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Mental mapping in socio-onomastics[1]

Erzsébet Győrffy (Debrecen)

ABSTRACT. (Mental mapping in socio-onomastics) *This paper aims to introduce a new method to examine the variations and the use of toponyms. This method is mental mapping. The mental or cognitive map is an interdisciplinary notion used in e.g. psychology, geography, and refers to the representation of space in the mind. During mental mapping (especially with more people) the subjects do not focus on the toponyms, so the scholar can observe their use in a nearly spontaneous situation. This paper represents the results on my experiment carried out in the name community of the settlement Tépe, Hungary.*

1. In Central Europe and Scandinavia the first studies that focused on names, particularly toponyms and personal names, date back as early as the 19th century. While at first the discipline encompassed mainly etymological studies, in the second half of the 20th century emphasis was laid on creating a typology. Terhi Ainiala, one of the most prominent figures of contemporary socio-onomastics, believes that in a sense onomastic sociology may be considered the continuation of studies on the typology of names, as the structural and semantic mapping of names had to indispensably precede their socio-linguistic examination (AINIALA 2008).

The usage of names and variations constitute the core of socio-onomastics, and their study cannot disregard the social, cultural and situational aspects of names. Developing further Tolcsvai Nagy's views on proper names (TOLCSVAI NAGY 2008), István Hoffmann (HOFFMANN 2010) went as far as to complete the classical, multi-factor concept of meaning structure devised by Katalin J. Soltész (namely, that a name has denotation, connotation, common name meaning and etymological meaning; SOLTÉSZ 1979) with a fifth element: i.e. cultural meaning. Without this aspect toponyms remain mere linguistic signs, whereas from the aspect of the usage of names, that is to say, looking at them through their socio-cultural rootedness we may be able to grasp their role in communication.

The meticulous study of toponymic competence, which primarily applies the method of interviewing with the help of questionnaires, looks back on

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the longest and richest history within socio-onomastics. Although this method is not particularly time consuming nor difficult to apply, it cannot be considered thorough either, because it fails to grasp differences between individuals. Furthermore, since during the study of toponymic competence we need not only to examine whether the interviewees are familiar with the toponym but also if they can localize the name, during interviews with questionnaires also differences of this kind are more difficult to tackle. Therefore in my presentation I intend to direct attention to the possibility of the use of another method, namely mental mapping.

2. Although at first the concept of the cognitive or mental map emerged in psychology, nowadays it is widely used in geography, cultural anthropology and applied sciences (such as urban development), which shows well the inter-disciplinary nature of the notion.

The concept of the *cognitive map* was first used by the American psychologist Tolman for the description of his experiments focusing on the process of how rats learn about places (TOLMAN 1948). The next milestone in the study of the nature of the mental map came with Kevin Lynch's work published in 1960 under the title *The Image of the City* (LYNCH 1960). As an urban planner Lynch approaches the question of the conscious representation of space from a practical point of view: through the examples of Boston, New Jersey and Los Angeles he examines how to construct an "easily legible" settlement, that is a city whose spatial structure is easily understandable for its inhabitants. In his work Lynch does not use the term *cognitive map,* instead, he uses the notion of *image* to denote the representation of space in the mind.

Lynch believes that our mental notion of space is a composite of five pieces of information: paths, edges, districts, nodes and symbolic landmarks. One of the most prominent organising elements of settlements is the network of roads in a wider sense: this includes channels, railroads, underground lines and promenades. Similarly important are edges from the aspect of linearity, which separate different areas of the settlements (e.g. seashores, city walls). When it comes to districts it is important to note that it is especially city dwellers who think in terms of regions, districts and quarters. Also nodes facilitate orientation: among these we can mention the busiest crossings, like for instance *Times Square* in New York, or *Moscow Square* (today known as *Széll Kálmán Square)* and *Nyugati Square* in Budapest. Lynch's landmarks are buildings that have become symbols, such as the Eiffel Tower of Paris or the Big Ben of London.

The general mental image of the external environment emerges from momentary perception and memories of experiences from the past. Thus the mental map results from a two-way interactive process which emerges between the observer and the environment. This implies also that the mental image will differ from individual to individual, yet Lynch assumes that there exists a collective (spatial) image that is formed based on consensus. Individuals belonging to each homogenous group are similar with respect to their sex, age, occupation, temperament and familiarity.

