

Ilona P. Lakatos – Margit T. Károlyi – Edit Iglai
The Effects of the New Borders after the Versailles Peace Treaty on the Changes of the Language¹

“Today's situation of Hungarian dialectology is characterized by the complementary co-existence of traditional fields, tasks and methods, and the new questions, challenges and approaches.” - this is how Jenő Kiss described the situation of dialectology in Hungary a few years ago (1998: 931). The research team of the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics at the College of Nyíregyháza, making use of the geographical position of the institute and the positive changes that have recently taken place in crossing the borders, carries out research at 18 settlements on both sides of the Hungarian – Ukrainian and also on both sides of the Hungarian – Romanian border. The research, for which resources from applications nos. FKFP 0890/97 and OTKA T-025237/98 have been used, have been going on since 1997. Summed up in a nutshell, the topic of the research are the changes that have been experienced on the two sides of the border since the Versailles Peace Treaty as people now live in allegedly similar geo-political but different cultural and language-political circumstances.

When setting up the goals and research methods the principles of complexity have been followed. Our examinations are characterized by a dimensional approach, as Dezső Juhász and Jenő Kiss put it. Linguistic data are processed and evaluated in the crossing points of spatial, time and social dimensions. We ourselves describe this method as an analysis of changes, with socio-linguistic and language geographic dimensions. Spatial dimension is provided by the geographical distribution of the locations of survey, the time dimension was provided by the comparison of the collected data with the findings of older surveys and with historic dialects, whereas the social dimension comes from the socio-linguistic aspects used to select the data suppliers. In accordance with the objectives of the research – examining the effects of the border in separating dialects from each other, preventing linguistic standardization – time dimension and social aspects have also been approached from geographical grounds (cf. Jenő Kiss ed. 2001: 92). It is our hope to produce a multi-dimensional linguistic atlas from the material gathered and processed shortly. The informatic process of the data and the preparatory work of the atlas has been started within the frame of the previously mentioned OTKA tender, No: 76239.

Students of Hungarian language and literature have been involved in the data gathering process. When making preparations for the survey and selecting the data suppliers we amalgamated the traditional methodology of the “Atlas of Hungarian Dialects” with socio-linguistic methods (cf. P. Lakatos – T. Károlyi 1993:103). This complex method is indispensable to meet the new dual challenge of dialectology (cf. Jenő Kiss ed. 2001: 63).

Our purpose has been receiving a true and adequate picture of the linguistic situation of the area concerned, so we have made efforts to use as a variety of means and methods. Active indirect questionnaires (wh-question test, evaluation test, focussed interviews) have been used to survey the phonological-phonetical, grammatical and lexical levels of the language. These tests have well-known

¹ This paper was written within the frame of OTKA tender, No: 76239

limitations and shortcomings, but they also have a major advantage, that is, they make it possible to monitor several different phenomena that are interesting from the aspect of our observations. The questionnaires of the “Atlas of Hungarian Dialects” have been used as a starting point, and additional questions have been added from questionnaires normally used in research done into regional colloquial language and bilingual environment, socio-linguistic examinations. We have also added some questions of our own, based upon the related literature of the dialects of the region. The result is a questionnaire consisting of nearly 400 questions. The results have been discussed at several forums. The material gathered via the questionnaire has been complemented with audio recordings in order to obtain a more complex view of the changes in the language and the current situation of the geographical locations concerned.

At the moment our data base consists of approximately 130,000 items, provided by 300 data suppliers, and more than 200 hours of audio recordings. The material shall be put on the computer (also with the support of the previously mentioned OTKA tender, No: 76239). Via the indirect questionnaire, close to seventy phenomena have been identified and selected from 400 samples of three levels of the language. We discussed these at length at the Conference of Modern Languages at Újvidék (Novi Sad, Yugoslavia) (cf. P. Lakatos – T. Károlyi 2001: 199–200) and at the 5th International Conference of Hungarology.

At the present paper we wish first to summarize the characteristics of a corpus gathered via the indirect questionnaire from five villages outside Hungary (Bótrágy, Beregsom, Tiszaújlak, Szamosdara and Börvely) and five on this side of the border (Lónya, Barabás, Csengerújfalu, Tiszabecs and Bátorliget). The aspects of the examination were those specified in the title of the paper. Then, we intend to analyze a specified part of the corpus in more detail and finally examine the frequency of occurrence of the linguistic phenomena concerned in the texts. By a comparison of the data gathered at the five – five locations we wish to thoroughly analyze the micro – diachronic and synchronic changes. An effort shall be made to find out whether the dialects on the two sides of the border have changed since the peace treaty. Our examinations shall be extended to the social validity of the phenomena, the differences in the figures on the two sides of the border, if any, and any difference between the two corpora collected by different methods.

