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Andrea Parapatics: On Dialect Awareness in the Middle Transdanubian Region of Hungary
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On Dialect Awareness in the Middle Transdanubian Region of Hungary

A tanulmány a közép-dunántúli–kisalföldi nyelvjárási régióban élők nyelvi-nyelvjárási tudatát és nyelvi attitűdjeit vizsgálja az Új magyar nyelvjárási atlasz projekt keretében gyűjtött hanganyagok feldolgozásával és elemzésével. A 2007 és 2012 között az MTA támogatásával megvalósuló projekt a dialektológiai jelenségek felmérése mellett szociolingvisztikai kérdésekről is faggatta az adatközlőket, például: Beszélnek-e itt, ezen a településen tájszólásban? Szebben beszélnek itt, mint a szomszéd településeken? Ugyanúgy beszél városban vagy hivatalos helyen is, mint otthon, családi körben? Előfordult, hogy megszólták nyelvjárási beszédmódja miatt? Jelen tanulmány öt település összesen harminc adatközlőjének válaszait dolgozza fel a projekt több ezer órnyi hangtárából, amely képet ad a régió különböző életkorú és iskolai végzettségű beszélőinek nyelvi mentalitásáról és tudatosságáról. Az eredmények fontos adalékként szolgálnak nemcsak kapcsolódó kutatásokhoz, hanem további tudományos, illetve oktatáspolitikai kérdések feltevéséhez és lépések tervezéséhez is.

1. Introduction

Changes of society and economy, as well as proceedings of urbanization and mobilization all have an effect on Hungarian dialects. Both the area and the usage have become narrower within the ten main regional dialects of the Hungarian language area in the Carpathian Basin (which is not equal to the territory of present-day Hungary). The most conspicuous features have become suppressed in the past decades and we can hardly find monodialectal speakers who have not acquired the standard norm or a variety of the regional standards yet beside their native dialect. However, for most speakers in Hungary have no dialect awareness in contrast to numerous speech communities in the world (cf. e.g. the well-known case of bidialectal literacy in Norway and its importance in developing different competences, Vangsnes et al., 2017; on perceptual dialectological observation of German speakers cf. Purschke, 2011; on dialect awareness of the Estonian speech community cf. Kommel, 2013).

As some recent studies have revealed, the language view of public education in Hungary is still definitely prescriptive in everyday practice (cf. e.g., Parapatics, 2016, 2020; Jánk, 2019; Németh, 2020), therefore, most people cannot learn about linguistic diversity and about the main features and functions of their own regional dialect. Standard Hungarian is not added to one's dialect but regarded as 'the' correct variety (on additive versus subtractive mother tongue education cf. Kiss, 2001a; Kontra, 2003). Dialect forms are usually corrected without any further

explanation and this kind of practice also strengthens negative attitudes towards regional dialects, which can be seen as “bad” language use. In other words: metalinguistic awareness is not developed at school with relation to the mother tongue of most Hungarian children, however, its importance in developing writing skills has already been proven (cf. e.g., Myhill et al., 2013; for discussing the terminology of the question cf. e.g., Camps et al., 1999). In the light of these facts, it is especially important to observe: what kind of attitudes towards dialect speech can children, the members of the new generations, can learn from their parents, grandparents and other persons in their life. These people (also) grew up in a standard based culture and they have had to experience regional diversity of Hungarian in their everyday life without any theoretical basic knowledge.

Although sociolinguistic approach was introduced to public education many years ago (cf. the former order of the National Curriculum = NC), results of recent studies on the topic prove that most members of the Hungarian speech community do not have a confident knowledge about regional diversity of their mother tongue and they usually fall back on a prescriptive viewpoint in which Standard Hungarian is the prestigious one and regional dialects are stigmatized (cf. e.g., Kontra, 2006; Berente et al., 2016; ParapatICS, 2020). Since dialectal speech is associated with lower levels of education, many speakers try to avoid it, give up using it and try not to teach it to their children. Hungarian education from pre-school to higher education also teaches the Standard and corrects regional dialect forms as mistakes (cf. e.g., Jánk, 2019; Németh, 2020; ParapatICS, 2020). Although regional dialects are constantly changing in a changing world, they are not dying and they carry covert prestige as symbols of local identity, as the easiest form of communication, as “the language of happiness” (Kiss, 2009) (on the dimensional view of language cf. Juhász, 2002). Numerous studies have proven the existence of dialect forms nowadays not only in older speakers’ but also in young people’s language use (cf. e.g., different chapters in Kontra et al., 2016 and in ParapatICS, 2020).

Between 2007 and 2012 an enormous project of Hungarian dialectology, the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects (NGAHD) also investigated the question, supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Thousands of dialect data were collected from hundreds of respondents in 100 inland and 86 transborder data collection sites of the Hungarian language area in the Carpathian Basin. The project was partly longitudinal: 220 questions on dialect features (phonemes, syntax and word stock) formed part of a questionnaire of the General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects (GAHD) at the middle of the past century (the data of the GAHD at the same data collections sites were collected between 1949 and 1964). 48 new questions of the NGAHD focused on the respondents’ language attitudes and language (dialect) use.

As a field worker and researcher of the project the author presents some results of these questions in this paper. It examines these topics of perceptual

dialectology, opinions and experiences of the speech community related to their own dialect and to other dialects of Hungarian. The paper reveals some further questions on the present and the future of dialects due to the well-known fact that language attitudes of speakers have an effect on the spread or retreat of language forms. By analysing the respondents' answers, objective results can be learnt on linguistic mentality and on the extent of language awareness of the rural speech community in the Hungarian language area. These results provide important additional information for other studies on the topic and also offer a reliable basis for drawing further research questions and hypotheses.

