



Flowers of Love

Cognitive Linguistic Analysis of Moldavian Southern Csángó Folksongs

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Abstract. This is a research into the ways in which the speakers of one of the most ancient Hungarian dialects living on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains conceptualized ‘love’ when their folksongs were born, by studying conceptual mechanisms through the texts of the songs. In spite of the fact that in the language of most of the researched modern societies ‘love’ is taken to be a romantic emotion and as such, conceptualized by the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (Kövecses 2000), Csángó authors of the folksongs seem to think about it in an utterly different way. The concept of ‘love’ is based on morality metaphors, more specifically, those of the STRICT FATHER morality (Lakoff 1996). It can be ascertained that beyond the rich erotic meaning emphasized by folklorists, the metaphors of folksongs reveal a complex love model based on moral aspects.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor and metonymy, emotions, morality, Hungarian folksongs

1. Introduction

When trying to understand abstract concepts of a different era, of a language variant other than that of the researcher’s own, one encounters great difficulties. The analyzer must pay particular attention to the problem that a concept entrenched in his/her own variant of language might be present in a different way or be completely absent from the conceptualization of the speakers of the studied language variant.

The present paper wishes to reveal the conceptual structure of the most salient concept of Moldavian Southern Csángó folksongs, the concept of ‘love’. It wishes to show how ‘love’ is represented in the texts of the songs; what kind of cognitive mechanisms and guiding principles there are behind it; whether it is a romantic emotion, a force that sweeps people off their feet without any reasonable explanation or rather a relationship that leads to the unity of two halves in the frame of marriage. All in all, the main aims of this paper are to show how people speaking one of the most archaic Hungarian dialects conceptualized ‘love’ when their folksongs were born, and to discover how similar and different this love model is from the typical love model of recent western cultures: the romantic model for ‘love’.

2. The Moldavian Csángó villages

Moldavian Csángó villages are situated on the eastern slopes of the Carpathian mountains. Csángós have preserved a variant of the Hungarian language from before the Language Reform, in a Romanian environment. Not only are there archaic features in their dialects, but also in their life styles. They preserve medieval characteristics of mentality. They are people from nature, leading an agricultural and stock-breeder’s way of life, practising Roman Catholic religion, having a strong faith in God, besides which they also preserve ancient magic traditions. These make this group of people colourful and unique. Their community forms a cultural, religious and language island in an Orthodox, Romanian-speaking environment, their survival being endangered because of the lack of intellectuals, and the crisis of identity caused by the strong Romanian ambition for assimilation.

3. Data and research method

For this research I used the texts of 160 Moldavian Southern Csángó folksongs from Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Újfalu (Bălcescu), Trunk (Galbeni), Diószén (Gioseni) and Nagypatak (Valea Mare). They are compiled mainly from printed collections – of Faragó–Jagamas (1954, 1974), Domokos (1941), Kallós (1996), Domokos–Rajeczky (1956, 1961), Seres–Szabó (1991), Paksa (1999) – and in smaller part from my own gatherings.

The data were analysed with a cognitive linguistic method following the theory of conceptual metaphors and metonymies. According to this view our abstract concepts are basically motivated by both our physical experiences (Lakoff-Johnson 1980) and the cultural background surrounding us (Kövecses 2005, Yu 2003, Sharifian et al, 2007), through which they fit into a system. On the level of language it is manifested in the metaphorical and metonymical richness of our expressions. For example, when Csángó people say ‘the man is the sole of the

house' they mean that men provide security for their family. The physical motivation of this figurative expression lies in the fact that the sole is able to hold a whole person. If the husband is conceptualized by the source concept 'sole', the family and the marital relationship is condensed in the figure of a man standing on his soles. The cultural motivation of the expression appears in the fact that the tasks of a man fundamentally differ from those of a woman. In a modern society, these take shape in an entirely different way.

