Sarah Gentile's 2003 experiment as a pivotal precedent. In this experiment, children were presented with three images: one depicting the Cookie Monster, one depicting the Cookie Monster with his sister, and one depicting his sister alone. Upon inquiring whether the children could present a picture of Cookie Monster's sister, one-third of the 3- to 4-year-olds selected the image of Cookie Monster and his sister together, indicating a conjunctive interpretation. The authors posit that this experiment offers further evidence to support the assertion that preschool children associate a form of conjunctive interpretation with recursive constructions.

The primary hypothesis put forth by Limbach mentioned by Roeper (2011) as well as Hollebrandse and Roeper (2014) is that German-speaking children are capable of acquiring recursive possessive structures, which are acquired in a manner analogous to other languages. It has been postulated that German children will also commence the use of possessive structures at an early age and will be capable of creating embedded possessive structures. The study included a range of age groups of German children (aged 3–5 years) who were presented with tasks designed to

assess their comprehension and production of recursive possessive structures. The findings indicated that German children were capable of comprehending and producing recursive possessive structures at an early developmental stage. The younger children made more frequent errors, but their accuracy in the use of these structures improved with their cognitive development. The present study is of interest insofar as the recursive possessive structures (with the -s possessive suffix) are not well-formed in German. For example, the phrase **Mein Vater-s Bruder-s Haus* (my father's brother's house) is not correctly formed, whereas the phrase *Mein Vater-s Bruder* (my father's brother) is.

In his 2011 study, Roeper references an experiment conducted by Fujimora (2010), which focused on Japanese possessives. In this experiment, images were presented to children aged between two and a half and six years. Each image depicted a person, a dog, and its ball. Subsequently, the children were posed increasingly complex questions, for example, *What colour is Mika's ((brother's (friend's)) dog's) ball?* The results of the experiment demonstrated that the youngest children (aged between two and four years) were able to attach a correct meaning to the single possessors. Children aged five years demonstrated correct understanding of the double possessor. However, they exhibited difficulty with the triple possessor, and were unable to comprehend the fourfold possessor. The authors of the experiment conclude that the acquisition of recursion is not an immediate process, but that if a child has already learned to utilise recursive operations, there will be no difference in the rate of acquisition of the threefold and fourfold possessives.

In a study reported by Hollebrandse and Roeper (2014), an experiment was conducted with Japanese children. The children were presented with images and subsequently posed a series of embedded recursive inquiries, such as *What colour is the umbrella of Shiro's father's eldest brother's rabbit?* or *What colour are Ieroo's eldest brother's rabbit's shoes*? A total of 35 subjects were tested, comprising 15 three-year-olds and seven six-year-olds, as well as 13 adults. The younger children interpreted the presented pictures in a conjunctive manner, while the six-year-olds demonstrated a 50-75% success rate in task completion. Thus, the findings indicate that at the age of three, children still attribute conjunctive meaning to recursive constructions, whereas at the age of six, they have typically mastered the recursive meaning.

A study by Perez-Leroux et al. (2018) tested the hypothesis that children are capable of acquiring recursive modification in noun phrases (NPs), particularly in possessive structures. The authors postulated that children would be capable of comprehending and producing embedded possessive structures, exemplified by *the boy's dog's hat*. The researchers conducted experiments in which they inquired children of varying age groups (3–5 years old) regarding sentences that contained recursive possessive structures. The findings indicated that children were capable of comprehending and employing recursive possessive structures accurately, although younger children exhibited a higher frequency of errors. The experiments demonstrated that children's cognitive development is a continuous process, with the acquisition of recursive structures occurring in a gradual manner.

In a previous experiment, Perez-Leroux, Castilla-Earls, Bejar and Massam (2012) investigated both recursive PPs and recursive possessives. The objective was to address three principal questions: firstly, to examine the distinctions between NP recursion and NP coordination in the context of language acquisition. Secondly, the researchers sought to determine whether the acquisition of different levels of embedding could be described as a discrete process, that is to say, whether one follows from the other or once children have mastered the basic mechanisms, they acquire single and multiple embeddings simultaneously. The third main question concerns the potential differences in the acquisition of possessive and PP recursion. A total of 46 monolingual English-speaking children and 11 adults were recruited for the experiment. The group of children was further divided into three-, four-, and five-year-old groups. In the experiment, the authors observed that the younger participants, aged 3–4 years, attempted to avoid recursive responding (they typically failed to identify a referent – NP), but demonstrated no difficulty with the coordinative task, as did the five-year-olds. The adult participants' responses were predominantly recursive, whereas the children's responses exhibited a greater diversity, falling into several categories. Embedding noun phrases (NPs) in each other was a rare occurrence among three-year-old children. Multiple embeddings were more prevalent

among adults and older children aged five. The distinction between single and double embedding, as well as that between recursive types (i.e., prepositions and possessives), was not statistically significant for the adult participants. However, a significant difference was observed for the children. The data indicated that PP recursion was significantly more accessible to children than recursive possessive structure.

The data presented here demonstrate several significant aspects of the acquisition of recursive possessives. Primarily, they indicate that this process is gradual, commencing with a conjunctive interpretation that subsequently evolves into a recursive one. This trajectory is evident in both comprehension and production. It is noteworthy that the accurate comprehension of recursive possessives may precede correct production by a period of approximately one to two years.

4.2. Hungarian data

This section presents two experiments on the comprehension of recursive possessives. The first experiment involved a colouring task. The second experiment involved a sentence–pictures matching task.

These were deemed necessary due to the findings of cross-linguistic studies, which indicated that children commence learning recursive structures with a conjunctive interpretation (shown in 4.1.). A number of researchers have employed visual stimuli to gain insight into the process of acquisition. Consequently, we elected to utilize this methodology to ascertain whether this is the manner in which the comprehension process occurs in Hungarian.

4.2.1. Colouring task

The present experiment addresses several key questions regarding recursive possessives. The first research question concerns the interpretation of recursive possessives by Hungarian children, as proposed by Roeper (2011) and Hollebrandse and Roeper (2014). This hypothesis suggests that younger children ascribe a conjunctive meaning to complex structures, which transforms into a recursive one at an older age. The second research question was to ascertain whether there were any differences in the interpretation of recursive possessive structures by children and adult native speakers. The third question was to investigate whether the presence of a visible functional head (-NAK) facilitated children's interpretation of recursive possessive structures to a ceiling-level performance. In this experiment, test sentences were constructed according to three structural types, as illustrated in (3a), (3b), and (3d). The initial hypothesis was that an increase in the frequency of the case marker in the structure would facilitate children's interpretation of recursive possessives to a ceiling-level performance.

Di Sciullo's work (2015) examines the interface between morphology and syntax. The author posits that functional elements, which play a pivotal role in sentence structure, can manifest in varying degrees of overt or covert realisation across languages. In some languages, specific grammatical features are explicitly marked (overt), whereas in others, these features are understood implicitly (covert). Overt functional heads presumably help children learn recursive structures more effectively than covert functional heads. Overt functional heads appear explicitly in language, making it easier for children to recognise and learn rules. In contrast, covert functional heads remain hidden and therefore provide less explicit support for understanding and applying grammar rules.

A total of 31 children (second-graders and 6 pre-schoolers) and 24 adults participated in the experiment. The mean age of the kindergarten children was 5 years and 6 months, the mean age of the school children was 8 years and 3 months, and the mean age of the adults was 41 years. Pinto and Zuckermann's (2019) Colouring Task was used. Both groups of children and adults were asked to colour pictures in front of a computer screen following the instructions given in the task. The images were created using the software program Paint, and the participants were asked to colour them in accordance with the instructions provided in the experiment (3a–d). Three lists were created for each test sentence.

Instructions: The participants were asked to colour the images according to the following sentences:

(3a) *a maci* *doboz-a* *szalag-ja* *piros*
the teddy bear box-POSS ribbon-POSS red

(3b) *a maci-nak* *a doboz-á-nak* *a szalag-ja* *piros*
the teddy bear-DAT the box-POSS-DAT the ribbon-POSS red

(3d) *a maci* *doboz-á-nak* *a szalag-ja* *piros*
the teddy bear box-POSS-DAT the ribbon-POSS red
'The teddy bear's box's ribbon is red'

The participants were presented with all three types of sentences (3a, b and d), but the order of the test sentences differed between the three lists. The same sentence that reflected structure (3a) in List A was presented as structure (3b) in List B and as structure (3c) in List C. This was also true for all the test sentences, with each list containing all three types of structures. In other words, each participant was presented with only one of the three lists, yet all three types of recursive possessives. Each list consisted of eight test sentences and eight filler sentences. Subsequently, the images were created according to a number of potential interpretations, including the suggestion that the teddy bear and box were adorned with a ribbon.

The rationale behind my primary focus on older children is that the extant literature posits that the shift from a conjunctive to a recursive interpretation occurs between the ages around five or six. This is corroborated by the findings of the second-grade participants, who coloured the ribbon on the box red significantly more often than any other item. As the teddy bear also had a ribbon, there was always another possibility. This phenomenon was also observed in the kindergarten children. Among the conjunctive responses, for the unmarked possessor, the ribbon on the teddy bear and the box and the ribbon on the box were red. In contrast, for the -NAK possessors (3b and 3d), it was mainly the ribbons on the teddy bear and the box that were red. The unmarked possessor may be interpreted as representing the middle possessor and the possessee being juxtaposed. This is evidenced by the fact that the box and ribbon (either the teddy bear's or the box's) are red. In the case of the -NAK possessor, the conjunctive responses largely represent the scenario in which the two ribbons were coloured red. This implies that in this case, the possessee was coloured by the participants.

The test sentences were interpreted recursively by children of both age groups with an accuracy rate exceeding 80%. The use of conjunctive interpretation was minimal across the two age groups of children.

The other main question was how children's interpretation differed from that of adults. In the case of -NAK possessives, children tended to come up with multiple solutions, while adults tended to stick to the recursive interpretation. Interestingly, it was not children, but rather adults, who were helped by the use of the -NAK suffix (single and double -NAK possessives) to interpret the test sentences according to a recursive reading. Adults also mentioned several times that the unmarked possessive structure is not a well-formed, rather an agrammatical structure. On this basis, they tried to associate a different interpretation with these test sentences and this led them towards a conjunctive interpretation.

4.2.2. The rearrangement of possessors and possessee

In light of Langó-Tóth's (2018) findings regarding the discrepancy between the order of appearance of pictorial items in PP recursion and the comprehension success of recursive structures, it was crucial to ascertain whether the sequence in which possessives and possessee are presented in recursive possessives exerts an influence on processing.

In the 2018 article, two distinct types of PP order were employed. The subject-PP-verb (4a) and the PP-subject-verb order (4b).

(4a)	*Az oroszlán*	*a zsiráf*	*előtti*	*majom*	*alatt*	*üldögél!*
	the lion	the giraffe	in front of	monkey	under	sit-3sg

(4b)	*A zsiráf*	*előtti*	*majom*	*alatt*	*oroszlán*	*üldögél!*
	the giraffe	in front of	monkey	under	lion	sit-3sg

'The lion sits under the monkey in front of the giraffe.'

A mere 27.2% of preschool-age children and 38.6% of eight-year-old children provided a recursive interpretation for the subject-PP-verb sequence. Conversely, 61.3% of the former and 75.7% of the latter provided a recursive interpretation for the PP-subject-verb sequence. It can therefore be concluded that the order of the components is of consequence in the processing of the information. It was thus appropriate to examine the two orders in this experiment as well.

The objective of the experiment was to ascertain which word order is more easily comprehensible to children: (5a) or (5b).

(5a)	*A bácsi*	*feleség-é-nek*	*a bicikli-je*	*piros.*
	the man	wife-POSS-DAT	the bicycle-POSS	red
			(possessor1–possessor2–possessee)	

(5b)	*A bicikli-je*	*a bácsi*	*feleség-é-nek*	*piros.*
	the bicycle-POSS	the man	wife-POSS-DAT	red
			(possessee–possessor1–possessor2)	

'The man's wife's bicycle is red.'

In sentences like (5a), the two possessors are positioned after the possessee, while in sentences like (5b), the two possessors are positioned before the possessee. This is possible because the unmarked possessor *bácsi* (which cannot move away from the possessee) follows another possessor, *feleség-é-nek*. The noun in question is marked with both a possessive marker and a case marker. The bicycle in question is now the property of the man's wife. The suffix -NAK, borne by the possessee *feleség* permits its occurrence at any point in the sentence with its possessor. In the experiment, both structures of type (5a) and (5b) were subjected to testing. It was not hypothesised which order might prove easier for children, and thus no prior assumption was made about whether a structure with one or the other order might be easier to comprehend.

A total of 105 participants were included in the experiment. The sample consisted of 60 adults, with an average age of 28. In the five-year-old age group, 13 individuals participated in the trial, with an average age of five years and two months. The youngest child was four years and one month old, while the oldest was six years and two months old. The group of six-year-old schoolchildren included fourteen participants with an average age of six years and four months. The youngest participant was six years of age, while the oldest was seven years and four months. Eighteen of the eight-year-olds were included in the experiment, with an average age of eight years and one month. The youngest subject was seven years and eight months of age, while the oldest was eight years and seven months of age.

Two distinct lists were compiled, based on the two word orders. All participants were presented with both word orders, each list comprised eight test sentences and eight filler sentences. The two lists were essential for ensuring that each sentence was tested an equal number of times for both word orders and to guarantee that a participant would encounter a sentence only once during the experiment. Consequently, sentences that appeared in one list with the possessor preceding the possessee were to be read in the other list with the possessor following the possessee.

Each test sentence was followed by a filler sentence in the lists. The participants viewed the images on a computer screen, the sentences were read aloud to the children, and the adults read the written presentation themselves. Subsequently, participants were required to select the image that most closely aligned with the sentence. One of the images corresponded to the recursive interpretation (Figure 6) and the other to the conjunctive interpretation (Figure 7). The image in Figure 6 may be interpreted as an illustration of the recursive structure of the sentence, as it depicts only the bicycle belonging to the wife as red. Conversely, Figure 7 may be considered an illustration of the conjunctive interpretation of the sentence, as it depicts the bicycle that is shared by the man and the wife as red.

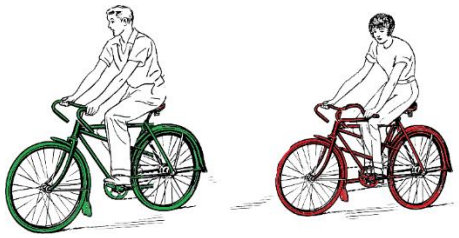

Figure 6. *The man's wife's bicycle is red.*

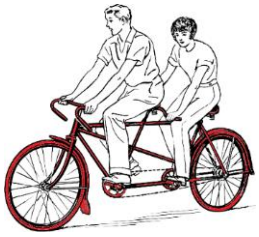

Figure 7. *The man's and his wife's bicycle is red.*

The order of the images was pseudo-randomized, which in this experiment means that for one test sentence, the recursive image was presented on the left and the conjunctive on the right, while for the following test sentence, the order was reversed so that the recursive image was presented on the right and the conjunctive on the left. A total of eight test sentences and eight filler sentences were employed in the experiment. The participants were instructed to listen to the sentences one at a time and then select the corresponding image. The task was completed in a time frame of no more than ten minutes, with no participant encountering more than one of the two lists.

In the experiment, the youngest group demonstrated a preference for the recursive image in their choices, while the performance of the other age groups could be described as more guesswork. In contrast to the children, the adults did not resort to guesswork and instead interpreted the test sentences in accordance with the recursive picture. The two orders (5a and 5b) had no discernible impact. The participants interpreted the orders recursively to a similar extent. Thus, order has no effect in this respect.

In the subsequent experiment, an attempt was made to eliminate the possibility that the children were merely guessing rather than processing the test sentences in detail. This necessitated the implementation of an act-out task, which can also be applied to possessives. As the younger age group (4–5 year olds) also appeared to interpret recursive constructions in a manner consistent with that of adults in these experiments, it became necessary to investigate what would occur if the confounding, conjunctive factor was removed from the test task and the acquisition of recursive possessives were observed in isolation. To this end, an act-out task will be presented in Section 5.

5. The experiment

The following subsections present the details of the participants, the methodology of the experiment, the results obtained, the conclusions to be drawn from them, and finally, a summary of the main data.

It is crucial to highlight that this experiment represents a departure from our previous methodological approaches. Consequently, we have excluded the conjunctive solution image from the stimuli, as we hypothesized that it was a potential distractor for children. Furthermore, the absence of a confounding default image may have resulted in the diminished frequency of the conjunctive interpretation schema or conjunctive production. In light of these considerations, it became imperative to devise a novel act-out type method to gain insights into children's processing patterns.

5.1. Participants

A total of 72 children participated in the experiment, divided into five age groups, with each group comprising children between the ages of 4 and 8 years old.

	number of participants	D1	D2	Mean age	SD
4-year-olds	13	7	6	4;4	0,65
5-year-olds	10	5	5	5;8	0,36
6-year-olds	16	8	8	6;5	0,24
7-year-olds	14	6	8	7;8	0,36
8-year-olds	19	10	9	8;5	0,29

Table 1. Participants

The order of the comprehension – production tasks is designated as D1, while the order of the production – comprehension tasks is designated as D2. Once parental consent had been obtained, individual sessions with each child were conducted, which lasted between 15 and 25 minutes, depending on their age. The responses were recorded on camera for subsequent review and analysis.

It is pertinent to inquire as to why there is no adult control group in this experiment. There are two main reasons for this decision. Firstly, the focus of this study is on the developmental aspects of language acquisition and cognitive processing that are unique to children. Including adults could introduce variables that are irrelevant to this developmental focus. Secondly, we have already collected data on adults from previous studies (shown in 4.2.1. and 4.2.2.). While it is not possible to employ this data for complete comparative purposes, it does, nevertheless, provide some insight into the performance of adults. However, in future studies, we plan to include an adult control group, as we did in the previous experiments.

5.2. Methods

Two distinct methodologies were employed to assess the comprehension and production of recursive possessive structures. In both cases, the participants were presented with a playhouse, paper story characters and their animals and food.

5.2.1 Methodology of the comprehension task

In a wooden house, a variety of fairy-tale creatures, their animals, and different foods were placed. The setting was that it was a plush doll's birthday, so we decided to bake a cake for him. In order to do this, we had to request the ingredients for the cake from the inhabitants of the house. I informed the children that we were going to traverse the entirety of the house from the uppermost to the lowest point.

Figure 8.

As illustrated in Figure 8, a 13-storey residential building was utilized for the experiment. Each floor exhibited two or three apartments that were visible from the exterior. Each apartment had a fairy tale character, an animal, and the corresponding ingredient. The upper two floors served as a training ground, as only two characters (a narrative figure and a fundamental ingredient) resided there.

The representation of the possessive relationship was solely indicated by the positioning of the actors to the right of each other. To illustrate, in the case of the witch's duck's apple, the witch was positioned on the left, the duck in the middle, and the apple on the right (see Figure 9a).

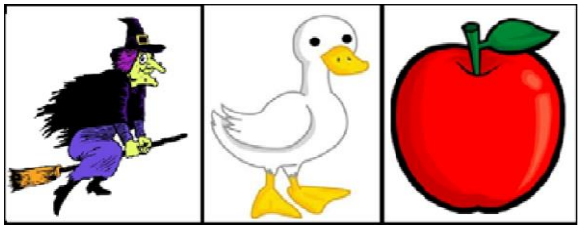

Figure 9a.

Consequently, only simple possessives could be constructed as fillers (6a).

(6a)	*Tegyük*	*a kosár-ba*	*a bohóc*	*keksz-é-t!*
	let's put	the basket-ILL	the clown	biscuit-Poss-ACC
	'Let's put the clown's biscuit into the basket.'			

The participants were required to select the appropriate ingredient associated with the designated character or animal. Two practice exercises were conducted, during which participants were required to select between two potential solutions. In the aforementioned example (6a), the participants were presented with a scenario in which a clown and a mermaid were both in possession of biscuits. These were followed by recursive possessives, as exemplified by (6b).

(6b)	*Tegyük*	*a kosár-ba*	*a boszorkány*	*kacsá-já-nak*	*az alma-já-t*
	let's put	the basket-ILL	the witch	duck-Poss-DAT	the apple-Poss-ACC
	'Let's put the witch's duck's apple into the basket.'				

In this instance, the stimulus material was required to present potential variations with respect to the first and second possessors. Based on this, it was possible to identify variants of test sentence (6b) in pictures displayed throughout the house. These triplets were not employed as supplementary test sentences but rather as image stimuli in the experiment.

(6c) possible answers:
a hercegnő *kacsá-já-nak* *az alma-já-t*
the princess duck-Poss-DAT the apple-Poss-ACC
'The princess's duck's apple.'
(differs in respect of the first possessor)

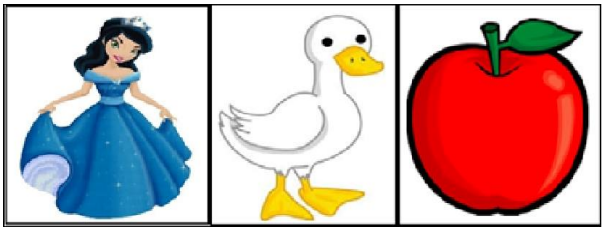

Figure 9b.

a boszorkány *tehen-é-nek* *az alma-já-t*
the witch cow-Poss-DAT the apple-Poss-ACC
'the witch's cow's apple'
(differs in respect of the second possessor)

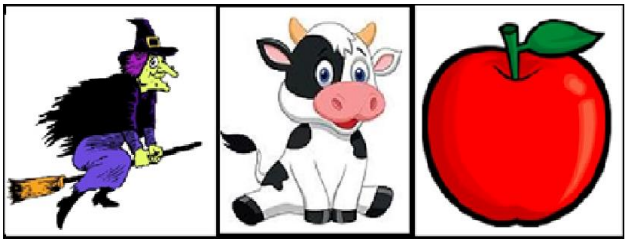

Figure 9c.

a hercegnő *tehen-é-nek* *az alma-já-t*
the princess cow-Poss-DAT the apple-Poss -ACC
'the princess's cow's apple'
(differs in respect of the first and the second possessor)

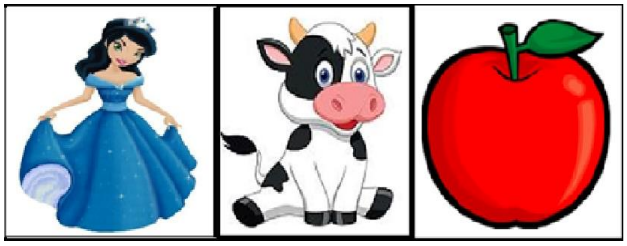

Figure 9d.

The question thus arises as to how these images can be said to represent the recursive possessive relation. It is evident that the images themselves do not represent this relation; rather, they function as prompts to elicit interpretations from the children. Previous studies on similar topics have successfully employed isolated images to investigate linguistic recursion without detailed visual hierarchies (e.g. Section 4.1.). This method ensures that the children rely on their syntactic and semantic understanding rather than visual cues alone.

The comprehension task comprised two warm-up exercises and eight test sentences. As each warm-up task had a possible pair and each test sentence had four possible solutions (6 b and c),

the total number of flats was 36. Once all the ingredients had been gathered together in a box, we proceeded to simulate the mixing and baking of a cake.

5.2.2. Methodology of the production task

In the production test, the children were informed that another puppet had a birthday that day and were instructed to bake a cake for him. In this instance, however, the experimenter proceeded to take the ingredients and place them in the basket, subsequently instructing the participant to identify the items removed from the house and subsequently placed in the basket. In the two preliminary tasks, the children were required to be guided as to their next course of action. In other words, the participants were expected to observe the items in the basket as well as respond to the question, *What did we put in the basket*? The response was *milk*. It should be noted that the experimenter was also permitted to pose supplementary inquiries during the test phase. In order to ensure that the child did not hear possessives in the help questions, we attempted to provide them with assistance in a manner similar to that described in example (7).

(7) E: So, tell me what we took!
P: The apple.
E: OK, but who does the apple belong to?
P: The duck.
E: And who does the duck belong to?
P: To the witch.
E: Then what did we take?
P: The witch's duck's apple.

In this instance, the house depicted in Figure 8 was utilized. Once all the requisite ingredients had been gathered, the cake was baked (once more).

5.3. Main results

The data were evaluated using the R software (R Core Team, 2020/21) and subjected to chi-square tests. As illustrated in Chart 1, there is no discernible difference in the performance of the various age groups in terms of the number of correct answers.

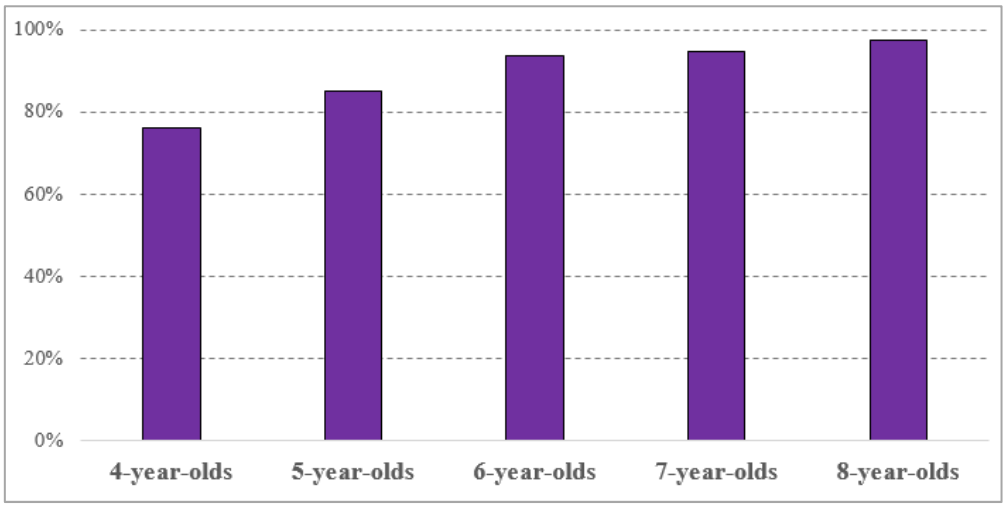

Chart 1. Correct answers in the comprehension task

Table 2 presents the correct and incorrect responses to the comprehension task, along with the corresponding corrections. Corrections are when the participant first selects the wrong ingredient, then puts it back and finally adds the correct ingredient to the basket. If this correction does not take place, it is considered an error, thus an incorrect answer. The percentages obtained for the three types of responses were compared within each group, namely the proportion of correct, incorrect and corrected responses.

	Correct	Incorrect	Correction	Σ
4-year-olds	**79 (76%)**[2]	2 (1.9%)	23 (22.1%)	104
5-year-olds	**68 (85%)**[3]	1 (1.3%)	11 (13.7%)	80
6-year-olds	**120 (93.8%)**[4]	1 (0.8%)	7 (5.4%)	128
7-year-olds	**106 (94.6%)**[5]	-	6 (5.4%)	112
8-year-olds	**148 (97.3%)**[6]	-	4 (2.7%)	152

Table 2. Overall results of comprehension task

In all cases, members of each age group demonstrated a significantly higher level of accuracy in interpreting the test sentences than they did in making mistakes or corrections.

The subsequent step is to compare the data obtained in Design 1 and Design 2 (Chart 2).

