

Theses of Ph.D. Dissertation

**Attitudes of Transcarpathian-Hungarian University and College Students towards
Language Use and Language Varieties**

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1. The Subject and Description of the Dissertation

In my dissertation I studied the attitudes of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university and college students towards language use and language varieties. The objective of my research was to identify the value judgements of university/college students studying in the Ukraine/Transcarpathia and Hungary regarding the languages they know (Ukrainian, Hungarian), the language varieties, contact effects deriving from bilingualism, and various dialectal phenomena. I examined the attitude of participants towards language varieties in terms of linguistic features present both in oral and online communication.

It was an additional goal of my research to compare the features of oral and online communication of Transcarpathian-Hungarian language users with those in Hungary. For this purpose, I also involved Hungarian university students so that I could compare the language use of bilingual and monolingual Hungarian respondent groups and thus examine if Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use has linguistic features specifically used by small groups that may strengthen community identity.

As part of my research, I also examined the relationship between community and language attitude. My goal was to find out how the language attitudes of Transcarpathian-Hungarian youngsters involved in the research can be influenced by their contacts with the majority Ukrainian nation and monolingual Hungarians. Moreover, I also considered it important to examine how important language use, language awareness and value judgements related to languages were in the educational mobility of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students. The novelty of the research is that the language attitudes of Transcarpathian-Hungarian students completing their university education in Hungary have never been studied using scholarly tools and this may prove to be useful as due to the proximity of the border they maintain contacts both with the minority Transcarpathian-Hungarian community and the monolingual Hungarians living in Hungary and the different linguistic situation may transform and/or impact their language use and attitudes as well. Moreover, no comparative study has yet been conducted concerning the language use and attitudes of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students studying in the Ukraine or Hungary and those of Hungarian university students in Hungary.

2. Methods and Participating Respondents

I used a questionnaire survey for my research. The questionnaire consisted of 35 questions, mostly including closed questions, while open-ended questions were used mostly to explore the subjective opinion of respondents.

In addition to the survey, I also conducted interviews with Transcarpathian-Hungarian students characterized by educational mobility. The objective of the interview discussions was to gain additional information besides the data provided by the surveys. With their help, I could gain more detailed insights into the following:

1. The relationship of minority Transcarpathian-Hungarians with Ukrainians and Hungarians in Hungary.
2. Motivations for mobility towards Hungary.
3. Experience in connection with native language use both in the minority Hungarian language area and the monolingual Hungarian language area.
4. Personal reports in connection with difficulties of language use, linguistic differentiation, the perception of certain language use attributes.

The other questions were used to verify data: the presence of bilingual effects, dialectal phenomena in the daily communication of students and related attitudes.

I worked with semi-structured interview questions, thus I could reveal the subjective experience of respondents as well. With the prior approval of respondents, audio recordings were made of the individual interviews.

I completed the analysis of the texts of the interviews with the ATLAS.ti 7.5 program. Coding took place with directed content analysis.

Altogether 488 respondents participated in the questionnaire survey of the research. Data collection started in September 2017 and was completed in December 2019. One group in the questionnaire survey was made up by those Transcarpathian-Hungarian students who completed their high school studies at home and then started higher education at the University of Debrecen. This group consisted of 158 respondents. In the following, I will refer to this respondent group as DE-KÁRP.

The other group of the questionnaire survey was made up by students of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College, who live in various settlements in Transcarpathia. This group consisted of 166 respondents. In the following, I will refer to this respondent group as KMF.

The third group included Hungarian students in Hungary who also study at the University of Debrecen. I managed to involve 164 participants in this group. The purpose for creating the third respondent group was to compare the language use habits and attitudes of Transcarpathian-Hungarian and Hungarian university students, shedding light on the differences in language use between Transcarpathian-Hungarians and Hungarians based on the opinion of respondents participating in the research. In the following, I refer to this respondent group as DE-MO.

All participants of the three groups speak Hungarian as their first language and they all participate in Hungarian-language higher education programs. In the case of all three participant groups I paid attention that the people should study different majors as I suppose that their perceptions of language varieties may also be influenced by the degree to which they are competent in linguistics or the fact that some do not receive any linguistic training at all due to the nature of their disciplines.

3. Research Hypotheses

Based on Hungarian and international scholarly publications, as well as former empirical studies, I have formulated the following hypotheses:

1. Based on the findings of Lesley and James Milroy (Milroy–Milroy 1978), I hypothesized that those Transcarpathian-Hungarian students who live and study in their native country have stronger ties with their own community and thus they use more non-standard varieties typical of the given group and they also have a more positive perception of the language use of their own settlement than the Transcarpathian-Hungarian students studying in Hungary.

