

**University of Pannonia  
Faculty of Humanities  
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**LANGUAGE, POWER, ASSIMILATION, AND  
MINORITIES  
IN MULTILINGUAL SPACE  
(Based on the analysis of Transcarpathian Hungarian novels)**

Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

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## STATEMENT

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of Modern Philology and Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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**(Based on the analysis of Transcarpathian Hungarian novels)**

Submitted to the Faculty of the Modern Philology and Social Sciences  
of the University of Pannonia in partial fulfillment of the  
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in the branch of Applied Linguistics

by Gabriella Mádi

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## ABSTRACT

The present dissertation investigates the dynamics of language, power, assimilation, and the experiences of minorities in a multilingual space, focusing specifically on Transcarpathian Hungarian novels. The study aims to understand how multilingualism and the interaction between different languages influence the cultural and national identity of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia. This region, historically a melting pot of ethnicities and languages, provides a unique context to explore these themes.

Transcarpathia, now part of Ukraine, has a complex history marked by various political regimes, including Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Soviet, and Ukrainian governance. This shifting political landscape has significantly influenced the region's linguistic environment. The primary objective of this dissertation is to analyze how these historical and political changes are reflected in the Hungarian literature of Transcarpathia. The study investigates the portrayal of multilingualism, language contact phenomena, and the sociolinguistic realities within these literary works.

The research adopts a multidisciplinary approach, combining literary analysis with sociolinguistic methods. A comprehensive review of Transcarpathian Hungarian novels from different historical periods is conducted, focusing on works from the Czechoslovak era, the Soviet period, and contemporary Ukraine. Key texts include Mihály Tamás's "Két part közt fut a víz," Vilmos Kovács's "Holnap is élünk," János Penckófer's "Hamuther," Marianna Brenzovics's "Kilátás," and Éva Berniczky's "Méhe nélkül a Bába."

The analysis identifies and categorizes instances of language contact, such as code-switching, borrowings, and the use of loanwords, within these novels. It also examines how authors depict the multilingual environment and the impact of state power on language use and identity. The study employs critical discourse analysis to understand the broader sociopolitical implications of these linguistic features.

The findings reveal that Transcarpathian Hungarian literature is deeply intertwined with the region's multilingual reality. The novels examined in this study showcase a rich tapestry of language interactions, reflecting the historical context of each period. For instance, during the Czechoslovak era, the literature often depicts a struggle for linguistic and cultural survival amidst a backdrop of political repression and nationalization policies. In the Soviet period, the literature reflects a more complex interaction of languages, with Russian influence becoming increasingly prominent. The contemporary literature of independent Ukraine continues to grapple with issues of language and identity, often highlighting the ongoing challenges faced by the Hungarian minority. Authors use various narrative strategies to incorporate multilingualism, such as embedding foreign words within Hungarian texts, creating hybrid forms, and employing code-switching to emphasize the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region.

This dissertation contributes to the understanding of how multilingualism and power dynamics are represented in minority literature. It underscores the importance of literary texts as a valuable source for sociolinguistic research, offering insights into the lived experiences of multilingual communities. The study highlights the resilience and adaptability of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community, as reflected in their literature, and provides a nuanced understanding of the interplay between language, identity, and power in a multilingual context.

The research also suggests that literary works can serve as a corpus for linguistic analysis, revealing patterns of language use and identity construction that might not be evident through other methods. This interdisciplinary approach opens new avenues for future research, emphasizing the need for continued exploration of minority literatures in multilingual settings.

In summary, the dissertation offers a comprehensive examination of Transcarpathian Hungarian novels, illuminating the intricate connections between language, power, and identity in a historically contested region. The findings contribute to broader discussions on multilingualism, minority rights, and the role of literature in preserving cultural heritage and fostering linguistic diversity.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EL	Embedded Language
KMKSZ	Kárpátaljai Magyar Kulturális szövetség [Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association]
KMNyA	A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza [The Atlas of Transcarpathian Hungarian Dialects hereinafter]
KMNySz	A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások szótára [The Dictionary of Transcarpathian Hungarian Dialects hereinafter]
ML	Matrix Language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame
n.	Noun
Rus	Russian
Ukr	Ukrainian
v.	Verb

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The background of the study

Multilingualism is a worldwide phenomenon, and though various aspects of it have been the focus of scholarly attention only over the past few decades, multilingualism itself is probably as old as humanity.

In the Transcarpathian context, multilingualism is a complex matter. Although the Hungarian state is discontinuous in some respects, it has developed within a well-defined framework since the early Middle Ages, which created an opportunity for the development of a national culture that was canonized from the 19th century. The Hungarian ethnic group with an elite and statehood thus had better opportunities to create and nurture a homogeneous national culture compared to the nationalities living in the same state and on the periphery of the kingdom. The above was favoured by the particular partially closed geographical environment, which almost ruled out the regional fragmentation of the national culture (perhaps Transylvania is an exception to this in some respects), but except in Transylvania, regionalization did not actually appear. Although the modern Hungarian Kingdom was far from ethnically unified, the above-mentioned factors, plus the cultural seclusion from fellow nations and/or the dominance of the Hungarian language and culture in everyday life, as well as its inevitable role in social enforcement, also favoured Hungarian "blocification". At the beginning of the 19th century, the foundations and institutions of Hungarian national culture began to be established. First, the language itself started to be transformed so that Hungarian words were also available for expressions previously used in Latin or German. (Romsics, 2017:313).

However, the First World War broke up the unity of the Hungarian language block, and the state frameworks that tried to expand it, and it created the opportunity for the states of nationalities living on the periphery to have their own national-cultural projects, similar to the earlier Hungarians. And, these got extended to areas populated by Hungarians as well. This situation brought with it the separation of the peripheries of the Hungarian ethno-cultural bloc and their transformation into minority peripheries in the new states.

A certain degree and intensity of regionalization began in these peripheries, which was different in the different annexed areas. This new type of regionalization brought with it new Hungarian elites, cultural centres, cultural products, identity patterns and the social structures for their dissemination in the field of education, church, and social and political organizations. These were both under the influence of the kin-state (Hungary) and the new state's nation-building, so their own ethnic-regional community-building also appeared, which led to the formation of a multi-centred Hungarian cultural space. The Hungarian language has always been in contact with the languages of the nations surrounding it, just the same as any other language on the periphery anywhere in the world.

In the present research, multilingualism is investigated with a focus on the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia, and up until the end of World War I, Hungarians were part of the majority nation, even though Hungarian speakers were outnumbered by Rusyn speakers at the time in this multi-ethnic region, and they became a minority group due to a political decision. On one hand, this abrupt change came as a bitter surprise as it is well-documented in studies that deal with this period (Csernicskó, 2019:117; Szakál, 2019:175), and it defined their attitude towards the majority language as well. On the other hand, European state formation endeavours had an impact on minority languages and language use and these tendencies appeared in Transcarpathia as well. During the formation of different states in the region, the goal of all governments was to achieve homogeneity and a common language was considered as a tool of unifying the state. As a result of this idea, minority languages were discriminated against and gradually started to decline during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Gorter & Cenoz, 2012:184).

Of course, the Transcarpathian conditions for Hungarians were not unique, the same or very similar changes occurred with the Hungarian minority groups of neighbouring states. However, for authors of local Hungarian literature, this change was a bigger break than in the case of, say, Hungarian literature in Transylvania, as the latter formed a much more independent unit within the Hungarian bond for centuries. While the northern and north-eastern Slovensko and Rusynsko (Upper-Hungary and Transcarpathia respectively) were much more strongly connected to Budapest, both economically and culturally, as they fell much closer to the capital (Szvatkó, n.d.).

Hungarian book publishing recovered from the political upheaval relatively quickly, and various literary journals were relaunched soon after the political turmoil. In Transcarpathia, this process took some time and when the Hungarian literature

recovered, the uncertainty of the locals, and the social processes became well documented in the contemporary prose. The segregation of literary life from that of the motherland intensified in the Soviet era as well, since the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority was separated from Hungary and the Hungarian literary tendencies by closed borders. This peculiarly closed literary world started to open up in the past two decades and it is not an easy task to define what makes the local literature Transcarpathian (Csordás, 2020:12). In Hungarian literary history, much attention is paid to the question of the unity of Hungarian literature, which is separated by borders, and whether there are several Hungarian literatures or one, and the Transylvanian, Slovak, Transcarpathian and other Hungarian literatures outside the borders of Hungary are merely the regional versions of it. Many arguments can be made to support both positions and perhaps both camps are right somewhere. However, the opinion of literary historian András Görömbei sums up this polemic very well. According to him, the integrity of Hungarian history, traditions, and language enables the further division of literature. And this division does not break the unity; it only makes it more meaningful, since different fates result in different versions of Hungarian literature (Elek, 2003). This literary historical and aesthetic polemic is very similar to what Hungarian linguists had in the 1990s on the unity, diversity and pluricentricity of the Hungarian language. The idea of pluricentrism appeared in linguistics a few decades ago, it means that a language has codified but more or less different variations in at least two different countries and/or regions, which are in an interactive relationship with each other. According to Muhr (2016:16), pluricentric language has its codified norms in all the places it is used and needs to have some sort of official status (as state language, co-state language, or regional language. The term was introduced by William Stewart and Heinz Kloss at the end of the 60s, and since then it has been a common starting point for describing linguistic phenomena. In Hungarian linguistics, the concept of pluricentrism became an important interpretative framework from the end of the 1990s, and it is used to describe the linguistic varieties of Hungarian outside the borders of Hungary (Németh, 2018:59). According to Lanstyák (1996), the use in different social, political, economic and cultural conditions also brought about the development of certain language differences. Variants of Hungarian that are clearly distinguishable from the standard have been created in Slovakia, Transylvania in Romania, Transcarpathia in Ukraine, and Vojvodina.

Both the circumstances and the literature of Transcarpathian Hungarians had gone through considerable changes since the territory was taken away from Hungary for the first time in 1919, and it is interesting to find out how much of the former can be traced in the latter.

As David Gramling sees it:

*Linguistic contact is presented and absented at the same time. It is sometimes described clinically, sometimes obscurely, sometimes stoically, ever desirously – and this mix of writerly affect often indexes the fundamental and profound predicaments that face any literary author in a multilingual world where what one means by ‘a language’ makes all the difference. (Gramling, 2019:751)*

Multilingualism in literature has various dimensions and, as Johanna Laakso (2015) points out in her paper, to investigate them properly one needs to have expertise in numerous fields of research. Literary multilingualism is rarely explored in linguistic studies, mainly because the language spoken by multilingual people provides an ample source of linguistic material for research in the field. Literature studies also neglect the multilingual features of literary texts, as their focus of interest usually reaches far beyond the text itself. However, we can assume that to some extent the literary texts, especially prose, are a direct expression of the writers’ multilingual and multicultural realities, thus they bear the same marks of language contact as the real-life language of the same region and can serve as the object of linguistic studies. In relation to literary works presenting a bilingual world, the question may even arise as to which national literature they should be classified, as two or more languages appear in them in such a varied way, and this notion is analysed in detail in Albert Rossich’s (2018) article. His work seeks to explore and categorize the diverse practice of literary multilingualism, which has been present across different periods of literary history. It aims to assess the various motivations and intentions behind this practice, examining forms such as alternation, confusion, and language mixture. The article delves into the purposes that drive these forms, including the use of multilingualism for rhetorical display, the desire for authenticity, the inclination towards parody, and its reflection of diglossia. It also provides examples from a range of literary traditions to illustrate these concepts and phenomena (Rossich, 2018).

A sufficient investigation of multilingual phenomena in literary texts needs interdisciplinary cooperation, and some expertise in both literary and linguistic fields of research. Transculturalism and bilingualism in literature are extensively studied, among others, by the members of Bázis (Hungarian Literary and Art Association in Slovakia) who have organised their fourth conference on the matter in 2021. Investigating the pluricentric language of literary texts is the focus of the research of Zoltán Németh, and Anikó N. Tóth concerning Hungarian literature in Slovakia. In his 2018 article, Németh examined contemporary Hungarian literature in various countries outside Hungary (Serbia, Slovakia, and Romania) and he found that while the majority of Hungarian literature is still written in the standard variety of Hungarian, some regional varieties of Hungarian can be traced in literary works as well, both poetry and prose. An important starting point for these works is the existence of non-standard language varieties; authors use them as a conscious poetic representation. The pluricentrism of the Hungarian language is a possibility that is inseparable from transculturalism (Németh, 2018:69). Anikó N. Tóth examined the uniquely mixed language of the novel *Klára* by György Norbert. She analysed the novel linguistically and presented its transcultural elements, finally concluding that in György Norbert's novel, due to the pluricentric nature of Hungarian, the reader can witness a specific poetic experiment in which the language becomes richer with transcultural elements and cultural and linguistic border crossings (N. Tóth, 2018:82). Judit Görözdi's 2023 article examines how the contemporary Slovak Hungarian prose reflects on the historical situation, fate-changing events and social (national) situation of the Hungarians in Slovakia. It examines texts that reinterpret this content, which can be called traditional, based on contemporary human experience. The historical material that shapes the situation of the minority and the memory of the past can often only be grasped indirectly: for example, from the point of view of identity, by involving multicultural/transcultural perspectives or by analysing the use of language.

These few selected researches above also illustrate that the sociolinguistic examination of literary texts is not without precedent, and the current research already has antecedents in the Transcarpathian context as well. Vilmos Gazdag (2021, 2023) has studied state language influence on Hungarian in the Transcarpathian Hungarian literature of the 21st century focusing mainly on the Hungarian lexicon. He also comes to the conclusion that the linguistic interaction resulting from the coexistence of peoples and cultures can be demonstrated in the Hungarian literary works of Transcarpathia,

which is mostly manifested in the use of loanwords. In addition, interference can be detected in the use of personal names and code-switching, which the authors use as stylistic devices in their literary works, making the linguistic environment they depict more authentic.

But literary multilingualism is not limited to the Hungarian minority context and the linguistic approach to literary works is neither new nor unprecedented. For instance, several groups of speakers of various Finno-Ugric languages live in minority in Eastern-European cultures, multilingualism in Finno-Ugric literature has been extensively studied by Johanna Laakso (2015). Also, Márk Szántai's article focuses on a Hungarian novel created beyond Hungary's borders (Szántai, 2019). While he aims to identify the existence of physical, linguistic and mental border crossings, the article outlines the categories of foreignness appearing in Imre Oravecz's *Kaliforniai fürj* [California Quail], supporting the analysis with the help of philosophical, spatial poetics and cultural anthropological theories. Bringing the theoretical texts and the novel into dialogue opened fruitful paths of interpretation, from which the considerations through which the novel articulates the lived experience of foreignness and the process of full or partial assimilation became visible. The author carried out a detailed and close-to-the-text poetic investigation, revealing the experience of foreignness depicted in the novel, as well as the complete or quasi-assimilation.

## **1.2. The research Problem**

The connections between language and identity, and the contact effects between languages in a bi- or multilingual environment have long been in the focus of attention in applied linguistic research. Attila Mizser (2018:55), on the influence of Foucault, reaches the conclusion that if language determines the relationship between reality and thinking about reality, as well as our representation of ourselves, then it also limits the aesthetic and rhetorical principles according to which the literary text is created. Therefore, literature in the Hungarian language is a much more complex concept than it can be narrowed down to just Hungarian vocabulary or phraseology. Concerning Hungarian literature in Slovakia, he reaches the point that although it is organically connected to the structure of Hungarian literature, the very fact that there is a "Hungarian literature outside the borders" or "Slovakian Hungarian literature" suggests that it is somehow still separate from the literature of the motherland.

From a linguistic point of view, it is interesting to examine how the Transcarpathian Hungarian is different from the Hungarian language of the kin-state, and what processes play and have played a role in its development. The general aim of the present study is to investigate the same issues of language contact and minority identity studying the prose of Transcarpathian authors from different time periods. The Hungarians of Transcarpathia were not always a minority group in the region, but multilingualism has been present here even before the various changes of state took place.

### **1.3. Place of the research**

Transcarpathia is a region with a rich history and a colourful ethnic composition. Throughout its history, it has been called various names. Podkarpasta Rus was its first official name in the Czechoslovak state but it was also called Rusynsko. In the 1938-1944 period it was once again under Hungarian rule, or at least some part of it and the name of the territory was changed to Subcarpathia. Within the USSR, it was first called Transcarpathian Ukraine and later became Transcarpathia. In order to avoid confusion, in the present thesis Transcarpathia will be used when referring to the region under investigation. In Transcarpathia, several versions of geographical names are usually known, which depends on the era in which we are talking about the given places, and from the perspective of the minority or the majority. For the sake of simplicity, in the present thesis, the currently valid official English equivalent will be used of geographical names, which are predominantly settlements.

Besides the representatives of the state-forming nation, there are Hungarians, Slovaks, Russians, and Romanians living here. Similar constraints exist in the minorities of other countries where presumably the same or similar effects of coexistence can be observed as in Transcarpathia.

Numerous researchers deal with the linguistic conditions or the effects of multilingualism in Transcarpathia including the works of the researchers of the Hodinka Antal Research Centre, such as István Csernicskó's work on the relationship of the Hungarians to the Ukrainian language in Transcarpathia, Anita Márku's work on bilingualism, bilingual effects, Vilmos Gazdag's work on Slavic lexical borrowings and loanwords in Transcarpathian Hungarian, Kornélia Hires-László's work on the factors of national and local identity in the Transcarpathian Hungarian community and the historical research on the topic in the works of Csilla Fedinec and Imre Szakál. Similar

work has been done by Petteri Laihonen, Imre János Heltai and Krisztina Bartha concerning the Transylvanian Hungarian minorities, István Lanstyák, Károly Presinszky, Ildikó Vančo and Gizella Szabó Mihály concerning Slovakia, Árpád Beszédes and Csilla Göncöl concerning Serbia, Szilvia Szoták and Lívía Pathy concerning Austria, Anna Kolláth and Judit Gasparics concerning Slovenia, and Orsolya Zagar Szentesi and Kristina Katalinić concerning Croatia. The present research, however, could illustrate how these concepts are reflected in the literature of each multilingual region. Literature reflects reality, so we can assume the multilingual world, contact effects, minority issues, assimilation, and language maintenance all appear in literary works born in a multilingual environment. Linguistic interaction naturally works in both directions; Hungarian linguistic elements have also entered the speech of Transcarpathian Ukrainians due to the coexistence of the peoples. These are also reflected in the local Ukrainian-language literature. Elements of the local Transcarpathian dialect (along with Hungarian loanwords) are present in most of the fiction works of one of the best-known Transcarpathian writers, Petro Midyanka. In 2012, he won the most prestigious Ukrainian literary award (Taras Shevchenko National Prize) for his collection of poems entitled *Ліштяк в небо* [Ladder to the sky], published in the Transcarpathian dialect, which also has a Hungarian loanword in its title. These features are also investigated by local linguists, Erzsébet Bárány (2009) wrote a PhD thesis on Hungarian loanwords appearing in local Ukrainian fiction at ELTE's Doctoral School of Linguistics.

#### **1.4. Aims of the Research**

The present research aims to illustrate how these linguistic contact effects, attitudes towards language shift and maintenance, assimilation and other minority issues are reflected in the literature of this multilingual region. Thus, the linguistic sources, the corpus of the investigation come from literary texts. Literature reflects reality, so we can assume the multilingual world: contact effects, minority issues, assimilation, and language maintenance all appear in literary works born in a multilingual environment. Hungarian novels from different periods (Transcarpathia under Czechoslovak rule, under the Soviet regime, and within the bond of independent Ukraine) are planned to be investigated. Despite being fiction, the pieces of literature that are planned to be studied

all deal with issues from their own time, which means they all have some characteristics that reflect the social, cultural and linguistic reality.