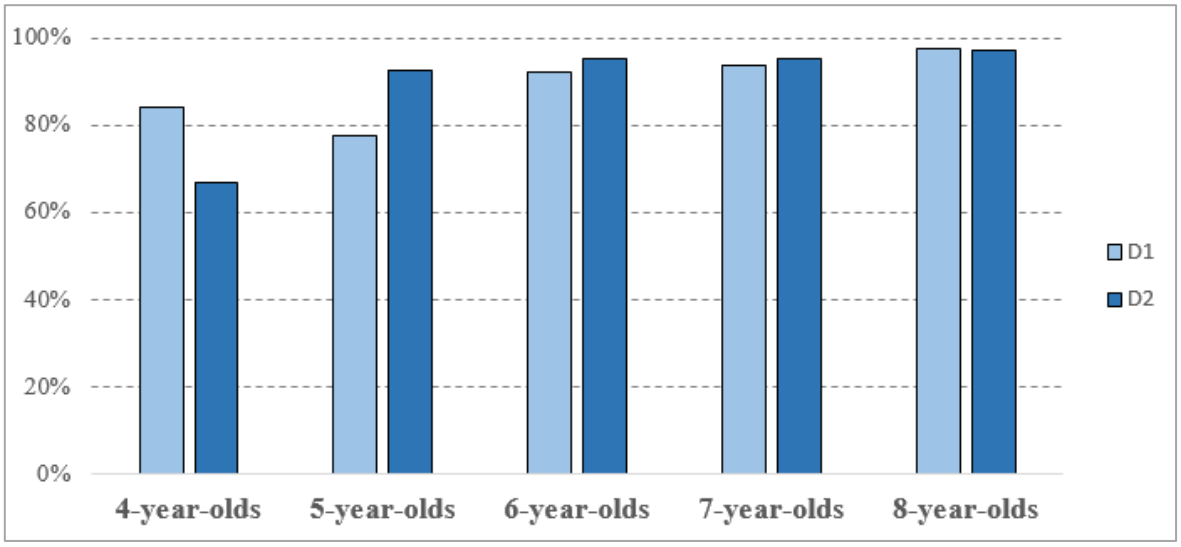

Chart 2. D1 and D2 order in the comprehension task

There is no discernible difference in the performance of children in the two designs, with the majority of children solving the test tasks correctly in both designs.[7]

[2] χ^2 (2) = 88.041, p < 0.001***
[3] χ^2 (2) = 122.43, p < 0.001***
[4] (χ^2 (2) = 164.85, p < 0.001***
[5] (χ^2 (1) = 79.566, p < 0.001***
[6] (χ^2 (1) = 89.492, p < 0.001***
[7] Even at age 4, there is no significant difference between the two designs (χ2 (1) = 1.9644, p = 0.161 n.s.), as for the other age groups: 5-year-olds (χ2 (1) = 1. 3235, p = 0.25 n.s.), 6-year-olds (χ2 (1) = 0.051253, p = 0.8209 n.s.), 7-year-olds (χ2 (1) = 0.011898, p = 0.9131 n.s.) and 8-year-olds (χ2 (1) = 0.00046225, p = 0.9828 n.s.)

Chart 3 illustrates the total number of correct responses to the production task. A significant difference is observed when the correct answers of the five age groups are compared.[8]

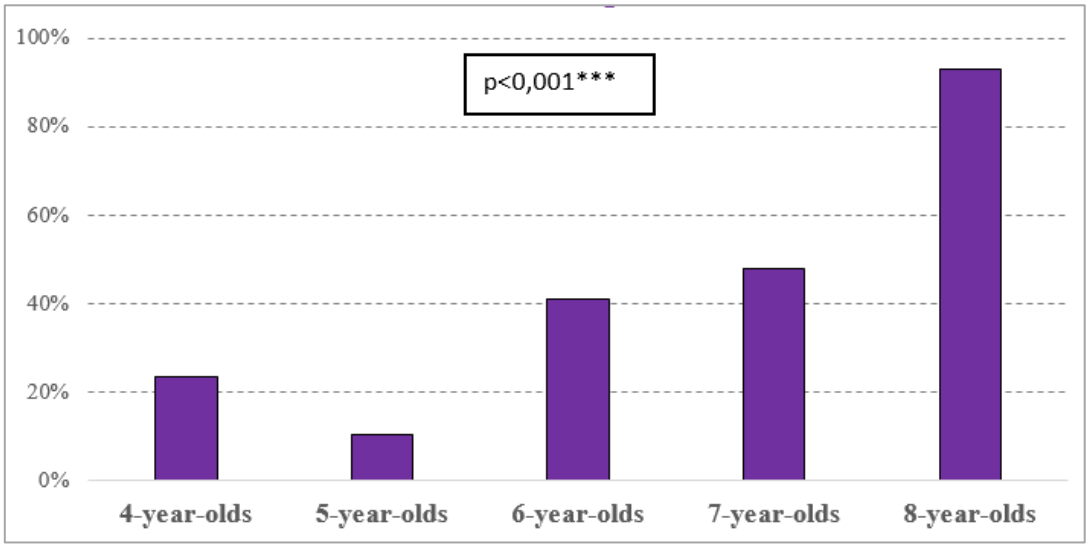

Chart 3. Correct answers in the production task

The data indicates that eight-year-olds were more successful at producing recursive possessives than six- and seven-year-olds[9]. This is in contrast to the six- and seven-year-old age groups[10], which produced more recursive possessives than the four- and five-year-old groups.[11]

Chart 4 illustrates the proportion of instances in which children produced a variant of the recursive possessives when both the first and second possessor bear the -NAK suffix (double -NAK suffix) and when only the second possessor bears this suffix (single -NAK suffix).

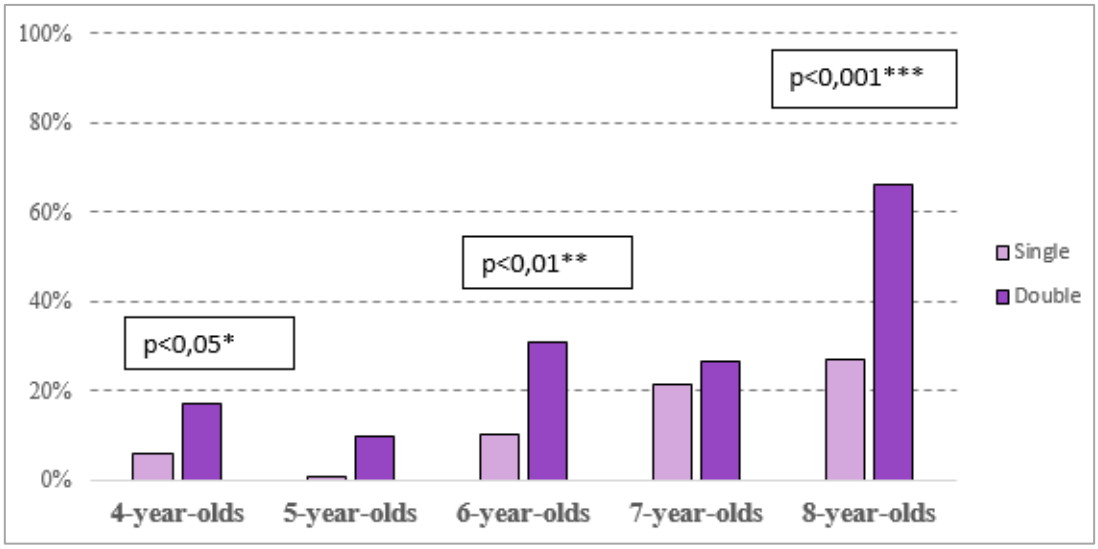

Chart 4. Single and double -NAK possessives

[8] χ^2 (4) = 91,795, p < 0,001***
[9] χ^2 (2) = 26.161, p < 0.001***
[10] χ^2 (3) = 28.293, p < 0.001***
[11] χ^2 (4) = 91.795, p < 0.001***

A greater proportion of double than single -NAK suffix possessive structures were produced by participants at the ages of four[12], five, six[13] and eight[14].

	Correct	Omission of some components of the structure	Other	Σ
4-year-olds	42 (23.5%)	**125 (69.8%)[15]**	12 (6.7%)	179
5-year-olds	16 (10.4%)	**117 (76%)[16]**	21 (13.6%)	154
6-year-olds	**80 (41%)[17]**	**75 (38.5%)**	40 (20.5%)	195
7-year-olds	**72 (48%)[18]**	**50 (33.3%)**	28 (18.7%)	150
8-year-olds	**145 (92.9%)[19]**	2 (1.3%)	9 (5.8%)	156

Table 3. Overall results of the production task

The responses of the four- and five-year-old groups were characterized by the fact that the majority of them omitted certain components of the structure. In the case of the six- and seven-year-old groups, there was no discernible difference between the production rates of the entire structure and those of its constituent parts. However, the proportion of responses classified as 'other' was significantly lower than that of the other two response types at this age. The majority of eight-year-olds demonstrated an ability to solve the task correctly, with the production of recursive possessives being significantly more prevalent than incomplete or other responses.

Chart 5 illustrates the proportion of correct answers in D1 and D2.

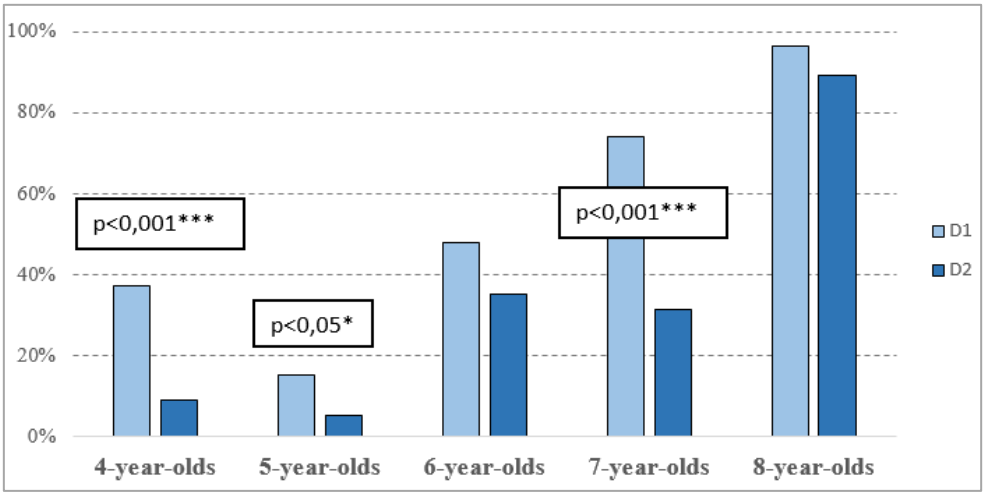

Chart 5. D1 and D2 order in the production task

[12] χ^2 (1) = 5.3607, p < 0.05*
[13] χ^2 (1) = 16.457, p < 0.001***
[14] χ^2 (1) = 16.457, p < 0.001***
[15] χ^2 (2) = 64.075, p < 0.001***
[16] χ^2 (2) = 82.074, p < 0.001***
[17] χ^2 (2) = 7.505, p < 0.05* (The significance value represents the difference between correct and incorrect responses, as well as responses that could be considered "other." It is important to note that there is no difference between correct and incorrect responses.).
[18] χ^2 (2) = 12.877, p < 0.01** (The significance value represents the difference between correct and incorrect responses, as well as responses that could be considered "other." It is important to note that there is no difference between correct and incorrect responses.).
[19] χ^2 (2) = 159.97, p < 0.001***

A comparison of the performance of all age groups for D1 and D2 indicates that D1 is more easily comprehensible and producible at ages four[20], five[21] and seven[22]. Consequently, the aforementioned age groups demonstrated significantly enhanced performance in the production task when they had previously encountered the target sentence in the comprehension test.

5.4. Discussion

The 4 to 8 age group demonstrated a ceiling-level pattern of solving the comprehension task, with even 4-year-olds selecting the correct ingredient for the corresponding character with greater frequency as well as their older counterparts. As previously stated in Section 4, the recursive possessive task also precludes the possibility of conjunctive interpretation, as there is no default conjunctive reading option available to participants. The errors in comprehension were typically due to lexical errors.

It is more probable that children will correct a wrong response rather than persist with it in comprehension task. In the event of an error, the error is typically located in the second possessor, with the 'corrections' more likely to originate from the second possessor's error than the first. This can be explained by the fact that the second possessor is more complex than the first one, both morphologically and semantically. The suffix *-ja*, which indicates that this element is possessed by the first possessor, is combined with the suffix -NAK, which also indicates possession. This means that it is itself a possessor in the structure. The higher rate of errors observed in the second possessor may be attributed to the morphological overloading of this element.

It is noteworthy that there was no discernible difference in performance between the five age groups in the comprehension task, and that the two designs exhibited no significant difference. Furthermore, it is notable that the size of the sample was relatively limited. Subsequent experiments are planned to involve a larger number of participants. The complexity of D2 is reflected in the fact that, in this case, the four-year-old age group made more corrections than in D1. This assertion is limited to the comprehension task, not the production task. However, it is unlikely to have any impact on the comprehension task. In contrast, the production phase does exhibit a priming effect, whereby the comprehension phase can influence the production of the target structure, but not vice versa. In the production phase, any type of structure could be produced that corresponds to the visual stimulus material.

It has been demonstrated that even four-year-olds are capable of producing recursive possessives. However, it is also evident that up to the age of seven years, in addition to the overall structural configuration, children tend to produce the components of the structure in isolation. In comparison to four-year-olds, the performance of five-year-olds demonstrated a decline. Of all the age groups, five-year-olds were the most likely to ignore the possessors presented in the pictorial stimulus, either the first (*the **witch's** duck's apple*) or the second (*the witch's **duck's** apple*) possessor. It was observed that the participants were only able to successfully produce the target structure after repeated attempts. This was evidenced by the fact that they typically said only the possessee first, then one and then the other possessor, and finally succeeded in producing the whole structure. This is also typical for the other age groups, although the proportion of children who exhibited this behaviour was lower than for the five-year-olds. The data indicate that children aged four and five, as well as those aged six and seven, demonstrate comparable performance in the production task. Therefore, there is a notable increase in performance between the ages of five and six, as well as between the ages of seven and eight.

The double -NAK structure is produced significantly more often than the single -NAK variant by all age groups except seven-year-olds. The data indicate that recursive possessives are produced

[20] $\chi^2(1) = 17.223$, $p < 0.001$***
[21] $\chi^2(1) = 4.6621$, $p < 0.05$*
[22] $\chi^2(1) = 17.185$, $p < 0.001$***

from the age of four, although this is not a universal phenomenon and is specific to the performance of some children. The general production of recursive possessives commences at the age of six or seven and reaches a ceiling-level performance by the age of eight.

The distinction between the two designs is discernible during the period spanning from the ages of four to seven years. Four-, five-, and seven-year-olds are the most receptive to this phenomenon. The impact of having previously primed the target structure in the D1 order during the comprehension test, prior to the initial significant shift, is discernible. A design effect was also observed at age seven, as this is when the target structure begins to be produced. Across all age groups, except for eight-year-olds, there is a positive correlation between performance on tests measuring comprehension and performance on tests measuring production.

It is only at the ages of six and seven that an increase in the number of corrections made during the production phase is observed. The production task (with the exception of eight-year-olds) is more challenging than the comprehension task for all age groups.

6. Conclusion

Two fundamental questions were posed at the outset of the research. The first question that arises is the age at which Hungarian children begin to understand and produce full recursive possessives. The answer to this question is that children already understand the recursive concept by the age of four and begin to produce recursive possessives at the age of six.

Our second question was to ascertain whether, in the event that the different age groups are unable to correctly interpret or produce the target structure as a whole, they are nevertheless able to understand it or to comprehend the meaning of the test sentences. The data on comprehension do not provide much information on this matter, since children as young as four years old can understand recursive possessives with excellence. It can be observed that children under the age of six tend to produce sub-structures rather than the complete structures.

The experiment has demonstrated that Hungarian recursive possessives emerge at an earlier age in both comprehension and production than previously assumed. It is therefore possible that recursion is challenging not because of its inherent complexity, but because it places a heavy load on working memory capacity due to the length of the structures involved. This is a question we intend to address in future experiments.

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DIFFERENTIATION OF METAPHORICAL MEANINGS OF VERBS THAT ARE (ALSO) SYNONYMOUS IN THEIR LITERAL MEANINGS

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Abstract

This paper constitutes part of a larger research project and is devoted to studying a type of synonymy in which the relevant verbs are fairly close to one another not only in their literal meanings but in their metaphorical uses as well. In particular, the paper offers an analysis of the meanings of three Hungarian verbs, *szúr* 'pierce', *bök* 'poke', and *döf* 'stab'. The discussion is based on componential semantics within the so called organic-dialectical theory[1] of language (see, e.g., Zsilka 1981) that attributes a decisive role to meaning components in metaphorisation processes, too. It also builds on relevant fundamental insights of functional cognitive linguistics (see, e.g., Dancygier (ed.) 2017, Tolcsvai Nagy (ed.) 2017).

In the framework of this discussion, I seek answers to two interrelated questions: (i) Why do certain metaphorical meanings of the verbs *szúr, bök* and *döf* diverge from one another? (ii) How can the limits of their synonymy be established?

The meanings of the relevant verbs and the synonymy relationship(s) across them are detected with the help of the *Mazsola* search engine (Sass 2008) in data gleaned from the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (HGC, see Oravecz et al. 2014). The paper surveys definitional aspects of the semantic system of the verbs *szúr, bök* and *döf*, and compares their meanings that are especially close to one another, those that are less close but still synonymous, and those that are not synonymous at all. Then, it will be explored what characteristic differences can be seen across metaphorical meanings of those verbs, how the traits (meaning components) that define them change over time, and whether there is any connection between the changes of those meaning components and the differences in meaning.

Keywords: synonymy, polysemy, metaphorisation, literal meaning, metaphorical meaning, verbs

1. Introduction

The study of synonymy, although it is a highly important phenomenon with respect to the organisation of semantic systems, has received comparatively little attention so far even within functional cognitive linguistics. Quantitative investigations in this area usually aim at the exploration of patterns of occurrence of certain expressions used synonymously (e.g., Glynn and Fischer (eds.) 2010, Glynn and Robinson (eds.) 2014, Glynn 2010, Divjak 2006), while qualitative studies try to reveal the conceptual relationships that are assumed to underlie those synonymy relationships (cf. Glynn 2014). It is, however, often not made explicit what factors may influence the nature of synonymy relationships and where the limits of synonymy are.

Similarly, little attention is devoted at present to interrelationships between polysemy and synonymy: despite the fact that the two phenomena are implicitly interconnected in a substantial set of analyses that try to describe polysemous meaning patterns, there are only a few studies on

[1] In Hungarian: *szerves-dialektikus nyelvelmélet*.

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Hungarian that deal with this topic in detail, primarily in the framework of the organic-dialectical theory of language (e.g., Horváth 1996, 1998, Ladányi 1993).

In the present research project, I elucidate the assumption made above by presenting a concrete case study that reveals some aspects of the close connection that exists between verbal polysemy and verbal synonymy (for more detail see also Hrenek 2023). Here I deal with a type of verbal synonymy where verbs of a certain set of synonyms are close to one another in their literal meanings (as well as in many of their metaphorical meanings). By exploring the polysemous meaning patterns of three verbs (*bök* 'poke', *szúr* 'pierce', and *döf* 'stab'), and the way their synonymous meanings unfold, I try to answer two fundamental questions:

(i) Do (or can) the interrelationships of the literal meanings of the verbs concerned influence the patterns of synonymy relationships of their metaphorical meanings, and if they do (or can), how?
(ii) How can we account for the limits of synonymy in these cases?

I assume that the pattern of synonymy relationships is determined by the fact that originally similar meaning components in the polysemous semantic patterns of the given verbs may change or be modified in diverse directions due to diverging processes of metaphorisation.

The paper is organised as follows: After discussing the conceptional framework (Section 2) and methodological background (Section 3) of this research, I will survey the traits that define the literal meanings of *szúr, bök* and *döf* (Section 4.1) and compare the metaphorical meanings of those verbs that are especially close to one another, those that are less close but still synonymous, and those that are not synonymous at all (Section 4.2). The paper concludes with a summary of the results and by highlighting some issues for future research (Section 5).

2. Conceptional framework

2.1. Theoretical background

In this paper I take the organic-dialectical theory of language[2] as a point of departure, given that this approach makes a detailed description of the meanings and semantic relationships of various linguistic items possible, and it also provides a theoretical and methodological basis for accounting for varied types of dynamic processes and mutual influences across the meanings of various verbs not only within polysemous semantic patterns of the individual verbs but also across meanings of sets of synonymous verbs. Furthermore, it yields an overall conceptional framework for the description and interpretation of complex correlations of both verbal polysemy and verbal synonymy.

However, in the original version of the organic-dialectical theory of language, certain issues with respect to the description of semantic phenomena do not arise (or come up merely tangentially, as implicit presuppositions). Such issues include perspectivisation and linguistic construal, and, in this regard, theoretical and methodological background issues of the collection, processing, and interpretation of corpus data can also be mentioned. In studying these aspects of verbal meanings and semantic relationships, I have taken the premises of functional cognitive linguistics[3] as a point of departure, and I attempted to synthesise, in a way, these two approaches that are related to some extent but come to largely different conclusions in some cases.

Accepting the standpoint of functional cognitive linguistics, I interpret language as a phenomenon that cannot be separated from its social and cultural context or the human way of thinking and that cannot be investigated irrespective of these aspects or without taking these factors into consideration (see, e.g., Langacker 1987, Taylor 2002, Sinha 1999). On the other hand, I subscribe to

[2] For a summary, cf. e.g. Zsilka 1973a, b, 1975, 1981, Ladányi 1997, 1998, Kállay 2016, NyMDK. 1–11; Hrenek 2019.
[3] For various summaries, cf. e.g. Ladányi and Tolcsvai Nagy 2008, Geeraerts and Cuyckens (eds.) 2007, Dąbrowska and Divjak (eds.) 2015, Dancygier (ed.) 2017, Tolcsvai Nagy (ed.) 2017, Xu and Taylor (eds.) 2021.

the basic tenet of the organic-dialectical theory of language that the aim of linguistic analysis is to explore and interpret some primarily linguistic insights that emerge from the concrete language material at hand (see, e.g., Zsilka 1981). In my analysis, I endeavour to do exactly that, as well as to study linguistic construal, which plays a key role in functional cognitive linguistics and crucially depends on speakers' perspectives (see, e.g., Verschueren 1999, Tátrai 2017). Accordingly, I have also modified or modulated the theoretical and methodological points of departure of the organic-dialectical theory of language to some extent, based on the conclusions that emerged from the linguistic material that I processed during my analyses (cf. Section 2.2).

The description of meanings is inseparable from the contexts of use of the linguistic units concerned, as well as from the ways speakers perceive and make sense of the aspects of reality that the expressions are currently used to refer to (more precisely, that the speakers currently make those expressions refer to), and how (i.e., focusing on which factors or characteristics) they interpret them. Accordingly, and in that sense, in the analyses that follow it is an important question from what perspective a speaker construes or presents a given situation when using the verbs concerned, and which real or assumed characteristics of that situation they enhance in doing so. I also tried to take the larger context of the occurrences of those verbs into consideration, given that it can modify or narrow down the interpretation of their meanings, and can contribute to making clear what (contextual and/or semantic) factors may have motivated the use of the given linguistic item in a particular utterance (cf., e.g., Verschueren 1995, 1999, Tátrai 2017, 2021).[4]

2.2. The description of semantic patterns of polysemous verbs: meaning variants, meanings, and meaning types

In accordance with the framework of the organic-dialectical theory of language, I interpret meaning in this paper primarily as a phenomenon of a linguistic kind, one that is, however, embedded in a situation, emerges during dynamic processes of meaning attribution bound to interactions, and changes in its concrete uses in discourses, as the basic tenets of functional cognitive linguistics claim (see, e.g., Verschueren 1999, Tátrai 2017).

The organic-dialectical theory of language emphasises the extraordinarily dynamic nature of the processes of semantic change (or those of metaphorisation in a broad sense), and takes the mutual effects that meanings keep making on one another to be of fundamental importance for the way language works. It claims that the various meanings of a linguistic unit are closely interrelated, continually change, keep reinterpreting, modulating, and construing each other, thus cooperatively producing and reproducing the system of meanings of the given linguistic unit over and over again. The meanings of polysemous verbs, and the system of those meanings, can be described in this approach as a complex system of general and specific meaning components that take shape and change during their use and recognition.

On the other hand, the results of my previous studies showed that in accounting for the semantic characteristics of verbal meaning patterns it is worthwhile to operate with three different notions of meaning, introducing the triple classification of meaning variants, meanings (proper), and meaning types (cf. Hrenek 2023a, b). By using these concepts, we can describe the semantic patterns of the verbs under investigation at three distinct levels of generality.

Meaning variants of a verb are semantic units directly showing up in actual use, in concrete linguistic utterances that can be characterised as special combinations of general and specific semantic components and that are also affected by the meanings of the arguments occurring in the given verb phrases as concrete lexical items. (On mutual semantic influences between verbs and their arguments see, e.g., Zsilka 1982: 73–132, Langacker 2009.) Hence, meaning variants occur e.g. in the examples in (1)–(3) (as well as in all other examples cited in this paper):

[4] Since, however, I built my analyses mostly on the investigation of corpus data, the extralinguistic environments of those utterances were impossible for me to ascertain. I could only (indirectly) include contextual factors and their effects in the description to the extent that the texts explicitly or implicitly referred to them.

(1) Anszur bólintott, kézbe fogta a golyót, elhajította. A tiszt arca földerült. Ahol a golyó leesett, földbe **szúrtak** egy ágdarabot. (#25263442)[5]
'Ansur nodded, took the ball in his hand, and threw it away. The officer's face lit up. Where the ball fell on the ground, a piece of bough was **thrusted** into the earth.'

föld-be	**szúr-t-ak**	egy ágdarab-ot
earth.SG-ILL[6]	thrust-PST-3PL	a bough.piece.SG-ACC

(2) a fésűkölteményt dús kontya tekervényeibe **szúrta** (#13915880)
'she **inserted** that poem of a comb into the wreath of her rich chignon'

a fésűköltemény-t	konty-a	tekervény-ei-be	**szúr-t-a**
the comb.poem.SG-ACC	chignon-POSS.3SG.GEN[7, 8]	coil-POSS.PL-ILL[9]	insert-PST-3SG.DEF[10]

(3) Visszahúzódott a fal mellé, s a bicskáját tétován a téglák réseibe **szúrta**. (#5408295)
'He withdrew to the wall and **stabbed** his jack-knife hesitantly into the gaps of the brick wall.'

bicská-já-t	a téglá-k	rés-ei-be[11]	**szúr-t-a**
penknife-POSS.3SG-ACC	the brick-PL.GEN	gap-POSS.PL-ILL	stab-PST-3SG.DEF

In the examples in (1)–(3), we see variants of the same metaphorical meaning of the verb *szúr* with the same syntactic pattern[12] (N_1 *szúr* N_2-*t* N_3-*bA*[13] [N_1-NOM *szúr* N_2-ACC N_3-ILL]) and with the same general verbal content '(somebody) makes (something) get into (something)'. In meaning variants that can be classified under the same meaning, verbs cooccur with nouns belonging to the same or nearly the same semantic groups (e.g., N_1 'person', N_2 'pointed object (like a pin)), N_3 'a gap or a substance-type medium (or one perceived as such)'). Specific meaning components that are relevant in the given utterances may also be shared by the variants; in the examples (1)–(3) above,

[5] All examples in this paper come from the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus v2.0.5 (see Section 3); the text samples are cited without change, keeping the original spelling. The translations of the examples are followed, in parentheses, by the identification number that the cited sample carries in the corpus. In the case of longer samples, I only gloss the verb and its arguments, while the translation of the cited text sample is given in full.
[6] In Hungarian, the singular form of nouns do not have an overt suffix. However, in the glosses, I specify that the noun is in singular.
[7] In Hungarian, the suffix with a genitive function is not morphologically independent. In certain cases, it coincides with the nominative (lacking an overt suffix, as illustrated in example (2)). In other instances, it shows synchronism with the dative suffix *-nAk* (see e.g. Ladányi 2017: 589–592). Thus, for example, expression *konty-a tekervény-ei-be* (chignon-POSS.3SG.GEN coil-POSS.PL-ILL) is considered equivalent to *konty-á-nak a tekervény-ei-be* (chignon-POSS.3SG-GEN coil-POSS.PL-ILL) variant.
[8] The number and person of the possessor, similar to verbs, are indicated on the nouns by a single suffix. In glosses, this possessive number/person is represented by attaching it to POSS with a dot. For instance, POSS.3SG corresponds to a single suffix.
[9] The POSS.PL marking in this instance pertains to the plurality of the possession. References to a singular third-person possessor (e.g., *konty* 'chignon' (2)) or a plural third-person possessor (e.g., *téglák* 'bricks' (3)) do not exhibit an overt suffix (cf. Rácz 1974: 145–148); therefore, these are not annotated in the glosses.
[10] In Hungarian, two types of verb conjugations can be distinguished: definite and indefinite. In the glosses, only the suffixes of the definite conjugation are marked (DEF).
[11] *A téglá-k rés-ei-be* ~ *a téglá-k-nak a rés-ei-be* (cf. footnote 7.).
the brick-PL.GEN gap-POSS.PL-ILL the brick-PL-GEN the gap-POSS.PL-ILL
[12] Hungarian verbs are affixed for the number and person of the entity that carries out the action, hence the subject (N_1) does not always occur explicitly in the sentence. The subjects of examples (1)–(3) are not overt, for instance.
[13] The item *-bA* – here and throughout – is a generalised exponent of the illative case marker, covering both its harmonic variants *-ba* and *-be*, while *-rA* refers to the variants *-ra* and *-re* of the sublative marker.

such components are 'penetratingly', 'relatively deeply', 'instantaneously' and 'instrument: (pin-like) pointed object'.[14] On the other hand, meaning variants can differ from one another in one or several meaning component(s) that is/are not decisive in the current context but not negligible either. For instance, 'pointed contact' may be relevant in the verbal meaning in some of the cases (as in (1) and (3)) but not in others (as in (2)).

