

The image features a vibrant, multi-colored background composed of repeating lists of linguistic disciplines. These include Phonology, Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Historical Linguistics, Computational Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Phonetics, English Syntax, Semantics, Morphology, Pragmatics, Comparative Linguistics, Hungarian Lexicography, Teaching Cognitive Linguistics, Neurolinguistics, and Geolinguistics. Each term is color-coded and arranged in horizontal rows. Overlaid on this pattern is the main title '6th ÖSSZNYELVÉSZ CONFERENCE 2022' in large, bold, black serif font. Below it, 'BOOK OF ABSTRACTS' is written in a similar bold, black serif font, though slightly smaller.

Össznyelvész Conference 2022

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

BUDAPEST RESEARCH CENTRE FOR LINGUISTIC THEORY
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PLENARY TALK

A SZINKÓPA

Nádasdy Ádám

ELTE Angol Nyelvészeti Tsz.

A szinkópa általában egy szóközepi magánhangzó kiesése, ami magával vonja a szótag eltűnését. Természetesen hangsúlytalan magánhangzók szoktak kiesni, így a latin *óculus* > vulgárlatin *óklus*, sőt **ókkus* (lásd olasz *occhio* [ókkjo]). A megelőző szótag ezáltal hosszabb (nehezebb) lesz, egy morával több. A zenében is ez történik szinkópa esetén: az egyik ütést kihagyjuk, annak időegysége az előzőhöz kapcsolódik: „ti-ti-ti-ti” helyett a harmadik „ti” törlésével „ti -á-ti” lesz.

A mai angolban egyre gyakoribb a szinkópa, de csak gyenge magánhangzókat érint: *family* > *fam'ly*, *library* > *libr'y*. Vannak történetileg rögzültek (az írás még a szinkopálatlant mutatja): *ev'ry*, *ev'ning*, *veg'table*. Kérdés: számít-e a mássalhangzó-környezet? Kell-e, hogy a kiesés után jólformált szótagkóda+szótagkezdet jöjjön létre, mint *-ml-*, *-br-*? Ezek a megszorítások törlődni látszanak, hiszen van *orch'stra*, *med'cine*, *cin'ma*, *croc'dile* (??).

Az ómagyarban a Horger-törvény szinkópát hoz létre, szláv *malina* > *málna*, *medenica* > *medence*. A mai magyarban ritka a szinkópa – nyilván mert nincs gyengülés – de vö. *azután* > *aztán*. (A 19. századi *fej'delem*, *ser'gek* nem honosodott meg.)

Az igazi szinkópa két (viszonylag) erős szótag közötti szótagot érint, vitatható, hogy előző szótagban is annak tekintsük-e: angol *p'tato*, *s'curity*, francia *j'dors* 'alszom'; illetve végszótagban, latin *ambit*, *papas* > ófelnémet *amt*, *paps(t)* 'hivatal, pápa'.

Amellett fogok érvelni, hogy felfogható szinkópának – mivel szótagvesztés – a „High Vowel Gliding”, pl. *previous* [-vjəs], *casual* [-ʒwəl]. Ilyenkor a melodikus elem (képzési hely és mód) megmarad, csak a szillabicitás vész el, a szótagmag lekapcsolódik.

PRESENTATIONS

An Appraisal of the Adequacy of the New Competence Based Language Curriculum in Kenya

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The 2017 Competence Based Curriculum (CBC), referred here as CBC or the new curriculum, was introduced in Kenya to fill the gaps identified by scholars and stakeholders in the 38-year-old 8-4-4 curriculum. In the new curriculum, English is taught as a subject and at the same time used as the language of instruction against the backdrop of other first languages in the country. The objective of this paper is to conduct a textual analysis of the language used in the English language textbooks to ascertain whether the vocabulary and syntax used are age-appropriate.

The gaps in the old curriculum have been identified on different grounds but the focus of this paper is on language pedagogy and the textbooks. Amutabi (2003) observes that the 8-4-4 system remains the most radical, mindless change in the education system of Kenya; a claim that can be supported by Ngware et al. (2012) who claim that its pedagogy was predominantly teacher-centered with significant learner recitation that only encouraged rote learning. Kaviti (2018) also notes that it is too heavily loaded with content, purely examination-oriented and generally violating the rights of the child by placing undue physical and emotional pressure on the learners.

The textbooks of the 8-4-4 curriculum have also been subjected to criticisms on the basis of their contents and publication. The textbooks were quickly, without much engagement with relevant stakeholders, published and distributed to schools for mandatory implementation the same year that the curriculum was rolled out (Kioko, 2003). In regard to content, Glewwe (2009) observes that the textbooks are designed for learners that are both more academically able and proficient in English; mostly not found in the rural areas. The proficiency problem is further highlighted in the UNESCO (2014) report as cited by Kaviti (2018), which reveals that more than one million Kenyan children are out of school and one in five youths aged 15-24 cannot read. Kembo Sure (2009) also highlights the most notable problems facing students using English in various situations as grammatical mistakes, inadequate vocabulary and poor writing ability; he attaches the causes of the problems to poor initial language training, English being considered as a subject not for communication and lack of confidence to speak English.

The CBC, which was introduced to fill the gaps identified in the 8-4-4 system, has also been subjected to criticisms from different scholars and stakeholders. It is argued that

most teachers were, at the time of its introduction, totally ignorant of the content of the new textbooks that they were expected to use in teaching; many parents too, have no idea concerning this paradigm shift in the overall education system (Kaviti, 2018). The textbooks have also been produced and distributed by the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development in a similar manner as it was with the 8-4-4 system in 1984.

The aim of this paper is informed by Tomlinson's (2008) observation that most English teaching materials do underestimate learners both in terms of language level and cognitive ability and that there is need for materials which support a big moral and intellectual theme, which promote educational values appropriate to the age and context of the children concerned. Further, Tomlinson (2008) argues that different texts will appeal to learners of different ages where an overly simplified text both in terms of language and content will not interest senior students and the overly complex texts will not interest junior learners. The primary English language textbooks grades (1-5) are analyzed using the vocabulary range program as designed by Heatley, Nation & Coxhead (2002) and the vocabulary size test program (Nation & Beglar, 2007). The analyses focus on the comprehensions, conversations, lexical items in the activities /exercises given to the learners. Frequencies, graphs and tables are used.

The findings of this paper would be resourceful to the education stakeholders, linguistics scholars and language policy makers.

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Exploring the L2 Motivational Self System in Ecuador: A Questionnaire Study in Secondary School Contexts

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ELTE

English is officially taught as a foreign language in private and public educational institutions nationwide in Ecuador. The Ministry of Education of Ecuador (MINEDUC) has executed several actions, later described in this paper, intended to improve the academic success of students of English as a foreign language (EFL). Notwithstanding these actions, taking the English First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) as a reference, Ecuador, over the last decade, has constantly ranked at the lower end of both the Latin American and Global scales. Similarly, the current national curriculum stipulates that students who graduate from secondary school must reach a B1 proficiency level according to the CEFR (. As highlighted by Bravo et al. (2017) and Ortega et al. (2017), in terms of academic achievement, Ecuadorian students' language skills at the end of compulsory high school education are far below the preferred level of competence.

The research field in learning a foreign language (FL) has addressed motivation as a pivotal and recurrent factor that influences students' achievements in terms of linguistic outcomes (see, e.g., Al-Hoorie, 2017; Henry, 2019); Lasagabaster et al., 2014; Lamb, 2017; Sylvén, 2017). Over the last two decades, Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), a theoretical framework has been used to explore the relationship between successful second language learning and learner motivation in a myriad of language learning contexts. However, not much research has been carried out in developing countries. Through the lens of the L2MSS's three main components: the Ideal L2 self, the Ought to L2 self, and the Learning experience, this study explores Language Learning Motivated Behavior (LLMB) in an Ecuadorian EFL setting.

The paper presents the results of a pilot study conducted in Ecuador. One hundred twenty eight senior high school students completed a questionnaire adapted from previous research studies on the L2MSS. The results confirm that the Ideal L2 Self is a strong predictor of language learning motivation in Ecuador, validating this component as one of the highest-order motivational forces across different populations of L2 learners. Concerning its counterpart, the Ought to L2 self, a significant correlation was not found between this variable and the criterion measure scale (LLMB), indicating that the external force of the L2MSS presents socio-cultural variances. The Learning experience component also has a noticeable impact on motivated behavior in the study context.

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Funkcióigés szerkezetek történeti szempontú vizsgálata a régi erdélyi magyar nyelvhasználatban

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A funkcióigés szerkezetek legtágabb értelemben olyan félig kompozicionális, névszói igei szókapcsolatokként határozhatóak meg, amelyek egy tárgy-, határozó- vagy zéróragos, esetleg névutós, szemantikai szempontból domináns névszóból és egy segédigeszerű, a mondatrészeremtő segédigékhez hasonló, sematizált jelentésű funkcióigéből épülnek fel, gyakran jelentésbeli különbség nélkül helyettesíthetők a névszói komponensből képzett egyszerű ige- vagy névszóalakkal, gyakori használatuk pedig a szaknyelvek mondatszerkesztési sajátossága: *javaslatot tesz ~ javasol, váddal illet ~ vádol, említés történik ~ említik, vizsgálat alá vesz ~ vizsgál, biztonságot nyújt ~ biztonságos* stb. (vö. KESZLER szerk. 2000: 73, 258-259; HEGEDŰS 2019: 437-438; LANSTYÁK 2019: 63-65). A magyar funkcióigés szerkezetek vizsgálata főként leíró jellegű, a kutatói attitűd szinkrón beállítódását véleményem szerint egyrészt a széttagoló szerkezetek elsődlegesen nyelvművelői szempontú, „terpeszkedő”, illetve „terjengős” kifejezéseként való megközelítése, másrészt pedig a funkcióige lehetséges új szófaji kategóriaként való leírásának és a szerkezet szintaktikai, szemantikai és frazeológiai szempontú jellemzésének igénye indokolja.

Nyelvtörténeti, dimenzionális és kognitív nyelvészeti jellegű kutatásom során az *Erdélyi magyar szótörténeti tár* nyelvi adatai alapján azokat a funkcióigés szerkezeteket vizsgálom, amelyek szintaktikai alaptagja az *ad, ejt, esik, fog, folytat, hagy, művel, szerez, tart, tesz, űz, vall, vesz, vet* és *visel* igék valamelyike, a kutatás fő irányvonalait pedig a következő szempontok jelentik: a funkcióigés szerkezetek milyen (idegen) nyelvi és nem nyelvi folyamatok mentén jöttek létre, mióta és milyen mértékben jellemzik a nyelvhasználatot, a fokozatosan grammatikalizálódó igék mennyire bizonyulnak produktívnak (újabb) funkcióigés szerkezetek létrehozásában, használatuk mennyire gyakori az egyes századokban, mennyire jellemző egyes szövegtípusokra, regiszterekre, végső soron pedig milyen jellegű az a kommunikációs, inherens funkció, amely a nyelvi ökonómia és az alapvetően szintetikus jellegű igerendszer ellenére a funkcióigés szerkezetek létjogosultságát biztosítja. Jelen előadásomban történeti nyelvi adatok és leíró nyelvészeti megállapítások felhasználásával a funkcióigés szerkezetek létrejöttének és használatának szemantikai sajátosságait vizsgálom.

A funkcióigék csak bizonyos szerkezetekben viselkednek segédigeszerűen, következésképpen kialakulásuk valójában egy olyan deszemantizációs, illetve grammatikalizációs folyamathoz köthető, amelynek során - MOLNÁR (1999), DOBOS (2001) és LANSTYÁK (2019) véleményével egyetértve - egy főige komplex jelentésszerkezete funkcióigeként nem tartalmatlanná, hanem sematikusabbá válik. A történeti nyelvi példák alapján az is kimutatható, hogy a funkcióigékhez a névszói

komponensek eredetileg teljes értékű vonzatokként kapcsolódnak, a szerkezet frazeologizálódásával azonban a szintaktikai kapcsolat formálissá válik, újabb alakulatok pedig az analógia hatására is létrejöhetnek. A funkcióiágék ún. indikatív jelentéssel rendelkeznek, amely egyrészt rámutat a névszói komponens által jelölt cselekvésre, másrészt pedig annak kiegészítő jellemzését adja (MORDVILKO 1964: 74-78 idézi DOBOS 2001: 22). A funkcióiágés szerkezetek esetében így egy részletes szemantikájú és egy sematizált jelentésű nyelvi elem kapcsolódik össze, illetve aszimmetrikus módon hat egymásra úgy, hogy egy közös elem mindkét komponens jelentésmátrixában megtalálható (TOLCSVAI NAGY 2021: 88-90).

HRENEK ÉVA (2017) metaforizációra vonatkozó megállapításaiból kiindulva azt feltételezem, hogy a funkcióiágék, illetve a funkcióiágés szerkezetek létrejötte, valamint az egyes funkcióiágék produktivitásának mértéke kognitív nyelvészeti keretben az akcideneciák nyelvi észlelési feltételeire, illetve a metaforikus kiterjesztés folyamatára vezethető vissza (vö. SZILÁGYI 1996: 37-45, 66). A fogalmilag tartalmas ígék nyelvi észlelési feltételei közül a funkcióiágék esetében domináns módon csupán egy vagy néhány mutatható ki, ez azonban elég ahhoz, hogy a névszói komponens által megnevezett szituáció leírására alkalmassá váljanak. A különböző funkcióiágék termékenysége szempontjából véleményem szerint egy olyan egyenes arányosságra épülő viszony mutatható ki, amely alapján minél sematikusabb a fogalmilag tartalmas ige jelentésrendszere, a különböző észlelési feltételek kiemelésével annál több metaforikus jelentés, illetve funkcióiágés szerkezet jön létre.

A funkcióiágés szerkezetek esetében a variativitás két szempontból, a funkcióiágés szerkezetek, illetve a szerkezetek és a szintetikus variánsok között is megnyilvánulhat. A funkcióiágés szerkezetek közötti denotatív jelentésbeli egyezést a névszói elem azonossága és a funkcióiágék indikatív jelentésének hasonlósága (*dúlást tesz ~ dülást művel*), a névszók fogalmi jelentésének megegyezése (*testamentumot tesz ~ végrendeletet tesz*) vagy a szerkezetek egészének szemantikai egybeesése (*írást tesz vmiről - jegyzésbe tesz vmit*) indokolja (vö. DOBOS 2001: 35). Sajátos csoportot alkotnak azok a funkcióiágés szerkezetek, amelyek csupán a névszói komponens inflexiók végződésében különböznek (*vétekbe esik ~ vétekre esik*), ez azonban gyakran eltérő konceptualizálásra, illetve jelentésre utal.