The research aims to investigate how the authors depict the multilingual environment together with the effects of the state power and the significance of assimilation, and their manifestations in the literary works. At the same time, these novels were created in a multilingual environment, so language contact effects such as loanwords, code-switching, and pragmatic effects of multilingualism are also examined. The research aims to present their stylistic effect and function and also, to explore the writers' strategies for how the multilingual and multicultural world can be perceived and presented in literary texts prepared not exclusively, but also for the monolingual Hungarian reader: in what way (narration, typesetting, circumscription, footnotes, etc.) does the author introduce the multilingualism in a way that is understandable for even the monolingual reader. Presumably, the writing techniques also indicate the differences between monolingual and multilingual speaking communities.

Linguistics and literature are bound in the planned research since novels are the reflections and instinctive displays of the multilingual world that can be proved by empirical research.

## **1.5. Research questions**

Q1: What elements of language contacts appear on the pages of the novels?

Q2: How are the language contact effects and minority identity issues reflected in literary works?

Q3: What kind of linguistic resources are used to build or express the multilingual context and the culture and identity in minority literature?

Q4: What are the main similarities and differences in the language interference phenomena in these literary texts?

Q5: Can the writers' attitude towards language and multilingualism be seen through the novels?

## **1.6. Hypotheses**

H1: The main hypothesis is that the same contact effects and identity issues can be traced in minority novels that occur in the language use and self-definition of people who live in minority groups in multilingual surroundings.

H2: Multilingual language use is present in the literary texts of the region throughout its history.

H3: Visual effects of multilingualism, such as loanwords and code-switching gradually increase in literary works as the investigation moves towards contemporary literature.

H4: Literary criticism reflects on the multilingual world presented in the examined novels and on the specific language-related writing techniques used in the novels.

## **1.7. Significance of the Research**

The present research aims to investigate certain sociolinguistic features of literary texts, some of which have already been studied by prominent local researchers with the help of data collected via usual methods in applied linguistics, interviews, questionnaires, linguistic landscape studies, etc. However, studying these phenomena in the texts of local literary works gives the researcher the opportunity to yield exciting information concerning local language use. In literary works, the imprint of the various state languages, which we can no longer be observed in their living linguistic reality, is more likely to be traced in the language. Concerning language shift Thomason and Kaufman realized that once a completed language shift takes place, the original language of the given group usually disappears, thus making it impossible for the researcher to investigate how the linguistic contact happened or how the original language affected the one that replaced it (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988:111). Similarly, it is difficult to observe the effects of language contact in its different stages in time unless it was well documented from the beginning. Investigating bilingual literary works among others might be a useful source for linguists.

## **1.8. Overview of the Research**

The current thesis is organised into six main chapters, all of which contain several subchapters. The first chapter introduces the topic and aims of the research, together with the main ideas along which the research revolves. It includes the research questions and the hypotheses together with highlighting the significance of the research.

Chapter 2 outlined the main concepts along which the topic is aimed to be investigated. It defines multilingualism in minority literature, later narrowing to multilingualism in Transcarpathia. Here it was inevitable to discuss the history of the

region together with language policy concerning Hungarian as a minority language. Then, the characteristics of Hungarian in Transcarpathia described with special attention to Slavic loanwords and code-switching. Finally, it presents the relations between ordinary language and literary language, establishing a base for the research.

The third chapter contains the methods of the research. It explains the context, the aspects of selecting the novels for investigation, and the method of collecting and processing the data. It is followed by Chapter 4 where the results of the research are presented. Here, all the novels are analysed based on the multilingual features they contain, and then the collected multilingual features, loanwords and code-switches are discussed. Chapter 5 discusses the results, and Chapter 6 contains the conclusions of the study with some future implications.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Approaches to literary multilingualism**

Multilingualism is not at all a modern invention, it is much older than it has been researched. It was replaced by monolingualism when nation-states were formed, but the practice of multilingualism goes back much further. Multilingualism is everywhere these days. Only a few major nation-states have a language (eg English) strong enough to create the appearance of a completely monolingual environment, but even these monolingual regions are subject to foreign language influence by strong migration and minority groups.

Multilingualism is difficult to define, for several reasons, but all definitions agree that it means certain individuals or groups of individuals use more than one language on a daily basis (Cenoz, 2013; Li, 2008). Cenoz (2013:4) underlines that globalization contributed to the value of multilingualism, as being able to communicate in more than one language gives the speaker an undeniable advantage. In line with its growing importance multilingualism is continuing to attract attention in many fields of research including sociolinguistics. Aronin, Fishman, Singleton and Ó Laoire argue that multilingualism has undergone a considerable change throughout its history, a certain restructuring of its societal role. It has become an inherent and salient property of human society regardless of the size of the specific communities. Currently, almost every facet of human life is affected by multilingualism, either in a direct or indirect way (Aronin et al., 2013:4). It is only natural that multilingualism has found its way to literary works as well.

Gramling (2019:743) points out that one might reasonably expect that literary studies and contact linguistics would engage in lively discussions with each other at every opportunity. After all, literary studies thrive when exploring the diverse ways language is used in various aesthetic forms and settings, shedding light on how social and sociolinguistic realities are depicted in novels, short stories, and poems. However, over the past two and a half centuries, literary studies, particularly national philologies, have often avoided the issue of language(s) in contact, and sometimes even language(s) in

general. He adds that literary analysts, even when passionate and critical, can become so immersed in themes, motifs, ideologies, and characters that they overlook language itself — whether in terms of its unique human faculty (*langage*) or the specific language systems (*langue*) used in various worlds. Around 1980, there was a burgeoning interest in linguistically informed literary stylistics, pragmatics, speech act theory, and variationist sociolinguistics, evidenced by contributions in mainstream literary critical journals (Gramling 2019:743). While considering the evolution of multilingualism in literary theory and practice, Gramling (2019) traces its trajectory from the early 1980s to the present day, discussing the challenges and nuances of understanding language and its various forms in literary aesthetics, particularly focusing on the tension between monolingual and multilingual paradigms, examining how literary texts reflect and challenge notions of monolingualism and multilingualism. Literature plays a vital role in shaping perceptions of language and identity, emphasizing the need for a more inclusive approach to understanding linguistic diversity in literary studies.

The Journal of Literary Multilingualism has dedicated its work to the study of literary multilingualism. The editors of the first issue reckon the launch of the journal as a moment filled with excitement for those involved in the study of literary multilingualism. Reflecting on their journey into this field many years ago, they recall how the groundbreaking work of critics like Leonard Forster, Elizabeth Klosty Beaujour, Rainier Grutman, Monika Schmitz-Emans, and Steven G. Kellman was gradually gaining recognition as it took time for the academic community to fully embrace the study of multilingualism within literary criticism. Initially viewed as a niche interest, much of the early work focused on individual authors or specific historical contexts considered exceptional (Taylor-Batty & Dembeck, 2023:7-8).

However, with the rise of translation studies, the growing recognition of the ‘postmonolingual condition’ in today's world, and the transnational shift in literary studies, multilingual and translingual writing practices have emerged as central areas of inquiry. Scholars from diverse linguistic, cultural, and theoretical backgrounds are now actively contributing to this field, engaging with literature from various periods and regions. Despite this progress, the landscape of literary multilingualism scholarship remains fragmented, with scholars often unaware of each other's work and little consensus on terminology or definitions (Taylor-Batty & Dembeck, 2023:9-10).

Terminological debates, such as the distinctions between ‘multilingual’ and ‘translingual,’ highlight the evolving nature of the field. Scholars grapple with concepts

like ‘regimes of comprehensibility’ and challenge monolingual norms, emphasizing the dynamic nature of linguistic diversity in literature. Moreover, discussions on language hierarchies and ideologies underscore the need to critically examine the impact of power dynamics on literary production and reception (Taylor-Batty & Dembeck, 2023:10-11).

Many writers and poets around the world are experimenting with multilingualism: they write in several languages, switch languages within a text, and translate themselves (Bar-Itzhak, 2019). In connection with the omnipresence of multilingualism, language boundaries can be questioned, but without language boundaries, it is not possible to define multilingualism, in any of its forms. Understanding the relationship between linguistic reality and its literary representation is essential for understanding literary multilingualism. This requires both literary and linguistic tools (Laakso, 2015).

It is worth examining multilingual literary works along three questions: representation, form, and interpretation. At the level of representation, it is interesting to examine how the literary text reflects and embodies the multilingual reality, what kind of connections between languages can be found in such a literary work? Multilingualism in literature can display the situation of the nationality through the language of the nationality, illustrating the existing linguistic and cultural hierarchy. Multilingual writing opens new horizons in literary representation, in the presentation of human lives, in the ever-changing social environment.

In the field of form, the question arises, how can multilingualism work as a creative force? What form does it take, does it create new ones or create an experimental, hybrid form using existing forms?

The interpretation by the reader is the third question regarding multilingual literature. Every multilingual literary work has an ideal reader who knows and understands all the languages of the work perfectly and can access the entirety of the text. However, other readers, for whom one or more languages of the work are unknown, will find the text incomprehensible. In this sense, the multilingual text has several interpretable levels and has different effects for different readers (Bar-Itzhak, 2019).

### **2.1.1. Multilingualism in minority literature**

Before trying to explore national minority literature one needs to specify what exactly the term national minority means. Rogers Brubaker American sociologist introduced his

Triadic Nexus theory in 1993, according to which, there is a triadic relational nexus between national minorities, nationalizing states where minorities live, and the homelands of the national minorities to which they belong by ethnocultural affinity. As he puts it:

*...each of the »elements« in this relational nexus – minority, nationalizing state, and homeland – should itself be understood in dynamic and relational terms, not as a fixed, given, or analytically irreducible entity but as a field of differentiated positions and an arena of struggles among competing “stances”. (Brubaker, 1993)*

According to Brubaker`s estimation, there are tens of millions of people who live in national minority, and thus outside their national territory, which means that they live in nation states formed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but they belong to their homelands by ethnic nationality. He explains his theory by comparing and contrasting the cases of the Russian and Hungarian minorities. However different in many aspects, like number, relatively old or new minority existence, being migrant versus indigenous minorities, they both, like many other national minorities, live in a conflictual triangular relationship between themselves, the states they live in, and their “kinstates”. Brubaker emphasized the fact that all three elements of the nexus are “*variably configured and continuously contested political fields*” (Brubaker, 1993), and, should not be treated as fixed entities.

Brubaker sees national minorities as a “*dynamic political stance*”, or ‘*a family of related and mutually competing stances*” (Brubaker, 1993) with three main characteristics. First, they have a public claim to be members of a nation different from the one dominant nation. They also insist on the state recognition of their distinct ethnocultural nationality. And, finally, they demand certain collective, cultural and political rights on the basis of their ethnocultural nationality (Brubaker, 1993).

Brubaker calls the states that national minorities live in nationalizing states. He prefers the term to nation-state, as he considers it to be a dynamic political attitude, rather than a static condition, similarly to national minorities. He claims that there is a trend to look at the state as an unfinished nation-state, and with the promotion of the language, culture, demographic position, economy, and political hegemony of the state-bearing nation, the proper nation-state status can be achieved.

Similarly to the previous two concepts, the external national homeland is also a dynamic political stance in Brubaker's perception. He considers all homeland stances to have some common characteristics, such as the axiom of shared nationhood regardless of state or citizenship boundaries, or that homelands are somewhat responsible for co-nationals living in other states with other citizenships. Different homeland stances may vary in several aspects, and they might be interpreted differently concerning how and to what extent a homeland should take responsibility for their ethnic co-nationals in other states (Brubaker, 1993).

### **2.1.2. A brief history of Hungarian minority literature in Transcarpathia**

Transcarpathia has traditionally been a somewhat “left behind” region due to its peripheral position in all the different countries it ever belonged to. Locals supported themselves mainly by farming, and apart from the capital (Uzhhorod), all towns were rather rural. The local intelligentsia were mainly officials and clerks from the central parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, but with the change of states even they, or at least most of them left the region (Szakál, 2020:310). When it became part of Czechoslovakia, the new leadership only had vague ideas about local conditions, and they were exaggerated to some extent with the image of wild bears running in the streets (Szakál, 2017a:17). However, amplified these ideas seem, the reality was not too far from the assumptions, some farm animals did roam the streets of Transcarpathian towns, and the local cultural life was far from being prosperous.

These circumstances did not favour the development of local Hungarian literature, which became separated from its cultural capital, and had no printing houses, publishers, or magazines for authors to publish. Local authors in the Czechoslovak era joined the cultural life in Slovensko, the former Upper Hungary, so there is no clear consensus concerning the question of whether authors Mihály Tamás or László Sáfáry belong to the regional cultural traditions of Upland Hungarian or Transcarpathian Hungarian literature (Görömbei, 2001:311; Papp, 2017:316). It is not the aim of the present work to answer this question, but it is certain that some topics of these authors are undoubtedly connected to the Transcarpathian area, painting a picture of local social, cultural, and multilingual conditions. In 1938 Transcarpathia was reunited with Hungary, which lasted until the 1944 Soviet occupation of the territory, and these six

years did not favour the budding local cultural initiatives. World War II halted the Transcarpathian Hungarian intellectual advancement, all significant authors either died in the war or had left the region. In 1941, Hungarian poet, writer, and journalist Dezső Győry moved to Beregovo, and lived there for eight years, but during this time, he did not produce any significant literary works (Görömbei, 2001:311).

The post-war Hungarian cultural initiatives are considered to be a long silence before the second beginning according to János Penckófer, Transcarpathian Hungarian literary historian. As he puts it, the first truly significant literary institutions started to emerge in the second half of the 1960s. The Hungarian literary and cultural life of the era was dominated by two leaders, Vilmos Kovács and László Balla, who represented two completely different stances. The former became the leader of Forrás Studio which was founded in 1967, gathering the editors of a formerly shut down student newspaper (András S. Benedek, Gyula Balla, Mária Punykó, László Györke). Sándor Fodó professor was also an influencing figure in organizing a recital choir that helped to nurture the Hungarian culture minority. Opposing their activities and views, the other group of contemporary intellectuals gathered around the latter leader, who was also editor-in-chief at the local newspaper Kárpáti Igaz Szó. Their studio, named after famous Hungarian poet Attila József, is considered to be a less professional organization than Forrás Studio, as their work was regarded as levelless, overly agitative, and boring (Penckófer, 2019:65-67). The Soviet regime saw the Hungarian nationalist movement first in the activities of the choir, and later in Forrás Studio as well, and they liquidated both, which led to more pronounced expressions of their opinion.

The Attila József Literary Studio was renewed in 1981, with a dynamic new generation of authors and some outstanding figures who influenced them, they became known and recognized throughout Transcarpathia. Kárpáti Igaz Szó became an independent newspaper in 1965, and the author of the Literary Studio had the opportunity to publish in it. The literary section of the newspaper could be cut out from each issue, then glued together into a “literary journal”. This way, Transcarpathian Hungarian contemporary authors reached a rather wide range of readers, and the authors became known and popular. By 1988 the studio was transformed into a creative community, but as it soon started to protect the political interests of the local community above its literary activity, it was obvious that these tasks needed more than one organization. For the protection of the interests of the local Hungarian minority, the

Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association was founded, while several literary organizations appeared to continue the cultivation of Hungarian culture and literature. Among them is remarkable the first Transcarpathian Hungarian, independent literary journal, *Hatodik Síp* [Sixth Whistle] founded in 1989, and edited by Károly Balla D. (Penckófer, 2019:67-70). The chosen title reflects on the sentiment of Hungarian poet, and writer Gyula Illyés as he refers to Hungarian literature as a five-pronged whistle, meaning that the literatures of the Hungarian minority are an integral part of Hungarian literature.

It is easy to see the end of the Soviet regime as an economic, historical, political, and sociological change, but it is not so evident to consider it to be a literary turning point in Hungarian literature, as the development of literature does not necessarily follow political changes. But, in the case of Transcarpathia, the changes in politics and literature somehow coincide, as the regime change went hand-in-hand with the expansion of literary institutions, for instance. Furthermore, the works were not censored any more and were not affected by social ideology. From the soviet era, only one novel seemed to stand the test of time, Vilmos Kovács's *Holnap is élünk* [We will still live tomorrow], so it is easy to see why the Transcarpathian Hungarian literature was considered to be poetry-oriented by experts of literary history (Csordás, 2020:20-22).

The redefining process of the Transcarpathian Hungarian identity started in the first years following the collapse of the SU, with the autobiographically inspired novel series of László Balla. Zoltán Mihály Nagy also found his topics in the history of the region, his novella tackled the 20th-century collective trauma of forced labour that has been referred to as 'málenkij robot'. Then, at the end of the 1990s, and at the beginning of the 2000s, the Transcarpathian Hungarian prose started to reflect some postmodern tendencies. János Penckófer's *Hamuther* is one of these novels, where the main character is trying to redefine his identity as a Transcarpathian Hungarian while contemplating on Hungarian society with the eyes of the outsider, a minority. Another outstanding piece is Éva Berniczky's *Méhe nélkül a bába*, where the story is told with a circular storytelling technique. These novels are so much fictional that they leave no space for a biographical interpretation, but there are some pieces of the early 21st-century Transcarpathian prose where it is necessary to know the author's life and at the same time the Transcarpathian Hungarian culture, to some extent, in order to interpret the literary texts. Some of the latter type of prose includes Károly Balla D.'s

*Szembesülés* and *Tejmozi*, László Vári Fábrián's *Tábori posta*, and Marianna Brenzovics's *Kilátás* (Csordás, 2020:25-29).

In the case of more recent novels, the classification into the regional canon is not clear as it is too soon to create in-depth interpretations and evaluations of these texts. Also, it is not quite evident what are the regards that help us in the canonization process. Before the change of regime, it was simpler: all Hungarian authors who lived and worked in Transcarpathia were considered Transcarpathian Hungarian authors. However, due to the changes in history, society, and politics, this question is not so simple anymore. It is easier to cross the borders nowadays, Transcarpathian Hungarians are entitled to apply for Hungarian citizenship, and these lead to the relocation, and resettlement of some Transcarpathian Hungarians, thus the origin of the authors alone is not suitable to establish belonging to the regional canon. It applies to the place of publication too, as some of the most important Transcarpathian works of recent years have been published in Hungary, what is more, they sometimes don't even reach the shelves of Transcarpathian Hungarian bookstores. Perhaps the relation to the cultural heritage of the region could be a good starting point, but this would mean to shift the emphasis from the author or the institutional system to the text itself, and its interpretation. This way it can be discovered that the novels connect to the Transcarpathian Hungarian literature not only by their topics but also by their poetic features as well (Csordás, 2020:35-36).

## **2.2. The regional context of Transcarpathian multilingualism**

Transcarpathia is a region with a rich history and a colourful ethnic composition. The territory of this region is comprised of some parts of the former Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa and Máramaros counties of the Hungarian Kingdom, and historians claim that Slavic inhabitants scarcely populated this region. It is most likely, that the predecessors of Rusyns started to settle here after the Tatar invasion (Fedinec, 2022:8). German settlers started to settle in Transcarpathia following the Rákóczi War of Independence when the Rákóczi estates were received by the Schönborn-Buchheim family (Fedinec, 2022:9). The German population was later relocated by the Soviet regime and only a small group of them came back to Transcarpathia at the beginning of the 1950s. (Fedinec, 2022:10). Another group of settlers came from Czechoslovakia, and they moved in between the two world wars. Their presence in Transcarpathia was of strategic importance, and they

stayed until the next change of states (Fedinec, 2022:10). Besides the settlers, two other nationalities were present in the region. Until the middle of the 18th century, Jews had lived here only in small numbers, then they started to move in the region in larger groups, which lasted approximately until the Age of Dualism. The Romany people appeared in Hungary around the 15th century, as they were moving across the country on their way to the west, and some of them settled down in Hungary, especially in Southwest and Northeast Hungary (Fedinec, 2022:11). These were the ethnic groups of historical Transcarpathia, and most of them are still a considerable minority group in this region.

