COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND DIALECTOLOGY:
An attempt to apply the cognitive approach in the lexicology of regional dialects

EDIT IGLAI

Abstract

This paper attempts to show how the results of cognitive linguistics can be successfully used in dialectology. The empirical data were collected from the region of the three borders (those of Ukraine, Romania, and Hungary), namely, the northeastern Hungarian dialect region. The main aim was to identify the phenomenon behind lexical heterogenerity, and to explain it with findings of cognitive linguistics. The paper investigates names and meanings of three kinds of traditional Hungarian pasta whose standard names and meanings are uniquely modified and become variable in the language use of the speakers of the northeastern dialect region. The three kinds of pasta have different regional name variants which display detail and motivation of various degrees from a cognitive semantic point of view. It is claimed that the documented differences likely originate in the possible differences of the cognitive process, and in the geographical, geopolitical, language policy and sociocultural situation of the speech community as regards the process of conceptualization. The more general objective of this paper is to show how the integration of the disciplines of cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics and dialectology may offer new avenues for dialect research in the future.

1. Introduction

Making use of the geographical position of the institute and the positive changes that have recently taken place in the possibility to cross national borders, the research team of the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics at the Teacher Training College of Nyíregyháza has carried out research in 18 settlements on both sides of the Hungarian−Ukrainian as well as of the Hungarian−Romanian border in the northeastern dialect region. The research, for which resources provided by grants FKFP 0890/97 and OTKA T-025237/98 have been used, has been going on since 1997. To summarize it briefly, the research is focusing on changes that have been experienced on the two sides of the border since the 1920s Treaty of Trianon, since people now live in allegedly similar geopolitical but different cultural and language political circumstances. When setting up the goals and research methods, principles of a complex sociolinguistic research design have been followed. Our examinations are characterized by a dimensional approach. (For more on the term ’dimensional’ and its interpretation in German dialectology, see Bellmann 1986 and Dingeldein 1990; on its adaptation introduced and applied in Hungarian linguistics, see Kiss 1998, 1999, and Juhász 2002). Linguistic data are processed and evaluated at the crossing points of spatial, temporal and social dimensions. A spatial dimension is provided by the geographical distribution of the locations of the survey, the temporal dimension by the comparison of the collected data with the findings of older surveys and with historical dialect data, whereas the social dimension comes from the sociolinguistic aspects used to select the participants of the survey. It is the aim of this research project to produce, in the near future, a multi-dimensional linguistic atlas from the material collected and processed so far. The electronic proccessing of the data and the preparatory work on the atlas have begun within the frame of the above mentioned OTKA grant number 76239. (The summary of research results has been published in P. Lakatos ed. 2002).

Beyond the interest in new approaches, it was the preparatory electronic processing (data coding, filtering out of data irrelevant as far as the original research aims are concerned etc.), the issues arising during processing (e.g. that of the questions of the questionnaire), and the already available partial results that prompted researchers to decide to use the existing corpus for cognitive linguistic analysis. The processing of the lexical data that has been done so far unveiled greater variability than was expected, and it became apparent that the methods of dialectological

investigation of change cannot be fully effective in describing it due to the fact that the multiplicity of the lexemes given in answer to the questions of the questionnaire did not originate solely in variability in a narrow sense (i.e. as the realization of variants of a given linguistic variable as a linguistic unit) but, in a wider sense, possibly in the differential nature of perspectives, different approaches to designating concepts, or a different way of categorization in connection with all of these aspects. The lexemes that are not relevant from the point of view of the original research goals and cannot be considered as variants of the given variable in the traditional sense, data classified, by agreement, as "further data" (and marked with a T, for Hungarian *további* "further"), however, can be interpreted through the cognitive linguistic concept of variance, thus, opening up a range of new possibilities for analysis. The use of a different approach to the cataloging of regional dialectal vocabulary may shed new light on the issues of processing in dialect lexicology as well.

In this paper, then, I will seek an answer to the questions what conclusions can be drawn from and what avenues for proceeding open up through analyzing in a cognitive framework a sociolinguistically stratified corpus collected primarily for an investigation of variability in language; what phenomena are concealed behind the lexical heterogeneity of dialectal regions that can be explained with the help of cognitive linguistics; and what provides the basis of typically noninherent variability. After an overview of the interdisciplinary background of the topic, I will provide a brief outline of the results of Hungarian lexicology so far, with a special focus on those that bear traces of indirectly showing signs of a cognitive approach. In section 3.1 I will discuss the partly differential approaches of the three integrated disciplines to variability, and then devote section 3.2 to introducing an onomasiological and semasiological approach. In section 4 I will present in detail the methodology, goals, and research questions of the study. Section 5 will provide a detailed account of the theoretical background and the results, whereas the conclusion will summarize the possibilities for a new outlook on variability as well as the gains it would provide for the interacting disciplines.

2. Background, premises and possibilities

2.1. Background and possibilities

Recent works discussing issues of linguistic theory (also) stress that theories of language do not simply follow each other in time but that, especially since the turn of millennia, theoretical linguistic models have offered competing explanatory and descriptive alternatives for researchers. With the foregrounding of complex investigative points of view, a widening of research horizons, and emphasizing a dimensional outlook on language (see above), which, in Péter's words, "brings a period of synthesis providing **integration**" (Péter 2006: 407, emphasis in the original), the number of approaches aiming to connect the various subdisciplines of linguistics continues to increase.

As is well demonstrated by the literature, connecting a functionally focused cognitive linguistics with sociolinguistics has been regarded as a novel approach (e.g. Croft 2009: 393–420, Geeraerts et al. ed. 2010: 1–19). Despite the fact that within cognitive linguistics there is considerable interest in investigating linguistic variability (cf., e.g., Tolcsvai 1996, 2004), it continues to be an under-researched field in this framework in some respects: linguistic analyses have not ventured beyond investigating "language" or a comparison of languages, thus, ignoring language internal (regional or social) variation that offers rich and complex patterns. Since, by its nature, sociolinguistics places the societally interconnected richness and variability of language in the center of its focus, cognitive linguistics cannot afford, post integration, to ignore varieties existing within subcultures (including regional dialect communities) or to not adopt empirical methods that allow the recording of actual variants of the language use of actual speech communities. Beyond taking up an approach of sociolinguistic and cognitive foci, I aim to place a third aspect, the dimension of territoriality, in the center of attention. Both sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics provide an outlook and an approach, and, as such, they can be used in investigations of various varieties. Their application in dialectology means a utilization of their

points of view in the study of regionally bound language use, since in a structural sense the standard variety and regional dialectal varieties are equal and do not differ in principle as far as linguistic description is concerned (Kiss 2009: 18). Thus, it is no coincidence that nearly all (new) methods of linguistic description have been employed in dialectology (for more, for instance, on structural dialectology, see Goossens 1969, on a generative approach, see Becker 1982: 361–74), and, thanks to a vivid interest of researchers, examples for employing the cognitive perspective and outlook also occur internationally (e.g. Kristiansen and Dirven ed. 2008). The "inclusive" nature of European dialectology is also evident in the way it crossed roads, in the course of its history, with ethnography, sociolinguistics, social psychology, and anthropological linguistics, among other disciplines, bearing fruit of these connections in offering new perspectives and results. (This is of course true for not only the European but for the American dialectology as well.) The fact that different expressions are used in different regional dialects for the same concept (denotation, or object), the investigation of dialectal vocabulary opens the way to the cognitive linguistically oriented exploration of linguistic variability in a context wider than that provided by investigations of educated urban speech. With its varied nature, fairly good degree of documentation (cf. atlases and dictionaries), regional dialectal vocabulary makes investigation possible via conceptual coding, that is, via cognition and possession through language. The necessary connection between sociolinguistics and dialectology from the point of view of the investigation of linguistic variability has been pointed out earlier by various authors (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998). The study of this complex question from a cognitive perspective has not been attempted yet in Hungarian linguistics. (On the bases of cognitive linguistics in Hungarian, see Bańczerowski 1999, Tolcsvai 2005b, Kiefer ed. 2006: 184–186, Ladányi and Tolcsvai ed. 2008: 17–58, and especially 23–33, Bańczerowski 2009.) The discussion of geographically bound sociolinguistic data in a sociocognitive framework (for more on the term, see, for instance, Kristiansen and Dirven ed. 2008: 2–7), or, in other words, the cognitive treatment of sociodialectological issues, provides the possibility for combining the dialectological, sociolinguistic, and cognitive linguistic perspectives.