Our conclusions, based on the corpus, support and at places complement the arguments we find in the related literature. Our micro-diachronic examinations appear to support the assumption that at the turn of the century the dialects do not change on a systematic basis, but in the circle where they are used - that is, the dialectal features diminish and so does the number of the speakers of the dialect concerned (see Kiss 1998: 931). Certain dialectal features about which data were gathered eighty, fifty, or forty years ago, are still found in the places where they were collected: *berena*, *beretva*, *szümmöcs*, *keserű*, *murok*, *málé*, *aprómarha*, *mondol*, *Sanyiéknál* (cf. Csűry 1992: 12–16, Horváth-Lizanecz 1993: 57–74, MnyA, RMNyA). What is more, in continuous speech – when the speaker begins to speak more spontaneously, with less conscious attention to finding the words and sentences, certain features emerge again that used to be anachronistic a hundred years ago, and dialectologists predicted their disappearance: *késvel*, *faért*, *Moszkavig* (cf. Csűry 1929: 13–14). (The situation of these linguistic phenomena within the dialects has not

changed much over the years).

<i>Location</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>D</i> %	<i>S</i> %	<i>DS</i> %
Hungary	I. 60-	929	330 35.5	501 54.0	98 10.5
Outside Hungary	I. 60-	1165	578 49.6	484 41.6	103 8.8
Hungary	II. 40-60	833	148 17.8	580 69.6	105 12.6
Outside Hungary	II. 40-60	480	198 41.3	237 49.3	45 9.4
Hungary	III. 20-40	691	84 12.9	566 81.9	41 5.9
Outside Hungary	III. 20-40	698	274 29.2	433 62.1	61 8.7
Hungary	Total	2453	562 22.9	1647 67.1	244 10.0
Outside Hungary	Total	2453	980 41.8	1154 49.3	209 8.9

Summary chart 1

N=data, D=dialectal S=standard D/S=dialectal/standard

Linguistic changes also commenced beyond the new borders, but the last columns of the chart convincingly indicate that the dialects spoken by minority Hungarians – for well-known reasons – have become more conservative, and they follow the changes that take place in the dialects of the mother country with a certain delay. At the settlements on the other side of the border the occurrence of dialectal elements is nearly 20% higher than at those in Hungary. The role of the border in conserving the dialects will be best demonstrated if the statistics of the basic layer of the language (D=dialectal) are compared to the values received from the following two generations. When analysing the data collected in Hungary, the “D” data of “I” generation were used as a starting point. The mid-generation only used half of the dialectal items used by the “I” generation (17,8% as compared to 35,5%), whereas young people only use 36% (12,9% as compared to 35,5%). On the other side of the border the differences between the generations are not so significant, “D” data of the second generation is 83% of the “D” data of the first generation, and that of the third generation is still not lower than 59%. (49,9%:41,3%, 49,9%:29,2%). The reason for this difference between the two sides of the border is that where Hungarians are in minority neither their position in the social distribution of labour, nor the daily use of the language requires the continual and perfect use of the standard expressions. In the areas whener Hungarians are in minority, standard forms are primarily confined to the written language (Kótyuk 1995: 7).

When comparing the partial corpora of the age groups, the most spectacular difference is observed at the mid-generation. At the data collected outside the border the difference at “D” data is 23% higher than in ther case of data collected in Hungary. On the other hand, the data provided by the mid-generation in the research locations outside Hungary is closer to the basic data, whereas in Hungary these figures are closer to the date collected from young people. The corpora of the first and second generations – taking the double versions also into consideration – the dialectal varieties dominate, as opposed to the corpora of the mother country. The language used by the younger generations indicate the directions of change.

Summary chart 2

<i>Location</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>D</i> %	<i>S</i> %	<i>DS</i> %
Hungary	I. 60-	211	45 21.3	161 76.3	5 2.4
Outside Hungary	I. 60-	248	106 42.7	142 57.3	2 1.0
Hungary	II. 40-60	177	13 7.3	164 92.7	0 0.0
Outside Hungary	II. 40-60	70	26 37.1	44 62.9	0 0.0
Hungary	III. 20-40	150	8 5.3	142 94.7	0 0.0
Outside Hungary	III. 20-40	61	4 6.6	57 93.4	0 0.0
Hungary	Total	538	66 12.3	467 86.8	5 0.9
Outside Hungary	Total	381	136 35.7	243 63.8	2 0.5