The ideology of monolingual nation-states spread throughout Europe in the 19th century, and the peace system that ended the First World War also took national self-determination into account when creating new states. The mother tongue had an important identity-marking function, however, during censuses, bilingual citizens were registered as monolingual, thus increasing the number of Hungarian and German native speakers in the Monarchy (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2019:160).

In the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the people were divided into nationalities based on their mother tongue. Hungarian censuses beginning from the one in 1880 divided people based on their mother tongue and other spoken languages, the nationality of the population was taken into account only following the 1941 census. And, the Austro-Hungarian authorities did not consider Yiddish as an independent language, despite it being the mother tongue of the majority of Jews in this region. This is why native speakers of Yiddish were not registered as such, but rather they were considered either German-speaking or were included in the Hungarian-speaking or Rusyn minority. They had a similar approach towards Romani speakers as Romani was not acknowledged as an official language. They had a separate category called “other” for speakers of Romani languages, and the Romani people who spoke another tongue for their native language were counted into the nationality group of that language. Until the twentieth century, four large ethnic communities lived in Transcarpathia: Hungarians, Rusyns, Jews and Roma, so all the conditions were given for polyglossia to develop in the area. But at the turn of the twentieth century, based on census data, it can be said that a significant part of the population only spoke their mother tongue, although the reality may have shown a somewhat more nuanced picture. In Transcarpathia, however, the local population does not have a common language, and this phenomenon can

presumably be traced back to the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Fedinec & Cserniczkó, 2019:190).

During the Czechoslovak period, there were two censuses organised, one in 1921, and another in 1930. They considered the citizens “belonging to a particular group” to be more important than the language they used in communication, and this meant that Jews and Romani people could become nationality groups. The introduction of the new category, the Jewish nationality reduced the numbers of both the German and Hungarian national minorities, and this was contrary to the interests of the local Hungarians. For this reason, during the censuses, the Jews were encouraged to claim to be either German or Hungarian instead of Jewish, or in some cases, they were registered as such arbitrarily. Similarly, the followers of the Greek Catholic Church were mainly registered as Rusyns even though some of them were Hungarians (Fedinec, 2022:12).

Rusyns are a unique national minority as they are not acknowledged as such in their homeland. But, they are considered to be a minority group by several countries in the world, including Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Serbia, Croatia, etc. The Ukrainian state recognises them as an ethnographic group of Ukrainians, and they were registered only as Ukrainians in the one and only 2001 census of independent Ukraine (Fedinec et al., 2020:15-16).

Hungarians in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were not in absolute majority, but their percentage slowly grew to 54,5% by 1910. In accordance with this, the number of Hungarians steadily grew in Northeast Hungary as well, but they did not become the absolute majority in either Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa or Máramaros counties. By 1900, the number of Hungarians in the territory of today’s Transcarpathia reached 184789, 30,7% of the population (Molnár D., 2018:87). The number of Hungarians drastically decreased in the Czechoslovak period, by 1930 there were only 116975, 15,9% of the population (Molnár D., 2018:93). In the Soviet era, the number of Hungarians did not change much, it was between 150000 and 160000, but their proportion fell back to 12,5% by 1989 (Molnár D., 2018:112).

The region is a part of Ukraine today, where there has only been one census organised in 2001 since the country became independent. Transcarpathia is still a multinational and multilingual region, where people of various nationalities live together. Besides the representatives of the state-forming nation, there are mainly Hungarians, Slovaks, Russians, Romani people and Romanians living here. Similar

constraints exist in the minorities of other countries where presumably the same or similar effects of coexistence can be observed as in Transcarpathia.

Transcarpathia is the region where Hungarian-speaking minorities concentrate, as 96.8% of ethnic Hungarians and 98.2% of the Hungarian native speakers live here. Following Ukrainians (80.5%), ethnic Hungarians are the largest (12.1%) community in the region. The number of native speakers of Hungarian in Transcarpathia was 158,729 which means they make up 12.7% of the population in Transcarpathia. The number of Hungarian native speakers outnumbered the number of ethnic Hungarians by 7123. This is probably due to the fact that a large number of the local Roma population claim to be native speakers of Hungarian (Braun et al., 2010: 24–26). According to the 2001 census, 62% of the people of Roma ethnicity were Hungarian native speakers, and they are 5.5% of all Hungarian native speakers.

### **2.2.1. A brief historical background**

Hungary in the 18th century boasted with a remarkable multiethnic and multilingual composition with roughly 40% of Hungarian native speakers. The people living in the Hungarian Kingdom used two to three languages on a daily basis in their everyday life, most of them were fluent speakers of at least two languages. Latin was the official language of education and public life, the aristocracy and the nobility closer to the crown could speak German, while Hungarian was used mostly by the peasantry. Joseph II was the first ruler who tried to regulate language use in Hungary, in 1784 he decreed that in three years Hungary was supposed to switch to German as an official language. The nobility protested against German, first, they demanded to bring back Latin to an official status, but as the ruler insisted on using a living language, they started to support the idea of Hungarian as an official language. It was a long journey for Hungarian to become an official language, the first step of which was the 1790 parliament as the first law was passed allowing a separate teacher to teach Hungarian in secondary education, academies, and universities. In 1792 another law was passed, under the rule of Francis I, allowing Hungarian to become a school subject and following this a Hungarian Language Department was founded at the university. The last law regulating the language use before the Hungarian gained an official (status was passed in 1805, and in it, the king allowed to conduct office administration in two languages, Hungarian being one of them (Ajkey, 2011). Finally, in 1844 Hungarian became the official language of

the Hungarian Kingdom, leaving Croatia six years of grace period before the switch. At the same time, the other languages used in the kingdom were left out of the legislation, even the 1848 laws did not mention other nationalities. The first law allowing the use of minority languages was passed in 1849, with Hungarian still being the only official language of the kingdom, but offered the use of minority languages in schools, churches, and church administration. This law was never put into practice as the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 failed (Romsics, 2017:346).

The question of minority languages was raised again following the October Diploma in 1860 concerning the language use of the Hungarian Kingdom it allowed the use of the mother tongue for handling the inner affairs of municipalities, the school administrators were allowed to determine the languages of the schools, and citizens could use their mother tongues during official administration (Nagy, 2019:171-181). The 1868 law was dedicated to nationality issues, Article XLIV on national equality aimed to provide individual rights to national minorities instead of collective rights. The law concentrated almost entirely on language use, and national minorities were not satisfied with it. However, following the increasing assimilation tendencies between the 1870s and 1880s, they fought for compliance with this law, as the representatives of the Hungarian government had less and less regard for it.

Following the end of World War I, 1918 and 1919 brought epidemics, an unfavourable economic, and an uncertain political situation for the people in Northeast Hungary (Fedinec, 2022:20).

Czechoslovakia was established on October 28, 1918, by uniting the Czech Republic, Moravia, and Czech Silesia with Slovakia, and during 1919 it was supplemented with the entire area of today's Transcarpathia. The goal of the newly formed state was to function as a nation-state, the protection of the rights of minorities did not play a particular role in the preparation of the constitution in 1920 (Csernicskó & Fedinec, 2019). The peace system that ended World War I was shaped by the conditions set by the victors, the emissaries of Hungary, which came out of the war as a loser, could make comments and present the ethnic map of the territories to be annexed, but they themselves were aware that they would not have any effect on the decision that had already been made, since the new borders were shaped by strategic considerations rather than taking into account ethnic aspects. In 1919, the situation was established in the annexed territories, and it was supervised by the military.

The North-Eastern Hungarian region was already one of the poorest areas in the Hungarian Kingdom, the inhabitants mostly supported themselves by farming, and the war made this situation even worse. The Czechoslovak leadership mostly had the opportunity to get to know the area based on secondhand information (Szakál, 2017a: 17). This was probably partly due to the fact that on the one hand, the area never belonged to Prague throughout its history, and on the other hand, it was relatively far from the Czech centre. The Czechoslovak state officially granted autonomy to Transcarpathia in accordance with the peace treaty, but this was not realized in practice until 1938 (Szakál, 2021:418).

The first Czechoslovak census took place in 1921, which revealed that the population of Transcarpathia was 612,442. This was considered a slight increase compared to the data of the previous 1910 census, but there was a decrease in the number of the Hungarian population of the area. This is mostly due to the fact, that a large number of Hungarians were forced to emigrate between 1918 and 1924 (Molnár D., 2018:89). Many Hungarians trapped in the annexed territories fled to the motherland. Transcarpathia was predominantly inhabited by Ruthenians at this time; they made up 60.8% of the total population. The second most populous nation was the Hungarians, with 18.1%, followed by the Jewish population with 13.1%, and smaller proportions of Czechoslovak, German and other nationalities also lived in Transcarpathia (Molnár D., 2018:91).

In 1920, the language law was passed, according to which the language of the most populous group in Transcarpathia, the Slavic minority, can be used freely in public administration, offices, culture and education (Cserniczkó & Fedinec, 2019). The same language law provides for the languages of other minorities, including Hungarian. Under the law, official administration was ensured in the language of those minorities who represented at least 20% of the court districts. In theory, the Czechoslovak state provided even more favourable language rights for the minorities, but practice showed that, regardless of this, the speakers of minority languages had complaints regarding the issue of language rights, because administrative reforms made it possible to modify the borders of the district courts, which also affected the 20% threshold in the affected districts (Cserniczkó, 2013a:124).

Then, by the First, and later by the Second Vienna Award, the borders were reshaped again. On November 2, 1938, Germany and Italy decided on the amendment of the border between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, taking into account the ethnic

composition of the territories. With the Second Vienna Award on August 30, 1940, Hungary regained control over other previously lost territories, and with it, Máramaros and Ugocsa counties became whole again. On the regained territories of the First, and later the Second Vienna Award, together with the land that was taken back by force in 1939, the Hungarian authorities established a military administration, just like the Czechoslovak authorities did before them. This was called the First Vienna Award, according to which Hungary regained 11927 km<sup>2</sup> of land with a population of 1600000 capita, 170000 among them in Transcarpathia. (Fedinec, 2022:63-66). Following the two Vienna Awards, the lowland territories of Transcarpathia with the Hungarian population were reunited with the original counties. At the same time, the mountainous regions with mostly Rusyn population were united in the Subcarpathian Governorate (Fedinec, 2022:75).

The Hungarian authorities organised a census in 1941, and by this time, the population of Transcarpathia had grown by more than 100000 people. Following the First Vienna Award, a large number of Czechoslovak officers and soldiers left the region and migrated back to their home country. At the same time, Hungarian soldiers and officers arrived to perform administrative duties and functions. After the establishment of Hungarian rule, some people, mainly Rusyns migrated to the Soviet Union, mainly to escape military conscription or because they had lost their jobs (Molnár D., 2018:96). Between 1941 and 1946, the population of Transcarpathia was reduced again by 95249 people, due to the deportation of Jews and migration.

In 1941, 500264 people, 58, 1% of the population claimed to be of Ukrainian (Rusyn) nationality, while 233840 (27,3%) were registered as Hungarians. With the change of states, the number of Hungarians started to increase rapidly. Several reasons were behind this, such as people with uncertain or dual nationalities claimed to be of Hungarian nationality under Hungarian rule. Also, the people who were registered as foreign residents in the Czechoslovak regime were mostly Hungarian nationals and were granted citizenship again. And finally, those who claimed to be Jews during the Czechoslovak census were registered as Hungarians based on their language use. Other nationalities included Jews (9,2%), Romanians (1,8%), and Germans (1,5%), while Czechoslovaks (0,2%), and Romani people (0,1%) were represented only in small numbers (Molnár D., 2018:99-101).

According to the plans of the Hungarian state, Transcarpathia would have received administrative autonomy, but this self-government was never realized. But instead, the

region was officially declared and recognised to be bilingual. Officials in this region had to learn the Slavic state language as well, and grammar books and other publications were created to make it easier, and from 1939 language courses were organised for officials and gendarmes. However, even this era was not free from problems for the Rusyns in terms of their rights to use the language, for example, a 1939 decree issued by the Minister of Interior Affairs changed the names of several settlements to Hungarian, which caused the indignation of the local Rusyn population. Progress was also made in the matter of the Rusyn language during this period, as a coursebook was published aimed at secondary educational institutions. Although it had its shortcomings, after its publication, it served as the basis for the creation of official texts in the local Rusyn language. From a linguistic point of view, the operation of the Subcarpathian Scientific Society, which also worked to develop and codify the unified Rusyn literary language, was outstanding in the era (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2020:69-92).

The end of World War II meant a new beginning for the territory of Transcarpathia, as it was “liberated” by the Soviet army in the autumn of 1944. November 26th marked the end of this liberation, where they organised a national congress in Mukachevo, and the participants were forced to declare their will to be united with the Soviet Union. They chose the spot based on its distance from Chop, where the fight for the town was still going on at the time. Chop was important to the SU as losing it would have meant losing a connected rail network in the region. (Fedinec, 2022:89-91).

The political changes left their marks on the nationality proportions of the population. Those, who had been registered as Rusyns or Ruthenians in previous censuses following the change of states were registered as Ukrainians. Their proportion had grown to 82,3% from 58,1%. At the same time, the proportion of Hungarians decreased to 8,7% from 27,4%, and the proportion of Jews changed to 3,1% from 9,2%. And, with the immigration of Russians, a new nationality group appeared in Transcarpathia. Parallel with the arrival of the Russian population, the displacement of other nationalities was taking place. Beginning in 1947, mainly Hungarian people were taken to labour service in the Donbas region, where many lost their lives due to the inhuman conditions they were kept in. Atrocities hit the representatives of the historic churches as well, many were liquidated. As a result of kolkhozization, kulak trials were initiated against individuals who were declared anti-Soviet, and in many cases, the convicts were deported from Transcarpathia together with their family members. In

1949, the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union forbade the forcibly displaced population to return to their homeland. In the same year, the "voluntary" resettlement of Transcarpathian families to internal Ukrainian territories began. Following the 1950s, the population of Transcarpathia started to grow steadily (Molnár D., 2018:102-103).

Between 1946 and 1989, the population of this region grew with 493700 people, and its ethnic composition was also reshaped. While the number of the Ukrainian and Russian populations grew continuously, the proportion of Hungarian, German and Jewish populations decreased. During the 1959 census, 74,6% of the Transcarpathian population claimed to be Ukrainian, while Hungarians were the largest minority group with 15,8%. It seems, that the number of Hungarians dropped drastically since the previous census, but in fact, because of the forced labour in Donbas, and other atrocities of the Soviet authorities, some Hungarians claimed to be Ukrainians or some other nationality. The Greek Catholic Hungarians were automatically registered as Ukrainians or Slovaks. The number of German and Jewish populations continued to decrease, while the numbers of Romanians and the Romani increased. In the Soviet era, some new nationalities migrated to Transcarpathia, such as Belarusians (Molnár D. 2018:108-109). The next census was held in 1970, and by then, 76,5% of the population was Ukrainian. Although the number of Hungarians had grown by 5000 people, their proportion was still reduced to 14,4%. Other nationalities included Russians (3,3%), Romanians (2,2%), Slovaks (1,0%), Romanis (0,9%), Jewish people (0,6%), Germans (0,4%), Belarusians (0,2%), Polish (0,1%), Czech (0,1%), Moldovan (0,1), and other nationals (0,3%) (Molnár D. 2018:110). This distribution of nationalities has changed slightly by the next, 1979 census. The proportion of Ukrainians grew to 77,8%, the Hungarian population grew a little in number, but their proportion was still only 13,7%, and Russians became the third most populous ethnic group with 3,6%. The other nationality groups changed only slightly considering their proportion in Transcarpathia (Molnár D., 2018:111). The last census in Transcarpathia during the soviet era took place in 1989, and the population tendencies of the previous census seemed to continue, the proportion of Ukrainians changed to 78,6%, while only 12,5% of the population claimed to be Hungarian. The proportion of the Russian population grew to 4%, while the rest of the minority groups show only a small change, most of them seem to shrink (Molnár D., 2018:113).

As for the linguistic and language policy characteristics of the Soviet period, they seemed to support the development of the languages of the member republics, which

also had a favourable effect on the development of the Ukrainian language. The Soviet Union did not even have an official state language, theoretically, all languages had equal rights in the country, but communication between nations took place in Russian. Despite the fact that all nations and nationalities had the right to use their mother tongue in private life, some modern analysts consider the Soviet language policy to be violent Russification. In Transcarpathia, the linguistic landscape was typically multilingual during the Soviet period, bilingual texts appeared mostly for propaganda purposes, on wall posters. However, especially in villages, it was not uncommon for Hungarian inscriptions to be seen on the facades of some institutions. The use of the Hungarian language was narrowed somewhat during this period, but it was still present in the public space (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2020:69-92).

Following the failed 1991 Soviet coup d'état attempt, the collapse of the Soviet Union was inevitable, the members started to declare their wish to exit the union one by one, and so did Ukraine on August 24th. To this day, August 24th is considered to be the “birthday” of Ukraine, it is celebrated as Independence Day. The independence gained an official status following the referendum on December 1st, and most countries of the world started to acknowledge Ukraine as an independent country following this. Hungary was the first European country to sign an international agreement with independent Ukraine, and this was of extraordinary importance to Ukraine. The Basic Treaty on Foundations of Neighbourhood and Cooperation was signed on December 6, 1991, and came into force on June 16, 1993. This was the first time for a foreign country to acknowledge the borders of Ukraine (Fedinec et al., 2021:394-397).

In accordance with international practice, that censuses usually take place at ten-year intervals, Ukraine was planning to conduct a census in 1999. This was postponed due to insufficient financial support, just as the following attempt before the successful 2001 census. This became the first and only census in independent Ukraine so far (Molnár D., 2018:115). Researchers came across some irregularities during the conduct of the census. Among these, in some places the reported data was not recorded in the official questionnaire, but instead, in a simple copybook used as a draft. Also, it happened that the commissioners did not even visit the families personally. According to some analysts, during the census, many were automatically recorded as Ukrainians if they were not available at the time of data collection, which is why the number of Ukrainians increased significantly and the proportion of Russians decreased. During the first census organized by independent Ukraine, some may have felt social pressure to choose a

Ukrainian identity. Whatever might be the truth behind these details, we still consider the results of the official census as the most accurate source of data concerning the composition of the population (Csernicskó & Molnár, 2015). According to the 2001 census, the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country are ethnic Ukrainians as they make up 77.8% of the population. Russians proved to be the most significant ethnic minority with 17.3%. The Hungarians come sixth most populous ethnic group after the already mentioned Russians, Belarussians, Moldovans, Crimean Tatars, and Bulgarians since 156,566 people claimed to be of Hungarian nationality (0.3%) in the country (Molnár D., 2018:119-120).

In Ukraine, there is a slight difference between the ethnic affiliation and mother tongue composition of the population. Based on the data of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 67.5% of the country's inhabitants claimed that Ukrainian was their native language while Russian was indicated as the mother tongue by 29.6% of the population (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2020:122). The Hungarian linguistic minority follow the Russians, the Crimean Tatars and Moldovans in their number of speakers; they are the fourth largest linguistic minority in the country. As we can see, the number of Hungarian native speakers is bigger than the number of ethnic Hungarians by 5007 people.