The cognitive linguistic method applied in the paper argues for a body-based cultural model (Geeraerts–Grondelaers 1995, Kövecses 2000), according to which emotions evoking universal physical effects can in different eras and cultures be conceptualised in diverse ways, and the cultural dissimilarities can be clarified on the basis of language use.

4. Discovering the concept of 'love'

4.1. The Western model of romantic love

The analysis of the concept of 'love' can be performed by approaching it in two different ways. On the one hand, we can perceive it as an emotion, on the other hand, as a relationship sealed by marriage. In this regard, the concept of 'love' has been thoroughly researched in American English by Zoltán Kövecses (1988, 2000). He states that the two approaches are combined in the folk model of 'love' along the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS, the mappings of which are as follows:

RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS

EMOTION IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE BUILDING

HUMAN RELATIONSHIP IS THE UPPER STRUCTURE OF THE BUILDING

THE STABILITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP IS THE STABILITY OF THE BUILDING

Thus, in the abstract domain the forceful entity that is able to hold another entity is *emotion*, and the entity supported by this ideally strong base is called *relationship*. According to Kövecses's studies, there are two other metaphors intertwined with this conceptual setting without which we would fail to analyse the concept of 'love'. These are the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES and the HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS ARE COMPLEX OBJECTS metaphors.

In the languages studied so far with cognitive linguistic methods, 'love' in greatest part is taken to be an emotion and as such, conceptualised by the metaphor emotions are forces (Kövecses 2000). He arrived at this conclusion applying the force dynamics schema elaborated by Leonard Talmy (1988) for emotion concepts.

In this model two selves fight against each other: the emotional self and the rational self. The emotional self is the active force that tries to overcome the passive rational self that first tries to take control, but then typically fails to do so. This is called the model of romantic love. There is a high number of American English expressions that represent this conceptual mechanism, the types of which are very diverse: e.g.: I was *swept off* my feet (LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE), He was *hungry* for love (LOVE IS PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE: HUNGER), I am *attracted* to her (LOVE IS PHYSICAL [MAGNETIC] FORCE). Although it has not been thoroughly analyzed so far, we can assume that the general ideal model for love in Standard Hungarian is quite similar to this, since it is not time-consuming to find examples for the above-mentioned metaphors in colloquial Hungarian expressions:

LOVE IS A NATURAL FORCE

- (1) *Levett* *a lábamról.*
 PREF.+take+PAST 3RD SING. the feet+POSS. 1ST SING.+off
 Eng.: ‘He swept me off my feet.’

LOVE IS PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE

- (2) *Szeretetéhes.*
 love + hungry
 Eng.: ‘He is hungry for love.’

LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

- (3) *Vonzódom hozzá.*
 attracted+1ST SING. to+him
 Eng.: ‘I am attracted to him.’

4.2. Revealing ‘love’ in the folksongs

Folksongs rarely speak about love expressively:

- (4) „*Sose szeress kettőt, hármat,*
 never love+2nd sing. imp. two+acc. three+acc.
mer’ az egy is elég nagy bánat.”
 ‘cause the one too fairly big sorrow

Eng.: ‘Never love two or three because even loving one is painful enough.’

The abstract meaning (target domain of the metaphor) is most often expressed implicitly, through concrete source domains. They appear in the form of so-called *cover stories* that are built up by the elements of the world surrounding the authors of the songs. These pictures of nature distract the attention of the outsiders from the

real meaning, providing them with a credible scene. In this special environment there are many colourful flowers, trees and bushes, the fertile earth, fields, gardens and woods, animals of different size and properties, and people who are most often caught at work. The picturesque view lets us glance at the phases of labour such as sowing, planting, watering, reaping, harvesting and so on. The conceptual domain is hidden behind the cover-stories in many different ways that can be demonstrated on a scale starting from the explicit towards the implicit.

The frequent initial *pictures of nature* do not merely have an ornamental function, but add to the meaning in great deal.