2.2. An overview of the premises of the cognitive linguistic perspective in dialect lexicological research in Hungary

When the novelty of integrating dialectology, sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics is emphasized, the results of lexicological investigations achieved so far should also be mentioned, together with those works of dialectology and onomasiology which, although lacking the cognitive theoretical awareness, deal with conceptual coding, that is, with how various concepts can be linguistically named (cf. e.g. Kázmér 1993, Kiss 1988, Murádin 1980, Péntek and Szabó T. 1976). Péntek's statement regarding regional vocabulary, worthy of notice from a cognitive linguistic perspective as well, according to which "one of the reasons why regional words exist is because concepts and conceptual systems are of relative nature and vary by region and by linguistic layer. The differences stem partly from the difference in experience and knowledge" (Péntek 1993: 155). In several of his works, Szabó (e.g. 2007) also pays special attention to the background of conceptual coding, that is, to what kind of vision and sensing of reality regional dialect speakers use to invoke specific denotation. His focus is in part connected to cognitive linguistics, especially its basic principle that linguistic depiction cannot be made independent from the process of human cognition, and that there are differences in concept formation not just between languages but possibly also between subcultures or regions.

In an overview of the most important results of lexicological investigations, one of the first to be mentioned should be Imre's work investigating the structure of regional dialectal vocabulary (Imre 1987). He aims to explore the patterns and rules of regional dialectal lexical variability, to describe the Hungarian regional dialectal onomasiological system of concepts and to provide some word geographical background to them. Bokor (1995) carried out lexicological investigations in the western part of the Hungarian language area, developing a general checklist for a multi-layer analysis of the contact between regional dialectal and urban vocabulary. And, among other things,

Cs. Nagy (e.g. 2003) also focuses on the exploration of lexically structured systems of folk naming. In his view, by connecting it to word geographical investigations, differences in the linguistic differentiation of reality, that is, the "cognitive map" of language use becomes spatially viewable in a dialect region.

3. Different perspectives on language variability: The onomasiological and semasiological approach

3.1. Different perspectives on language variability

Before the discussion of the linguistic data I find it necessary to define how the three approaches I seek to integrate interpret linguistic variation. The essence of linguistic variability is captured in part differently by dialectology, sociolinguistics, and cognitive linguistics. While classical dialectology primarily seeks to map out the regional varieties of a language, the leveling processes characteristic of standardized languages – that is, synchronically experienced variability or synchronic dynamism requires the application of sociolinguistic perspectives and methods. Following Labov, the sociolinguistic literature defines a linguistic variable as a phenomenon that can be realized linguistically differentially, whereas the variants of a given variable are its realizations of identical function or meaning (!) (Labov 1972, Chambers 1995: 25, Wardhaugh 2005: 121–125). Variants of a variable are rarely equal sociolinguistically: they are placed on different points of the formal–informal, standard–dialectal, commonly used–sociolectal continua (cf. Lanstyák and Szabómihály 1997: 15–16). Linguistic variability, then, means, on the one hand, a differential way of expression of the same linguistic meaning (same denotation). In contrast, cognitive linguistics approaches variability from the direction of meaning (Tolcsvai 2004: 144; for intra- and inter-linguistic differences, see Langacker 1987). According to its basic tenet, the differential way of expression reflects (however small) differences of function and meaning. Meaning is perspectivized and is the result of conceptualization (i.e. of forming conceptual structures): which of our experiences foregrounded in the creation of meaning is relative. Thus, linguistic expressions are suitable for constructing things and phenomena found in the world in different ways and from different perspectives in their sematic structures, thus reflecting also the perspective differences found between languages and within them.

However, it is important to emphasize that the investigation of different designations of the same concept was regarded as an important task of linguistics even before the spread of the cognitive perspective (see section 2.2), the difference in the various approaches to variants lies in defining and describing them, as well as in explaining their origin: while dialectology investigates and explains the geographically bounded nature of designations, sociolinguistics places an emphasis on their dependence on social variables, whereas cognitive linguistics focuses on their origin, traceable back to the cognitive process.

3.2. Onomasiological and semasiological approach

A differential interpretation of variability, in part, brings us to the issue of semasiology and onomasiology. Introducing the issue based on Grondelars et al. (2007: 988–1011), I make a differentiation with the help of Baldinger, an excellent linguist representative of European structuralism: "semasiology […] considers the isolated word and the way its meanings are manifested, while onomasiology looks at the designations of a particular concept, that is, at a multiplicity of expressions which form a whole". While the aim of semasiology is to study concepts belonging to "isolated words" and their interconnectedness, onomasiology approaches things from the side of concepts and aims to study the differential linguistic expression of concepts (meanings). From the meaning centeredness of cognitive linguistics it follows naturally that it gives preference to the onomasiological perspective. From the point of view of the speaker, the basic step of categorization is choosing the method of the linguistic expression of the category (onomasiological

choice). Cognitive semantics has contributed to the results of investigations carried out along the lines of this organizing principle on several important points: from a qualitative aspect, for instance, it has brought to attention several "quality" onomasiological structures which were pushed into the background by structuralist traditions (cf. the study of conceptual metaphors). It also added a "quantitative" perspective into the process of investigations, for instance, in raising the issue of whether there are categories that stand out from among the others, that is, whether certain categories are more likely to be chosen by speakers than others; or whether there exist methods of conceptualization that speakers prefer from a cognitive semantic perspective.

The semasiological and onomasiological approach to the issue of variability raises a number of questions to be clarified from the ethnographic perspective, ranging from the term for conceptual coding and distribution, through the synonymy, heteonymy, and tautonymy of regional dialectal words, to the definition of the nominal or tautonymical value of real dialectal words (cf. e.g. Imre 1987: 8, Hegedűs 2001: 380–381, 400–402, Geeraerts and Speelman 2010).

