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THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE NEW GENERAL ATLAS OF HUNGARIAN DIALECTS PROJECT AND ITS PARTIAL RESULTS [*]

The paper presents the most overall project of Hungarian dialectology of the past few decades and deals with the partial result of its sociolinguistic survey. The interviews analysed were recorded in Western Hungary as part of the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects project between 2007 and 2012. The project, funded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and organized by the Geolinguistics Research Group of the Eötvös Loránd University, asked the participants about sociolinguistic issues at several data collection sites in the Hungarian language area, in addition to surveying dialectological phenomena. For example: Do you speak dialects here in this town? Do they speak better here than in the neighboring settlements? Do you speak in the same way in a city or official place as at home, in a family circle? Have you ever been mocked because of your dialect speech? Given that tens of thousands of hours of the recordings have not yet been processed in a systematic and comprehensive way, the first half of the study provides numerical and detailed data on how the planned program of the research group was realized in practice regarding, for the time being, the Western Hungarian data collection sites. The second half of the study presents partial results on the language and dialect awareness, attitudes and use of the respondents by analysing the sociolinguistic interviews recorded in this area. The study provides a more accurate description of the specifics in the archive of the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects project, as well as what the recorded data reveal on the linguistic mentality of the Western Hungarian speech community in the beginning of the 21st century. This is just one of the numerous research topics offered by the enormous archive.

Keywords: dialects, Hungarian, language atlas, language attitudes, metalinguistic awareness

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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) (cf. Juhász 2001). 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. "In the absence of relevant surveys, but according to ordinary experience, it can be stated that the spontaneous use of the Hungarian language by most of the approximately 12.5-13 million Hungarian native speakers is still regional or has a regional nature. In principle, the use of regional dialect can be found anywhere and anytime. Not only in the minority environment (more often there) but also in Hungary. Not only in villages but also in cities" (Kiss 2017: 201, translated from Hungarian by the author; for similar comments on the Italian case see Sobrero 2005, based on Kollár 2012; for a recent study on the stability and change of dialects in the neighboring Austria see Vergeiner and Wallner 2022). Most speakers in Hungary, however, 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 see Purschke 2011; on dialect awareness of the Estonian speech community see 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., Ják 2019, Németh 2020, Parapatics, 2020a and 2020b), 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. e.g., Kiss 2001). 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 the discussion of the terminology 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, learn from their older family members 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. The present study investigates the language attitudes and dialect awareness of the speakers belonging to the parental and grandparent age groups, who socialize their children and grandchildren either by giving samples or by direct comments, advice and warnings.

2. The New General Atlas of Hungarian project

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

The program of the Geolinguistics Research Group was twofold. One of its purposes was to ask again and re-examine a part of the dialectological questionnaire of the GAHD (220 out of 1162 questions) on a sparse network of data collection sites in the Hungarian language area. It was included in the research plan as follows: 100 data collection sites in present-day Hungary, 40 in Romania, 26 in Slovakia, 6 in Serbia, 4-4 in Austria, Croatia and Ukraine, and 2 in Slovenia (see Figure 1). The new program therefore reduced the number of data collection sites in Hungary compared to the network of the GAHD but retained all its transborder sites and selected additional ones in Romania based on the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania (AHDR.). The data of the NGAHD provides an opportunity for both longitudinal and real-time analysis to compare the past and present status of the same community (for details on the significance, necessity and future usability of the project see Kiss 2006). Another goal of the program was to make socio-dialectological (e.g., linguistic mentality) and other topics (e.g., grammatical judgments) searchable regarding the entire Hungarian language area through 48 new questions of a sociolinguistic survey. Although the latter was a novelty in the history of Hungarian dialect atlas studies, previous and further sociolinguistic studies have been conducted nation-wide, in the capital (for both see Kontra 1995) and in smaller regions (e.g., Kontra et al. eds. 2016) of Hungary.