2. Aims and hypotheses

The present study aims to examine the following questions: To what extent are the speakers of the Middle Transdanubian dialect region aware of the regionalisms of their own language use? What kind of attitudes do they have towards the speech style of their own region and of other areas? What kind of experiences and knowledge do they have about the variability of the language in general?

The hypotheses of this study are as follows: Not every speaker is aware of the regional features of his/her language use, many of them consider the speech style of their village equal to the Standard variety (H1), while they can perceive and even judge regionalisms that differ from their speech (H2). Whatever they know about standard and regional varieties of Hungarian most of them like their own speech style (H3). Most respondents have already felt negative experiences due to the regionalisms of their speech and (those who can perceive their own features) try to avoid them in formal situations (H4). They associate dialect speech with the older members of the community therefore they prognosticate the death of dialects (H5). It is supposed that some participants would regret it because a special kind of knowledge could be preserved and learnt by dialect words. Other respondents would not regret dialect death due to their stereotypes that speaking the Standard and forgetting dialect speech is a sign of a higher level of education (H5).

3. Data and method

In this paper sociolinguistic interviews of five data collection sites of the NGAHD in Veszprém county and Győr–Moson–Sopron county are annotated and analysed, focusing on the first part of the questionnaire, e.g.: Is any dialect spoken in this village? Is the Hungarian spoken here more beautiful than in other villages or towns? Are there any differences between the language use of older and younger inhabitants here? Do you think dialect speech stays alive here in the future? Would you regret the disappearance of it? Do you speak in the same way either in a formal situation or at home with your family? Have you ever been taunted because of your dialect speech?

While analysing the records and drawing the conclusions it is continuously kept in mind that the situation in which the participants had to talk to strangers (the field workers) motivates a considerable extent of self- and audio monitoring and reflection on their communication. Therefore, due to the situation of the interview, all the linguistic data that will be analysed can be less or more consciously performed and controlled, and so they do not always describe the real situation of language use. However, the sincerity of the participants' answers cannot be verified, another method is added to the research: since the author is a native and still inhabitant of the examined area a great number of additional data can be collected by passive observation. This fact can also help the researcher to filter out the data of the NGAHD project that might differ remarkably from reality.

The NGADH data collection sites of the examined area are as follows (from the South to the North, with the date of the record in brackets): Kapolcs (2008), Tapolcafü (2009), Magyargencs (2009) (Veszprém county), Bakonyszentlászló (2011) and Dad (2011) (Győr–Moson–Sopron county) (see also Figure 1).

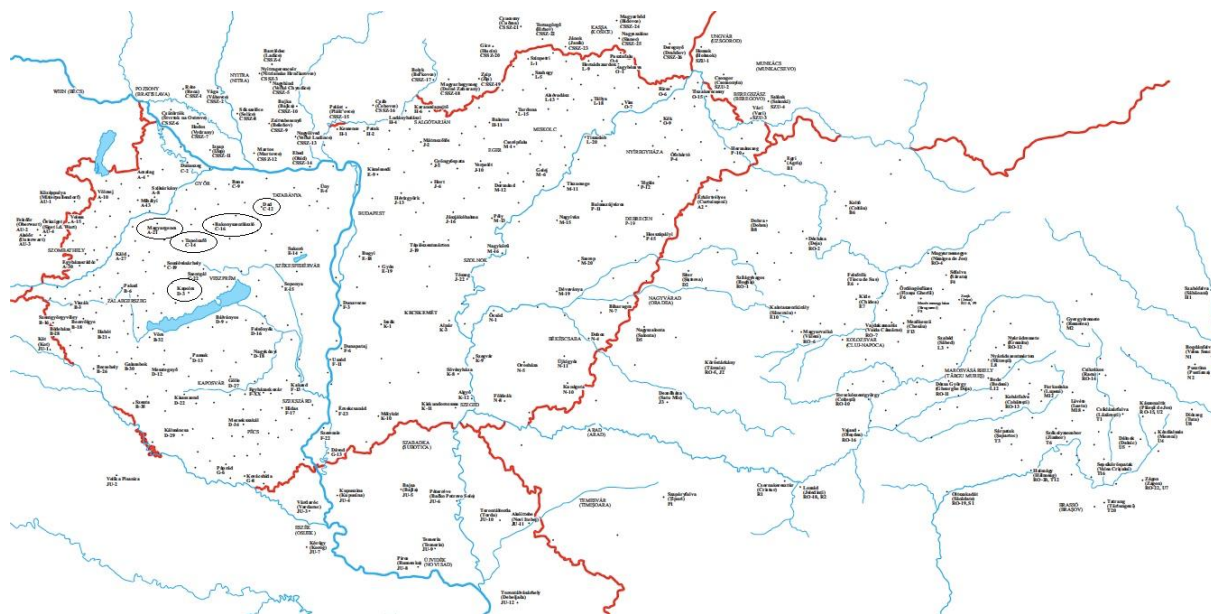


Figure 1. Data collection sites of the study in the network of the NGAHD project

The original purpose of the NGAHD was to ask at least 10 participants to complete the dialect questionnaire of each data collection site and at least 5 participants to complete the sociolinguistic questionnaire. All the interviews began with a recorded conversation on various topics for at least 20-30 minutes. The respondents of a data collection site had to represent both genders equally and four different age groups: 30–45, 46–60, 61–70 and above 70. Since the dialect survey contains 220 questions of the GAHD the time requirement may need two hours altogether and the participants may not always take their time and energy to answer to further 48 questions of the sociolinguistic survey.

