

Dialect identity in a standard based culture

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The present study provides insight into the analysis of the sound archive of the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialect (NGAHD) project. The author's personal research project between 2020 and 2023 undertook to examine all sociolinguistic interviews recorded at the NGAHD's all data collection sites in present-day Hungary. The paper presents overall results on the language and dialect awareness, attitudes and language use of the respondents. The answers to 13 sociolinguistic questions of 600 participants from 77 data collection sites were analyzed. This gives us a more accurate picture of the specifics we can count on regarding the archive of the NGAHD project (that has not been processed systematically since its completion in 2012) and the linguistic mentality of the speech community as revealed through the recordings, which is just one of the various research topics offered by the archive.

Introduction

The Geolinguistics Research Group, organized by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and affiliated with the Department of Hungarian Historical Linguistics, Sociolinguistics and Dialectology of Eötvös Loránd University, which started operating in 2007, aimed to collect a large amount of synchronous regional data into a second general language atlas: the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects. The only atlas of Hungarian linguistics to cover the entire Hungarian language area is the General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects (GAHD), whose data were collected between 1949 and 1964.

The concept of the new atlas was described by Jenő Kiss, the principal researcher of the program as “the first large-scale undertaking of Hungarian dialectology in the new millennium” (Kiss, 2006: 129). What is a language atlas? “[I]n a broad sense, it is a thematic collection of language maps (linguistic maps)” (Juhász, 2001: 102; all Hungarian texts quoted in the article are translated by the author – A. P.). If they are national, in other words, large atlases like both GAHD and the planned NGAHD “try to cover all dialect groups of the language, regardless of country borders, so that all important phonetic and morphological features come within the

scope of the research, and the vocabulary is a representative selection primarily from the circle of traditional folk culture” (Juhász, *supra* at 104).

The program of the Geolinguistics Research Group was twofold. One of its purposes was to re-examine a part of the dialectological questionnaire of the GAHD (220 out of 1162 questions) on a sparse network of data collection sites in the Hungarian language area. The research plan included the network as follows: 100 data collection sites in present-day Hungary, 40 in Romania, 26 in Slovakia, 6 in Serbia, 4-4 in Austria, Croatia and Ukraine, and 2 in Slovenia. The new program therefore reduced the number of data collection sites in Hungary compared to the network of the GAHD but retained all its transborder sites. It also selected additional ones in Romania based on the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania (AHDR). The data of the NGAHD provides an opportunity for both longitudinal and real-time analysis to compare the past and present status of the same community. “The grandchildren of the respondents from whom the data were collected for the General Atlas of Hungarian are indeed our retired participants” (Kiss, 2009a: 199).

Another goal of the NGAHD’s program was to make sociodialectology (e.g., linguistic mentality) among other topics (e.g., grammatical judgments) searchable, regarding the entire Hungarian language area through 48 new questions. These data make it possible to determine the attitudes of today’s dialect speakers that primarily influence their use of the regional variety “because the use and transmission of dialects are not determined by communication factors but above all by the role of dialects as a social sign and to some extent their cognitive function, and in the case of the former negative attitude, it tends to discourage the speakers from using the dialect, rather than to help them retain it” (Kiss, 2006: 135).

The sociolinguistic interview used in this study includes the following questions in addition to questions about forms of greeting, grammaticality judgments and semantics: Is there any dialect spoken in this village? Is the Hungarian spoken here more beautiful than the one in other villages or towns? Are there any differences between the language use of older and younger inhabitants here? Who speak the old dialect in the village? Only old people or young people, too? Do you think dialect speech will survive here in the future? Do you speak other languages besides Hungarian? Which one? Would you regret the disappearance of the dialect of your village? Do you speak in the same way either in a formal situation as at home with your family? Have you heard Hungarian words and expressions from Hungarian speakers in the neighboring settlements that are not spoken here? Are the inhabitants of your village used to be mocked because of the local dialect? At home, in the family circle, do you speak according to the local customs or as you hear on television and the radio? Do you like the local dialect? Have you

ever been taunted because of your dialect speech? By who and where? Have you ever been ashamed of your local dialect? In your opinion, are there any settlements where Hungarian is badly spoken?