At the time of the 2001 census, there were 153 settlements in Transcarpathia where the ratio of Hungarian native speakers was at least 1%. However, in 113 settlements the number of Hungarians exceeded 100. The majority of these Hungarians live along the Ukrainian-Hungarian state border in Transcarpathia.

In 2001, a vast majority (61.9%) of Hungarians lived in settlements where they were the majority of the population. Almost half of the Hungarians in Transcarpathia (46.1%) lived in settlements where the proportion of people of Hungarian ethnicity exceeded 75%, and another 15.8% of them lived in a village or town where the proportion of Hungarians exceeded half of the total population. A quarter of the surveyed communities (24.0%) lived in an area where the proportion of Hungarians was between 10% and 50%. 14.1% of the Transcarpathian Hungarians lived in settlements where the proportion of Hungarians was below 10%. Only 1.2% of the Transcarpathian Hungarians lived in settlements where the proportion of Hungarians was below 10%, and the number of Hungarian residents did not reach 100 people (Molnár-Molnár D., 2005: 24).

In the initial period, independent Ukraine was characterized by a high degree of tolerance towards language issues. For the nationalities of Ukraine, the right granted by law ensured the opportunity to use their mother tongue in all areas of social life. In comparison, the 21st century brought an abrupt change concerning language policy, as the politicians who came to power through the so-called Orange Revolution aimed to strengthen the position of the Ukrainian language, especially against the Russian language. In 2012, a language law came into effect that caused a great storm from several points of view, Article 7 of which is intended to protect the linguistic rights of those who speak regional and minority languages as their mother tongue. In the following years, several attempts were made to repeal the law, none of which were successful, and then the political events of 2014 put an end to the attempts. From a linguistic point of view, the following period was characterized by the strengthening of the position of the state language, which simultaneously put the nationalities living in the country at a disadvantage, for example, access to higher education was tied to a successful high-level Ukrainian language exam. The 2017 Education Framework Act continued this trend, since in addition to the various structural changes, it also provided for amendments regarding the language of education in minority schools, which adversely affects, among other things, the operation of Hungarian-language schools (Fedinec & Csernicsekó, 2020:119-149).

### **2.2.2. Language policy in the region**

When studying the literature on the nationality and language rights of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community one can conclude that the nationality and language rights situation is never permanent and static in this region. It is in a constant, dynamic change depending on the current geopolitical and foreign and domestic political events (Csernicsekó & Tóth, 2021:9).

In the Czechoslovak Republic, language rights were regulated by a language law, according to which the state language and the official language was Czechoslovak, which meant that Czech was used in the Czech parts of the republic, and Slovak was used in the Slovak parts. Behind this was clearly the desire to create a unified nation-state in what was actually a multi-ethnic state. According to the theory of Czechoslovakism, Czech is used in the western half of the country, while Slovak is used in the eastern half, which meant that Slovak should have appeared in official use in

present-day Transcarpathia, but despite this, the Czech language was included in both education and the public administration (Csernicskó, 2013a:119-121).

The second paragraph of the Language Act also provided for minority languages, which stipulated that in court districts in which the proportion of representatives of a national minority reached 20%, the language of the given minority was also allowed in official administration. And where the proportion of a given minority exceeded 75%, it was not even mandatory to publish the documents of the district representative body in the state language (Csernicskó, 2013a:121). Thus, we can see that, despite the efforts to create a nation-state, the Czechoslovak state provided the speakers of the minority languages relatively wide rights both orally and in writing.

Despite the apparently favourable regulation, many complaints were received from minorities regarding the rights to use minority languages. The reason for this was that, even though the 20% threshold was prescribed by law, the authorities tried to shape the borders of the district courts in such a way that the proportion of minorities within them was unfavourable (Csernicskó, 2013a:124).

Following World War II, Transcarpathia was once again under the new rule, following a short period of being part of Hungary once again, and became part of the Soviet Union as a territory in Soviet Ukraine. In the USSR, there was not officially a state language, in theory, all nationalities and languages had the same rights (Csernicskó, 2022:185). Although there was not a legally official language, Russian was of an exceptional status in various areas of language use. At the same time, the Soviet Constitution made it possible for minorities to use their language in education, TV, and radio programs were broadcast in minority languages as well. But, of course, human and linguistic rights were violated in the USSR too. For example, Hungarian men were deported to Soviet internment camps in 1944, and those who wished to avoid deportation had to renounce their Hungarian identity (Csernicskó, 2022:189). In terms of name usage, Soviet authorities changed the names of almost one hundred settlements, at least half of which were inhabited by Hungarians, and personal names were also russified by the state (Csernicskó, 2022:190). Traditional Hungarian first names had to be recorded in their Russian equivalents, and if there was not one, the authorities refused to record the first name on the birth certificate. Also, the patronymic was added to the names of all soviet citizens, despite it not being traditional in the Hungarian culture. It was compulsory to address teachers and people in executive positions using all three elements of their name even in Hungarian conversations, and the local

Hungarian press used these name versions as well regardless of the person's nationality (Máté & Csernicsekó, 2020:69).

During the Soviet period, Russian was predominant in the linguistic landscape, with Ukrainian being included on signs and posters with ideological slogans and official documents. At the same time, Hungarian signs were not present in public spaces, neither was the language used on official documents, not even on certificates of Transcarpathian Hungarian schools (Csernicsekó, 2022:194).

Following the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine became an independent country in 1991. The Constitution of Ukraine guarantees the free development and use of minority languages and promotes the preservation of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all indigenous peoples and national minorities. In addition, it prohibits any privileges and restrictions, including on the basis of ethnic origin and language characteristics. Furthermore, for national minorities, the law guarantees education in the mother tongue or the opportunity to learn the mother tongue in state and local government educational institutions, as well as by national cultural organizations. It refers to the determination of the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities exclusively to the competence of regulation at the legal level, just like the regulation of the use of languages (Csernicsekó & Tóth, 2021:10-11).

The definition of the concept of national minority, mentioned several times by the constitution, can be found in the law on national minorities adopted in 1992. To date, this is the only Ukrainian national legislation specifically aimed at defining the legal status of national minorities and legally guaranteeing the rights of these communities and the persons belonging to them. At the time of its creation, the normative text of this legislation was compiled based on and taking into account valid international documents, as well as existing Ukrainian traditions and experiences. At the level of principle, the law declares, among other things, the unity of human and nationality rights, equality before the law regardless of nationality, guarantees the right of national minorities to cultural autonomy, as well as the right to preserve the historical and traditional living space, ensures the freedom of identity choice and contact, and the primacy of international treaties over national legislation. In addition, the normative text of this law reflects the catalogue of national minority rights considered accepted in Ukraine, such as the right to declare, preserve and develop minority identity, the right to study in the national language or to learn the national language, the right to freely use national symbols and observe national holidays, freedom of denomination and religious

practice, the right to establish educational and cultural institutions, the right to official use of the language of minorities in areas inhabited by the majority, the right to a national family name and surname, the possibility of founding national organizations, and the right to participate in public life. This law recognizes both the collective rights of national minority communities and the individual rights of persons belonging to these communities. The concept of national minority is contained in Article 3 of the law, according to which national minorities include all groups of citizens of Ukraine who are not Ukrainian according to their nationality, express their national self-awareness and their community towards each other (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:12-13).

As part of the independence process, the Supreme Council of Ukraine already defined Ukrainian as the state language of Ukraine in 1989; at the same time, it was also stipulated in the basic law that in the areas where national minorities form the majority of the population, other languages can be used in addition to the state language in the work of state, party and social bodies, as well as companies, institutions and organizations. The article that guaranteed the right to study in the mother tongue in the Basic Law of Soviet Ukraine was not amended in 1989. In paragraph 17 of Article 106, Ukraine undertook to publish laws and other legislation adopted by the Supreme Council in Ukrainian and Russian and to support their translation into other languages used on the territory of the republic. However, the new constitution of 1996 no longer contained the parts supporting the use of minority languages (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:26-27).

However, the 1992 Act on National Minorities once again ties the possibility of official use of minority languages to the absolute majority based on residence, i.e. it ignores the provisions of the Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of Ukraine and returns to the provisions of the 1989 Language Act (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:28).

The Language Act of 1989 was followed by the Language Act of 2012, which brought about favourable changes in the codification of the use of minority languages. However, the law was repealed by the Constitutional Court in 2018. The reason for the decision was that during the adoption of the law, the procedure for the discussion and adoption of laws in the parliament, defined in the constitution, was violated. The Constitutional Court did not criticize the content of the law, i.e. the statutory status and scope of use of minority languages (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:28).

On April 25, 2019, the Supreme Council of Ukraine adopted the law "On ensuring the functioning of Ukrainian as a state language". The State Language Act requires the

use of the state language in all areas of state administration, social and public life, justice, the economy, education, culture, and sport. a Ukrainian language exam passed by a state agency established by law is a prerequisite for holding many offices, posts and jobs (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:28).

After the political upheaval in 2014, Ukraine took several legislative steps that fundamentally reshaped the situation of minority languages and their speakers. The most important legal steps in this area are the following: the Act on State Service (2015), the Act on Changing the Regulation of the Language of the Electronic Press (2017), the New Framework Act on Education (2017), the State Language Act (2019), and the Act on General Secondary Education adoption of the Act (2020) and the repeal of the 2012 Language Act (2018). The 2019 State Language Act gives the Ukrainian language – as a state language – symbolic properties. With this, the legislator establishes a primordial relationship between the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian nation, where the "legal" owner of the state is the majority nation, and the unity and sovereignty of the state are threatened by those who speak other languages on its territory. This kind of belief is especially strengthened during economic crises and threats to national security, and Ukraine after 2014 is doing everything to strengthen the position of the Ukrainian language and push minority languages into the background, referring to this external threat. In the discourse generated by the power elite, minorities thus become agents and servants of external powers (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:66).

In international law, there are unfortunately few binding, positive rights that require active activity for the use of languages by minorities, especially regarding their mother tongue education. However, as we have seen above, based on the evaluation of the monitoring committees of the Venice Commission and the Charter, as well as the Framework Convention, despite the minority's request in this direction, cannot be reconciled with Ukraine's international commitments (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021:67).

The native language plays a significant role in the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority, its identity can hardly be preserved without the language. And, a minority language can hardly survive without the opportunities to use it widely, not only at home, in school and probably in the church.

The long-term survival of Hungarian as a minority language depends on political factors as well. The key to its preservation lies in the language rights of its users, and their interest is to have the right to use their mother tongue in all possible fields of life.

Ideally, the Hungarians of Transcarpathia would like to achieve for Hungarian to be an official regional language (Csernicskó, 2010b). However, it is not in the interest of the current political elite, what is more, the Ukrainian government is planning to cut back minority language rights in education. The reforms started to come into action in the academic year in 2018. It makes a distinction between national minorities and indigenous nations. The latter will have the right to education in their native language both in pre-school, elementary and secondary school levels, while the former groups can use their native language only on pre-school and elementary levels of education. In the academic year of 2017/2018, there were 85 Hungarian schools or schools that had Hungarian classrooms in Transcarpathia, 75 of which provided primary education, and 34 of which provided secondary education as well (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2017). Based on the new law on education these schools and classes cease to be Hungarian in their language of teaching. One might inevitably feel that the aim of the government is not simply teaching the majority language to its minority language speakers, because this can be successfully achieved in an additive way, where students would learn the language of the state with their mother tongue side by side. However, the aim of the Ukrainian government seems to be to assimilate all nationalities into the Ukrainian nation, exchanging the individual minority languages with the Ukrainian.

The new law on education caused an uproar in all the countries whose national minorities are involved. The Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs called the move ‘a knife in the back’ since Hungary used to back all international matters concerning Ukraine in the European Parliament. The acceptance of this law is undoubtedly against European standards, which tend to support diversity, and it seems to be an illogical move taking into account that Ukraine, or at least the citizens of Ukraine are looking forward to being accepted in the European Union. It was condemned by the Venice Commission as well. Sociolinguists Csernicskó and Kontra (2023) reach the conclusion that if European international organizations choose to stand idly by while the Ukrainian education network in regional or minority languages deteriorates, it could establish a dangerous precedent. This precedent could allow for the rights of minorities, which had been previously guaranteed in the legal systems of their respective states, to be undermined whenever deemed convenient. Other nations aiming to create culturally homogeneous states might see Ukraine’s actions as a green light to take similar measures, ultimately leading to heightened tensions and potential conflicts across Europe (Csernicskó & Kontra, 2023:379).

### **2.2.2.1. The relationship between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic levels of language maintenance of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia**

The multilingual environment can enhance language shift or language attrition, but it is not unheard of to keep both languages active on approximately the same level. A linguistic minority group can either keep their language or assimilate to the majority, and these processes are affected by social, political, economic and linguistic factors. Linguistic attitudes and stereotypes seem to play a key role in the process for a language minority group to move towards either language shift or maintenance. It is also important how the minority group evaluates the language and culture of the majority, whether is it similar, easy to adapt to, or too different, or distant. If belonging to the majority group leads to a more stable economic and cultural status, the assimilation of the minority happens naturally. However, if the minority language and culture are considered to be a transferable value by the minority group, and the economic status of the majority group is not too attractive, assimilation happens in an insignificant amount in the minority group (Beregszászi & Csernicsekó, 2003d: 229).

According to the results of a 1998 research (Csernicsekó) on the topic, it seems that Hungarians feel that they belong to their native land more than they do to the different states, and since 1998 this phenomenon was described in other sociology research as well (see Ferenc & Rákóczi, 2020). Another research conducted in 2001 dealt with the identity of Transcarpathian Hungarians. The participants of the research were 500 young Transcarpathian Hungarians who were asked about their nationality and mother tongue. 97% of the participants claimed to be of Hungarian nationality, and the same number of people said that Hungarian was their mother tongue (Csernicsekó & Soós, 2002).

According to Susan Gal (1991), although language shift is strongly linked with external social and economic factors, it is of crucial importance to consider internal factors as well, among these, mentality and attitudes towards the language. These are the factors that define the direction and amount of language shift or attrition. Gal claims that international relations affect mentality and attitudes to a great extent. For instance, a language becomes more attractive as soon as it connects the speakers of the minority language with a country with a more stable economy and a more developed political

situation. This is the case with the Hungarian in Ukraine. The prestige of Hungarian started to increase when Hungary started to grant Hungarian citizenship to the Hungarians outside its border. Although dual citizenship is not legal in Ukraine, the Ukrainian constitution does not contain a sanction against this violation, leaving a loophole for Ukrainian citizens to obtain citizenship in other countries. Before this opportunity, members of the Hungarian minority considered Ukrainian schools a better option for their children, and this enhanced the assimilation of the Hungarian minority. Since 2011, when Hungary passed a law which makes obtaining Hungarian citizenship easier for Hungarian minorities, the number of children in Transcarpathian Hungarian kindergartens and schools has risen.

The future of a language highly depends on the question if the speakers consider the given language useful, in other words, if they can achieve their goals using their language or if they need another one in certain important domains of life. The Hungarian language in Transcarpathia is used mostly in informal communication. In 2000 research was conducted among Transcarpathian Hungarian students concerning their plans for higher education (Beregszászi & Csernicsekó, 2003d). The results of the study show that students prefer to choose a university according to their ambitions, but the second most popular option was the opportunity to study in their mother tongue. 44 % of the participants said they wanted to study in Hungary, another 27 % said that they wanted to study in Transcarpathia, but in their mother tongue. These results show that the prestige of Hungarian is relatively high among Hungarians in Transcarpathia, as they consider it useful to study it; therefore they might be planning to use it for their future jobs as well. This definitely points to language maintenance in the community rather than language shift.

In 1996 another sociolinguistic research took place in Transcarpathia led by Hungarian linguist Miklós Kontra that aimed to measure linguistic attitude, domains for using different languages, code-switching, and difficulties faced during language use, among others. The results of this research clearly show that Transcarpathian Hungarians have a positive attitude towards their mother tongue. More than half of the participants consider Transcarpathian Hungarian to be the most beautiful variety of Hungarian. This result is also in favour of language maintenance as a negative attitude towards the mother tongue can facilitate language shift (Beregszászi & Csernicsekó, 2003d: 248). The fact that Hungarians in Transcarpathia value their language significantly is not surprising since speakers usually tend to value their own language varieties, but a great

number of social psychology research prove that minorities tend to value their own minority language less than the language of the majority. There was conducted another sociological research in 2015 by the Mathias Corvinus Collegium and the Institute for Minority Studies of HAS Centre for Social Sciences which aimed to investigate the different aspects of the life of young (15-29 years old) Hungarians in the Carpathian basin, including their language use, education and job opportunities among others and the results might be useful to study in connection with sociolinguistics as well. Among others, they found out that Transcarpathian Hungarian youth predominantly choose Hungarian-language content in media consumption. Hungarian 15-to 29-year-olds living in Transcarpathia typically follow television broadcasts in Hungarian, listen to the local Hungarian radio station, and prefer Hungarian online media as well (Székely & Aczél, 2018:373-374).

As a conclusion, based on the examples mentioned above of linguistic research it can be stated that Hungarian is not threatened by language shift in Transcarpathia, Transcarpathian Hungarians have a strong national consciousness, and Hungarian is of high prestige among its speakers. However, the community is affected by emigration, since more and more people seek better job opportunities abroad and a growing number of students choose to study at Hungarian universities. The latter can be one of the results of the latest Ukrainian law on education passed in 2017. This law cuts back from the right to study in the mother tongue of national minorities. It claims to improve the opportunities for national minorities to acquire the majority language with greater success by changing the language of secondary education gradually from Hungarian to Ukrainian. However, minorities were granted this opportunity before this as well, since the Ukrainian language, literature and the history of Ukraine were all compulsory subjects in minority schools as well. The number of lessons was always higher than the number of lessons in English, for example. Strangely enough, students in Hungarian secondary schools seem to acquire a better knowledge of English (at least they claim to) than Ukrainian despite living in the Ukrainian linguistic environment. So, it is not a surprise that members of minority groups in Ukraine find it difficult to see how they can benefit from the recent changes in secondary education. Transcarpathian Hungarian linguists believe that bilingual education is feasible with adequate investment, careful planning and management. Nevertheless, it's important to acknowledge that Ukraine, despite gaining independence in 1991, has yet to establish the necessary infrastructure for teaching Ukrainian as a school subject. Effective and successful teaching of

Ukrainian in Transcarpathian schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction hinges on the state's willingness to collaborate fully with experts from the Hungarian minority, including representatives from Hungarian interest protection organizations in Transcarpathia (Huszti et al., 2019).

### **2.2.3. The linguistic features of Transcarpathian Hungarian**

The Transcarpathian Hungarian dialects have always occupied a somewhat peripheral position among the Hungarian dialects, and it was a multi-ethnic territory even in the Hungarian Kingdom. Until 1919, the area was under Hungarian rule, but following various territorial and governmental shifts in the 20th century, it became one of Ukraine's 25 administrative regions. Historically, this region, being on Hungary's border, was home to a diverse array of minorities, fostering centuries-long interactions. These interactions were influenced by differences in religion and lifestyle, with Roman Catholic and later Protestant Hungarians predominantly inhabiting the plains, while Eastern Orthodox Slavs and Romanians occupied the highlands. Hungarians primarily engaged in agriculture, while Slavs focused on livestock farming and forestry (Csernicskó, 2005:89).