N=data, D=dialectal S=standard D/S=dialectal/standard

A comparative analysis of the partial corpora, obtained through the questionnaire, has been carried out in a breakdown according to the levels of language. The examination clearly indicates that the proportion of the standard variants is the highest at the level of phonemes both in Hungary and at the settlements across the border (86,8% and 63,8% respectively). This is the level of the language most susceptible to change and transformation. Especially the data received from young people are similar: 5,3% and 6,6%. It is supposed that phonetical differences between dialects are most obvious for the speakers at this level, as in the course of speech perception we first understand the differences contained in the oppositions of phonemes (see Jenő Kiss ed. 2001: 235). It is also necessary to point out that the proportion of "D" variants would probably increase significantly if tone and pitch of the speech sound were also included in the observations. The hearing of human individuals is phonemic, so they would not avoid diphthongs and more closed phonemes in their speech.

Summary chart 3

<i>Location</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>D</i> %	<i>S</i> %	<i>DS</i> %
Hungary	I. 60-	217	68 31.4	78 35.9	71 32.7
Outside Hungary	I. 60-	284	160 56.3	44 15.5	80 28.2
Hungary	II. 40-60	177	34 19.2	74 41.8	69 39.0
Outside Hungary	II. 40-60	118	65 55.1	21 17.8	32 27.0
Hungary	III. 20-40	171	27 15.8	106 62.0	38 22.2
Outside Hungary	III. 20-40	157	67 42.7	49 31.2	41 26.1
Hungary	Total	565	129 22.8	258 45.7	178 31.9
Outside Hungary	Total	559	292 52.2	114 20.4	153 27.4

N=data, D=dialectal S=standard D/S=dialectal/standard

The parallelism observed at the D-S levels is not present at the other two levels. At the research locations within Hungary the changes in the lexemes, whereas across the border the alterations of the grammatical features is more significant but, naturally, the “D” data measured at the settlements outside Hungary are always higher by 20-30%.

Summary chart 4

<i>Location</i>	<i>Generation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>D</i> %	<i>S</i> %	<i>DS</i> %
Hungary	I. 60-	501	217 43.3	262 52.3	22 4.4
Outside Hungary	I. 60-	631	312 49.4	298 47.2	21 3.3
Hungary	II. 40-60	479	101 21.1	342 71.4	36 7.5
Outside Hungary	II. 40-60	292	107 36.6	172 58.9	13 4.5
Hungary	III. 20-40	370	49 13.2	318 86.0	3 0.8
Outside Hungary	III. 20-40	440	133 30.6	327 4.3	20 4.5
Hungary	Total	1350	367 27.2	922 68.3	61 4.5
Outside Hungary	Total	1363	552 40.0	756 56.0	55 4.0

N=data, D=dialectal S=standard D/S=dialectal/standard

This corpus contains regional grammatical phenomena that includes a change in the duration of the vowel of the stem, certain local paradigms of verb inflection, and a certain group of the suffixes of place. In this field similarity is primarily observed in the usage of the elderly generations. The difference in the percentages between the partial corpora of two groups is not significant (43,3%, 49,4% D, 52,3%, 47,2% S, 4,4% - 3,3% DS). A certain degree of balance is reflected by the dialectal and standard variants. Tendencies in the dialectal changes appear to confirm Benkő's assertion: “The process of normalization and standardization is powerfully present and the process of changes tend to slow down in the elements of the language that have a closer and more rigid structure, such as the phonemes, morphemes and the form and system of connections of the morphemes.” (Benkő 1988:23).

As it has been referred to earlier, we had examined forms with a change of vowel in the stem, characteristic of this geographical region (*tehén – tehen*), the role of suffix *-l* in I/2 inflection of the verb (*tudsz – tudol*), suffix *-n* in I/3 (*megy – megyen*) and certain types of the suffix of place (for theoretical background information and the findings see P. Lakatos – T. Károlyi 1992, 1993).

As Csúry's SzamSz., the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects (MNya) contain additional examples for all types, KMNyA and RMNyA also list several examples, and we have also done research into the topic, it is possible to make spatial and chronological comparisons. Adding socio-linguistic aspects to the examinations, introducing the “human” aspect, it is also possible to carry out really multi-dimensional examinations (cf. Dezső Juhász 2002: 149–153).

When examining the forms in which the vowel of the stem alters, we used *tehén*, *szekér* and *veréb* in the nominative as examples, and adverbs with the suffix *-n* attached to the stem. On both sides of the border it was possible to observe the tendency that the standard forms gradually displace the original dialectal forms. The nominative forms of *tehen*, *szeker* and *vereb* are well-known dialectal varieties,

their presence in the material collected by the questionnaire is therefore not surprising (cf. Jenő Kiss ed. 2001: 215). The number of the dialectal varieties is not high, however, mostly collected from elderly people and those who had a college or university degree, as educated people appear to pay more attention to preserving dialectal forms (cf. Jenő Kiss ed. 2001: 189).