- (5) „*Kerek e káposzta, száraz e levele,*
 round the cabbage dry the leaf+POSS. 3RD SING.
búszul e küsliján, nincsen szereteje.”
 grieve+3RD SING. the little+girl there+is+no lover+POSS. 3RD SING.
 Eng.: ‘The cabbage is round, its leaf is dry, the little girl is sad having no lover.’

In the quotation above the abstract domain appears through *parallelism*. A cabbage with dry leaves is parallel to the figure of the little girl who has no lover. Round, healthy leaves usually symbolize the fertility of women due to the fact that female lines are round as those of the leaves of a plant. In the concrete domain of the quotation we can find LACK OF VITALITY that corresponds to LACK OF LOVE in the abstract domain.

Another representation of the hidden abstract meaning is *blending* source and target domains. An example to this is the quotation hereunder.

- (6) „*Ahol én elmenek,*
 where I PREF.+go+1ST SING.
még a fák es sírnak,
 even the tree+PLUR. also cry+3RD PLUR.
gyöngye ágaikról
 weak branch+POSS.+PLUR.+from
levelek lehullnak.”
 leaf+PLUR. PREF.+fall+3RD PLUR.

Eng.: ‘Wherever I pass by, even the trees cry and leaves fall off their weak branches.’

This cover story does not show us two separate images, one of a tree losing its leaves and one of a crying person; it represents the blended image of a *crying tree* instead, in which even the separation of man and woman is compressed. The male part of the relationship appears in the form of a branch and the female one in the

shape of a leaf, which is due to the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor and – through the resemblance of shapes – the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

The abstract meaning is even more hidden in the following scene of agricultural work, which can only be understood if we further elaborate on the Csángó concept of ‘love’.

- (7) „*Felszántom e kertem ajját,*
 PREF.+plough+1ST SING. the garden+POSS 1ST SING. bottom+ACC.
hogy ne nőjjön gyalogbedza,
 so+that do+not+IMP. grow+3RD SING. IMP. dwarf-elder
lepje fel e kerti róza”
 cover+3RD SING. IMP. up the garden+ADJ. SUFF. rose

Eng.: ‘I shall plough the bottom of my garden so that there should not grow any dwarf-elders, only garden roses.’

4.3. Love as a relationship in the folksongs

Love as a relationship is most frequently manifested in the LOVE IS A UNITY metaphor. This was also found in American English that has been thoroughly studied from this respect (e.g.: “*We are as one*”, “*They are breaking up*”). This metaphor expresses more traditional ideas about love and has recently been more and more pressed back by an earlier unknown metaphor, LOVE IS AN ECONOMIC EXCHANGE (e.g.: “*I’m putting more into this than you are*”). It does not mean that UNITY is completely forgotten, but a tendency towards the more recent metaphor is observable (Stearns 1994, Kövecses 2000). The two are in opposition in the following way: UNITY suggests that the members of a love couple are complementing each other and alone they are merely halves, whereas in a successful EXCHANGE each person becomes just more autonomous than before, rather than becoming part of a whole.

In Csángó folksongs only the UNITY metaphor has many instantiations that can be grouped as follows.

A) THE TWO LOVERS ARE PARTS OF A BIGGER ENTITY

- (8) „*Úgy megvállunk mi egymástul,*
 so PREF.+depart+1ST PLUR. we each+other+from
mind a level az ágátul.”
 like the leaf the branch+POSS. 3RD SING.+from

Eng.: ‘We shall separate from each other like the leaf does from its branch’.

The male (branch) and female (leaf) part of the relationship – see above – form part of a bigger entity that in this example is the tree itself. From the continuation of the song we learn that while the tree can have new leaves the next year, one cannot replace one's sweetheart with any other person. Thus, the UNITY metaphor entails the fact that in the ideal model there is only one real love in one's life and this relationship lasts forever.