Until the 20th century, the Hungarian language had a significant impact on the local Slavic dialects due to language contacts. However, following Hungary's territorial losses after World War I, particularly under the Treaty of Trianon in 1919, Subcarpathia became part of Czechoslovakia, briefly reunited with Hungary in 1938, and eventually became part of the Soviet Union in 1944. After the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, Subcarpathia became part of independent Ukraine. As Hungarians found themselves in a minority position, the dynamics of language contact shifted, with Slavic languages exerting a stronger influence on Hungarian than previously observed (Csernicskó, 2005:90). Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, and Ukraine all have minority speakers of Hungarian. These varieties all bear the marks of the state language in the first place, then other languages that co-exist in a given territory at the same time. All of them originate from the same Hungarian language, but the fact that the users are surrounded by another, or in fact, several other languages affects the variety of Hungarian they use. Hungarians in minority also produce literature, write books, and publish newspapers using their own variety of language, and it is interesting to observe the way they do that,

especially in the case of literature. In the case of Transcarpathia, the language use of local Hungarians bears the marks of the Slavic languages by which they are surrounded.

The bilingual or multilingual environment inevitably results in bilingual or, multilingual language use. There are certain everyday situations in the life of Transcarpathian Hungarians when they need to use the Ukrainian or Russian language. Researchers found out that it is highly possible, that a speaker who considers his or her own level of Russian very good, would also claim to have problems when using it in situations where s/he generally uses Hungarian (for instance, when speaking about one of the most intimate topics, that is, his/her own health). The same problem can occur the other way around as well, that is, in situations in which the speaker usually communicates in the second language and finds it difficult to express his or her thoughts in the mother tongue (Csernicskó, 1998: 158–159).

Therefore, we can say, that a speaker may communicate in a given language more easily in one situation, whereas s/he would prefer the use of another language in another situation, but all speakers of a multilingual environment find themselves in situations, at least sometimes, where they need to switch languages as the need arises.

Since literature tends to reproduce reality, we can assume that novels by authors of the Hungarian minority must reflect the language use by the given minority group, especially novels, since they show certain life situations or stories. The multilingual, multicultural world cannot be written in an ethnically, linguistically and culturally homogenized way. Therefore, a novel or any other piece of writing that was produced in a bi- or multilingual environment will surely reproduce this environment. However, the readers of such literature might and probably will not belong exclusively to the given minority. The current research aims to trace down the linguistic and artistic instruments a writer uses to visualize the linguistically and ethnically colourful Hungarian environment that exists outside the borders of Hungary.

The Transcarpathian Hungarian varieties belong to the Northeast Hungarian Dialect, a considerable part of which lies outside the borders of Hungary today, mainly in Romania and Ukraine. The Transcarpathian Hungarian dialects have several phonetic, morphological, and syntactic characteristics that, on the one hand, prove their belonging to the Northeast Dialect, and on the other hand, characterize the Transcarpathian Hungarian language area in general (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2003a: 20). However, what makes these dialects differ most from the motherland dialects is the linguistic conservatism and the large-scale use of loanwords from the Russian and Ukrainian

languages (Csernicskó, 2003.a:59). The former is an innate peculiarity of dialects that fall far from the centre, thus neologisms arrive here with a delay and they are prone to hold on to archaic linguistic forms. The latter can be primarily explained by the bilingual nature of Transcarpathian Hungarians, and the economic, cultural, and linguistic bonds between Hungarians and their Slavic neighbours date back quite some time before the Trianon Treaty (Csernicskó, 2003a:59). Petro Lizanec Transcarpathian linguist studied Slavic loanwords in Transcarpathian Hungarian, and he divided them into two categories: “old” and “new linguistic elements”, which basically means he treated the pre-1945 loanwords separately from the post-1945 loanwords. What makes the two groups different is the fact, that the pre-45 loanwords can be traced in the Hungarian spoken in Hungary as well, while post-45 loanwords are characteristic of Transcarpathian Hungarian (Csernicskó, 2003a:60).

The conservatism and the occurrence of loanwords in Hungarian were strengthened by the annexation of Transcarpathia, as the territory lost all its connection with the Hungarian centre for some time. Apart from the differences in linguistic archaisms and neologisms, there is some spontaneous separate development between the minority varieties of Hungarian and the variety spoken in Hungary which can be explained by both the minority status and the linguistic geographical factor (Lanstyák, 1997:6).

The Transcarpathian Hungarian variety is considered to be closer to a dialect than the standard variety of the language for a number of reasons. Csernicskó István (2003a:61) considers the following reasons:

- 1) Most Transcarpathian Hungarians (more than 71%) live in villages where speaking the dialect variety of a language is more accepted even in Hungary.
- 2) Less Transcarpathian Hungarians enrol in higher education than Hungarians in their home country.
- 3) Some speakers of Hungarian went to schools with Slavic language of instruction, thus they did not have an opportunity to acquire the standard variety of Hungarian.
- 4) Where Transcarpathian Hungarians need to use the standard variety, they are usually required to use the official state language, so they have a limited opportunity to use the standard variety of Hungarian.

However, they are a group of a relatively small number of speakers, even Transcarpathian Hungarians are not homogeneous in their language use, as the effects of bilingualism do not appear in the language use of the locals in the same way across

all the members of the community (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012). At the same time, research shows that there are some peculiarities typical of the majority of Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers including the following:

- 1) The indicative and imperative/subjunctive of t-final verbs. The nonstandard use of the imperative/subjunctive form instead of the indicative form is widespread in the region. The results of research (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012) indicate that bilingual Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia choose the non-standard options as grammatical more frequently than Hungarian speakers in Hungary.
- 2) The formation of compounds. Unlike in Hungarian, in Slavic languages like Ukrainian or Russian compounds are extremely rare. Besides, these languages form compounds involving a relational adjective and a head noun instead of putting together two underived stems like Hungarian. As a result, Transcarpathian Hungarians tend to employ compounds with denominal adjective nonheads rather than the standard compounds with underived nonheads (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012)
- 3) Synthetic vs. analytical constructions. In a number of constructions, standard Hungarian uses predominantly synthetic forms, where the meanings are expressed through morphemes attached to the stem, while the Slavic languages employ analytical forms in the same cases. Thus it is not surprising that research found speakers of Hungarian contact varieties prefer the use of analytical forms in many cases where speakers of Hungarian in Hungary tend to choose the synthetic (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012).
- 4) Agreement features. Standard Hungarian uses singular number agreement in some cases where many Indo-European languages employ the plural. Researchers found (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012) that the Hungarian varieties closer to Slavic speakers preferred the nonstandard variants instead of the standard singular agreement dominant in Hungarian speakers in Hungary.
- 5) Feminine forms of profession nouns. It is not common in Hungarian nouns denoting professions to express gender as marking grammatical gender is not present in the Hungarian grammatical system. However, Russian and Ukrainian both express gender through derivative forms. In Hungarian, there is a small number of cases where indicating gender in professions is possible with a compound form, and research shows that Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers

chose these forms over the ones that did not indicate gender in higher proportions than the speakers in Hungary (Cserniczkó & Fenyvesi, 2012).

- 6) Calques. The research of István Cserniczkó and Anna Fenyvesi (2012) found that Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers often use calques, mirror translations from Russian and Ukrainian. And, while it is true, that the high acceptance of non-standard calques by Transcarpathian Hungarians is present, it might be more than just the higher acceptance of nonstandard forms of the language. As it is a feature of Transcarpathian Hungarian that displays the characteristics of a standard variety, it needs to be acknowledged as such.
- 7) The singular and plural of nouns. In a number of cases Indo-European languages typically have plural number marking in nouns, but Standard Hungarian uses singular in most of these cases. However, plural agreement has been shown to occur more prominently in varieties of Hungarian in language contact situations where Hungarian speakers are in close contact with at least one such Indo-European language (Lanstyák – Szabó Mihály 1997: 80-84). Research shows that the nonstandard variety with plural number marking is used more frequently by Transcarpathian speakers of Hungarian than by those living in Hungary (Cserniczkó & Fenyvesi, 2000).

Hungarians in Transcarpathia are indigenous as they became a minority group due to a political decision and not by their own will. Many of them still use their first language, Hungarian in their private life, and day-to-day communication, while Ukrainian (or Russian) is only used in formal spheres of life, some Hungarians come across the state language only in the school which makes them subordinate bilinguals. At the same time, many live in settlements with a mixed population where coordinate bilingualism is common (Beregszászi & Cserniczkó, 2003a:41). This means that the majority of Transcarpathian Hungarians are bilingual with Hungarian as the dominant language (Gazdag, 2021:51).

In theory, all nations and languages were of equal status in the USSR, as the union did not have an official state language. However, Russian was extensively used in the communication between member states, and, also for political, economic, ideological, and military purposes. The strong Russian dominance resulted in some Russian lexical items blending in the languages of the member states, most of which were strongly connected to politics, and since the social system has changed, the majority of the Russian loanwords are no longer part of the active vocabularies (Gazdag, 2021:51).

Russian was a compulsory language on all levels of education in the SU, while Ukrainian was introduced only in 1990 both for schools with Ukrainian as the medium of instruction and for minority schools. In accordance with the current admission system in the country, in order to be able to apply to any Ukrainian university, one needs to pass a compulsory Ukrainian language exam together with any subject that is needed for the chosen major. As a result, native speakers of minority languages might feel that they have limited possibilities to prevail. There is a spreading tendency among Hungarian parents to enrol their children in public schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, hoping to achieve a higher level of fluency in the state language, and to gain easier access to higher education and obtaining a profession (Gazdag, 2021:52). Attending a Ukrainian school surely affects both the Hungarian language use and the identity of the person involved, as before starting school, the environment of the child enhanced the development of the native language, while the school environment encourages development in the state language, which causes a stalling in the mother tongue fluency (Beregszászi & Csernicsekó, 2010:71). This can easily lead to a language shift, where the dominance of the second language becomes more important, as the first language is limited to the communication with the family, while all the other fields of life are dominated by the second language (Gazdag, 2021:53).

Besides education, the media plays an active role in the preservation of a minority language. And, in the case of Transcarpathian Hungarians, this is not limited to media from Hungary. Local Transcarpathian Hungarian media is essential, as it deals with regional events that play an important role in the lives of the local Hungarian minority. It is common for example to find regional linguistic characteristics in the local Hungarian press, which helps the codification process of these elements in the language. Apart from proper funding, it is essential to have the legal background creating a possibility for minority language media to exist, which is granted for minorities in Ukraine (Gazdag, 2021:54).

The phenomenon of code-switching and the use of loanwords are typical of the multilingual environment. Code-switching is a natural phenomenon in a medium where multiple languages interact with each other in a particular area. A multilingual speaker must evaluate and decide on the language in which he/she will communicate with the given speaker in each situation, or alternatively use two or more languages alternately during communication. This type of communication is usually considered to be

successful if the communication partner is also familiar with the languages in question (Márku, 2013:32).

A lexical borrowing or loanword is a process in which a bilingual speaker takes a word from one language to another to include that word in that language. There is a difference in scientific opinions about the boundaries between lexical borrowing and code-switching. According to experts, code-switching is a feature used by bi- or multilingual speakers, while loanwords are not necessarily, they can be used by monolinguals as well. The literature makes a distinction between a direct borrowing, in which case the borrowed lexeme can be found in the vocabulary of both the majority and the minority language, but it is not included in the vocabulary of the standard variety of the minority language, morphological borrowing where the vocal form of the word changes adjusting to a similar word in the transferring language, or there may be borrowings of meaning (Csernicskó et al., 2010: 82).

The different forms of Hungarian spoken in Transcarpathia demonstrate signs of language contact, including code-switching, borrowing, and subtle variations in the usage of common sociolinguistic features found in Hungarian. However, these influences do not pose a threat to intelligibility among speakers, and the idea of Transcarpathian Hungarian varieties evolving separately or leading to the emergence of a distinct language is not a possibility with significant likelihood (Csernicskó, 2005:130).

#### **2.2.4. Languages in contact in Transcarpathian Hungarian**

The dialect of Hungarian that is usually used in writing, what educated native speakers speak, and what is taught to non-native speakers of the language is standard Hungarian. While there does not exist a single pronunciation associated with it, its vocabulary and grammar are codified. Hungarian is considered to be a pluricentric language with some non-dominant varieties spoken in Slovakia, Transylvania, Transcarpathia, and other regions in neighbouring countries to Hungary (Trudgill, 1997:77).

As mentioned earlier, Transcarpathian minorities usually need to use the state language in official communication and other situations where the standard variety of a language is acceptable, this makes the standard Transcarpathian Hungarian slightly more archaic and dialectal than the standard Hungarian in Hungary (Csernicskó, 2003a:64). The differences between the Hungarian standard in Transcarpathia and

Hungary were studied by Transcarpathian linguist István Kótyuk, and he found four reasons for this anomaly. First, the place occupied in the social division of labour does not necessarily require the strict and consistent enforcement of linguistic norms from Hungarian speakers, and thus our colloquial language is not always colloquialism in the true sense of the word. Then, the sphere of use of the mother tongue was narrowed, and the enforcement of language norms is mainly limited to written communication, but here too it is not a social constraint, at most it is a matter of prestige. Also, in secondary schools where the medium of instruction is Hungarian, predominantly language and literature teachers can be regarded as linguistically qualified specialists, the language norm cannot be firmly established during the education process, and the sense of linguistic norm remains unstable, which leads to a kind of linguistic uncertainty. Finally, due to the constant linguistic interference and being compelled to a minority role, the common language of individuals necessarily contains foreign - Russian, Ukrainian - language elements at some level: mirror translations, structural imitations, foreign words and expressions that are a natural part of language contact (Kótyuk, 1995:7).

Ukrainian was not taught in Transcarpathian Hungarian schools until 1991. Most Hungarians who can speak colloquial Ukrainian acquired the language in schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. In settlements where Hungarians live in the majority, locals have limited opportunity to learn the state language, even the non-standard variety of it. Those who live in settlements with Hungarians in the minority but go to schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction may acquire and use the locally spoken variety of Ukrainian. Those who go to schools with Ukrainian instruction may pick up both the standard and colloquial Ukrainian but might miss the acquisition of standard Hungarian (Cserniczkó, 2003a:65).

Russian started to spread in Transcarpathia following 1944, and the varieties of the language differed in all parts of the SU. Those who spoke it as their mother tongue used regional varieties of Russian that were a mixture of various dialects from all over the empire. At the same time, other nationals spoke a different variety of Russian that was created by extensive linguistic contact. Russian was compulsory at all levels of education in the Soviet Union. All Transcarpathian Hungarians acquired the language on some level. In Hungarian settlements, it meant only a formal language acquisition, as they heard the language only at school. Also, they acquired the standard variety of Russian and mainly spoke formal varieties of the language. In Transcarpathia, 78% of

Russian speakers lived in towns which meant that Hungarians in those towns could acquire more varieties of Russian (Cserniczkó, 2003a:66-67). Due to Russia's aggression and war against Ukraine Russian lost its de facto status in the Transcarpathian region as well, using it in public space is usually frowned upon.

The Hungarian and Slavic languages that come into contact in Transcarpathia are neither genetically nor typologically related. Hungarian is part of the Uralic language family, while the two East Slavic languages belong to the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family. Typologically, Hungarian is an agglutinating language, while Ukrainian and Russian are inflecting languages (Cserniczkó, 2003a:67). So, we can see that there is a significant linguistic distance between the languages in contact.

Hungarian dialects spoken in Transcarpathia, as well as other Hungarian dialects outside the borders of Hungary, are under considerable second-language influence. Speakers of Hungarian live in close contact with both the Ukrainian-speaking majority and the speakers of other minority languages, might work at a place where they are required to speak the state language and conduct their official business mainly in Ukrainian as using minority languages for administration purposes is highly limited and regulated by law (Cserniczkó, 1998; Gazdag, 2023).

#### **2.2.4.1. Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian**

Language contact is most visible at the level of the vocabulary since the vocabulary is the most loosely structured part of the language system and easily accepts new elements (Lanstyák, 2006:15). Thus it is not surprising that Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia use a significant amount of Slavic lexical borrowings in their everyday communication. These can either be used along their Hungarian version, or, in some cases, they become part of everyday communication replacing the Hungarian word completely (Gazdag, 2023:111). The degree and nature of lexical borrowings may vary in different registers and geographical and social dialects. The ratio of loanwords is significantly higher in spoken professional language use than in the language of fiction (Cserniczkó & Hires, 2003:127). However, lexical borrowings become part of the Hungarian language spoken by Transcarpathian Hungarian nonetheless, and they inevitably find their way into local Hungarian literature.

According to the literature of contactology, nouns, verbs and adjectives are the easiest to borrow from one language to another in language contact situations, so it is no

wonder that the vast majority of lexical borrowings of Transcarpathian Hungarian language variants are nouns and adjectives (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003:128).

Only a small part of Transcarpathian loanwords are verbs, which were adopted together with the use of the so-called naturalizing form, the collectors did not find any examples of direct borrowing of verbs. Most of the verbs are borrowed with the help of -l and -z suffixes, similar to other Hungarian contact variants (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003:130).

According to the origin of the traditional Hungarian lexicological literature, the elements of the Hungarian vocabulary are divided into four large groups: ancient basic language words, words of internal origin, lexical borrowings and foreign words. However, according to Cernicskó–Hires (2003:132), there are actually two groups, the first is the group of original Hungarian words, and the second is loanwords. According to the grouping, the former are internally generated words, while the latter are loanwords and foreign words. According to the literature of Hungarian lexicology, lexical borrowings are of foreign origin, but they have already become native, while foreign words are loanwords whose foreign nature is obvious (Bokor, 2004:180-181). Lexical borrowings are words of foreign origin that have been completely incorporated into the receiving language, their foreign origin is merely a historical fact, and most speakers are not aware of it. On the other hand, foreign words have not yet been fully integrated into the language, it is clear even to monolingual speakers that they come from another language (Lanstyák, 2006:17). However, lexical borrowings in Transcarpathian, and other Hungarian variants outside the borders of Hungary are not always easy to classify into either of the above groups, thus using a term that combines these two categories seems to be obvious.

Lanstyák (2006) suggests using the term loanword since it combines both lexical borrowings and foreign words into one category, especially since the state language influence on Hungarian vocabulary outside the borders of Hungary, in his example Slovak, fall neither in the lexical borrowing nor the foreign word category. He explains this with the fact that Slovak for Hungarian minorities in Slovakia is not a foreign, but a second language, and most speakers recognise them as words of Slovak origin. He adds that for the majority of Hungarian speakers in Slovakia Slovak loanwords have a different status than international foreign words (Lanstyák, 2006:19).

A loanword is not an exact equivalent of a word taken from a foreign language, it is a broader concept. This includes not only those words that enter the receiving language

with the same or similar sounds as the transmitting language but also those words that are indirect borrowings consisting of elements of the receiving language, such as loan-translations. On the other hand, only those that are direct loanwords can be called foreign words or words of foreign origin (Lanstyák, 2006:20).

#### **2.2.4.2. Code-switching in Transcarpathian Hungarian**

Code-switching is the phenomenon when a speaker uses two or more languages alternately in an utterance (Beregszászi et al., 2010: 98). This type of change of language or code-switching is a natural phenomenon in a medium where multiple languages interact with each other in a particular area. A multilingual speaker must evaluate and decide on the language in which he/she will communicate with the given speaker in each situation, or use two or more languages alternately during communication. This type of communication is usually considered to be successful if the communication partner is also familiar with the languages involved. However, research has shown that code-switching does not happen randomly but rather follows certain patterns and rules (Parafita Couto et al., 2015). Researchers studying code-switching have attempted to find these patterns and rules over the past few decades, but so far, there has not been found an undisputable theory. One of these researchers is Shana Poplack who proposed the theory of „equivalence constraint,” saying that code-switching within a sentence can only occur if the languages in question share the same syntactic rule concerning the juxtaposition of different elements (Parafita Couto et al., 2015).