The work of the research group was finished in 2012. Tens of thousands of hours of interviews recorded in a modern high-quality manner have not yet been processed in a systematic and comprehensive way. Only some minor studies have been conducted (e.g., Kiss, 2010a and 2010b; Zelliger, 2011; Parapatics, 2012; Iglai 2017). “Atlas work, however, actually becomes complete, fully exploited for science with analyses” (Kiss 2006: 138). The author of the present paper started the analysis of a significant (but relatively a small) part of the archive (see also the Acknowledgements) and published some partial results in the past few years (cf. Parapatics, 2019; 2020a; 2020b; 2022; 2023; in press). As all these articles are about the same research project, some parts are repeated in them obviously, for example, paragraphs of the introduction and sentences in the presentation of the results, although they are always extended or modified to little or greater extent. However, the most important parts, namely the project’s overall results themselves are published in the present paper for the first time.

It should be noted that the great number of transborder Hungarian recordings are excluded from the present study, although their analysis is one the most urgent and important future task regarding the sound archive.

Aims and hypotheses

The purpose of present research is to answer the following questions, using the data of the NGAHD project:

- 1) How aware are the interviewed speakers of the regional determination of their own language use and of its regional features?
- 2) How do they relate to this and the speech style in their environment?
- 3) What experiences and knowledge do they have regarding language variability in general?

“It is necessary to examine this because the use of dialects is greatly influenced by how their speakers relate to them. These questions are particularly important in minority situations, because the (cognitive-emotional) attitude towards the primary mother tongue can be a decisive factor in terms of first language maintenance. Therefore, the stigmatization of dialect language use in any form among minorities is very harmful from the mentioned point of view. And in Hungary, because it hinders the development of a

healthy awareness of the mother tongue (by bringing the standard variety and the dialect into conflict), and because, due to the stigma, the person who uses a regional language is (may) have a negative relationship not only with their home language, but also with everything that lies behind this language (variety) (and its personality-destroying effect is particularly undesirable)” (Kiss, 2010a: 388).

The hypotheses of the present study are as follows:

- 1) Not all speakers are aware of the regional features of the language use of themselves and their settlement, the speech style of their village is considered by many to be Standard Hungarian.
- 2) The linguistic peculiarities of other regions, however, are recognized and valued.
- 3) Whatever they think about the way they speak, most people will probably like their dialect.
- 4) Most subjects have already gained negative experiences because of the regional features of their speech style, and they try to avoid them in official situations (those who perceive these).
- 5) Dialect speech is attributed primarily to older speakers; therefore, its disappearance is predicted.
- 6) Some of the participants would take dialect speech negatively regarding its value and the knowledge preserved, while others view it positively because they consider it as a “nicer” pronunciation that is a sign of the higher education level attained by the younger generations of the region.

The hypotheses are tested through 600 participants’ answers to 13 questions in 77 data collection sites.

Data and method

According to the work plan, the researchers were to record a dialectological and a sociolinguistic interview with at least ten subjects per data collection site. The interviews were introduced by a 20-30-minute informal conversation that was also recorded. The participants ideally equally represented both genders and belonged to four different age groups: 30-45, 46-60, 61-70 years, over 70 years (see the data collection guide on the research group’s website: URL1). The researchers intended to conduct interviews with subjects who had a low level of

education and were therefore less exposed to the effects of Standard Hungarian, and who rooted or at least lived for a long time in the given village.

Due to many external factors, that are not presented here (but see e.g., Kiss, 2006; Parapatics, in press; Schultz, in press), this plan could not be fully realized. There were some data collection sites where no or less than ten interviews were conducted or where interviews were not conducted according to the expected age and gender distribution. However, more than ten dialectological and sociolinguistic interviews can be expected from several data collection sites.