Other remarks from the data suppliers – e. g. that the variety with a short vowel in the stem – and the high number of miscellaneous additional data (cf. P. Lakatos, MNy. 2000: 469–74) do not make it possible to regard this process fully closed and final, although the shift towards the standard colloquial language is apparent. (Miscellaneous additional data in the questionnaires include *cserep*, *kerek*, *keves*, *penesz*, and *penyeszesedik*. In the standard forms they all have a long vowel.) Two – neighbouring – locations stand out as areas with well-preserved dialectal forms. One is Lónya and its neighbour, Bótrágy on the Ukrainian side of the border. At Bótrágy even young data suppliers provided a high number of words that have a short vowel in the stem in a dialectal form and a long one in the standard form. At Lónya not primarily the targeted data show the presence of the dialectal variants, but the additional examples and remarks of the data suppliers. This shows the difference in the speakers' attitude to the language on the two sides of the border, in addition to a certain “phase delay” in the changes on the Ukrainian side.

One of the most important conclusions offered by the study of this type of stems is that *different morpheme structures may lead to different manifestations* of the final form, as it is clear that there are different forms on the two sides of the border: 0 morpheme and suffix *-n*.

While in the nominative the stem tends to have the standard variety as the only form, and it does not change its vowel, in the superessive case it preserves its varieties.

The forms of the nouns with the adverb suffix *-n tehenen*, *szekeren* and *vereben* continue to preserve their short vowel in the stem, and today it appears to be one of the most common features of the morphology of the dialect. (cf. SzamSz.: „*Aki szekeren ül álmában, elmarad a dolgokban*” II, 332) The use of the variety has not been affected by the usual socio-linguistic factors, such as age, education etc.; it is present and active in all speech communities. The morphological structure and the syntactic environment therefore influence the position of a phenomenon of the dialect, as speakers are not conscious that the form they use is dialectal. This assumption is also supported by the fact that the standard variety is primarily used by people with a college or university degree, especially in the DS. Speakers with a higher education also use the dialectal varieties, they tend to use the standard ones together or in parallel with the dialectal ones.

In the field of interpreting and analysing the following features of verb inflection age and education shall be the most important factors that influence people's attitude:

Suffix *-l* in I/2, originally a member of the so-called *-ik* paradigm, has become more wide-spread in the usage of the not very highly educated people. This is characteristic of the northern and north-eastern dialects, although it is gradually displaced by the standard variety in the language of young people, as indicated by the active indirect survey. In the case of morphology it is relatively rare that the same interviewee provides dialectal and standard varieties at the same time. All speech communities

provided additional data including the *-l* in I/2, such as *vagyol*, *adol*, *lakol*, and *tudol* etc., which indicates that the morpheme is active.

The co-existence of the standard and dialectal forms, and the phases of transition, may perhaps be best observed in the general I/2 verb inflection. Outside the border the dialectal variety is still powerfully present, and is used in parallel with the standard form, whereas in Hungary the standard forms are in a majority. A young interviewee from Bótrágy (Ukraine) says, “Sometimes I use this variety and sometime the other one. I depends on who I am speaking with.” (cf. “ the attitude of of bi-lingual persons to code switching largely depends on the speech situation, that is, whether they regard the situation formal or informal.” Jenő Kiss ed. 2001: 192). It is to be noted that the phenomenon has been examined in the cases of verbs belonging to various semantic and grammatical categories (semantic category applied for instance in the case of the verb *vet* [=to sow], which belongs to the traditional vocabulary of farming, grammatical categories were transitivity or intransitivity, the presence or absence of suffix *-ik* etc.). The micro-analyses of not influence the final conclusions, but it is worth paying attention to some minor details. *Vet*, as an item of the vocabulary of farming, tends to attract a dialectal suffix even in the speech of young interviewees. When examining the data of the verb *fog* and the auxiliary verb *fog*, it appears that verb – auxiliary verb distinction through the I/2 suffixes *-sz* (verb) and *-l* (auxiliary verb) is only characteristic of the language of elderly people. In the basic layers of the dialect this opposition is regular. Data have been collected from Lónya (Hungary), Szamosdara, Börvély (Romania) and Bótrágy (Ukraine). These are the settlements the dialects of which preserve suffix *-l* in I/2 of the auxiliary verb, but only in the speech of the elderly people. Even in the language of the middle-aged people the number of standard forms has already exceeded that of the dialectal version. In the language of the young people the full verb – auxiliary verb opposition has vanished, as a result of the overwhelming majority of the standard form of the suffix.