After these first initiatives the following decades witness the rise of behaviourist geography, which culminates in the programmatic writing of Roger M. Downs, and followed by his volume with David Stea (Downs 1970; Downs / Stea 1977). In the introduction to their work they emphasise that the knowledge related to places is innate, and we are faced with its functioning, or rather the lack of it, when we get lost.

In their work *Maps in Minds* Downs and Stea introduce the concepts of the *cognitive map* and *cognitive mapping*, which is an abstraction covering those cognitive and mental abilities that enable us to collect, organize, store, recall, and manipulate information about the spatial environment. These abilities change with age (or development) and use (or learning) (1977). Therefore the cognitive map is an organised representation of the individual's spatial environment. When interpreting this concept, Zoltán Cséfalvay points out that the mind should not be thought about as some kind of inventory of maps, but rather, the representation of space in the mind takes on the form of «conceptions and misconceptions, illusions and prejudices, desires and real data» (Cséfalvay 1990: 17).

It is noteworthy that for the authors the notion of the *environment* refers to the individual's life space, that is the space where they live their lives day by day. This space has special significance for the individual, therefore it is represented also in the mind. However, cognitive mapping should be thought about rather flexibly: it is not only a visual representation of the world, but for some people even sounds, smells or metaphors may serve as representations. Although the ability of cognitive mapping is innate, it undergoes a qualitative development. The emergence of the cognitive map is equally influenced by the individual's perceptive abilities, by their age, life experiences, attitude and personal inclinations.

While earlier works focused mainly on cognitive mapping, in the last decade of the 20th century the question of modelling shifted into the foreground. In her 1993 writing Barbara Tversky articulated her dissatisfaction with the term *cognitive map* (which, according to her, fails to reflect the com-

plexity and richness of our knowledge related to space), and instead proposed using the terms *cognitive collage* and *spatial mental models* (TVERSKY 1993).

Tversky treats the question of mental representation of space with a constructivist approach. In several cases this representation is not map-like at all. Moreover, it does not even form a coherent cognitive structure. It rather resembles a collage: you should think about it as different overlays of multimedia from different points of view. Our information on space may even be faulty, not to mention that a part of the pieces of information may not be integrated at all. When we need to make decisions or recollections about space, we rely merely on relevant pieces of information. In some cases, however, when the environment is simple or familiar to the individual, a fairly accurate mental representation may emerge: this is what Tversky calls a *spatial mental model.* These models are produced from basic spatial relations: the relation of different elements to each other from a given perspective, or from the relation between elements and the reference frame. Such models are easily comprehended from language, because language is rich in expressions that reflect categorical spatial relations. Furthermore, language plays a prominent role also because during orientation in addition to personal experiences also pieces of information gained from verbal instructions shape our spatial mental models (see e.g. TAYLOR / TVERSKY 1992: 290).

3. Below I provide a summary of the mental mapping methods published by László Letenyei (LETENYEI 2006). When creating a mental map, the first step is planning how to collect data. In the course of research, first of all, data are to be gathered on the space, along with the related analytical data (namely, different opinions regarding the particular space), and finally also information on the interviewee.

As a rule, bringing to the surface pieces of information related to a particular space is traditionally carried out relying on Lynch's five components: that is to say, a) the names and expansions of mental spaces, b) edges and boundaries, c) reference points, d) paths and e) nodes. As these notions have already been introduced earlier, at this point I will add some complementary thoughts on one of Letenyei's segments.

By the term *mental space* settlement researchers usually mean the names of different parts of settlements. Of course, being a researcher in onomastics, I do not believe that studies could be restricted merely to this aspect. Therefore I question also the author's following statement: «by mental space we refer to geographic units which have their own name, and using these names people can talk

and think about them» (LETENYEI 2006: 173). Giving it a name is the simplest and probably most ancient method for distinguishing a particular geographic space, however, this cannot be considered the only possible way to make it unique. In the course of my research on toponyms I encountered several situations when the interviewee was familiar with a particular place, plot of land, well, etc., without knowing its name. The following situation exemplifies such a case: «A: This is our forest. B: Are these woods called anything? A: No, they do not have a name». Thus such places are not empty spots on the mental map either, even if they do not have proper names. Based on Cséfalvay's model we could say that these places are at a less complex stage of mental reconstruction.