During the data collection process of the NGAHD project between 2007 and 2012, sociolinguistic interviews were conducted at the following data collection sites (in alphabetical and non-chronological order; with the number of interviews in brackets): Acsalag (9), Algyő (3), Bakonyszentlászló (6), Biharugra (10), Bugyi (9), Dad (10), Decs (12), Dormánd (8), Dunapataj (5), Dunavecse (5), Egyházaskróda (8), Érsekcsanak (8), Fajszi (8), Felsőnyék (10), Földeák (7), Gelej (10), Gölle (7), Gyón (10), Hermánszeg (5), Hévízgyörk (10), Hosszúpályi (5), Ipolytölgyes (10), Ivád (9), Izsák (9), Jászfákóhalma (9), Káld (10), Kapolcs (5), Karancslapujtő (10), Kék (9), Kiskundorozsma (8), Kiskunhalas (2), Kisnémedi (10), Kovácshida (8), Kunágota (4), Lipót (6), Ludányhalászi (9), Magyaracsa (2), Mátraszőlős (1), Mesztergyő (13), Mihályi (12), Mogyoród (11), Nagybózsza (10), Nagykőrű (7), Ópusztaszer (2), Öcsöd (10), Pakod (10), Páprád (6), Patak (10), Páty (5), Pély (7), Pusztafalu (11), Rábagyarmat (10), Ricse (8), Soponya (5), Sukoró (6), Szalafő (12), Szegvár (18), Senta (10), Szentgyörgyvölgy (8), Szeremle (4), Szilsárkány (10), Szinpetri (1), Suhogy (2), Tápiószentmárton (10), Tapolca (7), Tiszacsege (8), Tiszadob (8), Tizsakerecseny (4), Úny (10), Uszód (3), Velem (6), Verpelét (5), Viss (11), Viszák (10), Vörs (6), Zengővárkony (10). In total, 600 interviews from 77 data collection sites were conducted.

The parts of the country are not represented in the same proportion in the sample: almost twice as many interviews (244) were conducted in the western part as in the eastern one (144), and 212 interviews were recorded in the central part of the Hungary. A separate analysis of the data collected in the Western, the Central and the Eastern part of the country shows quite insignificant but worth mentioning differences. However, these results are not presented in the current study. Results from the analysis of the Western Hungarian data have been published already (Parapatics, 2022 and 2023), which provides an option for comparison.

There is also a fairly large discrepancy in the overall sample with regard to gender ratios: 350 women (58%) and 250 men (41%) answered the questions of the sociolinguistic questionnaire, although it is well known that this almost adequately reflects the general

distribution of the country's population (cf. URL2). While the 61-70-year-old and older age groups appear in the sample in almost the same number (30.5% and 31%), as the members of the 46-60-year-old age group, which makes up to 23% of the whole sample., Only 92 participants (15%) were under 45. The age of 2 respondents is not applicable. The two youngest subjects are a 25-year-old female from Rábagyarmat and a male from Izsák. The oldest is a 96-year-old female from Sukoró.

In terms of education, the number of those who completed 8 grades or less (elementary and middle school) is exceptionally high (290 participants) making almost half of the entire sample (48%). A total of 72 participants graduated from vocational schools, 20 from technical schools, and 35 from industrial schools. 90 participants (15%) took the final exam in high school, 29 graduated from a technical high school, 3 attended a higher vocational training, and 46 (8%) obtained a college or university diploma. It should be noted, however, that due to the standard based viewpoint of public education, which usually stigmatizes the dialect phenomena that are to be collected, the declared aim of the research project was to approach low-educated people as subjects. No data is available on the educational qualifications of 15 respondents. A 61-year-old female from Kék had the lowest education with three primary school grades, 8 participants had and the highest education level as they obtained university degrees.

An overview of the number and stratification of sociolinguistic interviews recorded in present-day Hungary is provided in Table 1.

Independent factor	Category	W.	C.	E.	Total	%
Gender	female	141	116	93	350	58
	male	103	96	51	250	42
Age	under 45 years	38	33	21	92	15
	46-60 years	53	58	28	139	23
	61-70 years	78	62	43	183	30,5
	over 71 years	75	58	51	184	31
	n. a.	0	1	1	2	0,3
Education	8 or less grades	132	94	64	290	48
	vocational school	29	31	12	72	12
	technical school	8	6	6	20	3
	industrial school	15	9	11	35	6
	technical high school	13	10	6	29	5
	high school	29	36	25	90	15
	higher vocational training	2	1	0	3	0,5
	college, university	15	20	11	46	8
n. a.	1	5	10	16	3	
Total		244	212	144	600	100
%		41	35	24	100	