B) LOVERS ARE INSEPARABLE PARTS OF A BIGGER ENTITY

- (9) „*A te pirosz véred*
 the you red blood+POSS. 2ND SING.
az ien pirosz vérem
 the I red blood+POSS. 1ST SING.
ed árokba főjjon
 one ditch+into flow+3RD SING. IMP.
sz ed malmot meghajtcon.”
 and one mill+ACC. PREF.+turn+3RD SING. IMP.

Eng.: ‘*May your red blood and my red blood flow into one ditch and turn one mill.*’

Through the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy (BLOOD FOR PEOPLE) we see another instantiation of the UNITY metaphor here. The two parts cannot be distinguished, like two types of blood flowing together into a ditch.

C) THE TWO LOVERS ARE TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS

- (10) „*Hirvad az a ruza,*
 wither+3RD SING. that the rose
kinek töve nincen,
 who+POSS. root+POSS.3RD SING. there+is+not
ien isz hinvadozok,
 I too wither+1ST SING.
had szeretém nincen.”
 that lover+POSS. 1ST SING. there+is+not

Eng.: ‘*The rose without root withers like I do for having no lover.*’

With the help of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor we understand that the root of the flower is the man and the plant itself is the woman. Without the root the plant is unable to live, and vice versa; they complement each other. Here again there is a manifestation of the fact that in the conceptualization of the authors of this song ‘love’ is irreplaceable and lasts forever.

D) THE TWO LOVERS ARE PARTS LIVING IN SYMBIOSIS

Quotation (7) and all the ones in which the abstract meaning is hidden so well behind a cover story require a bit longer analysis. Even though the scene presented in the text can be understood literally, taking the broader context of the songs into account, it conveys a deeper message. In most of the texts plants stand for something else. Many times this is the lover (e.g.: „*rózsám*” <‘my rose’>, „*violám*” <‘my gillyflower’>), or it metonymically stands for the relationship itself, like in the fragment above. The mapping between the source domain of a flower and the target domain of love is: THE QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP IS THE QUALITY OF THE PLANT. The dwarf-elder that is considered a type of weed in a garden symbolizes a valueless love relationship, while the beautiful garden roses stand for a valuable one. The other items of the scene fit this target domain very well if we apply the metaphor Martínez arrived at by analysing similar lines from Shakespeare (Oncins-Martínez 2006): SEX IS AGRICULTURE. The submappings of this are: A WOMAN’S BODY IS AGRICULTURAL LAND, COPULATION IS PLOUGHING AND SOWING, GESTATION AND BIRTH IS HARVESTING. In the fragment above, the land that stands for the fertile body of the woman is fenced in: the values of the object of love are well protected and not open for everyone to come and “plough” it. But how does the UNITY metaphor arise in this quote? I propose that it is present in its biochemical sense. The flower planted in the ground grows and develops through the common work of the ground and the planter. As the ground is the woman and the active force that makes it fertile is the man, the result of their collaborative work is a new life that is born through their love relationship that unites them. Thus, this kind of love is a fruitful one, not standing for itself, but giving way to new life.

The agricultural metaphor is thus further elaborated in the songs in the following way:

FEMALE BODY IS LAND (fertile or not)

UNMARRIED WOMAN IS A FIELD

MARRIED WOMAN IS A GARDEN

SEX (THE ACTIVE WORK THAT MAKES THIS BODY FERTILE) IS ANY AGRICULTURAL WORK ON THE LAND (PLOUGHING, SOWING etc., even RAIN)

CHILD/FRUIT OF LOVE (that will later become a new object of love) IS PLANT

It is rather difficult to come across a song in which the planting scene can be encountered in its totality. Much more typical is to discover texts that contain only some parts of it, highlighting different aspects of the target domain. However, in order to understand them, we have to put the items of the mosaic together and analyze the texts in relation to each other.

In the following fragment the metaphor LOVE IS A PLANT is unambiguously hinted at in the root of the planted herb that is called 'love'.