2. Language use has an identity-indicating function (Sándor 1999). The local language varieties of a given area connect the people living there and express a degree of belonging to the same community (Csernicskó 2008). I hypothesized that for Hungarian college students studying in Transcarpathia the Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use is perceived to be more important than for Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students living further away from their native country and who try to adapt their language use to the one used in the monolingual Hungarian environment.

3. Language attitude is primarily relevant not for the language itself but for the community behind it (Sándor 2016). Based on this, I hypothesized that the Transcarpathian-Hungarian students, who live as a minority and who have been negatively discriminated because of their Hungarian background by the majority, had a negative perception of the Ukrainian language, as a result of which they complete their studies in Hungary after leaving their native country.

4. Using the concept of hidden prestige developed by Peter Trudgill (Trudgill 1974) as well as the results of former research on the language use of Transcarpathian-Hungarians (Csernicskó 1998, Csernicskó–Soós 2002, Karmacsi 2009), I hypothesized that the interviewed Transcarpathian-Hungarian students had a positive perception of the Transcarpathian-Hungarian language varieties, even if they had already been negatively discriminated due to their language use.

5. Research on Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use (Márku 2013, 2017) has confirmed that the contact effects (code switching, word borrowing) typical of the communication of bilingual youngsters are present not only in oral but also online communication, in most cases on purpose, as an expression of Transcarpathian-Hungarian identity and group solidarity (Márku 2017). I supposed that while one of the typical attributes of the online communication of Hungarian university students involved the frequent use of English words and Hungarian slang expressions, in the language use of Transcarpathian-Hungarians the Russian/Ukrainian words and loanwords would appear.

6. The dialectal features and archaic forms are more typical of the language use of the Hungarian minority living on the edges of the Hungarian language area (Csernicskó–Szabómihály 2010). I hypothesized that Transcarpathian-Hungarian students had a more positive perception of dialectal phenomena than those in Hungary.

7. Based on studies of language attitudes (T. Károlyi 2002, Sándor 2009, Presinszky 2009), those students who have some competence in sociolinguistics and dialectology have a more positive attitude towards bilingual effects and dialectal phenomena than those who have never come into contact with these disciplines during their studies. As a result, I hypothesized that the attitude towards language varieties was also influenced by what the major of the students was.

4. Results and Conclusions

The hypotheses formulated when designing the research project were confirmed by the findings resulting from the data.

The Hungarian students currently living and studying in Transcarpathia (KMF group) perceive a stronger bond with their own community than Hungarian university students characterized by educational mobility. Students of the KMF group would prefer to live in Transcarpathia more than those in the DE-KÁRP group, the majority of whom would rather settle down and find employment in Hungary. College students studying in Transcarpathia have a more positive perception of Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use than students in the DE-KÁRP group. Moreover, in the KMF group more respondents are characterized by code switching in their oral and online communication and they have a more positive perception of switching between languages than students in the DE-KÁRP group (hypothesis no. 1).

Based on the results, those Transcarpathian-Hungarian students who live and study in their native country use more non-standard varieties than the Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students studying in Hungary. It was in the KMF group that most people recognized (compared to the two other groups) that dialectal phenomena appeared in their online messages. In

connection with the dialectal phenomena appearing in online communication, the opinion of students in the DE-KÁRP group resembled those of the participants in the DE-MO group. They do not consider the occurrence of dialectal phenomena to be typical in their own online language use, while they notice it in the online messages of others (hypotheses 1 and 6).

For those living in Transcarpathia, minority Hungarian language use is perceived to be more important in identity expression than by Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students living further away from their native country. When studying the causes of code switching in online communication, it was revealed that students of the KMF group use code switching much more to express their Transcarpathian-Hungarian identity than university students of the DE-KÁRP group, who switch codes mostly because they are used to it (hypothesis no. 2).

For Transcarpathian-Hungarian youngsters studying at the University of Debrecen language skills, studying in their mother tongue, and language attitudes all played an important role in their decision to continue their education in Hungary. The educational mobility of the majority of students is motivated by the fact that they do not speak Ukrainian well, they would like to study in their mother tongue, and some of the respondents have a negative attitude towards Ukrainian (hypothesis no. 3).