Bár a funkcióiágés szerkezetek és a megfelelő egyszerű ígék közötti eltérések feltárásában leggyakrabban pragmatikai, stilisztikai szempontok kerülnek előtérbe, az analitikus és a szintetikus változatok között morfoszintaktikai, illetve szemantikai természetű különbségek is megfigyelhetők: az analitikus alakulatok differenciáló jelentéskomponenseket explicitálhatnak, sajátos vonzatstruktúrával rendelkeznek, főnévi komponenseik jelzőkkel bővíthetőek, egyes szerkezetek pedig szintetikus igevariánsok hiányában ún. hézagpótló szerepet töltenek be (vö. DOBOS 2001: 45). Az is gyakori jelenség, hogy a főnévi komponensből képzett ige jelentése más, mint a teljes

szerkezet jelentése, így a két elem nem is feleltethető meg egymásnak. A történeti nyelvi adatok alapján az is megállapítható, hogy a szintetikus formával is felcserélhető funkciógés szerkezetek széttagoló, kiterjedtebb formája ikonikus kapcsolatban áll a szerkezet által jelölt tartalom jelentőségével, a variánsok között tehát egyfajta intenzitásbeli különbség mutatható ki.

A funkciógés szerkezetek grammatikai és pragmatikai szempontból egyaránt idioszinkratikus tulajdonságokkal rendelkeznek, mégsem alkotnak jól körülhatárolható szó szerkezeti osztályt, ráadásul a széles körben funkciógés szerkezeteknek tartott szókapcsolatokat is nagy fokú heterogenitás jellemzi, ez a specifikus, ugyanakkor változatos jelleg pedig a nyelvrendszer különféle szintjein egyaránt számtalan kutatási irányt jelöl ki.

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Causatives in Tatyshly and Standard Udmurt

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This paper aims to investigate the morphosyntactic properties of morphologic and periphrastic causative constructions in Tatyshly dialect of the Udmurt language and to compare them with the ones in Standard Udmurt. The Tatyshly dialect, spoken in the Bashkortostan republic, Russia, has been under a long and intense influence of Turkic languages, such as Bashkir and Tatar, and thus shows differences from the Standard Udmurt spoken in the Udmurt republic. The data of the Tatyshly Udmurt come from fieldwork (both elicitation and corpus analysis) in the village of Nizhnebaltachevo, Bashkortostan, and some neighboring villages. Syntax of causative constructions in Standard Udmurt is thoroughly described in (Tánczos 2015).

Tatyshly Udmurt has two causative suffixes, *-t* and *-ttâr*. The former is shared with Standard Udmurt, and the latter is a Turkic loan (Baidoullina 2003: 97-98). The suffix *-t* can be attached to all verbal stems without restrictions. The Causee participant of a morphological causative verb is marked with an accusative case affix in both Tatyshly and Standard Udmurt. However, in the Tatyshly dialect, there is a class of verbs of perception which allows its Causee to obtain a dative marker:

- (1) *vas'a [anaj-ez-lâ / *anaj-ze] k'ino aʒʒâ-t-i-z.*
 Vas'a mother-POSS.3SG-DAT mother-ACC.POSS.3SG film see-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Vasya made his mother see a film'.

The loaned suffix *-ttâr* is less productive and appears only within the formant *-ttârât* in some idiolects. It also shows variability in its syntactic properties and can express either single or double causation in different idiolects (2). Verbal derivatives with *-ttâr* obtain two types of additional meaning: iteration of the causative event ('to cause X several times') or intensification of Causer's actions ('to cause X with force, against the Causee's will'). The suffix *-t* has neither of these meanings.

- (2) *ruslan vas'a-jez (%maša-jez) [č'erla-ttâr-i-z /*
 Ruslan Vas'a-ACC Maša-ACC be.ill-CAUS-PST-3SG
č'erla-ttâr-ât-i-z].
 be.ill-CAUS-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'Ruslan made Vasya and Maša ill / %Ruslan made Vasya make Maša ill'.

One of the factors of intralingual variability of morphological causatives is the number of events in their structure (cf. Pytkänen 2000). This property manifests in semantic (un)ambiguity of sentences containing a causative verb and an event modifier, e.g. iterative or duration adverbs. In Standard Udmurt, morphological causatives are bi-eventive because the adverb can modify both the causating and the caused event (3). In turn, *t*-causatives in Tatyshly Udmurt are monoeventive (4).

- (3) STANDARD UDMURT (Tánczos 2015: 128)
Dyshetis' Sasha-jez odig kirzhan-ez kyk pol kirzha-t-iz.
 teacher Sasha-ACC one song-ACC twice sing-CAUS-PST
 'The teacher made Sasha sing a song twice'.
 (ambiguous: 'twice made/caused' or 'twice sang')
- (4) TATYSHLY UDMURT
anaj-ez vas'a-jez kâk sâgât pin'-ze
 mother-POSS.3SG Vas'a-ACC two hour tooth-ACC.POSS.3SG
mis'kâ-t-i-z.
 wash-CAUS-PST-3SG
 'The mother made Vasya brush his teeth for two hours'.
 (unambiguous: 'brush for two hours', not 'made for two hours').

The periphrastic causatives consist of an auxiliary verb with causative semantics and a dependent clause. The inventories of causative verbs in Tatyshly and Standard Udmurt are the same: *kosânâ* 'order, ask' and *lez'ânâ* 'let'. They both can have an infinitival complement, therefore, can be control or raising matrix predicates. One of the well-known diagnostics for the syntactic type is a (non-)conservation of idiomatic meaning of complements. In Standard Udmurt, the causative verbs in question are raising predicates (5). In the Tatyshly dialect, the test is inapplicable as neither *kosânâ* nor *lez'ânâ* allow non-agentive Causee (6).

- (5) STANDARD UDMURT (Tánczos 2015: 138)
Sasha (solen) uzhe pözhynty kosiz / lez'iz.
 Sasha 3SG.DAT word.3SG.ACC boil-INF order.PST.3SG / let.PST.3SG
 'Sasha order/let (his/her) work go fast'.
- (6) TATYSHLY UDMURT
 a. **vas'a pet'a-len užez pöz'-ânâ [kos-i-z / lez'-i-z].*
 Vas'a Pet'a-GEN work boil-INF order-PST-3SG let-PST-3SG
 'Sasha order/let Petya's work go fast'.
 b. *#pet'a nâlpî-ze šundâ šur-ân žua-nâ*
 Pet'a child-ACC.POSS.3SG sun middle-LOC burn-INF
[kos-i-z / lez'-i-z].
 order-PST-3SG let-PST-3SG
 'Petya [ordered his child / gave his child permission] to burn in the sun'.

The data shown above let us conclude that while causative constructions in Tatyshly and Standard Udmurt share a lot of semantic properties, they differ crucially in syntactic structures. The system of morphological causative markers in the Tatyshly dialect is richer due to the loaned suffix *-ttâr*. Morphological causatives with *-t* suffix in the Tatyshly dialect are clearly monoeventive. The causative verbs *kosânâ* and *lez'ânâ* seem to be less grammaticalized in the Tatyshly dialect as they put semantic restrictions on their complements.

Abbreviations

3 - third person, ACC - accusative, CAUS - causative, DAT - dative, GEN - genitive, LOC - locative, INF - infinitive, POSS - possessive, PROL - prolativ, PST - past tense, SG - singular

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Hathat-e a koartikuláció a magánhangzó-harmóniára?**Ákos Blaskovics****NYTK - ELTE Kihelyezett Elméleti Nyelvészeti Központ**

A kölcsönzésfonológiai vizsgálatok egy nyelv fonológiai rendszerének jobb átlátását segíthetik (Kenstowicz, 2003). A magyarban ez kiválóan illusztrálható a szillabikus *l*-t tartalmazó idegen szavak átvételével.

A magyarban a szóvégi **Cl* szekvenciák tiltottak (ahol *C* egy *l*-nél kevésbé szonorus mássalhangzót jelöl, ez a szonoritási hierarchiából is következik, ld. Clements, 1990). Olyan idegen szavak átvételekor, mint a *Lidl* vagy a *Google* a beszélők vagy különböző javítóstratégiákat alkalmaznak, melyek feloldják azt, hogy az *l* szótagmag-pozícióban szerepeljen (pl. *lidli*; *gugli*), vagy közel adaptálatlanul veszik át, ezzel megőrizve az *l* szillabicitását. Ez a következőképpen hat a magyar magánhangzó-harmóniára nézve (Blaskovics-Ittész, *megj. alatt*): míg az első szótagjukban az előlségi harmóniára nézve semleges magánhangzót tartalmazó szavak háromalakú toldalékok esetén kötelezően az előlső kerekített alternánst választják (pl. *Lidl-höz*, *Ybl-ön*), addig az első szótagban hátsót tartalmazók esetén mindig opcionális átlátszóság áll fenn (*Google-hoz/höz*, *puzzle-on/ön* stb.). Az *ö* kiváltója mindezen esetekben nem lehet a tő első magánhangzója, hiszen az az előbbi esetben kerekiségi diszharmóniát (*i+ö*), utóbbi esetben előlségi diszharmóniát (*/u/+ö*; */a/+ö*) okozna (a diszharmóniáról ld. pl. Rebrus-Törkenczy 2019-et).

Az is megfigyelésük közé tartozik, hogy bár az alakok 50%-ában előfordult egy betoldott redukált magánhangzó (a továbbiakban *V*) az *l*-t megelőzően, statisztikai próbák megerősítették, hogy ennek jelenléte nem befolyásolja a toldalékalternáns harmonicitását, kiváltképp az átlátszóság tekintetében. Ennélfogva az *l*-t ezekben a szavakban szillabikusnak ítélték, amely viselkedése alapján nem illeszthető be a magánhangzó-harmónia rendszerének eddigi leírásába, különösképpen mivel a kerekiségi harmóniában a kerekített alternánst váltja ki, ugyanakkor tud átlátszó lenni.

Az ellenben további kérdéseket vet föl, hogy amennyiben viszont megjelenik a *V*, a fonetikai minőségét mennyiben befolyásolja a tő első magánhangzója (mekkora a koartikuláció mértéke), és ez a koartikuláció mennyiben befolyásolja a harmonikus toldalékalternánsok megválasztását.

Ennek vizsgálata érdekében egy akusztikai fonetikai kísérletet terveztem, amelyben 14 célszó szerepelt. Ezek a célszavak mind kétszótagosak, az első szótag magánhangzója az $\{/i(:)/, /ε/, /ø(:)/, /α/, /a(:)/, /o:/, /u(:)/\}$ halmazból került ki. Az *l*-t megelőző utolsó mássalhangzó, amely előtt közvetlenül az előbbi magánhangzók valamelyike állt, pedig a $\{/b/, /d/, /g/\}$ halmaz eleme volt, hogy a képzési hely pontecális hatását a betoldás megjelenésére és így annak minőségére is kontrollálni lehessen. Ezeket a szavakat

különböző szintaktikai környezetbe ágyazva kellett produkálniuk a beszélőknek - olyanokba, amelyek a superessivust és az allativust váltották ki (-On, -hOz), hiszen a nem háromalakúaknál nem lépne működésbe a kerekégi harmónia, mivel az parazitikus.

A felvételek (5 beszélőtől) a Nyelvtudományi Kutatóközpont stúdiójában készültek. Akusztikai elemzésük (annotáció, 1. és 2. formáns mérése; Praat (Boersma-Weenink, 2022)) és az eredmények statisztikai elemzése (R-rel; R Core Team, 2020) folyamatban van.

Elővizsgálatok alapján az alábbi eredmények várhatóak. A tő első magánhangzója kondicionálja a V-nek mind az első, mind a második formánsát. Az elsőszótag-beli /a/ és /o/ utáni V-k első formánsa szignifikánsan különbözik az /u/-t, illetve /i/-t követő V-k első formánsától, ahogyan az /a/ és /i/ utáni V-k második formánsa is szignifikánsan különbözik az /o/ és /u/ utániak második formánsától. Ez utóbbi pedig befolyásolhatja a harmonikus alternánsok közti variáció mértékét. Az *l* formánsai a hang szonoráns voltára tekintettel, illetve mivel kódában gyakran vokalizálódhat, szintén koartikulációt mutathatnak, ezáltal a betoldás nélküli alakokban is detektálható lenne a jelenség - Blaskovics-Ittész (*megj.alatt*)-nél az elülső kerekített alternánsok aránya igen hasonló volt betoldásos és betoldás nélküli alakokban (kb. 82% és 85%).

Amennyiben bebizonyosodna, hogy létezik ilyen hatás, az nagyban befolyásolná a magánhangzó-harmóniáról alkotott elképzeléseinket, ugyanis ez azt jelentené, hogy nemcsak morfológiai (ld. pl. Rebrus-Szigetvári-Törkenczy, 2022), hanem fonetikai faktorok is szerepet játszanak egy korábban általánosan fonológiai feltételezett folyamatban.

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Numerals and classifiers in Ch'ol: constituency in classifier expressions

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Aims and claims: One of the most significant open debates about the constituency of NP is whether the classifier forms a constituent with the numeral or the noun. Recently Bale et al. (2019) proposed four diagnostics that in their view can be used to probe this issue cross linguistically, and they argued that these tests support the [[Num Cl] N] structure in Ch'ol (Mayan). In this talk I demonstrate that the Ch'ol data, in fact, can be captured on the [Num [Cl N]] structure with equal ease. I show that the proposed diagnostics are inadequate as cross linguistic probes for constituency, hence, future work should not build on them. The analysis will also lead to the first explicit treatment of Ch'ol non-additive complex numerals.