- (11) „*Látád édeszidet,*
 see+PAST 2ND SING. sweet+POSS. 2ND SING.+ACC.
virágos kertyiben,
 flower+ADJ. SUFF. garden+POSS. 3RD SING.+in
marujánnát ültet szerelemgyükiérbül.”
 marjoram+ACC. plant+3RD SING. love+root+from

Eng.: 'You saw your sweetheart in her flowery garden planting marjoram from love-root.'

Love is a relationship of two people and if it appears in the symbol of a single plant, the UNITY metaphor is entailed by it. Interestingly, only the female part of the unity is highlighted here and through this the purity of true love. The garden where the fences protect the ground and do not let it be plundered by outsiders stands for the woman who rejects all kinds of temptation. The masculine part of the UNITY is not well elaborated. The subject of love, while being present in the root of the plant, is at the same time an outside observer. This gives the impression that the UNITY here only appears at the spiritual level.

Many times it is not flowers but crops that convey the message of UNITY. The following example highlights the result of sowing the seeds. This stands for fulfilled love the entailment of which is happiness:

- (12) „*Tündöklik a mező sok búzavetéstől,*
 glitter+3RD SING. the field many wheat+sowing+from
Visszhangzik az erdő sok szép énekléstől.”
 echo+3RD SING. the forest many nice singing+from

Eng.: 'The field is glittering from the numerous seeds sown in it, the wood is echoing from many beautiful melodies.'

When the seeds are sown, the field is bright and the wood, symbolizing the whole world is full of melody. Here the HAPPINESS IS LIGHT cognitive metaphor and the metonymy of BEHAVIOURAL REACTION FOR THE EMOTION: SINGING FOR HAPPINESS can be discovered.

As a result we can say that the UNITY metaphor that plays a less and less important role in modern culture is strongly present in the Csángó folksongs with all its entailments (without unity the two parts would not be able to function properly, there is only one true love and love lasts forever, unity makes the world of the lovers happy, the result of unity is new life). The texts of the songs mainly

highlight on little parts of the whole scene; in order to get a complete picture we need to put the fragments together.

4.4. Love as an emotion?

As I discussed above, the FORCE metaphor plays an emphasized role in the model of romantic love of western language variants, like American English. This serves as the basis for the love relationship. Without this strong emotion the “building of love” would collapse. Our task here is to see whether this idea is also present in Csángó folksongs.

Throughout my studies of Csángó folksongs I did not arrive at instantiations of the LOVE IS FORCE metaphor. However, another manifestation of the FORCE metaphor is much more saliently present in the texts of these archaic songs: MORALITY IS FORCE.

In order to understand the FORCE schema of the folk songs, one needs to take a look at certain lines of the texts speaking about the values characteristic of a true love relationship, as can be understood from the continuation of quotation (9):

- (13) „ ... *pedig az a malom*
 but that the mill
háromkeví legyen;
 three+stone+ADJ.SUFF. be+3RD SING. IMP.
A legelső keve
 the PREF.+first stone+POSS 3RD SING.
bélagyengyet járjon,
 white [SLAVIC]+per1+ACC. run+3RD SING. IMP.
A mászodik keve
 the second stone+POSS. 3RD SING.
aprópénzt hullasszon
 small+money+ACC. drop+CAUSATIVE+3RD SING. IMP.
Sz a harmadik keve
 and the third stone+POSS. 3RD SING.
szeretetet járjon.”
 love+ACC. run+3RD SING. IMP.

Eng.: ‘... but that mill should have three stones. The very first one should produce white pearls, the second one coins and the third one love.’

The first value of this relationship is purity as symbolized by *white pearl*, understood by the cognitive metonymy COLOUR OF THE OBJECT FOR THE STATE OF THE OBJECT: WHITE FOR PURITY and – as a pearl is a precious object – also by the cognitive metaphor: THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT. The same

metaphor is present in the line showing the second value of the relationship. The symbol of *money* stands for rationality, whereas the third value is *love* that appears literally in the text.