Verbs the stem of which ends in *-v* and that take suffix *-sz* (*tesz*, *vesz*, *lesz* etc.) and the verb *megy* (=to go) receive a suffix *-n* in I/3. We examined this form of the verbs *megy*, *vesz* and *visz* by means of a questionnaire. We found that the *megyen*, *veszen* and *viszen* forms only occur in the language of elderly people. The two other generations, in accordance with the standard forms, use zero morpheme as a suffix on both sides of the border. Szamosdara in Romania has been found as the most archaic in this respect, that is, people there tend to use the ancient forms most frequently. Lónya in Hungary and Börvély in Romania show the highest occurrence of dialectal forms, but also in the language of elderly people and people with a lower education, and even they frequently alter the dialectic and standard forms („Nem tudom, *megyen* tovább vagy nem *megy*.”). A middle-aged interviewee at Lónya – who himself uses the standard *megy* and *vesz* forms - says that 75% of the local people use the *megyen* and *veszen* types. Data gathered by other means also support this observation.

The border does not appear to significantly affect the general I/3 forms. There is a certain “phase delay” in that the dialectal forms of all the examined lexemes have been encountered in the areas where Hungarians live as minority (depending on the age and education of the interviewees), in Hungary the standard, zero-suffix version of most lexemes have been found (with the exception of Lónya). On the other

side of the border Tiszaújlak is an exception, as it is not a rural settlement but a small but relatively industrialized town.

The evolution and existence of the so-called family place suffixes is one of the most interesting chapters of the history of the Hungarian language. (cf. P. Lakatos – T. Károlyi 1992). Their examination offers the possibility of studying the structures of the standard and dialectal morphemes and their differences in terms of formal varieties (e. g. lative *-nól/-núl*) and functional varieties (e. g. ablative *-nál/-nél*). We entered the inflected words *bírótól, bítónól, bírónál, Ferenchez, Ferencnél, Sándorékhoz, Sándoréknál* and *Erzsiékhez* onto our questionnaire. This set makes it possible to also examine whether the original combination of different morphemes still exists, depending on whether one talks about one person or a whole family (cf. Deme 1975: 89, 90; P. Lakatos – T. Károlyi 1992: 58, 63).

Out of all the linguistic phenomena examined, this field shows the largest impact of the state borders. The lative use of *-nál/-nél* as an answer given to the question *hová* (to where?) is universally present, despite the standardization of the language, and this usage is almost exclusive among elderly people. Age and education are, as usual, powerfully influencing factors. In Hungary some sort of a balance is observable in the ways elderly people and not very highly qualified people use the language. In Hungary interviewees provide both the dialectal and the standard forms. Another sign of standardization is that the relation whether one talks about one single individual or a whole family does not influence the choice of the suffix.

Additional – in the questionnaire not directly targeted – data and continuous texts also indicate that this feature of the language is alive and active („*Elvitt engemet oda magánál. Fel a papnál.*”).

On this side of the border the elderly people of Lónya and Tiszabecs appear to best preserve the ancient dialectal forms of *-nál/-nél*. On the other side of the border, the data collected at Beregsom are close to that gathered in Hungary. The reasons for that are probably extra-linguistic – the people of Beregsom are proud and keen to preserve their values, they are separated from the bulk of the Hungarian minority living in the Ukraine, and many of them cross the border on a daily basis. It is therefore likely that the people of Beregsom consciously and willingly follow the standard patterns.

In the rest of the minority communities, especially at Bótrágy in the Ukraine and Szamosdara in Romania the lative *-nál/nél* suffix is common. At Bótrágy the use of the dialectal forms is not restricted to elderly people. At Börvély and Tiszaújlak a high number of dialectal forms have also been received from young people as well. The process of standardization, that is a lot more advanced in Hungary, may also be observed in areas outside the border, and a high number of standard forms have been collected at Tiszaújlak and Börvély, too. The difference between the suffixes that express relations to one single individual and to a whole family is most eminent at Szamosdara, although it is also present at Bótrágy (*Erzsiéknél megyek = I go to Bessie's family, Erzsihez megyek = I go to Bessie or Bessie's place*). Standardization, however, is indicated by – among other things – that this difference is not always tangible in spoken, colloquial usage – there is an interesting variety of mixed forms („*gyere el nálam látogatóba*”).