Phonological constituency diagnostic: In Ch'ol Num and Cl form a phonological word (e.g. *ux-tyikil x'ixik* lit. three-CL woman). Bale et al. (2019) call this 'the first piece of evidence' for the [[Num Cl] N] structure. They acknowledge, though, that the data at hand can also be modeled under [Num [Cl N]]: e.g. Borer (2005) suggests that Ch'ol-type languages have Cl to-Num movement. This specific approach predicts that the numeral and the classifier together form a complex head. Bale et al. (2019) rightly point out that Num+Cl often has the distribution of a phrase rather than a head: e.g. Num+Cl can undergo focus movement, which characterizes XPs (see below). Bale et al. conclude from this that [Num [Cl N]] is on the wrong track. However, syntactic head movement is just one possible way to model phonological constituency between Num and Cl under [Num [Cl N]]. In a DM approach, for instance, morphologically complex words can arise post-syntactically, via Lowering or Harizanov and Gribanova (2019)-style Raising. Another, entirely narrow syntactic alternative to head movement holds that parts of a morphologically complex word do not have to form a constituent either in syntax or in the morphological component; they merely have to be in a syntactic configuration such that they will end up adjacent at PF after linearization; see Marantz's (1984) Morphological Merger and Koopman and Szabolcsi's (2000) approach to complex words. Thus showing that in syntax Num+Cl form an XP rather than a head is compatible with [Num [Cl N]].

Coordination diagnostic: In Ch'ol a syntactic unit containing Num and Cl can undergo asyn detic disjunction. Bale et al. (2019) suggest that this is easily captured under [[Num Cl] N] but it is not predicted on [Num [Cl N]], where Num and Cl do not form a constituent.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | cha'-tyikil ux-tyikil kixtyañuj
two-CL three-CL SP:person
'few people' (Vázquez Álvarez, 2011) | Bale et al.'s (2019) assumption is that in such examples the coordinated constituent contains only the numeral and the classifier. |
|-----|---|--|

While this is indeed a logically possible source for (1), the data also fall out from a structure in which entire extended NPs (incl. Num, Cl and N) are coordinated, and N is elided from the first conjunct or it undergoes extraposition from both conjuncts via Right Node Raising. (NP/nP ellipsis in classifier expressions is independently attested in Ch'ol, cf. Coon 2017.) Examples such as *three old and four new schools* in English attest to the plausibility of this approach: there is no analysis on which Num and Adj form a left branch in the NP, so *three old* must be in a local relationship with a silent N, and the coordinands are minimally NumPs. On the ellipsis or RNR analysis to (1), there is no argument for either $[[\text{Num Cl}] \text{N}]$ or $[\text{Num} [\text{Cl N}]]$.

Complex numerals diagnostic: Ch'ol is a vigesimal language: 20 and its powers have a distinguished role in that they a) form the basis of complex numerals (3) and b) occupy the classifier slot, making it impossible for a 'regular' classifier to appear (4).

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>(2) ux-kojty wakax
three-CL cow
'three cows'</p> | <p>(3) juñ-k'al, cha'-k'al
one-CL.20 two-CL.20
'twenty, forty'</p> | <p>(4) ux-k'al wakax
three-CL.20 cow
'sixty cows'</p> |
|---|--|---|

Complex numerals that fall between two multiples of 20 employ a complex pattern: they comprise a numeral in the 1-19 range and the next-higher multiple of 20. E.g. 22 is expressed with reference to 2 (followed by a regular CL, *-p'ej*) and 40 (with *k'al*, the morpheme for 20 in the CL slot):

- (5) cha'-p'ej i-cha'-k'al
two-CL A3-two-CL20
'twenty two (lit. two two-twenty)'

Bale et al. (2019) argue that since these complex numerals are multi-word expressions, they are XPs, which is taken to support $[[\text{Num Cl}] \text{N}]$. I suggest that as in the case of coordination above, there is more structure here than meets the eye. I adopt Ionin and Matushansky's (2018) proposal that complex numerals involve syntactic relations (coordination, subtraction, etc.) between whole NumPs (complete with Num, Cl and N). The two NumPs share the same listeme in the N slot, which allows one of the Ns to be deleted under identity. For instance, *twenty two cats* is underlyingly *twenty cats & two cats*. I suggest that in Ch'ol, too (5) involves two NumPs in a syntactic relationship, with the N in the first NumP deleted.

- (6) $[\text{NumP } \text{cha}'\text{-p'ej } \text{N}] [\text{NumP } \text{i-cha}'\text{-k'al } \text{N}]$
two-CL A3-two-CL20
'twenty two Ns'

With both the *-p'ej* and the *k'al* classifier in a local relationship to a token of N, there is no argument for constituency either way. I further suggest that the two NumPs in (6) are connected by a silent *toward* P: 22 is *[from 20] two toward forty*. Similarly built numerals are attested in Old Turkic (Erdal, 2004) and in Mansi (Riese, 2001): the

former, similarly to Ch'ol, have no overt connector, while the latter feature the connecting *toward* P overtly.

A-bar extraction diagnostic: In Ch'ol it is possible to front the numeral and the classifier together to the focus position, leaving the noun in the postverbal domain.

- (7) Ux-tyikil ta' jul-i-yob [_ x'ixik].
 three-CL PFV arrive-ITV-EP-PL woman
 'Three women arrived.' (Bale et al., 2019)

Bale et al. (2019) show that this involves subextraction from NP: the discontinuous NPs are possible only for complements and are ruled out for specifiers and adjuncts (i.e. islands). This is straightforwardly accounted for on [[Num Cl] N], with direct subextraction of [Num Cl]. There is a possible alternative, however: the fronting may affect a remnant NumP, from which N(P) has been evacuated. On this approach there is no argument for either [[Num Cl] N] or [Num [Cl N]]. Contrary to claims in Bale et al. (2019), the remnant movement analysis has a plausible trigger for the evacuation of NP, and it can also capture the fact that fronting is possible only from complements. Fronting the whole nominal expression vs. fronting just Num+Cl are discourse pragmatically different: the former results in contrast on the whole noun phrase, while the latter focuses the quantity alone (Little, 2020). The evacuation step is thus motivated by information structural considerations: it serves to background the noun. As for the fact that the pattern in (7) is restricted to complements, the evacuation of the nominal head is a case of subextraction from the extended Noun Phrase, so it is expected to be subject to island constraints. It is thus predicted not to be possible from specifiers and adjuncts.

Conclusion: The diagnostics suggested in Bale et al. (2019) have no probative value: all of their data are compatible with both [[Num Cl] N] and [Num [Cl N]].

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Linking morphs, stress and meaning in Dutch forms with -loos ‘-less’

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1 Dutch morphologically complex adjectives derived with the suffix *-loos* ‘-less’ often feature a linking morph (‘LM’, aka ‘linking element’ [Koester *et al.* 2004], ‘linking grapheme’ [Schreuder *et al.* 1998], ‘linking phoneme’ [Booij 1995:51] or ‘linking morpheme’ [Krott *et al.* 2001]). Illustrations are given in the right-hand column of (1), for three different LMs (underlined). In many such forms, the LM is surface-optional; but the choice between the variant including the LM and the one lacking it is usually not random: [I] in alternating pairs, the LM-less forms tend to have a literal interpretation while the forms with a LM frequently show a certain degree of semantic specialisation. Nominalisation of *-loos* forms through the productive nominalising suffix *-heid* ‘-ness, -hood’ presents two further puzzles: [II] *-loos+heid* nominalisations can shift main stress to *-loos* (even though *-heid* does not otherwise trigger stress shift), optionally in the absence of a LM and obligatorily in its presence (2); and [III] for *-loos+heid* forms with variable stress, stress shift to *-loos* can give rise to a *generalised* interpretation, pertaining to events, situations or concepts rather than to individuals. This paper presents an outlook on the morphosyntax of the *-loos* forms under investigation according to which these are obligatorily derived in syntax when a LM is present and are ambiguous in principle between a syntactic and a lexical analysis in the absence of a LM (§2). This morphosyntax is shown to account for literal vs non-literal interpretation (§3), stress placement in *-loos+heid* nominalisations (§4), and the semantic effect of stress placement in stress-variable *-loos+heid* nominalisations.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>werkloos</i> | ‘work-less’ | <i>werk<u>e</u>loos</i> | ‘work-LM-less’ |
| | b. | <i>gewetenloos</i> | ‘conscience-less’ | <i>geweten<u>s</u>loos</i> | ‘conscience-LM-less’ |
| | c. | <i>kindloos</i> | ‘child-less’ | <i>kind<u>e</u>loos</i> | ‘child-LM-less’ |
| (2) | a. | <i>‘werkloosheid</i> | ‘work-less-ness’ | <i>*‘werk<u>e</u>loosheid</i> | ‘work-LM-less-ness’ |
| | b. | <i>werk’loosheid</i> | | <i>werke’loosheid</i> | |

2 In the forms in the right-hand column of (1) (featuring a LM), a predication relationship is established in syntax between the suffix *-loos* (the predicate) and the stem (its subject), in a RELATOR phrase (Den Dikken 2006) whose functional head is spelled out as the LM: (3a). When (3a) is used as the predicate of a copular sentence (*x is jobless*), the RELATOR phrase projected by *-loos* is, in turn, predicated of a subject, interpreted as the external possessor of the stem of the *-loos* form: (4). When forms underlain by (3a) are used instead as attributive modifiers of nouns, the position of *x* in (4) is occupied by a silent pronoun (*pro*) coindexed with the head noun: (5). On the hypothesis that the LM is the spell-out of the RELATOR of a predication relation, the structure in (3a) is in effect whenever an overt LM is present. In the absence of a LM, the grammar in principle offers a choice between (3a) (this time with a null RELATOR) and an alternative involving lexical compounding, shown in (3b).

- (3) a. $[_{RP} \text{werk/geweten/kind } [_{R'} \text{RELATOR=LM } (-e/-s/-er)] [_{AP} \text{-loos}]]]$
 b. $[_{A} [_{N} \text{werk/geweten/kind}] [_{A} \text{-loos}]]]$
 (4) $[_{RP} x [_{R'} \text{RELATOR=COPULA } [_{RP} \text{werk/geweten/kind } [_{R'} \text{RELATOR=LM } [_{AP} \text{-loos}]]]]]]]$
 (5) $[_{NP} [_{RP} x=pro_i [_{R'} \text{RELATOR } [_{RP} \text{werk/geweten/kind } [_{R'} \text{RELATOR=LM } [_{AP} \text{-loos}]]]]]]] [_{N_i}]]$

3 (6) illustrates one type of interpretive difference between LM-less *-loos* forms and their counterparts with a LM. For (6a), *kinderloos* understands the child(ren) in question to be inalienably possessed by the head noun while LM-less *kindloos* can express the absence of a child/children, establishing no interpretive link of inalienable possession between the stem of *-loos* and the head N. Similarly, in (6b), a *zinne_lloos* person has no sense whereas something that is *zinloos* makes no sense. This semantic ingredient of inalienable possession seen in the right-hand examples follows from (5). The binding relationship between *pro* and the head noun is semantically interpreted as a dependency of external, inalienable possession. More generally, in pairs of *-loos* adjectives, the LM-less form is usually compositional whereas the form with a LM exhibits semantic specialisation. The latter are cases of idiom formation, which cannot be assumed to (uniformly) take place in the lexicon in light of idioms such as *you've got no leg to stand on*, which result from movement operations in syntax.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (6) | a. | een kindloos weekend | een kinder _l loos echtpaar |
| | | a child-less weekend | a child-LM-less couple |
| | b. | een zinloos voorstel | een zinne _l loos persoon |
| | | a sense-less proposal | a sense-LM-less person |

4 Nominalisation of *-loos* adjectives with the aid of *-heid* ‘-ness/hood’ consistently gives rise to stress shift to *-loos* when a LM is present between the stem and *-loos*, whereas LM-less forms frequently oscillate for stress placement. *-loos* forms with a linking morph are syntactic constructs, as shown in (3a). Nominalisations of such forms with *-heid* instantiate the structure in (5), with N = *-heid*. Here the complex RP occupies a left-branch position, causing the postsyntactic phonology to treat it as an unanalysable unit for stress assignment: stress could be assigned either to the first or last element of the RP; but since the first element *pro*, which is silent hence ineligible for stress assignment, stress must fall on the last element, *-loos*. When the nominaliser *-heid* combines with a LM-less lexical compound of the type in (3b), the regular stress pattern of the *-loos* form (i.e., stress on the stem) is respected; no stress shift takes place. LM-less *-loos*+*-heid* nominalisations that do shift stress to *-loos* are derived through (5), with a silent RELATOR (instead of LM) to the left of *-loos*.

5 The choice between (3a) and (3b) as the base for *-heid* nominalisations is not semantically innocuous; concomitantly, the placement of stress in such nominalisations gives rise to semantic effects. Arsenijevia & Simonovia (2013) claim for *werkloosheid* (2a, b-left-hand column) that stress on *werk* ‘work’ delivers reference to the state in which a *specific individual* finds him/herself while stress on *-loos* leads to reference to the state of being jobless *in general*. When a linking vowel is added, as in (2a, b-right-hand column), (a) stress on *-loos* is the only option, and (b) a generic reading is favoured. Forms in which stress shifts to *-loos* are the syntactically derived ones (§4). It is the

syntax in (7a) that explains their interpretation: in *-heid* nominalisations, there is no binder of the *pro* in the specifier position of the larger RP; hence, this *pro* is assigned arbitrary reference (*pro_{arb}*). The arbitrary interpretation of *pro* delivers the non-individual, generic reading for the *-loos*+*-heid* forms where stress shifts to *-loos*. The form *Owerkloosheid*, with its initial stress, is not derivable from the structure in (7a). For this form, only lexical compounding is available, as in (7b) (based on (3b)). Not featuring *pro_{arb}*, (7b) does not force a generic reading; it supports reference to a specific individual.

- (7) a. $[_{NP} [_{RP} x=pro_{arb} [_{R'} RELATOR [_{RP} werk [_{R'} RELATOR [_{AP} -loos]]]]] [_{N} -heid]]$
 b. $[_{NP} [_{A} [_{N} werk] [_{A} -loos]]] [_{N} -heid]]$

6 The presence of a LM is a secure indication of a syntactically complex derivation for *-loos* forms; in the absence of a LM, access is available to two alternate derivations, one syntactic and the other lexical. The lexical compounding derivation gives rise to stress on the host for *-loos*, and a compositional semantic interpretation. The syntactic derivation for *-loos* forms places stress on *-loos* in nominalisations with *-heid*, and evinces semantic specialisation (idiomaticity, genericity). The analysis pinpoints with precision the roots of the prosodic and semantic effects of *-loos* suffixation.