In addition, differences across meaning variants can also be caused by the fact that a meaning component may be interpreted in partly different ways (that is, as distinct component variants) in diverse contexts. Indeed, certain meaning components may occasionally also have variants that interpret the same phenomenon (or the same aspect of a phenomenon) in similar ways but from a different point of view, standing for a different speaker's perspective. For instance, in certain contexts or in certain textual environments the component 'suddenly' of the literal meaning of *döf* can rather be specified as 'unexpectedly', thus foregrounding the viewpoint of the perceiver, see Section 4.2. Unlike semantic units that will be characterised as independent meaning components in the analyses that follow, component variants are typically not based on one another in a hierarchical manner but rather seize some peculiarity of the scene being described from different angles, emphasising different aspects of it.

In this approach, the individual **meanings** of a verb are somewhat abstract semantic units based on the meaning variants as defined above and bound up with constructional schemas which – just like in the case of meaning variants – are interpreted as specific combinations of meaning components attached to given verb phrases. They cannot be understood independently of the various semantic groups of arguments, or more generally, of the nominal expressions occurring in the environment of the verb (cf., e.g., Simon 2016, 2018; with respect to how diverse argument structures give important cues for differentiating among verb meanings in practical lexicographic work, see e.g. Elekfi 1966: 194–214, H. Molnár 1969: 229–269, Ittzés 2011: 86–93). Meanings, defined in this manner, are schematised from meaning variants,[15] hence meaning variants can be taken to be concrete implementations of meanings as schemas. The relationship between meanings and meaning variants can be understood, in this interpretation, as a mutual dynamic relationship between schemas and implementations (cf., e.g., Langacker 1987, Taylor 2002).

Accordingly, the shared general components of verbal meaning variants potentially summarised in a scheme (meaning) can be described as collectively making up verbal meaning (sticking with examples (1)–(3), '(somebody) makes (something) get into (something)'); the shared specific meaning components (in these examples) are 'penetratingly', 'relatively deeply' and 'instrument: (pin-like) pointed object', while the somewhat schematic semantic groups of the verbal arguments (N_1-NOM, N_2-ACC, N_3-ILL) are (N_1 'person', N_2 'pointed object (like a pin)), N_3 'a gap or a substance-type medium'). In sum, the metaphorical meaning of the verb *szúr*, schematised from the meaning variants shown in examples (1)–(3), bound to the syntactic structure of the construction N_1 *szúr* N_2-*t* N_3-*bA* [N_1-NOM *szúr* N_2-ACC N_3-ILL], can be captured with a relatively low degree of generality as follows: 'a person (N_1) makes a (pin-like) pointed object (N_2) enter (V) a gap or a substance-like medium (N_3)', where the meaning also includes the features of entering: 'relatively deeply penetrating' and 'momentarily'.

The **meaning types** of a verb (unlike its meaning variants and meanings) are not independent semantic units but rather clusters of verbal meanings that are held together by a more general and, consequently, more schematic verbal meaning component. That is, meaning types can be defined as groups of meanings systematised by general verbal meaning components. For instance, in the

[14] Reference to the instrument of the action as a semantic component is usually marked by an accusative argument in the argument frame of the verb, except if the verb phrase refers to a process of producing something: in that case, the noun referring to the entity produced is in the accusative and the one specifying the instrument is in the instrumental case.

[15] The categories of meaning variants and meanings as sketched here can be seen as partially parallel with 'contextual meanings' and 'type meanings', respectively (cf., e.g., Tolcsvai Nagy 2015: 51–52), but the two pairs of concepts cannot be totally identified with each other since they are interpreted within two different terminological systems.

meaning pattern of *szúr*, meaning types can be staked out (among other combinations) by the general components '(somebody/something) makes (something) get (somewhere): cause something to get somewhere', '(somebody/something) produces (something): cause something to emerge', and '(something) causes (physical) pain or inconvenience' (cf. Section 4.2):

(A) '(sy/sg) makes (sg) get (swhere): cause to get somewhere'
Here we can mention examples (1)–(3), and also those in (4)–6) where the meaning variants that occur can be understood as implementations of distinct (literal or metaphorical) meanings of *szúr*. But the general verbal component 'cause to get [something somewhere]' organises all those meanings into a single meaning type:

(4) Akadnak olyanok is, akik moha helyett egy polisztiréndarabba **szúrják** a virágokat és a gallyakat. (#236521482)
'There are some [florists] who **stick** flowers and twigs into polystyrene blocks, rather than into bunches of moss.'

egy polisztirén-darab-ba	**szúr-ják**	a virág-ok-at	és a	gally-ak-at
one polystyrene-piece.SG-ILL	stick.PRS-3PL.DEF[16]	the flower-PL-ACC	and the	twig-PL-ACC

(5) Az egész határ, libaőrzéseim vidéke tele volt az én csalafinta jeleimmel (libatollat **szúrtam** a közeli zsombékba, kákára csomót kötöttem stb.) (#1058753)
'The whole countryside, the meadow where I herded geese, was full of signs of my craftiness (I **stuck** a goose feather into the nearby tussocks, I tied a knot on the reeds, etc.)'

liba-toll-at	**szúr-t-am**	a zsombék-ba
goose-feather.SG-ACC	stick-PST-1SG	the tussock.SG-ILL

(6) rövid ujjú ingben emelgette-vizsgálgatta a zsongó méhecskékkel teli kereteket; ha a vadabbja közül karjába **szúrta** valamelyik a fullánkját, nem zavartatta magát, nem ártott a méreg, a csípést meg tán észre sem vette (#1166199)
'he kept lifting and studying the frames full of buzzing bees in a short-sleeved shirt; if one of the more savage ones **stabbed** its sting into his arm, he was not troubled, the poison did not harm him, he didn't even notice the sting'

valamelyik [méhecske]	a kar-já-ba	**szúr-t-a**	a fullánk-já-t
some [bee].SG.NOM[17]	the arm-POSS.3SG-ILL	stab-PST-3SG.DEF	the sting-POSS.3SG-ACC

(B) '(sy/sg) creates (sg): cause to emerge'
To illustrate the second meaning type within the meaning pattern of *szúr* we can bring up examples in which the meaning of the verb can be described with respect to the general verbal content 'produce (something)'. The emergence of that component and its position within the meaning pattern of *szúr* can be understood if we take it into consideration that whenever a person drives a pointed, pin-like object into a substance-like medium, a hole emerges as a consequence of that action in the surface of the material that was unscathed beforehand; a hole that can be seen as an injury or even as a pattern – that is, in the process of piercing something in the concrete physical sense the component of getting something somewhere and that of creating something are closely interlinked. However, in the examples of the **(B)** meaning type (as opposed to those in the **(A)** meaning type), the verb does not primarily refer to the spatial movement of a pin-like object; linguistic

[16] In Hungarian, the present tense does not have an overt suffix.
[17] In Hungarian, the nominative (NOM) function is not marked by any overt affix; it is marked by the opposition with the other forms of the nominal inflectional paradigm (all of which exhibit overt suffixes).

interpretation rather foregrounds in this case the fact that during the process, as its consequence, a new entity is created. (In the case of (7), this is closely linked to the piercing process in a physical sense, whereas in (8), it is interpreted in a more abstract manner, and does not imply a concrete action.) For instance:

(7) A fenyőfára dísznek szánt mézeskalácsokat ba [sic!] hurkapálcikával egy lyukat **szúrunk**, hogy később át tudjuk rajta fűzni a cérnát. (#726989313)
'We **bore** (holes into) the gingerbread figures meant to adorn the Christmas tree with a skewer, so that we can later slip the thread through them'

a mézes-kalács-ok-ba	egy lyuk-at	**szúr-unk**
the ginger-bread [figure]-PL-ILL	one hole.SG-ACC	bore.PRS-1PL

(8) A nők akkortájt igen rövid szoknyát viseltek. Meztelen lábszárára apró piros pontokat **szúrt** a hideg. (#16841015)
'Women wore very short skirts those days. Coldness **stabbed** small red spots on her naked legs.'

lábszár-á-ra	pont-ok-at	**szúr-t**[18]	a hideg
leg-POSS.3SG-SUB	spot-PL-ACC	stab-PST.3SG	the coldness.SG.NOM

(C) '(sg) causes (physical) pain or inconvenience'
The third meaning type to be mentioned here is also closely related to the **(A)** meaning type as causing physical pain or inconvenience is also a kind of "accompaniment" or consequence of the piercing process in the physical sense. However, at the level of metaphorical meanings, just like in the case of the component of creating, the component 'cause (physical) pain or inconvenience' may also get severed from the actual piercing event and may direct the listener's attention towards the painful or inconvenient nature of percepts, effects, or impressions (as interpreted by the speaker). Such cases are instantiated in the text samples in (9)–(11):

(9) Kék és vörös kockákból volt szőve, de úgy rátapadt a testére, hogy sírni szeretett volna, zokogni, annyira **szúrt** a pulóver (#12909711)
'It was woven out of blue and red squares, but it stuck to her body so tight that she felt like crying and blubbering, so hard the pullover **was stinging** her'

szúr-t	a pulóver
sting-PST.3SG	the pullover.SG.NOM

(10) Olyan hó, mint a tű. Az embert szinte csípte, **szúrta**, ahogy nekicsapta a szél a bőrének (#47676546)
'Snow was like needles. One **was** almost stung, **bitten**, as the wind threw it to one's skin'

a hó	**szúr-t-a**	az ember-t
the snow.SG.NOM	bite-PST-3SG.DEF	the man.SG-ACC[19]

(11) Várpalotán záptojásszag **szúrta** az orromat, a szénfeldolgozóból. (#4335697)
'In the town of Várpalota, rotten egg smell **was pricking** my nostrils, from the coal works.'

záptojás-szag	**szúr-t-a**	az orr-om-at
rottenegg-smell.SG.NOM	prick-PST-3SG.DEF	the nostril-POSS.1SG-ACC

[18] Despite the fact that in the third person singular of indefinite conjugation there is no overt suffix, this function is also indicated in the glosses.
[19] In Hungarian, *az ember* 'the man' can be equivalent to the English *one* (i.e. 'somebody').

Reviewing the meaning types **(A)–(C)**, we can say that meaning types can occasionally lump meanings together that are apparently relatively far from one another if the given meanings can be captured by taking the same general verbal meaning components into consideration, even if they are interpreted in distinct systems of interdependences. (The general verbal meaning components defining meaning types may also play an important role in the unfolding of synonymy relationships, as will be discussed in detail in Section 4 below where I summarise the results of some concrete analyses.)

The hierarchy of meaning variants, meanings and meaning types is (very schematically) depicted in Figure 1 below:

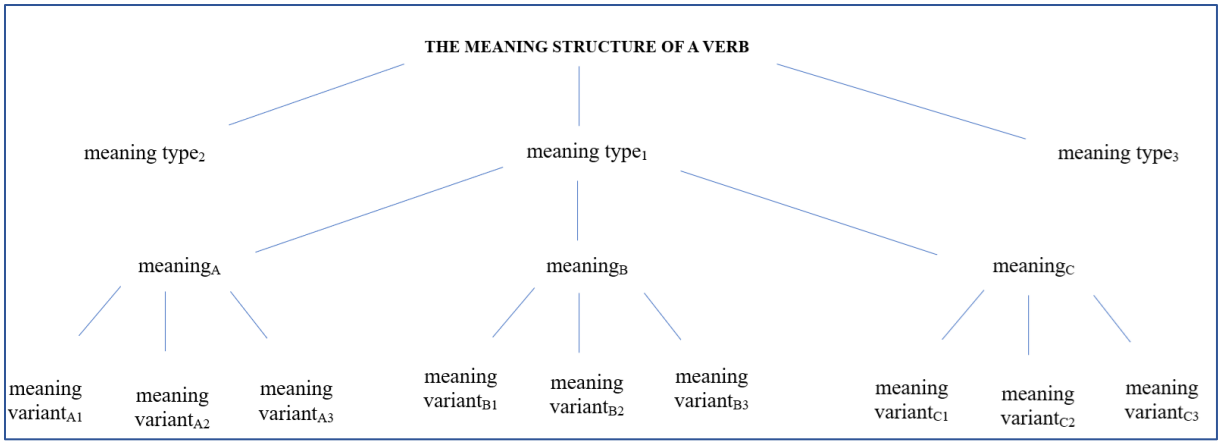

Figure 1. Meaning variants, meanings, and meaning types in the meaning structure of verbs

2.3. The interpretation of synonymy relationships

The relation of synonymy is usually defined in the literature as similarity (or sometimes: identity) of meaning and style across various linguistic units (cf., e.g., Cruse 1986, Lyons 1995; see also da Silva 2015). On the other hand, there is no consensus (and no uniform system of criteria) on what degree of similarity is required to speak of synonymy and how, in what concrete ways, such similarity can be pinned down and examined. The case study presented in this paper is meant to contribute to the clarification of these issues by way of an analysis of meaning relationships within a relatively narrow range of verbal synonyms.

Synonymy is defined here as similarity across certain meanings of different linguistic units that is (arguably) based on shared meaning components (see Ladányi 1993), and is closely related to the concept of interchangeability, even though the two properties cannot be equated unproblematically. It is also worth pointing out that synonymy does not me an absolute synonymy (that is, total identity of meaning and style) in most cases, but it can rather be seen as an interplay of similarities and differences (cf., e.g., Murphy 2003). In addition, its description and interpretation must involve tightly interlocked semantic, stylistic and syntactic criteria.

In the conceptional framework sketched here, in harmony with insights hinted at above, ranges of synonyms can be captured as dynamically changing arrangements in constant interaction with the items involved in them, rather than *ab ovo* given, unchangeable groupings that are easy to circumscribe. Linguistic units that become synonymous in some of their meanings via diverse processes of semantic change (see, e.g., Ladányi 1993, Horváth 1996) do not simply join a given range of synonyms but they also affect the range of synonyms that they become members of: they often modify or reinterpret those meaning components or arrangements of meaning components that keep the given range of synonyms together and thereby define it.

3. Method and material

The research reported here is corpus-based (cf. Tognini-Bonelli 2001), using corpus data primarily taken from the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus (HGC v2.0.5, see Oravecz et al. 2014). Some of the data, however, were not gleaned using the search interface of HGC itself but via the *Mazsola* search engine (cf. Sass 2008) that had been produced with the aim of examining verbal argument frames based on the material of an earlier version of HGC. The advantage of this is that Mazsola systematises hits in terms of the individual verbal arguments, thus facilitating the description of polysemous patterns of verbal meanings. In fact, I assume a close correspondence between the meanings of verbs and those of their arguments, and I also assume that by sketching the semantic groups of arguments we can come closer to an adequate exploration of verbal meanings, too (see Section 2.2).

I thoroughly processed a 1500-item sample from HGC for each verb concerned. By doing so, I was able to take the larger context of the verbs into consideration, as made possible by the characteristics of the corpus. In searches executed with the help of Mazsola, however, I also incorporated a larger material in my research: for each of the verbs under study, I analysed their occurrences in verb + accusative noun (V + N-*t*) constructions, given that all three verbs are transitive in most of their meanings, and I searched three further argument frames that the relevant entries of the available large Hungarian monolingual dictionaries (*A Defining Dictionary of Hungarian*, ÉrtSz., *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Hungarian*, Nszt.) claim are typical argument frames for those verbs. I did not narrow down the hit lists in any way, thus I did not exclude cases in which the argument frame of a hit was larger than the ones given above. For example, hits returned for the argument frame *szúr* N-*t* [N-ACC] could include, among other options, expressions like *szúr* N-*t* N-*bA* or N-*rA* [*szúr* N-ACC N-ILL/N-SUB], etc. The aim of those searches was simply to enable the hits to range over the largest possible set of occurrences (uses) of those verbs, arranging the hits according to the arguments given in the search terms. Obviously, this resulted in some overlap between the various argument frames employed.

The quantity and distribution of the data gleaned with the help of Mazsola is summarised in Table 1:[20]

	V + N-*t*	**V + N-*rA***	**V + N-*bA***	**V + N-*(V)n*[21]**	**Total**
bök	185	192	52	24	**453**
szúr	1338	109	495	279	**8221**
döf	258	7	16	40	**321**

Table 1. The occurrences of *bök*, *szúr* and *döf* in various argument frames (Mazsola)

Even though the analyses are strictly based on text corpora, that is, on expressions coming from real language use, I also relied to some extent on the material of certain Hungarian monolingual dictionaries.[22] I did not take dictionary entries as primary data for my research in a strict sense, and I did not analyse them in any way. However, I do consider the Hungarian monolingual defining dictionaries that are available to represent an extremely rich material that had been compiled consciously and reflexively. They reflect the professional intuitions of generations of dictionary makers and may thus confirm or modulate the conclusions drawn from the analysis of corpus data as well as point out

[20] The table does not include nominative arguments, since they were not part of any of the searches. The rest of the arguments (as search conditions) will not be emumerated here, since they can occur by themselves and combined in various ways in the individual argument frames.

[21] The label *-(V)n* generalises over the allomorphs of the superessive suffix *-n/-on/-en/-ön*, where V stands for the variably present vowel in a general form.

[22] These are the following: *A magyar nyelv értelmező szótára* (ÉrtSz.), *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár*[1, 2] (ÉKsz.[1], ÉKsz.[2]), *A magyar nyelv nagyszótára* (Nszt.); *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (TESz.), *Új magyar etimológiai szótár* (ÚESz).

meanings that are not necessarily represented in corpora covering the synchronic state of the language but might shed light on important semantic facts relevant in synchrony, too.

In describing the semantic characteristics of verbs, both within their polysemous patterns and across their synonymy relationships, I took the methods of componential semantic analysis[23] as a point of departure, methods that had been elaborated in the framework of the organic-dialectical theory of language, employed qualitative aspects of analysis, and operated with general and specific meaning components (see especially NyMDK. 1–11), but I based my conclusions primarily on the corpus data that I had processed. In my analyses, I did not employ statistical methods, and did not strive to approach the materials studied in a quantitative manner.

In analyses carried out in the framework of the organic-dialectical theory of language, bidirectional connections, interactions and mutual influences between meanings and meaning components are emphatically present. I tried to follow this approach in the present study, but I also departed from some of the ideas of the organic-dialectical theory of language where meaning components are seen as belonging to linguistic reality. In my view, meaning components do have linguistic reality on the one hand, given that (a) they emerge (are schematised) from concrete uses, and (b) it can be assumed that speakers are intuitively aware of (at least) the most characteristic and outstanding meaning components, those being part of their competence in the given language. On the other hand, these components are actually part of the descriptive model as they can be interpreted as researchers' formulation or representation of components that are not accurately represented in the speakers' minds; that is, meaning components are primarily potential tools of modelling the linguistic (semantic) phenomena at hand, by the help of which, in my view, we can obtain more complex accounts of the relationships and changes of verbal meanings than in terms of other possible ways of description.

Semantic analyses performed in this conceptional framework are based on continuous comparisons of the various occurrences, uses, and meanings of the given linguistic units (in our case, verbs). Nevertheless, my studies suggest that such comparisons are not only relevant across (literal and metaphorical) meanings of polysemous verbs: taking account of synonymous verbal meanings is just as important in staking out individual meanings and their relations.

4. Changes and limits of synonymy relationships across literal meanings at the level of metaphorical meanings – in the case of the verbs *bök*, a *szúr* and *döf*

In what follows, via the analysis of the verbs *bök*, *szúr* and *döf*, I will seek to find out how their general and specific meaning components both connect and separate the meanings of these verbs at the level of literal meanings, and how the components of the literal meanings of these verbs constitute the basis of the synonymy (or lack thereof) of their metaphorical meanings. First, I will determine the literal meanings of the verbs under study here and establish how synonymy relations of the literal meanings can be based on their individual meaning components (Section 4.1). Then I will provide a detailed analysis of the meaning components assumed to be present in the metaphorical meanings and metaphorical meaning complexes of these verbs, with specific attention to how they contribute to the synonymy relationships across their metaphorical meanings; and, at the same time, I will explore the limits of synonymy (Section 4.2).

It is important to emphasise, however, that in this approach synonymy is not understood as complete identity of meaning, but rather as an interplay of similarities and differences (cf. Section 2.3). The verbs constituting the material of this investigation, as will be discussed in detail below

[23] Componential analysis figures in quite a few linguistic description types that may be widely different in other respects (see, e.g., Kiefer 2007: 63–90), but it is nevertheless often associated with formal/logical approaches to semantics. The present research is unambiguously situated within a functional framework; accordingly, and in harmony with the fundamental principles of the organic theory of language, meaning components are understood here not as formalisable, fixed and/or universal semantic primitives, but rather as constructs by the help of which dynamic and context-dependent properties of real language use can be captured.

in Section 4.1, can occur in the same syntactic environments in their literal meanings (too), yet their meanings do not completely coincide, and the expressions containing them can refer to different (but in some sense similar) portions of reality.

4.1. Synonymy at the level of literal meanings: similarities and differences

The literal meanings of *bök*, *szúr* and *döf* (more exactly, some meaning variants of their literal meanings) can be seen in the examples in (12)–(14) below:

(12) Radó oldalba **bökte** Csutakot (#26557130)
'Radó nudged [lit. **poked** the side of] Csutak'

Radó	oldal-ba	**bök-t-e**	Csutak-ot
Radó.NOM	side.SG-ILL	poke-PST-3SG	Csutak-ACC

(13) A kartonpapírra karácsonyi mintákat, figurákat, papírvirágokat ragasztottak. A tartóelem hátuljába 24 gombostűt **szúrtak** (#565370935)
'They glued Christmas patterns, figures, paper flowers on the cardboard. They **drove** 24 pins into the back of the support'

a tartó-elem	hátul-já-ba[24]	gombostű-t	**szúr-t-ak**
the support-element.SG.GEN	back-POSS.3SG-ILL	pin.SG-ACC	drive-PST-3PL

(14) a bicskát az első rossz szóra a legjobb haverjába **döfte** (#19533582)
'he **stabbed** the penknife into his best pal at the slightest offence'

a bicská-t	a legjobb haver-já-ba	**döf-t-e**
the penknife.SG-ACC	the best pal-POSS.3SG-ILL	stab-PST-3SG.DEF

In its literal meaning, *bök* involves touching,[25] the aim of which (if the interaction at hand is between persons) is often to raise the attention of someone; an example of this is illustrated in (12). In that process, the agent does not exert significant force; s/he makes a relatively slight movement, during which or because of which his/her hand, finger or elbow touches some person or other living creature or indeed an object at some point.

The verb *szúr* in its literal meaning gives a linguistic representation of situations in which the agent moves a pin or a pin-like pointed object or makes it get somewhere in a way that the given object penetrate some medium deeply in a brief/momentary process,[26] touching its surface at a single point (cf. Section 2.2).

The literal meaning of *döf* is rather similar to that of *szúr* in a certain respect: the agent, again, makes some pointed object penetrate some entity, and point-like touching is also relevant here; on the other hand, a decisive difference is that *döf* in its literal meaning refers to situations where the object is not a pin but a sharp knife or knife-like object (often used aggressively and ready for causing significant harm) that the agent drives into some medium with an assaultive intention and relatively great force.

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[24] *Az elem* *hátul-já-ba* ~ *az elem-nek* *a hátul-já-ba* (cf. footnote 7.).
the element.SG.GEN back-POSS.3SG-ILL the element.SG-GEN the back-POSS.3SG-ILL

[25] It is primarily via this meaning component of 'touching' that the connection between the meanings of *bök* 'poke' and *lök* 'push' can be accounted for (e.g., *vki oldalba bök ~ lök vkit* 'somebody nudges ~ bumps into somebody').

[26] Momentariness can in fact characterise situations marked by the literal meanings of *bök* and *döf*, too, but in the meaning patterns of these verbs – in view of the metaphorical meanings and meaning relationships, too – this component does not appear to be linguistically relevant in a synchronic aspect.

The components determining the literal meanings of the three verbs,[27] as well as the similarities and differences of their literal meanings are summarised in Figure 2:

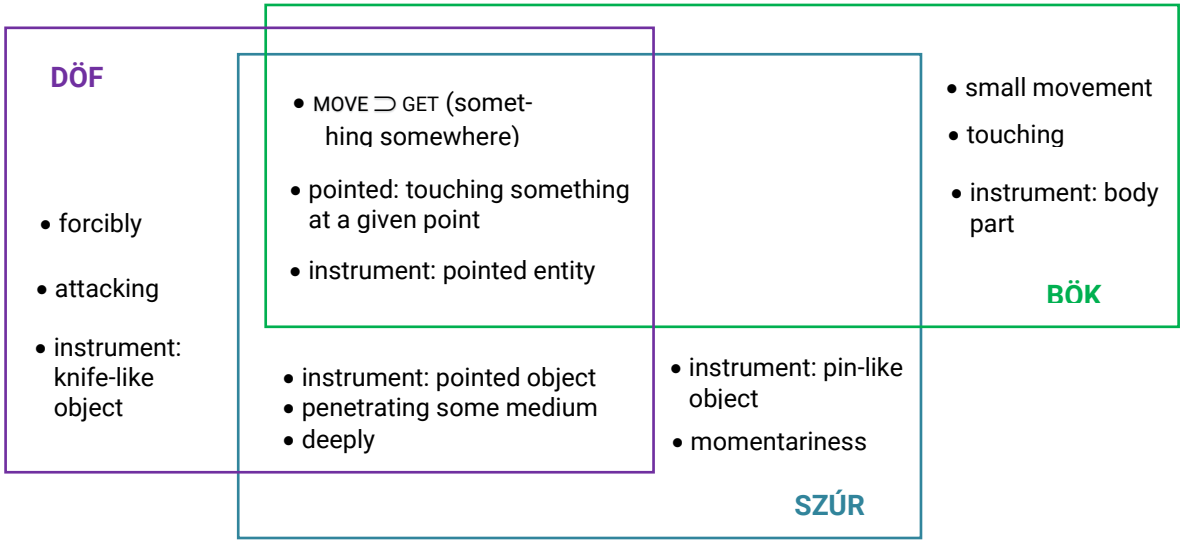

Figure 2. Decisive components of the literal meanings of *bök*, *szúr* and *döf* [28]

As can be seen, synonymy is not understood as total identity of meaning in this case, either (cf. Section 2.3). Also, it cannot be said that it is necessarily linked to a neutralisation or backgrounding of the differences.

It is also worth pointing out that the three verbs cannot always be interchanged in their literal meanings. For instance, in an expression like *vki tőrt bök vkibe* 'somebody pokes a dagger into somebody'– that does not occur in the corpus but is a potentially acceptable construction – *bök* could only occur in a metaphorical sense. All three verbs occur in the same syntactic environment (N_1 N_2-*bA* V N_3-*t* [N_1-NOM N_2-ILL V N_3-ACC]) in their literal meanings, but they cannot necessarily be interchanged in each lexical context (e.g., *vki oldalba* V *vkit* 'somebody V somebody's side') without a substantial change in their meaning or in the meaning of the verb phrase as a whole (cf., e.g., *vki oldalba szúr* ~ *döf vkit* [somebody wounds somebody (typically with a sharp/pointed object)] vs. *vki oldalba bök vkit* [somebody touches somebody]).

In the following section I will explore how synonymy at the metaphorical level can be built upon the correspondences and meaning relationships sketched here and how differences that are not necessarily decisive in the literal meanings can lead in the case of some metaphorical meanings to the weakening or even the loss of a synonymity relationship.