Table 1. The number and stratification of the participants of the NGAHD project (n = 600; W. = Western, C. = Central, E. = Eastern Hungary; n. a. = not applicable) (The author's work)

The answers were processed by the author herself in order to be able to interpret the subjective data in a comprehensive and appropriate way, taking into account, for example, the laughs, accents, hesitations of the participants, or the repetition of words as emphasis (and not just as a disfluency of the spontaneous speech). An additional advantage of the personal processing is that in many cases even the closed questions were not answered with simple “yes” or “no” but rather longer explanations were provided. It is also common when the subjects contradicted themselves as their answer progressed; perhaps for the first time in their life, they thought about such a question. It turns out from the answer sometimes that the respondent understood the question differently than what the researchers intended to ask. In several interviews, it occurred, that a question was left out, or that a question was asked, but the participant did not actually answer it.

The processed audio recordings lasted for a minimum of 100 hours, considering an average 10 minutes per participant. However, it's worth noting that many participants provided lengthy responses, which resulted in discussion lasting as long as 30-40 minutes only for sections pertaining to the sociolinguistic questionnaire. There were some data collection sites where many or all of the subjects just wanted to get through the interview, potentially due to time constraints, fear of providing “wrong” answers, or their propensity to be reserved.

Elsewhere, many other participants were happy to express their views and think aloud about this kind of issues concerning language use.

After the transcription of the relevant parts of the interviews, they were arranged in a table according to the relevant questions. The table comprises separate rows in which all the answers given by the participants are grouped together based on the data collection sites to the questions examined in the present research. Not only yes/no answers are included in the table but also accurately quoted, longer and shorter explanations and monologues. Vertically, in separate columns, there are the answers given to each question from all participants. The longer or shorter answers given by the 600 subjects to 13 questions obviously resulted in an enormous database that can only be handled digitally but cannot be published on paper.

Results

In this chapter, while presenting the results in details, several statements made by the participants are cited, as the author is convinced that the human thoughts breathe life into the statistical results and make the findings more interpretable and even more instructive for further research. The subjects' answers are cited here without most of the disfluencies of spontaneous speech and are particularly motivated by the interview situation. The participants' village as data collection site, gender, age and level of education are given in brackets after the quotations. The abbreviations are as follows: f = female, m = male; hs. = gr. = grade (with the number in front of it), voc. = vocational school, tech. = technical school, ind. = industrial school, high school, col. = college; Bsz. = Bakonyszentlászló, Bu. = Biharugra, Dpt. = Dunapataj, Ehr. = Egyházasrádóc, Fny. = Felsőnyék, It. = Ipolytölgyes, Iv. = Ivád, Nb. = Nagybózsza, Ö. = Öcsöd, Pak. = Pakod, Pat. = Patak, Szv. = Szegávr, Vö. = Vörs, Vp. = Verpelét.

63% of the Hungarian participants of the NGAHD's sociolinguistic questionnaire think that a local dialect is spoken in their village, while a third of them do not. More than three quarters of them, 77%, like this speech style. Most of them highlighted its naturalness, familiarity, comprehensibility, "Hungarianness", and beauty, although several among them (10%) gave a neutral answer. "So what, I was born here. Of course, I like it! [...] And that's how I learned to speak" (It., 66, m, ind.). In response to another question, almost a quarter of them (24%) consider their dialect to be more beautiful than the speech style of the neighboring settlements, but almost the same number (23%) do not think the same. Most of the answers (38%) were neutral as the participants did not want to make a subjective comparison, or perceived the speech style of the neighboring villages to be the same. "What is beautiful? To what do we compare the beautiful?" (Pat., 35, m, voc.); "Learning Hungarian language does

not always mean that you have to change the dialects” (Szv., 50, m, hs.). An important difference is that whether someone thinks their local speech style is more beautiful due to their belief in the beauty of their own dialect compared to other regional dialects or because they perceive their speech as the Standard Hungarian. The same duality was often behind the negative answers.