4. Methods, research questions and aims

As has been mentioned in the introduction, the research sites were determined following geolinguistic considerations. The focus of the investigation, Hungary's Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county shares its borders with three countries: Romania, Ukraine, and Slovakia. The historic Hungarian Szatmár, Bereg and Ung counties belong to the same dialect area, that of the northeastern dialect, however, the linguistic changes of the past half a century occurred under different societal and language policy circumstances in different parts of this area. Our earlier investigations as well as literature relevant for the region and results of linguistic atlas studies have convinced our research team that, due to well-known reasons, the characteristics of this dialect area can be comprehensively described only through involving research sites beyond the borders of the historic Szatmár county. The 18 research sites used for the project of our research team as well as for the research reported on in this study which is based on the former are as follows:[1] Badaló/Badalovo (Ukraine), Barabás, Bátorliget, Beregsom/Som (Ukraine), Beregsurány, Beregszász/Berehove (Ukraine), Bótrágy/Batragy (Ukraine), Börvely/Berveni (Romania), Csengersima, Kispeleske/Pelişor (Romania), Lónya, Mezőkaszony/Koszony or Koson' (Ukraine), Nagyar, Rozsály, Szamosdara/Dara (Romania), Tarpa, Tiszabecs, Tiszaújlak/Vilok (Ukraine). In the selection of the subjects of the research the methods of *The linguistic atlas of Hungarian dialects* (Deme and Samu 1968–1977; henceforth referred to as LAHD) were combined with sociolinguistic ethodology. The sample of subjects has been stratified for age, gender, and level of education. Data collection was carried out with the help of college students majoring in Hungarian, using primarily the questionnaire method to elicit dialectal vocabulary. Of the lexemes of the nearly 400 item questionnaire, I have selected three to analyze in the present paper: *cérnametélt* "string noodles", *szélesmetélt* "wide noodles", and *galuska* "dumplings".[2] The choice of these items was motivated by my observation that the shapes and meanings of these kinds of pasta show a certain mixing both in relation to their standard forms and meanings and to their dialectal forms and meanings. For instance, the *galuska* lexeme has, as its first meaning listed in the *Concise defining dictionary of Hungarian* (Juhász et al. 1972, henceforth referred to as CDDH), the following: '1. Dough prepared by mixing or whipping, pinched to small bits and boiled.' In the region under examination, however, *galuska* is used for other semantic matrices and refers to other objects as well, namely, to the type of pasta called (*széles*)*metélt* in (possibly) most of the Hungarian language area, and referring to "pasta made of kneaded dough and cut to strips" (cf. standard *mákos metélt*

[1] Names of places outside Hungary are referred to with their traditional Hungarian name plus their official Romanian or Ukrainian name throughout this paper, with the two separated by a slash.

[2] Hungarian *cérnametélt* is similar to Italian *capellini*: it is very thin and is used in soup. Hungarian *szélesmetélt* is similar to Italian *fettucine*: it is relatively wide and is eaten with various toppings or sauces. Hungarian *galuska* refers to dumplings of various size that can be used in soup or eaten as a side dish to stew. The three are considered to be different kinds of pasta (*tészta*). – Translator's note.

"poppy seed pasta" vs. its dialectal variant *mákos galuska*). Using this fact as a starting point, we used a refined version of the relevant questions from the LAHD in our own questionnaire in order to gain empirical data to clarify the issue. The questions we used were as follows: 1. *Mi a neve a hosszú, vékony, szálakra vágott (metélt) kifőzött tésztának, amit a levesbe tesznek?* (*cérnametélt*) "What is the name of the pasta cut to long and thin strips used in soup?" (*cérnametélt* "string noodles"); 2. *Mi a neve a szélesre metélt (vágott), kifőzött tésztának?* (*szélesmetélt*) "What is the name of the pasta which is cut to long, wide strips and boiled?" (*szélesmetélt* "wide noodles"); 3. *Mi a neve a szaggatott kifőzött tésztának?* (*galuska*) "What is the name of dough pinched to small bits and boiled?" (*galuska* "dumplings"). With the precise listing of the profiled, prototypical characteristics of the kinds of pasta, these questions create the conditions for delimiting, that is, from the perspective of our original research goal, for listing the varied linguistic expressions received as answers to the circumscriptions of the objects in question, to be used in our sociolinguistically oriented geolinguistic study of language change. This way the subjects of the study had all the information available to them which contained the profiled characteristics of the cognitive domains that play a role in shaping the categories in the cognitive sense.

Our experiences gained during the processing of the data are consistent with both our previous experiences and those gained during data collection, namely, that even though the questions extend to all prototypical characteristics – with regard to all similarities and dissimilarities between the three kinds of pasta in question – which would allow for the categorization illustrated in Figures 1 through 3 in section 5 below, still, the corpus has turned out to contain a surprisingly great variability in the linguistic expressions found (cf. Figures 5 and 6). We had to face the fact that in the great majority of cases, in the answers provided to our questions about the kinds of pasta, the semantic matrices illustrated in section 5.1 were not realized. Also, the data we received as answers to several questions of our questionnaire cannot be systematized following reference points of regional dialectal lexicological investigations employed so far and could be regarded at first glance as subjects' errors. Such a multifaceted nature of data from real language use provides empirical support for the previous claim that the meanings of the examined kinds of pasta display a unique mixing in the region in question. But what can be behind such "variability"? My supposition is that the answer should be sought in deeper causes rooted in variety, well beyond variety of naming (see section 5.2.1) originating in direct reference to the cognitive domains of the meaning matrix.

In the analysis part of this study I will first present, in a cognitive linguistic framework, the standard forms and semantic matrices of the examined lexemes (section 5.1). Thus, the comparison of standard semantic matrices against empirical language use data makes it possible to grasp the surplus and deficiency which characterizes a local dialect in relation to educated urban speech as far as the lexical-semantic aspect of its vocabulary is concerned. In accordance with the onomasiological and semasiological aspect, I will separately present, in the phase of data analysis, the perspectives of designation and meaning, and will, then, discuss (in section 5.3) the conclusions that can be drawn from the matrix that the two add up to. My aim is to shed light on the possible cognitive reasons behind variability on the basis of data from real language use (section 5.2), more specifically; on the reasons of modification, in the northeastern dialect region, in the semantic matrices defined by the questions and discussed in section 5.1; on the system of semantic interrelatedness of the variable linguistic expressions in relation to each other and the differences in categorization marked by these expressions. The research questions which the current study has generated and which I will seek to answer in the future are as follows: are there categories that stand out in a cognitive sense from among the others, that is, that are chosen with greater probability than others by the speakers of the examined region? If so, to what extent do they correspond to the categorization of the possible majority of Hungarian native speakers? What factors govern such differential categorization? And, in connection with the data, my question is whether these choices can be related, as far as the process of cognition is concerned, to the sociocultural situation of the speakers; and, as far as language contact effects are concerned, to the geographical position of the region or the within-region regional differences.

5. Theoretical background and results

5.1. Cognitive semantics: theoretical framework and practise

I base my train of thought on the cognitive linguistic description of the individual as well as relative standard semantic matrices of three kinds of pasta, which I hold to be prototypical things, that is, physical objects of delimited size existing in space, atemporal and made of a specific material (Figures 1, 2 and 3, based on Langacker). In connection with the cognitive semantic description of nouns, I want to refer to relevant chapters of Langacker (1987, 1991a) as well as to papers by Tolcsvai Nagy (2002: 239–240, 2004: 146–147, 2005c, 2010: 50–56).