4.2. Synonymy at the level of metaphorical meanings

As we have seen in Section 4.1, the meaning patterns of our three verbs characteristically differ from one another in some respects, even though similarities are also kept up. Such a difference, becoming

[27] It is important to emphasise that the components of literal meanings only get definable in the light of the metaphorical ones (cf., e.g., Zsilka 1975). Accordingly, the meaning components sketched here were pinned down after the analysis of the metaphorical meanings, but considerations of space do not make it possible to go into details concerning the analysis of individual metaphorical meanings. The meaning components that are relevant at the metaphorical level and play a decisive role in the synonymy relations of the three verbs will be described in Section 4.2 below.

[28] Small caps indicate general verbal component(s) here, while ⊃ refers to the relation of inclusion (that is, it shows that one component includes the other).

decisive during metaphorisation and/or in certain metaphorical meanings, is that *bök* refers to touching and to a relatively slight movement, whereas *döf* refers to a forceful movement carried out with a knife or some other object (like a dagger or a bayonet) capable of causing harm during an attack, and *szúr* refers to a brief or momentary action whose instrument is some thin, pointed, pin-like object (cf. 2.2). It is fundamentally these particulars that serve as the basis of distinctions across the diverse metaphorical meanings of these verbs. Considering these, it becomes understandable why low intensity and the process of pointing become salient in metaphorical meanings of *bök*, why components related to increased intensity, rudeness, and violence are foregrounded in the case of *döf*, and why the peculiarities of the meanings of *szúr* are partly given by components like momentariness, pointedness and penetration, and partly by the fact that its meanings (as opposed to those of *bök* and *döf*) are unspecified with respect to the degree of intensity.[29]

bök	*szúr*	*döf*
(touching) with finger or elbow	with a pin or pin-like object	forcibly, in an attacking manner
small movement	pointedness	with a knife-like object
small intensity	unspecified for intensity	great intensity
directing attention		rudely, violently

Table 2. Correlations of specific meaning components determining the semantic patterns of *bök*, a *szúr* and *döf*

In what follows, I will go into details with respect to these generalisations, focusing on the issue of how, in exploring the interplay between the similarities and differences in the meanings of the three verbs, synonymy relationships between certain meanings of theirs can be described and how the changes of those relationships can be accounted for at the level of metaphorical meanings. Semantic similarities will primarily be detected in terms of general components defining verbal meaning types (cf. 2.2), while differences will be outlined taking into account, alongside these, also some specific components of the verbal meanings involved (not covering in this paper all general and specific meaning components of the verbs concerned, only mentioning those that play an important role in the synonymy relationships of the three verbs, and in the fate of similarities and differences across their meanings).

4.2.1. Maintaining synonymy: close synonymy relationships

In some metaphorical meanings of these verbs (and not only in ones that refer to concrete physical actions and thus are especially close to their literal meanings), synonymy between given meanings is interpreted as a relationship that is similar to (or even more close-knit than) that observable at the level of literal meanings. Semantic proximity of the relevant meanings of these verbs is also proved by the fact that all three verbs occur in similar or identical argument frames in these cases, often governing arguments belonging to the same semantic groups (or even the same lexical items). Proximity of the semantic relationships is also shown by the fact that the constructions involving the different verbs (unlike in the case of expressions involving these verbs in their literal meanings)

[29] This does not mean that *szúr* cannot refer to events characterisable by high intensity. Rather, this verb in the appropriate context or situation can refer to processes regarded as those of both low and increased intensity, and even to processes interpreted as neutral with respect to intensity.

can often be regarded as somewhat diverse representations of similar or even totally identical portions of reality.

As an example, consider the meaning type held together by the general component **'fasten'** that can be interpreted similarly in the meaning patterns of all three verbs. The verbs belonging to this meaning type fit into the following argument frame: 'somebody fastens something on/to something' [(N_1-NOM) V N_2-ACC N_3-SUB/N_3-ALL].[30] Meanings belonging here are close to the literal meanings of these verbs, but they are nevertheless analysed as metaphorical meanings here, given that, even though movement or causing movement plays a role in them, these meanings do not foreground that component, as opposed to the corresponding literal meanings, but the component of fastening itself. For instance:

(15) Nem ujjába fogta a kenyeret, mint régen, hanem villára **bökte** (#33518508)
'He did not hold the bread between his fingers, as he used to, but **forked** it'

villá-ra	**bök-t-e**	a kenyer-et
fork.SG-SUB	poke-PST-3SG.DEF	the bread.SG-ACC

(16) **Szúrjuk** nyársra a békacombokat (#243554430)
'Let's **skewer** the frog's legs'

szúr-juk	nyárs-ra	a béka-comb-ok-at
prick.PRS-1PL.DEF	skewer.SG-SUB	the frog-leg-PL-ACC

(17) villára **döfték** a főtt sonkadarabokat (#26946466)
'they **forked** the pieces of cooked ham'

villá-ra	**döf-t-ék**	a sonka-darab-ok-at
fork.SG-SUB	stab-PST-3PL.DEF	the ham-piece-PL-ACC

If we now interpret these meanings of the three verbs with respect to one another, in that of *bök* (just like in the literal meaning of that verb) the component '(with) relatively small movement' is foregrounded, *döf* interprets the process as a forceful movement, and *szúr* draws attention to the pointed, pin-like shape of the skewer.

The verbs also refer to concrete physical movement in their meanings that can be classified into the meaning type **'make a move'** – and their meanings can again be described as in the previous case. The verbs occur in the following argument frame in this case: 'somebody makes a move to somewhere / in the direction of something' [(N_1-NOM) V N_2-ILL / N_2-NOM with a lative postposition].[31] For instance:

(18) A művésznő mutatóujjával **bökött** a levegőbe, az előszoba fogasa iránt. (#47474202)
'The actress **poked** her index finger to the air, in the direction of the hall's coat rack'

a művésznő	a levegő-be	**bök-ött**
the actress.SG.NOM	the air.SG-ILL	poke-PST.3SG

(19) A közértes mutatóujjával oktatólag a levegőbe **szúrt** (#30055189)
'The shopkeeper **pierced** his index finger into the air, educatively'

[30] In the concrete expressions, the order of the arguments can vary, and some arguments can also be optional. Optionality is indicated by parentheses within square brackets.

[31] In Hungarian, the function of adverbials can be fulfilled by an adverb (e.g. *felfelé* 'upwards'), a case-marked noun (e.g. *a levegő-be* 'into the air', see (18)–(19)), or a noun followed by a postposition (e.g. *az ég felé* 'towards the sky', see (20)), where postpositions are in general attached to the nominative form of the noun.

a közértes	a levegő-be	**szúr-t**
the shopkeeper.SG.NOM	the air.SG-ILL	pierce-PST.3SG

(20) mutatóujját a csillagos ég felé **döfte** (#171791699)
'he **stabbed** his index finger towards the starry sky'

mutató-ujj-á-t	az ég felé	**döf-t-e**
index-finger-POSS.3SG-ACC	the sky towards	stab-PST-3SG.DEF

The use of these verbs is probably motivated primarily by the shape of the index finger and (in a related manner) the component of being directed at the given point in all three cases. It is also worth observing here that, in accordance with the meaning of the verbal component of the expressions, air is linguistically construed as a substance in (18) and (19). The verb *bök* grabs the situation from the angle of pointing, the directing of attention (cf. *az előszoba fogasa iránt* 'in the direction of the hall's coat rack'), while *döf* grabs it from the angle of forceful (even rude) nature of the movement, and *szúr* foregrounds momentariness (that can be seen as suddenness) and the pointed shape of the finger.

The relationship among the verbal meanings can be similar in cases where the meanings of all three verbs move far away from their literal meanings; we can mention a meaning type involving the general component **'be directed'** in this connection. In these cases, the verbal argument frame is as follows: 'something is directed somewhere / towards something'[32] [(N_1-NOM) V N_2-ILL / N_2-SUB / N_2-NOM with a lative postposition]. For instance:

(21) Most látom az erődöt, járok is benne, annak is aranycsúcsocskája van, tűhegyes, mint egy színarany-ceruza **bök** az égbe a Néva túlpartján. (#305791077)
'Now I see the fortress, I walk in it, it also has a tiny golden peak, pointed like a needle, **poking** the sky like a golden pencil on the other side of the River Neva'

az erőd	arany-csúcs-ocská-ja[33]	az ég-be	**bök**
the fortress.SG.GEN	golden-peak-DIM-POSS.3SG	the sky.SG-ILL	poke.PRS.3SG

(22) a földbe ásott nyurga fenyőállásfák büszkén **szúrtak** a kék égre (#44388277)
'the tall pine beams dug into the ground proudly **pierced** the blue sky'

a fenyő-állásfá-k	az ég-re	**szúr-t-ak**
the pine-beam-PL.NOM	the sky.SG-SUB	pierce-PST-3PL

[32] The general meaning component 'be directed [at something]' is superimposed to the general component 'make a movement in a certain direction': the relevant movement in the case of these verbs usually means a movement with a hand, a finger, or some (relatively) pointed object, a movement that can be interpreted as a kind of pointing at something and is thus closely correlated with directionality. The difference between the two general meaning components and between the meaning types they define is that whereas 'make a movement in some direction' really involves movement, in the case of 'be directed [at something]' the verbs in general refer to a state as if it was an action, or construe a static property as a quasi-process (representing the bearer of the given property in an anthropomorphised manner, like the fortress (21), the beams (22) or the buds (23)).

[33] *az erőd* *csúcs-ocská-ja* ~ *az erőd-nek* *a csúcs-ocská-ja* (cf. footnote 7.).
the fortress.SG.GEN peak-DIM-POSS.3SG the fortress.SG-GEN the peak-DIM-POSS.3SG

(23) Azután kertek sora mellett vezetett el az utunk, amelyek sövénykerítésén már kiütköztek a rügyek, bár még a gally barnás színét viselték, s szorosan összecsavarodva **döftek** apró, hegyes fejükkel a tavasz közeledtétől megbolydult levegőbe. (#36644251)
'Then our journey led us along a tier of gardens whose hedgerows burgeoned, though the buds still wore the brownish colour of the twigs, and **stabbed** their tiny, pointed heads into the air stirred by spring awakening'

a rügy-ek	a levegő-be	**döf-t-ek**
the bud-PL.NOM	the air.SG-ILL	stab-PST-3PL

The meanings of the three verbs show, again, more (relevant) similarities than differences, and it can be observed again that the three verbs are potentially interchangeable with a small modification of the meaning of the given expression. Hence, we cannot speak of identical meanings here, either. In the meaning of *bök*, the component of (metaphorically) pointing at something is emphasised, not independently of the fact that in its literal meaning this verb usually refers to a movement of the hand, and that such movements are often interlocked with the intention of directing someone's attention to something. The verb *szúr* directs attention to the pointed shape of the pine beams, making an implicit parallel between the shape of needles and that of the beams, while *döf* construes the process of burgeoning as one that involves increased intensity.[34]

4.2.2. Neutralised differences

Whenever the relevant meanings of the three verbs are relatively close to one another, it may happen that the differences become irrelevant in certain contexts and shared components come to the fore. The following examples – where the verb meanings can be grouped into a meaning type defined by the general meaning component **'produce: cause to emerge'** (cf. 2.2) – illustrate cases in which the differences of the verb meanings are not necessarily relevant (given that these expressions depict the situation as seen from the end point, the result – i.e., the emergence of the hole – and from that point of view the traits of the process leading to the given result are not really decisive). The verbal argument frame in this case is: '(somebody) produces something by penetrating somewhere (into or onto something) (with something)' [(N_1-NOM) V N_2-ACC N_3-ILL / N_3-SUB (N_4-INS)].

(24) Csavarhúzóval **böktem** lyukat az olajsárra, és így tudtam csak leengedni, nem kicsit lepődtem meg. (#1107581256)
'I **poked** a hole in the oily mud with a screwdriver, that's how I could deflate it, not a little surprised'

lyuk-at	**bök-t-em**	az olaj-sár-ra
hole.SG-ACC	poke-PST-1SG	the oil-mud.SG-SUB

(25) Ha veszel egy üres papírt, **szúrsz** belé egy apró lyukat, és azon keresztül nézel, sokkal élesebb lesz a kép (már ha egyébként nem az). (#119390272)
'If you take a clean sheet of paper, **pierce** a little hole in it, and you look through it, the picture will be much sharper (if it is not that otherwise)'

lyuk-at	**szúr-sz**	egy papír-ba
hole.SG-ACC	pierce.PRS-2SG	a sheet-of-paper.SG-ILL

[34] The differences mentioned here do not mean, of course, that the meanings of the three verbs can be clearly separated: reference to pointedness is a component that can be found in the given meaning of *bök* and *döf*, too, the component of directedness may also be relevant in the meaning of *szúr*, etc. On the other hand, the verbal meanings differ in what primary point of view they choose for referring to the situation, and which property of the situation they choose to seize the situation linguistically.

(26) Amélie az olló hegyével új lyukat akart **döfni** az övre (#42946706)
'Amélie wanted to **stab** new holes in the belt with the points of the scissors'

lyuk-at	**döf-ött**	az öv-re
hole.SG-ACC	stab-PST.3SG	the belt.SG-SUB

4.2.3. Foregrounded differences

There are furthermore cases where, although the general meaning component determining the meaning type can be assumed to be shared by the three verbs, some metaphorical meanings of the verbs diverge more than the literal meanings do; in that case, the diverging or distinct components of the meanings of the verbs are foregrounded. Although all three verbs can cooccur with (lexically speaking) similar or even identical arguments in such cases, the expressions involving the individual verbs may interpret the relevant components of reality in characteristically different manners.[35] (These components of reality might occasionally be rather similar, but they also may differ from each other in important respects.) An example of this can be observed in the case of the meaning type featuring the general component **'hit'**. The verb occurs in the following argument structures: '(somebody) hits somebody (with something) in/on something' [(N_1-NOM) V N_2-ACC (N_3-INS) N_4-ILL/N_4-SUP].

(27) Apám és egy tótul gagyogó béres kézzel-lábbal magyarázták, hogy az erdész, erdész, kell neki a puska. Mindkettőt hasba **bökték** a géppisztollyal, s terelték a falhoz. (#12180341)
'My father and a skip who could speak Slovak a bit explained tooth and nail that the forester was a forester and needed the gun. Both were **nudged** in the stomach with submachineguns and herded to the wall.'

has-ba	**bök-t-ék**	ők-et	a géppisztoly-lyal
stomach.SG-ILL	nudge-PST-3PL.DEF	they-ACC	the submachinegun.SG-INST

(28) A csíki pap szeretett volna örömében a nyakába ugrani, de csak a könyökével **szúrta** oldalba barátját (#796378)
'The priest from Csík felt like falling upon his neck with joy, but he only **dubbed** his friend in the side with his elbow'

oldal-ba	**szúr-t-a**	barát-já-t	a könyök-é-vel
side.SG-ILL	dub-PST-3SG.DEF	friend-POSS.3SG-ACC	the elbow-POSS.3SG-INST

(29) a polgármester futó pillantással észlelvén, hogy kiről van szó, megtiltja az erőszakos eltávolítást, de azt már nem tudja megakadályozni, hogy nehéz férfiak körülállják a vakmerőt, és könyökkel gyomorszájon **döfjék** (#23560360)
'the mayor noticed with a quick glance who it was, and forbade his violent removal, but he could not prevent the heavy-built men from surrounding the daring guy and **stabbing** their elbows into the pit of his stomach'

gyomorszáj-on	**döf-ik**	ő-t	könyök-kel
pit-of-stomach.SG-SUP	stab.PRS-3PL.DEF	he-ACC	elbow.SG-INST

In the example in (27), the speaker represents the given process by using *bök*, as a relatively small movement, or an act of relatively low intensity. Here, *bök* suggests diminished intensity not only

[35] This category is not clearly distinct from that discussed in 4.2.1; the difference between them is a matter of degree.

relative to *szúr* or *döf*, but also relative to other verbs of the synonym range characterised by the general component 'hit (somebody)', e.g. *üt* 'strike' or *ver* 'beat up', too. Or at least, it implies that the persons referred to could have been "herded' to the wall more violently, with more forceful and rough movements, too. In this context, the use of either *szúr* or *döf* would be more unexpected, since these verbs in similar contexts would suggest causing severe harm, even lethal injuries.

In (28), *szúr* primarily serves to direct the reader's attention to the pointy character of the elbow; but it can also suggest that, as opposed to *oldalba bök* 'nudge in the side', this is not simply a matter of touching, but some kind of hitting, even if the component of causing (severe) pain does not arise. In the expression *oldalba bök valakit* 'nudge somebody' the verb *bök* typically refers to touching someone to raise his/her attention, whereas *oldalba döf* 'stab in the side' implies a forceful and rude movement: thus, although in this context the three verbs would be interchangeable in principle, the expressions involving the three verbs do not refer to exactly the same components of reality, and imply different speaker's attitudes; hence, they would interpret the linguistically construed event is three different manners.

In (29), the context makes it clear that a violent and attacking action is referred to, during which the agents hit the person rather forcefully; this is made even more obvious by using *döf* in the expression *könyökkel gyomorszájon döfték* 'stabbed their elbows into the pit of his stomach'. This is why *szúr* or *bök* could not replace *döf* in the given case, even though both verbs could occur in similar syntactic constructions both in a structural and in a lexical sense. In this case, synonymy is curbed by the meaning of other linguistic items in the utterance.

4.2.4. The limits of synonymy: non-synonymous uses

In discussing the role of general components of verbal meanings, we have already seen (2.2) that it is not merely the diverse meanings of polysemous verbs that can be organised into meaning types, but it is also possible that synonymy ranges can be set up on that basis, in which these general verbal meaning components can hold together similar meanings of different verbs, too. By the general verbal meaning components (interpreted as) being shared it becomes easy to explain the arising and maintenance of synonymy relationships.

In Section 4.2 so far, we have reviewed cases in which a single meaning component played a decisive role in the semantic pattern of all three verbs – but this is not necessarily so.

(A) There are also general meaning components that are only shared by the relevant meanings of two of the investigated verbs, *bök* and *szúr*.

As an example, we can mention the meaning type (and synonymy range) characterised by the meaning component **'cause (physical) pain or inconvenience'** (cf. Section 2.2). Here, the argument structure of the verb is 'somebody/something causes (physical) pain/inconvenience' [N-NOM V]. This component can only be attested, within the material processed here, in certain meanings of *bök* and *szúr* as a shared component; in other words, *döf* is excluded from the synonymy range here.

(30) Ott nincs semmi víz a közelben de most még minden csupa harmat, ilyenkor jobban összeállnak, nem **böknek** annyira a búzaszálak. (#263839107)
'There's no water nearby, but everything is still covered by dew, at such times, wheat-stalks stick together more, they do not **prickle** that much.'

bök-nek	a búza-szál-ak
prickle.PRS-3PL	the wheat-stalk-PL.NOM

(31) Tudtam, hogy vigyázni kell, a bokor ágai egyremásra [sic!] lehajlanak, tüskések, kegyetlenül **szúrnak**. (#8774)
'I knew I had to be careful, the branches of the shrub cower all the time, they are spiky, they **sting** terribly'

szúr-nak	a bokor	ág-ai[36]
sting.PRS-3PL	the shrub.SG.GEN	branch-POSS.PL.NOM

Although *bök* construes the effect linguistically as an inconvenience, while *szúr* rather construes it as an instance of pain, in (30)–(31) – where the verbs refer to a property rather than to a process – the two verbs would be interchangeable in principle, and their meanings have a relation of close synonymy. On the other and, *döf* does not occur in such expressions, at least as witnessed by the material under study here.[37]

It is also worth pointing out that in most examples belonging to this meaning type it is the verb *szúr* that occurs, and since in a majority of the relevant cases some part(s) of the context unambiguously show(s) that a mordant pain, a stich in the side, a bright flash of light, a strong stinging odour, or other intensive stimuli are meant, the verb *bök* (implying low intensity) cannot occur in the given expression in such cases, even though the shared general meaning component of the two verbs would in principle make their interchangeability possible. For instance:

(32) Lehunyta a szemét, fejét a nap felé fordította. Szemhéján keresztül is **szúrtak** a sugarak. (#51364)
'She closed her eyes and turned her head towards the sun. The rays **stung** even through her eyelids.'

szúr-t-ak	a sugar-ak
sting-PST-3PL	the ray-PL.NOM

(33) Hagyma- és jácintszag borult az arca fölé. Élvezettel beszívta. **Szúrta** a koponyáját a színek káprázatos ragyogása (#19363611)
'Odours of onion and hyacinth covered her face. She inhaled them with gusto. Her skull **was stung** by the gorgeous brilliance of colours'

szúr-t-a	a koponyá-já-t	a szín-ek	ragyogás-a[38]
sting-PST-3SG.DEF	the skull-POSS.3SG-ACC	the colour-PL.GEN	brilliance-POSS.3SG.NOM

(34) Atyámfia, az írás már terhemre van. November. **Szúr** az agyagvázában száradó krizantenumok szaga. (#19125008)
'Brother, writing has become a nuisance for me. November. The smell of the chrysanthemums drying in the clay pot **is stinging**.'

szúr	a krizantenum-ok	szag-a[39]
sting.PRS.3SG	the chrysanthemum-PL.GEN	smell-POSS.3SG.NOM

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[36] *a bokor* *ág-ai* ~ *a bokor-nak* *az ág-ai* (cf. footnote 7.).
the shrub.SG.GEN branch-POSS.PL.NOM the shrub.SG-GEN the branch-POSS.PL.NOM (cf. footnote 9.).

[37] Causing physical pain can also be described by *döf*, as illustrated by expressions of the type exemplified in (29). However, in that case, other general components of the meaning of that verb ('get [something somewhere]', 'hit [somebody]') are the dominant ones. Both *bök* and *szúr* are intransitive in the meanings determined by the general meaning component 'cause (physical) pain' – but no such use of *döf* is attested in the material I examined. It cannot be excluded in principle that this verb, too, should develop an intransitive meaning determined by the general meaning component 'cause (physical) pain or inconvenience' (e.g. ?*döf a tüske* 'the prickle jabs'), but no data have been documented for such a use yet.

[38] *a szín-ek* *ragyogás-a* ~ *a szín-ek-nek* *a ragyogás-a* (cf. footnote 7.)
the colour-PL.GEN brilliance-POSS.3SG.NOM the colour-PL-GEN the brilliance-POSS.3SG.NOM

[39] *a krizantenum-ok* *szag-a* ~ *a krizantenum-ok-nak* *a szag-a* (cf. footnote 7.).
the chrysanthemum-PL.GEN smell-POSS.3SG.NOM the chrysanthemum-PL-GEN the smell-POSS.3SG.NOM

Similar phenomena can be observed in the case of the meaning type defined by the general meaning component **'inconvenience'**. This component, again, only connects the relevant meanings of *szúr* and *bök*; but here a type of troubling effect is at stake that is not taken in a physical sense. The relevant argument frame is 'somebody/something bothers somebody' [N_1-NOM V N_2-ACC]. For instance:

(35) Zoltánt még ezer kérdés **bökte**, de leintették, hogy aludjon, s ő le is hunyta a szemét (#34002859)
'Zoltán was **poked** by a thousand further questions, but he was snubbed and told to go to sleep, and he closed his eyes, too'

Zoltán-t	ezer kérdés	**bök-t-e**
Zoltán-ACC	thousand question.SG.NOM	poke-PST-3SG.DEF

(36) Micó emléke változatlanul **szúrta** Katalint[40] (#41107093)
'Micó's memory kept **stinging** Katalin'

Micó	emlék-e[41]	**szúr-t-a**	Katalin-t
Micó.GEN	memory-POSS.3SG.NOM	sting-PST-3SG.DEF	Katalin-ACC

We can also mention the general component **'pain'**, too, that may be part of the meaning pattern of both *bök* and *szúr*, but that is alien to that of *döf*. The relevant argument frame is this: 'something hurts' [N-NOM V].

(37) […] kamillás vattával törölgetem a szemem, és basszus még délelőtt egy laza mozdulattal megtöröltem a másik szememet is vele.... már érzem hogy hiba volt, már **bök szúr** az is (#1162772911)
'I wipe my eye with a camomile wad, and shit in the morning I wiped the other eye, too, with a sloppy gesture… I felt that this was a mistake, now that other eye also **hurts** and **twinges**'

bök	**szúr**	a szem-e
poke.PRS.3SG	sting.PRS.3SG	the eye-POSS.3SG.NOM

(38) Kőhidai csak akkor lassította le a lépteit, mikor az oldala már **szúrt** (#31703605)
'Kőhidai slowed down his steps only when his side was already **stinging**'

szúr-t	az oldal-a
sting-PST.3SG	the side-POSS.3SG.NOM

Another thing that can be observed in these cases is that according to the testimony of the corpus data processed certain general meaning components can be more closely linked to one of the verbs than to the other (e.g. 'pain' can be more often definitive in the meanings of *szúr*, while only some of the occurrences of *bök* can be classified as belonging to this range of synonyms).

(B) In other cases, a given meaning component is attached to the semantic pattern of only one of the verbs. In such cases, lack of a shared general meaning component necessarily results in the

[40] This example occurs in the 'works of fiction' subcorpus of HGC and comes from Magda Szabó's novel *A Danaida (The Danaid)*. The name *Micó* in it refers to the first (now dead) wife of Katalin's husband. For a better understanding of the meaning of the verb *szúr*, it is worthwhile to take a larger context into consideration: "[Katalin] őrizte magában az alapélményt: a holt Micó ma is fontosabb ebben a házban, mint ő, az élő." 'She [= Katalin] guarded the key experience in her soul: Micó, now dead, was more important in this house than she herself was, alive.'

[41] *Micó* *emlék-e* ~ *Micó-nak* *az emlék-e* (cf. footnote 7.).
Micó.GEN memory-POSS.3SG.NOM Micó-GEN the memory-POSS.3SG.NOM

meaning patterns of the verbs getting distanced from one another, and the synonymy relationship of the verbs ceases to exist.

An example of this is the meaning type defined by the meaning component **'select'** that can only be attested in the case of *bök* within the material under investigation. The assumption of the general meaning component 'select' can be justified by the fact that within the semantic pattern of *bök*, as has been pointed out above, the component of pointing out is emphatic, and the fact that with the poking movement the agent directs attention to something, as if marking off the given entity. The verb's argument frame is in this case: 'somebody pokes' [N-NOM V].

(39) Nem tudom, másoknak mi kell, hogy mire figyelnek, amikor autót vesznek, de magamról […] tudom, hogy elsősorban nem a belbecsre figyelek, amikor **bökök** (#540411522)
'I don't know what others need, what they pay attention to when they buy a car, but for myself, I know I do not primarily mind internal values when I **point** one **out**'

bök-ök
poke.PRS-1SG

In the case of *szúr*, a general meaning component specifically linked to the meaning pattern of the verb is **'insert'**. (This component is related to the following meaning components of the literal meaning: 'instrument: pin-like pointed object', 'pointedly', and 'penetrating some medium'. The verb in such cases cooccurs with the following arguments: 'somebody inserts something somewhere' [(N_1-NOM) V N_2-ACC N_3-ILL / N_3-NOM with a lative postposition]. For instance:

(40) Gáspár pedig visszaveszi tőlem [az ernyőt], a drótjait dugdossa egy darabig, majd kímélet nélkül az ülés alá **szúrja** az egészet[42] (#45341928)
'Gáspár takes it [the umbrella] back from me, keeps tucking its wires for a while, then he indelicately **sticks** the whole thing under the seat'

Gáspár	az ülés	alá	**szúr-ja**	az ernyő-t
Gáspár.NOM	the seat	under	stick.PRS-3SG.DEF	the umbrella.SG-ACC

(41) A kijelölt ütem elé **szúrja** az ütemet vagy ütemeket[43] (#258778805)
'He **sticks** the bar or bars before the determined bar [of the musical piece]'

a kijelölt ütem	elé	**szúr-ja**	az ütem-et
the determined bar	before	stick.PRS-3SG.DEF	the bar.SG-ACC

The specific components mentioned ('instrument: pointed object (like a pin)', 'pointedly', and 'penetrating some medium') are shown by the analyses to play a role in the literal meaning of *döf*, too, but within the semantic pattern of *döf* one cannot abstract away from the reference to increased intensity, a fact that restricts the range of contexts that the verb can be used in, and limits the kinds of metaphorical meanings it can develop. A related fact may be that we find examples referring to attacking people (stabbing [or even killing] them in a concrete physical sense, or stabbing them in the back in a metaphorical sense) among expressions involving *döf* in a significantly higher ratio of occurrence than in the case of the other two verbs. The meanings of this verb are less diversified, and the material processed here does not allow us to set up a meaning type (or even a single meaning) that could be attested only in occurrences of *döf*, to the exclusion of the other two verbs.