32 subjects were interviewed in the 3 data collection sites of Veszprém county and 14 of them responded to the sociolinguistic questionnaire. In the 2 data collection sites of Győr–Moson–Sopron county another 32 participants were asked and 16 responded to the sociolinguistic questions, therefore, the present study analyses data from 30 respondents. The participants of the villages within the study are broken down as follows: Magyargencs: 11/2 participants (in further use: Mg.), Tapolcafő: 11/7 (Tf.), Kapolcs: 10/5 (K.), Bakonyszentlászló: 8/6 (Bsz.), Dad: 24/10 (D.). Many of the interviews were conducted and recorded by the author as junior research fellow of the NGAHD project. These data collection sites are surrounded by the following towns in the Middle Transdanubian region: Pápa (30,000 inhabitants), Veszprém (56,000), Esztergom (30,000) and Győr (125,000; all data of the population are estimated, cf. <http://nepesseg.com>; date of access: 17. 07. 2019.). Magyargencs is 20 and Tapolcafő is 7 kilometers away from Pápa, Kapolcs is located 33 kilometers from Veszprém. Bakonyszentlászló can be found between Pápa and Győr, 40 kilometers from both towns, while Dad is between Győr and Esztergom, 60-70 kilometers away from them. Tapolcafő and Kapolcs are accessible via main roads (Road 83 and 71), the other villages are accessible by B roads.

The total length of the examined sociolinguistic interviews is more than 6 hours. The ages of the 30 participants, noting their highest level of education, are summed up in Table 1. Although, not every age group of the NGAHD is represented in each data collection site, the whole sample meets this expectation. The youngest respondent was 33, the oldest was 81 in the year of the interview. The lowest level of education of the participants is 8 classes of elementary school, the highest is bachelor degree. The sample has 16 female and 14 male participants.

Table 1. Middle Transdanubian participants of the NGAHD: age, gender (f = female, m = male) and education (elem. = elementary school, voc. = vocational school, hs. = high school, techn. = technical high school, bach. = bachelor's degree)

	K.	Tf.	Mg.	Bsz.	D.
30–45 years	33, m, voc.	–	45, f, voc.	43, f, bach. 45, m, techn.	38, f, hs. 43, m, bach.
46–60 years	48, f, hs. 52, m, voc.	50, f, hs. 54, m, hs. 59, m, hs.	–	–	47, f, bach. 49, m, hs.
61–70 years	69, m, bach. 69, f, elem.	67, f, elem.	64, f, elem.	–	61, m techn. 61, f, hs. 66, f, elem. 70, m, techn.
Above 71 years	–	71, f, elem. 72, m, elem. 80, f, elem.	–	73, f, bach. 75, f, hs. 77, m, elem. 81, m, elem.	78, m, elem. 78, f, elem.

4. Findings

The answers to the questions attained nearly similar results from the five separate data collection sites. Initially, the cases where the partial results of a village differ from the others, are presented here. Following this, the overall results are then presented later in the chapter. The paper also cites a great number of opinions from the participants. The answers are cited first in the original, Hungarian language and after in brackets in English, omitting most disfluencies of spontaneous speech that were specifically motivated by the situation. This paper which predominantly seeks language attitudes, does not aim to note and analyse dialect phonemes. However, it serves as important additional information for sociolinguistic questions, which the author recommends to be examined in further studies. Still, it can be declared that regionalisms of the examined area can be perceived in the language use of all 30 participants, to different extents (on dialect description of the region see e.g., Posgay, 1979; Molnár, 1982; Juhász, 2001; Hári & H. Tóth, 2010; ParapatICS, 2020).

While most respondents of three data collection sites think that dialect speech is used in their villages, it is refused by three of five participants of Kapolcs and the two participants of Magyargencs. However, many other speakers gave uncertain answers, such as:

Hát itt, Tapolcafőn nem nagyon. Hát olyan jellegzetes beszéd van, ugye, itt, ez a Pápa környéke... meg például voltam Parádon gyógyfürdőn, ott egy illető megizélta, hogy dunántúli vagyok, hogy hova való vagyok a beszédemről. Valahogy... nem tudom, miről... nem úgy ejti ki az ember a szavakat... mégis valami tájjellegű beszéd azért csak lehetett [Well, here in Tapolcafő it is not used. Well, there is a typical speech style here, you know, here, in the region of Pápa...and I have been to Parád in a spa, and somebody found out there I'm Transdanubian, found out where I came from because of my speech. Somehow...I don't know how...words are not pronounced in the same way...some kind of dialect speech could happen, though] (Tf., 72, m, elem.).

The total results of the five data collection sites are as follows: 47% of the participants think that dialect speech is not used in their village, 53% think the opposite. As an additional data 17% of all the respondents think they use the same language at home with their family members as it sounds on the television or on the radio (in Hungary it means the Standard), 63% thinks they speak a local dialect and 10% do not percept the differences between the two variants. Two participants did not respond to the questions.

Most respondents think neutrally about the speech style of their village, except the subjects of Bakonyszentlászló: five respondents of six are sure their language is less nice than in other parts of the language area. Therefore, as the total results in Figure 2 reveal, there is a strong influence of opinion by the inhabitants of this

village. The differences between the data collection sites in this case are illustrated in Figure 3.

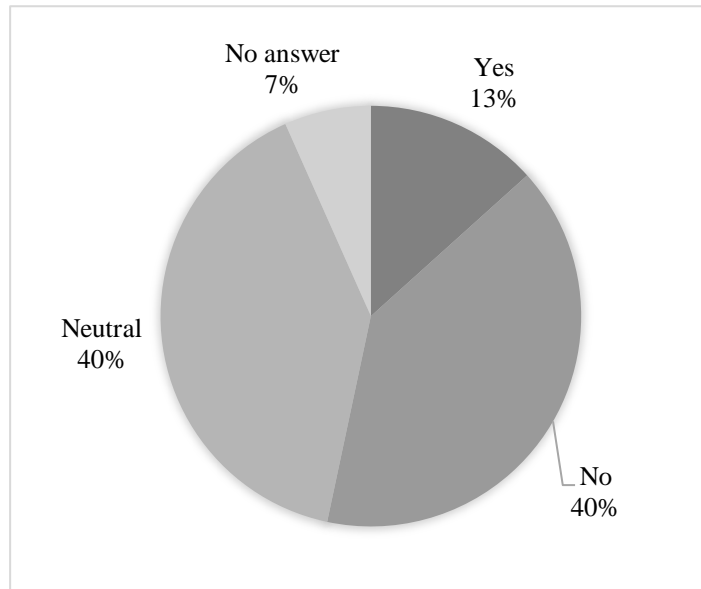


Figure 2. Participants' opinions about their language use compared to other dialects: "Do you think your dialect is more beautiful than others?"