The second stage of mental mapping is collecting data. In ideal situations the elements of mental maps can be collected by participating observation. As this method requires fairly long time and is rather cumbersome, researchers usually rely on a mixture of having their subjects draw maps and making interviews. However, with respect to these methods Cséfalvay articulates his doubts: whatever method we choose for the revelation of the conscious representation of space, we can only grasp it partially, through its fragments (CSÉFALVAY 1990: 21).

Having interviewees draw maps can take place in several different ways. The map can be drawn either by the interviewee, or by the researcher based on the interviewee's instructions, and even a mixture of these two may be used. Starting with an empty sheet is called the technique of free recall. We talk about stimulated or guided recall in cases when the map already contains certain elements (e.g. a river or the borders of the settlement) or when pictures are shown. During the interviews the use of "flexible" questionnaires is recommended. This means using the interviewee's own words and directing the interview in a way that is comfortable for the subject.

In the last stage the researcher prepares the mental map. However surprising it may sound, Letenyei rightly points out that the image that evolves during the process of interviewing and map making is in fact not the interviewee's but the researcher's own mental map. According to the constructivist point of view a collective mental map cannot be prepared at all, because such a map would be totally inseparable from its context (LETENYEI 2006: 182).

4. For experimental purposes I prepared mental maps with five individuals: I interviewed a man and a woman in their 40's, and two women and a man from the age group above 61. Nevertheless, only two of the five interviewees were able to prepare mental maps, as the three older subjects could not ren-

der a map-like representation. This fact reveals that making a cognitive map explicit through drawing is not at all self-evident, and it is influenced also by other factors: on the one hand, by the interviewee's drawing skills (although this factor may be eliminated if we make the drawing ourselves), and on the other hand, by their previous cartographic knowledge. In any case, the drawing expresses the cognitive map only in certain respect, since the map integrates several other kinds of knowledge. Even though some of the subjects had not been able to create a map, I used also the interviews where no drawing had been produced, because these interviewees wandered across the cognitive map in their thoughts, which provides us important pieces of information about their mental maps.

First, let us look at the two completed mental maps. We can observe that in spite of my request to sketch the whole settlement, the subjects focused almost exclusively on the intra-urban area. Extra-urban areas, if represented at all, appeared on the maps with rather distorted proportions which do not correspond to their real size. The female interviewee articulated the reason for this: «For me this is the village. This is where we used to play».

Both subjects started the drawing with depicting the main node, the bus stop, which is the centre of the settlement, as all of the important "institutions" are located right there or in its vicinity. This point indeed has a distinguished place also on the mental map of these interviewees. They depicted the four large streets of the village in relation to this node, which in their rendering gave a characteristic cross-like shape to the intra-urban areas. After this, both of them proceeded with depicting the network of streets, marking the points of orientation and landmarks known to all of the villagers (e.g. the church, the school and the post office).

Comparing these mental maps with the actual view of Tépe, in this case its Google satellite map, we can see that the above mentioned cross shape is not at all as prominent as emphasized by the drawers. The proportions are completely different: significant parts are depicted as much larger, whereas unfamiliar or insignificant areas are mere white spots. The mental maps feature no clear edges, and the borders of the settlement are only symbolic.

5. Now let us look one by one at the five typical elements of mental maps, for which I use both the drawings and the interviews.

a) *Dimensions and names of mental maps.* This term is typically used for particular districts or units of large cities. In small villages this is not really ap-

plicable, therefore from my point of view it was more important to concentrate on the objects of extra-urban areas and how their names appear in mental maps. The areas familiar to the interviewees can be represented on a map of toponyms. The interviewees' knowledge displayed a wide range: the younger subjects and one of the elderly female subjects proved to have a mediocre knowledge of toponyms, while the other two interviewees were deeply familiar also with the places in extra-urban areas. We can clearly state that the representation of intra-urban areas and their names was highly elaborate on the mental maps of the interviewees, the reason for which is that people's everyday lives take place in this space.