[42] In the case of (40), the emphasis is not primarily on the material characteristics of the medium, but rather on the act of entering a defined space – whether that space is pre-existing or created as a consequence of the action.
[43] In this example, the use of *szúr* could have been motivated by the verbs *közbeszúr* 'interpolate' and *beszúr (valamit valahová)* 'insert (something somewhere)', too. These are instances of *szúr* prefixed by a preverb.

4.3. Changes and limits of synonymy relationships across literal meanings at the level of metaphorical meanings: an overview

The literal meanings of *bök*, *szúr* and *döf* are highly similar to one another, and that similarity is what underlies the fact that their meanings often change during metaphorisation in similar directions – hence, the synonymy relations of their literal meanings are basically maintained in most of their metaphorical meanings, too. On the other hand, some characteristic differences can also be spotted across their meanings at the level of literal meanings, and this fact serves as a basis for their semantic changes (in metaphorisation) to be describable as divergent in some cases.

The synonymy relations of the literal meanings of these verbs may not only be maintained during metaphorisation (even to the point of remaining unchanged) but can even be strengthened, provided that the differences across the relevant meanings of the given verbs get neutralised or become irrelevant in the context at hand. But synonymy relations can become weaker, too, if the differences between the meanings are foregrounded in some metaphorical occurrences. Whenever there is no shared general component to interconnect the meanings of the verbs by organising them into a single range of synonyms, or there is some specific meaning component(s) belonging to the semantic pattern of the given verb that limit(s) the use of the verb at hand, the synonymy relation can even cease to exist at all.

The network of relationships across the meanings of the three verbs and their similar and diverging meaning components are summarised in Figure 3:[44]

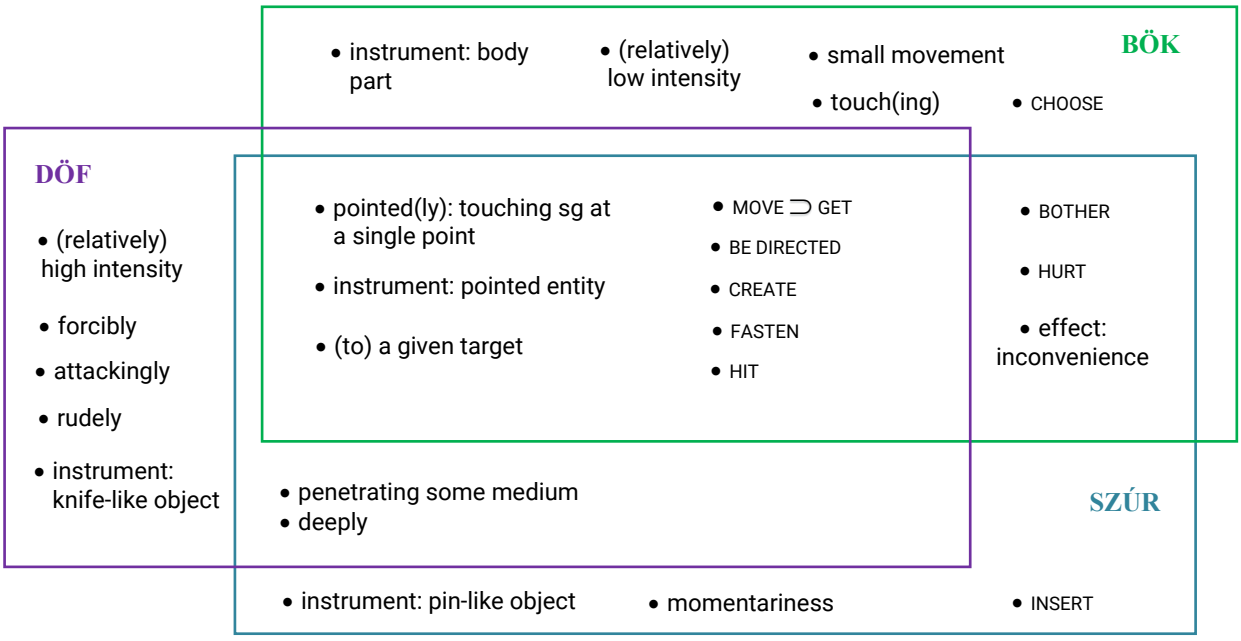

Figure 3. Meaning components making up the semantic pattern and meaning relations of *bök*, *szúr* and *döf*

The results of our investigations corroborate the assumption mentioned in Section 2.2 above that, within the system of meanings of polysemous verbs, individual meaning components mutually influence and modulate one another, and hence they can be interpreted in diverse ways within the semantic patterns of distinct verbs. This phenomenon is closely related to the fact that similar meaning components of different verbs that are synonymous in their literal meanings may change

[44] The figure does not include all general and specific meaning components of the three verbs, only those that are mentioned in the foregoing analyses. Meaning components that have not been discussed for lack of space and are thus not included in the figure also corroborate the tendencies we have seen.

in metaphorisation in partly diverse directions. On the other hand, a factor that can contribute to the weakening or elimination of synonymy relations observable in some metaphorical meanings is that certain meaning components that are not (or not necessarily) relevant in the literal meanings of the given verbs, but account for characteristic differences across the semantic patterns of the verbs, can come to the fore in those metaphorical meanings.

All these considerations lead us to conclude that modelling verbal meanings via general and specific meaning components can contribute not only to the discovery of correspondences within polysemous patterns of meanings but also to a reliable description and better understanding of the relationships across the meanings of diverse verbs.

5. Summary and outlook

In this paper, I have offered a case study analysing synonymy relations of the verbs *bök*, *szúr* and *döf* and tried to answer the question of how the synonymy of those verbs in their literal meanings may emerge and change at the level of metaphorical meanings and how this correlates with the general and specific meaning components assumed to be present in their polysemous system of meanings.

The results have confirmed the idea that the individual (assumed) meaning components of the patterns of verbal meanings are not to be interpreted as discrete and separate units but as ones that continually and mutually influence and modulate one another, and can, consequently, only be described by taking their dynamic interrelationships into consideration.

Furthermore, it became evident that a close relationship of synonymy across the literal meanings of these verbs serves as a basis for synonymy across their metaphorical meanings via their shared or very similar meaning components – but also as a factor that leads to the weakening or even the loss of synonymy via their components that can be seen to differ.

In addition, an important conclusion arose: although in modelling synonymy relationships it is the shared general and more schematic verbal meaning components (or ones that can be assumed to be shared) that can be seen as the primary semantic basis of synonymy, we cannot understand the properties of synonymy relations without taking the specific meaning components of the relevant meanings into consideration.

In this paper, verbal synonymy was explored from the direction of its relationship with polysemy. A definition of verbal synonymy in terms of empirical semantic analyses, as well as the exploration of its limits and its correspondences with other semantic phenomena (like antonymy, hyponymy or hypernymy) must remain for further studies. The inclusion of further, even more extensive corpus-based materials, and additional exploration of verbs whose literal meanings belong to other meaning types (that is, verbs not referring to concrete movement in a physical sense) may also contribute to making the conclusions more accurate, more nuanced, and more comprehensive.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
DIM	diminutive
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative

INST	instrumental (case)
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
SG	singular
SUB	sublative
SUP	superessive

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"I WILL TELL IT TO YOU IN FIRST PERSON SINGULAR": THE ROLE OF HUNGARIAN FIRST PERSON SINGULAR AND PLURAL VERBAL UTTERANCES IN THE CONSTRUAL OF AN INTERSUBJECTIVE RELATIONSHIP IN SLAM POETRY

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Abstract

This paper focuses on person-marking constructions in Hungarian slam poetry in a functional cognitive framework. With the help of the Slam Poetry subcorpus elaborated by ELTE's Research Group in Stylistics, person-marking constructions for expressing the speakers in the texts (first person singular and plural verbs) are annotated in the subcorpus. We assume that based on the phenomenon of foregrounding (van Peer–Hakemulder 2006), the role of intersubjectivity increases as these 1st person singular and plural forms help focus on the protagonist, the slammer (Holt–Groeben 2005, Langacker 2008). The utterances are analysed according to speech act theory, based on the functions of social actions (Tátrai 2011: 89–90). The research question aims to determine the types of prototypical semantic and communicative patterns which can be identified in the analysed texts. The results of the analysis 1) show the proportion of first person singular and plural verbs in the subcorpus, 2) help observe those linguistic tools, grammatical, pragmatic and semantic patterns and socio-cultural factors which can play a role in the direction of listeners' attention, as well as the typical topics on which attention is focused.

Keywords: attention, person-marking constructions, first person singular and plural verbs, slam poetry, corpus analysis, annotation, Hungarian language

1. Introduction

Employing a functional cognitive framework, this paper focuses on person-marking constructions in Hungarian slam poetry performances. Special attention is paid to first person singular and plural verbal utterances. The study of first-person deictic elements is essential and relevant, as they represent a central linguistic pattern in pragmatic research. This importance justifies examining their function in various discourse genres, including slam poetry.

The main aim of the paper is to highlight processes which help attention directing in slam poetry performances. We assume that first person singular and plural characters that represent the slammer receive a significant amount of attention, and, consequently, become the focus of attention (Holt–Groeben 2005, Langacker 2008). Thanks to the phenomenon of foregrounding (van Peer–Hakemulder 2006), in the case of the verbs analysed, the protagonists and characters in contact with them can be placed at the centre of the process of directing attention, and intersubjectivity is also elaborated. Slam poetry, because of its performative nature, is particularly relevant for the study of how person-marking constructions construe interpersonal relations.

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2. Slam poetry as a genre, key questions

It is important to remember that slammers and their audiences participate in a classical rhetorical situation in which a new genre is being created (cf. Vass 2012). Slam poetry as a genre contains many features of "canonical" genres that are familiar to the audience, so the process of the performance can evoke the audience's previous experiences (cf. Ayosso–Marichez 2010, Sólyom–Pap 2021, 2023, Sólyom 2022).

In this paper, we emphasise the importance of the dynamic and "mixed", even "hybrid" characteristics of slam poetry (cf. Mészáros 2020: 87), which can be studied and characterised through the experiences and attitudes of language users.

The two key questions of the present corpus-based study are: 1) How do utterances of first person singular and plural verbs support processes of construal in the intersubjective relationship between the speaker (the slammer) and the audience (Tolcsvai Nagy 2017)? 2) What kind of prototypical pragmatic, semantic, and stylistic patterns are elaborated by first person singular and plural verbs in the corpus?

3. Hypotheses, main research questions, corpus and methodology

This section outlines the research hypotheses and the main research questions related to them (3.1.). It also presents the research methods, and the corpus analysed (3.2.).

3.1. Hypotheses and main research questions

Our study was based on the following hypotheses:

H1: Focusing on characters referred to in first person singular and plural promotes intersubjectivity between the speaker (the slammer) and the audience, as well as the processes of directing attention.

H2: It is possible to identify specific types of prototypical grammatical, pragmatic and semantic patterns, as well as characteristic socio-cultural factors, which are elaborated by first person singular and plural verbs in the corpus.

In relation to the hypotheses, three main research questions were formulated, which formed the basis of the analysis:

RQ 1: What are the prototypical linguistic tools, grammatical patterns and what is the proportion of first-person verbs (singular and plural) in the 108 slam texts?

RQ 2: What are the prototypical pragmatic patterns that have emerged in the use of first person singular and plural verbs in the corpus?

RQ 3: What prototypical semantic patterns and socio-cultural factors characterise the relationship between the slammer and the audience? And what typical topics are the focus of attention in the corpus, as elaborated by the verbs used in the sentences?

3.2. Corpus and methodology

The corpus analysed in this study is the Slam Poetry Subcorpus, one of the four subcorpora of the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry created by ELTE's Research Group in Stylistics. The Lyrical Corpus is divided into four subcorpora as follows: 1) lyrical texts belonging to the literary canon (from 1900 to the present); 2) contemporary poetry; 3) lyrics of popular and alternative songs; 4) and finally slam poetry (cf. Horváth–Simon–Tátrai 2022). The Slam Poetry subcorpus is useful for studying a discourse type that displays a high degree of poeticity, with its emphasis on rhythmic sound and

intertextuality. This subcorpus, which forms the basis of the study, contains 108 Hungarian slam poetry texts.

The present analyses focus on verbs grounded in first person. In Hungarian, verb patterns carry complex information: verb forms perform temporal as well as personal grounding (Tátrai 2024: 14). Verb patterns in slam poetry texts can clearly show how the role of the participants, the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the audience, is constructed in the speech situation. It should be emphasised, however, that the person-marking implied in nouns, the nouns grounded in first person, are also part of the grammatical pattern.

We extracted data from the 108 slam texts of the analysed corpus by means of manual annotation for both first person singular and plural verbs. The extracted data were subjected to quantitative analysis and the results were then analysed according to various aspects (on the relationship between methods and results, cf. Kuna 2024). First person singular and plural verb patterns will be presented by establishing grammatical, pragmatic, and semantic categories. Based on the results, the frequency of first-person verbs shows a significant difference between the singular and the plural: in the case of the 1st person singular type, 2201 verbs were found in the corpus, while 1st person plural verbs were identified in only 301 instances.

The analysis has several objectives. Firstly, verbs in the 1st person singular and plural were collected to study the grammatical features (e.g. number of the verbs in these groups; mood). Secondly, the different semantic and pragmatic functions of the collected verbs were analysed in the given contexts (i.e. in the slam poetry texts) in both persons to find out whether there were prototypical pragmatic functions and groups in the case of these examples. In the case of this aspect, particular attention was paid to the phenomenon of attention, both in the triadic relationship, in which someone draws someone else's attention to something, and in the dyadic relationship, in which someone pays attention to someone else and vice versa (Tátrai 2011: 115). Thirdly, we focused on the prototypical socio-cultural factors (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2012: 34–39) appearing in the analysed texts, with special attention to their types and possible combinations.

4. Person-marking constructions, grammatical patterns, semantic categories, socio-cultural patterns

In this chapter, the first person singular and plural verb patterns of person-marking in slam poetry texts will be presented by analysing them in different aspects: person-marking constructions and grammatical features (4.1., 4.2.), various pragmatic and semantic functions (4.3., 4.4.), and prototypical socio-cultural factors (4.5.).

4.1. Person-marking constructions

4.1.1. Person-marking constructions: 1st person singular verbs

Some interesting linguistic data is revealed by examining the first-person singular verb structures in the corpus. In three texts there is no first-person singular verb structure, in two of these texts the slammer tells the story in second person singular, while in the third text the narration is in the general third person (Viktor Fazekas: Mert itt kezdődik, István Pion: Himnusz, Fanni Szegedi: 1920. június 4, Versailles). In 14 slam texts, there are only 10 or fewer first-person verb structures. In all the texts of one slammer (Nikolett Dékány) found in the corpus, there are less than 10 first-person singular verb structures. In contrast, in the texts of another slammer (Tamás Gábor Indiana) there are more than 50 (in order: 61, 64, 50). A play with poetic devices can also be observed in the corpus. In two cases, the slammer uses alliteration throughout the text (SZ: Flóra Quintus: Színészként színpadon számtalan színes személyiség, K: Nikolett Dékány: Kedélyhez kötött kételyeink). Other poetic devices are also present in the first-person singular verb constructions: for example, stacking words or pairing expressions with opposite meanings. Here are some examples: *utálok/-om* ('I hate it'):

14, *szeretem* ('I like it'): 1 (István Zoltán Csider: Tíz dolog, amit utálok benned); *utálom/utálhatok* ('I hate it / I can hate'): 30 (Tamás Gábor Indiana: Utálom, hogy...); *imádom/imádok* ('I love it'): 11 (Mészáros: A szöveg végén fel fogok tenni egy kérdést); *szeretem* ('I like it'): 16, *gyűlölöm* ('I hate it'): 13, *utálom/utálok/utállak* ('I hate it / I hate you'): 7 (Luca Nyáry: Nem szeretni egyszerű...); *köszönöm* ('thank you'): 27 (Márk Süveg: Tényleg, nem gondoltam volna, hogy másodszor is összejön...).

By investigating the role of intersubjectivity in the Slam Poetry Subcorpus, we can observe the types of prototypical linguistic tools, as person-marking constructions, by collecting first person singular and plural verbs. Hungarian, as a language with a complex morphology, indicates person marking also in verb endings.

The first-person singular subject is both the speaker outside the scene in the sentence and the subject marked as a participant in the scene in the sentence (these two points of view also prevail in slam texts): deictic self-reference from the speaker's point of view, deictic reference from the receiver's, the audience's point of view (Tolcsvai Nagy 2021: 15, 22). The first-person singular utterances of the slammer as a participant in the discourse are acts of directing attention (Tátrai 2017): in the first-person singular form, the slammer as a speaker (1) speaks to the audience as a participant in the given speech situation, or (2) narrates an event from the narrator's point of view.

The prototypical person-marking pattern of slam poetry is reflected in the proportions of verbs as well in the 108 slam poems of the subcorpus. The grammatical personification of the lyrical subject (the slammer) with first person singular verb structures occurs in the corpus in a much higher number than the first person plural (Figures 1, 2: first person singular: 2201 tokens vs. first person plural: 301 tokens).

There are 2201 examples of 1st person singular verbs in the corpus. Among these verbs there are 765 (34.8%) with *-ok,-ek-ök* (these are indicatives, indefinite conjugation, and the type of vowel is based on vowel harmony); 693 (31,5%) *-om,-em,-öm* (these are indicatives, definite conjugation); 51 (2,3%) *-lak,-lek* (these are indicatives with special endings that mark a second person object as well as a first person subject); 400 (18,2%) *-tam,-tem* (these are indicatives, past tense); 95 (4,3%) *-nék* (these are conditionals, indefinite conjugation); 72 (3,3%) *-nám,-ném* (these are conditionals, definite conjugation); 84 (3,8%) *-jak,-jek* (these are imperatives, indefinite conjugation); 31 (1,4%) *-jam/-jem* (these are imperatives, definite conjugation); and 10 (0,5%) other types of endings (these are in indicative, imperative or conditional mood: *-talak*: 4, *-telek*: 2, *-nálak*: 1; *-tem volna*: 1; *-jalak*: 1, *-jelek*: 1). The proportion of verbs in 1st person singular is shown in Figure 1.

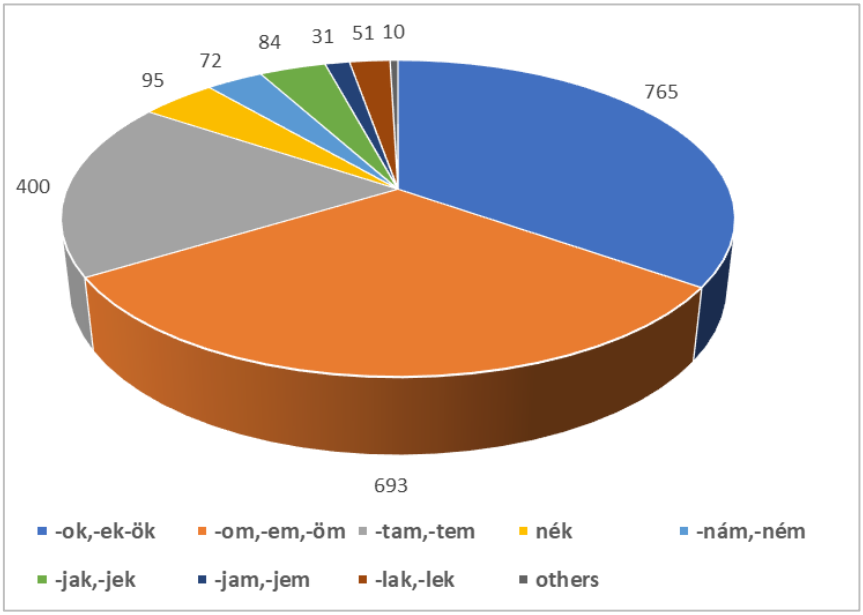

Figure 1. 1st person singular verbs in the corpus (total: 2201 verbs)

In the figure above (Figure 1), the first-person singular verb endings clearly show in which grammatical forms the construal of the speaker's role is realised in the analysed slam corpus. The highest proportion of verbs in the corpus are in the present tense (a total of 81% of the eight main types of suffix; in indefinite and definite conjugation), which may also indicate the performative nature of the slam poetry genre ('here and now' speech situation): the slammer speaks to the audience as a participant in the given speech situation.

4.1.2. Person-marking constructions: 1st person plural verbs

Contextualisation deals with the processes of shared attention, shared knowledge, and shared actions (Tátrai 2022: 43). In the annotation of the verbs in this group, our aim was to concentrate on Hungarian verbal suffixes that refer to the 1st person plural (cf. Horváth–Simon–Tátrai 2022: 25–27).

In the case of these verbs, the speaker in the texts is "I": on the one hand, the slammer stands on the stage, they are parts of the communicative situation, and they are deictically designated. On the other hand, "we" is instantiated in the given context, because the context and the discourse are parts of the process of meaning construal (Laczkó 2024: 12). At this point, the slammer's directing of attention, references to common knowledge and calls to action (if present) become important: in the case of "mi" ('we'), the slammer addresses the audience: they recite a story in which the 1st person plural dominates, since the speaker is not the only actor in the stories.

There are 301 examples of 1st person plural verbs in the corpus. Among these verbs, there are 109 with *-unk* ending, 75 with *-uk* ending, 71 with *-ünk* ending, 33 with *-ük* ending (these are indicatives or imperatives, indefinite and definite conjugations, the type of the vowel is based on vowel harmony), 10 with *-nénk* ending and 3 with *-nánk* ending (these are conditionals, either indefinite or definite conjugations, the type of the vowel is based on vowel harmony). The proportion of the verbs in the 1st person plural is shown in Figure 2.

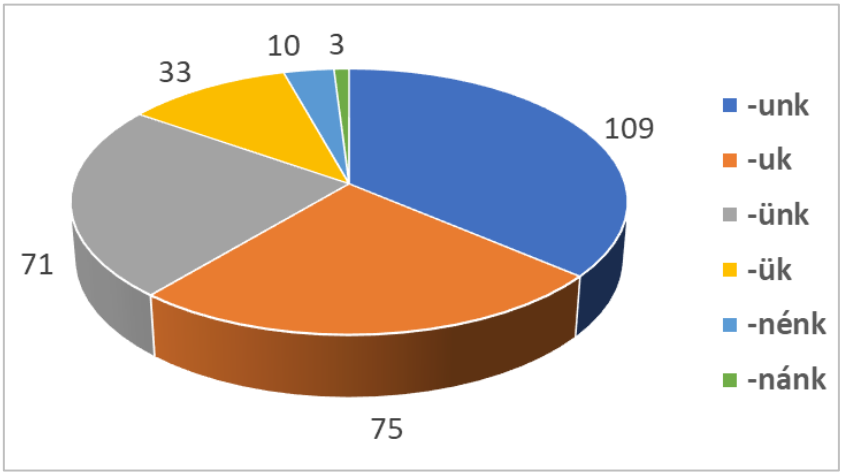

Figure 2. 1st person plural verbs in the corpus (total: 301 verbs)

Summarising the analyses presented in Sections 4.1.1., and 4.1.2., based on the verb patterns elaborating the first person, the results indicate (Figures 1, 2) that the first-person singular form is more emphasised in the slam texts, whereas the first person plural verbs appear in a smaller proportion (2201 vs. 301 verbs). The dominance of the first-person singular form could be due to the nature of lyrical discourse: the speaker's role in the given speech context is constructed in the first-person singular. At the same time, the slammer addresses the audience in the given speech situation, while interacting with them: "we" are actualised in the given context, the relationship to the audience is constructed in the first-person plural.

4.2. Grammatical patterns

4.2.1. Grammatical patterns of 1st person singular verbs

In the analysed corpus, as mentioned above, the indicative occurs in the highest proportion (Figure 1: 87%). Conditional (present, past: 8%) and imperative (5%) are found in smaller numbers in the slam texts. All these factors (also: Figure 1) could indicate that slammers mostly use the indicative and present tense in their presentations, expressing an opinion in the present tense (using past tense verb structures in a much smaller proportion) or telling a story about a topic or current events. Thus, in the speech situations of the slam texts, the indicative and present tenses of the first-person singular verbs dominate. In much fewer cases, imperative or conditional forms are used to attract the audience's attention.

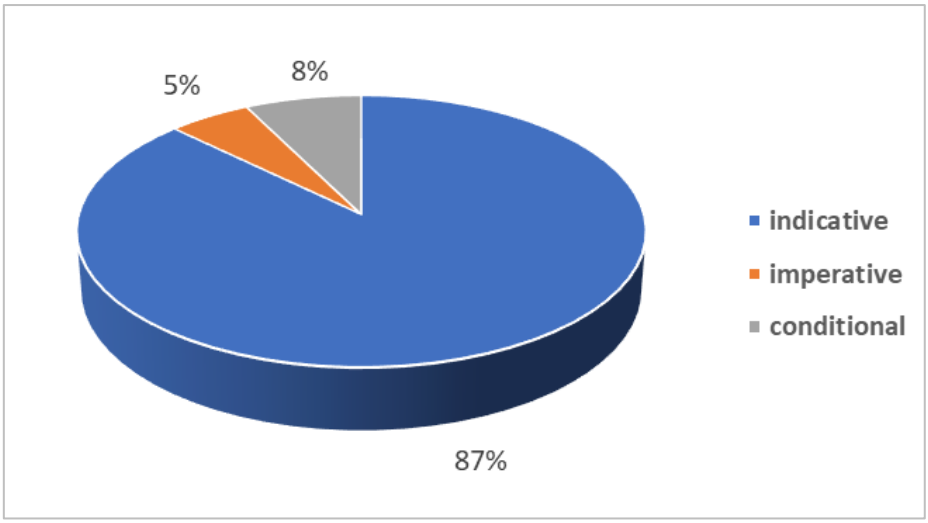

Figure 3. 1st person singular verbs (moods)

Summarising the results, the highest proportion of all verb endings in the first-person singular is in the indicative present tense, indefinite conjugation: *-ok* (499), *-ek* (228), *-ök* (38); and in the definite conjugation: *-om* (365), *-em* (248), *-öm* (80). Most occurrences are in the indicative, present tense, back form (verbs with back vowels): *-ok*, *-om*; followed by the front forms (verbs with back vowels): *-ek, -ök; -em, -öm*. The smallest proportion of verb endings are the imperative definite and indefinite: *-jak, -jek, -jam, -jem* (115); and the conditional indefinite and definite conjugation: *-nék, -nám, -ném* (167).

4.2.2. Grammatical patterns of 1st person plural verbs

As mentioned above, there are only 13 verbs in the 2nd conditional, and one in the 3rd conditional in the case of 1st person plural forms. This represents 4.65% (14 out of 301 items). This fact might indicate that there are not many hypothetical situations mentioned in the analysed slam poetry texts. Instead, slammers usually talk about situations that had happened (or could have happened) earlier: they often recall stories from the past. It also happens that they draw the attention of the audience by using imperative forms.

Interestingly, there are more verbs containing low (back) vowels in both the indefinite and definite forms. In addition, there are remarkably many *-unk* ending verbs in the whole corpus (109 examples out of 301, i.e. 36.21%).

Summarising the results, by comparing the grammatical patterns presented in Sections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2. we can conclude that in the analysed slam poetry corpus the indicative mood is dominant

for both singular and plural first-person verbs. The main reason for this may be that the slammers tell a story or talk about a topic in the given situation. Furthermore, slammers also use imperative forms to connect with the audience (this is a typical way of constructing a relationship between the speaker and the audience). In the case of first-person plural verbs, imperative mood is also prominent, as it has a specific function in slam texts due to the performative nature of the slam poetry genre (for more details: 4.3.2.). Conditional mood (for expressing hypothetical content), however, occurs less frequently.

4.3. Prototypical pragmatic patterns

4.3.1. Prototypical pragmatic patterns of 1st person singular verbs

The utterances containing 1st person singular verbs that appear in speech situations play different roles in the realisation of social actions (Tátrai 2011: 89–90). The 1st person singular verb structures found in the corpus can also belong to the intersubjective and interpersonal phatic metafunctions (Tátrai 2011: 36–41), typically with indicative verbs.