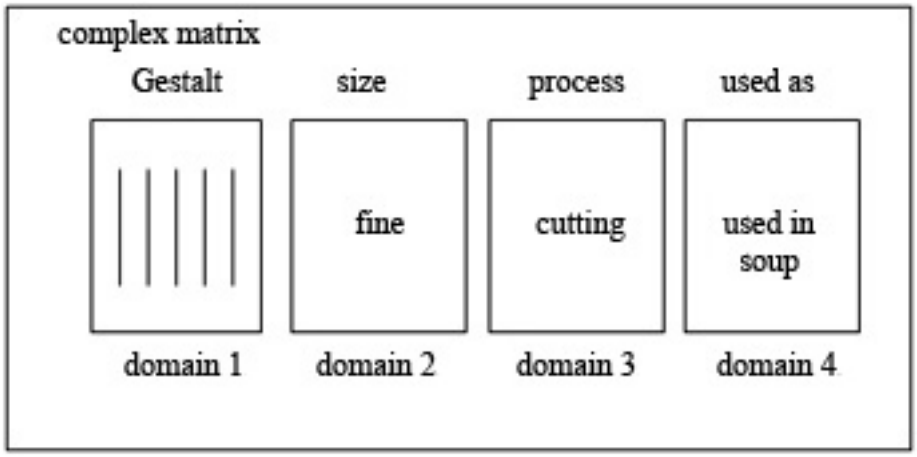

Figure 1. The semantic representation of *cérnametélt* “string noodles”

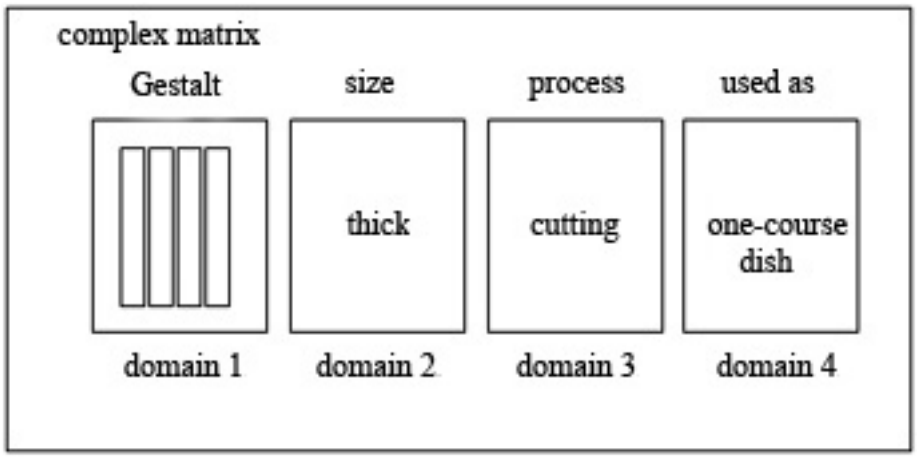

Figure 2. The semantic representation of *szélesmetélt* “wide noodles”

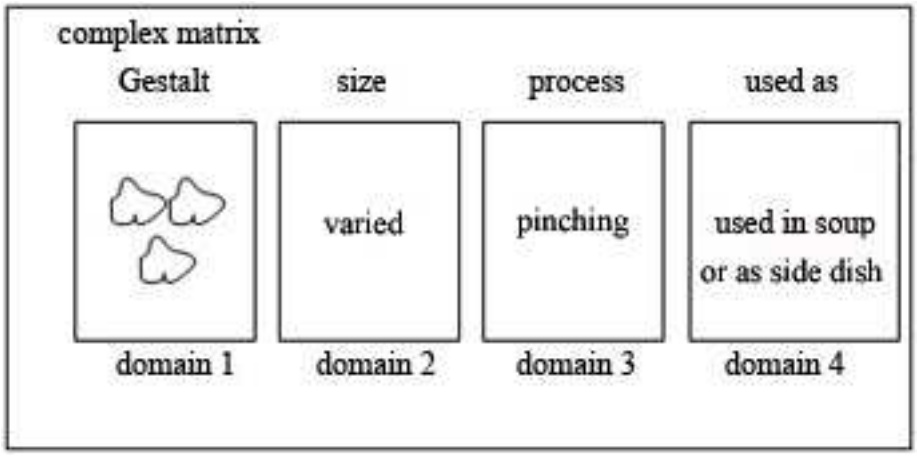

Figure 3. The semantic representation of *galuska* "dumplings"

Cognitive grammar describes the meaning and semantic matrix of a linguistic unit in terms of a matrix composed of several semantic domains, defines depicted content as spatial relationships of entities and demonstrates it through concepts such as perspective, prominence, trajector–landmark relations, visibility within the cognitive domain, and profile within the cognitive domain. In the schematic diagrams of the semantic matrices (encompassing the cognitive domains) of the linguistic tokens *cérnametélt*, *szélesmetélt* and *galuska*, the outer quadrangle symbolizes the border of the semantic matrix, the smaller quadrangles inside it symbolize the cognitive domains, while the figures or descriptions inside the latter stand for the profiled characteristics. (There are further domains within the matrix besides the schematized cognitive domains, see, for instance, Figure 4, but I do not discuss these in detail in the present paper.) In the cognitive domain a prototypical characteristic of a prototypical thing (physical object) is profiled against the background of other characteristics. In the size domain of the semantic matrix of a noun denoting a physical object such as *cérnametélt* "string noodles" the prototypical size has a base in three-dimensional space; in the shape domain the thinly cut, long shape of the string noodles has a base in other shapes, that is, in relation to all other possible shapes.

We can make a differentiation between semantic matrices illustrated in Figures 1–3 on the basis of profiled prototypical characteristics belonging to the cognitive domains (shape, size, action, function) – that is, we categorize (into *cérnametélt*, *szélesmetélt*, and *galuska*). We cannot differentiate on the basis of method and material, since all three are boiled and are made out of dough. A partial differentiation can be made by the domain of action since *galuska* "dumplings" is pinched, while *cérnametélt* "string noodles" and *szélesmetélt* "wide noodles" are cut. A clearcut differentiation can be achieved by introducing the domain of size since *szélesmetélt* is wide, while *cérnametélt* is thin, and this difference is illustrated by the size domain depicting the Gestalt itself. The three also differ in their function, since *cérnametélt* is used in soup, *szélesmetélt* with a topping, while *galuska* can be used in soup or a side dish (Figure 4).

	material	method	action	size	shape	function
cérnametélt	+	+	+	-	-	-
szélesmetélt	+	+	+	-	-	-
galuska	+	+	-	-	-	-

Figure 4. The relative semantic matrices of *cérnametélt*, *szélesmetélt* and *galuska* ("+" refers to shared, while "–" to different cognitive domains)

The description of the semantic matrices discussed above is motivated by both methodological and content considerations as well. With regard to the methodology of data collection, the questions of the questionnaire have to clearly contain those features belonging to the cognitive domains that provide the semantic matrix of each investigated object so that the semantic differences of the dialectal region under investigation can be thoroughly explored. Through a comparison of the standard semantic matrices with the empirical data, the reasons underlying variability can be scrutinized, as we will see in the next section.

5.2. Possible cognitive reasons of variability

The same entity or thing can be interpreted differently – this can be related to various cognitive processes. From among these operations of interpretation, in the following sections, I will deal with the focus of attention and with categorization in the light of the collected data. In addition to analyzing the data (n=767) provided to the three questions by the 240 subjects (subjects were provided with the option of giving alternative answers), I will also refer to the relevant data from LAHD and *The linguistic atlas of Hungarian regional dialects in Subcarpathia* (Lizanec 1992, henceforth referred to as LAHS).

5.2.1. Indirect reasons of the variability: profiling in designation

Now, let us see how the cognitive domains of the above discussed semantic matrices are interpreted in the linguistic expressions in designation by the investigated speech community.