b) *Edges and borderlines.* Due to its structure Tépe does not show sharp edges or borders. Therefore when coming to this point I posed two questions on territorial division: namely, where the border was between intra and extra-urban areas, and between Tépe and the surrounding settlements. There were no clear replies to the first question: in summary, it can be concluded that intra-urban areas are considered to consist of the residential areas, the end where there are no more houses representing the edge. Drawing the border of the settlement was problematic for all of my interviewees. Naturally they are all familiar with the neighbouring settlements, yet clear-cut borders could not be identified on their mental maps, these edges proved to be totally blurred. The border with Derecske seems to be the most obvious one in the eyes of the locals because of its proximity to the intra-urban areas, yet even this one presented some uncertainty: «The administrative border is beyond the forest stripe. It must be somewhere there»; «There is a small bridge, probably that is it [the border]»; «[The village stretches] up to the old brick factory». While the two younger interviewees could not add anything more on the other borders, my third subject said the following regarding the border with Péterszeg: «I do not have the slightest clue [about the border]. Maybe it is a stripe of forest or a river». About the border with Berettyóújfalu he said: «The stream Szalányos is on the other side, [...] it flows somewhere towards Berettyóújfalu. It divides the fields belonging to Újfalu and Tépe».

The only sharp edge seems to be Road 47. During the preparation of the mental maps in each and every case I had to specifically ask if the territories beyond Road 47 belong to the village. My experience was that due to its location and its unfamiliarity this area is hardly present on the interviewees' mental maps.

c) *Reference points.* In the settlement those places constitute reference points which play an important role in the life of the individual and of the community: such places are the school, the church, the cultural centre, the mayor's

office, the castle, the cemetery, the pub, the old centre of the collective or the post office. These are the scenes of collective space usage. Although they did not necessarily appear as landmarks on the drawings of the mental maps, during the interviews individual reference points were mentioned in several instances, such as the homes of relatives or the interviewees' previous homes. Their distinguished status does not need further explanation.

Beyond the extra-urban areas also the surrounding settlements appeared occasionally as reference points. The subjects often used expressions like "towards Derecske", "towards Péterszeg" or "towards Újfalu".

d) *Paths.* Paths seem to be fairly stable elements of mental maps. Everybody is deeply familiar with the network of streets in the intra-urban areas, and this network also has a marked presence in the mental maps. The same can be declared about Road 47 and the roads leading out of the intra-urban areas. These appear explicitly even when the roads do not have specific names.

Furthermore, also trenches and streams can be considered paths. Although in Tépe there are several waters, the interviewees could recall their names only in some cases. However, this is not surprising, as these waters are located in the extra-urban areas, therefore my interviewees do not have a direct contact with them in their everyday lives.

e) *Nodes.* Due to the structure of the settlement the subjects did not mention any prominent nodes. Without exception the bus stop was considered the main node. As it became obvious already during the preparation of the drawings, the bus stop served as a kind of a point of origin. A further node can be identified at the crossing of Road 47 and Rákóczi Street, because this is where you enter the village. Although it was not named explicitly, references were made to it: «As you leave Road 47, that is where Rákóczi Street begins».

Directions on mental maps. During the interviews my impression was that orientation based on directions was not characteristic, whether it came to the static representation of a mental map or the description of a route; in fact, my elderly male interviewee was the only subject using structures like «as you walk on the meadow to north-east», «walking westwards». When they were explicitly asked about the directions, the interviewees were able to identify North, South, etc., however, they preferred using *to the left* and *to the right* to mark directions. It could be clearly observed that in the process of orientation the bus stop was the starting point, and imagining that point of reference behind their backs *right* and *left* acquired meaning. The node on Road 47 serves as a similar starting point («As you enter [from Road 47], Mérges Garden is

to the right, all of the built-up plots used to be gardens»), just like the points of streets located closer to the centre of the village. Although directions would make the identification of space objective, mental maps seem to function differently. Identification of the directions depends on the speech situation, which shows the flexible character of mental maps, consequently it should be seen as a reference framework that is largely dependent on the individual and the situation.

As it has already been pointed out by many researchers, also further directions may appear in the linguistic world model of space. The directions up and down should not be conceived of as real vertical directions on a relief map, instead they are connected to the significance and the central character of different places. As Andrea Heinrich notes, «the perception of these directions is guided by hierarchic relations» (HEINRICH 2000: 30). Furthermore, she adds that the perception of *down-up* is linked to the dimensions *close-far* and *inside-outside* (ID.: 31-32). Mária Hochbauer interprets these as quasi-vertical relations (HOCHBAUER 2008: 168). In the interviews carried out in Tépe their functioning can be observed very well: *(DOWN-UP) «*When they play football, that is down there», «There is also a street leading down from the castle, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street», «The centre is upwards. Compared to that we are downwards», «I am going up to the savings bank», «This is where you had to exit, from the church you are walking down along Béke Street», «We walked down [i.e. to Makkos Forest] here also with my class», «Actually these two streets take you down to the cemetery» *(INSIDE-OUTSIDE),* «Dózsa György Street takes you out to the old centre of the collective. Outwards, towards the pig farm», «We are walking away, out of Kossuth Street». Verbal manifestations of the functioning of *up* and *down* reveal that the uppermost point is the main node, namely the bus station. Hierarchically, this is followed by the four larger streets, then the smaller streets.