In the case of 1st person singular verbs, there are many speech acts in the slam poetry texts with the metafunction of intersubjectivity and interpersonality as well, such as the following communicative actions (e.g. commissives, directives, expressives): e.g. *thank you, I swear, I please you, I'm sorry, I say, I tell you, I beg you, I suggested.* A group of verbs can be observed that prototypically help construct and develop the interpersonal relationship between the slammer and the audience: these verbs are related to knowing or saying (the numbers indicate how many times they occur in the corpus): e.g. *know* (128 tokens), *say* (67), *ask* (29), *tell* (9), *start* (8), *admit* (5).

First person singular verbs occur most frequently in the indicative in the analysed corpus: e.g.

(1a) Sejtem még, hogy másé, erre **elmesélem** E/1-ben.
'I suspect that it belongs to someone else, so I will tell it to you in first person singular.'

(1b) …végre egy felelős döntés, hogy most **köszönöm** a figyelmet.
'At last, a responsible decision that now I thank you for your attention.'

(1c) De itt **kérek** elnézést minden hölgytől,
'At this point, I beg every lady's pardon,'

(1d) Amikor felemelem a kezem, **kérlek**, mondjátok azt, hogy: és akkor mi van?
'When I raise my hand, please, say: and so what?'

(1e) És ezért **mondom el** nektek a legnagyobb titkom színpadon, mert így fain.
'And so I will tell you my greatest secret on stage, because that's how it's cool.'

(1f) **Bevallom**, félek attól, hogy kiszámíthatatlan időben félni fogok.
'I admit that I am afraid of being afraid at an unpredictable time.'

Conditional and imperative verbal forms occur in much smaller numbers.

(2a) Imperative: e.g., *De hát nektek **mondjam** ezt?*
'Should I tell it to you?'

(2b) Conditional: e.g., *Ha azt **kérném** tőletek, hogy tegyétek fel a kezeteket (…)*
'If I asked you to raise your hands (…)'

The interpersonal relationship between the slammer and the audience can also be expressed with a metalinguistic reference: e.g.,

(2c) Talán itt az idő, hogy **bevonjam** a közönséget.
'Maybe it is time for me to involve the audience.'

4.3.2. Prototypical pragmatic patterns of 1st person plural verbs

Utterances with 1st person singular and plural verbs can play different roles in communicative acts (cf. Tátrai 2011: 89–90). Some of the 1st person singular verbal structures in the slam poetry texts have intersubjective-cognitive and interpersonal-phatic metafunctions (Tátrai 2011: 36–41). This is typically the case with indicative verbs. In the case of the interpersonal function, however, imperatives also occur in 1st person plural verbs. Prototypically, these verbs help construct the interpersonal relationship between the slammer and their audience.

In the case of the 1st person plural verbs, there is a prototypical group that contains imperative verbal forms and promotes the phatic metafunctions mentioned above. The verbs *mondjuk* ('let us say', 24 cases) and *fogadjunk* ('let us bet', 2 cases) occur in this function in the corpus, e.g.,

(3a) **Mondjuk** a szalagavató kimaradt, legalább most itt vagy.
'Say we missed the prom, but at least you are here.'

(3b) Szerinted a jó módszer mégsem a pia lesz, **mondjuk** előbb négy korty Prozac, utána Cipralex.
'As for you, booze is not going to work after all, let's say at first four sips of Prozac, and then Cipralex.'

(3c) De **fogadjunk**, az még eszedbe se jutott soha a büdös életbe, hogy talán te hagytad ott az ágy alatt rohadni hónapokig azt a kurva tányért.
'But let's bet it has not ever come into your mind in your fucking life that it was you who had let that fucking plate go rotten under the bed for months.'

Other verbs such as *nézzünk* ('let us see'), *képzeljük el* ('let us imagine'), *lássuk* ('let us see/watch'), *lépjünk* ('let us step', in a metaphorical sense), *gyerünk* ('let us go', in a metaphorical sense) occur in the corpus in this function, e.g.,

(4a) **Nézzünk** is egy-két klasszikus példát!
'Let's see some classical examples!'

(4b) **[Képzeljük] el**, milyen lenne, ha mindenki más-más időintervallumot kapna, de nem tudná, mennyit.
'Let's imagine what it was like if everyone got different time intervals, but no one knew how much.'

(4c) Szóval **lássuk**!
'Well, let's see!'

(4d) (…) és **lépjünk** pár gondolattal előrébb.
'(…) and let's step further with some thoughts.'

(4e) **Gyerünk**, anyázzatok!
'Come on, eff and blind!'

There is one example of a verbal form which only belongs to this function only in one of its meaning, and that is *vesszük*, when it means 'to understand, to see', e.g.,

(5) Mert akárhogy **vesszük**, ez egy orális élvezet, hogy én beszélek, te hallgatod és élvezed.
'Anyhow we see it, it is an oral joy, that I am talking, and you are listening to it and enjoy it.'

As we can see in the case of the 1st person singular and the 1st person plural verbs, they help elaborate the feeling of community (fellowship) in the communication process. The slammer admits something, or communicates something private from their life, or they would like to involve the audience in the case of 1st person singular verbs. These intentions and practices can also be witnessed in the case of 1st person plural verbs, where the acts of saying, betting, seeing or imagining refer to the whole community who are represented at the event, the slammers and their audience together.

4.4. Main semantic categories

4.4.1. Main semantic categories of 1st person singular verbs in the corpus

Regarding the 1st person singular verbs, ten major semantic categories have been identified which refer to both mental and physical processes. It can be observed that several slammers employ poetic devices in their texts, playing with words. One such device is the repetition and stacking of words, which occurs frequently in certain categories. This is a common phenomenon in the case of verbs belonging to the group 1) expressing feelings, such as "I love" and "I hate". The semantic categories observed in the slam corpus can be assigned to the following subgroups:

(6a) **Feelings (positive, negative), attitudes**: *unom* ('I am bored with it'), *szeretem* ('I love it'), *gyűlölöm* ('I hate it'), *röstellem* ('I am ashamed'), *utálom* ('I hate it'), *érzem* ('I feel it'), *irigylem* ('I envy it'), *hiányolnék* ('I would miss it'), *imádok* ('I love'), *szeretlek* ('I love you'), *kívántam* ('I wished'), *bánom* ('I regret it').

(6b) **Will**: *akarom* ('I want it'), *szeretném* ('I would like it'), *kellek* ('I must do something').

(6c) **Communication**: *panaszkodom* ('I am complaining'), *kérlek* ('I beg you'), *köszönöm* ('thank you'), *elmesélem* ('I tell you'), *mondom* ('I say'), *papolok* ('I am preaching'), *kérlelhetek* ('I can beg you'), *pofáztam* ('I was jawing'), *esküszöm* ('I swear'), *üvöltöm* ('I scream'), *felelek* ('I answer'), *könyörgöm* ('I beg'), *javasoltam* ('I suggested'), *kérdezhetek* ('I can ask'), *szóltam* ('I reminded you'), *köszönök* ('I greet you'), *beszéltem* ('I was talking'), *üzenem* ('I message it'), *kiálthatok* ('I can shout'), *magyarázok* ('I explain'), *bevallom* ('I admit').

(6d) **Intensive movement**: *kijövök* ('I come out'), *ütközöm* ('I clash'), *kapaszkodom* ('I hang on'), *tegyem össze* ('I should put together'), *elbújok* ('I hide'), *viszem* ('I take it'), *elmegyek* ('I go away'), *mentem* ('I went'), *felszállok* ('I take on'), *utazok* ('I travel'), *hozom* ('I bring it'), *talállak* ('I find you'), *belegabalyodtam* [metaphorically] ('I flounder'), *kapom* ('I get it'), *hajtom* ('I ride it'), *felveszem* [also metaphorically] ('I take it on'), *elmásszak* ('I should crawl'), *dobjam* ('I should throw it'), *kapcsolnám* ('I would switch it'), *dőlhetek* ('I can lean'), *kifutok* ('I run out'), *félrelépek* [metaphorically] ('I slip'), *továbblépek* ('I step further'), *hazaérek* ('I come home'), *telerakom* ('I heap it'), *járok* ('I go'), *szorítom* ('I stress it'), *be/kiálltam* ('I stood in/out'), *bemennék* ('I would go in'), *menekültem* ('I fled'), *leintettem* ('I flagged it down'), *hordom* ('I am wearing it'), *érkeztem* ('I arrived'), *elvetek* [metaphorically] ('I reject'), *felmásztam* ('I climbed up'), *estem* ('I fell').

(6e) **Action, dealing with something**: *mosom* ('I am washing it'), *henyélek* ('I am lounging'), *állok* ('I am standing'), *adok* ('I give'), *loptam* ('I stole'), *kölcsönvettem* ('I borrowed'), *várok* ('I am waiting'), *mutatom* ('I show it'), *elvesztettem* ('I lost it'), *találom* ('I find it'), *(meg)tartom*

[also metaphorically] ('I keep it'), *találkoznék* ('I would meet'), *vendéglátóztam* ('I worked in the catering trade'), *ültem* ('I was sitting'), *cserélem* ('I exchange it'), *letöröltem* ('I wiped it'), *visszaadnám* ('I would bring it back'), *használtam* ('I used it'), *törlök* ('I am wiping').

(6f) **Physical functioning**: *megvágom* ('I cut it'), *nézem* ('I am watching it'), *lestem* ('I was peeking'), *iszok* ('I am drinking'), *leettem* ('I spilt food on myself'), *alszom* ('I am sleeping'), *bőgök* ('I am blubbering'), *lehányhatom* ('I can vomit it'), *hugyozhatok* ('I can piss'), *kávézom* ('I drink coffee'), *zokogtam* ('I was sobbing'), *szívom* ('I suck it'), *felkeltem* ('I got up'), *látom* ('I can see it'), *hallom* ('I can hear it'), *maszturbálok* ('I am masturbating'), *önkielégítek* ('I am masturbating'), *törölközöm* ('I dry'), *szarok* ('I shit'), *összefostam* ('I shitted').

(6g) **Existence, state**: *vagyok* ('I am'), *leszek* ('I will be'), *éltem* ('I lived'), *legyek* ('I be'), *lennék* ('I would be'), *maradtam* ('I stayed'), *váljak [vmivé]* ('I should become'), *születtem* ('I was born'), *megélek* ('I can live'), *meghalok* ('I die'), *kerültem* ('I came'), *élnék* ('I would live').

(6h) **Mental state**: *gondolkodom* ('I am thinking'), *tudom* ('I know'), *elvesztettem* ('I lost'), *kezdem* ('I start'), *értettem* ('I understood'), *hagyom* ('I let it'), *hallgatok* ('I remain silent'), *fáradok* ('I get tired'), *szakosodtam* ('I majored'), *hiszem* ('I believe'), *írom* ('I write it'), *olvasok* ('I am reading'), *észlelem* ('I detect it'), *neveztem* ('I called it'), *tervezgetek* ('I am planning'), *észrevettem* ('I realised'), *élvezek* ('I enjoy it'), *belebuktam* ('I failed'), *tapasztalom* ('I experience it'), *megtérek* ('I convert'), *hazudok* ('I lie'), *vihogok* ('I titter'), *sejtem* ('I assume'), *beágyazom* [metaphorically] ('I impregnate it'), *látom* ('I can see it'), *hallom* ('I can hear it'), *kitaláltam* ('I figured it out'), *kivárhatnám* ('I could wait for it'), *visszacsatoljak* ('I should give a feedback'), *bámulhatok* ('I can stare'), *szabaduljak meg* ('I should get rid of it'), *nyerhetek* ('I can win'), *választottam* ('I chose'), *bírom* ('I can endure it'), *félek* ('I am afraid'), *mertem* ('I dared'), *emlékszem* ('I remember'), *kifelejtettem* ('I forgot it'), *lefordítsam* ('I should translate it'), *szavazok* ('I vote'), *próbálom* ('I try'), *megbuktatnék* ('I would plough'), *hívom* ('I call it'), *sajnálom* ('I am sorry'), *tippelnék* ('I would estimate'), *megtanultam* ('I have learnt'), *elhatároztam* ('I decided'), *döntenék* ('I would decide'), *meglepném* ('I would surprise'), *merek* ('I dare'), *elkezdtelek* ('I started to … you'), *folytatnám* ('I would continue'), *reméltem* ('I hoped'), *ráébredtem* ('I woke up to the fact'), *agyalok* ('I am thinking'), *megfeszülök* ('I am stretching'), *elrontok* ('I spoil'), *slammelek* ('I am slamming'), *szurkolok* ('I jitter'), *kínlódom* ('I am agonizing'), *rettegek* ('I am in dread of something').

(6i) **Games**: *eljátszottam (a gondolattal)* [metaphorically] ('I toyed with the idea').

(6j) **Creation**: *komponálok* ('I compose'), *[félmondatot] képeztem* ('I made up a half-sentence'), *alkotok* ('I produce'), *kreálok* ('I create'), *dolgoztam* ('I was working'), *rendeztem* ('I arranged'), *csináltam* ('I did'), *tehetném* ('I could do').

By analysing 1st person singular verbs in context, it is possible to observe which typical topics are the focus of attention in the corpus that play a role in construing the relationship between the speaker/the slammer and the receivers/the audience. The most common topics containing 1st person singular verbs in the corpus are as follows:

1) Topics of personal life, failure (often ironic):

(7a) Én meg különösen magas fokon **kapaszkodom** [???] kamaszkorom karambolos foltjaiba.
'I am especially hanging on to the shattered stains of my teen-age.'

(7b) **Lehetek** depis, mert megöli az összes kedvencem George R. R. Martin.
'I can have depression, as George R. R. Martin is killing all of my favourites.'

(7c) Kedves naplóm, azt **hiszem**, poszttraumatikus stressz szindróma jeleit **észlelem** magamon.
'My dear diary, I think I detect the signs of posttraumatic stress syndrome on myself.'

Ideje beletörődnöm, hogy szép lassan **kifutok** az időből. És **bámulhatom** tehetetlenül a múló másodperceket.
'I must bow to the fact, that sooner or later I will run out of time. And I can stare at the fleeting seconds.'

2) Politics, today's Hungary, Hungarians:

(7d) Szóval néha **szeretném**, hogy fájjon, de tudod, így társadalmilag elfogadott szinten.
'So sometimes I want it to hurt, but you know, on a socially accepted level.'

(7e) **Panaszkodom**, tehát magyar **vagyok**.
'I am complaining, so I am Hungarian.'

(7f) Lyukas zászló, tiszta ruha, meg a magyarok istene, hogy **mondhatom**-e valamire, hogy kész?
'Hollow flag, clean clothes, and the Hungarians' god, how can I say that something is ready?'

3) Hardships of the young in general:

(7g) Nem **maradok** tovább veszteg, eleget **lestem** resten Pesten a sok szemnek kedves, hashtag test-es szuperherót (…)
'I cannot stay put anymore, I have stared the nice-for-the eye, hashtag bodied superheroes idly in Pest.'

(7h) Amikor ilyeneket **hallok**, azért úgy **érzem** élni eléggé terhes itt, de nekem meg, **esküszöm**, nem tudsz mondani semmit (...).
'When I hear things like that I feel that living here is pretty hard, but I swear you cannot say anything to me (...)'

(7i) De hogy is ne **lennék** vesztes, ha egyre biztosabb **vagyok** abban is, hogy rossz korba **születtem**?
'But how on Earth would I not be a loser when I am more and more sure that I was born into the wrong age?'

4) Criticising, scolding other people:

(7j) **Utálom** benned, hogy gyáva vagy, te szar gyáva, te miért nem utálod?
'I hate it in you that you are a coward, you coward shit, why don't you hate it?'

(7k) Ha **megeszek** egy tál betűtésztás levest, jobb indokokat **fosok**, mint te (...).
'If I eat a bowl of soup with alphabet noodles, I shit better arguments than you (...)'

(7l) És méla unalommal **rühellem** az elismerésért könyörgő féltehetségeket (…)
'And I hate the half-talents with a gloomy boredom who are begging for honourable mention.'

4.4.2. Main semantic categories of 1st person plural verbs in the corpus

In the case of the 1st person plural verbs, seven major semantic categories have emerged. They cover various topics, and they refer to both mental and physical processes. The following subgroups can be characterised (some typical examples follow the subgroups):

(8a) **Feelings**: *bíztunk* ('we trusted'), *elbasztuk* ('we fucked it up'), *akartunk* ('we wanted'), *kiakadunk* [metaphorically] ('we freak out'), *szórakozunk* ('we are having fun'), *visszavágyunk* ('we are craving'), *köpködünk* [metaphorically] ('we are spitting'), *valljuk be* ('let's admit'), *megszoktuk* ('we got used to it'), *elvárjuk* ('we expect it'), *fogadjuk el* ('let's accept it'), *bántsuk* ('let's hurt it'), *éltetjük* ('we vitalize it').

(8b) **Communication**: *beszélünk* ('we are talking'), *nosztalgiázunk* ('we feel nostalgic'), *szentségelünk* ('we are cursing'), *tegeződjünk* ('let's thee'), *szidjuk* ('we scold it'), *hallgassunk* ('let's listen'), *tisztázzunk [valamit]* ('let's clarify'), *utaljunk vissza* ('let's refer'), *felolvashatunk* ('we can read out loud'), *ne politizáljunk* ('don't talk about politics'), *össze-össze-össze-összesúgjuk* ('go-go-go-gossip'), *boncolgassuk* [metaphorically] ('let's dissect it'), *megköszönjük* ('we thank [somebody] for it'), *megköszönjük [a bókot]* ('we thank [somebody] for the compliment'), *szidjuk* ('we scold it'), *indítványozzuk* ('we propose it').

(8c) **Intensive movement**: *rohanunk* ('we are rushing'), *lehuppanunk* ('we plop'), *lerobbantunk* ('we broke down'), *haladjunk* ('let's proceed'), *járhatunk* ('we can walk'), *kifaroltunk* ('we swerved out'), *előkúszunk* ('we crawl out'), *ugrálunk* ('we are jumping'), *költöztünk* ('we moved'), *megmász-tuk* ('we climbed'), *telepítjük ki* ('we relocate').

(8d) **Physical functioning**: *zabálunk* ('we are stuffing'), *hányunk ki* ('we vomit'), *meghalunk* ('we die'), *dugtunk* ('we fucked'), *eszünk* ('we are eating'), *kenegethetjük* ('we can grease it').

(8e) **Mental status**: *be voltunk baszva* ('we were drunk'), *hibáztunk* ('we made a mistake'), *hibázunk* ('we make a mistake'), *alkalmazunk* ('we apply'), *se hiszünk* ('we do not believe'), *elfelejtettünk* ('we forgot'), *nem működtünk együtt* ('we don't cooperate'), *beleszámoljuk* ('we count it'), *tudjuk* ('we know it'), *nem tudtuk* ('we didn't know'), *megtanuljuk* ('we learn it'), *írjuk le* ('we write it down'), *számoljuk* ('we calculate it'), *ne erőltessük* ('don't push it'), *feledjük* ('we forget it'), *lemeccseljük* ('we battle').

(8f) **Games**: *játszunk/játsszunk* ('we play / let's play'), *énekeljünk* ('let's sing'), *origamizunk* ('we are doing origami').

(8g) **Creation**: *teremtsünk* ('let's create'), *megcselekedtük* ('we did it').

When these verbs play a role in the sentences in the corpus, they elaborate some typical topics that the slammer talks about and thus attracts the attention of the listeners. The most common topics containing 1st person plural verbs in the corpus are as follows:

1) Topics of personal life, failure (often ironic):

(9a) Keresem az Iphone-om, de basszus, válság van, válságos időket **élünk**, bezzeg az én időmben, akkor is válság volt, de mi legalább szarni **jártunk** a budira, és nem képeket csinálni.
'I am looking for my Iphone, but damn it, there is a crisis, we live in critical times, but in my time, there used to be a crisis, but we went to shit to the loo, not to take photos.'

(9b) Úgy **néztünk ki**, mint féltucat alultáplált G.I. Joe.
'We looked like half-dozen undernourished G.I. Joes.'

(9c) Neki ezért **megbocsátjuk**, hogy nőnek született.
'We forgive her that she was born a woman.'

2) Politics, today's Hungary, Hungarians:

(9d) **Küzdöttünk** és bízva **bíztunk**, de hiába, ez egy nemzet tragédiája.
'We fought and trustingly trusted, but in vain, this is a nation's tragedy.'

(9e) Utálom, hogy ennyik **lettünk** csak Ady óta.
'I hate it that we have become only that much since Ady.'

(9f) (...) abból a Tátrából, ahol együtt **feleseztünk**, én vagyok a köcsög magyar, a Balatonon meg egy geci szlovák.
'(...) from that Tatra where we drank shots together, I am the asshole Hungarian, and at lake Balaton I am a Slovak jerk.'

3) Hardships of the young in general:

(9g) Szóval apu, együtt **nőttünk fel**, és köszönöm azt az S betűt.
'Well, father, we grew up together, and I thank you for that letter S.'

(9h) Idén Pestről vidékre **költöztünk**.
'This year we moved from Pest to the countryside.'

(9i) Amikor Magyarországra **költöztünk**, otthon azt mondták, tápos lettem, amikor a falumból Miskolcra, nagyképű miskolci köcsög, amikor Miskolcról Pestre, sznob, pesti geci vagyok.
'When we moved to Hungary, at home I was told that I had become undernourished, when from my village to Miskolc, an arrogant asshole, when from Miskolc to Pest, a snobby jerk from Pest.'

4) Criticising, scolding other people:

(9j) A reptéri várakozás: mint limuzinbérlés egy belvárosi útra, egy óráig gazdagok és szépek **vagyunk**.
'Waiting at the airport: like hiring a limousine for a ride in the city, we are rich and beautiful for an hour.'

(9k) Látod, baszd meg, a szeretetre **vagyunk** féltékenyek.
'You see, fuck you, we are jealous for love.'

(9l) Komolyan, néha sajnálom szegény neonácikat, hogy itt a hátuk mögött **szidjuk** őket.
'Really, sometimes I feel sorry for poor neonazis, that we are scolding them behind their backs.'

4.5. Socio-cultural patterns

In the case of the analysed corpus, typical features can be observed according to the socio-cultural factors of style (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2012: 38). On the basis of the characteristics identified in the analysed slam poetry texts, the following types of 1st person singular and plural verbs appear prototypically in the corpus: loose, informal; formal (often ironic); slang; archaic; value deprivation and value saturation. However, these styles are most often combined in the following ways:

1) Archaic + formal + value saturation, e.g.

(10a) De olykor megtörik e szép táj, mikor nem **zárkózom** már köréd
'But sometimes this beautiful landscape is broken, when I do not shut myself around you'

(10b) Színészként színpadon számtalan színes személyiség szerepében szüntelenül **színlelek**.
'As an actor on stage I am always pretending in the roles of numerous colourful personas.'

(10c) Szerdánként, szombatonként **színészkedem**.
'I act on Wednesdays and on Saturdays.'

(10d) (…) **megcselekedtük**, amit amit megkövetelt a fasza.
'(…) we did what we were expected by his dick.'

(Intertextuality and irony also appear here: *dick* stands here instead of mother country, based on their similar sounding in Hungarian: *fasza – haza*. *Megkövetelt a haza* is an intertext referring to the lines of a well-known Hungarian translation by Emil Ponori Thewrewk of Simonides's epigram 'Go Tell the Spartans'.)

(10e) **Küzdöttünk** és bízva **bíztunk** (…)
'We fought and trustingly trusted (...)'

(Intertextuality also appears here, these lines refer to Imre Madách's *The Tragedy of Man.*)

2) Informal + slang + value deprivation, e.g.

(11a) Bármikor **behányhatok**?
'Can I vomit any time I want to?'

(11b) (…) nem izgatnak a pénzeid, **teszek** a trendingedre, a megtekintésekre, a hastagekre, a megosztásokra.
'(...) I am not excited by your moneys, I don't give a damn about your trendings, about the views, about the hashtags, about the shares.'

(11c) Magasról **szarok** a lájkokra!
'I shit on likes from a great height!'

(11d) Valamit **elbasztunk**, valamit elbasztak.
'We fucked up something, they fucked up something.'

(11e) (…) ahol együtt **feleseztünk**
'(…) where we drank shots together'

5. Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to analyse in a functional cognitive framework the Hungarian slam poetry subcorpus of the Research Group in Stylistics, consisting of a total of 108 Hungarian slam poetry texts. The verb structures listed during the annotation and their contexts were examined in terms of the construction of the intersubjective relationship between the speaker and the listener(s), as well as the directing of attention. In the subcorpus, person-marking constructions for expressing the speakers in the texts (1st person singular and plural verbs) were annotated with the aim of determining the types of prototypical grammatical, semantic and pragmatic patterns that can help increase intersubjectivity and also play a role in directing listeners' attention.

We had three main research questions to answer in relation to the hypotheses. The first (1) question focused on prototypical grammatical patterns, on the proportion of first person singular and plural verbs in the 108 Slam text. Based on the research, the following findings emerged: grammatical person-marking with verb structures of the 1st person singular occurs much more frequently

in slam texts than the 1st person plural (2201 vs. 301). In the case of the first-person singular verb constructions, the indicative present tense shows a higher proportion in the corpus, while in the case of the first person plural verbs, the indicative and imperative forms are more common. The second (2) question of our analysis was related to the prototypical pragmatic patterns that emerged in the use of first person singular and plural verbs in the corpus. In the verb forms analysed, it can be observed that they can also belong to the metafunction of intersubjectivity and interpersonal relationship building. First person singular verbs related to knowing or saying help construct and develop the interpersonal relationship between the slammer and the audience (e.g. *I know, say, ask*). Some of the typical verbs of the first-person plural in the imperative form foreground the phatic metafunction (e.g. *let's say, let's bet*). The third (3) research question related to the semantic patterns and socio-cultural factors regarding the characteristics of the relationship between the slammer and the audience, and to the typical topics in the slam text that promote the directing of attention. The most characteristic semantic patterns included, among others, feelings, communication, intensive movement, physical functioning, and mental state. Typical topics of discussion were personal life, failure (often with a touch of irony), the hardships of youth, politics and criticism. The socio-cultural factors of style most often occurred in the following combinations: archaic + formal + value saturation, informal + slang + value deprivation.

Through an analysis of 1st person singular and plural verbs, various grammatical, pragmatic, semantic and stylistic features of the slam poetry texts under study were identified and presented. It was revealed that with the help of these verbs, slammers emphasise a sense of community and a kind of "fellowship". In the case of the pragmatic and semantic features, verbs with similar reference to the rhetorical situation and to the relationship of the slammers and their audiences were revealed. These features contain speech acts, which refer to the situation of the slammer and the audience (e.g. *let us bet, I swear*), similar semantic features in both persons (e.g.: talking about personal life, politics, or scolding, criticising other people). These characteristics of the persons analysed point to the fact that the genre of slam poetry has typical pragmatic, semantic, and stylistic features. In the future, further parts of speech (e.g.: nouns, pronouns) can be analysed to lend further support to (or discover the limitations of) the findings of the present paper.

In summary, the study has shown which typical person-marking patterns, detected in the annotated singular and plural first-person verb structures of the slam poetry subcorpus, are relevant for the directing of attention.

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MOVEMENT AS THE FOCUS? MUSIC VIDEOS FOR TOURISTIC PURPOSES

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Abstract

This paper analyses two songs with lyrics and music video. The analysis is based on the fact that these songs were created by the Hungarian National Tourist Office in order to promote Hungarian landscapes and cities.

Each song of this type is supposed to show the beauty of the selected Hungarian landscape, but the two songs presented in this paper seem to fail in this aim. Since the name of the project for which these songs were created is Road Movie, the lyrics were examined from the perspective of the film genres of American and European road movies. By matching the focus of these genres to the focus of the lyrics, verbs were analysed to understand more about verbs that express movement or mental states/changes.

The results show that verbs can be associated with visible or mental movement. Furthermore, the music videos show some elements of these film genres, although there may be some discrepancies with the lyrics. The paper attempts to merge cognitive semantics research and film studies.

Keywords: American road movie, European road movie, mental movement film, cognitive semantics, Hungarian lyrics, music videos

1. Introduction

The Hungarian National Tourist Office's Road Movie project was launched in 2019 (for further details see: https://roadmovie.hu), with the aim of making Hungarian tourist landscapes and cities more attractive to Hungarian citizens. A total of fifteen bands, well known among contemporary Hungarian musicians and their audiences, took part in the project, which also included two co-productions. Alongside music, accompanying music videos were also produced as the main focus of the project was to highlight the visual beauty of Hungary.