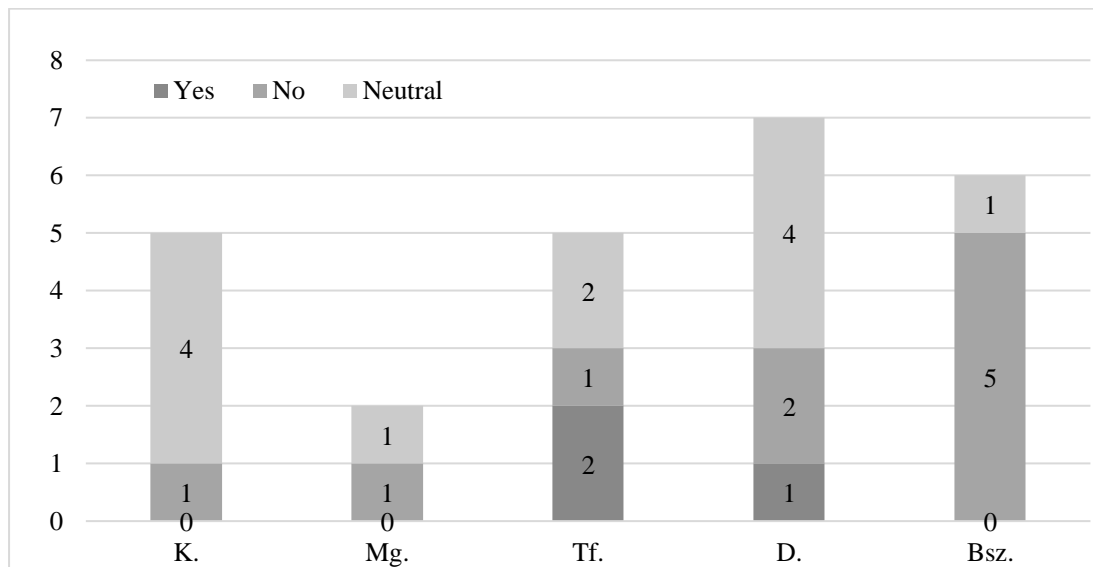


Figure 3. Partial results of the question

There are similar results of the case when the participants were asked whether the dialect speech is predicted to be spoken in their village in the future or not. Although, three fifths of the respondents of Kapolcs think that the inhabitants of their village do not speak a dialect, they still responded to the other questions and four of them think it will disappear. This ambivalence of their answers reveals the low level of their language awareness; however, it is also typical in other data collection sites and in connection with other questions. Only a couple of

respondents remained consistent about their attitudes and did not respond to irrelevant questions in the light of their previous opinions. 50% of all the participants prognosticates the disappearance of the local dialect, 43% think the opposite and 7% of them do not know what will happen. Some examples: “Hát...eltűnik hamarosan. Most már egy kiöregedett falu, úgyhogy az öregek elmennek, aztán szerintem hamarosan vége lesz” [“Well...it will disappear soon. Now it is an old village, so the older ones pass away then it will end soon after I think”] (Mg., 45, m, voc.)”.

...a modernizáció betört mindenhova, tehát most már nincs akkora különbség falu meg város között már technika terén is, hát éppen úgy el fog siklani, tehát el fog veszni szerintem [...modernization have broken into everywhere, so now there are not many differences between villages and towns, even related to technique, so it is going to disappear, as well, I think] (K., 52, m, voc.).

Attól tartok, ez ki fog kopni, gyakorlatilag talán ott tud fennmaradni, ahol sokat beszélnek a nemzedékek együtt, tehát a gyerek és a szülő sokat tud beszélni, és akkor azért megmarad. Ha nem is használja az ember, de azért megmarad a tudatában [I’m afraid it is going to disappear, practically it can stay alive where generations talk to each other a lot, where children and parents can talk a lot and then it continues. Even it is not used, it still lives mentally] (D., 43, m, bach.).

An example for the opposite: “Hát szerintem ez hosszú idő...megmarad, hát nemigen változik. [...] Miért változna meg?” [“Well, I think, it will be a long time...it will continue, well, it’s not really changing. [...] Why would it change?”] (Bsz., 81, m, elem.).

At last again in Kapolcs a greater difference can be found in the results of the question if there is a village/town where Hungarian is spoken in an ugly way. While most respondents of the other villages answered “No”, only among speakers of Kapolcs it was typical to think, in fact, to know a concrete place, where “bad language” can be found:

...most nem akarok ízélni, de Pápa környékén, ahogy ott hallottam egy-két emberkét, olyan fura, fura nekem az a kiejtés, ahogyan ők beszélnek. [...] meg az *a*-s beszédet nem szeretem, *a-a*, amikor egymás után két *a*-t ejtenek ki, mondjuk *a autó*, az olyan slamposnak tűnik nekem [I don’t want to...but in the region of Pápa, as I heard some people, it’s strange, the pronunciation is strange for me, the way they speak. [...] then I don’t like the speech with *a*, *a-a*, when they pronounce two *a* after another, let’s say, *a autó* [the car; in Standard Hungarian: *az autó* – notes from the author], it seems like slovenly for me] (K., 33, m, voc.).