Within a bilingual group, the following types can be observed in terms of the communication motive that triggers code-switching: status enhancement, solidarity, personalization of your message, confidentiality, exclusion, addressing, expressing a personal position, filling in, subpoenaing, interjecting, qualifying the message, repetition (Karmacsi, 2020:55; Márku, 2008:99).

As it was mentioned earlier, code-switching is a common occurrence with bilingual or multilingual speakers, but their mixing of languages follows specific rules. Researchers make a distinction between intraclausal, where only one word or a phrase is inserted, and interclausal switches, in which speakers use one language for a clause and then switch to a different language for another (Deuchar, 2020). Although it is natural that in the case of interclausal code-switching, users tend to apply the grammar of the

language of the given clause, it is interesting to observe what happens in intraclausal switches, especially, if the inserted words or phrases belong to a language that has different grammatical rules than the matrix language of the utterance. These can occur at so-called conflict sites, for example in the case of English and Spanish code-switching. According to the grammar of English, adjectives precede nouns in a determiner case, but according to the rules of Spanish, the adjective should stand in a postnominal position.

Several theoretical models have been introduced in order to give insight into the regularities of code-switching. One of these is the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model developed by Carol Myers-Scotton which makes a distinction between the two languages involved in code-switching. According to her model, one language is the so-called matrix language (ML), while the other is the embedded language (EL), and both finite verb morphology and word order in the clause that contains code-switching should be in the matrix language (Parafita Couto et al., 2015). Another approach was influenced by Noam Chomsky's Minimalist Program. Katja Cantone and Jeff McSwan promote Guglielmo Cinque's idea that a universal base determines adjectives and adjectives universally come before the noun. According to this model, the language of the adjective decides the word order in a conflict site (Parafita Couto et al., 2015).

Monolinguals often look down on code-switching, and as a result, bilinguals themselves often look at their own code-switching with shame, accompanying it with negative comments (Csernicskó, 2003b:120).

The second chapter of the thesis summarized the historical, cultural and language-political characteristics affecting the life of the Hungarian-speaking minority living in the examined region, which all affect the language use of the local Hungarians together with their relationship to the majority language. The chapter also presents the characteristics of the Transcarpathian Hungarian language variety, as well as how the influence of Ukrainian and other Slavic languages on Hungarian can be traced in everyday language use. The aim of the thesis is to investigate all these phenomena and linguistic characteristics in the local Hungarian-language literature, thus the methodological peculiarities of the research will be presented in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter aims at outlining the research methodology that is used to investigate the connections between language and power, and relations between majority and minority languages in a multilingual setting. The choices made on the data collection and sampling as well as data analysis will be included and explained in detail.

#### **3.1. Context of the Research**

The main idea behind the research is that similarly to the linguistic processes that can be observed empirically through samples collected from human participants also appear in literary works created in a similar environment, in this case, multilingual Transcarpathia. This idea was supported by my previous research where I compared the results of a research conducted by The National Institute for Family, Youth and Population Policy in 2011 on the Hungarian youth outside the borders of Hungary to the same issues that emerged in a novel that tackled some issues of living in minority (Mádi, 2020). The comparison of the results of sociological research with the novel *Határeset* [Borderline Case] proved that the same social phenomena can be identified in the Hungarian community of the novel as in real-life Hungarian minority communities. It supports the hypothesis that literature depicts some aspects of social reality, and the texts of some literary works can be suitable for sociolinguistic analysis. Particularly useful are novels in which the story takes place in the same environment the writer lives in. The study of Hungarian novels in Transcarpathia is all the more alluring as Hungarian speakers used to live here as a majority group up until the turbulent beginning of the 20th century, when several changes of state took place here, shifting the status of majority or state language several times in a relatively short time frame.

The study of the changes that took place in the language of the local Hungarian population is somewhat problematic with traditional methods of linguistic data collection, as we cannot question any participants from a specific era (most older locals lived through several changes of state while not moving even a single time during their life). But novels and other literary works can preserve social and linguistic conditions of specific times and thus can serve as a corpus for analysis as they inevitably bear the

characteristics of the language used in the given era as well as depict other sociolinguistic characteristics.

### **3.2. Literary language and ordinary language**

Geoff Hall (2005) raises the question if literature has its own language that may be unrepresentative of, even different from ordinary language. He believes that there is nothing notably different about the language of literature compared to ordinary language. He elaborates this assumption enumerating some conclusions that have already been reached in the area, some of which include the following ideas. First, he states that there is no palpable distinction between literary and non-literary language defined on strictly linguistic principles. Second, literary language overcomes dichotomies such as spoken/ written and formal/ informal. Moreover, it is now believed that discourse types such as metaphor or narrative are central to all language use not only in literature but in everyday spoken interactions as well. Finally, literature, especially modern literature, is a kind of writing that is tolerant of linguistic diversity and incorporates many features of spoken language. It is seemingly a contradiction, but the study of literary language has indirectly led to a better understanding of language and language use as a whole, just as various fields of descriptive linguistics, cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis have shown us the poetic and creative nature of everyday language use. Far from being a marginal issue, then, the language used in literature is in many ways central to our understanding of language and language use in general. As Hall puts it:

*Literature is made of, from and with ordinary language, which is itself already surprisingly literary. In so far as literature exists as an identifiable linguistic phenomenon, independent of readers and contexts of reading 'literariness' is a matter of degree rather than kind. (Hall, 2005:10)*

Common sense, however, traditionally contrasts a stereotype of “literary” language with ordinary language. Literary language, according to this view, is ornate, unusually figurative, sometimes considered to be somewhat old-fashioned and difficult to understand, and indirect. Generally, it is thought to be quite different from the language we use and encounter daily. While everyday language is used to exchange information,

we tend to think that literary language speaks to our souls and deals with metaphysical ideas or ethical dilemmas. Researchers have not been able to draw any clear boundaries between literary and non-literary language use or to establish a definitive list of distinguishing features. Although some tendencies undoubtedly emerge in the linguistic study of the language of literary texts, even these do not entirely conform to the stereotype we assumed at the outset (Hall, 2005:10).

Hall (2005) has noted that what may linguistically distinguish the languages of literature is that there is nothing notably distinct about them. While literary language can be surprisingly ordinary, ordinary language is frequently poetic. If language in literary texts seems to be difficult, it is often because of the sheer range of the language.

*Literature is a kind of supergenre which can demand more of its readers than more predictable genres like the business letter or a medical report. Hence linguistically, paradoxically, literature is central or at least special because it is not special: 'all life is there'!* (Hall, 2005:37)

In the spirit of this idea, the selection of the texts for the research began, followed by the data collection and analysis.

### **3.3. The sources and sampling of the Data**

As Dörnyei (2011:125) aptly noted, in qualitative research, at the beginning of a project, everything can be treated as potential data. The research was started in the spirit of this idea, considering several literary works in Hungarian that were written in Transcarpathia in different periods. Novels were chosen as sources since these provide a relatively longer linguistic corpus to work with, and are also suitable to depict the social conditions of their own time, thus not only linguistic characteristics can be studied in them, but political and spatial relations as well. As Dörnyei puts it (2011:125), in qualitative research, data collection is not always done according to strictly defined rules, and the most difficult task for the researcher is to filter out useful data. He also points out, that qualitative research can be less systemized in its data collection, but the 'messiness' of the data is only the reflection of the complicated real-life situations, the data is coming from. While it is difficult not to completely agree with him on this, in the

present investigation it was aimed to collect and organize the data along some general rules.

Criterion sampling was aimed to be used, where the researcher selects the sources according to certain predetermined characteristics (Dörnyei, 2011:128). The criteria were the following: novels of Hungarian authors living and working in Transcarpathia at least for a significant part of their lives, during the times it belonged to different states, and the authors must be some of the defining figures of the Hungarian minority in the given era. Only one out of the five books was actually published in Transcarpathia, three were published in Budapest, and another one in Bratislava.

The first idea was to investigate the same amount of books from all periods of different regimes, but already at this point, the researcher came across some difficulties. Hungarian prose and the creative arts altogether did not develop at the same pace under all of the different rules. Also, Transcarpathia as a geographical unit did not always have the same borders, and some of the authors moved during their lives. For example in the case of Mihály Tamás, it is not clear if he should be considered a Transcarpathian author, as he worked in close cooperation with Slovensko authors, and published together with them, they influenced each other, while in Transcarpathia there was no author with a similar influence. And it did not only apply to the Czech era, little Hungarian literature has survived from the period of communism as well. On the one hand, this can be attributed to the fact that censorship left a strong mark on the era, as not just anyone could publish, on the other hand, what was published was often only works with propaganda purposes, and they tended to be of poor literary quality.

After careful consideration, it was decided to choose the most significant novels from both periods, that were influential at their time of publication as well as being considered to be valuable pieces in the Transcarpathian Hungarian literary tradition.

At the same time as Ukraine became independent, Hungarian-language culture began to develop in the region. Literary societies and creative circles were formed, and Hungarian book printing boomed, so it was possible to select several literary works from the time of independent Ukraine for examination. Here, it was also intended to ensure that high-quality, at least from a literary point of view, high-impact works were the focus of the investigation. Finally, three novels were picked, the last of which was published in 2010. The author of the present thesis intended to add fresher, even recently published prose, as these would surely also provide valuable material for linguistic analysis, however, for some reason, the young authors living in

Transcarpathia today prefer short forms, none of them have undertaken so far to choose the novel form to express what they have to say.

All of the chosen novels have autobiographical features to some extent, which was considered a crucial attribute during the selection of resource materials. After all, the main hypothesis was that the contact effects and identity issues appear in minority novels both in the language use and self-definition of people who live as a minority in multilingual surroundings. But the main idea was to seek these in works that are connected to their present time as these are more likely to depict real social problems and peculiarities of language use of their time.

At some point in the research, it was planned to add novels from Czech, Russian, and Ukrainian authors to study their reflections on the local Hungarian minority, to widen the scope of the research and to add more perspective to it, but later this idea got reconsidered. The author came to realise that the texts of the Hungarian novels also provide ample sources for the study of the topic.

### **3.4. Research Methods**

The present work is an interdisciplinary thesis, which is primarily of linguistic nature but cannot be placed outside the boundaries of literary studies and literary stylistics since it is an analysis of literary texts. It is almost entirely qualitative research and as such it is grounded on a language-based analysis. It primarily relies on discourse analytical techniques as these seemed to be the most reliable when uncovering connections between language, culture and society. Within sociolinguistics, apart from discourse analytical approaches, dialectological and corpus linguistic aspects were also applied in the analysis.

In linguistic research, both dialectology and corpus linguistics offer rich perspectives and methodologies that can complement each other. Dialectological studies often involve documenting and preserving dialects, especially those at risk of extinction. This work is crucial for understanding historical language change and for maintaining linguistic diversity. At the same time, corpus linguistics can track language change over time by analyzing corpora from different time periods. This allows researchers to observe shifts in language usage, such as changes in word meanings or syntactic structures. The integration of dialectological insights with corpus data allows for a more

nuanced understanding of how social factors influence language use across different times of the region, thereby offering a comprehensive view of linguistic variation.

By integrating dialectology and corpus linguistics, researchers can achieve a more robust and nuanced understanding of language variation, evolution, and use across different regions and social groups. This interdisciplinary approach enhances the accuracy and depth of linguistic research.

And last but not least, linguistic and literary research methods are complemented by history.

### **3.4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Judith Baxter (2016) delves into a pivotal discussion within the field of applied linguistics, specifically focusing on the intricate relationship between language and identity. It addresses how this relationship can be most effectively described, analyzed, interpreted, and explained. She identifies three predominant approaches within applied linguistics that have significantly influenced this debate: the ethnomethodological approach, which forms the basis of discourse analytical methods such as conversation analysis (CA); the critical approach, which underpins critical discourse analysis (CDA); and the poststructuralist approach, particularly in the form of poststructuralist discourse analysis (PDA). The text underscores the persistent lack of consensus over the past three decades regarding which of these analytical frameworks most accurately accounts for the dynamics between language and identity, with many applied linguists accepting a plurality of perspectives as an inevitable outcome.

In examining the distinctions and intersections between these approaches, the author contends that PDA, despite its similarities to CDA, diverges in key aspects. All three approaches share a social constructionist orientation, challenging the essentialist notion of identity as a singular, fixed, and coherent entity. They collectively posit that identities are constructed through the fluid processes of linguistic interaction. However, PDA distinguishes itself by adopting an anti-materialist stance, in contrast to CDA, which acknowledges the dialectical interaction between discourse and the material world.

Baxter then continues to further elaborates on how these approaches conceptualize power. CA's methodological orientation involves a bottom-up analysis that prioritizes the meanings and interpretations articulated by participants in naturally occurring

interactions, without presupposing power dynamics. In contrast, both CDA and PDA assert that power relations are embedded within social or institutional discourses, permeating every act of linguistic interaction. CDA, in particular, adopts an emancipatory approach, starting from the experiences and perspectives of marginalized groups and deconstructing how these groups are victimized through institutional language. PDA, while critical of the emancipatory aims of CDA, supports localized, small-scale social transformations that resist overarching ‘grand narratives’ of power (Baxter, 2016:46).

According to Angel Lin,

*...critical discourse analysis is interested in uncovering ways in which social structures of inequality are produced in and through language and discourse, it contributes to the critical turn in applied linguistics by offering theoretical and methodological resources for critical inquiry. (2014:214)*

It is perfectly in line with the present research as CDA is aimed at shedding light on social problems with an emphasis on those that are created or intensified by public text, talk, and the social consequences of these. Lin argues that instead of investigating the language as a static entity research should focus on how language as a dynamically changing system can serve to create racial, gender, social, sexual, and other cultural categories that legitimate and recreate inequalities in society (Lin, 2014:215).

Based on the above ideas, CDA seemed to be a suitable approach in the present research. It does not claim to be the definitive or superior method but rather one that is adaptable and suitable for particular analytical purposes. Although Baxter (2016:47) considers CDA to have a tendency to produce a singular oppositional reading that may become authoritative, instead of promoting a more flexible and dynamic understanding of language and identity the author of the present thesis decided to work with CDA. As a result of utilizing discourse analytical methods, the research will likely appear to be more subjective, concentrating more on the content and context of the corpora under analysis instead of the frequency and distribution of the investigated language contact effects. Considering the scope of the research, it will provide some deep insights into a relatively small dataset.

### 3.4.2. Close Reading

While working with the texts, close reading seemed to be the most useful method as it involves examining a text closely and critically to understand its deeper meanings, themes, language choices, and structure. Close reading helped to engage deeply with the chosen texts, uncovering layers of meaning and gaining a greater understanding of the investigated linguistic and social phenomena.

Ane Ohrvik (2024) offers a comprehensive examination of close reading as a methodological approach within the humanities, particularly in cultural historical research. Ohrvik traces the origins of close reading, noting its roots in hermeneutics and its development through the New Criticism movement in the early 20th century. She highlights how close reading, initially a literary technique, has expanded its scope to become a vital tool in cultural history and other humanistic disciplines, drawing on historical figures like Francis Bacon and Michel de Montaigne to demonstrate how reading strategies have been a crucial part of scholarly work for centuries. The author notes that while close reading is widely recognized as a core methodological tool in cultural history, it is often under-discussed in methodological literature.

Close reading as an interpretive strategy can be traced back to the hermeneutic tradition, which emphasizes the interpretation of cultural expressions to uncover underlying meanings. The evolution of hermeneutics was influenced by figures like Origen of Alexandria, Martin Luther, and later, philosophers like Johann Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm Dilthey, who contributed to a historically and culturally informed approach to textual interpretation. With the rise of New Criticism in the early 20th century, a movement that emphasized the importance of textual analysis independent of historical or authorial context, close reading was further developed. New Critics like I. A. Richards and Cleanth Brooks advocated for a focus on the text itself, arguing that its meaning is derived from its linguistic complexity and internal coherence (Ohrvik, 2024:243). Ohrvik contrasts this approach with the historicist perspectives of scholars like Quentin Skinner, who argue for the importance of understanding the social and historical context in which a text was produced.

Close reading is a physical and cognitive practice that involves careful attention to the text. Ohrvik (2024:250) introduces the concept of paratextual reading, which involves analyzing the material and contextual elements surrounding a text, such as titles, introductions, and physical features. She concludes by advocating for a more

conscious and reflective approach to close reading, one that recognizes the diverse strategies and techniques that can be employed depending on the text and the research questions at hand. Ohrvik emphasizes that while the specific methods of close reading may vary, the practice is united by a shared commitment to uncovering the complex meanings embedded in historical and cultural texts.

Both CDA and close reading are widely used in linguistic research, particularly sociolinguistics. As Lin pointed out, prominent researchers relied on these methods as Teun A. van Dijk (2009), Ruth Wodak (2009), and Norman Fairclough (2009).

Close reading turned out to be essential both in the selection and analysis of the texts during the current research. It was necessary to choose texts that are representative of the discourse with language contact effects, while the analysis involved close reading to identify patterns, themes and structures, and specific instances of language use that uncover attitudes towards language(s) and language use in general, or only towards certain language(s), power relations, ideologies, etc.

### **3.4.3 History**

Applying history as a methodological framework in sociolinguistic research allows for a deep, context-sensitive analysis of language variation and change over time. Historical sociolinguistics explicitly combines historical data with sociolinguistic methods to study how social factors have influenced language change across time. By investigating historical records, letters, diaries, legal documents, and literary texts, researchers can analyze language use in its social context, offering insights into past language varieties, social stratification, and the diffusion of linguistic features.

History as a framework also enables a diachronic approach, where researchers examine how specific linguistic features evolve over time. This is crucial in understanding long-term language change and the social forces driving these changes, such as migration, colonization, or technological advancements.

Historical methods allow sociolinguists to place their findings within a broader temporal context. By understanding the historical circumstances under which a language or dialect developed, researchers can better explain contemporary language variation.

Incorporating historical research enables longitudinal studies, where the same community or linguistic phenomenon is studied across different time periods. This

approach helps identify patterns of language maintenance, shift, or death, providing insights into the resilience or vulnerability of linguistic communities over time.

By incorporating historical methods into sociolinguistic research, scholars can achieve a richer, more elaborate understanding of language as a dynamic, socially embedded phenomenon. This interdisciplinary approach not only deepens our knowledge of language change but also helps explain the complex interactions between language, society, and history.

Prominent sociolinguists integrate history with sociolinguistic methods in their linguistic research include Peter Trudgill, Einar Haugen, Suzanne Romaine and Gillian Sankoff, among others. Peter Trudgill in his work on dialect contact and the development of new dialects, as seen in his book "New-Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes" (2004), examines how historical migration patterns and settlement histories influenced the development of new dialects in colonial settings. Einar Haugen studied language planning and bilingualism, particularly in the context of Norwegian in America. His studies often consider the historical context of immigration and language maintenance in immigrant communities, as in his book "The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior" (1953). Haugen's historical approach provides insights into how historical circumstances influence language contact, shift, and maintenance. Suzanne Romaine's research in sociolinguistics often intersects with historical linguistics, particularly in her studies of language change and language death. In "Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics" (2000), Romaine incorporates historical data to explain current sociolinguistic phenomena, including the influence of historical colonization on language contact and the subsequent sociolinguistic outcomes. Gillian Sankoff's research on language contact and creolization also integrates historical perspectives. Her studies on creole languages, such as in her work on Haitian Creole, often consider the historical context of language contact and the social dynamics that led to the development of these languages.