According to the work plan, the researchers were to record the dialectological interview with at least ten subjects per data collection sites and the sociolinguistic interview with at least half of them, and every interview was

introduced by at least 20-30 minutes of free conversation. The participants ideally equally represented both genders and belonged to four different age groups: 30-45, 46-60, 61-70 years, over 70 years (see the data collection guide on the research group's website: W1). The researchers intended to conduct interviews with subjects who had a low level of education and were therefore less exposed to the effects of Standard Hungarian, if possible, and who rooted or at least lived for a long time in the given village.

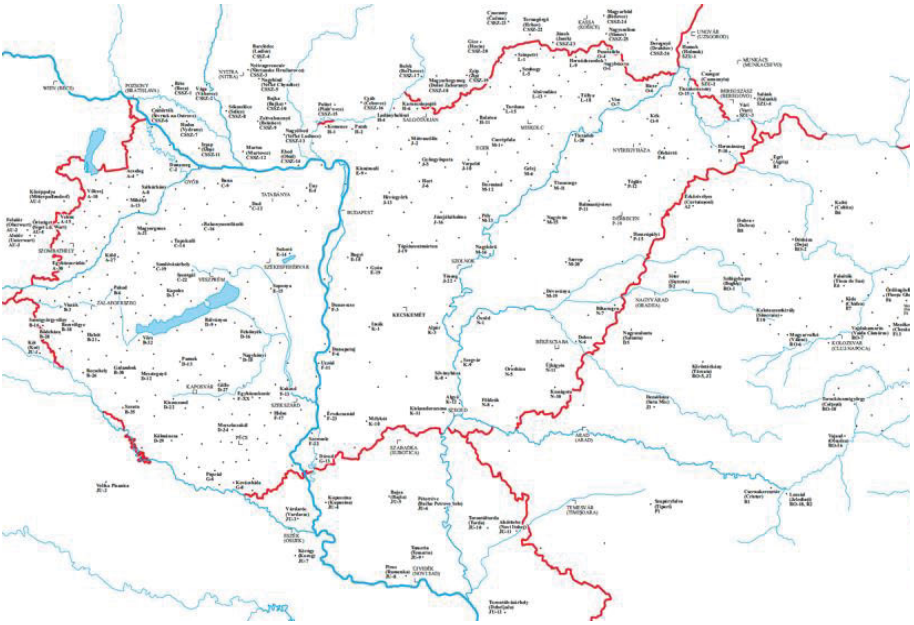

Figure 1. The planned network of data collection sites of the NGAHD project (Source: the website of the Geolinguistic Research Group, W1)

The work of the research group was finished in 2012. Tens of thousands of hours of interviews recorded in a modern, high-quality manner have not yet been processed in a systematic and comprehensive way, only some minor studies have been conducted (e.g., Kiss 2010a and 2010b, Zelliger 2011, Parapatics 2012, Iglai 2017). "Atlas work, however, actually becomes complete, fully exploited for science with analyses" (Kiss 2006: 138, translated from Hungarian by the author).

The present study provides insight into the analysis of this sound archive as a partial result of an individual research project between 2020 and 2023. It undertook to examine all sociolinguistic interviews recorded at all data collection sites of the NGAHD in present-day Hungary. On the one hand, this paper provides, for the first time, numerical and detailed information in a transparent manner on how the planned program of the Geolinguistics Research Group has

been implemented in practice, for the time being with regard to the data collection sites in Western Hungary. On the other hand, by analysing the sociolinguistic interviews recorded in this part of the country, it presents partial results on the language and dialect awareness, attitudes and language use of the respondents. These give us a more accurate picture of the specifics we can count on regarding the archive of the NGAHD project and what the recorded data reveal about the linguistic mentality of the speech community, which is just one of the many research topics offered by the archive.