		N=303
		%
metélt ‘noodles’[3]	▲	16.83
tészta ‘noodles’	●	4.95
eperleveles ‘strawberry leaf shaped noodles’	■	0.33
cérnatészta ‘string noodles’	■ ●	0.99
hosszútészta ‘long noodles’	○ ●	1.32
zabszemtészta ‘risoni’	■ ●	0.33
húslevestészta ‘meat soup noodles’	✦ ●	-
levestészta ‘soup noodles’	✦ ●	5.94
cérnametélt ‘string noodles’	■ ▲	24.75
szélesmetélt ‘wide noodles’	○ ▲	1.65
vastagmetélt ‘thick noodles’	○ ▲	0.66
hosszúmetélt ‘long noodles’	○ ▲	0.99
metélt tészta ‘cut noodles’	▲ ●	6.27
szaggatott tészta ‘pinched noodles’	▲ ●	6.93
főtt tészta ‘boiled noodles’	▽ ●	2.97
berakott tészta ‘layered noodles’	▽ ●	0.33
víkonlaska ‘thin noodles’	○ -	-
vastaglaska ‘thick noodles’	○ -	1.98
aprólaska ‘small noodles’	○ -	0.33
cérnalaska ‘string noodles’	■ -	0.66
laskatészta ‘pasta noodles’	- ●	17.82
szaggatott galuska/haluska ‘pinched dumplings’	▲ -	0.99
felvert galuska/haluska ‘beaten dumplings	▲ -	1.65
nyögő tészta ‘moaning noodles’	- ●	0.33
		100%

The cognitive domains occurring in the naming:

■	shape
○	size
▲	action
●	material
✦	function
▽	method

[3] The English meanings given to variants are to be taken as approximate equivalents of the Hungarian designations. The word *metélt* is grammatically a participial for of the verb *metél* “cut” in Hungarian. – Translator’s note.

Figure 5. The interpreted cognitive domains in the linguistic expressions given as answers to questionnaire questions (In the N=tokens column the rows with "–" are data from LAHS, which provides no frequency figures interpretable in percentages.)

Only about half of the data can be used to demonstrate this synchronically, since those tokens whose motivation is unclear cannot be used in the examination – cf. dialectal loanwords and expressions that fossilize as a result of contact effects. In the collected data (cf. Figure 5) it is most often the profiled characteristics of the cognitive domains of material ● (23.76%) e.g. *tészta* "noodles"; shape and action ▪▲ (24.75%) e.g. *cérnametélt* "string noodles"; action ▲ (19.47%) e.g. *metélt* "noodles"; and action and material ▲● (13.53% e.g. *metélt tészta* "cut noodles") that are reflected in the designations. The designations of low frequency in the data are those focusing solely on shape ▪ (0.9 % e.g. *eperleveles* "strawberry leaf shaped"); solely on size ○ (2.31% e.g. *vastaglaska* "thick noodles"); shape and material ▪ ● (1.32% e.g. *cérnatészta* "string noodles"); function and material ✦● (5.94% e.g. *levestészta* "soup noodles"); size and action ○▲ (3.3% e.g. *szélesmetélt* "thick noodles"); size and material ○● (1.32% e.g. *hosszútészta* "long noodles") and method and material ▽● (3.3% e.g. *főtt tészta* "boiled noodles"). An overview of the above data from a cognitive linguistic perpective suggests that variability seems to stem solely from the following: which given or profiled characteristics mentioned in the instructions were foregrounded in the designation given in the answers, and the characteristics belonging to which cognitive domain the speaker wanted to emphasize and mark in the word creation. [Naturally, complex profiling occurs in the process of construction even if its motivation is nontransparent, that is, if in the designation of the linguistic unit it does not always get manifested uniequivocally, e.g. *nokedli* "dumplings", Bavarian and Austrian *nockäl* "small dumpling" (<: Bav.- Austr. nokk˜, nok "same') cf. Benkő 1967–1984.]

The data presented above is in accordance with the observation of cognitively focused descriptions according to which within the conceptual frame there is a possibility to focus on various elements of the frame and certain characteristics of the given thing in order to construct different linguistic expressions depending on which element is foregrounded. The importance of the focus of attention (cf. Talmy 2000, Langacker 1987, in Hungary e.g. Kövecses and Benczes 2010: 145–149, Tolcsvai 2010: 32) was first emphasized by Talmy, who referred to it as one of the main aspects defining both notion based semantic structures and the dynamic formative characteristic of language. According to Langacker, a linguistic expression is based on a conceptual construction of a thing or process, which is always done from a specific conceptual perspective (defined by conceptualization), that is, through a linguistic and conceptual filter. Langacker holds that, when it comes to observing the world, every language works as such a filter. His point of departure is that the same thing or process can be constructed in many different ways conceptually, and, therefore, semantically as well. In his view, differences in linguistic structures indicate differences of perspective: it is the embeddedness of each language in culture that defines what conventionalized cognitive schemata are used to express meanings in different languages, and how the encountered experiences are structured and constructed. That is, Langacker does not simply emphasize the central role of semantics but, at least in part, its language- and culture specific character. Through the great variety of designations, the presented dialectal examples also bring up the issue of language variety and subculture specificity of semantics as well, namely, that the process of the conceptual construction of things and the conventionalized cognitive schemata can be different not only across languages but also across language varieties.

5.2.2. Direct reasons of variability: experience and categorization

In this section I will go beyond the reason for variability discussed above and point out deeper seated reasons of profiling as well as those stemming from it: experience → profiling → categorization → (different) designation ← different categorization ← different profiling ← different experience.

Our ability to categorize is innate, we assign things we find around us to meaningful groups, i.e. categories. The most important question of the theory of science in connection with categorization is whether categories exist objectively or subjectively, that is, independently of humans or as products of the human mind. Experientially enclined cognitivists have devoted numerous works to this issue, in which they stress the anthropocentrism of cognition, and the fact that the the most important organizing principle of the experience that serves as the base to language as knowledge is categorization carried out according to the prototype principle (cf. e.g. E. Rosch 1977, Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987, Taylor 1991; for summaries in Hungarian, see e.g. Tolcsvai 2005a, 2010: 24–29, Bańczerowski 2000, 2002). According to this view, people do not talk in closed categories and tokens entirely fitting categorial criteria but classify linguistic tokens into types following the center–periphery principle if they see a sufficient reason to do so. It is important to stress that, in this view, objects belong under categories in a scalar and gradual way, with fuzzy boundaries between them. Developing the prototype model (cf. Berlin and Kay 1969) further, several authors (Barsalau 1993, Gibbs 2003) have pointed out that categories are not always represented by constant, abstract prototypes – instead, it is more likely that category structures are flexible, temporal, and basically dependent on situation or, in a wider sense, on subculture and culture. It is dependent on what characteristic of the category (thing or entity) a speaker (the subject) profiles in a given speech situation, that is, what characteristic they consider important (cf. Figure 6). Accordingly, everyday categorizations – which are closely related to designations – can differ from culture to culture, speech community to speech community, and even individual to individual. In terms of variability of linguistic data and standard semantic structures this means that the profiled and prototypical characteristics illustrated in section 5.1 can be considered to be prototypical characteristics generally only from the perspective of a majority of the native speakers of Hungarian, and the possibility has to be taken into account that these characteristics can change from culture to culture, speech community to speech community, and even individual to individual. And this, in turn, shows that categorization and the notion of prototype can be interpreted subjectively. The data presented in Figure 6 exemplify such different, cognitively based categorization on a community level. The questions of the questionnaire, in a way, define the boundaries "hypothetically", in a sense, by providing the supposedly prototypical and characteristic features of entities. It is my hypothesis that from the variability of the linguistic representation of certain entities and from the comparison of the linguistic expressions provided to "category delimitations" of entities through questions it is possible to draw conclusions about regional dialectal subjects' (or, through the measurement of frequency, about the speech community's) differential "vertical" and "horizontal" categorization, i.e. the specific vs. generic categorization and mutually overlapping categorization of different things, respectively. Taking this as a starting point, I will examine the community level data on linguistic expressions.