Based on the results, close to half of the students in the KMF group have experienced negative discrimination due to their mother tongue or if they spoke Hungarian among people whose mother tongue was Ukrainian. Despite this, Transcarpathian-Hungarian college students are attached to their homeland and perceive Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use in a positive way, which is confirmed by the fact that they use code switching consciously both in online and oral communication in order to make the discussion funnier, more informal and friendlier, and also to express their belonging to a community and their identity as Transcarpathian-Hungarians. Students in the DE-KÁRP group are not so strongly attached to their homeland. This is shown, for example, by the fact that they do not wish to return to Transcarpathia after completing their studies and also by trying to adapt their language use to those of Hungarians living in Hungary. The online language use of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students who filled in the questionnaire resembles that of Hungarians in Hungary much more as opposed to the online communication features of college students studying in Transcarpathia. In the case of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students who participated in the interviews, however, the attachment to the Transcarpathian-Hungarian community is still visible which is also shown by the fact that instead of the strong English-language impact and slang use characteristic of the online communication of those in Hungary, they tend to use Ukrainian words and loan words in their online communication because they identify with it

much more, which many of them emphasized with the expression *po zákárpátszkomu*. (hypothesis no. 4).

When studying the online communication features of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university and college students, it was revealed that the majority of KMF and DE-KÁRP students use Russian/Ukrainian words, loan words, English words, and slang words when chatting online. The majority of Hungarian university students in Hungary use English words and slang expressions in their online communication. Based on the responses of participants, students of the KMF group often use Russian/Ukrainian words and loan words and they sometimes use dialectal words and English words in their online communication. As opposed to this, university students of the DE-KÁRP group often use English words and only sometimes write Russian/Ukrainian words and loan words as well as dialectal words when sending messages online. The online language use of DE-MO students often features English words and sometimes dialectal words. The three respondent groups agreed that dialectal words rarely appear in their online communication. Comparing the results of the KMF group with those of the DE-MO group, hypothesis no. 5 is confirmed, according to which one of the typical attributes of the online communication of Hungarian university students in Hungary is the frequent use of English words and slang expressions, while in the language use of Hungarians living in Transcarpathia the Russian/Ukrainian words and loanwords appear (hypothesis no. 5).

Studying the dialectal attitudes, it was revealed that the majority of students in all three groups have encountered utterances in online communication that include dialectal phenomena. Students in the KMF group acknowledged that they also use dialectal phenomena in online chatting for the purposes of humor. As opposed to this, participants of the DE-KÁRP and DE-MO groups tend to recognize dialectal phenomena rather in the online messages of others and they do not consider it typical in their own online language use. From this we may conclude that college students studying in Transcarpathia perceive dialectal phenomena more positively than Transcarpathian-Hungarians studying in Hungary and Hungarian students in Hungary (hypothesis no. 6). The attitudes related to utterances containing dialectal phenomena were similar in the case of all three groups. According to the two Transcarpathian-Hungarian groups (KMF and DE-KÁRP), the sentence including the given dialectal phenomena in the questionnaire reflects typical Transcarpathian-Hungarian (home) language use, moreover, several people argued that the utterance made sense and was funny. At the same time, attributes reflecting a clearly negative attitude were frequent also, for example, claiming that it was annoying, wrong, and ungracious. Most of the students in the DE-MO group answered that the dialectal sentence included archaic words, which was bothering them. The majority of the interviewees had a positive opinion of dialectal speech, however, most also consider utterances

including dialectal phenomena to be bothering when used online, in writing, which they argue indicates the lack of education of the internet user.

Based on the findings of the research, I have reached the following conclusions.

The language attitude of Transcarpathian-Hungarian students is influenced by the inclusive or exclusive behavior of communities in contact with them. Some of the Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students interviewed have experienced negative discrimination due to their mother tongue and Hungarian ethnicity, therefore they perceive Ukrainian language and Ukrainian speakers in a negative way. As a result, the respondents are not motivated to learn the Ukrainian language and the majority of them do not even speak Ukrainian well, therefore, after leaving Transcarpathia they try to make a living in Hungary. Moreover, it has happened to Transcarpathian-Hungarian students studying in Hungary more times than with college students studying in Transcarpathia that they were negatively discriminated in the presence of Ukrainians due to their mother tongue.