The author of the study participated in the work of the Geolinguistics Research Group from the beginning, in 2007 as a demonstrator of the Department of Hungarian Historical Linguistics, Sociolinguistics and Dialectology of Eötvös Loránd University, later as a PhD student of the Eötvös Loránd University Doctoral School of Linguistics, then as research fellow of the department mentioned within the frame of TÁMOP-4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003 project until the end of the program in 2012. Since September 2020, the author has been working with the permission of the former head of the Geolinguistics Research Group, Jenő Kiss on the raw material of the sound archive of the NGAHD project with the support of the Bolyai János Research Grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

3. On the Western Hungarian sociolinguistic interviews of the NGAHD project

Anyone who has ever done fieldwork is well aware that the planned sampling is not always fully feasible in reality. In many cases, economic, industrial and social changes, important demographic features come to light only on the spot that make fieldwork difficult, pointless (at least in terms of the particular research topic) or impossible, even if it is well-prepared and organized. “Mecsekszakál in Baranya County, for example, is now part of the holiday settlement, Orfű, and the population exchange is so extensive that we found only two local residents. The owners of the other houses are either foreigners or displaced residents from the nearby cities” – explains Judit Schultz, a member of the Geolinguistic Research Group, in her study summarizing the fieldwork experiences (Schultz in progress). Other times, human considerations hinder the completion of the work plan. For example: As the introductory conversation and the 220-point dialectological questionnaire sometimes took up to almost two hours to discuss, the respondents were often unable or unwilling to devote time and energy to the 48 further questions of the sociolinguistic survey, even if the fieldwork was preceded by careful organizing work involving a local contact.

Due to these non-negligible factors, there was some data collection sites where, despite the plan, no interviews were conducted, or fewer than ten, or not

according to the expected age and gender distribution. However, more than ten dialectological and sociolinguistic interviews can be expected from several research points. An overview of the number and stratification of sociolinguistic interviews recorded in Western Hungary is provided by Table 1 as follows.

Table 1. The stratification of the Western Hungarian participants of the NGAHD project

Number of data collection sites	**29**	
Number of participants	**244**	
Gender rates	females	57.8%
	males	42.2%
Age rates	< 45 years	15.6%
	46-60 years	21.7%
	61-70 years	32%
	> 71 years	30.7%
Level of education rates	primary level	54%
	skilled worker training	21.7%
	secondary level	17.6%
	higher education	6.1%
	n. a.	0.7%

In the present region of the Hungarian language area, three more data collection sites were visited where a couple of dozens of further interviews were recorded. Those are not processed for the present study due to the special case that Szekler and Moldavian Hungarian participants were asked there. Regarding the social stratification of the remaining 244 respondents, 141 were women and 103 were men. The youngest was 25 years old and the oldest was 96 at the time of the interview. More than half of the subjects have primary level of education. The lowest educational level is four elementary classes (1 participant), while the highest was the university (2 participants).

With one exception, at least five sociolinguistic interviews were conducted at each data collection site. In fourteen villages, at least ten were recorded, and there are two villages where more than ten sociolinguistic interviews were conducted. There are two possible reasons for the different rates: 1) The researchers asked more participants but some of them only wanted to take part if the two of them (e.g., husband and wife, neighbours, etc.) are interviewed at the same time. These interviews, however, cannot be analysed due to technical issues (e.g., they cut into each other's words) and in terms of content (e.g., not

everybody answers every single question, and/or they influence each other's answers). 2) The fieldwork was carried out at some data collection sites at two different times, and the different researchers asked the same participant(s) sometimes. Although these recordings are useless for the present academic purposes, it should be noted that there are many lessons to be learned from comparing the opinions of a speaker on different occasions, as well as examining how one subject's language attitudes affect their partner's opinion, and who changes his/her views during the conversation.

4. Language and dialect attitudes of Western Hungarian speakers

4.1. Aims and hypotheses

The purpose of the three-year individual research is to examine to what extent the participants of the NGAHD are aware of the regional features of their own language use, how they relate to this and the way their environment speaks. It is also aimed to explore their experiences and knowledge of language variability in general are.