Three-quarters of the participants experience a difference between the language use of younger and older people, although neither the questionnaire, nor the collectors and informants clarified what age counts in which category. Among the people in their fifties, there were some who identified themselves as older, and there were those who referred to themselves and their speech style as more youthful. “Young people speak in a mannered way. We speak like peasants” (Pat., 69, f, 8 gr.). Here too, there were several lines of thought behind the answers. Many people referred to the youngsters’ abandonment of the local dialect due to their school and workplace in other settlements, mainly towns or cities. There were also participants who thought only of the pronunciation, while others made a distinction between the generations regarding the use of words, including the words belonging to the traditional peasant culture, as well as the modern world and the use of slang. According to 17% of the respondents, however, there is no difference between generations regarding the word usage. Almost 60% of the participants believe that the “old dialect” is used only by the elderly, while a quarter (26%) of them indicated that it is also typical of young people to use this dialect especially if they haven’t left the village or have returned to it after leaving for some time.

In total, 44% of the respondents predicted the disappearance of the dialect speech from the settlement, and only slightly fewer (41%) believe that it will remain. Behind these answers, again, there are different viewpoints, according to whether the participants thought about the speech style of the natives or the new settlers by the local dialect. “I think that as long as the elders are alive [it remains], then they would speak more gently” (Vp., 68, f, tech.); “Well, there are always those who take over the old traditions, I think. I’m sure they’ll keep it” (Ö., 49, m, hs.); “Well, I hope that, if they [they young people] are taught normally, then maybe they will just stop using it [dialect speech]” (Bu., 81, f, hs.). There were also those who explained the question by the use of “the” Hungarian language. “Well, I would be sorry. I would be sorry. How would you teach me to speak English or German?” (Kék, 61, f, 3 gr.). However, many responses were received that were based on perceived differences between the language use of the young and the elderly, i.e., the disappearance of dialect speech is related to the declining population of the elderly and the higher level of education of the younger generation.

The answers to the following question also have the same kind of diverse thoughts: whether the subjects would regret it if this speech style disappeared from the settlement. 70% of them reported that they would regret its disappearance. They consider the regional dialect as a tradition, a value, a mediator of the old knowledge, the words and forms of behavior of the old world. They also emphasized its role as a community builder, and Hungarian and local identity marker. “I would regret it, yes. Well, I think it’s a beautiful thing that particular community has something in the language that holds them together. I think this is also why we have such expressions, even if sometimes we don’t know about them” (Bsz., 43, f, col.); “This is what people are used to, and it’s somehow in their genes” (Nb., 65, f, col.); „I’m not a big patriot, not even a big one, but anyone who has a bit of Hungarian sentiment is mentally hurt by the fact that we can’t respect our own?” (Fny., 82, m, 8 gr.). Only 9% of the interviewees would definitely not regret the vanishing of the regional dialect, as they consider the spread of Standard Hungarian (which is considered more beautiful and correct) and the increased educational attainment among the younger generations. On the other hand, 14% of them commented neutrally on the question, either because they saw both the “good” and “dark” sides of it resulting in an intermediate answer, or because they saw it as a phenomenon on which they have no influence (nor does the phenomenon affect their lives), or because they never thought about it, and thus refrained from sharing their opinions. “I would be sorry if it died out but...it would be very, very necessary for people to speak nicely. So, correctly” (Pak., 58, f, col.).

According to their claims and self-reflection, 70% of the subjects speak in the same way in town and in official places as at home, either because they could not or do not want to do otherwise. “Yes, yes. In fact, I am angry with those who pretend that they speak like this in their village, and then in the city they start speaking with this *e* letter a lot [instead of *ö*], and then it doesn’t even suit them, they even say things with *e* that they shouldn’t” (Dpt., 50, f, voc.). Just over a quarter of them, 28% reported that they try to speak more delicately, more beautifully, and correctly, with a different pronunciation and/or a different use of words. “Well, when I leave home, people dress up, aren’t they, they are not the same as it is at home but [...] I think you have to dress and talk [...] and behave appropriately for the occasion” (Ehr., 63, f, 8 gr.). 81% of the participants speak “according to local customs” in their homes. 10% of them stated that they speak in the same way as they hear on television and the radio.