The fifteen music videos were mostly able to achieve this focus, e.g. we can see the landscapes and the touristically relevant parts of a city or countryside. However, this article will highlight two that seem not to achieve the goal just mentioned. One of them is a song by Blahalouisiana called *Éjjel a főutcán* ('At night on the high street'), written by Gábor Jancsó, László Mózner, András Szajkó, Barbara Schoblocher and Ádám Juhász. The other one is a song by Ivan and the Parazol called *Mást vártam* ('I expected something else'), written by Máté Balla, Bálint Simon, Márton Springer, Iván Vitáris, and András Weil. Each title has a subtitle to help the listeners identify the cities and landscapes. The song by Blahalouisiana is set in Székesfehérvár, the regional capital of Fejér County, while the song by Ivan and the Parazol is set in Budapest, the capital of Hungary.

Furthermore, as the Hungarian National Tourist Office chose Road Movie as the name of the project, this choice had the effect that travel became the focus of each piece of music. For the analysis of both the texts and the clips, it is therefore worthwhile to take into account the relevant film types. Just as we can see that there are attempts to apply Langacker's Cognitive Grammar to

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cinematic movements (cf. Deaca 2018), the reverse can also be fruitful: to broaden the cognitive linguistics discipline with the relevant insights of film studies.

This paper aims to find answers to the following questions:

(1) Does the name Road Movie have any influence on the lyrics?

(2) Is the aim of the Hungarian National Tourist Office prominent in the texts of the songs?

(3) Can the clips be linked to film genres?

(4) Do the music videos comply with the Tourist Office's guidelines?

To answer these questions, the paper includes an analysis of the texts and then an analysis of the clips. Due to the brevity of the paper, just a few examples are given from each text, and some of the relevant parts of the music videos are shown in picture format.

Overall, the aim of the complex analysis of the text and the clips is to find answers to the questions posed above and detailed in the sections that follow. The following section presents the relevant literature background.

2. The phenomena of attention in texts and films

The film industry has two main categories for the travel genre: the American ROAD MOVIE and the European road movie. The latter is also referred to in Hungarian film studies as a MENTAL MOVEMENT FILM or MIND FILM (Szabolcsi 2021), and this paper will stick to the MENTAL MOVEMENT FILM definition. While the American ROAD MOVIE emphasises that the road is the place where one can escape reality, the MENTAL MOVEMENT FILM offers no opportunity for doing so because of the territorial structures of Europe. Instead, it focuses more on social issues such as migration or one's emotions, usually expressed by mixed images of real-life events and memories (Heller 2024). Furthermore, the main journey of Hungarian MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS takes place within the memories and the imagination of the protagonist in connection with the actual screenplay time of the film (Gelencsér 2016, Lénárd-Bella 2019).

Such a difference can be seen when salience is taken into account, as the foreground and background are different in these film types (these notions are adopted here on the basis of Langacker 2008). In the ROAD MOVIE, the protagonist reflects on his or her actions, and on changes in his or her mental state that occur as the journey progresses. Therefore, the road functions as a background, and salience comes from the experience of being on the road. In the MENTAL MOVEMENT FILM, the journey between the protagonist's memories functions as a background to the actions and feelings of the protagonist in the actual screenplay time. To transfer the above statements to the text, it is considered that language mainly expresses movement with verbs, and this paper will only be concerned with verbs. Verbs that express a change of place and position, such as so-called MOVEMENT VERBS (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2016), can be linked to the strategies of being on the road as seen in ROAD MOVIES. On the other hand, MENTAL VERBS represent cognition, emotion, or perception (Croft 1993) and therefore, can be associated with strategies of travelling between memory and actual time, as in MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS. For the purposes of the study, I have collected only the so-called ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS[1] in Hungarian (see Vincze–László 2006), such as *know*, r*emember*, and *believe*.

In order to see what can be considered as relative salience (cf. Talmy 2007) in the clips and how the foregrounded and backgrounded elements can be related to the film categories, this paper used excerpts from the clips. The reason for this was to be able to identify elements such as angles

[1] Absolute mental verbs are defined as those "which themselves carry the mental quality" (Vincze–László 2006: 340)

or distances (based on the work of Kress – van Leeuwen 2006). However, instead of looking at the clips as still images, I also examined the typical camera movement strategies used in ROAD MOVIES (Hurault-Paupe 2014), thus revealing the complexity of the music video.

3. Lyrics on the ground of Road Movie

This section presents the analysis of the texts. First, an analysis of the verbs in the two texts is presented, to accentuate the interdisciplinary link between film studies and cognitive semantics. To this effect, the verbs are grouped into MOVEMENT VERBS, as this category is presumed to be linked with ROAD MOVIES, and ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS, to be linked with MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS. The texts are then be evaluated according to whether or not they contain elements that are in line with the objectives of the Hungarian National Tourist Office. Parts from three other texts will be shown to illustrate successful solutions to the Tourist Office's call to promote rural and urban areas. The provided English translations are not intended to be aesthetically pleasing, but rather merely to be as close as possible to the original Hungarian texts.

3.1. Identifying road movie and mental movement film in the texts

To detect movement in the texts, only verbs were selected and analysed, excluding copula and substantive verbs. The verbs were collected and grouped, and the total number was compared with those that could be grouped into MOVEMENT and ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS. This allowed the texts to be compared with the film types. The Hungarian language has not only verbs but also verbs with prefixes, which are either linked and written together or written separately. These have been analysed together. Since the texts contain repeating choruses, verbs that appear there were not counted more than once.

Blahalouisiana's song *Éjjel a főutcán* ('At night on the high street') contains a total of fourteen verbs, but only thirteen were analysed. The verb *change* seems to be part of FICTIVE MOTION[2] (cf. Talmy 2000), therefore, it was excluded from this analysis. First, the MOVEMENT VERBS were collected.

(1) Elbújni, felmászhatsz sok panelház falán
'To hide, you can **climb** the walls of many panel houses'

The verb *climb* indicates a real movement, with the trajector making a change of place and position.

(2) El se ballagtunk még, innen tovább szöktem
Menekülök vissza, túl nagy a világ mögöttem
'We haven't even *left* school yet, I have already **flown** away
I am **run**ning back, the world is too big behind me'

In these lines, the trajector, either plural or singular, makes a change of place and position as described with the verbs *leave*, *fly* and *run*: leaving the hometown and then returning.

Secondly, ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS were collected.

(3) Tudom, tele van gonddal mind a két kezed
'I **know**, that you have both your hands full of worries'

The verb *know* does not express any actual movement but rather a mental change and knowledge. In the next line the same verb occurs, but with a different meaning, referring to the process of gaining knowledge of something:

[2] "Fictive motion refers to figurative expressions of motion attributed to immobile material objects, states, ot abstract concepts where motion verbs semantically extend their meanings to express relations that neither involve the motion itself nor state change" (Bien–Weijer 2021).

(4) Szokatlan még a bolygó, a többit nem ismerem
'The planet is still unusual and I don't **know** the rest'

Of the thirteen verbs, only two could be categorised as ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS, the rest expressing actual movement. For this reason, the song is associated with the ROAD MOVIE genre, with moving events taking place throughout the song, despite the fact that it switches between past and present tense.

The song by Ivan and the Parazol, *Mást vártam* ('I expected something else'), contains a total of eighteen verbs, not counting the duplums, and only twelve were analysed. In this song, verbs such as *know* or *believe* are repeated in different lines but with the same meaning, so they were not counted.

(5) Ti nem adtatok, csak ígértetek
Ami közel van csak abból vehetek
'You have **given** [us/me] nothing, only a promise
I can only **take** from what is close to me'

There are two object manipulation verbs that express movement in these two lines: *give* and *take*. The movement is not made by the trajector itself, but an object (supposedly) has been moved by someone. Because of this, there may be a change of place and position, so that these were counted as MOVEMENT VERBS.

On the other hand, there are many examples of ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS in this text, although they are repeated more than once.

(6) Megszegtük mi is az ígéretet
Pedig elhittem sosem tévedhetek
De hittünk és tudod így volt szép
'We also **broke** the promise
Though I **believed** I could never err
But we **believed**, and you **know**, that is how it was fair'

There are two occurrences of the word *believe* in these lines, but in Hungarian they have different meanings. The first expresses that the process of believing aims to an object in what the trajector believes. In the second case, the trajector is generally capable of belief. The expression *break a promise*, which is expressed in Hungarian with the verb *megszeg*, causes a change in the mental state of the trajector, so it is also counted as an ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERB. The refrain contains verbs that could not be counted for this analysis, as they are more likely to express FICTIVE MOTION:

(7) Mást vártam
A lent után a fent jön úgy láttam
'I **expected** something else (2x)
Being at the bottom **follows** being at the top as, I saw' (2x)

Of the twelve verbs analysed, two expressed movement, a movement that was not made by the trajector, but an object was moved. The remaining six verbs, which were not considered in this paper, usually fall into the case of FICTIVE MOTION. According to the results, the song is closer to the category of MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS, as the chain of events takes place in the protagonist's memory and imagination.

All in all, we can see that *At night on the high street* may have been influenced by the name of the Tourist Office's Road Movie project, associated with the film genre, but the same cannot be stated for *Mást vártam*. As a result, the Road Movie genre had little to no influence on these texts.

3.2. Identifying landmarks in the texts

As the main aim of the Tourist Office was to promote Hungarian tourist attractions, it is expected that this will be reflected in the lyrics. Although the songs convey a feeling about the chosen city or landscape from the eyes of the songwriters, in order to recognise them, some clues should be found in the texts to make them more salient. This goal appears, with different solutions, in three other songs made for the project, such as:

(8) Lajbim zsebében makuka-szívem
'In the pocket of my waistcoat is my sunflower seed heart'

The Bohemian Betyars *Makuka* song uses dialectal words from the Borsod region of north-eastern Hungary. Owing to the presence of such words are *lajbi* (a Hungarian dialectal word for 'waistcoat') and *makuka* (a Hungarian dialectal word for 'sunflower seed'), listeners can identify the region after a little research, so it is salient.

(9) Miklóson nem játék a medve
'In Miklós the bear is not a toy'

The song of The Bagossy Brothers Company *Visszajövök* ('I will return') uses items that are recognisable if the listeners know some facts. The band is from Gyergyószentmiklós, a town in Transylvania, and bears are very common in this area. The songwriters use the listener's presumed knowledge and highlight a typical landmark.

(10) Dunakanyar volt nekem az óceán
'the Danube Bend was the ocean for me'

Kelemen Kabátban's song *Végtelen* ('Infinity') explicitly specifies the region where the protagonist is, the Dunabe Bend in the northern part of Hungary. It is the closest to the Tourist Office's aim.

However, the two songs that are analysed in this paper do not, or only partially, meet these objectives. The song *At night on the high street* mentions places that could be part of any Hungarian town:

(11) Elbújni felmászhatsz sok panelház falán
Éjjel a főutcán kozmikus a magány
A tinik a tópartra járnak
[…]
Félig kész hasonlat az üres vidámpark

'To hide, you can climb the walls of many panel houses
Loneliness is cosmic at night on the high street
The teenagers go to the lake
[…]
The empty theme park is a half-made simile'

The songwriters refer to a specific place in the last lines of the song, drawing on the listener's historical knowledge: Székesfehérvár was once the capital of Hungary. This is conveyed by the appearance of one of Hungary's regalia, the apple (pomum):

(12) Az ország almafáját így kell nevelgetni
'This is how the apple tree of the country must be raised'

The song *I expected something else* is not in line with the main goal, there is no mention of the exact location, only a general one:

(13) Együtt álltunk kint helyeknél
'We stood together in front of places'

As we have seen, bands used different techniques to emphasise the landscapes or the cities, the last two are not in line with the Tourist Office's objective: for the listener, it is not salient where the story takes place.

4. Music videos and Road Movie

This section first explores typical elements of music videos in order to find out whether or not these videos can be associated with film genres. The most important elements are then displayed to show whether the products can meet the advertising objective: to direct attention to the beauties of Hungary. Images are shown from the music videos in both parts as it is not possible to show the whole video.

4.1. *Éjjel a főutcán* 'At night on the high street'

The video was shot in the autumn and is set entirely in one city. As the music starts, we can see the singer from above and close to the ground. During the line *The planet is still unusual*, the camera pans around the singer, but the shot is still taken close to the ground. At the phrase *To hide, you can climb the walls of many panel houses*, the previous near-ground images shift, and the camera begins to move upwards with the singer.

In terms of distance, the hitherto intimate approach (showing the head) is transformed into a social and public space (cf. Kress – van Leeuween 2006: 148; Virág 2013: 499), and the camera's perspective is from below upwards. At the beginning, only floating movement appears, on a level with the walls of the houses, which then changes into full flight. The symphonic bars are also visually linked to the sight of a symphony orchestra on the roof of a panel house.

Figure 1. The band on the roof of a panel house

At the line *Our favourite place is no more*, we look out of a schoolroom window onto a lake, with panel rows in the background, and so we can contextually assume that both the school and the lake anchored in the text are interpreted as favourite places. At the first chorus, the full band is shown for the first time, still fixed on the roof of the panel house.

With the line *I'm carrying it all around with me anyway*, a musical insertion begins, the singer ascends to the height of the roofs of the houses, and with the third chorus she is finally kicked away from all solid points, flying above the houses, with the city, primarily still the panel houses, in the background.

Figure 2. The iconic sceenery of panel houses

By the last line of the song, *This is how the apple tree of the country must be raised*, the singer is soaring to almost ethereal heights, with the city is mirrored and folded above and below her. The depiction is central and frontal at the very end, which may reinforce the linking role (Virág 2013) – metaphorically, the need for the song to connect the world of the viewer and the world of the city.

Figure 3. The end scene of *At nigh on the high street*

Movements used in ROAD MOVIES appear in the clip, such as COMPOSITION-INDUCED MOVEMENT, i.e. the dynamic movement of frames, and also EDITING-INDUCED MOVEMENT (Hurault-Paupe 2014). However, it is not a typical ROAD MOVIE, as movement is vertical instead of horizontal, and is limited to a thematic city. Thus, a contrast can be observed between the text and the clip as the text shows more ROAD MOVIE elements. The clip can also be linked to MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS: we see places that are presented from one perspective, bound to one person's memories.

The clip mixes the markers of ROAD MOVIE and MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS, as the representation of the locals' experiences and memories become more important from the director's point of view than creating a sense of being on the road.

4.2. *Mást vártam* 'I expected something else'

The clip begins with the name of Budapest shown repeatedly, which is not reflected anywhere in the text. Throughout the video, there are continuous and rapid cuts and pasted images of parts of houses, streets, a typical element of EDITING-INDUCED MOVEMENT (Hurault-Paupe 2014). We see the band at one point, the singer is in the spotlight, and a girl accompanies the band throughout the clip, constantly taking photographs as an outside observer. The visual world reflects and conveys the atmosphere of the eighties and nineties: blurred colours, contours, the image is not sharp.

Figure 4. Blurred and sharp pictures on each other

At the beginning of the song, the viewer is taken into a studio, where pictures of the singer are taken continuously (with other cuts of street scenes in between). With the appearance of the first chorus, we leave the studio and the band starts walking on the streets.

Figure 5. Walking on the streets of Budapest

Abrupt and rapid image changes, zooming in and out, will continue to be an important element. The pictures with the line *We stood together in front of places* reinforce the "movement" of the standing with the view of several nightclubs alternating with the band in the foreground. The compositional element of the song is framing, this framing is provided by constant shifts in perspective, the distance is largely public, but can also become intimate in many cases with sudden shifts (Kress – van Leeuwen 2006; Virág 2013). There is no clear principle of direction, rather the cavalcade becomes important.

From the second chorus onwards, modern architectural elements begin to appear in the video clip, and visuality begins to sharpen, during a musical interlude neon signs flash, still retaining the atmosphere of the eighties. The sequence of events that had been taking place during the daytime is shifted into the evening. The images of day and night alternate, as does the contrast between the blurred, old-fashioned images and the images of modern lifestyle.

Figure 6. A picture of the band for the montage

The video clip ends with showing a wall with a montage of the pictures taken by the girl. The movement is continuous in the clip, the narrative structure is thus based on action, actional and relational processes (Virág 2013: 499), and is strongly metaphorical, although there are also examples of explicitness of certain elements by lyrics (for example, standing in places or images of up and down).

Nevertheless, with elements of constant movement and the merging of the eighties with the present, the clip creates a mixture of the two genres. However, the final scene, with a montage of photographs, brings the whole clip into the realm of memory and, in this sense, closer to MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS.

4.3. Identifying landmarks in the music video

In addition to promoting the cities and the countryside, the Road Movie project also has typical signs that must appear in the videos. One is the Road Movie neon sign and the other is a bus used by the bands to travel from one place to another.

Figure 7. The Road Movie logo

Figure 8. The bus of the Road Movie project

In the *At night on high street* clip, the Road Movie sign only appears at the beginning, while the bus plays a bigger role, with the singer travelling on it at one point in the clip. In the *I expected something else* clip, the Road Movie sign is only shown at 2.51 minutes and the image of the bus only appears a few times. In both clips, the Tourist Office's features are not highlighted.

The landscapes in other clips are tourist-friendly and serve to highlight the sights and beauties of the area.

Figure 9. The roadsign of the county

In *Makuka*, we can also see a roadsign with the name of the county, so the viewer's attention is explicitly focused on where the story takes place, it is salient.

Figure 10. A typical Szekler Gate

In *I will return* we can see typical landmarks of Transylvania, one of them is the so-called Szekler Gate, the landmarks and the beauty are highlighted.

Figure 11. The Danube Bend

In *Infinity* we focus on the beauty of the Danube Bend, the whole video clip takes place there, showing it from above and from a boat view. This can be seen as the most salient of the three.

On the other hand *At night on the high street* cannot comply with the Tourist Office's aim, as the main focus on panel houses and the old city centre is not highlighted.

Figure 12. The statue of the Hungarian regalia, the apple in Székesfehérvár

Once we see the apple, which is also mentioned in the text, but without the knowledge to link it to Székesfehérvár, it cannot be thought of as a prominent element.

In the *I expected something else* clip, there are elements of Budapest that are recognisable, famous buildings or the landscape of the city as a whole, but it is more focused on showing a vibrant and lively side of a capital city.

Figure 13. The Fisherman's Bastion in Budapest

Despite the fact that it does not focus on explicitly showing the city itself, the main objective has been achieved.

All in all, these two music video that were analysed in this paper do not correspond to the Tourist Office's main goal of encouraging Hungarians to visit these landscapes as much as the other music videos, shown above, did.

5. Summary

The main aim of this paper was to show that interdisciplinarity can be fruitful when lyrics on a certain topic and film genres are looked at together. An additional goal was to find out whether songs produced for a promotional purpose were able to live up to the relevant expectations.

For this reason, I first examined the verbs in two songs and classified them into MOVEMENT VERBS and ABSOLUTE MENTAL VERBS. These two linguistic categories could then be brought into

correspondence with the schemas of ROAD MOVIES and MENTAL MOVEMENT FILMS. The results showed that verbs can express movements very similar to those seen in films, and the overall meaning of the songs can be similar to the meaning of the corresponding films. Generally, however, the name of the Tourist Office's project, Road Movie, does not seem to have prompted songwriters to produce songs specifically designed to match the style of ROAD MOVIES. Secondly, I checked whether the lyrics themselves were able to draw attention to the cities or landscapes which was the main focus of the Tourist Office. To highlight the differences among the texts, three more songs, created in this project, were shown. The results presented that *At night on the high street* and *I expected something else* did not focus on promoting an area but rather on promoting a feeling.

The next section focused on the music videos with the same distinction that had been applied to the texts, First, movement was detected in connection with the film genres. After an analysis of the images and movements, excluding the sound, the results showed that a mixture of ROAD MOVIE and MENTAL MOVEMENT FILM was more likely to appear, as memories and fantasies were more prominent. Secondly, the visual focus was checked by comparing them with the three other songs. Both of the music videos shown in this paper focused more on presenting the atmosphere of the cities rather than showing the most prominent tourist areas.

All in all, it can be said that the chosen songs did not match the focus of the project but solved the given task in a unique way. In the future, it would be worth exploring other songs that are either made for a travel purpose or have a travel theme, to see whether the movement takes place in the mind or in the domain of reality.

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APOSTROPHIC PATTERNS IN HUNGARIAN CONTEMPORARY POPULAR MUSIC LYRICS

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Abstract

There is a decades-long tradition of linguistic and literary research into Hungarian-language song lyrics, in which the systematic work of the ELTE DiAGram Stylistic Research Group has been a key factor. In this context, the present research aims to investigate contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics with the aim of providing a more comprehensive picture of contemporary music lyrics as lyrical discourses through the apostrophic patterns found in these lyrics and the socio-cultural relations and attitudes represented in the apostrophic discourses. The qualitative study, which analyses 27 Hungarian-language popular music lyrics, also attempts to identify possible genre schemas along the characteristics of the apostrophic patterns. By characterising the sample, the analytical procedure also highlights subtle distinctive features of different genres of lyrical texts, thus providing a perspective beyond the investigation of popular music lyrics.

Keywords: genre, apostrophe, popular music, lyrics, sociocultural situatedness

1. Introduction

In addition to canonical lyrical works, there is also a growing academic interest in non-canonical lyrical texts, with a decades-long tradition of linguistic and literary studies of popular music lyrics. Findings about the linguistic functioning of apostrophe, which plays an essential role in the formation of lyrical discourse situations, has been recently extended by the results of the first studies of pop song and alternative song texts, and the ELTE DiAGram Stylistic Research Group is systematically investigating the characteristics of popular music lyrics and slam poetry texts, while also supporting the corpus-based analysis of these text groups by building the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry (see Horváth–Simon–Tátrai 2022).

The present research aims to investigate contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics to provide a more comprehensive picture of contemporary music lyrics as lyrical discourses through the apostrophic patterns found in them and the socio-cultural relations and attitudes construed in the apostrophic discourses. The study draws on both recent theoretical insights on the subject and recent linguistic work on other lyrical genres of music, such as hit song lyrics, popular dance music lyrics, alternative lyrics and folk song lyrics. The qualitative study, which analyses 27 Hungarian-language pop music lyrics, also attempts to identify possible genres along the characteristics of apostrophic patterns as adequate and productive starting points for interpretation.

For laying out the theoretical background (2), we discuss the issues of apostrophicity and genre in relation to music lyrics, and then briefly describe the research material and methodology

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(3). In the analytical chapter, the research questions are presented along the lines of the characteristics of apostrophic patterns in the sample (4) and their relation to the socio-cultural relations enacted (4.1) before a special section is devoted to the relation of mental states construed in texts to social relations (4.2), followed by a presentation of the genre patterns emerging in the sample (4.3). The paper concludes with a summary.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Apostrophicity of music lyrics

If lyric poetry is understood as a discursive category, we can arrive at an extended interpretation of the concept that takes it to apply not only to a characteristic group of canonised literary texts, but also to popular music lyrics. Indeed, the context-dependent orientation in song lyrics as lyrical discourses is as much the result of the use of fictional apostrophic acts as in canonical lyrical works (see Frye 1957; Culler 1981, 2015). Apostrophe, understood as a turning away from the actual addressee of discourse, often, and in lyric texts typically, initiates discourse not with an addressee who can actually be addressed directly, but with entities with whom it would not be possible to do so without the embodied and discursive grounding of linguistic cognition. The essential features of fictional acts of apostrophe, which are crucial for the discursivity of lyric poetry, are as follows (cf. Tátrai 2015, 2018; Simon–Tátrai 2021: 138–142).

> (i) Prototypical lyric discourses can be characterised by a discursive schema whereby a fictional, direct (face-to-face) interactional, apostrophic discourse is constructed in parallel with the actual discourse. The fictive participants of this discourse direct their attention to a directly (perceptually) observable referential scene.
>
> (ii) Apostrophic acts embedded in lyrical discourse create the specific possibility for entities otherwise accessible to linguistic cognition as third person to be constructed as second person. They thus become participants in a system of social relations, with whom it is possible not only to establish interpersonal contact, but also to observe things and events in the world together in the context of intersubjective attention and with whom it is possible to coordinate actions in relation to these.
>
> (iii) In the fictional apostrophe, the utterer of the lyric discourse provides an opportunity to express and influence not only emotions but also other mental states, in the context of intersubjective attention. Participants in fictional apostrophic discourse can share their beliefs of the world and align their own desires and intentions with those of others.

It means that the utterer of the lyric discourse, by applying apostrophe, also creates a fictional joint attentional scene, characterised by the direct interaction of the participants on the one hand, and by the directly observed referential scene on the other. Thus, the addressee of a lyric discourse does not simply have to create the intersubjective context of the actual joint attentional scene of which he or she has become a participant along with the author of the lyric work. In doing so, he must also activate contextual knowledge that derives from his understanding of the intersubjective context of the fictional joint attentional scenes that are created by the apostrophic act (cf. Simon–Tátrai 2021). Thus, the essential question that can be raised in relation to the apostrophicity of lyric discourse is: from where and how are (i) the physical world of the referential scene's participants, with its spatial and temporal relations, (ii) the social world, with its socio-cultural relations, and (iii) the mental world, with their mental states, construed in lyric discourse?

In examining music lyrics, we rely on a detailed interpretation of contextualisation as a dynamic process of context formation, according to which contextualisation as an integral part of joint attention (cf. Tomasello 1999), by mobilising background knowledge that seems relevant to

the participants' perspectives, allows for easier processing and more effective understanding of the whole or bounded parts of the referential scene (see Tátrai 2020).

In this context, we emphasise the perspectival character of contextualisation and provide a particular interpretation of context-dependent vantage points according to which, in the intersubjective grounding of the referential scene, (i) the spatio-temporal position of the speaker in the physical world of the context, in which the participants interpret each other as physical entities, (ii) the socio-cultural situatedness of the speaker in the social world of the context, in which the participants understand each other as social entities, and (iii) the stance of consciousness of the speaker in the mental world of the context, in whose relational system the participants interpret each other as mental agents, function as context-dependent vantage points.

2.2. About the genre of lyrics

Above, we have argued that the application of fictional apostrophic discourse is a general feature of lyric discourse, including popular music lyrics, which plays an essential role in the formation of lyric discourse situations. At the same time, it should be stressed that the study of the arrangement of apostrophic patterns may also be relevant for the description of the specificity of individual lyric genres, and thus of the specificity of the genres of light music song lyrics (see Simon–Tátrai 2021).

As with discourses in general, lyric discourses are instantiations of types, or are themselves types, and thus initiators of the formation of typical discourses. It means that the dynamic interrelationship between schema and realisation, already emphasised in Bakhtin's (1986) concept of speech genre, can be exploited in the description of the relationship between discourses and discourse types (genres).

Bakhtin's theory is related to those text typological concepts that treat text types as natural, realistic categories of linguistic activity, intuitively accounted for and operated by communities of speakers (see Kocsány 1989). Thus, Bakhtinian theory implements an approach to genres as systematic expectation (see Tolcsvai Nagy 2001: 331–338) by interpreting genres as knowledge on the one hand and as motivating factors in the social meaning construal that takes place in particular communities on the other. However, this does not mean that knowledge of genres determines the realisation of discourses. On the one hand, the formation of types is initiated by concrete discursive instantiations that are recognised as similar to each other. On the other hand, instantiations, by conforming or not (or not fully) conforming to the type, also have an impact on it. In the former case they reinforce it, in the latter case they modify it.

According to the concept of functional cognitive linguistics, the types that interact with realisations in the construal can be described as categories or schemas that are activated as shared knowledge of the participants in the discourse. Thus, it is also useful to understand genres as discursive categories, i.e. as open, prototypical systems of expectations that have more prototypical and less prototypical instances. However, genres can be understood not only as prototype-based categories, but also as schemas. They are discursive schemas that are produced by the processing of specific discourses and whose activation is required by the processing of specific discourses. As with schemas in general (see Langacker 1987: 130; Tolcsvai Nagy 2017), genres are created by setting aside the structural differences of the actual discourses experienced, leaving only the common points and reformulating them at a higher level of abstraction. As a result, genres, like schemas in general, are much less detailed than the specific experiences that produced them. Furthermore, genres as schemas are holistic structures of co-occurring features: when a detail of one is recalled, the whole schema is activated. Genres, understood as discursive schemas, are therefore generic structures that help us process new information on the basis of earlier experiences (see Simon 2017: 159–163; Tátrai 2017; cf. Steen 2011).

2.3. Research questions

The present research draws directly on various recent works on non-canonical lyric discourse that have already shown nuanced results on apostrophic patterns in certain non-canonical lyric genres.