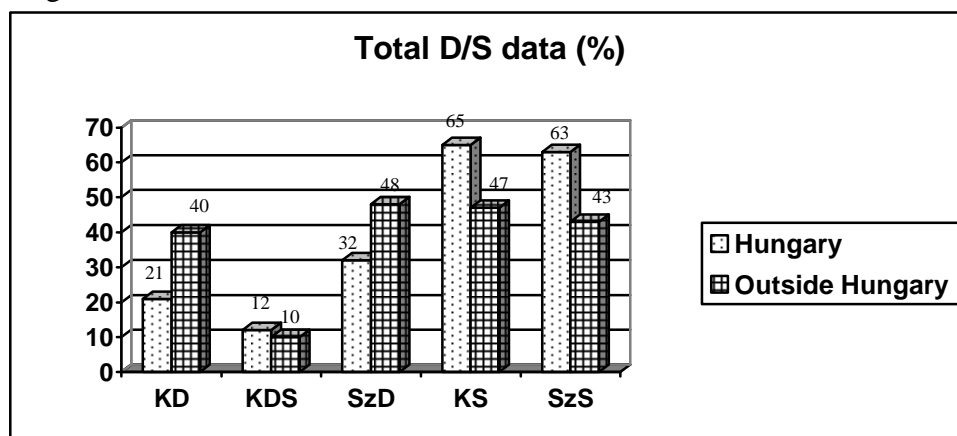
It is only continuous speech where we find examples of the locative use of the suffix *-hoz. -hoz* as an answer to the question *hol?* (=where?) used to be a common feature of the dialects, the Atlas indicated it at three locations in the county

(Géberjén, Hermánszeg and Nyírtét). Today it appears to be an archaism even at dialectal level, and we have only received one single example from a 40-50-year old and not very highly qualified woman at Lónya („*Sanyiéknál, Sanyiékhoz voltam* = I was at Sanyi's family/place). In a continuous text we encountered the form „*vót ide énhozzám*” (He/she has been here at my place/family).

The ablative suffix *-nál/-nál* answering the question *from where?* Is one of the most archaic morphological feature of the dialect, and the only one with a clearly identifiable isogloss. It is common in the speech of the elderly people in the settlements on the other side of the border, except at Börvély. It is especially frequent at Szamosdara and Beregsom, and somewhat less common at Tiszaújlak. At Bátorliget, Barabás and Csengersima in Hungary it is no longer collectable by means of questionnaires, as this form has been entirely displaced by the standard version. At Tiszabecs one or two *-nál* forms have been encountered.

The two settlements where the suffix is the most common are Lónya in Hungary, and Bótrágy, Lónya's neighbour on the Ukrainian side of the border. At Lónya, however, mostly elderly people and not very highly qualified people use it. The difference between the generations is, although it exists, not so sharp at Bótrágy. The difference between a single individual and a whole family is only reflected in the inflection of the dialects outside Hungary, where Hungarians live in minority: *Ferencéknél* (from Frank's family, from Frank and his family), *Ferencről* (from Frank, personally). The questionnaires contained a variety of different answers, the borderlines are not clearcut. Several data that has been received additionally, together with the targetted samples, indicate that the dialectal version is active outside the borders: *nálunknál jövök, nola jövök* (I am coming from our home – from him/her) (Bótrágy), *édenül hoztam* (I am bringing it from my mother) (Szamosdara). In the process of collecting the data it appeared that the morphological features of the dialect occur more frequently in continuous speech than in the corpus gathered by means of questionnaires. In the mental encyclopedia of the speaker standard and dialectal forms exist together, and the dialectal variants are more often given an oral form than the standard ones. In order to confirm – or eventually refute – this assumption, we analysed the frequency of the formal and grammatical features concerned in our recorded and printed corpus.

Diagram 1



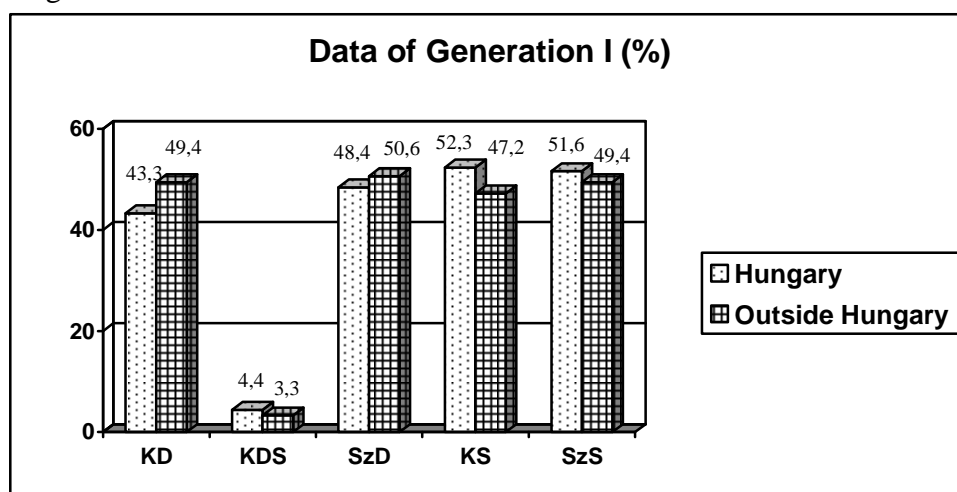
K=Questionnaire corpus Sz= Textual corpus