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*When Simpson's Law Meets Mandarin Cluster Resultatives*Marcel den Dikken^{1,2,*}, Yue Xing¹¹ DELG, ELTE; ²Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics

The Problem Cluster resultative constructions in Mandarin are ambiguous between three readings (1a–c), whereas only two readings (2a&c) remain in the presence of *ba* (Li 1995, 1999). The b-reading, seemingly violating Simpson's (1983) generalization that resultatives can only be predicated of deep objects, is the only reading available when verb reduplication is applied, as in (3). The d-reading is unavailable for all three cases in (1) – (3).

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) | Taotao zhui-lei-le
Taotao chase-tired-ASP | Youyou
Youyou | le.
ASP | [ordinary cluster resultative] |
| | a. | 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result, Youyou got tired.' | | |
| | b. | 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result, Taotao got tired.' | | |
| | c. | 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result, Youyou got tired.' | | |
| | d. | * 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result, Taotao got tired' | | |
| (2) | Taotao ba
Taotao BA | Youyou
Youyou | zhui-lei-le.
chase-tired-ASP | [cluster resultative with <i>ba</i>] |
| | a. | 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result, Youyou got tired.' | | |
| | b. | * 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result, Taotao got tired.' | | |
| | c. | 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result, Youyou got tired.' | | |
| | d. | * 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result, Taotao got tired.' | | |
| (3) | Taotao zhui
Taotao chase | Youyou
Youyou | zhui-lei-le.
chase-tired-ASP | [reduplicative cluster resultative] |
| | a. | * 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result, Youyou got tired.' | | |
| | b. | 'Taotao chased Youyou and as a result, Taotao got tired.' | | |
| | c. | * 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result, Youyou got tired.' | | |
| | d. | * 'Youyou chased Taotao and as a result, Taotao got tired' | | |

The Proposal The key ingredients of the proposal are: [A] allowing Themes to be projected in two syntactic positions (Spec/VP and Spec/ResP), simultaneously present in a single clause under specific circumstances; [B] allowing a Causer to be syntactically projected above the Agent; and [C] allowing V to be structurally represented twice in serializing languages, both as the main verb of the sentence and as the head of an event modifier.

The Analysis We argue that the readings in a–c semantically and syntactically correspond to the underliers in (i)–(iii). (The full paper will make it explicit, for all cases, how the syntactic derivations deliver the surface word orders.)

(a) The a-reading has the structure in (i), where *Taotao* is represented in Spec/vP as the Agent and *Youyou* is in Spec/VP as the subject of the complex predicate (V') *zhui lei* 'chase tired', in a syntax à la Hale & Keyser (1993).

(b) The modification structure in (ii), featuring a VP adjunct (ModP), is for the b-reading, regardless of whether verb reduplication takes place. The verb *zhui* is structurally represented twice: modifier *zhui* takes *Youyou* as its Theme; main verb *zhui* takes no Theme of its own but selects a small-clause complement whose predicate is *lei* 'tired', predicated of a silent reflexive (coreferent with the Agent, *Taotao*) that serves as the second Theme of the sentence. When main-verb *zhui* is raised up to v, the token of *zhui* in the event modifier remains silent because it is asymmetrically c-commanded

by the raised *zhui*. Only when the main verb *zhui* stays *in situ* and neither occurrence of V c-commands the other can *zhui* be pronounced twice, delivering verb reduplication: (3).

(c) The causative structure in (iii) delivers the c-reading, where *Youyou* is projected in Spec/vP as the Agent, and *Taotao* functions as the Causer and occupies Spec/CausP. *Taotao* and *Youyou* each bind a silent pronoun (*pro*): the *pro* in Spec/VP, identified with *Taotao*, serves as the Theme of the chasing event; the *pro* in Spec/ResP, referring back to *Youyou*, is the Theme of *lei* ‘tired’. The pronouns in the Theme positions in (iii) are necessarily silent because no Case is available for them: the two structural Cases provided in single clauses (nominative and dependent accusative; Marantz 1991, 2000) are assigned to the Causer (*Taotao*) and the Agent (*Youyou*), resp. The appearance of *ba* in (2) preserves the a- and c-readings but precludes the b-reading: *ba* can expone *v* in (i) and (iii) but not in (ii); spell-out of *v* as *ba* in (ii) causes a violation of the Bijection Principle (Koopman and Sportiche 1982), with *ba* binding both Vssimultaneously.

(d) Only in (iii) can *Youyou* serve as the Agent of the chasing event. In (iii), coindexing the *pro* in Spec/ResP with *Taotao* (hence with *pro_k* in VP) would violate Condition B, which explains why the d-readings in (1) – (3) are unavailable.

- (i) $[_{VP} Taotao_k [_{V'} v [_{VP} Youyou_i [_{V'} V=zhui [_{ResP} lei]]]]$
 Agent_k ↑ Theme_i
- (ii) $[_{VP} Taotao_k [_{V'} v [_{VP} [_{ModP} V=zhui Youyou_i] [_{VP} V=zhui [_{ResP} REFL_k [_{Res'} lei]]]]]]$
 Agent_k ↑ Theme_i Theme_k
- (iii) $[_{CausP} Taotao_k [_{Caus'} CAUS [_{VP} Youyou_i [_{V'} v [_{VP} pro_k [_{V'} V=zhui [_{ResP} pro_i [_{Res'} lei]]]]]]]]$
 Causer_k ↑ Agent_i Theme_k Theme_i

The Conclusion The structures in (i)-(iii) show that syntax countenances two positions for Themes in a single clause plus separate positions for an Agent and a Causer (the latter higher than the former). In languages such as English, only the structure in (i) converges: in non-serializing languages, T can license just one V so (ii) is out; and (iii) is unavailable in English since the *pro*’s in the Theme positions cannot be licensed.

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Video Games in the 21st Century Language Classroom Emerging language-related themes in the semi-structured interview

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The teaching methods which seemed to be working decades ago, might not be effective enough any longer. Students require an ever-changing classroom environment filled with various audio visual effects, and they should learn by doing, by producing the knowledge themselves. Autonomous learners should be created who are responsible for their own development and can learn on their own, with only guidance and not traditional instruction from the teacher. Several studies have highlighted the educational and cognitive benefits of playing video games (Griffiths, 2002; Squire, 2003; Annetta, 2008). Games can increase creativity (Green and Kaufman, 2015), and they are also proven to be beneficial for improving communication skills (discussing, sharing, giving directions, answering questions) or vocabulary (Gee, 2003). Online gaming also affects social skills, as teamwork requires co-operation and accepting others' ideas. This research examines whether video games are beneficial educationally and whether they have a place in a 21st-century classroom as teaching tools, or as a way of supporting classroom English or they should remain one of the main sources of entertainment nowadays. The data is to be collected in two phases: through studying the newest literature on the educational and cognitive benefits of video games; followed by a case study which would allow an in-depth exploration of the issue. The key question this research aims to find an answer to is to what extent can video games be utilised in classroom language teaching, if at all. The investigation on the case study has already been started by a detailed interview regarding Annetta's (2008) multiple aspects of new media literacies. The aspect 'Play' appears in the interview, because video games provided the interviewee with opportunities for constant and sudden problems and situations to solve; 'Performance' should also be considered in the research which is the ability to adopt alternative identities given the fact that the player has become a part of several role plays so far; the aspect 'Multitasking' appears in the interview spontaneously mentioned by the player in a is also worth examined as the interviewee had to shift between multiple tasks, environments, ways of controlling the game while communicating orally or in writing with other players. The interviewee also mentioned how he had to cooperate with other players to reach a common goal, therefore, the research should investigate on Annetta's (2008) 'Collective intelligence'. This aspect occurs spontaneously as the interviewee mentions how he had to collaborate and pool knowledge with others towards a common goal while playing. 'Networking' and 'Negotiation' are also aspects to be investigating on, as the player elaborates on how he had to cooperate, strategize, and negotiate with his peers in order to reach the same goal together. The interviewee mentions several language learning situations and skills. Through playing video games, he had the opportunity to develop his speaking skills by cooperating with players of multiple nationalities, but mostly with Americans

and British players. This way, he could improve his communicational skills with the help of native speakers of English. The interviewee mentioned this opportunity as one of the main advantages of playing online, since when players communicate with each other, they have to make decisions on the spot and speak fluently and punctually thinking fast in order to reach the goal of the game together. The player also mentioned reading dialogues and monologues throughout the game play as another language learning opportunity, with which not only his reading comprehension could improve, but his vocabulary as well. He also highlighted the fact that through playing video games his critical and logical thinking also developed besides his cooperation skills helping him become a more constructive part of any sort of groups and or project works. This research was planned to be executed by a qualitative method through a case study of a 20-year-old man who has been playing with video games for almost 15 years now primarily in English. His case may be evidence for learning English in an unconscious and indirect way which seems to be effective when it comes to him using the language effortlessly, proficiently and seemingly naturally fascinating his environment. Throughout the last 12 years he studied English at school as well framing the language learning process with being a successful autonomous learner of English language by playing video games at home with his friends or complete strangers if it was necessary. The data has been collected by reading various literature regarding the topic of playing video games as a way of acquiring English as second language. Then a 40-minute-long detailed interview took place which will be followed by the analysis of the data collected and evaluating the preliminary findings. Emerging topics to be expected for further exploration: improving language learning and other skills through playing video games, ethical and moral issues to be taught by video games, a new way of improving critical and logical thinking, a new way of motivation and engagement in the language learning process, video games as supporting platforms in the ELT, learning by doing as one of the most effective way of learning a foreign language, a new way of preparing students for the oral part of language exams.

Keywords: *video games, educational benefits, cognitive benefits, learning by doing, autonomous learner, motivation*

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Metaphor identification in teaching Hungarian as a foreign language: a small-scale research

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Several types of research are carried out on the connection of metaphors and second language teaching. Some of these studies aim to shed light on the educational theories or learning processes by analysing conceptual metaphors (Vámos 2003, Thornbury 1991), whilst others examine the role of metaphors in expanding learners' vocabulary. Littlemore and Low (2006) argue that metaphorical competence is part of every area of the communicative competence. Cross-domain mappings can be used in ESL teaching (Chen and Lai 2015). The topic is specified for teaching Hungarian as a foreign language in Palágyi's paper (2016), even practical classroom activities are described based on making students aware of source and target domains.

Accordingly, conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff 2006/1993, Kövecses 2002) is often used in the theory of language teaching. However, our knowledge is less on research questions like: what kind of metaphorical expressions can learners easily understand without a teacher's explanation? What do they do encountering a metaphorical expression in reading comprehension exercises? The present study aims to 1. investigate the tendencies of metaphORIZATION in Hungarian as a foreign language reading comprehension exams, 2. explore how metaphorical expressions affect the learners' reading comprehension and which structures may cause difficulty without explanation.

The key point of the research question is to determine, which expressions can be described as metaphorical structures. Therefore, the method used is a metaphor identification process: the so-called MetaID-method (Simon et al. 2019) as a morpheme-based adaptation of MIPVU (Steen et al. 2011) for Hungarian. The method seeks to represent an objective, theory independent tool for identifying metaphorical expressions by focusing on linguistic realisation.

Two B1-level reading comprehension texts from different text types were chosen for the present small-scale research. First, the texts and connected tasks were annotated with the MetaID method, second, the tasks were solved by a learning group with 9 students. The participants were instructed not only to answer the questions based on the texts but also to mark any unknown words or "vague expressions".

The paper will demonstrate the use of the MetaID-method on the example of the annotated corpora, after that metaphorical patterns will be highlighted, comparing with the difficulties of learners. It was found that the exam texts are not highly metaphorical,

however, metaphorical competence is needed to understand even the connected questions.

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Songs, chairs, and the meaning of life: Multimodal metaphors in Hungarian folklore**Veronika Petra Jávör-Szelid****DAS, ELTE**

Based on the principles of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2010, 2015, 2020), metaphor is not a figure of speech but a conceptual mechanism, and as such, it functions as one of the the main building blocks of human conceptualization. In this vein, it is not only employed in language, but also in a number of other modes of expression. With the use of the methodology of CMT, the present study is an attempt to explore the metaphorical and metonymic basis of a conceptualization reflected in Hungarian folklore. Although the language of folk poetry has been studied from different perspectives within the frameworks of both Cognitive Linguistics (Szelid 2007) and Cultural Linguistics (Baranyiné Kóczy 2018), other modalities of folk poetry and folk art (e.g., Szelid 2019, 2020) have remained a rather undersudied area of research until recently.

The present study is based on the assumption that shapes and ornaments of folk art were by no means created solely and primarily for decorative reasons. Even if the creators were presumably happy if the fruit of their labor was an eye-catching product, that was not the main purpose of their endeavor. Instead, it was the functionality of art that played the main role in the creative process (see e.g., Gyórfy & Viski 1934, Szentimrei 1981). All the modalities of an artwork are involved in the construction of the metaphorical meaning, down to the smallest detail, and these, in parallel with each other, play a crucial role in the life and well-being of the community members that utilize the artifacts, as it can be observed in the case of folk songs (see Szelid 2020). The aim of this study is to explore two items of Hungarian folklore, and reveal how meaning is construed by the different modes in which their messages are communicated. The two artifacts under scrutiny are a minstrel song called *regösének* from Hungarian Transdanubium and a so-called *kontyoltszék* (“bunned chair”) from Homoródalmás, a Hungarian-inhabited village in rural Romania. The hidden messages of the language, rhythm, melody, and ‘time of performance’ of the song, and the 2D and 3D visual and tactile modes, as well as the metaphoricity of the functional use of the chair are analyzed in line with each other. In this way, the study proposes a linkage between several modes of expression (linguistic, sonic, visual and tactile), which all contribute to the metaphorical meaning-making of the studied works of art. The concepts of LOVE, SEX, and MORALITY, and their relation to the SACRED are rendered the main specific subjects of the paper.