The majority of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students studying in Hungary have a more positive attitude towards Hungarians in Hungary than towards Ukrainians. According to a larger part of respondents, Hungarians are inclusive and are interested in Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use. In some cases, however, there were examples for the opposite as well, as some students believed that according to their fellow Hungarian students they do not speak Hungarian correctly. Still, a larger part of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students studying in Hungary perceive the opinion of Hungarians in Hungary about Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use in a more positive way than college students studying in Transcarpathia.

The knowledge of the Ukrainian language by Transcarpathian-Hungarians is not enough for effective communication (although somewhat more of the college students studying in Transcarpathia speak Ukrainian well than Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students studying in Hungary) and yet, the majority of respondents try to adapt in their communication to those whose mother tongue is Ukrainian.

Switching between languages is characteristic of both the oral and online communication of Transcarpathian-Hungarian university and college students, but in the KMF group much more students claimed that they would switch codes in their communication than university students studying in Hungary. Moreover, even within the group studying in Transcarpathia, code switching is typical mostly of those studying humanities and social sciences (hypothesis no. 7).

The majority of university and college students do not agree with the myth related to code switching which claims that the mixing of two languages results in incomprehensible, meaningless discussion, moreover, they also disagree with the idea that they switch codes in a

discussion because they do not speak either language properly. According to them, the utterances including code switching are understandable, familiar, and natural in the language use of Transcarpathian-Hungarians. Based on this, we may conclude that Transcarpathian-Hungarian students do not have a negative opinion of code switching.

College students studying in Transcarpathia have a more positive perception of Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use and the contact effects occurring in the communication of Transcarpathian-Hungarians than Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students studying in Hungary.

The majority of the students claim that dialectal phenomena also occur in online communication. Dialectal phenomena are used the most in online messages by those college students studying in Transcarpathia who are majoring in humanities and social sciences, information technology and mathematics. This allows us to conclude that those majoring in the humanities and social sciences, information technology and mathematics have a more positive opinion of dialectal phenomena than those studying natural sciences.

After examining the language use attributes of different respondent groups, we can state that English words, slang expressions, and words containing dialectal phenomena occur in the online language use of both Transcarpathian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Hungarian students. At the same time, Transcarpathian-Hungarian internet users have linguistic features typically used in small groups, for example, code switching and Russian/Ukrainian loan word use, with which they can express their community belonging and Transcarpathian-Hungarian identity.

The majority of the participants of the research have no negative attitude towards language varieties. The respondents are aware of the fact that people living in different areas speak differently, and thus it is not a problem for them if to a certain extent their language use differs from those in Hungary. Irrespective of this, some of the Transcarpathian-Hungarian students try to adapt their language use to those of Hungarians living in Hungary when in a monolingual Hungarian environment, while others use their own vernacular also when among Hungarians and they perceive it in a positive way that many monolingual Hungarians are interested in Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use and are happy to learn a few new, previously unknown words from Transcarpathian-Hungarians.

In their oral and online communication, Transcarpathian-Hungarian students studying in Hungary consciously choose from their linguistic repertoires depending on whether they talk to Hungarians in Hungary or Transcarpathian-Hungarians. Contacts with those in Hungary strongly influence the language use of Transcarpathian-Hungarian youngsters, while at the same time, when communicating with Transcarpathian-Hungarians they switch back to Transcarpathian-Hungarian language use.

The results of the dissertation fit into research on Transcarpathian bilingualism, while it also highlights the occurrence of contact effects and dialectal phenomena in oral and online communication as well as the related attitudes from a so far unstudied perspective, by means of the comparison of people staying in the mother country and characterized by educational mobility.

The results of my research may also be utilized in higher education. It would be important to pass on information related to sociolinguistics and dialectology also to students who are not studying linguistics because it would help dissolve negative attitudes related to certain language varieties. The positive attitudes towards different language varieties would help create an environment in which Hungarian students coming to Hungary from beyond the borders would not feel differentiated due to their language use, they would not have to worry about receiving negative remarks by others because of their speech or being considered uneducated, this way avoiding negative attitudes towards their own language use.

The answers received from participants of the research indicate that although stereotypes may be visible in connection with certain linguistic features, mostly in connection with dialectal phenomena, the respect for traditions, the love of their own language variety, and thus hidden prestige is also discernible. In their communication with members of their own community, Transcarpathian-Hungarian students use their vernacular confidently, and in many cases they use linguistic features typical of their own settlement on purpose to make communication more informal and friendlier. This confirms the argument of sociolinguistics according to which different linguistic forms carry social meaning, while the indication of community belonging and the expression of identity represent important functions of language.

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List of publications related to the dissertation

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