Few participants reported that the inhabitants of the settlement were mocked because of their language use. At first, a substantial number of people understood the question as pertaining to non-linguistic phenomena such as village teasing rhymes. However, ever after clarification, 10% of the respondents answered “yes” to the question. On the other hand, several people

reported that they have already experienced mockery because of the way they speak (21%). In the military, in the hospital, at work, at fairs, at school, in other regions, especially in the capital, these people were either merely mocked or corrected by others. “I improved a lot, for example, with the soldiers or at school, from teachers. Especially from teachers of Hungarian. They addressed us and [...] they did not say that it was not good, they only corrected it” (Nb., 80, m, hs.). Many are corrected by relatives, especially children and grandchildren. “My grandson used to. «Grandma, this is not a *lábító* [dialect word for *ladder*], this is a *ladder*». Well, if I say something like this, they correct me” (Kék, 72, f, 8 gr.).

However, several of the participants who answered “no” to the question emphasized that they tried to avoid situations where they suspected that the mockery might happen, primarily by staying silent, not speaking, or by trying very hard to be careful with their speech. “If you are in such a place, you don’t speak, it’s simple” (Vö., 68, f, 8 gr.). Only 7% of the subjects reported that even if such a scenario occurred, they would not be ashamed of their own way of speaking. 90% of them said that they have nothing to be ashamed of; it’s their way of speaking. Even if they were ashamed, they stated that they would not be able to change it. “I wasn’t ashamed. Well, I’m a peasant, a villager, maybe they understand it” (Pak., 83, f, 6 gr.). “...I took the potatoes up [to Budapest] and we sold them there but we worked very hard to get them there. And the fact that I went there and the fact that I didn’t say like *krumpli* or *burgonya* [two standard synonyms for *potato*] but I said it as *kumpér* [a dialect word for *potato*], for example, they could have understood that, or if they didn’t understand, they would have asked and seen what we were selling, and the fact that I worked for it and took it, I don’t think there’s anything to be ashamed of” (Pat., 56, f, hs.).

More than half of the participants (55%) did not think that people would speak Hungarian “badly” somewhere, while some 12% were uncertain about the issue. It is considered an important lesson that, compared to what we can experience in everyday life (on the linguisticism in general see e.g., Annamalai & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2020; in Hungarian context see e.g., Kontra, 2006; Szentgyörgyi, 2013) and what other recent research results reveal (cf. e.g., Berente et al., 2016; Jánk, 2018; Parapatics, 2020c; Bereczk & Parapatics, 2023), many subjects of the present study emphasized the relative and subjective nature of the question, even the correctness and “beauty” of different regional dialects. They do not judge other dialects negatively, even if they find other people’s language use strange, unusual, or possibly “un-Hungarian” because they expect a similar positive attitude in return. “I don’t think there is, because even if they speak with a regional accent, it’s natural for them, and I wouldn’t want mine [...] to be considered strange” (Dad, 66, f, 8 gr.); “No, I’m saying that wherever there is

a dialects speech, it certainly fits there. It's like that. It should be there! That would be natural there, at least I think so" (Páty, 51, m, col.); "What I think is ugly is not necessarily ugly. [...] Listen here, all regional dialects are beautiful, aren't they?" (Iv., 54, f, hs.).

Slightly more than a quarter of the respondents (28%) answered the question with a definite "yes" and some of them talked about specific regions, counties, and settlements where Hungarian is spoken "badly" according to them. The examples included many different parts of the Hungarian-speaking area such as the capital Budapest, cities like Szeged, Debrecen, different counties like Győr-Moson-Sopron, Heves or Zala, regions like Transdanubia, Borsod, Nyírség or the entire Great Plain.

Obviously, in the results presented above, where the sum of the statistical data does not reach one hundred, there was no answer to the given question, either because the field worker did not ask it, or the question was asked but the answer did not really reveal the opinion of the participant. Figure 2 illustrates the attitudes of the respondents as revealed by some questions of the NGAHD's sociolinguistic questionnaire.