These linguists demonstrate the value of incorporating historical perspectives into sociolinguistic research, enabling a deeper understanding of how social factors influence language change and variation over time. In the case of the present research, it also seems evident that it was necessary to build on history as a research method, since the investigated linguistic and sociological phenomena acquire a new meaning in the light of history, and thus become interpretable in general. It is therefore no coincidence that the methods used during the investigation are intertwined in this way.

### **3.5. Data Collection**

The data collection started in 2017 soon after work on the topic started, simultaneously with the PhD studies of the author at the University of Pannonia. As Dörnyei establishes (2011:126) concerning sampling in qualitative research, the process of selection should remain as long as possible. This way, following the analysis of the primarily gathered data additional participants can be included to expand or even question the initial results. He calls this cyclical process of data collection ‘iteration’. This seemed to be effective and applicable to the present research. The author kept reading Hungarian novels from not just Transcarpathia, but other territories along the borders of Hungary where Hungarians live in the minority. The initial plan was to work with a wide range of various texts by authors from different countries, and approximately after three years of data collection the author came to realise that the data is becoming more and more difficult to work with. That is where the sampling procedure reached its saturation, it was decided that concentrating solely on the Transcarpathian material was enough to answer the research questions and to challenge the hypotheses the author had. The five novels that were finally chosen might indeed seem to provide a small sample size, but as Dörnyei pointed out (2011:127), in qualitative studies even a relatively small sample size can yield the saturated and rich data that is needed to conduct research.

Data collection took place in several waves, revisiting and rereading the novels two to three times each. While reading, the author of the thesis collected all examples of social and linguistic indicators of being a minority. The excerpts were investigated concerning one’s identity and the relations to power together with different traces of multilingualism in the novels, collected loanwords, and other signs of Slavic influence, Slavic names, brand names as well as examples of code-switching. Since the sources of the data were all in Hungarian the linguistic examples are presented first in the original Hungarian, and then in their English translation. All translations of the literary texts throughout the thesis are the works of the author of the thesis. In case the Hungarian original seemed to be redundant it was omitted and only the English version of the text was included.

Some examples appear more than once in the thesis. When it seemed to be necessary, supporting different ideas or showing various phenomena in one example, the excerpts from the novels were provided more than once in order to keep the work consistent.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In the following chapter, the linguistic and stylistic analysis of the novels will take place, in such a way that a general analysis of each novel is first made, and then one that examines the contact effects of the texts in more detail. The original language of the novel fragments serving as examples is Hungarian, and the English translation of the text is shown alongside the original. The works do not have an official English translation, the text passages in the work are all the translations of the author of the thesis.

#### **4.1 Analysed literature from the Czech period. Mihály Tamás: Két part közt fut a víz**

In the words of Antal Marék (1935), Mihály Tamás is the "great master of novellas", a Hungarian writer from Transcarpathia, Beregovo, who was born in 1897, and thus gained first-hand experience of the period Transcarpathia spent under Czechoslovak ties. His 1927 novella, *Szép Angéla háza* [Beautiful Angela's house], caused a huge scandal, as a result of which the supposed heroine committed suicide, and the writer was sentenced to several months in prison (Féja, 1933). Although the writer was later granted amnesty, the novella could not be published for some time, and Tamás was forced to move from Ruszinsko to Slovensko. The reason for the public indignation was that the writer based his work on a true story, in which he had changed the names, but it was still possible to recognize who the real characters of the story were. This fact itself indicates that Mihály Tamás liked to paint a picture of his surroundings in his writing; his works are largely based on real life (Mádi, 2021:91). A contemporary of Mihály Tamás, the writer Zoltán Fábry, commented on this: "It is the writer's right and duty to recreate his own life and that of others in such a way that it is the complete truth" (Fábry, 1968). Since the writer's life resonates with the protagonist of the novella *Két part közt fut a víz* [Water between two shores], Iván Bodák, at several points, I assume that the environment and atmosphere he depicts also correspond to what he experienced during his youth. Thus, he reports from a kind of internal point of view about the

minority situation of Transcarpathian Hungarians, since he himself was a part of this community.

In the first issue of the journal *Tátra*, Mihály Tamás himself states about his literary program: "One of our goals is to make the relationship between the writer and his reader permanent and direct. The other: with our organized forces, to work together with everyone who sets out with a clear intention to create a Hungarian literary life in Czechoslovakia. We don't want Slovensko literature: this definition means provincialism, milder treatment, exoticism, and inferiority. Our ideal: a richly productive Hungarian literary life in Slovensko, the results of which, even if they bear the spiritual and intellectual traces of the minority fate of the Hungarians in Slovensko and the mutual influence of the people living together, are nevertheless integral parts of the Hungarian literature that is completed with them. We are starting on this note" (Balla, 1988).

In his article (1966) on the life of Mihály Tamás, literary historian Sándor Csanda calls the novella a "social-biographical" work, the first version of which was published as a series in 1919 in the anthology *Új Auróra Irodalmi Almanach 1930. évre* [New Aurora Literary Almanac for 1930], later published under the title *Halálugrás* [Death Leap] in the columns of *Magyar Írás* [Hungarian Writing], and then in the form of a complete book in 1936, published by the Franklin Company, under the title *Két part közt fut a víz* [Water between two shores]. The memory of the scandal following his book *Szép Angéla háza* [Beautiful Angela's house] had not faded completely as some Slovensko and Rusinsko writers, led by Endre Korbáth in the background, tried to prevent the Franklin Company from publishing the book (Balla 1988: 1085). Endre Korbáth was a Christian-Socialist senator who attacked Tamás presumably for political reasons and used the scandals around his work as an excuse. The real reason for the disagreement was presumably Mihály Tamás' political affiliation, which Pál Szvatkó (n.d. 23) described with the fact that the majority of Hungarian writers in Slovensko belonged to groups organized on some political basis, but Mihály Tamás, along with some of his colleagues, remained independent. The case received a huge press response, but the opponents ultimately failed to prevent the publication.

The story of the novella guides the reader to the time of the change of state, we can follow the life of the main character, Iván Bodák, who commutes as an engineering student between his place of residence (Berehove) and the place of his studies (Budapest). Like the writer, the main character is preparing to become an architect, and

at home, he belongs to the local Hungarian intelligentsia, although because of his Slavic-sounding surname, his enemy in the novel sometimes questions his Hungarianness. Gyula Balla (1988:1083) points out that Mihály Tamás was also subjected to a similar attack: “*By the looks, such a writer might be Hungarian, but in essence, he can be anything but that...*”, however, it is not clear from whom exactly is this attack originated. By commuting between the two locations, the writer has the opportunity to present both the society of the small town and the conditions in Budapest at the time. The novel's characters first encounter the political upheaval when they are on their way from Budapest to Berehove by train. In 1919, when the setting of the novel, Transcarpathia, was annexed by Czechoslovakia, it also meant that the Hungarian people and the Hungarian-speaking area previously belonging to one state were divided into several states. The everyday appearance and demand of this disunity is that the main character trying to travel from the Hungarian capital to his hometown on the periphery (Berehove, which all of a sudden has become part of another state) must have his passport. All of this points to the fact that the change of state also radically transformed people's everyday lives and connection points.

And such significant social and political changes necessarily have linguistic consequences as well. International experts state:

*“In their most concrete form, borders are administrative, sometimes (especially in the case of state borders) visibly demarcated in the terrain. Contrary to nation state ideology (still commonly held by laymen), these borders are not natural language borders but rather often cut across areas that have been linguistically and culturally uniform. However, once established, administrative borders begin to affect the language varieties spoken both within the borderline area and on the other side of it. Since borders steer the social networks of language speakers, contacts inside a border increase and contacts across a border are hindered. In this way, state borders are dual in nature as they cause both convergence and divergence: varieties spoken inside the border area begin to influence each other and develop towards convergence, whereas the varieties spoken on the other side of border begin to diverge and may even ultimately evolve into a new language”* (Palander et al. 2018: 7; see also Szilágyi 2008, Cserniczkó & Gazdag 2023; Máté et al., 2022; Karmacsi et al., 2022).

The following excerpt from the novel demonstrates this in the following way:

*Ebéd után együtt mentek az állomásra, hogy a vonat indulása felől érdeklődjenek. A váróterem ajtajánál cseh katona állt őrt, és amikor otthonos nyugalommal akartak belépni, útjukat állta.*

*— Nem lehet!*

*Ez volt az első pillanata életüknek, amikor a nagy háború és a világpolitika konzekvenciája az ő szűkös kispolgári mindennapjukba betolakodott. Iván szemét ködös fájdalom lepte el, szólni akart valamit, nagyon gorombát, öklével az arcába szeretett volna sújtani a Šumava tájáról magyar rónára vetődött cseh fiúnak, de fátyolos szeme a katona csillogó bajonettjén akadt meg, az emberi jogok legörökebb forrásán.*

*Csendesen, szótlánul mentek odébb, egy régifajta hordárt láttak meg, akitől aztán megtudták, hogy a vonatjuk csak este indul.*

*— Rendben van az útlevelük?*

*Iván elbámult.*

*— Milyen útlevél?*

*— Hát útlevél.*

*— Hát Beregszászra útlevél kell?*

*A hordár jóízűen nevetett.*

*— Hát eddig hogy jöttetek?*

*Klári naiv jó szándékkal adta meg a választ:*

*— Szekéren ...*

*— Akkor szerencséjük volt, mert ide*

*After lunch, they went to the station together to inquire about the departure of the train. A Czech soldier stood guard at the door of the waiting room, and when they wanted to enter with homely calmness, he stood in their way.*

*— Not possible!*

*This was the first moment in their lives when the consequences of the great war and world politics invaded their narrow petty-bourgeois everyday life. Iván's eyes were filled with misty pain, he wanted to say something very rude, he wanted to punch the Czech boy from the Šumava region in the face, but his veiled eyes were fixed on the shining bayonet of the soldier, the most eternal source of human rights.*

*They went on quietly, without saying a word, and saw an old-fashioned porter, from whom they learned that their train was going to leave in the evening.*

*— Are your passports in order?*

*Ivan stared.*

*— What kind of passport?*

*— Well, a passport.*

*— Do you need a passport to Beregszász?*

*The porter laughed heartily.*

*— Why how did you come so far?*

*Klári naively gave the answer with good intentions:*

*— On a cart...*

*már csak az antantmisszió útlevelével lehet bejönni.* — *You were lucky then, because you can only come here with the passport of the Entente mission.*

*Akkor vette észre Iván, amire eddig nem is figyelt, hogy az állomás körül ritkás csoportokban idegen katonák álldogálnak.* *It was then that Iván noticed, something he hadn't even noticed until now, that foreign soldiers were standing in sparse groups around the station.*

*(Tamás, n.d.: 19)*

The citizens and intellectuals of Beregszász in the novel do not believe in the permanence of the change of state, they are convinced that this state is only temporary. Also, it was not only a new state and not only a change in people's citizenship, but also a change in the official language. What used to be the unmarked, natural language of getting by and orientation (Hungarian) suddenly took on a different status, and a language appeared in the linguistic landscape of the hometown that is only vaguely familiar, but not accessible. Even though the protagonist arrives in his hometown, alienation appears in the novel not only at the time of departure, due to the need for a passport, but the sense of home is also damaged when he sees signs in a foreign language on familiar buildings.

The change of state and the change in the official language also brought about a big change in the lives of ordinary people. Previously, the Hungarians of Berehove could always and everywhere speak, write and read in their mother tongue, that is, in Hungarian. However, now at home, in their own town, they have become "disabled" overnight, since in order to find their way around public signs, to conduct official business in an office, they have to learn at least the basics of another language, Czech. On the pages of the novel, we can read these lines:

*Másnap reggel, ahogy az utcára lépett, látott ugyan Iván a házakon imitt-amott idegen feliratokat, valahogy megértette, mert hasonlított az oroszhoz, de amit keresett, azt nem találta.* *The next morning, as he stepped into the street, Ivan saw foreign inscriptions here and there on the houses, he somehow understood them because they were similar to the Russian ones, but he couldn't*

*Az utcák olyanok voltak, mint máskor, a nagy történések csak pillanatokig tartó* *find what he was looking for.*

*The streets were like they used to be,*

*külső nyomokat hagynak a kisvárosi utcák életén. Ismerősöket látott, a hivatalnokok munkába indultak, kicsit kókadt fejjel, de azért reménykedve, hogy nem tart ez az egész sokáig. (Tamás, n.d.: 30–31).*      *big events leave only momentary external traces on the life of the small town streets. He saw acquaintances, the clerks were going to work, a little confused, but hoping that this all wouldn't take long.*

A few pages later, the writer describes the situation of the inhabitants of the small town like this:

*A kábulat már engedni kezdett, az emberek hideg szemmel kezdték nézni az eseményeket, de senki se hitte, hogy az állapot állandó maradjon. Mindenki valami megváltó csodát várt. Abban az érzésben élt minden, hogy odaát még mindig lélegzik a húszmillió magyar állam, és nem látta senki, hogy a túlsó oldalon egy agyonsújtott ember hever a porban, aki magán se tud segíteni, nemhogy még a gyerekei védelmére siethetne. (Tamás én.: 41)*      *The daze started to wear off, people began to look at the events with a cold eye, but no one believed that the situation would remain constant. Everyone was waiting for some saving miracle. Everyone lived in the feeling that the Hungarian state of twenty million was still breathing over there, and no one saw that on the other side there was a dead man lying in the dust who could not even help himself, let alone rush to protect his children.*

In line with Brubaker's Triadic Nexus theory (1993), Transcarpathian Hungarians expect the support and help of the Hungarian state, as the patronage of the kin-state, but they slowly have to accept that they have already entered a different environment and the power relations have changed: they moved from a majority position to a minority position, with all its consequences and accompanying features.

The change of state was therefore not treated as a *fait accompli* at first, because they trusted that Hungary would sooner or later retake the territory. One of the novel's aristocratic characters, Baron Nyáry, who already appears in the opening scene of the novella as the protagonist's traveling companion, views his situation as follows:

*A báró politikai előadásba kezdett. Nem volt rossz szándékú ember, csak éppen a saját osztálya élte ki magát benne. A Szent Korona egységét és a magyar fiatalság kötelességét emlegette. Közben pedig mellesleg megemlítette azt is, hogy a birtokát is, a kerületét is elfoglalták az új uralom katonái. Az eset nem olyan súlyos, az antant valószínűleg meggondolja a dolgot, mielőtt véglegesen dönt. Mindenesetre egy belső megmozdulás esetleg döntő befolyással lenne a párizsi urakra. (Tamás, n.d.: 11–12)*

*The baron started a political lecture. He was not a man with bad intentions, it was just that his own class showed itself in him. He mentioned the unity of the Holy Crown and the duty of the Hungarian youth. Meanwhile, he also mentioned that his property and the district were occupied by the soldiers of the new regime. The case is not so serious, the Entente will probably reconsider it before making a final decision. In any case, an internal movement would possibly have a decisive influence on the gentlemen of Paris.*

The narrator looks at the events in the novel from an external point of view, but he mostly identifies with the protagonist's point of view, and it can also be felt from this detail that he views the aristocratic character negatively. This also shows a left-wing approach to society that is not alien to the Hungarian community in Czechoslovakia (Mádi, 2021:94). This is only further confirmed by the protagonist's opinion about the baron:

*Semmi nagyvonalúság, semmi erő. Amikor tettekre lenne szükség, akkor iktatnak, könyvelnek, lajstromoznak kényelmes hivatalok puha székében. Hol a vezér, hol a mindent kockáztató lendület? Amíg a lépcsőn leért, Iván leverten állapította meg, hogy nincsen, és az a munka, ahová társnak szegődött, kis termetű emberek ártatlan játéka csak, akik szeretik hazájukat, szeretnének tenni is azért valamit, de legfőképpen szeretik a saját kényes bőruket. A nagy pillanatok*

*No generosity, no power. When actions are needed, they file, keep books and register in the soft chairs of comfortable offices. Where is the leader, where is the drive to risk everything? By the time he got down the stairs, Iván was dejected and realized that there was none, and that the job to which he had joined as a partner was the innocent game of small people, only those who love their country, want to do something for it, but most of all love their own delicate skin. The big moments*

*hozzájuk illő nagy ember hiánya miatt slowly turned into long hours of seedless  
lassan-lassan magtalan remények hosszú hopes due to the lack of a great person to  
óráivá idültek. (Tamás, n.d.: 65) match them.*

The title of the novella is meant to illustrate both the main character's situation between two locations and the two attitudes they represent, and the state of Transcarpathian Hungarians torn between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The 1934 version had a slightly bolder choice of title since *Halálugrás* [Death Leap] suggests a much more negative, dangerous, and fatal movement than the image of the water flowing between the two banks. The latter, on the other hand, with the metaphor of the water running between the two shores can also be a symbol of the fact that the minority group is torn between the two shores: between the motherland and the nationalizing state. The minority community live at the mercy of these two, herded by them, and its position is never constant, not static, but dynamically changing. This title fits better with the solution of the novella too, since it suggests that despite the tense opposition between the “two banks”, life and water “run”, move on, there is an unending continuity in it. The solution or the ending of the novella also suggests this since in the final chapter, the significance of the political events is dwarfed for the protagonist, Bodák, who just wanted to laugh at the contents of the ominous blue envelope, since they didn't matter. With the birth of your child, life takes on a completely new light for you:

*Itt bent pedig az ő élete folyt: az ott kint And inside here it was his life: that  
és ez itt bent együtt az élet egyetlen outside and this inside together are the  
formája, most már biztosan tudta, hogy az only form of life, now he knew for sure  
egyetlen. És a folytatás, amely örök és that it was the only one. And the sequel,  
mindenek fölött való. (Tamás, n.d.: 205) which is eternal and above all.*

Adrien Papp in her study (2014) examines the identity-shaping factors that appear in the work, the concept of the border, the attitude to language, the processing of the trauma that occurred, and the attitude to the homeland. During the protagonist's first trip, he is not aware that a passport is also needed to cross the border as a result of the regime change, but after that he deliberately travels without a passport between Beregovo and Budapest out of defiance, running away risking his own health and that of

the people helping him. Also, this act indicates that he is not willing to recognize the power of the new state. Adrien Papp also states (2014) that in the novella, a conflicting attitude can be observed towards language, since the main character does not seem to shy away from using the Czech language, but the author presents all utterances in a language other than Hungarian to the reader in Hungarian, and the latter reveals an attitude that rejects another language and is averse to it. This can be attributed to the fact that Mihály Tamás intended his work not only for the Rusinsko or Slovensko readers, who would presumably have known the Czech language as well, since it is already clear from his program articulated in the journal *Tátra* that he considered the literature of Slovensko to be an integral part of the entire Hungarian literature. Therefore, it is possible that Mihály Tamás made the reading easier for his target audience, the Hungarian readers, rather than expressing his distaste for other languages (Mádi & Szakál, 2023:87). All the more so, as it is clear from the demographic data of the time (Molnár D., 2018) that Transcarpathia was already a multi-ethnic region in the 19th and 20th centuries, therefore, multilingual as well, so it was natural that a significant part of the residents here were not native speakers of Hungarian, this was not a new development for local Hungarians.

It took a long time for the community in the novel to process the trauma that had occurred, since on the one hand it seemed hardly believable that the environment could radically change from one moment to the next, and on the other hand, the irredentist exhortations were constantly coming from the motherland promising false hope to the bewildered intellectuals.