Imre (2017) concludes, based on the hit lyrics of the 2000's, that popular texts are not characterised by the development of more than one fictional apostrophic discourse. And Tátrai's (2015) study of alternative song lyrics suggests that these lyrics rely on more complex apostrophic patterns than hit lyrics. Krizsai (2024a), examining dance song lyrics, finds that in that genre, apostrophic fiction creates participant positions that are highly schematised in terms of sociocultural situatedness. Krizsai (2024b), on the other hand, points out in the context of folk songs about love that in some groups of folklore genres the texts – exploiting the possibilities of autofiction – can even refer to concrete real events.

Based on these previous findings, our study, which aims at a qualitative analysis of the most popular Hungarian popular music lyrics of recent years, formulates the following research questions.

Q1) What complexity of apostrophic patterns can be identified in contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics?
Q2) What socio-cultural relations and attitudes do these texts present in the apostrophic fiction?
Q3) What genre schemas can be used to interpret the analysed lyrics?

3. Methods and material

Our study included 27 Hungarian contemporary popular music lyrics taken from the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry (Horváth–Simon–Tátrai 2022) song lyrics subcorpus. We selected the 3 most played songs of each year of the 9 years (2014 to 2022) processed in the subcorpus, based on data from streaming platforms.

Manual annotation of the apostrophic patterns was carried out to inform the qualitative analysis. During the annotation, person annotation was performed in elementary scenes with < > markers in a simple text editor, and the annotation labels were entered between < > markers following the text string. We annotated the first and second-person singular and the first and second-person plural (with labels 1sg, 2sg, 1pl and 2pl), and indicated, next to both the speaker and the addressee position, who (could be) the speaker and the addressee in each line of text, in case either participant could be identified or delimited in any way. We have also included here the relevant comments related to the annotated unit.

4. Results

In the sample of 27 lyrics, we found 15 that form a single fictional apostrophic discourse. In 10 texts, more diverse apostrophic patterns appear: either because more than one addressee is addressed (in 3 texts), or because there is an alternation between the construction of the same entity as the addressee and as the third-person actor in the scene being observed, i.e. the same entity is addressed more than once (in 4 texts); and 3 texts show even more complex apostrophic patterns. In 2 only the first-person singular construction of the speaker is used, not the second-person singular designation of the addressee. These 2 lyrics consist exclusively of first-person singular utterances in which there is no second-person singular addressee, i.e. in which the linguistic elaboration of the addressee does not take place. This does not, of course, mean that the events made accessible and their framing do not imply a potential addressee, as example (1) shows. Even without indicating the addressee, the example presupposes an intimate relationship between the discourse partners, the socio-cultural situation enacted (*ködös a múltam* 'foggy the past.PX.1SG', *nincs otthonom* 'is.NEG home.PX.1SG') being essentially intimate in nature.

(1) Nem tudja senki, hogy honnan jöttem,
hogy hányszor volt sötét az ég fölöttem.
Ködös a múltam, nem ismeri senki,
nincs otthonom, nincs hova visszamenni.
(Follow the Flow: Nem tudja senki)

'Nobody knows where I came from,
how many times the sky has been dark above me.
My past is hazy, no one knows,
I have no home, no place to go back to.'

9 of the texts that open the only one apostrophic discourse can be considered very similar to the hit song lyrics of the twenties in terms of the socio-cultural relations they put on stage (cf. Imre 2017). Example (2a) shows that in fictional apostrophic discourse, the members of a relationship – typically romantic – are also discourse partners: the selves that are construed is one of the lovers, and the addressee is the other one. There are also texts in the sample that share the same apostrophic pattern as in example (2a), but the social relationship observed in the discourse of apostrophic fiction is not romantic in nature. The social relations and roles construed are detailed in 4.1, but it is also significant for a more general characterisation of the sample that in 6 of the 15 texts opening a single apostrophic discourse the speaker has a loose, intimate, even explicitly rough, conflictual relationship with the addressee, in some of which (3 texts) the addressee is lexically elaborated, for example by addressing him/her as a 'bro' (*tesó*), as illustrated in example (2b).

(2a) Te vagy a legnagyobb hős a világon:
én a királynőd és te a királyom.
Hova is rejtsem el a szívem tőled,
nehogy a végén majd összetörjed.
(Honeybeast: A legnagyobb hős)

'You are the greatest hero in the world:
I am your queen and you are my king.
Where can I hide my heart from you,
lest it ends up broken.'

(2b) Látom, hogy nem tetszik az új rap,
és akkor mondd mi a fasz van?
Mi a fasz van itt tesó?
(BSW: Yaay)

'I see you don't like the new rap
So tell me then what the fuck is going on?
what the fuck is going on here bro?'

A total of 10 texts show a more complex pattern in terms of apostrophic addressees. (3a) gives an example of one of these groups. In the lines quoted in (3a), two distinct addressees are present, the speaker addressed as 'you' (*te*) in the verse and as 'Daddy' (*Apu*) in the refrain.[1] The same person represented as the apostrophic addressee with second-person singular forms and as the object of attention with third-person singular forms is illustrated in (3b): the girl, the object of interest of the first-person singular utterance in the first and second lines of the cited text, becomes accessible through third-person singular constructions (*beül* 'in.sit.3SG', *viszi a haját* 'blow.3SG the hair.PX.3SG.ACC'), but is also observed in the third line as the speech partner addressed by the pronoun *téged* ('you.ACC').

[1] While this paper does not attempt a systematic analysis of the possible interpretations of the lyrics, it is worth noting that the passage quoted from Apuveddmeg also points to the poetic potential of the lyrics. According to one possible interpretation of the passage, it is the partner addressed as you who turns to Daddy in the refrain, and the text can thus be understood as a parent-child interaction.

(3a) A nyaklánc a fejemet húzza le,
hát rajtad meg mi ez a gúnya, te?
[...]
Apu, vedd meg nekem a várost,
automata váltós
kocsival szelném a dombokat!
(WellHello: Apuveddmeg)

'The necklace is pulling my head down,
what's that mockery on you, ha?
[...]
Daddy, buy me the city,
I'd drive up the mountains
in a car with automatic transmission!'

(3b) Ha beül a kocsimba, esküszöm, hogy a fékre nem lépek,
úgy viszi a haját a szél.
Én leszek, aki ma téged hazakísér,
ó, hazakísér, ó, hazakísér.
(Valmar x Szikora Robi: Úristen)

'If she gets in my car, I swear I won't step on the brakes,
The wind blows your hair so amazing.
I'll be your ride home today,
oh I'll see you home, oh I'll see you home'

The particularly complex apostrophic patterns in the 3 texts do not simply mean that there are multiple apostrophic addressees or that the same entity is addressed more than once. Example (4) shows that the first-person singular nominal *fülem* ('ear.PX.1SG') and the first-person plural pronoun *mienk* ('ours') are involved in the construction of a community in time (*'90-es évek* 'the 90s') and with cultural components (dressing, acting). The pattern that can be observed in the text is that the self, represented as a member of the community, speaks about the community to the community, as it were, constituting their own story; one of the two apostrophic turns that can be observed is addressed to a member of this community (*én a kezemen pörgök, te meg a fejeden* 'I'm spinning on my hands and you're spinning on your head'), while the second, *tudod* ('know.2SG'), is directed to a speech partner who is not a member of the community.

(4) úgy terjedt a break, mint a veszedelem.
Én gondoltam, ma magam odateszem,
én a kezemen pörgök, te meg a fejeden
[...]
Nagytalpú cipők meg hülye hajak,
óriás karika a fülem alatt.
Ne legyünk büszkék, de a mienk volt
a '90-es évek tudod, ilyen volt,
lehangolt, leláncolt, de varázsolt,
de 2000 mindennel leszámolt.
(Majka: Mindenki táncol)

'break dance spread like the devil
I thought I'd show my skills today
I'm spinning on my hands and you're spinning on your head

[...]
Big-soled shoes and stupid hair
A giant hoop in my ear
Don't be proud but it was ours
The 90's, you know, was like this
Depressed us, chained us down, but it was magical
But then 2000 has done away with everything'

4.1. Discursive relations and socio-cultural situatedness

In the lyrics studied, there is a great variety not only in the patterns of apostrophe, but also in the social roles and relationships construed in the apostrophic discourse. Of course, the apostrophic discourses opened and the social relations cannot be rigidly separated, since the act of apostrophe, the designation of the (fictitious) discourse partners, cannot be independent of the fact that the possibility of displaying social relations between the discourse partners is different from the possibility of displaying them between the speaker and a character who is the object of attention. The following examples illustrate how social relations and socio-cultural roles become accessible in texts.

(5a) Újra felteszem a kérdést, meg a pontot az i-re,
én gondolok rád, te is gondolsz, de kire?
(Majka x Curtis: Csak te létezel)

'I'm asking the question again and I end it all:
I'm thinking of you, you are also thinking, but of who'

(5b) csajod engem néz, néz, néz,
pedig mindent alápakoltál.
(Dzsúdló feat. Lil Frakk: Lej)

'Your girl is looking, looking, looking at me
Even though you gave everything to her'

(5c) Minta gyerek vagyok, veled csak egy gond, a spanod falumba osztani jár.
Kifosztod az OTP-t meg a vegyesboltot, de nem tudsz beoltani már.
(Ekhoe: Costa Rica)

'I'm a good guy, there is only one problem with you, your dude spreads in my village
You rob the bank and the grocery store, but you cannot humiliate me anymore'

Example (5a) shows a romantic relationship, typical of both dance song lyrics and hit lyrics, but it is not only the social closeness but also the resulting conflict between the speaking partners that is thematised. In the line *gondolok rád, te is gondolsz, de kire* ('I'm thinking of you, you are also thinking, but of who') the act of questioning can be applied to the love affair: the possibility that the addressee is thinking of a third person, not construed as a discourse partner, is formulated from the first-person singular perspective of the utterer. This brings into focus not only the confrontation in the context of the love relationship, but also the possible states of consciousness of the discourse partners.

Example (5b) illustrates a less common apostrophic discourse representation of the romantic relationship: the discourse partners are not members of a couple in love, i.e. not the utterer who is manifesting and initiating a potentially intimate relationship to the addressee, the *csaj* ('chick'). Rather, the discourse partners are interpreted as potential rivals: the utterer who has his eye on the girl and the addressee is the girl's current partner. Thus, in the apostrophic discourse, it is not the

members of the love relationship who are constructed as interlocutors, but those who are confronted along the lines of their relationship with the girl, similar to (5c), in which a conflictual relationship is also thematized in the apostrophic discourse. The apostrophic turn away, especially the address, can thus be seen as a kind of verbal provocation. Not only does the apostrophic fiction imitate certain potential real discourses, but the turning towards, the initiation of discourse is also a linguistic expression of a problem, even an explicit initiation of verbal confrontation, as can be seen, for example, in the line of the example from (5c), *nem tudsz beoltani már* 'you cannot humiliate me anymore'.

(6) Csak az álmomban érhetlek el,
de kattan a vekker, és vége lesz.
Nem akarom, hogy fájjon, nem akarom, hogy bántson,
nem akarom, hogy vétkezzen.
(Azahriah, Desh: *Mind1*)

'I can only reach you in my dream
but the alarm clock rings and it's all over.
I don't want it to cause pain, I don't want her to hurt,
I don't want her to commit a sin.'

In cases in which a single apostrophic discourse does not encompass the whole of the lyrics, or in which there are several apostrophic addressees, we see a more nuanced, detailed, indirect representation of the social relations than, for example, the second person confrontational verbal contact in the singular. In the first line of example (6), the construal of the discourse partners designated by the verbal form *érhetlek el* ('reach.POT.1SG/SUBJ/.2SG/OBJ/ PREV') and their intimate and essentially discursive relationship is reconstrued the third and fourth lines. The objectified vantage point is still in the first-person singular (*akarom* 'want.1SG'), but the beloved one is not present as a discoruse partner but as an observable entity (*bántson, vétkezzen* 'hurt.IMP.3SG, commit.sin.IMP.3SG'). This apostrophic pattern, i.e. that the members of the (romantic) relationship are not discourse partners in the whole lyrics, was previously observed mostly in alternative lyrics (cf. Tátrai 2015).

In texts that initiate more than one apostrophic turn away, not only is there a repeated discourse of one addressee, but also different addressees, as can be seen in the previous example (3a) from the lyrics *Apuveddmeg* by WellHello. In these cases, the associative relations and roles of the discourse partners are mostly obvious, or at least clearly delimited. However, in addition to several distinct recipients, even designated by an address (e.g. *Apu* 'Daddy'), there are also examples where a switch between recipients, a new apostrophic turn away, is not marked. In these cases, the designation of a new discourse partner can be inferred from the different social relations. In such texts, shared knowledge and actions become observable that cannot be linked to a single person by mobilising a schematic knowledge of the world. The quoted lyrics of the band Halott Pénz (7) are a striking example.

(7) A lelkem koravén, a testem még fiatal,
a vállamra dőlj rá, és mondd el, mi a baj.
Szerelem, pénz vagy a szülőkkel van gáz?
A fater nem bankár, a csajod nem sorstárs, ácsi!
A gondokat most falhoz kell vágni,
és élni egy percig, mint ha nem lenne holnap,
ha nem lenne holnap, kérnék egy tollat,
a nyelvemre írnád a számod fel.
Egy csókkal a bánatom szántod fel,
a szívünket ma este cseréljük el,
vagy hitelre megkapod alacsony kamatra az enyém, ha kell.
(Halott Pénz: Van valami a levegőben)

'My soul is old, my body is still young,
lean on my shoulder and tell me what's wrong.
Is it love, money or trouble with parents?
Your dad's not a banker, your girlfriend's not a soulmate, wait!
The problems must now be thrown against the wall,
and live for a minute as if there were no tomorrow
if there were no tomorrow, I would ask for a pen,
you'd write your number on my tongue.
With a kiss you plough my sorrow,
Let's exchange our hearts tonight
Or I'll give you mine on credit at low interest'

In (7), the bolded second-person singular anchored linguistic expressions (*dőlj, mondd, csajod* 'fall.IMP.2SG, tell.IMP.2SG, chick.PX.2SG') articulate an addressee with whom the speaker is in a familiar, or at least loose, relationship, the apostrophic turn away being initiated by an empathic act of problem-sharing. The underlined second-person singular expressions (*írnád, számod, szántod, megkapod* 'write.COND.2SG, number.PX.2SG, ploug.1SG, get.2SG'), however, point to an addressee other than the first, with whom the speaker initiates a romantic relationship, and the plural first-person constructions also present the speaker and the addressee as a conceptual unit. This interpretation may naturally follow from the heteronormative approach to romantic relationships in the lyrics, but even under a different interpretation, the first apostrophic addressee, the friend, and the second addressee, whose phone number the declarant would ask for, are not necessarily identical.

What is remarkable in the quoted passages is not only the social relations of the discourse partners in the apostrophic discourse and their various performances, but also the detailed elaboration of their mental states. Nor can this be dissociated from the apostrophic patterns indicated above, i.e. the fact that the way in which the addressee is designated, or at least the lack of designation, goes hand in hand with a more detailed elaboration of the vantage point of the utterance, the construction of the self in objective scenes. The following examples illustrate this, the representation of mental states, and through them the elaboration of the self in detail.

4.2. Mental states in lyrics, with special attention to the utterer

The social relations observed in the apostrophic patterns of the examples cited are often accompanied by the foregrounding of mental states. For example, mental states are brought into joint attention by the verb can in (1) and (4) and by *gondol* ('think'), *néz* ('look') and *tud* ('know') in examples (5a–c). The relation of the mental states of the interlocutors' own and each other's mental states to their social relations is illustrated in (5a), the citation from *Bennem csak te létezel*, in which the negotiation of a romantic relationship is essentially a function of the manifested mental states of the self and of the assumed mental states of the addressee, specifically of who is thinking about whom. Thus, the elaboration of the mental states of the discourse partners can contribute to the complexity of the social relations, as it allows for more nuanced and complex relations to emerge in the relation of mind, while the (fictive) utterer's position marks his own position as an adequate perspective for knowledge and assumptions about the addressee. The assumption of the consciousness of an apostrophic addressee also allows for a more detailed elaboration of the utterer's vantage point by the states of mind that it attributes to the addressee.

(8a) Azt is megértem, amit te nem értesz,
ezért az életem nem hasonlít a tiédhez.
(Majka x Curtis x Király Viktor: Füttyös)

'I also understand [or: I have also lived to see] what you can't understand,
therefore my life is not like yours.'

(8b) Azt mondod, tudod, mi kell, / de te nem fogod fel!
Honnan is tudhatnád, / Ja! / ha te nem voltál lenn?
(Manuel: Messziről jöttem)

'You say you know what it takes but you just can't get it!
How could you know when you ain't been down there?'

In examples (8a) and (8b), the relationship between the interlocutors is mainly shaped in the light of the mental abilities and knowledge they attribute to each other. That is, the addressee typically knows something differently or not from the source of the speaker, whereas authentic, meaningful, reliable knowledge and experience are attributed to the speaker.

(9a) Az életem egy kalandregény,
a társam a magány, a szeretőm a remény.
Úgy megpróbálnám a szerencsém,
de a balszerencse szerelmes belém.
A szívem a motor, még várjon a pokol,
most szólok, hogy kicsit kések.
Hogy hova sodort az élet
elmondom majd, ha visszatérek.
(Follow the Flow: Maradok távol)

'My life is an adventure novel,
my partner is loneliness, my lover is hope.
I'd like to try my luck,
But bad luck is in love with me
My heart is the engine, hell awaits,
I'm just telling I'll be a little late
Where life has taken me
I'll tell you when I get back'

(9b) A zenémtől sírnak a csajok,
a zenémre szívnak a rajok,
a sikeremtől sírnak a nagyok,
de leszarom mennyit rak rá még az élet,
mert egyedül haladok.
Egyedül csináltam, egyedül vagyok.
(Missh: Sok a gond)

'My music makes girls cry,
My music makes the coolheads smoke (weed),
My success makes the boss cry,
But I don't give a shit how much more life has to put it on
Cause I'm on my own
I did it alone, I'm alone.'

Examples (9a) and (9b) illustrate how in first-person singular construals the self engages in self-interpretation without a specific designation of an addressee, by staging its socio-cultural situation. In (9a), this can be seen not only in the first-person nominals (*társam, szeretőm, szívem* 'partner.PX.1SG, lover.PX.1SG, heart.PX.SG1'), but also in the verbal actions (*szólok, elmondom* 'speak.1SG, tell.1SG'), which can be interpreted as a kind of fictional self-narration. Similarly, (9b) lists the defining identity components of the self in first-person nominals (*zeném, sikerem* 'music.PX.1SG', success.PX.1SG'),

from which the schema of the successful creative or performing artist emerges. In examples (9a) and (9b), the social position of the speaker is elaborated not only by the lack of addressee, but also by lexical elements (*a társam a magány, a balszerencse szerelmes belém* 'my partner is loneliness, bad luck is in love with me' and *egyedül haladok, egyedül vagyok* 'I walk alone, I'm alone'). The apostrophic pattern and the constructed social role thus support the elaboration of the self as a discourse partner. In similar texts, the enacted manifestation is typically isolated in a social position, as in (8a–8b) and (9a–9b), while the schematic construction of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour specific to a musical subculture can also be observed in this way, as in examples (2b) and (5a–5c).

4.3. Genre issues in the studied lyrics: break-up and rap schemas

The patterns of apostrophic fiction and the social relations and mental states represented within them in the sample under study reveal similar and less similar constellations to earlier popular music texts. The sample is partly composed of texts that open up a single apostrophic discourse, of a romantic nature, but which in any case thematise close and intimate relationships, in which the primary intention is to declare relationships and to shape them. The romantic relationship may be explicitly conflictual in nature, and the negotiation may be aimed at breaking the relationship. In this context, accountability and mistrust may be expressed through the mental states attributed to the speaker and his or her partner.

(10) Általad sebzett lélekkel
nézek most szembe a tényekkel.
Jól tudom, most már nem mellettem ébredsz fel.
A szíved már máshol jár,
miért csókol egy másik már?
Mondd, miért így ért véget a mesénk?
(Lofti Begi x Burai Krisztián: Háborgó mélység 2)

'With a soul wounded by you
Now I face the facts.
I know you won't wake up next to me anymore.
Your heart is elsewhere,
Why is another kissing (you) now?
Tell me, why did our story end this way?'

In example (10) we see the above-mentioned intention to shape relationship. In addition to the representation of the current mental state of the self (*most nézek szembe a tényekkel* 'now I fact the facts' and *jól tudom* 'I know well'), the intention to engage the addressee in discourse is also done with the interrogative *miért* 'why' and imperative the verb form *mondd* (tell.IMP.2SG). In the lyrics, in relation to the romantic relationship, there is a party to the conflict who is not, however, present as a speech partner, but as an entity (*egy másik* 'another') observable by the participants in the apostrophic discourse.

In addition, as we have already pointed out, the texts under study also show apostrophic patterns in which the representation of the vantage point of utterer is more detailed than the elaboration of the social relation. The first-person singular utterances of the self stylize the modes of utterance of the well-defined cultural milieu of rap (cf. Iványi 2024, K. Molnár 2024), making available a kind of autofictional history of the self. The stylised manifestation and autofiction in the narration of the self may also call into question the adequate way of interpreting the lyric as lyric discourse: in some texts, we can observe a detailed elaboration of the self that may point to the possibility of fluctuation between the real and the fictive discourse, and thus to the marking of sociocultural relations of the speech partners in the context of real and fictive discourses. The phenomenon that

apostrophic turn aways are complex while texts can also refer to concrete events that have taken place is more likely to be encountered in relation to folklore genres (see Krizsai 2024b).

(11) senki nem tudja, hogy ki voltam,
kinevettek, mégis toltam,
nem érdekeltek, én mondtam.
Most nézd a nevemet, hol van!
Igen, én vagyok a srác, aki YouTube-on nyomja,
(Missh: Sok a gond)

'no one knows who I was,
I was laughed at, yet I pushed,
I didn't care about them, I just kept talking.
Now look where my name is!
Yes, I'm the guy who's pushing it on YouTube,'

In text (11), cultural references that appear link the fictional manifestation not only to a musical subculture, but also to different settings, in the quoted excerpt for example to a video sharing platform. Such references to reality can also initiate an interpretation of the discourse partners of lyric discourse beyond fiction.

In the sample, however, these described constellations, the rupture texts and the rap-like texts stylising the self as a lone street fighter and successful performer, are not present as rigid categories, but rather as possible interpretative schemas. There are varied instances in the texts of the co-elaboration of the love affair and the speaker's vantage point, i.e. of texts simultaneously living with a break-up theme and a rap-like stylization of the self.

(12) De senki, senki nem jött úgy, mint te,
senkit nem szerettem így, senki nem fogott így meg.
És talán soha nem is fogok, és én ezt is elfogadom,
csak már nem akarom ezt, mert én nem bírom ezt.
(BSW: Mióta elhagytál)

'But no one, no one came like you,
no one I loved like you, no one touched me like you.
And maybe I never will, and I accept that,
I just don't want it anymore, because I can't take it.'

(13) Miért hazudtad azt nekem,
hogy nem számít a színem?
Tudtad, barna a szemem,
sosem változik bennem.
[...]
Engem négyévesen megszólított az Isten,
egy igazi fegyvert adott a kezembe.
Tudtam, csak ő vigyázhat rám,
többet gyakoroltam vele, mint egy szamuráj.
(Pápai Joci: Origo)

'Why did you lie to me
that my colour doesn't matter?
You knew I had brown eyes,
they never change in me.

[...]
God spoke to me when I was four,
and gave me a real weapon.
I knew only he could protect me,
I practiced with it more than a samurai.'

In example (12), the speaker's vantage point is elaborated in detail in the context of love disappointment, and although there are several apostrophic turns to the other member of the romantic relationship, the focus is on the effect of the change in the social relationship on the speaker, rather than on the relationship itself or the addressee. In this way, the example shows the characteristics of both the break-up and the self-stylizing texts, which are not, however, sharply separated in the overall textual structure.

Example (13), on the other hand, shows a solution in which the self-display becomes prominent in a particular part of the lyrics, while in other places it is less pronounced. The variety of the text sections is supported by the performance style, so that the last four lines of text (13) can be interpreted as a kind of rap insertion, whereby in the stylised articulation of the self the artist's position as a creator and as a performer is put on stage through a fictional I-narration that can be evaluated as remarkably detailed and complex in comparison to prototypical lyric poetry.

This kind of staging of the self (as a successful musical creator or performer), which is also an essential feature of the rap music subculture, raises the possibility of a continuum between the fictional manifestation in the act of apostrophe and the actual speaker, the artist.

5. Conclusion

This paper has aimed at a more detailed study of apostrophic patterns in Hungarian contemporary popular music lyrics. Based on functional cognitive theoretical foundations and recent literature background on the issue, we sought answers to three research questions in a sample of lyrics from the Corpus of Hungarian Lyrical Poetry subcorpus. To ground the qualitative study, we carried out a manual annotation of a sample of 27 texts.

Our first question was about the complexity of the apostrophic patterns identified in contemporary Hungarian popular music lyrics (Q1). We found the same contemporary popular text pattern as in the hit song lyrics of the 2000's, the formation of a single fictional apostrophic discourse in 9 texts with a romantic relationship as their theme. In 6 other texts we have observed this pattern with the display of a socio-cultural situation that is not very typical of the hit song lyrics: we find it important to point out that in some of the texts that display a romantic relationship, this relationship is also strongly confrontational. Apostrophic addressees are not present in 2 texts. The more complex apostrophic patterns previously shown mainly in alternative lyrics were found in 10 texts. These patterns can be divided into three groups: texts in which the apostrophic addressee is addressed more than once, while also appearing as the third-person singular character in the text (4 pcs); in which more than one apostrophic addressee is addressed (3pcs); and a group of texts (3 pcs) with even more complex apostrophic patterns.

Our second question (Q2) concerned the socio-cultural relations and attitudes in these patterns. The relationships in the sample are schematised in a similar way to the popular dance song lyrics, i.e. potentially anyone can be a participant. However, in addition to the romantic relationship, a kind of familiar, loose relationship, *spanság* ('brotherhood'), and explicitly confrontational attitudes also appear. The latter can also be seen in romantic relationships in terms of the intentions to shape the relationship, which can be interpreted mainly in the light of the mental states of the discourse partners. Verbal confrontation, provocation also occurs in the apostrophic fiction (questioning, critical comment). In some of the texts, the representation of socio-cultural relations and attitudes results in a very detailed elaboration of the speaker's vantage point, often accompanied by the representation of the mental states of the self. The elaboration of the self often includes the

thematisation of the isolated social situation and the successes of the performer or creator. It is from this stylised speaker's vantage point that the autofictional narrative of the self is often developed in great detail.

The apostrophic patterns observed in the study, the sociocultural roles and attitudes made available in them, and the mental state markers that support the elaboration of social relations, all emerge in a constellation that supports the interpretation of the texts analysed in terms of two different genre schemas. In response to our third question (Q3), on the genres along which the texts can be interpreted, two distinct patterns emerge. On the one hand, there is the schema of break-up lyrics, similar to that of dance song lyrics and hit song lyrics, typically (but not exclusively) consisting of a single apostrophic discourse, representing the conflict between the speaking partners in a romantic relationship. On the other hand, there are the rap-like lyrics, which reconstruct the schema of dance lyrics and hit lyrics in a more definitive way, initiating verbal confrontation between rival speech partners, emphasising the elaboration of the self in detail, and often exploiting the possibilities of autofiction. The latter, by the very nature of autofiction, also highlights the complex relationship between fictional and real discourse. In addition to these two distinct genre schemas, the sample also includes the complex apostrophic patterns already observed in alternative texts, which are predominantly involved in the elaboration of one of the two socio-cultural attitudes mentioned above. This does not, of course, imply the primacy of the schema of the hit song lyrics or the rap lyrics, but merely that contemporary popular music texts show a variety of patterns of apostrophic discourse that are fundamental to lyricism and that cannot be interpreted in terms of a single genre schema. An adequate interpretation of contemporary popular music lyrics requires the mobilisation of knowledge of several genres.

The main conclusions of the present research on Hungarian contemporary popular music lyrics, beyond the characterisation of the sample, may open up a new perspective because the results suggest that the procedure may be able to reveal subtle distinctive features of different genres of lyric poetry, even in heterogeneous samples.

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