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*Emphasis Spread and Depharyngealization in Lebanese Arabic***Mohamad Ali Khalil****ELTE - Department of English Linguistics**

This paper explores the phenomenon of emphasis spread in Lebanese Arabic and its counteract, depharyngealization. While emphasis can spread leftward and rightward, this research details the exact rules that govern the mechanisms by which this process operates in Lebanese Arabic. Experiments were run with native Lebanese Arabic speakers to determine whether vowel properties, rather than the pharyngeal features of the consonant, are crucial in retaining emphasis. Emphasis retention and spread is strongly promoted and sustained in the vicinity of back vowels, while front vowels tend to block emphasis. Depharyngealization occurs when the emphatic consonants sit in an environment of vowels that are incompatible with the pharynx for secondary articulation, or if tautosyllabic with a guttural consonant. An important consequence for emphasis spread is the fact that it is mirrored in English by those who speak Lebanese Arabic as a native language. Native speakers of Lebanese Arabic were asked to pronounce English words with various vowels in different positions to test whether or not the speakers will pharyngealize the surrounding consonants by rule transfer. The results were consistent with what was found in Lebanese Arabic. When an English consonant precedes a vowel with similar characteristics to those that trigger emphasis in Lebanese Arabic, the speakers would pharyngealize the English consonant as well.

Methodology. The data was selected in a way that tries to encompass all possible environments. Different templates (binyanim) have also been included to describe the phonological changes that take place when the vowel combination changes. The specifics of phonological criteria for choosing words here depended on a lot of factors, including vowel length before or after the underlying emphatic, vowels one and two syllables before or after the emphatic consonant, and emphatics situated word-initially, word medially, and word-finally with the different vowel combinations. The existence (or lack thereof) of underlying emphatics helped detect protecting environments, spread reach and the potential for depharyngealization. As a result, the data was chosen solely on a phonological basis. The underlying emphatic in each word was capitalized during transcription in order to avoid confusing underlying emphatics with consonants that get pharyngealized as a result of emphasis spread. Liturgical language and words that occur in religious contexts and official ceremonies, and other terms that require Standard or Classical Arabic pronunciation were avoided. The reason for excluding such terms is that Modern Standard Arabic pronunciation (based on Classical Arabic) bears ‘unnatural’ rules that native speakers of LA (myself included) would otherwise not abide by. It is important to note, however, that comparisons must be made with Classical Arabic in environments where depharyngealization occurs, to avoid mistaking the depharyngealized underlying emphatic with its non-emphatic counterpart. The inclusion of English words was a means to verify whether this sound change can affect

foreign language pronunciation for native speakers of LA. If emphasis spread can be triggered by vowels (back), then English does not need underlying emphatic consonants for spread to occur, but rather the familiarity of spread-triggering vowels in English among speakers of LA should induce this phenomenon. A medley of words was collected and analyzed based on how people pronounce them, confirmed by informants, and based on my intuition as a native speaker (of the Beiruti accent of LA). This point touches upon what is, perhaps, the research's greatest limitation. There is an abundance of dialects and accents in Lebanon. People living within 10 kilometers from each other may have drastically different pronunciation of the same input. Haddad (1984) had pronunciations from Raifouni and Damouri Lebanese, based on the accent of people from Raifoun and Damour, two Lebanese towns which are merely 50 kilometers apart. Regional differences seem significant. Hence, this research cannot generalize its findings and analysis, but rather describe one dialect (or possibly more) of Lebanese, which is a popular and general dialect nonetheless. Among the limitations is also the fact that the pharyngeal pronunciation of the words in the data cannot be confirmed using phonetic devices or measurements, as such devices were not available. An obstacle may arise here due to the phonological nature of emphatic consonants. If we do not measure empirically, how are we to know that a sound has been pronounced with emphasis [+pharyngeal] feature? Apart from relying on each informant's intuition (and mine), there are vocal alternations that are licensed according to whether or not a segment is pronounced emphatically. Low, back vowels and front mid vowels are one instantiation of this alternation. Alongside intuition and consonantal features, vowels may prove to be a way to confirm emphatic pronunciation. However, phonological analysis is believed to be sufficient enough to predict with precision the causes (environments) of this sound change.

Findings and Recommendations. The goal of this research was to describe and detail the environments that allow emphasis spread in Lebanese Arabic, as well as the potential grounds for this process. Conversely, data were tested for environments that foster depharyngealization and its underlying causes. Lastly, data from the English language were analyzed and were found to behave in a similar fashion to the Lebanese Arabic data.

Conclusion. Emphasis spread is a phenomenon found in many dialects of Arabic. Lebanese Arabic is a dialect of Arabic where emphasis spread is a prevalent and prominent process. To uncover the environments where this process operates, native speakers of Lebanese Arabic were asked to pronounce various words containing underlying emphatic consonants in different positions and combinations of vowels and other consonants. The converse of emphasis spread, depharyngealization was also central to this paper. Native speakers of Lebanese Arabic were also presented with data from the English language which was found in the lexicon of Lebanese Arabic and were

asked to pronounce them. This helped to show that emphasis spread is not confined to Lebanese Arabic, but can also occur in other languages via rule transfer.

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Epicene pronoun issues in the EFL classroom - What third person pronoun(s) do university students prefer?

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In the last few decades, debates around the grammaticality and acceptability of singular *they* have interested researchers from many linguistic fields. In the 20th century, scholars argued for the singular *they* as a natural choice as an epicene pronoun because of its long-standing history (Bodine 1975, Balhorn 2004). While many different studies have shown that singular *they* as an epicene pronoun is part of everyday language usage despite grammarians' proscriptions (Bodine 1975, Foertsch & Gernbacher 1997), it has not been accepted widely until very recently, since it was chosen as the word of the year in 2019 by Merriam-Webster Dictionary (Words of the Year, n.d.). Also, style guides, such as APA and MLA, have implemented its use, both in its epicene and its non-binary sense.

Because of the various ways of its possible usage, EFL learners' understanding and production has been researched with varied results. Some studies show that learners are familiar with and use singular *they* (Stormbom 2019, Ebrahimi & Hosseini 2021), while others claim that learners either reject it or are not familiar with it (Abudalbuh 2012, Ma et al 2022). However, only few studies have been conducted so far with learners with genderless language backgrounds (Ma et al 2022). The current study aims to investigate how Hungarian native speakers perceive and produce singular *they* as EFL learners. The significance of such research is manifold, as, first of all, Hungarian completely lacks grammatical gender. Furthermore, Hungary is considered culturally conservative and linguistically prescriptive, which factors have been shown to increase the rejection of singular *they* (or equivalent forms in other languages) among native speakers (Gustafsson et al. 2015, Bradley 2020).

A pilot study was carried out by analysing English essays written by 34 Hungarian students at the end of their first-year English studies at a university. Results show that students favour avoidance techniques, particularly pluralising nouns (69% of all third-person pronouns) over any other epicene pronouns. All other animate pronouns are marginally used (singular *they* 5,6%, generic *he* 2,8%, *he or she* 1,4%) which poses the question of which epicene pronoun students prefer if pluralisation is not an option.

To answer this question, this study has collected data with the help of an online questionnaire from first and second-year English majors and teacher trainees at a Hungarian university (N=48). In the first part, epicene contexts were provided to test the production of third-person epicene pronouns. In the second part, perceptions of the generic *he*, combined pronouns *he or she* and the epicene *they* were tested. In the third

part, qualitative data was collected about the students' knowledge and opinion about inclusive language use and singular *they*.

Preliminary analysis suggests that when it comes to production, students prefer singular *they* over other options with neutral antecedents. Similarly to previous studies (e.g. Stormbom 2019), overall, quantified (78,5%) and generic (61,8%) NPs were much more likely to take singular *they* than indefinite (40,3%) or definite (32,6%) NPs out of all answers. Furthermore, gender-biased nouns, both feminine and masculine-associated antecedents showed greater variation in which epicene was accepted.

Preliminary analysis of the perception of epicene pronoun choice suggests that sentences with singular *they* generally were rated more positively than sentences with combined pronouns *he or she*. An interesting finding is that almost all students (40 out of 48) found generic NPs with singular *they* more favourable. On the other hand, unisex names with singular *they* rarely occur in production and seem to be controversial in perception. One explanation might be that students are primed for the epicene reading, which context does not seem to be highly acceptable. When non-epicene reading is more salient, singular *they* is more acceptable, because many students are more familiar with the non-binary sense *they*. Even those who do not like the epicene singular *they* mention that they would still use it as a non-binary pronoun if they were asked by a non-binary person to do so. Furthermore, first-year students and English majors rate all sentences more positively than second-year students and teacher trainees which might suggest more prescriptive tendencies.

In conclusion, the results suggest that most students are familiar with the epicene use of the singular *they* and they find it acceptable in some contexts. While they report hearing it online and in informal contexts, further research is needed to find out why they avoid it in academic work.

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Többsnyelvű Nyelvi Gyakorlatok A Kárpátaljai Magyarok Internetes Nyelvhasználatában

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A ma Kárpátaljaként ismert terület az elmúlt évszázadok során is több nemzetiségnek, és egymás mellett többnyire békében élő nyelvi-, kulturális közösségnek adott otthont. A becsült 135 ezres kárpátaljai magyar közösség tehát jelenleg is egy multikulturális és multilingvális közegben él, s ez a nyelvileg, etnikailag jelenleg is dinamikusan változó közeg nem csak a beszélők mindennapjaira, hanem a magyar nyelv használatára is vitathatatlan hatással van. A több mint két évtizede zajló szociolingvisztikai szemléletű kutatások szerint a kétnyelvűségi jelenségek a kárpátaljai magyarok élőbeszédében, és az írásbeli kommunikációs műfajok némelyikében is teljesen természetesen és szervesen beépülve vannak jelen, csakúgy, mint a világhálón megjelenő szövegekben, vagy a közösségi média nyilvános és privát felületein is. Soha annyi 'szöveg' nem született még, mint most, az internet és a közösségi fórumok virágkorában. A virtuális világ újabb lehetőségeket nyit a kreatív „szövegalkotásra”, ahol a web2-es felületek az élőbeszéd és az írásos megjelenés korábbi fórumai mellett egy újabb kommunikációs platformot jelentenek.

Az előadásban a kárpátaljai magyar internethasználók közösségi portálról gyűjtött diskurzusain és példáin keresztül szeretném bemutatni, miként jelennek meg a klasszikus kétnyelvűségi jelenségek (lexikai kölcsönzések, kódváltások) az internetezők megnyilatkozásaiban a világhálón, miként értelmezhetőek ezek a nyelvi gyakorlatok a funkcionalitás és a kreativitás fogalmai felől.

Az internetes nyelvhasználat vizsgálata 2010-ben indult a kárpátaljai beszélőközösség vonatkozásában, nagyrészt a résztvevő megfigyelés módszerével. A kutatás célja az, hogy a kárpátaljai magyarság internetes nyelvhasználatát, többsnyelvű nyelvi gyakorlatait bemutató korpusz jöjjön létre a kétnyelvűségi jelenségeket, a „kárpátaljaiságra” utaló identitáselemeket tartalmazó internetes diskurzusok, mémek, kommentek, bejegyzések stb. gyűjtésével. A gyűjtött anyag (jelenleg közel 700 megnyilatkozás) lehetőséget ad arra, hogy transzdiszciplináris megközelítéssel csemegézve a példaanyagból az Ukrajnában élő magyar beszélőközösség kreatív nyelvi gyakorlataiba betekinthessünk.

Ahogy az előadásban megjelenő példákból látjuk majd, a beszélők előszeretettel használják ki a kétnyelvű lét adottságait: azt, hogy hozzáférnek két (vagy több) kódrendszer, két (vagy több) kultúra elemeihez. A kontaktusjelenségek a facebookos bejegyzésekben ugyanis nem véletlenül vannak jelen, s nem a nyelvi deficit/a hiányos (magyar) nyelvtudás jelölői, hanem tudatos és kreatív kommunikációs fogások: gyakran a humor kifejező eszközei, a nyelvi játék, a többletjelentés vagy a másféle

stílusérték jelölői, néha pedig a „kárpatalpaiság” a csoportszolidaritás verbális eszközei. A példákat (s tágabb értelemben a kárpataljai magyarok netes nyelvhasználatát) csak úgy értelmezhetjük, érthetjük meg, ha figyelembe vesszük azt a nyelvi, kulturális, politikai, közéleti kontextust is, ahol ezek a nyelvi gyakorlatok megjelentek, valamint szem előtt tartjuk, és értjük az adott kommunikációs felület, a virtuális világ szabályait, nyelvi szokásrendszerét is.

Kulcsszavak: internetes nyelvhasználat, nyelvi kreativitás, kárpataljai többnyelvűség, lexikai kölcsönzés, kódváltás

Linguistic references to National Socialism in Austrian right-wing populism

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In the field of philological research, a deepening of political-linguistic teaching has recently been seen. Language and politics are two interrelated phenomena. The exercise of power by individual politicians depends on how and with what quality they use language as a means of communication. Language in politics is not only a research area for political scientists or sociologists, but for linguists. Linguists are not only interested in the language of past or present totalitarian regimes, but also in the language of current political parties running in democratic states. Political language itself covers many areas, such as: speaking and writing in interactions with other political parties in parliament or debates between political opponents; the language of voter lobbying before the election; the language of political slogans and propaganda; the language of formal politics, such as the President's address and the like. Linguists are therefore not primarily interested in the animosities of individual politicians or the course of the political struggle between party opponents, but primarily in the linguistic peculiarities of language in politics and, of course, in how these political disputes are translated into language.

The role of the mass media must not be forgotten. Politicians also use the mass media to achieve their political goals, which thus become another means of political communication. Therefore, in addition to the political discourse, research in this area must also consider the mass media discourse, which has its means of expression primarily in the form of election posters published online. As the title of the article reveals, the article deals with linguistic references to National Socialism in today's right-wing populism. The following goals were set for in-depth research into the unique features and spheres of the use of political language and their comparison between National Socialism and right-wing populism.