5.3. The onomasiological and semasiological aspect

Whereas the vertical axis of Figure 6 reflects the onomasiological, its horizontal axis reflects the semasiological arrangement of the data.

The columns show that, for instance, the meaning "pasta cut to long and thin strips used in soup" (1) is assigned to the linguistic units of *tészta* "noodles", *laska* "noodles", *laskatészta* "noodle pasta", *metélt* "noodles", *cérnametélt* "string noodles", *metélt tészta* "cut noodles", *levestészta* "soup pasta", and *hosszúmetélt* "long noodles". The meaning "pasta which is cut to long, wide strips and boiled" (2) occurs with the former as well as with *főtt tészta* "boiled noodles", *galuska*/*haluska* "dumplings", *szélesmetélt* "wide noodles", *vastaglaska* "thick noodles", *vastagmetélt* "thick noodles". The meaning "dough pinched to small bits and boiled" occurs with the linguistic units *tészta* "noodles", *laska* "noodles", *főtt tészta* "boiled noodles", *galuska*/*haluska* "dumplings" as well as with *szaggatott tészta* "pinched noodles", *felvert haluska* "beaten dumplings" and *nokedli*/*nokelli* "dumplings" as well (Figure 6). The variety in designations is connected, on the one hand, with how generally or specifically speakers name something as a result

of categorization within the framework of human cognition. Despite the fact that the questions of the questionnaire refer to specificities, the same thing can have several generic designations within the examined corpus, e.g. *tészta* "noodles", *főtt tészta* "boiled noodles", *metélt tészta* "cut noodles", and *levestészta* "soup noodles". Cognitive approaches draw our attention to the fact that things of the world are not simply categorized but also compared to each other based on genericness and specificity. The examples just mentioned also point to the fact that scalarity and gradualness is also manifested in terms of category hierarchies.

1. What is the name of the pasta cut to long and thin strips used in soup?				2. What is the name of the pasta which is cut to long, wide strips and boiled?			3. What is the name of dough pinched to small bits and boiled?		
CÉRNAMETÉLT				SZÉLESMETÉLT			GALUSKA		
our data	N=271	LAHS	LAHD	our data	N=226	LAHS	our data	N=270	LAHS
SZT/28[4]	%	I./278	410	SZT/31	%	I./277	SZT/30	%	I./276
***tészta* "noodles"**	0.37	***tíszta* "noodles"**	-	***tészta* "noodles"**	4.42	-	***tészta* "noodles"**	1.48	-
***haluska* "dumplings"**	0.37	-	-	***galuska, haluska* "dumplings"**	44.24	***haluska* "dumplings"**	***galuska,haluska* "dumplings"**	22.22	-
***laska* "noodles"**	29.89	***laska* "noodles"**	***laska* "noodles"**	***laska* "noodles"**	8.85	***laska* "noodles"**	***laska* "noodles"**	0.37	-
***laskatészta* "noodle pasta"**	15.87	***laskatészta* "noodle pasta"**	***laskatészta* "noodle pasta"**	***laskatészta* "noodle pasta"**	4.87	***laskatészta***	-	-	-
***metélt* "noodles"**	14.02	-	-	***metélt* "noodles"**	5.75	***metélt***	-	-	-
***cérnametélt* "string noodles"**	26.2	-	-	***cérnametélt* "string noodles"**	1.77	-	-	-	-
***metélt tészta* "cut noodles"**	3.69	-	-	***metélt tészta* "cut noodles"**	3.98	-	-	-	-
***levestészta* "soup noodles"**	4.8	***levestészta* "soup noodles"**	-	***levestészta* "soup noodles"**	2.21	-	-	-	-
***hosszú metélt* "long noodles"**	0.74	-	-	***hosszúmetélt* "long noodles"**	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	***főtt tészta* "boiled noodles"**	3.1	-	***főtt tészta***	0.74	-
-	-	-	-	***felvert galuska/haluska* "beaten dumplings"**	0.44	-	***felvert galuska/haluska* "beaten dumplings"**	1.48	***felvert haluska* "beaten dumplings"**
-	-	-	-	***szaggatott galuska/haluska* "pinched dumplings"**	0.44	-	***szaggatott galuska/haluska* "pinched dumplings"**	0.74	***szaggatott haluska* "pinched dumplings"**
-	-	-	-	***nokedli* "dumplings"**	3.54	-	***nokedli, nokelli* "dumplings"**	57.78	***nokedli* "dumplings"**
-	-	-	-	***grízgaluska* "semolina dumplings"**	0.44	-	***grízgaluska* "semolina dumplings"**	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	***nyögvenyelő* "moaning noodles"**	0.44	-	***nyögvenyelő, nyögő* "moaning noodles"**	4.07	-
cérnatészta "string noodles"	1.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
hosszútészta "long noodles"	1.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
mákos tészta "poppyseed noodles"	0.37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	*víkonlaska* "thin noodles"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[4] Numbers in this row refer to the number of the question in the questionnaire in the case of our data, and page number in the case of the linguistic atlases.

-	-	*húslevestészta* "meat soup noodles"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	*hosszútészta* "long noodles"	*hosszútészta* "long noodles"	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*szélesmetélt* "wide noodles"	2.21	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*vastagmetélt* "thick noodles"	0.88	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*vastaglaska* "thick noodles"	2.65	-	-	-	-.
-	-	-	-	*zabszemtészta* "risoni"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*eperleveles* "strawberry leaf noodles"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*laskára vágott tészta* "cut noodles"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*makaróni* "macaroni"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*berakott tészta* "layered noodles"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*csusza* "noodles"	1.33	*csusza* "noodles"	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*száraz tészta* "dry noodles"	1.33	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*haluskatészta* "dumpling noodles"	0.88	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*káposztás laska* "cabbage noodles"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*krumplihaluska* "potato dumplings"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*aprólaska* "small noodles"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	*nyújtott tészta* "rolled noodles"	0.44	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*szaggatott tészta* "pinched noodles"	7.78	*szaggatott tészta* "pinched noodles"
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*csipkedli* "pinchies"	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*nyögőtészta* "moaning noodles"	0.37	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*felvert tészta* "beaten noodles"

Figure 6

The comparison of the same linguistic expressions that were given in answer to different questions to designate different denotations, that is, the listing of the various meanings belonging to each linguistic expression, provide further possibilities for the "horizontal" interpretation of cognitively based categorization (cf. the data given in boldface in Figure 6). Thus, for instance, *tészta*, *laska* and *galuska*/*haluska* can all mean long cut, wide cut, or pinched boiled noodles, just like, for instance, *nokedli*, *főtt tészta*, *felvert tészta* and *szaggatott galuska*/*haluska* means wide cut, boiled, or pinched noodles as a denotation, according to the illustrated data from subjects. And, similarly, e.g. the linguistic units *metélt*, *metélt tészta*, *cérnametélt*, *hosszúmetélt* or *levestészta* have been found to mean thinly or thickly cut noodles. These overlaps between categories often arise, in connection with the degree of genericness, from the speaker referring to a characteristic belonging to a cognitive domain, in the process of constructing, on the basis of which we do not differentiate between the denotations in question, e.g. *főtt tészta* "boiled noodles" vs. *tészta* "noodles". (The possible reasons behind the genericness of the designations are discussed in the second part of this section.) With these examples in mind, using the overlaps between categories as a starting poing, it is important to decide whether cognitively based categorization is what occurs at the individual level, whether it depends on the speech situation and psycholinguistic reasons etc., or whether it is generally present in the language use of the regional speech community. My research question connected to this issue has been whether there are categories which stand out, from a cognitive

perspective, from among the rest, that is, which are more likely chosen by the language users of the region than others. Is there categorization that differs from regional speech community to regional speech community? If we accept the claim that categorization uses a human perspective, then we have to accept the fact that it is not exclusively a cognitive process but, due to the biological, psychological and social nature of humans, is decisively shaped by the wider context, i.e. culture or subculture as well. And if the differently experienced and, thus, differently profiled characteristics of things become often used, and, depending on their frequency, possibly become conventionalized, then they can be regarded as generally accepted in the language use of the given speech community. Whether categorization of such different kind is really generally accepted within a speech community, however, can only be decided adequately on the basis of frequency data.