Furthermore, it is interesting to observe the usage of the place determinant element *below*. As pointed out by HEINRICH 2000, this element marking relations is not connected to the dimension *up-down*. My interviewees from Tépe use this element in the sense 'in the immediate proximity of something'. «A: I know that the Uraság Plot was here below the village. B: Where is below the village? A: Way back from Berettyóújfalu», «It starts from below the main street [i.e. a trench]».

From the aspect of linguistic formulation also the usage of *behind* deserves some attention. Namely, the post-determinant is used not only to locate three-dimensional objects like in the sentence «Behind Halom Hill there are stables». (In other cases *behind's* alternative is *after:* «It [the stream] somehow

flows here from after Halom Hill»). It appears also when referring to pieces of land: «There is a garden called Crooked Garden. Behind its back Uncle Miklós had his farm», «It is behind Békás Plot, behind its back». These cases can be looked upon as verbal manifestations of quasi-behindness.

6. From the aspect of socio-onomastic research the communication emerging during the creation of mental maps is particularly important, because it provides useful material also for the study of names. Even interviews with a single subject may serve with rich material on the usage of names, but if the pool of interviewees is larger, we can examine also the strategies used for the harmonisation of mental maps. During my research I myself carried out such interviews with one couple. Below follows a summary of the conclusions drawn from these interviews.

The onomastic corpus of Tépe – like all other onomastic corpora – includes some denotates with several names. In Tépe there are few places which bear both an official and a vernacular name. However, one of these names belongs to the main brook of the village, called *Kálló.* Although the inhabitants of Tépe do use this official name, they prefer to call this stream *Szalányos.* In addition, when preparing their mental maps, they mentioned it also under the name *Nagy-kubik.* I find it noteworthy that the latter is not a denomination, but merely an expression. When I asked if the formation is a name, my interviewees denied it, still the expression appeared during several interviews in connection with the brook.

In her research Andrea Heinrich has already raised the question of names which are on the border between proper names and common names (HEINRICH 2000). We are facing the same question also in the case of the name *Nagy-kubik.* The name users of Tépe applied the geographical common name *kubik* [‘*trench*’] also during the preparation of their mental maps. This linguistic element can make a distinction when talking about parts of the village beyond Road 47, since the area has only one larger channel. Nevertheless, we cannot consider it a toponym, nor do the inhabitants of Tépe themselves look upon it as a name, as in other parts of the village the same word *kubik* is used to denote other channels of the settlement. However, the *Nagy-kubik* [‘*Big Trench*’] has its counterpart in the correlating name *Kis-kubik* [‘*Small Trench*’]. In my view this linguistic element can be considered a name, even if users of the toponym do not consciously link such status to it. If we accept the assumption that names emerge gradually, in this very case of different names used to refer to the brook we are facing different phases of the process of the emergence of names.

At this point I would like to underline that for lay users of names the status of the name is also linked to the question of prestige. Whatever is mentioned in an official document is considered a name; in other cases they add the following comment when mentioning the name: «we call it AC», «we call it Csendőr-cikkely». However, this is exactly the focal point of our research: the way locals talk about something.

However, the co-existence of several names manifests also in other aspects. In the extra-urban areas of Tépe the naming of different plots of land is often determined by who the owner is. The ownership of lands has undergone fundamental changes over the decades, yet the names seem to have remained conservative, and they did not always follow the changes, resulting in a situation where old and new names co-exist so that there is no difference in status between the old and the new names: A: «There you can find the Pedagógus-föld 'Educator's land'». B: «Yes, that is Eklézsia 'Ecclesia'». The example reveals that on the couple's mental maps different names are associated with the marked land. While the man uses the more recent name, the woman names the same land referring to the earlier owner. Yet since both of them are familiar with both names, the difference in the usage of names causes no confusion.