It is assumed that not all speakers are aware of the regional features of the language use of themselves and their settlement, the speech style of their village is considered by many to be Standard Hungarian (H1), but the linguistic peculiarities of other regions are perceived and valued (H2). Whatever they think about the way they speak, most people will probably like it (H3). Another hypothesis is that most subjects have already gained negative experiences because of the regional characteristics of their speech style (H4) and they try to avoid them in official situations (those who perceive these) (H5). Dialect speech is attributed primarily to older speakers, therefore the disappearance of it is predicted (H6). Some of the participants would take it negatively, referring to its value and to the knowledge preserved, while others positively because they consider it as a "nicer" pronunciation that is a sign of higher education level of the younger generations of the region (H7).

In the present study, these hypotheses are tested among the participants of some data collection sites of Western Hungary, and the results are compared to previous findings of the project regarding the same part of the country.

4.2. Data and method

For the present study, the sociolinguistic interviews of four data collection sites of the NGAHD project in Western Hungary (more specifically, Western Transdanubia) are analysed, focusing on the first unit of the questionnaire, for

example: 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 recordings and drawing conclusions, it is kept in mind that the situation (answering to strangers) elicits strong self-reflection regarding both objective and subjective data. Thus, as a result of the interview situation, only partially conscious and guarded data can be analysed that may not always be true. It is impossible to verify this, but the fact that the author herself conducted interviews at dozens of data collection sites means a great help, a kind of expletive competence in the process.

In the four data collection sites mentioned, 36 sociolinguistic interviews were recorded, from 16 male and 20 female participants. The youngest was 31 years old and the oldest was 84 at the time of the interview. Most respondents have primary level of education, eleven participants attended the skilled worker training, four the secondary school and one has college degree. Some geographical details of the villages can be read as follows. Egyházasrádóc in Vas County was established by merging three previously independent settlements, therefore its population exceeds one thousand people. It is only 10 km from the town of Körmend and only 18-20 km from the county seat Szombathely. The total population of the next data collection site, Viszák is less than 300 people. It is located 20 km from Körmend, 30 km from Szentgotthárd and 35-40 km from Zalaegerszeg, two bigger towns. There are less than a thousand people living in Pakod in Zala County, that is located 20-30 km from Zalaegerszeg and further towns in different directions. The last village to be studied here, Szentgyörgyvölgy is a border settlement of 400 people, its neighboring villages already belong to Slovenia. The nearest town is Lenti that is 20 km away. Of the four data collection sites, only Egyházasrádóc is located along a main road.

After transcribing the relevant parts of the interviews, the answers were organised into Microsoft Excel tables, grouped by questions and participants. (This is already such large in the case of 36 interviews of 4 data collection sites already that it cannot be published in articles. As a continuation of the present project, the final table has to be edited into an online, anonymised, searchable, open access database in the near future.) The answers were analysed by the author manually in order to interpret the data in a comprehensive, therefore appropriate way, taking into account, for example, the laughs, emphases, irony, hesitations or repetitions as a sign of an emphasis on the content (and not or not only as disfluencies of the spontaneous speech), and in order to recognise additions and modifications after the first words of an answer, which were typical

in several cases. However, in a couple of interviews, some questions were omitted or asked, but the participant did not really answer even during a long explanation for the particular question.

4.3. Results

The answers to most of the questions examined here yielded similar rates at the four data collection sites. During their analysis in the followings, several opinions from the participants are quoted below because the author is convinced that the human thoughts behind the results represented by the statistics, make the latter truly alive, more interpretable and even more instructive for further research. The quotations are translated to English and commented sometimes in square brackets by the author. Most disfluencies of spontaneous speech are omitted that were specifically motivated by the situation. The participants' village (Ehr = Egyházasrádóc, Pak = Pakod, Sztgyv = Szentgyörgyvölgy, Vi = Viszák), age, gender (F = female, M = male) and level of education (pr = primary level, swt = skilled worker training, h = higher education level) is given in brackets after the quotations. This paper 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 participants studied here, to different extents.