Looking at the columns in Figure 6, we see the answers given most frequently in cells marked with thicker borders. Their frequency is also supported by data from and notes in LAHS as well as by data from LAHD. According to these, almost half of the subjects (45.76%) associate the forms *laska* and *laskatészta* with the meaning "pasta cut to long and thin strips, boiled and used in soup" (1), and only slightly fewer of them (44.24%) associate the forms *galuska* and *haluska* with the meaning "pasta cut to wide strips and boiled" (2). The meaning "pinched and boiled pasta" is associated with the linguistic units *nokedli* and *nokelli* by a surprisingly high, approximately 60% proportion of the subjects. In connection with this issue it is also important to examine to what extent the collected linguistic data correspond to standard forms and meanings, and also, to what extent the categorization of the speakers of the examined dialect region corresponds to that of the majority of Hungarian native speakers. The standard categorization corresponds to that provided by the dialect speakers to a proportion of 26.2% in the first case, a mere 2.21% in the second, and 22.22% in the third. In the remaining cases we find other linguistic expressions, that is, cognitively speaking, different meanings – that is, we are dealing with cases of different "vertical" or of different "vertical" and "horizontal" categorization at the same time: in the examined speech community, the meaning "pasta cut to thin strips and boiled" is associated with forms *laskatészta* and *laska* (45.76%) rather than with *cérnametélt*, although the form *metélt*, stressing the cognitive domain of action, is also used (14.02%). The standard categorization (*szélesmetélt*) corresponds to the empirical findings least (2.21%) in the case of "pasta cut to wide strips and boiled", the question asking about which was answered, in the largest proportion, with *galuska*/*haluska* (with a combined rate of 44.24%), followed by answers, in a decreasing order, such as *laska* and *laskatészta* (13.72%). Together with the answer *nokedli*/*nokelli* (57.78%), the answer *szaggatott tészta*, stressing the cognitive domains of action and material, was also often given (7.78%) to the meaning "pinched and boiled pasta". From the above it also becomes apparent that in the examined region the use of linguistic units for parallel designations is not uncommon. The data provided in the same rows in Figure 6 which do not correspond with the question to which they were given is most frequent in the cases of *laska*, *laskatészta*, *metélt*, and *galuska*/*haluska*. Thus, we can conclude that, on the basis of cognitive schemata conventionalized in the semantic structure of *laska*, *laskatészta* and *metélt*, in the northeastern dialect region no differentiation is made, at the level of speech community (!), between widely cut (*szélesmetélt*) vs. thinly cut (*cérnametélt*) boiled pasta in terms of function either (i.e. whether it is used in soup or eaten as a side dish). The case of the empirical findings for *galuska*/*haluska* is similar, since no shape, action, size or function differentiation is made between the semantic structures of *szélesmetélt* and *galuska* as far as the semantic structures described in section 4 are concerned. On the basis of the data we can also conclude that the parallel use of the linguistic items under discussion constitutes a characteristic of the language use norm of the speech community under investigation. Through this it can be demonstrated on the basis of language use data that in the northeastern dialect region the word *galuska* is used, unlike in the standard where it refers to "pinched and boiled pasta", as the designation of "pasta cut to wide strips and boiled" (the rate of correspondence between the categorizations of the dialect data vs. the standard was only 22.22%, whereas the dialectal categorization was used almost exactly twice as often, 44.24%).

Laska and *laskatészta* are used for both long, thin and wide boiled pasta, but frequency rates show that the former meaning is used almost three times as often (45.76% vs. 13.77%). In conclusion we can say that the categorization of linguistic tokens given in bold in Figure 6 differs in the northeastern dialect region at a community level of speech community (!) from the usual categorization. Categorization, and, as a consequence, the linguistic form created, depends on how the given linguistic token is perceived by the speech community, which characteristic of it is profiled (independently of whether this, then, surfaces in the linguistic form or not, cf. dialectal loanwords), and how it is then assigned to a category. The continuity of categories (the principle of continuity) is manifested even more strongly at the level of regional varieties: as far as the base domains of the semantic structures provided in the questions are concerned, no differentiation is made, they are assigned to the same category. The categorization that can be put forward on the basis of the profiled characteristics given in the questions does not always correspond to the categorization put forward by the dialect speaker (speech community), that is, to the characteristics foregrounded and profiled by them. Differential experience and differential profiling, then, result in differential categorization both at the level of the classification of things by specificity vs. genericness and at that of different things overlapping each other.

In previous sections the question of what is behind variability has been answered. But what factors determine differential categorization in the examined region? Even though a broader discussion of this is certainly beyond the limitations of the present paper, examples indicate that the geolinguistic characteristics of the region, specifically, the meaning modifying effect of language contact, need to be taken into account, cf. *galuska*/*haluska* and *laska/laskatészta* (for more on their origin, see Kótyuk 2007; Benkő 1969–1984; Lizanec 1992; for more on the cognitive background of meaning variants of loanwords, see e.g. Benő 2004). In these cases it might be the insufficiency of the cognitive process, the lack of experience, or, if you like, the consequence of the process of "non-acquisition" that causes, at the community level, the use of more generic categories that overlap with more than one standard category. (Cf. the way the linguistic units *laska* and *laskatészta* are used at the community level with the meanings of "pasta cut long and thin, then boiled and used in soup" and "pasta cut wide and boiled", as well as the use of the linguistic unit *galuska*/*haluska* with the meanings "pasta cut wide and boiled" and "pasta pinched and boiled".)

Besides categorizations accepted generally by the speech community, we have also recorded other similar examples, but those are mostly incidental, and in their cases construction depends on what characteristic of a thing a speaker considers to be important in a given situation. Beyond individual psycholinguistic reasons as factors playing a role in the cognitively based creation of categories, another important factor is whether cognitive abilities required for categorization are fully employed or not, for instance, in how and how often a certain thing is encountered or experienced. Sociolinguistic factors, i.e. independent variables (indispensable in dialectology as well) can be of assistance in exploring this. I can illustrate this only with a few examples. In Figure 6, the lexemes with differential categorization under question 1 are as follows: *tészta* "noodles" (young woman from Hungary); *metélt tészta* "cut noodles" (middle aged and older men); under question 2: *vastagmetélt* "wide noodles" (older man from outside Hungary); *csusza* "noodles" (younger woman from outside Hungary); *eperleveles* "strawberry leaf noodles" (middle aged man from Hungary); *szaggatott haluska* "pinched dumplings" (older man from Hungary); *felvert haluska* "beaten dumplings" (older man from Hungary); *berakott tészta* "layered noodles" (younger woman from outside Hungary). The basis for the quantitative evaluation of the incidentally occurring data was taken to be frequency below 10%. In the answers to "pasta cut long and thin, then boiled and used in soup" more than twice as many individual linguistic expressions were provided by young people (22.07%) than by the elderly (14.87%), and almost four times as many than by the middle aged (6.11%). A similar tendency appears, although not as strongly, in the case of "pasta cut wide and boiled": again, young people provided 19.7% of the tokens, the middle aged 9.76%, and the elderly 16.38%. Level of education as an independent variable produced similar correlations. In the case of two meanings the university educated subjects provided the highest proportion of special linguistic expressions marked by individual categorization, with the exeption being the data

referring to “pinched and boiled pasta”, where university educated subjects provided the general linguistic units. Of the independent variables used in the analysis, gender provides a clearcut correlation: in all three of the examined cases, men provided more situationally influenced data. Even though the presented percentages suggest that a lack of experience and knowledge of the pasta making process is associated with the independent variables of gender and age in providing differentially categorized answers, more detailed research would be necessary for a stronger claim on this issue.