However, according to the content of the mental map, in other cases the speaker may require some complementary information: A: «The land that belongs to Laci Gál?». B: «Yes, that one. It used to belong to the wife of Mihály Szénási». A: «Then call it like that, after him who is its owner now». In other situations the co-existence of names appears naturally also in other speakers' usage – the following answer was given spontaneously when talking about a plot of land: «It is called Rektor-föld or Kelemen-föld».

Thus we can observe that the mental map consists of different layers overlapping in time and space. For my elderly interviewees, who have a rich knowledge of toponyms, names are often linked to the past: «We still call every piece of land as they used to be called». Wandering across one's mental map can be considered a stroll in the past, as mentioning certain names triggered names denoting specific eras: «There was a well sometime, we called it László-kút, we, who worked with the tobacco, in the 1960's», «[this land] was called Tanknyomás in the 50's and 60's», «Pótlékok, they were plots in the self-employed era».

According to my observations wandering across the mental map distracts the interviewee from the use of toponyms. This and the fact that during my prior studies I myself had become well acquainted with the toponyms of Tépe, which was obvious to my interviewees as well, generated a situation that from our aspect was very close to spontaneous communication. This spe-

cial situation drew my attention also to the phenomenon that under such circumstances the names that during the collecting of toponyms had been identified to have both short and long name variants (e.g. *Dallasz ~ Dallasz-tanya* [*'Dallas' ~ 'Dallas Farm'*], *Békás ~ Békás-föld* [*'Froggy' ~ 'Froggy Plot'*], *Szerfás ~ Szerfás-erdő* [*'Timber' ~ 'Timber Forest'*]) appeared predominantly in their shorter form. Consequently, it seems that longer variants are used when the name user strives at giving more exact information by mentioning the type of the place. When I was at the beginning of my work, the inhabitants of Tépe believed that using the geographical common names would facilitate the categorisation activity making it easier to comprehend and anchor the names. However, after I had become familiar with the names and the denoted places – apparently – these pieces of information came to be considered superfluous, just like it would in a name community.

Nevertheless, in addition to the mentioned dimensions also other types of information are triggered during the preparation of the mental map. A subdiscipline of the socio-onomastics, namely folk onomastics may benefit from the study of name etymologies. The following are good examples of this: «It is called AC, because in the times of the collectives pipes were installed there. [...] in Hungarian it means pumping station».

The circumstances of the coinage may be revealed as well through the explanations: «In the early times of collectivisation this plot of land was called Kapás [*kapa* 'hoe', meaning 'a piece of land cultivated by hoeing'], they were trying to sow it with alfalfa so that later on they would cultivate it by hoeing, because seeding is easier like that, and then the name Kapás-dűlő 'Hoe land' was kept».

Also the stylistic value of the name is integrated into the mental map. This is obvious in the case of the toponym *Dallasz,* where the name users asked me not to register the name, fearing that the owners might disapprove of it: obviously, the name users consider the toponym offensive, even though it is widely used and is not meant to insult the owners. However, at the moment of the coinage it might have had such connotation, as the farm was built in the 1990's, during the times when the television series *Dallas* was broadcast in Hungary, and the reference to the series is clear to many even today.

The size and shape of the land, as well as its form of cultivation are also naturally linked to particular elements of the mental map: (about Legénydűlő) «thirteen point something hectares», (about Görbe-kert) «grain is sown here, it is not a garden anymore», (about Csonka-Horgas) "it goes up till Hármashatár, in a strange zigzag shape".

The names evoke also significant events that took place there. These make the mentioned places comprehensible also to others. The toponym *Liliomos*

['*lilies*'] triggers tragic associations because of a fatal incident: «Liliomos [...] do you remember? it is where Imre Szőke hanged himself». A memorable dispute is evoked in this example: «at the Öreg-kert where they quarrelled over the pasture». The following toponym reveals strong family bonds: «My father was a herdsman there, at the Kovács-tanya».

Furthermore, creating a mental map enables us also to examine attitudes related to the names. The settlement of Tépe can be considered ethnically homogeneous, therefore its places and toponyms do not reflect positive or negative biases. Nevertheless, personal ties can be identified in such statements like «Now we have arrived home, we are in Legény-dűlő».

7. Of course, the pieces of information presented here may be triggered by or abstracted also with other methods, for example even during a simple chat. Yet the creation of mental maps focuses on places and their names, which encourages the speaker to talk about these in the most natural way.

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