“– Van, igen, hogyne. – Melyik? – Nem mondom” [“– There is, of course. – Which one? – I won’t tell it.”] (K., 69, m, bach.); „Biztos van...Gondolom, van” [“There should be...I think, there is” (K., 69, f, elem.). Some further examples from other data collection sites: “Énszerintem lehet...hogyan olyan fordított formán vagy nem is tudom. Szerintem van” [“I think there can be...like in a twisted way or I don’t know. I think, there is”] (Mg., 64, f, elem.).

Hát énnekem, mondom, az a nyírségi beszéd, az, megmondom őszintén, nem tetszett. Az valahol olyan elvont. A szegedi, az tetszik, a »vazsmegye-vazsvár«, az is tetszik, Győr–Sopron megyei is. Pestit, azt meg egyáltalán nem szeretem, az egy olyan külön világ énnekem [Well, I tell you, that speech in Nyírség, that one, I tell you honestly, I didn’t like it. That’s like abstract. The speech in Szeged, I like it, the »vazsmegye-vazsvár« [reflecting to a typical dialect phonetic phenomenon in another region – notes from the author], I also like it, and the speech in Győr–Sopron county, as well. The speech of Pest [Budapest, the capital – notes from the author], I don’t like it at all, that’s like another world for me] (Tf., 54, m, hs.).

These opinions represent all the participants (three from Kapolcs and one from Magyargencs and Tapolca) who answered “Yes” to this question. That means 18%. One third of the respondents answered that they do not know, they have never heard of a village or town where Hungarian is spoken in an ugly way – „Azt Önnek jobban kell tudni” [“You should know it better”] (Bsz., 77, m, elem.) –, and further 43% said they have already heard speech styles that are typical in other regions but they know it only seems strange for them, while it is natural for the others, therefore, it would make no sense to judge it: “Nem azt mondanám, hogy csúnyán, hanem nekünk esetleg furcsán. Tehát mi nem salgótarjánosan beszélünk, az egy olyan beszéd. De nem csúnya az se” [“I wouldn’t say ugly, maybe strange for us. So, we don’t speak in a Salgótarján style [a North-Eastern town with a conspicuous dialect of the “Palóc” region – notes from the author], that is that kind of speech. But it is neither ugly”] (K., 52, m, voc.).

Hallottam Felvidéket is, voltunk, voltam is ott, nagyon érdekes volt. Nem értettem, mit mondtak, de nem csúnya volt. Egyáltalán nem csúnya, nagyon érdekes volt [I’ve heard Highland, as well, we’ve been, I’ve been there, as well, it was very interesting. I couldn’t understand what they said but it wasn’t ugly. Not at all, it was very interesting] (Tf., 50, f, hs.).

“Szerintem nincs, mert még hogyha tájszólással is beszélnek, őnekik az a természetes, és nem szeretném, hogyha az enyémet [...] tartanák furcsának” [“I don’t think there is because even if they speak a dialect it’s natural for them, and I don’t want them [...] to consider mine a strange one.”] (D., 66, f, elem.); “...én megtisztelek minden települési tájszólást és nagyon kíváncsian hallgatom” [“...I

respect every local dialect and I listen to them very curiously”] (D., 43, m, bach.); “Nem, hát mindegyik nyelvjárásnak megvan a maga szépsége, nem. Ez így együtt szép, ahogy van” [“No, well, every dialect has its own beauty, no. It’s nice all together, how it is”] (D., 47, f, bach.); “Hát ebben ez a szép, hogyha valaki így beszél, hogy az önmagától szép, úgy gondolom” [“Well, it’s the beauty in it, if someone speaks this way, it’s nice because of itself, I think”] (Bsz., 43, f, bach.).

Beside the above presented cases every other question received similar results at every data collection site. 83% of the participants experienced differences between the language use of older and younger speakers: the most conspicuous one is that 60% associate dialect speech with the older generations because “now they [youngsters] attend school in towns, and they acquire that urban language there” (Tf., 71, f, elem.). Nearly a quarter of the respondents thinks that dialect is also spoken by youngsters and according to three subjects: by nobody. A decisive 90% like the local dialect and 73% would regret its disappearance. The reasons of positive attitudes are its familiarity and naturality. Many respondents emphasized that “I like it”; “We like it” [highlighting by the author]. Only one subject answered she did not like her own dialect: “Hát nem, hát szerintem az szebben van, ha azt mondjuk, *ilyen* meg *olyan*, mint az *illen* meg *ollan*” [“Well, no, well, I think it is nicer if we say *ilyen* and *olyan* than *illen* and *ollan*”] (Mg., 64, f, elem.) (in Standard Hungarian: *ilyen* and *olyan* with shorter consonants; the respondent told the “nicer” example still in dialect with intervocal stretching). When the subjects went into detail as to why they would regret the disappearance of their dialect, their answers mostly reflected to the multifunctionality of dialects and sometimes to easier understanding. „Azért sajnálnám, mert sokkal színesebb lenne, ha többféle formában mondanánk ki ugyanazt” [“I would regret it because it would be much more colourful if we told the same thing in more forms”] (Bsz., 73, f, bach.).

Én sajnálnám, igen. Hát szerintem ez szép dolog, hogy egy adott közösségnek van egy olyan dolog a nyelvben, ami összetartja őket. Ez is az szerintem, hogy vannak ilyen kifejezéseink, mégha nem is tudunk róla néha [I would regret it, yes. Well, I think, it’s a nice thing that a community has a thing in the language that holds them together. It’s the thing, I think, that we have these expressions even if we are not aware of them sometimes] (Bsz., 43, f, bach.).