In the remaining part of this section I will, in accordance with my own research questions, examine briefly whether there are geographical divisions within the region under examination as far as the designations are concerned, and, also, whether, on the basis of the frequency data, the national border can be said to influence language use from a cognitive perspective as well. In the parts of the region that fall outside Hungary, the token *cérnametélt* “string pasta” did not occur (except in Beregszász/Berehove, Ukraine), with *laska* “noodles” and *laskatészta* “pasta noodles” being the most widely used, with a result of over 60% at every research site, and with Beregsom/Som, Ukraine (95%), and Kispeleske/ Pelișor, Romania, standing out especially. As far as the research sites inside Hungary are concerned, in most of them (Beregsurány, Csengersima, and Bátorliget) the use of *cérnametélt* “string pasta” is more frequent, about twice as frequent as that of *laska* and *laskatészta*. Their use is approximately equal in Tiszabecs and Rozsály: in the former, which lies close to the Ukrainian border, their use is at 38.64% and 40%, respectively, while it is 26.67% for each in the latter, close to the Romanian border. Barabás constitutes an exception: even though it is in Hungary, the occurrence of *laska* and *laskatészta* is higher than that of *cérnametélt* (47.05% and 35.29%, respectively), which is likely due to a contact effect of Ukrainian on the cognitive process as well.

As I have already pointed out above, standard categorization was met in the data the least for “pasta cut wide and boiled” (*szélesmetélt* “wide noodles” was given in 2.21% of the cases), and only at research sites within Hungary, specifically in Beregsurány and Tarpa. Besides *galuska*/*haluska*, the items *laska* and *laskatészta* were also used at almost all of the sites – with the exception of Nagyar, Hungary, as well as Kispeleske/Pelișor and Szamosdara/Dara, Romania. The rate of occurrence of the former varies: it is highest along the Ukrainian–Hungarian border (and especially high in places on the Ukrainian side of it, in Beregszász/Berehove and Bótrágy/Batragy), which is the result of language contact. Besides the exceptions mentioned, at all research sites, the frequency of the rate of occurrence of *galuska*/*haluska* is several times higher in most places than that of *laska* and *laskatészta*.

The designation for “pinched and boiled pasta” was primarily *galuska*/*haluska* ‘dumplings”, while *nokedli*/*nokelli* “dumplings” and, even more rarely, *szaggatott tészta* “pinched pasta” (which stresses the cognitive domains of action and material) were secondary. Even though *galuska*/*haluska* occurred everywhere except in two sites in Hungary (Nagyar and Rozsály) and one in Romaniai (Szamosdara/Dara), in most cases the rate of occurrence of *nokedli*/*nokelli* was several times higher than that of the standard form.

As I have stressed above, it is important to keep in mind that the conclusions that can be drawn from these data are valid at the level of the community. In order to get a more precise picture of tendencies of differential categorization, the results need to be looked at in more detail regarding how the designations given to the three meanings are interconnected in the answers of individual subjects. In terms of the examined lexemes, for instance, if “pasta cut long and thin, then boiled and used in soup” is called *laska* and *laskatészta*, then, is there a different designation that is used for “pasta cut wide and boiled” or is the same used? And, similarly, if “pasta cut wide and boiled” is called *galuska*, then, is the name for “pasta pinched and boiled” the same, or is it *nokedli* in exactly this case, or is yet another linguistic unit used? These results as well as a comparison of findings presented in this paper would provide further insight into the investigation of the applicability of a cognitive approach in dialectal lexicology.

6. Conclusion

The present paper provides a first attempt, on the one hand, to show the viability of a new approach to a somewhat difficult set of issues, and, on the other, to enumerate the possible gains from such an interrelationship of disciplines. Since the approach presented here has few antecedents, it is not without questions that still require answers in regard to both its details and terminological issues – these will need to be dealt with elsewhere. Despite the fact that integrative tendencies are growing stronger in linguistics, circumstances that make them difficult should not be ignored either. They include the highly differentiated nature of linguistics, the fact that differences of perspective are in some cases incompatible, and the expectation of complex competencies as well, since integration requires a high level of familiarity with the disciplines to be integrated even if they are relatively far from each other.

Beyond the common tasks of the two disciplines (such as the emphasis on the usage side of language and the objective analysis of actual language use), the basis of the necessary intersection of cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics is the possibility of mutual renewal of the two. Accordingly, cognitive linguistics needs to adopt primarily empirical methods and to emphasize sociocultural aspects, involving independent variables, as well as to broaden the examination of variability to include language varieties in order to situate several of its basic principles in a wider context of interconnectedness and to be thus affirmed from the other discipline. In exchange, its rich, bottom-up theoretical framework can contribute to a better understanding of variation phenomena.

The issue of assigning several designations to the same notion has interested dialectologists for a long time, at least since the "Wörter und Sachen" approach, and since the beginning of geolinguistic thinking. The new perspective can focus on the reasons lying behind variability and provide new impetus for dialectology through the foregrounding of semantics. Being well-supported by data (cf. atlases and dictionaries), it provides primarily language use data for such research, and, through the use of the notions of cognitive linguistics (such as conceptualization, categorization, profiling, the continuum-principle, and the dialectological interpretation of the theory of meaning, it can demonstrate the applicability of the cognitive framework in other disciplines. The theoretical framework of the cognitive perspective can provide dialectology with new aspects to consider. Some of the variants treated as erroneous data under the "traditional" approach can be reinterpreted within a cognitive frame. The already mentioned conclusion that questions need to include all the profiled characteristics of the cognitive domain that provide the semantic structure of the expected lexeme draws attention to the necessity to word questions with precision and in such a way that they induce the desired data, and also, possibly, further differentiate it semantically. By connecting the structured analysis of the system of notion designations with the cognitive perspective and word geographical investigations, it might become possible to present the differential linguistic structuring of reality following at the same time both the cognitive and geographical, a basically "cognitive map"-like structure.

It is plausible to expect that, beyond the names of pastas, other elements of the given corpus of data: for instance, lexemes referring to kitchen utensils such as *serpenyő* "saucepan" /*lábas* "pot" /*bogrács* "pot that can be hung" /*üst* "kettle", and seats such as *pad* "bench" /*lóca* "small bench" /*zsámoly* "footstool" – can also be analyzed. Future examinations should be broadened (i) in such a way as to be able to investigate what cohort groups (by age, gender, and level of education) are more likely to use geographically bound linguistic expressions that cover differential categorization; (ii) to include the individual level, in order to get information on differences between idiolects in this sense as well; and (iii) to include the interdialectal level. In addition to these it would also be important to consider following the discussed issues along in time as well in the form of an investigation of language change or that of a diachronic analysis.

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