The values of a love relationship are constantly under the attack of EVIL FORCES that need to be defeated by the moral self. The fight here is not between emotion and rationality like in the romantic model of love, but rather between the tempting evil forces (both internal and external) and the moral self. The FORCE schema in these cases is present in its broader context, namely the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor that was elaborated by George Lakoff and his colleagues (1993). It is a complex metaphor and some of its mappings are important to understand the songs:

STATES ARE CLOSED REGIONS;
CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS;
CAUSES ARE FORCES.

The FORCE metaphor is present in the CAUSES ARE FORCES mapping, an instantiation of which is EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. For example “be *in* love” is an EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, as the state of LOVE IS considered here to be A CLOSED REGION. To “fall *in* love” is based on the metaphor CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS.

In the battle of moral force and evil force we very often come across the metaphors GOOD THINGS ARE UP, BAD THINGS ARE DOWN. This appears together with the CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS mapping of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, like in the quotations below.

DOING EVIL IS FALLING, RESISTING TEMPTATION IS STAYING UPRIGHT

(14) „*Attól fielek, had eleszek,*
that+of afraid+1ST SING. that PREF.+fall+1ST SING.
Sz ed nad gederbe bészesek,
and a big pothole+into PREF.+fall+1ST SING.
Sz e fejem esz ketté eszik,
and the head+POSS. 1ST SING. also two+into fall+3RD SING.
Sz e veleje messzeeszik.”
and the brain+POSS. 3RD SING. far+fall+3RD SING.

Eng.: ‘I am afraid of falling into a big pothole with my head breaking into two parts and my brain falling far away.’

MORAL IS STAYING UPRIGHT, DOING EVIL IS GETTING BENT

- (15) „*A pinkezdi rúza*
 The Pentecost +ADJ. SUFF. rose
kihajlott az útra,
 PREF.+bend+PAST 3RD SING. the road+onto
Nem tudom, édeszem
 Not know+1ST SING. sweet+POSS 1ST SING.
Jóra -e vad rosszra
 good+onto whether or bad+onto
Vad holtig bánatra.”
 or dead+until grief+onto

Eng.: ‘The peony has bent onto the road, I don’t know, my sweetheart, if it is for a good or bad reason, or for grief until death.’

MORAL IS HEALTHY, IMMORAL IS UNHEALTHY, MORAL IS COMPLETE, IMMORAL IS GETTING DAMAGED/INCOMPLETE

- (16) „*Leszakasztott ed cűf legien,*
 PREF.+tear+PAST 3RD SING. an ugly lad
Keze kezett elhírvasztott.”
 hand+POSS. 3RD SING. between PREF.+wither+CAUSATIVE+PAST 3RD SING.

Eng.: ‘An ugly lad has torn me off, and made me wither in his hands.’

The tempting evil appears in diverse forms. For example, in the form of a ripe fruit on a tree that raises appetite we find the figure of the tempter. The conceptual background for this is set up by the SEX IS EATING metaphor, with the submapping THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS FOOD. In the hungry lover’s figure a physiological type of force is to be discovered. The moral self, however, does not let the evil forces overcome it in the battle.

It is the STRICT FATHER morality model that justifies these metaphors. It was elaborated by George Lakoff (1996), who has built up his theory about the abstract concept of morality on the basis of idealized family structures. The main focus of STRICT FATHER MORALITY lies in the fact that the world is a dangerous place where evil forces constantly want to attack us. The temptations of the devil should be overcome by MORAL FORCE. The STRICT FATHER is the embodiment of authority whose responsibility is to protect the family. He may even punish the family members for this goal. The task of the mother is to support the father to maintain his authority. When the children grow up they will know by themselves what good and bad is, and therefore will be able to protect their own families. The following lines provide an example for the moral strength that is a main component of ideal love.