Three-quarters (72%) of the studied respondents from Western Transdanubia believe that a regional dialect is spoken in their settlement. However, only 17% of them consider this to be more beautiful than the others, almost half of them (47%) are neutral about the issue, emphasizing its subjectivity. Many participants usually know somewhat from the indications of others that their way of speaking is different from the standard or other regions' speech. "Wherever we go, they always laughed and they said... and they used to say […] they're from Vas County, but why did they say… […] They didn't even say that »they were from *Vas* [vɑʃ] County«, but that »they were from *Vazs* [vɑʒ] County«, somehow, so I don't know why, I have no idea whether we're pronouncing *s* or *r* harder" (Ehr63Fpr).

70% of the respondents like the way they talk there, but seven subjects only referred to it as ordinary, neutral. "That's what we're used to, I grew up here. I got old here" (Pak62Mpr). "I love it, I love it. Because I understand it correctly. I was brought up in it to understand" (Vi69Fpr). It should be noted, however, that some like the speech style of their village precisely because they find it less dialectal compared to the neighboring settlements. "Well, they're talking something nicer here. From here from the village, I really just say again that

they visited the city more regularly […] Well, how to tell, they don't speak so village-like anymore. Because, right, many people say »S/he was in Pest [the capital, Budapest] and s/he already prims!«" (Ehr68Mpr). The quote is also a good example of the fact that it is often not enough to just use and transcribe the first words of the answer to process the data authentically and adequately. The vast majority of respondents, 81%, believe that they speak according to local practice in a family circle. Only one participant perceived the own speech as heard on television and radio, and two respondents said there is no difference between the two. Most (78%) had not heard of a case where the inhabitants of the settlement were ridiculed for their speech style.

Three-quarters of them perceive a difference between the speech style of the younger and older people living in the village, but only 50% of them think that only the older people would speak in dialect. One-third (31%) think that it is also typical of young people, although to a lesser extent. This is in full agreement with their answers to the following question: only 33% of them consider that the regional dialect will survive (to some extent) and 50% think it will disappear. Three subjects did not make predictions. Three-quarters of the informants would regret it if this happened, but six are neutral about the question, saying, "To me, my dear, it doesn't matter so much" (Pak83Fpr). Most of them linked the oblivion of old knowledge (e.g., blacksmithing) to the decline of dialect(s), someone even referred to it as a monument (Sztgyv84Fpr), therefore they would regret it disappearing. "It is a good thing that one also knows something from the old past how old things were called, old professions functioned" (Ehr31Mswt). Others see the future memory of their parents, grandparents and themselves in their children and grandchildren partially retaining the way they speak. "Well, I would be sorry. […] I still have old childhood memories with my grandparents of what they used to do and cook and where they went" (Sztgyv51Fswt). Finally, there is another meaningful thought about the question: "I would be sorry if it died out, but it would be very, very necessary for people to speak nicely. So, correctly" (Pak58Fh).

About whether they change their speech style in the city during office administration, they answered "yes" and "no" in half. "Well, if I go away from home, one gets dressed, s/he is not the way s/he is at home […] I think we should dress up and speak for the occasion […] and behave" (Ehr63Fpr). Some replied that they would try to speak differently at such times, but could not (Vi69Fpr). Five participants remember a case where they were mocked due to their speech style, some of them by their own children and grandchildren, and someone in the hospital: "because I was stupid, I said *gyüttem* ['I came' with a conspicuous and typical dialect phonetical feature instead of standard *jöttem*]. Well, they laughed at me for *gyüttem*" (Vi40Fswt). However, 81% of them did not have an unpleasant experience in this regard, according to their own confession, at most others were interested in it or recognised based on it where they could live. Only

one subject (who answered "yes" to the previous question) responded that she was already ashamed of her dialect background. The following types of answers were more common: "I am ashamed in vain if I speak this way" (Sztgyv65Fpr). "No, well, I wasn't ashamed. They should understand it [the fact], then it'll be fine. Well, I'm old. […] I was not ashamed. Well, I am a peasant, a villager, perhaps they understood it" (Pak83Fpr).