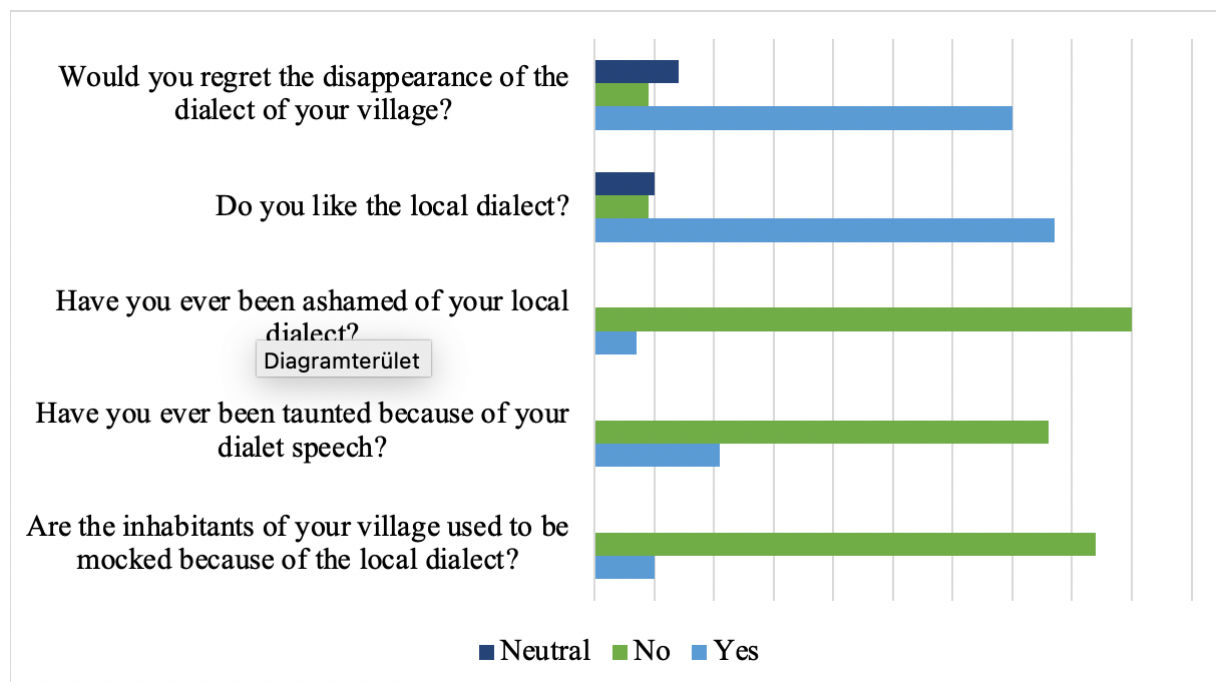


Figure 2. Experiences and attitudes of the NGAHD project's inland participants on the language use of their own settlement (n = 600) (The author's work)

Discussion and conclusions

The study sets up six hypotheses, which the sample proved to be suitable for testing. All the assumptions were examined based on the answers to several questions of the questionnaire in

order to shed light on some phenomena from several sides. It's worth noting it that several questions were suitable for testing more than one hypothesis. In this regard, the following conclusions can be made.

Hypothesis (hereafter H) 1 was confirmed, as many of the participants demonstrated a lack of awareness regarding the regional features of their own language use and the speech style in their settlement. Several respondents considered this to be the standard even if they were able to highlight the striking dialect features of the village or the neighborhood, which were also perceptible in their own speech. As it was shown in the previous chapter, the ratio of respondents who answered "no" is more than one-third (35%), which is augmented by the number of those who answered "yes" to the question, however they referred to the dialect of the newly settled and consider their own speech style Standard Hungarian. Many people therefore gave contradictory answers, which indicates uncertainty.

H2 was partly confirmed. It was revealed that the participants recognize the different dialect features of other regions by talking about its beauty and about "badly" spoken dialects. Mainly the answer to the latter question showed that even if they recognize the dialects of other regions, they do not necessarily judge them. In fact, they warn themselves about both language tolerance and the relativity of the phenomenon: two-thirds of the subjects refused give negative judgements. Moreover, many respondents have definitely expressed their views on the regional diversity of the language. The importance of teaching this viewpoint in public education has been constantly emphasized by the applied dialectological literature for decades (cf. e.g., Albury, 2020 in general; Kiss, 2001; Péntek, 2002; Beregszászi & Dudics Lakatos, 2022; and the authors' works cited in the paper in Hungarian context). However, this endeavor has been hindered by the standard based culture of mother tongue education in Hungary.