The primary goal is to contribute to the field of political linguistics as a sub-discipline of linguistics to researching the language of politicians from the right-wing populist party in Austria - the FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) and their implicit or explicit linguistic references to National Socialism from the NSDAP (National-socialist German Workers' Party). The socio-political vocabulary used in political communication is often generally understood by ordinary recipients, since the political texts or statements in which it occurs are aimed at the mass addressee. The article aims to contribute to the knowledge of how the individual historical linguistic references of National Socialism in the 21st century are reflected in the specific expression of the representatives of the right-wing populist party FPÖ and whether such parallels even exist. The contribution thus focuses on the totalitarian dictatorship of the 1930s and the right-wing populists in today's democracy. Totalitarianism is embodied in the ideas of

National Socialism in the first half of the 20th century, and the current state of the political scene is presented in Western European political discourse by the Austrian right-wing populists, the FPÖ. Another interesting aspect of socio-political encyclopedia research is the comparison of the development processes and typical features in the times of National Socialism and right-wing populism, since here the similarities of both stages are seen due to socio-political developments in the country. Thus, the secondary aim of the paper is to compare political communication in both contexts by comparing the lexis between the two periods. The topicality of the topic is given by the social importance and dynamics of the development of contemporary right-wing populists in Austria and thus by the changes that are constantly taking place in the party and thanks to which there is still room for new research and new perspectives on this lexical part of the language. The FPÖ election posters were chosen as study material. Particular attention is paid to the socio-political lexicon of the Austrian right-wing populists of the 21st century, which explicitly or implicitly adequately expresses their relationship to the politics of the National Socialists. The right-wing populist statements on election posters and the diction of National Socialism thus form the core of the comparison of the two times. Of course, it still must be shown that the right-wing populists are using Nazi diction. This is based on an analysis of the political statements on the FPÖ election posters and a next comparison with the historical statements from the Nazi era.

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A magyar magánhangzó-harmónia két aszimmetrikus jelensége - az ingadozó tövek eltérően harmonizáló altípusai és az /e/ harmonikus viselkedése - további komplex aszimmetrikus mintázatokat generál, amely egyes esetekben hármas, sőt négyes allomorfiában nyilvánulhat meg. A jelenségkörre magyarázatot ad, ha a magyarban két különböző párhuzamosan működő alrendszert feltételezünk: (I) morfológiai alapú **paradigmatikus** rendszert, mely a tő után közvetlenül álló váltakozó magánhangzó minőségét határozza meg, illetve (II) fonológiai rendszert, mely általában a toldalékok **harmonikus** viselkedéséért felelős.

A magyarban az előlségi harmónia szempontjából három tőtípus létezik (pl. Siptár 1994): (i) hátsó magánhangzós (**B**) toldalékot, (ii) elülső magánhangzós (**F**) toldalékot kapó tövek, és (iii) a harmonikusan **ingadozó (B/F)** tövek. Ez utóbbi a hátsó+semleges magánhangzó-szekvenciákat tartalmazó tövekre jellemző, pl. *bohém, sóder, kolibri*.

Az ingadozó tövek gyakran valamely harmonikus osztály felé hajlanak. Például a *partner* tő az elülső toldalékokat preferálja, pl. elülső dativusi alakjaik gyakorisági aránya is ezt mutatja (forrás: Szószablya webkorporusz, Halácsy és mtsai 2004): *partner-nek (96,1%)* - *partner-nak* Más töveknek azonban jóval gyakoribbak a hátsó toldalékos alakjai: pl. *fater-nak (87,9%)* - *fater-nek*; és a többi harmonikus toldalékra is ezek a tendenciák jellemzőek (l. Forró 2013, Patay 2020). Ez az aszimmetria azonban nem ugyanolyan mértékben érvényesül a mássalhangzóval, mint a magánhangzóval kezdődő toldalékokra. Például a fenti tövek elülső, illetve hátsó toldalékainak aránya E.1 birtokos toldalékkal az alábbi: *partner-em (99,7%)* - *partner-om (0,3%)*, illetve *fater-om (100%)* - *fater-em (0%)*. Az ennyire alacsony gyakorisági arányok agrammatikusságra utalnak, ami a szerző(k) intuíciójával is megegyezik. Ennek megfelelően az ingadozó töveknek három **altípusa** létezik:

tőtípus→ toldaléktípus ↓	nincs erős preferencia	elülső preferencia	hátsó preferencia
C-kezdetű	B/F sóder-nak/-nek	B/F partner-nak/-nek	B/F fater-nak/-nek
V-kezdetű	B/F sóder-om/-em	F partner-*om/-em	B fater-om/-*em

1. táblázat: Az ingadozó tövek három harmokius csoportja a V-kezdetű toldalékok alapján

A magyarnak a zárt /ë/-t nem tartalmazó változataiban minden magánhangzó harmonikus párja egyértelmű az /e/ kivételével. Az /e/ két különböző harmonikus alternációban vesz részt: a toldaléktól függően vagy (i) nyílt /a/-val váltakozik (pl. -*nak~nek*), vagy (ii) középső /o/-val és /ö/-vel (pl. -*hoz~hez~höz*). A birtokos

paradigmában mindkét eset előfordul: (i) E.3 $-(j)a\sim(j)e$ és (ii) E.1, E.2 $-om\sim em\sim\ddot{om}$, illetve $-od\sim ed\sim\ddot{od}$. T.3 és T.1 szám/személyben az /e/-t nem érintő $u\sim\ddot{u}$ váltakozás figyelhető meg: $-(j)uk\sim(j)\ddot{uk}$, illetve $-unk\sim\ddot{unk}$. Birtokos 3. személyben - amennyiben ezt egyéb a tövégi mássalhangzóra vonatkozó fonológiai megszorítások nem tiltják - a produktív minta a j -t tartalmazó alternáns ($-ja\sim je$, illetve $-juk\sim\ddot{juk}$), l. Kiefer 1985. A j -nélküli alternánsok ($-a\sim e$, ill. $-uk\sim\ddot{uk}$) az egy mássalhangzóra végződő tövek után szintén megjelennek (l. Papp 1975, Kálmán László sz. k.), de csak akkor, ha azok **engedélyezve** vannak a birtokos paradigmán belül, azaz a toldaléknak a közvetlenül a tövög után álló magánhangzója ugyanazon $t\ddot{o}$ birtokos paradigmájában máshol is előfordul, pl. *dízel-e* (vö. *dízel-em*), *modul-uk* (vö. *modul-unk*) stb.

A fenti engedélyezés viszont többszörös aszimmetriát vezet be: hátsó töveknél T.3-ban lehetséges a j -nélküli alternáns (*modul-uk*), de E.3-ben nem ($*modul-a$). Ez az aszimmetria elülső töveknél nincs meg: mindkét alternáns lehetséges: *dízel-e*, *dízel-ük*. Ennek az oka a következő: az E.3 e -je más harmonikus alternációban vesz részt, mint az E.1/2 e -je. E.3-ban az $-e$ engedélyezve van (*dízel-em/-ed* $\Rightarrow$ *dízel-e*), de az $-a$ nem, mivel toldalék elején az utóbbi nem fordul elő produktívan főneveknél: (*modul-om/-od* $\nRightarrow$ $*modul-a$). Ezzel szemben a T.1-beli $-u/\ddot{u}$ mindig engedélyezi T.3-at (*modul-unk* $\Rightarrow$ *modul-uk*, *dízel-ünk* $\Rightarrow$ *dízel-ük*). A fenti jelenség a harmonikus preferencia nélküli tövek esetében is megjelenik, ezért létezik a *fotel-ja* és *fotel-je* mellett a *fotel-e* alak, viszont a $*fotel-a$ nem. Az ingadozó tövek 1. táblázatban látott többi altípusát számításba véve a j -nélküli allomorfok további eltérő aszimmetrikus viselkedéseit tapasztaljuk, l. a 2. táblázatot (a számok az összes 3. személyű birtokos allomorf számát mutatják a j -s változatokat is belevéve).

tőtípus→ toldaléktípus ↓		hátsó (j -vel: B)	elülső (j -vel: F)	ingadozó (j -vel: B/F)		
				nincs pref.	F-preferencia	B-preferencia
E.3	V-kezdetű (j nélkül)	– $*modul-a$ ¹	F <i>dízel-e</i> ²	F <i>fotel-e</i> ³	F <i>partner-e</i> ³	– $*haver-a/e$ ²
T.3	V-kezdetű (j nélkül)	B <i>modul-uk</i> ²	F <i>dízel-ük</i> ²	B/F <i>fotel-uk/-ük</i> ⁴	F <i>partner-ük</i> ³	B <i>haver-uk</i> ³

2. táblázat: A 3. személyű birtokos toldalékok j -nélküli alakjai különböző tötípusokban

Az aszimmetrikus viselkedés tehát négyféle dimenzió szerint áll fenn: (a) tötípus szerint (*partner-e* - $*haver-e$; *fotel-ük* - $*haver-ük$), (b) harmonicitás szerint (*fotel-e* - $*fotel-a$; *partner-ük* - $*partner-uk$), (c) a 3. személyű birtokos száma szerint (*fotel-uk* - $*fotel-a$; *haver-uk* - $*haver-a$), és (d) a j megjelenése, illetve hiánya szerint (*haver-je* - $*haver-e$, *partner-juk* - $*partner-uk$).

A toldalékeleji magánhangzók (“tematikus magánhangzók”) kötöttebb harmonikus viselkedése arra mutat, hogy azok egy morfológizált alrendszer alkotnak: a tematikus magánhangzó a $t\ddot{o}$ paradigmájára jellemző lexikálisan adott **inflexiós osztályok**ra utal:

-o-, -e-, -ö-, illetve nyitótöveknél -a-. A mássalhangzó-kezdetű toldalékok **harmonikus osztályát** viszont alapvetően a tő fonológiai felépítése szabja meg: elülső (**B**), hátulsó (**F**) vagy ingadozó (**B/F**). Az inflexiós és a harmonikus osztályok között a leképezés nem egy-egyértelmű. A 3. személyű birtokos alakokban tapasztalható nagyszámú toldalékváltozat sokrétű aszimmetriáját az okozza, hogy ezeknek vannak V-kezdetű és C-kezdetű allomorfiái is, amelyekre a két külön alrendszer szerint eltérő szabályok vonatkozhatnak.

Az inflexiós osztályok feltételezését alátámasztja, hogy a tő harmonikus osztályából és fonológiai felépítéséből a V-kezdetű toldalékok viselkedése nem jósolható meg (i) a preferenciát mutató ingadozó altípusok miatt, illetve (ii) a lexikálisan adott nyitótövek további altípusai miatt. A két alrendszer megkülönböztetése melletti további érvek: az inflexiós osztályok (iii) kötöttebb harmonicitásúak, kevésbé ingadozóak, (iv) rájuk vonatkozhatnak szemantikai feltételek (pl. hátsóra hajló “familiáris”, ill. elülsőre hajló “kulturális” szavak), (iv) a toldalékkezdő magánhangzók a tőhöz közel álló tematikus magánhangzóként funkcionálnak, (v) amelyek között paradigmán belüli engedélyezési viszonyok állhatnak fenn.

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The influence of contact with L2 speaker on L2 motivation in Ukrainian secondary schools

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Recent research on the impact of contact with English speakers has demonstrated its potential in increasing L2 motivation. According to Csizér and Kormos (2008), direct and indirect contact play a significant role in enhancing learners' motivation in L2. The said study was conducted in the Hungarian context, and its results concerning the position of the perceived importance of contact indicate the need to repeat the study in the Ukrainian context. This is due to the fact that no similar study has been conducted and the need to replicate it is urgent, since contact-related activities are one of the leading elements of the Ukrainian national foreign language curriculum (UNFLPFSS, 2017). Therefore, its relevance needs to be scientifically substantiated (contact-L2 motivation connection). Consequently, the aim of the study has been to assess the influence of direct and indirect contact on L2 motivation of Ukrainian students from both specialized and comprehensive schools.

The quantitative research paradigm was employed, with a 12-point Likert scale questionnaire as the main instrument. The questionnaire was adapted from the aforementioned study (Csizér & Kormos, 2008) with minor modifications, which included updating it regarding media usage (Toptsi, 2018) and changing the structure of the 5-point scale to a 12-point scale, since Ukrainian students know its meaning well. The instrument included eight scales, three of which were motivational (i.e., motivated learning behavior, attitude toward language learning, and cultural interest) and five were contact scales (i.e., media use, perceived importance of contact, direct oral contact, direct written contact, indirect contact).

A total of 172 high school students, between the ages of 13-14, from the two school types listed above participated in the study; the number of participants from each school type was the same (two subsamples of 86 participants in each). The samples were selected with the convenience sampling method, which was used due to the impossibility of using any other method.

The results showed that the perceived importance of contact had the strongest impact on motivated learning behavior, attitudes, and cultural interest, which is consistent with the results obtained in the Hungarian context. Although general education students showed a stronger influence of the contact variable on the three motivational variables. An interesting result was that specialized language school students had a strong relationship between media use and cultural interest, while general education students had a strong relationship between direct spoken contact and attitude toward L2 learning.

Overall, the results of the study provided enough evidence to argue that there is a strong relationship between direct and indirect contact and motivation to learn the L2. Thus, the general tendency in the secondary school L2 program to introduce more contact-related activities seems to go hand in hand with the actual experience of the students. In the future, it seems imperative that realistic experiences of direct and indirect contact in general education schools be expanded, which in turn will increase their motivation to learn L2.

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Az IDŐ MOZGÁS kognitív metafora az udmurt nyelvben**Marina Romanova****Finnugor Tanszék, Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola, Szegedi Tudományegyetem**

Az IDŐ fogalma a létünk egyik legfontosabb alapvető kategóriája és a nyelvekben jellemzően metaforikusan konceptuálizálódik. Előadásom célja az IDŐ MOZGÁS kognitív metafora elemzése az udmurt nyelvhasználatban, az ehhez a metaforához kapcsolódó metaforikus kifejezések elemzése, valamint más kognitív alapú metaforákkal való érintkezésének vizsgálata.

Az udmurtok a finnugor népek finn-permi ágához tartozó népcsoport. Oroszország európai részén élnek, elsősorban a Káma és a Vjatka folyó alsó folyása közötti térségben, a többségük az Udmurt Köztársaságban él. Az előadásomban bemutatásra kerülő korpuszalapú vizsgálat elméleti kerete a kognitív metaforaelmélet (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2005). Az udmurt nyelvészetben kognitív nyelvészeti megközelítésben metaforákat alig vizsgálták, ily módon kutatásom hiánypótlónak tekinthető. A vizsgálataimhoz felhasznált források az udmurt nyelv nemzeti korpusza (http://webcorpora.net/UdmurtCorpus/search/index.php?interface_language=ru), az *Udmurt dunne* (Udmurt világ) című újságban megjelent cikkek és udmurt nyelven írt blogok.