“...ez egy helyi érték, én így gondolom ezt” [“...it’s a local worth, I think so”] (D., 43, m, bach.); “Hát sajnálnám tal...igen. Védjük a hazát!” [“Well, I would regret it, mayb...yes. We should protect our homeland!”] (Tf., 71, f, elem.). 10% of the respondents have neutral attitudes towards the question. Another 10% would not regret the disappearance for the reasons that follow: “Hát nem is tudom, hát...csak jobb, hogyha szebben beszélnek, nem? Hát, ugye, az számít szebbnek, ha valaki szépen ki tudja ejteni a szavakat, hát az biztos” [“Well, I don’t know, well...it’s better to speak nicer, isn’t it? Well, so, that counts nicer if somebody

can pronounce the words nicer, it's sure"] (Bsz., 77, m, elem.); "Hát jobb volna, hogyha csak úgy, hát hogyan mondjam, hivatalosabban beszélne, ugye" [Well, it would be better if, let's say, they spoke in a more formal way" (D., 78, f, elem.).

Positive attitudes towards dialect speech are certainly motivated, and definitely confirmed by experiences that the respondents reported in connection with further questions. None of them can recall a case when their village was mocked due to its speech style and only two participants mentioned that they had been somehow offended due to their dialect, one at her work place (Tf., 50, f, hs.) and one within her family:

Anyósom szokta mondani, hogy a szentlászlóiak csúnyábban beszélnek szerinte, mert ők sváb származásúak [...] és ők a magyarnak ezt a szebb változatát [...] sajátította el, a neki szebbet. [...] Hát meglepődtem rajta, és aztán mondtam neki, hogy ez nem baj, meséltem neki pontosan a magyartanárnőt, aki a főiskolán tanított, hogy ő is használta a tájszólást és az szép volt [My mother-in-law used to say that people in Bakonyszentlászló speak uglier, according to her, because she is of Swabian origin [...] and they acquired [...] this nicer variety of Hungarian, nicer for her. [...] Well, I was surprised then I said it's not a problem, I told her about the Hungarian teacher who taught me in college that she also used her dialect and that was nice, too] (Bsz., 43, f, bach.).

It is important to add that independently of these memories both respondents answered they like their dialect, they have never been ashamed because of it and they would regret it if it disappeared. None of the 30 examined participants have been in a situation when they were ashamed of their speech style, in fact, the answers to this question were very definite with the repetition of the negative particle. Their reasons were as follows: "...mert hát mit szégyelljek azon, hát abba születtem, ezt tanultam" ["...because what is to be ashamed of it, I was born into this, I learnt this"] (Tf., 72, m, elem.); "Nem. Nem szégyelltem, mert [...] abban nem tudok változtatni" ["No. I haven't been ashamed of it, because [...] I can't change it"] (Tf., 54, m, hs.); "Hát azért nem szégyelltem, hát nem, csak észrevettem, hogy én nem beszélek olyan szépen" ["Well, no, I haven't been ashamed of it, no, I have only noticed that I don't speak so nice"] (Tf., 71, f, elem.); "Nem, nem röstelltem soha. Szerintem én...mindegyiket helyesnek tartom, az a helyzet" ["No, I have never been ashamed of it. I think I...consider all of them correct, that's the situation"] (Bsz., 45, m, techn.).

Following these experiences that 80% of the participants reported they did not change their speech style in formal situations: they speak the same way both in a town during office work and at home among their family: "Nem, nem, én ilyen vagyok, én úgy beszélek. Akinek nem tetszik, akkor majd szól" ["No, no, I'm like this, I speak that way. Those who don't like it will warn me"] (Tf., 54, m, hs.);

“Én nem forgatom ki a beszédet...ahogy megszoktam, ahogy én beszélek” [“I don’t twist speech...the way I used to, the way I speak” (Tf., 80, f, elem.).

Hát általában én azt, amit itthon megszoktam, így. Nem tudom törni a izét, kiforgatni a nyelvemet. Hát persze az ember igyekszik úgy azért, tudod, egy kicsit, na, korrektabbul vagy mittudomén, ahogy az ember, mint amit itthon megszokott. De úgy, hogy különbség, hát nemigen [Well, I generally use that I’m used to at home, this way. I can’t break, well, twist my tongue. Well, of course, we try, you know, a bit more correctly or I don’t know, as we got used to it at home. But as a difference, well, not really] (Tf., 72, m, elem.).

Hát automatikusan talán egy hivatalos helyen az ember egy kicsit formálisabb, nem annyira közvetlen, de azt gondolom, hogy igen. Tehát a tájszólásban, a kiejtésben nem hiszem, hogy különbséget tennék [Well, maybe automatically in an official place we are a bit more formal, not so direct, but I think, yes. So, I don’t think I differentiate in dialect speech, in pronunciation] (Bsz., 43, f, bach.).

20% of the respondents changed their speech style consciously in formal situations:

Hát egy kicsit finomabban, igen, hát értelmesebben...hát próbál az ember azért mégis, hogy hát egy kicsit mégis intelligensebben beszél, ugye, az ember, hogyha olyan helyre megy [Well, a bit more polished, yes, well, clearer...well, we try to speak in a bit more intelligent way, so, when we go to a place like that] (Tf., 67, f, elem.).

...próbálok normálisabban beszélni, mert én oktatásokkal foglalkozok és ott megpróbálom úgy mondani a szavakat, ahogy elvárják, hogy úgy mondjam. Nekem is még egy-két szó, vagy a *-hoz/-hez/-höz* a problémám, lehet...de nem probléma, mert én ezt így tanultam, így tudom, csak azokat próbálom korrigálni. Hát próbálok másképpen, sajnos, beszélni. Ez az elvárás, sajnos [...I try to speak in a more normal way because I run training sessions and I try to say the words there as they are supposed to be, let’s say. Some words are still problematic or *-hoz/-hez/-höz* [three variants of inflectional affix for allativus, also in Standard Hungarian; in some Hungarian dialect where *ö /œ/* phoneme is pronounced instead of Standard *e /ɛ/*, *-höz* is more common instead of Standard *-hez* – notes from the author], maybe...but it’s not a problem because I have learnt it this way, I know it this way, only I try to correct myself. Well, I try to speak in another way, I am sorry to say] (Bsz., 45, m, tech.).