Finally, when asked if they found the speech style of other settlements ugly (the researchers made it clear that it did not mean the obscene style), there were also many answers that emphasised the subjectivity of the judgment, namely, what seemed to be strange, unusual, incorrect, or even harder to understand for them, it is natural for someone, and vice versa: the vernacular of the participants may be extraordinary for others. Many, therefore, exhort themselves to linguistic tolerance while being aware of the fact that they themselves use only one variable of the many. According to 58%, there is no settlement where Hungarian is spoken badly, another 11% could not or did not want to answer this, and only 8 participants answered "yes" and told a specific region or settlement as an example.

The distribution of responses to each question, as it was mentioned, was generally broadly similar across all four data collection sites. The only difference was in the question of whether the subjects speak the same way in the city, official places as in their home. In both Pakod in Zala County and Viszák in Vas County, the number of "yes" was significantly higher, while in Szentgyörgyvölgy and Egyházasrádóc the ratio was the opposite, again outstandingly.

Several participants from Western Transdanubia, especially from Egyházasrádóc, reported that its inhabitants have been ridiculed for their speech style, and many mentioned the famous rhyme that mocks it (see also above): "*Vazs* megye, *Vazsvár,* ott terem a *legvár*" that means 'Vas [the name of the county] County, Vasvár [a town in the county], the jam is made there'. Pronouncing *Vazs* [vɑʐ] instead of standard *Vas* [vɑʃ], *Vazsvár* instead of *Vasvár* [the same pronunciation of the first syllable as previously] and *legvár* [lɛgvar] instead of *lekvár* [lɛkvar] refers to the voicing process that is typical but not exclusive in this region (see also a participant's comment on *Vazs* County above).

4.4. Discussion

The hypotheses were partially confirmed at the four data collection sites in Western Transdanubia examined. Participants are usually aware of the most conspicuous regional features of their own and their village's language use (H1). Most subjects like the way they speak (H3). They perceive differences in language use of other regions, but are generally not assessed positively or negatively (H2), but are aware of the subjective nature of their judgment. These experiences caused unpleasant moments for only a few participants, therefore this hypothesis is not

convincingly proved (H4). The assumption of a situational switching is also not fully proved, at least according to the self-reflection and self-declaration of the subjects: half of them answered that they would speak differently in a city or official place than at home or in a family circle (H5). Only half of the participants attribute dialect speech to the elderly, and according to a third, it can also be characteristic of young people, and accordingly only half of the respondents examined predict the disappearance of regional dialects (H6). Three quarters would regret this, according to the considerations mentioned above (H7).

Comparing the results of Western Transdanubia (36 informants) with previous findings by the author of the same project in Central Transdanubia (51 subjects from Kapolcs, Magyargencs, Tapolcafő, Dad, Bakonyszentlászló, Vörs, Felsőnyék and Soponya data collection sites, for details see Parapatics 2020a and 2020c), the following remarks can be noted. In the two dialect regions, the same or very similar results were obtained on most of the questions such as whether they like or prefer the speech style of their own village compared to others, whether there is a difference between the language use of youngsters and the elderly, whether the dialect survives in the settlement according to them, if not, would they regret it, and have they ever been mocked due to their dialect speech or ever ashamed of it.

However, a more conspicuous difference can be found regarding three issues. Respondents in Central Transdanubia are less aware of the regional features of their own language and the language use of their village (regardless of their level of education). Only less than half of the subjects (49%) replied that a dialect is spoken in their village at all, as an opposite of the 72% in Western Transdanubia. Therefore, a significant 80% of the Central Transdanubian speakers reported that they speak in the same way in the city and in official places as at home, compared to the 50% result obtained among Western Transdanubian speakers. Results of the Estonian census in 2011 showed a similar difference: significantly more participants professed themselves as dialect speakers in the Southern regions than in the Northern part of the country (Kommel 2013). As it is emphasized, Standard Estonian is based on the Northern regional dialects (Lindström & Pajusalu 2003), therefore the speakers of the Northern dialects have a harder time to recognize their own dialect features, while Southern dialects have more conspicuous peculiarities. This explanation, however, does not hold its place in terms of Central and Western Transdanubia, although the latter might have more recognisable dialect features both by other speakers and, therefore, by the speakers of the region themselves (see the quotations and the rhyme about Vas County above).