Az idő konceptualizálódása számos univerzális kognitív metaforát mutat fel, melyek a nyelvekben általánosak, metaforikus kifejezéseik alapján azonban e kognitív metaforák további altípusokra bonthatóak. Az egyik legáltalánosabb idő-metafora az IDŐ MOZGÁS. A kognitív nyelvészetben az idő mozgás kognitív metaforának két altípusát írják le: (1) AZ IDŐ MÚLÁSA A MEGFIGYELŐ MOZGÁSA, amikor a megfigyelő mozog, az idő mozdulatlan (*эужем пала матэктӱськом* 'nyár felé közeledünk', *21-этӱ дауре выжум* 'a 21. századba térünk át'), vagy (2) AZ IDŐ MÚLÁSA AZ IDŐ MOZGÁSA, amelyben az idő mozog, a megfigyelő mozdulatlan marad (*дыр вуэ*, 'eljön az idő', *ортчиз кӧня ке ар*, 'elmúlt/eltelt valahány év'). Az idő mozgása az első esetben a múltból a jövő felé történik, a másik esetben pedig a jövőből visszafelé (Lakoff, Johnson 1999: 130-135). Bizonyos nyelvekben a mozgás nem a horizontális tengely mentén történik, hanem vertikális irányú (Yu 2012) Az udmurtra a horizontális időorientáció jellemző, s azon belül mindkét irányultság (előre és hátra) megtalálható, de vertikális jeleket is megfigyelhetünk *улсы* 'alá', *улын* 'alatt' jelentésű névutókkal. Az IDŐ MOZGÁS metafora logikusan kapcsolódik össze az IDŐ TÉR, AZ IDŐ TARTÁLY, AZ IDŐ REPÜLŐTÁRGY valamint az IDŐ ÉLŐLÉNY kognitív metaforákkal, mivel a mozgás térben történik és az élőlényekre jellemző. Ezen kívül az udmurt nyelvi példák alapján megállapítható, hogy leginkább az idő perszonifikációja szerepel a szubsztancifikáció helyett.

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Hindi kölcsönzések a romani nyelvben**Mátyás Rosenberg**

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A romani nyelvben párhuzamosan többféle, területileg eltérő, gyakran ellentétes irányú nyelvvalakító tevékenység folyik, ezek közül kiemelkedik az az irányzat, melyet általában „újind nyelvfrissítés” kifejezéssel szoktak illetni. Ez a nemzetközi gyakorlat az 1990-es évek eleje óta Magyarországot sem kerülte el. Megjelentek olyan vélemények, melyek a romani nyelv ind jellemzőit igyekeztek kihangsúlyozni európaiságának háttérbe szorítása mellett (Karsai 1989) és olyanok is, amiben a dévanágari írásmódot preferálták a latin betűk helyett (Joshi 1992). Néhány évvel később több szerző romani szótárában is megjelentek olyan lexémák, melyek indiai nyelvekből való átvételeknek tekinthetők (Sztojko 2002a, 2002b; Courthiade 2009; Papp 2019; Jakab 2021), a kritikai megközelítésekkel azonban csak elvétve és megkésve lehetett találkozni (Choli Daróczi 1992; Hegyi 2003; Arató 2014). Előadásom első részében be kívánom mutatni a hindi kölcsönzések átvételének technikai hátterét és annak betagozódását a romani nyelvújítási tevékenységek közé. Néhány példán keresztül kritikai szemszögből ismertetem a lexémák forrását, a szótárakban megjelenő arányát, a duplikátumokat, a homofónia okozta problémákat, rámutatok a tabuszavak ismeretének hiányára, a morfológiai és szemantikai következtetlenségekre. Kitérek arra, hogy a standardizálással kapcsolatos tevékenységek közül valójában csak a szótárak által kínált szókincs bővítés az, amelyre törekedtek, arról azonban nincs szó, hogy ténylegesen az érintett nyelv funkcionális hatókörének kiterjesztéséért tettek volna lépéseket, a folyamat többi szakasza pedig kimaradt, illetve el sem kezdődött. Az előadásom második részében (Lanstyák 2015, 2018) alapján azokat a nyelvvideológiákat járom körül, melyek a romani standard kialakításában szerepet játszanak, különös tekintettel a nyelvi purizmusra, a nyelvi konzervativizmusra, de főként a nyelvi ruralizmusra, miként a nyelv alakítói az idegen nyelvek hatásának kevésbé kitett, romlatlanabb nyelvet őrző falusi beszélők nyelvváltoztatára tekintenek etalonként, azaz a magyar átvételek kodifikációból való kizárása által a magyar kontaktushatásoktól szeretnék megvédeni a romanit, paradox módon mégis, az anyanyelvi beszélők számára teljes mértékben ismeretlen hindi szavak ezreivel, ill. kisebb mértékben szanszkrit szavakkal kívánják a lexikális hiányosságokat pótolni. Arra is keresem a választ, hogyan lehetséges az, hogy miközben a standard romani egységességet ígér, valójában stigmatizál és diszkriminál, hiszen olyan eszközt ad az emberek kezébe, amivel egyrészt az anyanyelvi beszélőket kirekeszti a nyelvből, másrészt választóvonalat húz a különböző országok romani beszélőközösségei közé is.

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Code-switching or Borrowing? Competing frameworks in the view of morphosyntactic integration

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The aim of this research is to juxtapose and evaluate competing theoretical frameworks in language mixing by analysing their predictions on morphosyntactic integration. In this study, two main approaches are compared, namely, Poplack's (1998, 2018) Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis (NBH) and Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2009) Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model. These models' predictions on morphosyntactic integration are compared by an analysis of Hungarian-English code-switching examples. In case the predictions match or differ from actual manifestations, we can get closer to an objective claim about which model is superior if their number of "successful" predictions is different.

The examples are taken from informal podcast talks in Hungarian contexts. The participants are communicating in Hungarian with the occasional use of English. By analysing the integration of the English words or phrases we can shed light upon the validity of the above mentioned models' explanations.

According to the NBH, language contact takes place between the donor and the recipient language, where the donor language provides free morphemes or lexical items that preserve their original grammatical features (word order as well) in the case of code-switching. As for the word order it is unsure whether the rule applies only for the code-switched elements from the donor language or for the whole clause/ sentence. Furthermore, the question of how the identification of the recipient and donor language happens is also unanswered. According to Poplack (2018), during code-switching, usually more than one word is inserted into the recipient language. As claimed by the theory, the case should be considered as borrowing, when (mostly) a single (lone) item is inserted into the other language, this item adapts to the grammar of the recipient language, thus the elements of the donor language behave as they were of the recipient language morphosyntactically. In this research the recipient language is Hungarian, whereas the donor language is English.

According to the MLF model, the matrix language provides the grammar for the embedded language items. The main difference between this model and the one mentioned above is that this model considers all manifestations code-switching where items are inserted from one language to the other and the identification of the matrix language is well defined (presence of system-morphemes, number of morphemes is usually higher).

In the present study, I present the predictions of the two theories and their approach to the different language contact manifestations. The following example sentence and some explanations below are just simple illustrations of attempting to solve the research problem:

Example (1): "Manapság lehet, hogy a **leg-light-os-abb-ak** len-né-nk a net-en."

Gls: Nowadays.ADV maybe.ADV that.CONJ the.DET.DEF SUP-**light**-ADJZ-SUP-PL
be.V-COND-PL the.DET.DEF net.N-SUPERESS

Eng: "Nowadays, maybe we would be the lightest on the net."

According to Poplack's view: Hungarian is the recipient language; English is the donor language; the lone donor language item [light] shows that it is a borrowing; etc.

According to Myers-Scotton's view: Hungarian is the matrix language; English is the embedded language; in this code-switching process there is clear integration, and also the syntactic functions are parallel; etc.

By the concordance (if there is any) of the predictions and the manifestations we can draw the conclusion that one of the models is superior to the other in terms of explaining the issue at hand.

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The lenis fricatives of Old English

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That the modern reference accents of English, like General American and Southern Standard British English, feature a phonological opposition involving two states of the larynx is visible from (minimal) pairs like *fine-vine*, *seal-zeal*, *cuff-love*, *bath-bathe*, etc. The Old English (OE) distribution has been traditionally presented as cut-and-dried: Campbell (1959: §444), Hogg (1992), Lass (1994: Chapter 3), Ringe & Taylor (2014: 6.7.2), among many others, in discussing the voiceless and voiced fricative of Old English take the voiceless state of affairs to be the primary laryngeal specification (but never explicitly stated) from which the voiced occurrences are seen as a result of voicing between sonorants in stressed syllables in pre-OE. The feature of voiceless, however, implies the existence of a marked series (voiced).

The data from OE shows that the voiceless fricatives [f s θ] were not contrasted with the voiced ones ([v z ð]), which occurred word-initially (or after unstressed prefixes) and word-finally: *behindan* ‘at the back’ [bəhíndan], *fif* ‘five’ [fi:f], *fife* [fi:və] ‘pl. five’, *hrōfe* [xro:və] ‘dat. sg. roof’, *cēosan* [tʃe:ozan] ‘choose’, *bæp* ‘bath’, etc. No authority, however, disagrees on the existence of a phonological opposition between (what appears in spelling as) voiceless and voiced stops in OE: *cýning* /k/ ‘king’, *gylden* /g/ ‘golden’, *trēo* /t/ ‘tree’, *drinc* /d/ ‘imp drink’, *plōg* /p/ ‘plough’, *blāwan* /b/ ‘blow’.

The system of OE fricatives raises interesting questions for theories on laryngeal specifications and the nature of such specifications, such as the choice of features that embody possible oppositions (‘neutral’/‘voiceless’/non-specified vs voiced/aspirated (= specified), summarised in Honeybone 2005). From the point of markedness, it seems the feature of ‘voice’ is unutilised in a language which is claimed to have both voiceless and voiced fricatives, but doesn’t make use of the ‘voice’ feature in opposing them. As there was no opposition between ‘specified’ (‘voiced’) and ‘unspecified’ (‘voiceless’) fricatives in OE, let us propose that such fricatives are lenis fricatives, represented as f^0 , θ^0 , s^0 using Honeybone’s (2005) notations. These lenes are phonetically interpreted as voiceless word-initially and word-finally (*fif*) and as passively voiced between sonorants (*fife*). This distribution is similar to the one found for the lenis obstruents of Modern English (Szigetvári 2020).

What evidence is there for the lenis fricatives of OE? Evidence comes from structural considerations of pre-OE: the early Germanic fricative pairs of /f-v/, /θ-ð/, /s-z/, /x-ȝ/ were disturbed by the later Germanic change of ð > d and z > r, leaving /f-v/ and /x-ȝ/. /x/ was debuccalized to [h] and lost between vowels in foot-internal position (**rāha* > *rā* ‘roe’) in pre-OE. This leaves the /f-v/ pair ‘unsupported’ by similar oppositions. It is easy to see that there occurred a reinterpretation of the fricatives in terms of laryngeal

features: they became unmarked (= lenis). In such a system it doesn't come as a surprise to see that in pre-OE f^0 , θ^0 , s^0 came to be (passively) voiced between sonorants, but remained voiceless otherwise, a condition they kept into recorded OE. The /f-v/ pair was the last one to go with the voicing of /f/: early OE texts show for /v/ and <f> for f^0 . Later the opposition collapsed, and the resulting sound was spelt <f>. There is evidence from OE texts: monks trained to write Latin occasionally spell f^0 as <u> (for [v]): *siuida* 'bran' for *sifiðan*. No such evidence exists for s^0 and θ^0 , of course.

There is further evidence from assimilation in class I weak verbs. The original formative *-i- was lost after heavy syllables and brought into contact past tense -d with the root consonant. If the last consonant of the stem was voiceless, -d was progressively devoiced and found as -t: *cēpte* 'kept' < *kēpide, *cyste* 'kissed' < *kysside. If the last consonant was any of the f^0 , θ^0 , s^0 fricatives, there was no such devoicing: *cȳðde/cȳdde* [ðd] 'made known 3Sg' < *kȳð⁰ide, *ālēs⁰de* [zd] 'set free 3Sg', *lǣf⁰de* [vd] 'left 3Sg'. The passive voicing of the fricatives in intervocalic position was continued even after loss of *-i-. The fricatives were now flanked by a sonorant and a (presumably) lenis (stop) obstruent. Arguing that the voicing of the fricatives in this environment is due to the regressive spread of voice from /d/ would beg the question of why voice from /d/ does not spread regressively to stems that do not end in a fricative, as in *cēpte* (giving unattested ***cēbde* or possibly **cēpde* for *kēpide). We must conclude OE had lenis fricatives phonologically.

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*Disjunction as a PPI: A rating study of Hungarian***Balázs Surányi**

Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola, BTK, PPKE; Nyelvtudományi Kutatóközpont, ELKH

Different classes of lexical items in natural languages exhibit sensitivity to what can be simplistically referred to as the ‘polarity’ of their environment. One large class, Positive Polarity Items (PPI, exemplified by English *some*), cannot be interpreted in the direct logical scope of negation within the same clause. Disjunction has been claimed to be a PPI in some languages (Szabolcsi 2002). In such languages (=+PPI languages), negated disjunctive sentences like (1) are supposed not to permit disjunction to have narrow scope with respect to negation (= the Disjunction Narrow Scope = DNS = ‘neither’ reading), but only license disjunction having wide scope over negation (the Disjunction Wide Scope = DWS = ‘one or the other not’ reading).

(1) Mary does not like vanilla or chocolate.

The claim of the parametric nature of disjunction being a PPI in some but not all languages has been supported by data from adult control groups of first language acquisition studies in a variety of languages including Japanese, Turkish, Italian, Hungarian (putative +PPI languages), and German and Dutch (-PPI languages). Perplexingly, in some languages, such as Mandarin (Jing et al. 2005 vs Liu and Chen 2017) or French (Pagliarini et al. 2022 vs. Larralde et al. 2021), opposing generalizations have emerged from different experimental studies regarding the PPI or non-PPI status of their disjunction. In this talk we present a rating study whose objective was to explore to what extent Hungarian, the language that served as the starting point of the conception of the parametric PPI status of disjunction for Szabolcsi (2002), exhibits traits of a +PPI language.