S=Standard D= Dialectal D/S= Dialectal/Standard dual forms

The differences in the occurrence of the dialectal grammatical phenomena between the corpora collected by means of the questionnaire and the textual material are smaller than anticipated – it is approximately 10 – 11%. Whereas in the questionnaire the interviewee tends to supply the dual forms in the same sentence, in colloquial speech the grammatical variants appear either in dialectal or standard version, and the dual forms are not common. On the other hand, it often happens that in the dynamism of live speech speakers choose randomly from the dialectal and standard forms that exist parallelly in their mental dictionary, and both forms occur in the speech of the same speaker, although usually not in the same frequency. In all the texts analysed we have hardly found any example in which the speaker only used the dialectal variants and no standard ones.

It is to be noted that when the DS dual values are added to the dialectal values obtained through the questionnaires, the difference in the occurrence of the dialectal versions between the corpora gathered by the two means almost disappears. The difference is not more than a mere 2%. In the textual corpus the dual forms collected by means of the questionnaire show the transitional phase, indicating the linguistic behaviour of the data suppliers but, as it shall be discussed later, the data are entirely different at the majority and the minority speakers.

Diagram 2



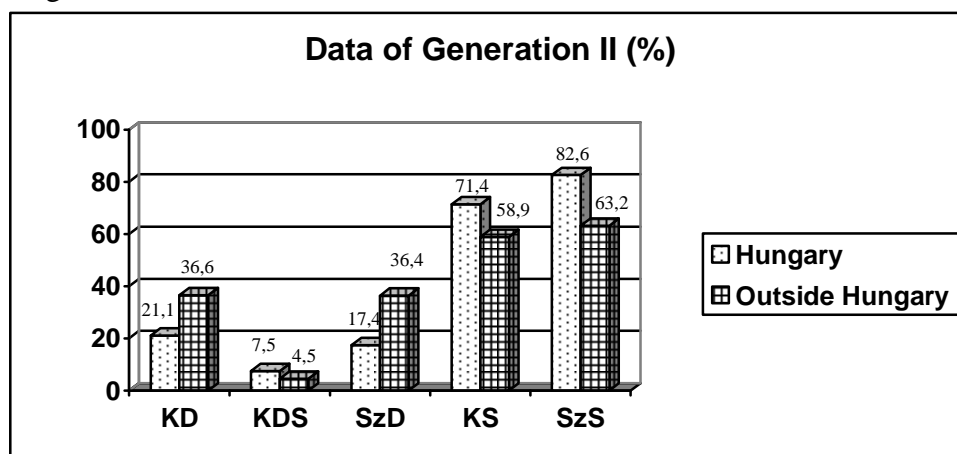
K=Questionnaire corpus Sz= Textual corpus

S=Standard D= Dialectal D/S= Dialectal/Standard dual forms

A comparison of the generations in the two corpora also offer interesting conclusions. There are not very significant differences between the two corpora collected from Age Group I outside Hungary. The D/S percentages are close to each other: 49,4% QD, 50,6% TD, 47,2% QS and 49,4% TS. There are bigger differences in the data collected with the same methods in Hungarian territory. The difference here is 5,1%, which means that data suppliers in Hungary behave in a more disciplined way than Hungarians living in a minority. Minority Hungarians are not forced to with codes so frequently in their daily communication. It is also to be noted that in minority

communities continuous speech contain a somewhat higher proportion (2,2%) of standard variants than the examples provided in the questionnaires. It may be regarded as a positive attitude to the dialect, as the minority speaker consciously opts to use dialectal variants when standard ones are also available.