Another participant also mentioned examples for style shifting in her previous answers:

Voltam Pesten a férjemmel kórházban, aztán elmentem vásáni egy hentesüzletbe föl-vágottat, és a hentes azt mondta, hogy »Pápai tetszik lenni?«. Mondom neki, hogy »Miért?«. Azt mondja, mert a beszédemről, pedig olyan szépen akartam beszélni [I went to Budapest with my husband who was in hospital then I went to buy meat at the butcher's and the butcher said »Are you from Pápa?«. I said »Why?«. He said because of my speech, although, I wanted to speak so nicely] (Tf., 71, f, elem.).

...hazajönnek a gyerekeim is, azok is, meg ha picit unokámat kihozzák Pápáról, az is olyan szépen beszél, városi, akkor én is igyekszem, mert hát ne éntőlem tanulja meg a csúnya, csúnyán kiejtett szavakat, hát aztán most már úgy elsajátítom azért. De azért még én is... azért hajlok a régre [...my children come home, they speak, too, and if they bring my little grandchild from Pápa, they speak so nicely, too, they are urban, then I also do my best so as not to learn the ugly, the ugly pronounced words from me, well, then now I also acquired that one. But I still tend to the old one] (the same participant; she thinks that an ugly dialect is spoken in her village but she would also regret its disappearance).

5. Discussion

The questions were answered and the hypotheses were partly proven by the results. The data of the NGAHD project confirmed that the speakers of the examined region are not aware of their dialect background and the regionalisms of their village in unison (H1). Also, the educational level of the participants that is presented in the sources of the cited thoughts, clearly shows that the level of dialect awareness is independent from the level of education: definitely opposite opinions can be collected from subjects both with elementary and bachelor degrees even within the same village. It was also confirmed that the respondents can perceive differences between the language use of their own region and of others.

Although, the hypothesis (H2) about the attitudes towards it has been disproved by the results: the attitudes towards other dialects of the Hungarian language area are much more tolerant than can be expected by everyday experiences and by the results of previous studies (Jánk, 2019; Parapatics, 2020; see also Kiss, 2001b: 221). The participants of the present study are relatively conscious about handling their own perception of other dialects reminding themselves of the subjectivity of the question and interpreting language variability as a natural concomitant of every natural language. Therefore, even it is not unequivocal to consider their own

dialect more beautiful than the others, a considerable number of the participants have positive attitudes towards it (H3). Similar results were reported in a recent study about another village in the examined region. Szentgál in Veszprém county has a unique situation related to language attitudes towards dialects due to its native dialectologist of the past century, Lajos Lőrincze. The village still puts a great emphasis on the development of its inhabitants' dialect awareness in its educational and cultural institutions as part of cultivating his memory (cf. Steinmacher, 2019).

Experiences of NGAHD participants disproved the other hypothesis (H4) that was also based on previous studies mentioned above that they have had negative impressions due to their dialect background: only two subjects reported these kinds of memories. None of the 30 respondents have been in a situation of shame, as they confessed. However, it can happen that their precaution minimalised the chances of negative experiences because the hypothesis of style shifting in formal situations was confirmed, though, only to a minimal extent. 20% reported that they speak in a “more normal” way in formal situations to foreigners than to family members because it helps them feel “gentler”, “more correct” and “more intelligent”.

The hypothesis on the usage and disappearance of dialects (H5) is partly approved: less than two thirds of the participants associate dialect speech with older speakers and only half of the subjects predict the disappearance of dialects. Most of the respondents, nearly three quarters of them would regret it and only 10% would not (H6). Some possible correlations between the answers are presented in Figure 4 which also sums up some results of the study.