FIGHT AGAINST THE DEVIL: MORAL FORCE

- (17) „*Túl a vizen rakottya,*
 over the water broom
az alatt van botoska
 that under there+is marigold+flower
Házasodik a diák,
 marry+3RD SING. the lad,
kell -e botoskavirág.
 would+like whether marigold+flower
Nem kell botoskavirág,
 not would+like marigold+flower
mert az nagyon szép virág.
 because that very beautiful flower
Leveliben haj,
 leaf+POSS. 3RD SING.+in EXCLAMATION
fehér fuszulykavirág.”
 white bean+flower

Eng.: ‘The man is about to get married. Would you like a marigold flower? I wouldn’t like one, because it’s a very beautiful flower. Oh, there is a white bean flower in its leaves.’

The marigold flower that is situated under a bush of brooms on the other side of the river is left alone by the man preparing to get married. The beauty of this flower is overshadowed by the purity (WHITE FOR CLEAN metonymy) of the simple bean flower at the moment of choosing wife. On the basis of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and BAD IS DOWN metaphors the marigold flower stands for a sexually experienced woman. “She” is on the other side of the river, which symbolizes the active fertilizing masculine force. Refusing temptation makes the moral self stronger, through which the person gets mature for his role as a husband. Although it is known that the Csángó word *diák* can also mean ‘Catholic chorister’ or ‘novice’ and the structure of the chosen stanza reminds us of mockeries (e.g.: „*Házasodik a tücsök...*”), this does not affect the justification of the above-mentioned metaphors and the Csángó model of ideal love.

The punishing STRICT FATHER of this morality model has various embodiments in the songs. An account of these is:

THE STRICT FATHER IS THE FATHER HIMSELF
 THE STRICT FATHER IS THE MOTHER
 THE STRICT FATHER IS CONSCIENCE
 THE STRICT FATHER IS THE SOCIETY
 THE STRICT FATHER IS GOD

This strictness of moral rules is similar to the morality of the Old Testament (Kövecses, in press): an eye for an eye, by which the MORAL ACCOUNTING metaphor of Lakoff is reflected. The main content of this metaphor is that if you receive something it is moral to give it back. However, receiving something of negative value raises the question of what is moral: giving it back or not. The characters of the songs normally want to give it back, that is the reason for the presence of numerous curses in the texts. Thus, religion and magic, similarly to folk religious traditions that preserve many features of primitive religions, live together in the Csángó culture.

The strictness of the model is slightly balanced by the figure of THE NURTURING MOTHER, so that it does not get heartless.

- (18) „*Gyöngé harmat neveli a búzát,*
 Mild dew raise+3RD SING. the wheat
édesanyja neveli a leányát.”
 mother+POSS 3RD SING. raises the daughter+POSS. 3RD SING.+ACC.
 Eng.: ‘Mild dew raises the wheat, mother raises her daughter.’

5. Conclusion

Having analyzed the concept of love from two aspects (relationship vs. emotion) in the folksongs we find that the RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS metaphor, along which these aspects are connected, should be revised: its mappings are different from the ones in the model of romantic love.

The process of the analysis related to this topic raises a question: if the emotion aspect of ‘love’ is absent from the songs, what can secure the foundation of the building? As a solution to this, I suggest that it is the above-mentioned MORALITY IS STRENGTH metaphor that serves as basis for the relationship of two people, instead of the emotional force typical in western models of ‘love’, through the STRICT FATHER morality model.

Thus, the metaphor appears here as follows:

RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS
 MORALITY IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE BUILDING
 THE RELATIONSHIP IS THE UPPER STRUCTURE OF THE BUILDING
 THE STABILITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP IS THE STABILITY OF THE BUILDING

The relationship built on this morally strong basis is most saliently conceptualized as a UNITY of two halves. This is, however, not a static kind of unity, but a dynamic one, the aim of which is to produce a new life. This is reflected by the colourful pictures of nature full of flowers and plants.

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