H3, on the other hand, was clearly supported by the results. Most participants like the speech style of their settlement: 77% like it, 9% do not and 10% gave a neutral answer to the question. However, it is important to underscore that there were respondents who liked the dialect just because they did not consider it to be a regional dialect. It should be noted that there were also some participants who ceased to like it because they perceived it as out of place. Nonetheless, these differences do not affect the testing of the present hypothesis that was formulated without any specific conditions.

The results only partially and not convincingly confirmed H4. Only a few respondents have had negative experiences because of the regional dialect features of their speech. As mentioned above, 10% reported the mockery of the village, 21% had personal experiences related to their dialect speech, and 7% stated that they had already been in a situation where

they were ashamed of it. This part of H4 has therefore been confirmed, albeit not to a large extent. The author is convinced that even a low number of participants reporting unpleasant experiences is also important, as it highlights the existence of negative discrimination and underscores the need to deal with the phenomenon, both in terms of scientific research and the dissemination of the results as popular science. On the other hand, the other part of H4, which assumed that these experiences motivate speakers to avoid using the dialect in official situations, was not proved. Only 28% of the participants stated (on a self-reflective and self-reported basis) that in such situations, they try to switch to a speech style that is close to the (regional) standard Hungarian, while 70% think that they speak the same way they always do. Based on the sociolinguistic literature, we can be absolutely sure that many of the participants belonging to the latter group also modify their language use. However, in the light of the answers, it is not conscious, and H4 related to the intention, and not what actually happens in such cases.

H5 was confirmed partially confirmed, too. More than half of the participants (57%) attribute dialect speech to the elderly. In response to a question regarding the differences between the language use among age groups, many highlighted the dialect pronunciation and use of local words by the elderly they reported that these linguistic features are no longer or barely relevant to the youngsters, due to their education, work, relocation, and broader changes in the world in general. However, it does not mean that all of them would predict the disappearance of dialect speech. Only 44% of the participants think it will happen, and nearly as many (41%) think the dialect will remain, as young people who grew up in the region and acquired it as their mother tongue will preserve it and pass it on to their children. According to many, even if the young ones have been away from home for a while and thus their native language has surely changed, they would adapt again if they return to their home.

Finally, H6, which initially considered two types of attitudes regarding the disappearance of the dialect, was confirmed. In the light of the findings, the majority of the subjects (70%) would regret its disappearance. Regardless of where they live in any part of the country or dialect region, many referred to its value, the knowledge preserved within the dialect vocabulary, its beauty, uniqueness, “Hungarianness”, and colorfulness, etc. Only 9% of the subjects, however would not regret it viewing it as a consequence and a sign of the higher education among the younger residents, in their opinion.

In summary, three of the six hypotheses (1, 3, 6) were confirmed. Two (2, 5) were partially confirmed, and H4 was rather refuted by the results. The assumptions were based on everyday experiences related to the use, handling, and assessment of dialect speech and the

results of studies conducted in other groups. Therefore, the fact that the present sample refuted some of the research hypotheses, raises further research questions and directions.

Summary and outlook

The study's findings provide answers to the research questions in such a way that they open up manifold avenues for investigation. Each question of the NGAHD's sociolinguistic questionnaire examined in this research deserves to be explored separately in terms of expanding the sample size and detecting correlations within the existing sample.

The purpose of the paper was not to provide final results on the analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews in Hungary but rather to show what can be studied within the broader topic using the data. Furthermore, the overall results presented here already carry numerous important lessons and can be used in many other related studies, as they are the first to present in a comprehensive manner and on a large sample, the beliefs and attitudes of Hungarian speakers towards their own and others' regional language use, through using the sound archive of the NGAHD project.

The author also considers the completion of this database, after precise supervision, annotation, and proper, online, open access publication, to be substantial advantage of the research, as it will give others the opportunity to carry out various additional research studies. This, however, requires further financial support of research groups investigating the same issue in the future. It also entails continuing the analysis of the NGAHD project, particularly the remaining questions of the inland sociolinguistic interviews, the entire transborder sociolinguistic interviews, and the inland and transborder dialectological interviews.

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