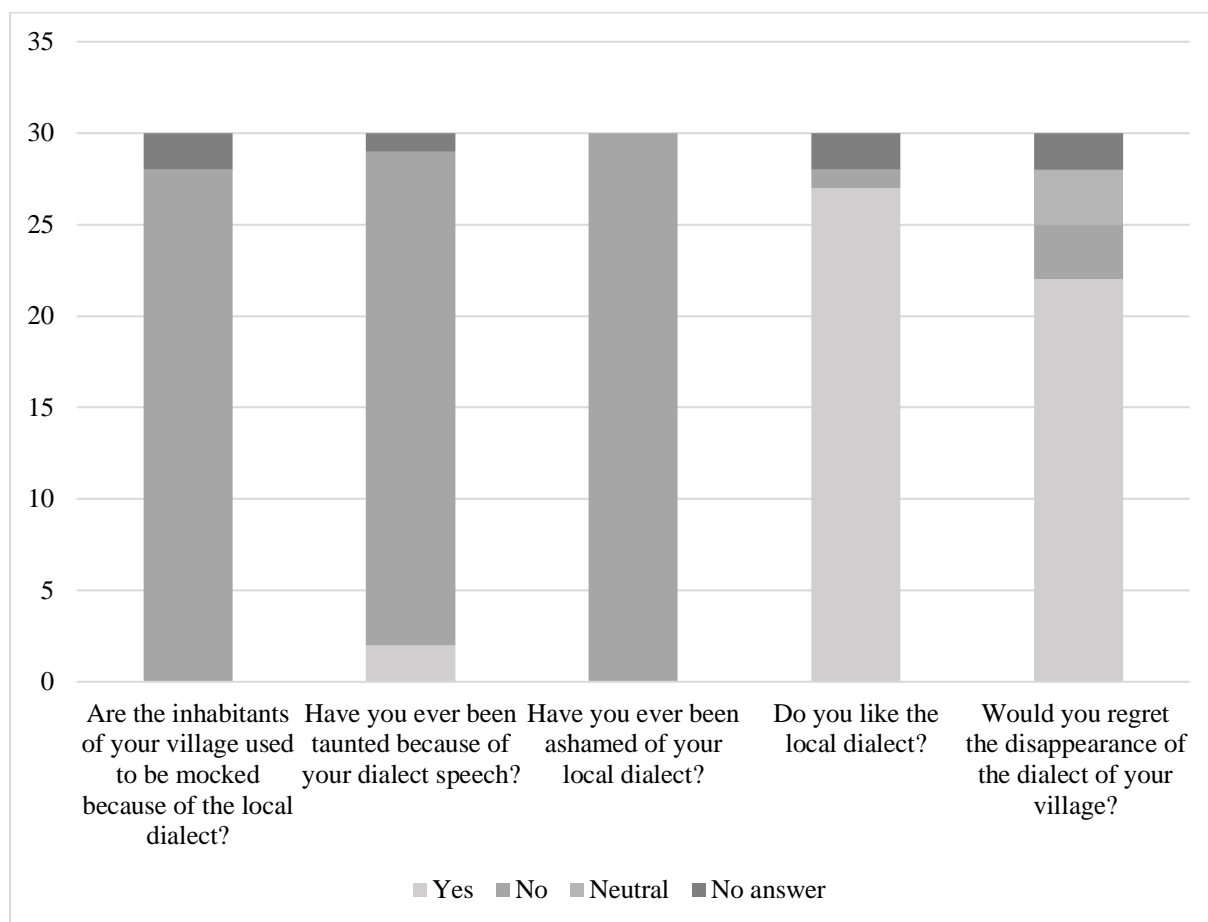


Figure 4. Summary of the language attitudes towards the speech style of the own village

6. Recommendations

The hypotheses of the present study about negative attitudes towards the dialects of other regions and about negative experiences due to the own dialect speech was based on recent connecting research results. The participants of those researches were hundreds of teachers with bachelor or master degree (Jánk, 2019) and more than 500 university students (ParapatICS, 2020). These studies reported that most respondents of both studies follow stereotypes in considering dialect speech and dialect speakers. In the case of teachers, it can and used to lead to linguisticism related to the evaluation of students, as the study revealed. Although the participant teachers learned different information, in different periods, about the main purposes and principles of mother tongue education, the expectations of the National Curriculum, in connection with linguistic diversity, tolerating and respecting regional dialects (cf. NC 10639, 10640, 10642, 10653, 10660, 10666, 10673 etc.) are supposed to be followed by every practicing teacher in Hungary as well as by students who have passed their school leaving exam months or a maximum of years before being part of the other investigation. According to the requirements of this final exam of public education, they have learnt much about their mother tongue and about its variability. A considerable number of the

examined participants of the NGAHD attended lower levels of education than teachers and university students, and many of them learned nothing about linguistics diversity and tolerance in their school years many decades ago. Their metalinguistic awareness in light of their answers to the sociolinguistic survey of NGAHD is uncertain in many topics. Still, the language attitude of a convincing part of the respondents can become an example for present-day youngsters and well-educated adults. To learn this attitude of being proud of one's own dialect and being tolerant of the speech style of other regions at the same time is one of the main purposes of public modern tongue education in Hungary nowadays. The only exception is Kapolcs, where the least number of participants think they speak a dialect.

According to some recent international investigations of bidialectism, with a proper level of metalinguistic awareness (cf. e.g., Leivada, 2017) can result in similar neurological structures as in the case of bilingualism, therefore, it can result in similar cognitive advantages (Kirk et al., 2014; Ross & Melinger, 2016; but see also Hazen, 2001). This advantage has been confirmed in cases of executive control and attention (cf. e.g., Bialystok et al., 2008; Barac & Bialystok, 2012; Chung-Fat-Yim et al., 2019), protecting against and delaying the onset of the symptoms of dementia (Bialystok et al., 2007) and Alzheimer's disease (Estanga et al., 2017; Klimova et al., 2017), and of flexible thinking in general (Bialystok & Viswanathan, 2009).

The existence of advantages in reading comprehension, arithmetic and second language learning competences among Norwegian bidialectal pupils, recently proved convincing. Children with a Nynorsk mother tongue who also had to learn majority language Bokmål at school, in addition to their first language, performed above the average in the national competence assessments (Vangsnes et al., 2017; for more research results on cognitive advantages of bidialectal speakers see also Antoniou & Katsos, 2017; Antoniou et al., 2018). As Albert and Obler (1978) stated: the more similar two languages are, the more effort the speakers have to make, in order to avoid interference. Ross and Melinger (2016) conclude that possessing two varieties of the same language, represented as two systems, can lead to a higher degree of cognitive advantage among bidialectals, than bilinguals who have two languages with greater differences. Approving the existence of bidialectal advantages among Hungarian speakers would mean a decisive step in changing standard based practices of public education and thus, the attitudes of the Hungarian speech community towards dialect speech.

Conclusions of the present study raise further research questions (while keeping in mind the complexity of the factors that have an effect on the formation of attitudes): Do language attitudes of the NGAHD participants differ in other parts of the language area? Do those speakers tolerate the variability of language more than those who can perceive the differences between their own speech style and the Standard? Which kind of (further) advantages can be confirmed among

bidialectal speakers with an appropriate level of metalinguistic awareness? The enormous data base of the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects can provide a considerable number of new data responding to most of these questions and also for further research and researchers.

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