As another deviation of the two subregions, only one participant in Central Transdanubia reported to be mocked for dialect speech, although this number is not very high in Western Transdanubia either (6 participants). However, there were several responses from Central Transdanubia regarding the situational

switch, which highlighted the "more normal" nature of the language forms used in official situations among strangers, which made them feel "smarter", "correct", "more intelligent".

These differences warn that the own characteristics of the smaller regions are worth being explored, even if the entire examined area, contemporary Hungary, does not exceed 100,000 km^2. Future in-depth case studies within the enormous archive of the NGAHD can help to achieve an adequate description and proper answers to questions that affects not only everyday life of individuals and communities, but societal and educational behaviour and decisions as well.

The present study was limited to the investigation of some Western Hungarian participants' language attitudes towards (their) dialect(s), and, partly, to the comparison of the results of some Central Hungarian data collection sites. As the analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews of the NGAHD archive is an ongoing project, results from further parts of the language area are expected in the near future. They will show whether the preliminary results can be said to be general or the analysis of the rest of the data modifies which hypotheses are proved or not regarding the linguistic mentality of Hungary today in the end. Although the archive contains a number of interviews from minority Hungarian speakers of the neighboring countries, too, the analysis in question focuses on the inland data, for the time being, that still means near a hundred hours of voice recordings from almost 600 participants.

5. Conclusions and outlook

The hypothesis regarding the judgment over the language use in other regions, disproved by the above results, was based on every-day experiences and recent research findings. Studies confirming the stigmatization of regional dialects of Hungarian revealed the language attitudes of teachers (cf. e.g., Dudych-Lakatosh 2020, Németh 2020, Parapatics 2020b, Jánk 2021) and university students (Parapatics 2019). According to these works, a defining part of both groups have prejudices about dialect speech and speakers (see also Kontra 2018). In the case of teachers, it often leads to negative discrimination, for example in the assessment of students, even unintentionally. Although not every teacher could study about the regional variability of their mother tongue (but several training programs and educational materials are available in the topic), the expectations of the current National Curriculum that warns the attention to the acceptance and appreciation of linguistic diversity are valid for every teacher and student in Hungary. University students who represented prescriptive viewpoints and negative attitudes towards regionalisms in the study mentioned, however, had to learn (or should have learned) about this topic during their public education only a couple of months or years before participating in the

research as it is a compulsory theoretical part of the material of mother tongue education.

The majority of the villagers interviewed for the NGAHD project have a lower level of education, and many were not able to hear about the topic of linguistic diversity and tolerance in school. Their answers to sociolinguistic questions often indicate uncertainty regarding their language awareness. Yet many of them have a positive attitude towards the regional variability of Hungarian, they accept the speech style of other regions and are not ashamed of their own dialect. Developing this attitude is one of the main aims of the Hungarian mother tongue education today. The exception were the inhabitants of those data collection sites, mostly in Central Transdanubia, where the majority do not perceive the regional features of the speech style of their own settlement.

These results and conclusions raise further research questions (not forgetting the complexity of the factors that influence attitudes): Do the speakers' language attitudes towards the issues analysed here differ in other parts of the Hungarian language area? To what extent is family socialization prevalent in shaping the attitudes of members of the next generations, and to what extent is it school-based (if the two differs)? Is there a correlation between the extent of the dialect background and the attitudes towards linguistic diversity? Are speakers who themselves perceive the difference between their own language use and the standard more accepting of regional variability?

The enormous data base and the network of the data collection sites of the New General Atlas of Hungarian Dialects will be able to provide a sufficient amount of current data for further research and researchers to answer these questions.

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