In each critical trial adult participants (n=30) saw a negated disjunctive SVO sentence containing disjoined definite object NPs, as in (2), and below it, a paraphrase unambiguously encoding either the DNS or the DWS target interpretation. Critical sentences were constructed with an eye to the pragmatic felicity of both target readings.

(2) A csatorna nem közvetíti az olimpiát vagy a világbajnokságot.
the channel not broadcast.3SG the Olympics.ACC or the World.Cup.ACC
‘The channel doesn’t broadcast the Olympics or the World Cup.’

Participants’ task was to mark on a 5-point scale how easily they can interpret the given sentence according to the given target interpretation. The experimental material was presented in two counter-balanced lists with the same sentence paired with different paraphrases in the two. Two sets of control sentences were included, similar in complexity to the critical items: one in which the target interpretation was relatively easily accessible (Good Controls, GC), and another one in which it was inaccessible (Bad Controls, BC):

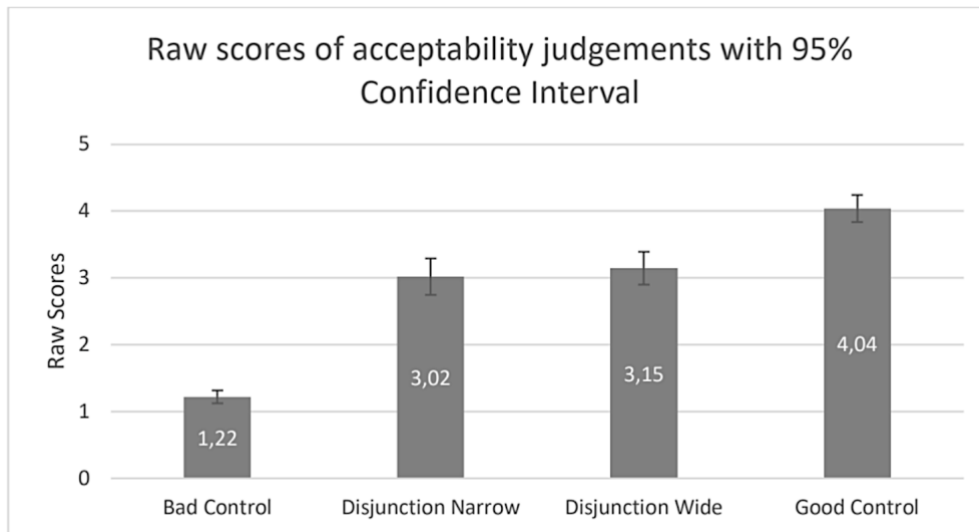
- (3) Feri nem látott tíz filmet. (GC)
 Feri not see.PAST ten movies
 ‘Feri didn’t see ten movies.’

Target interpretation (grammatically licensed): “There are ten films that Feri didn’t see.”

- (4) Sári nem mindegyik cipőt vette meg. (BC)
 Sári not each shoe.ACC buy.PAST PRT
 ‘Sári didn’t buy each shoe.’

Target interpretation (grammatically not licensed): “Sári didn’t buy any of the shoes.”

A Generalized Mixed Model analysis revealed that both the DNS and the DWS reading are different from both the Bad Controls and the Good Controls ($p < .0001$ in all cases): their mean rating falls in between the latter so that they are closer to Good Controls than to Bad Controls. DNS and DWS, however, do not exhibit a significant difference from each other ($p = 0.9828$):



These findings pose an apparent challenge for the PPI treatment of disjunction in Hungarian. We discuss three alternative possibilities that our results are compatible with. (i) One option is that Hungarian and the putative +PPI languages more generally do not show a fundamental grammatical asymmetry between the DWS and the DNS reading, contrary to the parametric PPI theory of disjunction, a view consonant with Lungu et al.’s (2021), whose recent experimental results from the putative +PPI languages French and Italian suggest that the difference between the supposed +PPI and -PPI language types may be more nuanced than previously believed. (ii) A second possibility is the cross-linguistic dichotomy is real, but Hungarian does not belong to the group of +PPI languages. If so, this calls for an empirical re examination of the +/-PPI status of other putative +PPI languages with suitably sensitive methods. (iii) A third option, also assuming that the idea of the cross-linguistic parametrization is correct, is that although Hungarian does belong to the +PPI language type, additional linguistic factors contribute to the detected lack of an asymmetry in acceptability judgments. The

main factor to be explored in this regard is information structure (Szabolcsi 2004, Larralde et al. 2021).

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Creation resultatives in Hungarian

Andrea Szávó

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Introduction: In the literature on Hungarian resultatives it has been observed so far that Hungarian, as a satellite-framed language (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000), allows resultative constructions of the canonical types (É. Kiss 2006, Surányi & Hegedűs 2013, Surányi 2014, Hegedűs 2017, Kardos & Farkas 2022). These are the change-of-state or change-of-location resultatives, such as *A víz szilárdra fagyott* ‘The water froze solid’ or *Mari a kertbe szaladt* ‘Mari rushed to the garden’ but also weak and strong resultatives such as *Péter pirosra festette a kerítést* ‘Péter painted the fence red’ or *János laposra kalapálta a vasat* ‘János hammered the metal flat.’ Regarding their semantic type, these canonical resultatives have been analyzed as predicates of states by Parsons (1990). To my knowledge, however, setting aside these canonical resultatives, Hungarian result phrases expressing creation have not yet been given a syntactic or semantic analysis, particularly not in parallel with an additional intensifier-like interpretation that some creation resultatives may receive.

Data: In Hungarian, some result phrases such as *rommá* ‘lit. to ruin’ (but also some others such as *szitává/rostává* ‘lit. into a sieve’ or *porrá* ‘lit. to dust’) seem to appear in two different constructions that are identical on the surface. This is shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) A katonák rommá bombázták a házakat.
the soldiers ruin.TRANS bombed the houses.ACC
‘The soldiers bombed the houses to ruins.’
- (2) Obamaék rommá díszítették a Fehér Házat.
Obama.APL ruin.TRANS decorated the White House.ACC
‘The Obamas decorated the White House from top to bottom.’

In (1), *rommá* expresses the creation of a new entity through the reconfiguration of the referent of the direct object in a way that the original referent ceases to exist by the end of the event denoted by the verb and what remains is the ruin. That these result phrases are different from canonical change-of-state resultatives and express the creation of a new entity is also signaled by their case marking. The translocative suffix *-vá/-vé* in Hungarian (or in this case its consonant assimilated version *-má*) usually expresses such relations as opposed to changes of state in more canonical resultatives which are marked by the sublocative suffix *-ra/-re* (see also Hegedűs 2018).

In (2), however, *rommá* seems to take on an intensifier-like change-of-state meaning in the same surface structure as in (1). In this example, it is not the case that the object referent turns into ruin but instead, *rommá* seems to express that the result of the event denoted by the verb was particularly noticeable, perhaps even more excessive than expected.

Aims and claims: I argue for the expansion of the typology of Hungarian resultatives to include creation resultatives as well as structures which resemble creation resultatives on the surface, though they seem to express a change of state rather than creation, denoting a particularly noticeable/excessive result. Even though their forms are syncretized, I show through two diagnostics - one semantic and one syntactic - that the two kinds of *rommá* in these structures should be regarded as different kinds of result-encoding elements. These diagnostics suggest that these two resultatives are not identical in their lexical aspectual behavior and that they are in contrast with canonical resultatives regarding their semantic types. Canonical resultatives are considered predicates of states, but *rommá* in creation resultatives seems to encode an individual while intensifying *rommá* seems to specify the degree to which the event took place.

Analysis: Regarding their lexical aspectual behavior, the two kinds of *rommá* in (1) and (2) above are alike in that they both telicize the sentences they appear in. This becomes apparent if we modify the examples with *in/for X time* adverbials (3). Additionally, both kinds of *rommá* have to appear in preverbal position in perfective non-focused sentences to exert their aspectual functions (Surányi & Hegedűs 2013, Kardos & Szávó 2022) (4).

- (3) a. A katonák egy nap alatt/ *egy napig rommá bombázták
 the soldiers one day under/ one day.TERM ruin.TRANS bombed
 a házakat.
 the houses.ACC
 'The soldiers bombed the houses to ruins in a day.'
- b. Obamáék egy nap alatt/ *egy napig rommá díszítették
 Obama.APL one day under/ one day.TERM ruin.TRANS decorated
 a Fehér Házat.
 the White House.ACC
 'The Obamas decorated the White House from top to bottom in a day.'
- (4) a. *A katonák bombázták a házakat rommá.
 the soldiers bombed the houses.ACC ruin.TRANS
- b. *Obamáék díszítették a Fehér Házat rommá.
 Obama.APL decorated the White House.ACC ruin.TRANS

On the other hand, intensifying *rommá* also seems grammatical with *in X time* adverbials on the reading that there were multiple episodic events of the same kind, predicated of one and the same entity, and all of them took place to an excessive degree. Creation *rommá* cannot receive such an interpretation. Consider (5).

- (5) a. Obamáék évekig rommá díszítették a Fehér Házat
 Obama.APL years.TERM ruin.TRANS decorated the White House.ACC
 karácsonyra.
 Christmas.SUBJ
 'The Obamas decorated the White House from top to bottom for years for Christmas.'
- b. *A katonák napokig rommá bombázták a házakat.
 the soldiers days.TERM ruin.TRANS bombed the houses.ACC

Additionally, creation *rommá*, since it encodes an entity that comes about through the event expressed by the verb, can be modified by adjectives which specify the kind of ruin that comes into being. This is not possible with intensifying *rommá* since in that

case, the result phrase does not encode an entity, but instead it specifies the degree to which the change-of-state event took place. See the examples in (6).

- (6) a. A katonák lakhatatlan rommá bombázták a házakat.
 the soldiers uninhabitable ruin.TRANS bombed the houses.ACC
 ‘The soldiers bombed the houses to uninhabitable ruins.’
 b. *Obamáék piros rommá díszítették a Fehér Házat.
 Obama.APL red ruin.TRANS decorated the White House.ACC

Conclusion: It appears that some result phrases in Hungarian such as *rommá*, have a literal resultative interpretation but also an additional, intensifier-like change-of-state meaning where there is no new entity coming into being, but instead the result phrase expresses that the event that it specifies took place to an excessive degree. These two interpretations of *rommá* are warranted by their different lexical aspectual behavior and whether or not they can be modified by adjectives. Based on these observations, it appears that the typology of Hungarian resultatives is more diverse than previously thought.

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„Majd vacsi után. Nem szeretem politikával elrontani az étvágyam.” Orbán Viktor metaforikus és metonimikus reprezentációja Marabu politikai karikatúráiban (2018-2022)

Ágnes Virág

**Szociológia és Kommunikációtudomány Doktori Iskola, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem;
Képzőművészet és Művészetelméleti Intézet és Média és Design Intézet, Eszterházy
Károly Katolikus Egyetem, Eger**

1989 óta Orbán Viktor miniszterelnök a leggyakrabban ábrázolt politikus a magyar politikai karikatúrákban (Argejő, 2003), azonban még ma is kevés olyan tanulmány van, amely a miniszterelnök multimodális reprezentációjával foglalkozna. Ehelyett a kurrens politika-, kommunikáció- és nyelvtudományi kutatások elsősorban a beszédekre és a vezetői stílusra fókuszálnak (i.a., Burai & Bene, 2021; Körösenyi, 2015). A nemzetközi karikatúra szakirodalom a vezető politikusok figuratív megjelenítését a fogalmi metaforaelmélet keretén belül több ízben is tárgyalja (i.a., Forceville & van de Laar, 2019; Krstic et al., 2020). Ezek a kutatások alapot nyújthatnak ahhoz, hogy a vezető politikusok sztereotipikus metaforikus megjelenítésének listáját felállítsuk és összehasonlítsuk a magyar miniszterelnök hasonló, illetve azoktól eltérő megjelenítésével.

A kutatás során a következő kérdésekre kerestük a válaszokat: milyen metaforikus forrástartományok nevezhetők meg Orbán Viktor karaktere kapcsán? Milyen vizuális metonímiák vonatkoztathatók a politikai karikatúrákban megjelenő személyiségére? Melyek a magyar miniszterelnök karikaturisztikus megjelenítésének egyéni, nem sztereotipikus figuratív jellemzői? A vizsgálati korpusz 79 politikai karikatúrát jelent (*hvg.hu*, rajzolta Marabu), amelyek külpolitikai témát mutatnak be a 2018 és 2022 közötti időszakból. A politikai karikatúrák elemzése több lépésből álló fogalmi metafora és fogalmi metonímia azonosító eljárásokból állt (Pérez Sobrino, 2017; Forceville & van de Laar, 2019), amelyek célja a miniszterelnök karakteréhez kapcsolódó fogalmi metaforák és fogalmi metonímiák azonosítása és működésük bemutatása volt.

Az előzetes eredmények azt mutatják, hogy a miniszterelnök elsősorban az EU-val és az Oroszországgal való politikai kapcsolatban mutatkozik meg. Orbán figurája többségében harcos, akit támad az EU. Még ha a miniszterelnök támadóként jelenik is meg, a különböző kellékek (például papírból készült katonai sapka) nevetségessé és gyengévé teszik ebben a szerepben. Oroszországgal kapcsolatban álnok és jelentéktelen vezetőként tűnik fel a karikatúrákban, amelyet többségében fogalmi metonímiák motiválnak, például a kis méret a csekély hatalom helyett szerepel. A miniszterelnök karaktere gyakran kapcsolódik a korrupcióhoz (például zakója zsebére céltábla kerül, amelyet az EU szereplői céloznak), karikatúrák azt is mutatják, hogy a korrupciót olykor az EU is támogatja (például az EU átadja az Euro szimbólummal ellátott

pénzeszsákot az Orbánt jelképező figurának). A fent felsorolt példák ellentmondanak azoknak a sztereotipikus ábrázolásoknak, amelyek a politikai vezetőket diktátorként jelenítik meg, amikor hatalmuk túlzó módon jut kifejezésre (gyakran hiperbolák segítségével).

Kulcsszavak: fogalmi metafora; fogalmi metonímia; Orbán Viktor; sztereotipikus és nem sztereotipikus jellemzők; politikai karikatúra

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