Diagram 3

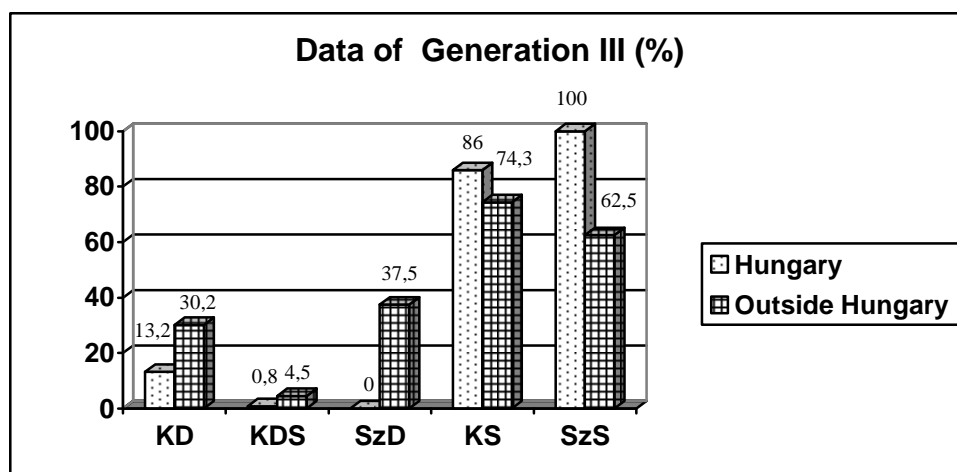


K=Questionnaire corpus Sz= Textual corpus
 S=Standard D= Dialectal D/S= Dialectal/Standard dual forms

The corpora of generation II confirm the assumption that this generation is more willing to preserve their dialectal traditions than the Hungarians living as a majority in Hungary. Interestingly, the proportions of the dialectal variants appearing in the two partial corpora from outside the borders (Q, T) are almost perfectly identical.

Within Hungary, however, the continuous texts of middle-aged people the rate of dialectal variants is much lower as compared to that in the corpus gathered by means of a questionnaire: 21,1%, 17,4% D, 71,4%, 82,6% S. These statistics, indicating a phase of transition, may suggest that middle-aged Hungarians are still aware of the old dialectal forms, but for some reason they avoid using them in their continuous speech. On the other hand, middle-aged people outside the borders are aware of the standard variants and they use them.

Diagram 4



K=Questionnaire corpus Sz= Textual corpus
 S=Standard D= Dialectal D/S= Dialectal/Standard dual forms

The textual corpus of the young generation outside the border contain 1% more dialectal elements than that of the mid-generation. A comparison of the two corpora suggests that code-switching is primarily characteristic of young people, and they change their code and attitude to the language according to the situation in which the speech act takes place. On the other hand, the 37,5% of D elements appear to indicate that minority language is more regional and dialectal. In the textual corpus of generation III in Hungary the dialectal versions of the examined morphological and morpho-phonological elements did not occur. It might be a result of the data gathering methods, as the subjects of the conversations did not trigger the use of certain grammatical features, and it might also be a result of the data gathering situation itself. It is possible that the asymmetry of the conversation situation is the largest within one single age group, and the conversation is shaped by social prestige requirements. In other words, when a tape recorder is present, the young people involved in the conversation may regard the situation as formal, which means that standard forms are given priority. (cf. Kiss ed. 2001: 192) There is little doubt that the comparison of the two types of corpora leads us to some very thought-provoking results, but we are not yet in the position of being able to draw some far-reaching conclusions, as only a small part of the total corpus has so far been processed.

Still, it is possible to outline certain tendencies in morphology. After a comparison of the lexical and morphological samples gathered in ten settlements (10 in Hungary and 10 on the other side of the border), the following are observed:

- 1.) The new border, and the decades of forced and unnatural separation that came with it, is a clearly powerful factor in separating language communities from each other (even in purely Hungarian communities).
- 2.) The language of Hungarians in the neighbouring countries – separated from the mother country by the borders – tend to preserve archaic dialectal features (I/2 – family locative suffix. Regional vocabulary is also better preserved in the language of the minority communities.
- 3.) An analysis of the vocabulary indicates that social and historical factors and the context of the community concerned overrule other socio-linguistic factors (gender,

- age, education etc.) whereas structural and morphological features tend to be influenced and shaped primarily by intra-linguistic factors. In the case of morphological features, syntactic environment, the structure of case inflections, and even the social prestige or rejection of a certain structure determine the usage.
- 4.) Attitude to the language is of primary importance at this level as well, perhaps even more than at the level of lexemes, as it is easier to identify a really dialectal word than for instance a purely regional word.
 - 5.) Age and education are more important influencing factors in the case of morphological phenomena than in the case of lexical changes.
 - 6.) Phase delays caused by the border are clearly observable in the case of morphological features as well. (János Péntek: "... when approaching the edges of dialects, the dialects themselves become more and more archaic, every kilometre may mean years or decades back in the past of the language." quoted by Jenő Kiss ed. 2001:194).
 - 7.) In spite of these delays it is clear that the dialects on the two sides of the border should be regarded as one single north-eastern dialect even at morphological level.

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