*Minden munkát és minden nyugalmat megemésztő bizonytalanságban éltek az emberek, és ezt a bizonytalanságot kívülről a felelőtlenül, de pontos dátummal megadott felszabadító ígéretések, belülről az új hatalom tétova kapkodása és gyakori beijedése elképzелhetetlen mértékig élesztették. (Tamás, n.d.: 180)*      *People lived in an uncertainty that consumed all work and all peace, and this uncertainty was intensified to an unimaginable extent by the irresponsible, but accurate dates of liberation promises from the outside, and by the hesitant precipitance and frequent scares of the new power from the inside.*

The attitude towards the homeland is mostly represented by the protagonist's point of view, since he is the one who commutes between the two worlds. After obtaining his

diploma, his father-in-law and mother-in-law convince Iván to move with his wife to Budapest in the hope of a more secure livelihood. The protagonist's reaction to this is a clear rejection:

*Nem! Nekem otthon a helyem, én hazamegyek... (Tamás, n.d.: 173)*      *No! My place is at home, I will go home...*

To his mother-in-law's dismissive opinion:

*Hiszen az már nem is hazánk nekünk. (Tamás, n.d.: 173)*      *After all, it's not even our home country anymore."*

Ivan responds as follows:

*A föld a haza és nem a király, haza a hegyek és az erdők, de nem a kupec, aki bort megveszi, és nem a gatter, amely a fák törzsét deszkává aprítja...haza a virágos almafa és az ácsorgó emberek a templom kerítésén...én nem maradhatok...nekem haza kell mennem...(Tamás, n.d.: 173–174).*      *The land is home and not the king, home is the mountains and the forests, but not the acquirer who buys the wine, and not the frame saw that chops the trunks of the trees into planks... home is the flowering apple tree and the people hanging around the church fence ...I can't stay...I have to go home...*

This attitude towards their homeland only partially reflects the attitude of Hungarians living in minority in Rusinsko, since after the coup d'état, 18,600 residents of Hungarian nationality left Transcarpathia (Molnár D., 2018: 136).

#### **4.1.1. Features of multilingualism in the novella**

In Mihály Tamás's novel, there are several references to the fact that the main character is affected by a linguistic impulse different from the language of the novella. On one occasion during his journey, for example, a Czech soldier speaks, but in the book it mostly appears in Hungarian. In the scene below, for example, we read:

*A váróterem ajtajánál cseh katona állt őrt, és amikor otthonos nyugalommal akartak belépni, újukat állta. — Nem lehet!* *A Czech soldier stood guard at the door of the waiting room, and when they wanted to enter with homely calmness, he stood in their way. - Not possible!*  
(Tamás, n.d.:19)

We can assume that a scene like this would have happened in Czech or perhaps German, but the writer decided not to convey this to the reader. The reader can witness a similar scene at the end of the novella when the posters announcing the line-up reappear on the walls of the streets. Presumably, it took place as a result of the coup attempt of Charles I (Charles IV as King of Hungary). After an earlier, unsuccessful attempt, Charles I wanted to carry out the seizure of the throne by military force, at the beginning of the later failed attempt, he arrived at Dénesfa (a village in Hungary) with his plane on October 20, 1921 (Ormos, 1998:97). The novella unmistakably refers to this event with the following sentence:

*Nem, ez a király már nem lóra ült, mint hajdani ősei, hanem aeroplán szárnyán vitte a magában erjedő végzetet a napfényes ősz ökörnnyállal átszótt nyugodalmos levegőjében* *No, this king no longer rode a horse, like his ancestors of old times, but carried the doom fermenting within him on the wings of an airplane in the calm air of a sunny autumn woven with gossamer*  
(Tamás, n.d.:199).

The main character, Iván, is also re-enlisted, and his sergeant tells him:

*Nézze csak, ott az a harminc ember, vigye át őket a másik kaszárnyába. — Azután hozzá tette magyarázatképpen. — Utóvégre tiszt volt, ennyit magára bízhatok...* *Look, there are those thirty people, take them to the other barracks. — Then he added as an explanation. —After all, you were an officer, I can trust you with that much...*  
(Tamás, n.d.:200).

The official language use in 1919 was characterized by duality, communication between the civil administration and Beregovo's leadership was still in Hungarian, and communication with the military command was conducted in German (Szakál, 2017b: 66–67). By the way, the common language used in the army of the Austro-Hungarian

Monarchy was German, although according to law, military leaders had to learn any minority language that at least 1/5 of the recruits spoke (Stergar, 2019). Thus, the Hungarian soldiers who served in the army of the Monarchy were clearly used to the German command words, and this also appears in the novella of Mihály Tamás. As a continuation of the scene quoted above, the main character addresses his fellow soldiers as follows:

— *Fiúk, aztán milyen nyelven értitek a kommandót?* — *Boys, in what language do you understand commands?*  
*Az egyik hosszú, erős legény kiállt a sorból.* *One of the tall, strong lads stepped out of line.*  
 — *Hát mi csak leginkább a német kommandót értjük, hadnagy úr. (Tamás, n.d.:200)* — *Well, we mostly understand German commands, lieutenant.*

However, despite all this, the main character starts conducting in Hungarian, to which the sergeant reacts in the following way:

— *Így is jó...csak menjetek...az a fontos, hogy menjetek...(Tamás, n.d.:201)* — *It's fine anyway... just go... the important thing is that you go...*

It is therefore unlikely that the Czechoslovak officer would have addressed the soldier in Hungarian at the beginning of the scene. However, there are also situations when the author inserts foreign words into the Hungarian text. The following scene is an example of this:

*Az egyik csendőr a tenyerét nyújtotta feléje.* *"One of the gendarmes extended his palm towards him.*  
 — *Legitimáце...* — *Legitimáце...*  
*Iván előrehajolt, mint aki nem tudja, mit akarnak tőle.* *Iván leaned forward as if he didn't know what they wanted from him.*  
 — *Legitimáце.* — *— Legitimáце.*  
*Iván németül felelt.* *Iván answered in German.*

— *Legitimation?*

*A csendőr már tudta, hogy aki ilyen nehezen ért, annak nincsen igazolványa. Németre fordította ő is a beszédet, a táskához lépett és intett Ivánnak.*

— *Kommen Sie... (Tamás, n.d.:50)*

— *Legitimation?*

*The gendarme already knew that anyone with such difficulty in understanding did not have an ID. He also turned the speech into German, walked over to the bag and waved at Iván.*

— *Kommen Sie...”*

In addition to everyday and official language use, multilingualism can also be seen in the linguistic landscape of a community, and this is no different in the case of the examined novella. There are several references in the text to the fact that the language of the signs in the streets of Beregovo changed as a result of the coup d'état. This is the case with the previously mentioned scene, in which the main character sees foreign texts while walking down the street, as well as the following description:

*Bent a városban a megcsendesült utcák képe fogadta őket. Lassanként eltűntek már a boltajtók fölül az egynyelvű táblák, és a cégfestők nehezen győzték a sok munkát. (Tamás, n.d.: 128).*

*Inside the city, they were greeted by the sight of silenced streets. The monolingual signs above the shop doors have gradually disappeared, and the title painters have had a hard time coping with the multitude of jobs.*

These forms of the appearance of a multilingual environment were completely natural in an urban environment.

In Mihály Tamás's descriptions of the environment, the fact that, in addition to Hungarian, another language was present in Beregszász during the coup d'état appears most often. The utterances of characters who may not be native speakers of Hungarian or who do not speak Hungarian can be read in Hungarian almost without exception in the pages of the novella. In my opinion, this can be attributed to the fact that the author intended his work for the entire Hungarian readership, who were not necessarily familiar with the Czech or German language. However, it is clear from the references to the linguistic landscape that the location is a multilingual environment. In addition, the uncertainty of the age emerged, the people in the story did not think that the situation that occurred was permanent, since Central Europe between the two world wars could boast a history rich in twists and turns. This uncertainty, the view of the situation as

temporary, also appears in the historical literature of the region (Szakál, 2016), which indicates that the author depicted a real situation (at least in this area). In Mihály Tamás's novella, the attitude of the Hungarians to the new situation plays an important role, since they experienced the minority existence for the first time. It is interesting to observe how the characters relate to the border, how they approach the change of state and their homeland, and from these we can infer what characterized the everyday life of Transcarpathian Hungarians between the two world wars.

## **4.2. Analysed literature from the Soviet era. Vilmos Kovács: Holnap is élünk**

The novel is the first to tackle the fate of Transcarpathian Hungarians during the Stalin era, and it is also the only piece of Hungarian prose published in Transcarpathia during the soviet regime to stand the test of time. There is another trilogy by Zoltán Mihály Nagy that is placed in the same Transcarpathian setting during around the same time, but for several reasons, it was not considered for analysis in the present thesis. First, the author was born in 1949 which makes his account of the second half of the 1940s at least second-hand. Second, the first book of the trilogy was published in 1991, not long before the dissolution of the USSR, which puts a considerable time gap between the time of publication and the time of the story itself. This time gap is only a couple of years in the case of Vilmos Kovács's novel, as it was written in 1963 while the story of it is placed in 1958-59.

Based on István Tóth's 1995 account on the details of the publication of Vilmos Kovács's novel, it was written in brief two months in 1963 while it took another two years for it to be published. The 1960s were a time for concessions and even cautious reforms alternating with times of hectic severity in the politics of the Soviet regime, and of course, it dominated cultural politics as well (Tóth, 1995:93). The first manuscript was submitted for publication in the middle of 1963, and the first review supporting its publication came as soon as by the end of December in the same year. Following this, the publication process started, and the manuscript was edited. On August 20, 1964, László Balla, an influential contemporary Hungarian poet and writer wrote a rather negative editorial decree criticising the author for advertising abstract art and urges a "showdown" with the managers of art in the party. Vilmos Kovács reacted to the accusations with well-founded arguments that the rejection was based on rather

subjective reasons, following which Balla admitted some of his mistakes. But, the manuscript was handed out again for reviewing to both Miklós Rotman who was a teacher a university teacher based in Uzhhorod, and the regional communist party committee where it spent another few weeks, only to be handed out for evaluation to other reviewers afterwards. Finally, in the spring of 1965, it was published in 2500 copies (Tóth, 1995:96). Soon after its publication the novel was withdrawn from circulation in bookstores. Years later, the novel was removed from the Transcarpathian, and then from Hungarian public libraries as well on the instructions of the Soviet party leadership (Kovács, 2002a).

Following its 1965 publication, the novel was republished two more times, in 1990, and 2007, and all three versions are a bit different. Following some advice from different reviewers Kovács made some alterations in the novel, which he characterized as “minor, and irrelevant”. However, the editor of the 1990 version of the novel described some of the changes in more detail:

*“He left out many paragraphs from his main character's philosophizing inner monologues about art and life, but he also trimmed the dialogues. He left out many adjectives and word repetitions he considered unnecessary. In some cases, he made characterizations and descriptions, which - presumably due to the publisher's instructions - appeared truncated and euphemistic in the 65th edition, again concrete and critical. In some places, he approximated the vocabulary of his heroes and descriptions to the standard variety spoken in Hungary.” (Csordás, 2014a:15).*

While Barzsó Tibor, the editor of both the 1965 and 2007 versions of the novel emphasised that the author only partially restored some parts of the novel he was forced to erase from the first version. Some of these included comments on Transcarpathian Hungarian schools, on the forced application of Moscow time, or the details about the ban of the noon chime (Church bells have rung for Hungary ever since 1456, commemorating the heroism of Hungarian soldiers in the siege of Nándorfehérvár). Although ideally all three versions of the book should be considered when analysing the language of the novel, the limited extent of the current thesis does not give an opportunity to study all of them. After careful consideration, the first, 1965 version was chosen for analysis for several reasons. First, apart from the manuscript, this is the closest version in time to the timeframe of the story. Second, the alterations that were made in the text later were either influenced by political or aesthetic reasons, thus they

might have a lesser impact on the display of multilingualism and the multicultural environment depicted in the novel.

The story of the novel unfolds around the main character, Gábor Somogyi Hungarian painter living in the Transcarpathia of Soviet Ukraine. All expert opinions agree on the fact that the book is a documentary novel (Penckófer, 2019:102). One of his great traumas comes from the fact that despite being a communist, his father was detained and never seen again. This resonates with his biography, and proves the autobiographical character of his novel, as Vilmos Kovács came from a rather poor family, his father was a communist, and the family had to suffer persecution after the brief annexation of Transcarpathia to Hungary in 1938-1939. Kovács regarded the Soviet power established in his native land with considerable trust, even though his father, who had previously been proscribed due to his left-wing convictions, was also persecuted by the Soviet authorities, declared an "enemy of the people" and became the victim of a forced labour camp. The author, especially in his first books of poems, still declared himself a supporter of the Soviet system, many of his poems bear witness to this. For many years, he too expected the modernization efforts of the Soviet system to uplift the poor, and renew society and civilization (Pomogáts, 2007:26). The other trauma of the main character was his own unjust conviction in 1949, then, although later he was set free and rehabilitated. He is depicted as he is trying to figure out his life with his inner monologues always contemplating professional and intellectual issues. One problem about his character that was pointed out by some contemporary critics was the fact that he was separated from his wife and later fell in love with another woman. This was against the morals the Soviet regime was trying to publicize in contemporary literature, the main character was stigmatized as weak and unrelatable. But in fact, all he is trying to achieve is to be able to freely express his opinion on the era he lives in, on art or love. All the conflicts he faces in the novel come from this attitude. His nemesis is the local party secretary, Mazur, who is trying to destroy Somogyi for his ideology, but in the end Reiner, another party committee specialist, who is able to understand Somogyi's artistic ideas, saves him from the false accusations. Other characters in the story are mainly the friends and family of Gábor Somogyi, and his fellow artist and nemesis Zágony, whose character undoubtedly was based on Vilmos Kovács's contemporary and the most committed critic of the book, László Balla. The nationalities of the characters represent the actual composition of contemporary Transcarpathia: Hungarians, Russians, Rusyns and Ukrainians all appear among them.

Several experts share the opinion that one of the strengths of this book is that the author aims to be “a chronicler of his time” (Penckófer, 2019:105). After the territory was briefly given back to Hungary, the characters of the book face similar problems, as those of the previously examined book by Mihály Tamás, upon arriving home from Budapest, the borders are already closed due to the Soviet occupation of the territory, and as they are travelling without any documents of identification the Soviet soldiers detain them.

*Az államhatár már le van zárva, és Csapon letartóztatják őket. Gézától elkobozzák a rádiót, a bőröndöket. Igazolványt kémelek. Igazolványuk nincs. Két napig a romokat takarítják az állomáson, aztán mehet ki-ki amerre lát.* *The state border is already closed, and they are being arrested in Csap. Géza's radio and suitcases are confiscated. They ask for an ID. We don't have any. They had to clean up the ruins at the station for two days, and then everyone could go wherever they wanted.* (Kovács, 1965:29)

The other similarity with what is depicted in *Két part közt fut a víz* is that the political situation seemed to be temporary to the Transcarpathian Hungarians. They got used to the swift changes in regimes so much that they were sure, the Soviet occupation wouldn't last. As the author writes about the youth of the main character, he also depicts the family of his future wife, Ildikó. Her family is introduced as follows:

*Apja főszolgabíró volt, bátyja ludovikás tiszt. Mindketten Pesten vannak. Ildikóék pedig - ahogy anyja mondja – itt rekedtek és várják, hogy rendeződjön a helyzet, és visszamehessenek Pestre.* *Her father was a high sheriff, her brother an officer of the Ludovica Academy. Both are in Pest now. And her mother and Ildikó - as her mother puts it - are stuck here and are waiting for the situation to settle so they can go back to Pest.* (Kovács, 1965:31)

An interesting feature of the novel is that it already mentions the issue of assimilation of Hungarians. Although the phenomenon is not significant, which might be due to the fact that mastering the state language or assimilation does not guarantee good prospects or financial stability in a country with a not-very-prosperous economy, it is still present nowadays, as some Hungarian parents consider it more beneficial for their children to

go to Ukrainian kindergartens and/or schools to learn the state language. Such children often find Ukrainian spouses for themselves and their families slowly move away from their Hungarian roots. The same phenomenon appears in the novel in the following dialogue:

*Reiner visszajött.*

*Reiner came back.*

*- Vesse le a kabátját-mondta-, és foglaljon helyet. Különben, magyarul is beszélhetünk. Magyar ajkú, ugye?*

*- Take off your coat-, he said, - and take a seat. Besides, we can also speak in Hungarian. You are Hungarian-speaking, right?*

*- Igen. Sőt a nemzetiségem is magyar.*

*- Yes. In fact, my nationality is also Hungarian.*

*- Miért mondja, hogy sőt?*

*- Why do you say that?*

*Már ültek mind a ketten. Reiner az íróasztal mögött, ő az öblös fotelben.*

*They were both already seated. Reiner behind the desk, he in the armchair.*

*- Miért mondom, hogy sőt? Tudja, Reiner elvtárs, manapság furcsán állunk az anyanyelv és a nemzetiség kérdésével. Van egy ismerősöm, a magyar lapnál dolgozik, fordító. Magyaroknak vallja magát, otthon a feleségével magyarul beszélnek, csúnyán török a különben nagyon szép orosz nyelvet, a gyerekek azonban már nem akarnak magyarul beszélni. Soha egyetlen Petőfi-verset vagy Móricz-elbeszélést még nem olvastak el. (Kovács, 1965: 213)*

*- Why do I say so? You know, Comrade Reiner, nowadays we are in a strange position with the question of mother tongue and nationality. I have an acquaintance, he works for the Hungarian newspaper, and he is a translator. He claims to be Hungarian, he and his wife speak Hungarian at home, they butcher the otherwise very beautiful Russian language badly, but their children no longer want to speak Hungarian. They have never read a single Petőfi poem or Móricz story..*

And later:

*Na, csak folytassa, hol hagytuk abba?*

*Well, go on, where were we?*

*- Az anyanyelv és a nemzetiség*

*- Regarding the problem of mother tongue*

*problémájánál.*

*and nationality.*

- *Igen, igen. Ez érdekes helyi jelenség. Persze, nem általános. Egyes papák és mamák abban a tévhitben ringatják magukat, hogy csemetéik nagyobb karriert csinálnak, ha nem magyar iskolába adják őket, hanem oroszba...* ” (Kovács, 1965: 214)

The above phenomenon is not unheard of in the real-life, local Hungarian community either. Transcarpathian research shows that among Hungarians who attended non-Hungarian schools, the proportion of those who do not pass the Hungarian language on to the next generation is much higher, and almost 40% of the respondents who went to Ukrainian school used the majority language at home as well instead of Hungarian. At the same time, 93,16 % of those who attended Hungarian language schools used only Hungarian while communicating with their parents (Csernicsekó & Hires-László 2019:75; Molnár, 2010:81).

Kovács needed to be particularly careful about what and how he included in the novel as he was hoping to see his work in publication despite the strict censorship of the era. However, he was the first author to write about the “malenkaya rabota”, meaning little work, but in fact the forced labour of “undesirable” nationalities in the Soviet Union. November of 1944 marked the beginning of the most traumatic Soviet measure in the life of Transcarpathian Hungarian and German nationalities. Between 13 and 16 of November, all Hungarian and German males aged between 18 and 50 had to report for what was advertised as a little post-war reparation and restoration work. The nationality of the people was determined using a self-report method, those who claimed to be Rusyn, Ukrainian, or Slovak were let to go back home. After assembling the people, they were escorted by armed soldiers on foot to concentration camps in Svalyava (Hungarian Szolyva), and from there to various camps in the Soviet Union. Many did not survive even the first collective lager, the majority of them never came back home (Molnár D., 2021:507-508; 2022: 22-24). The following can be read in the novel on the topic:

*A legtöbb baj persze az asszonyokkal van, Of course, most of the problems are with*

*mert a férfinépet tizennyolctól ötvenötig elvitték munkára. Azt ígérték, hogy három nap múlva hazaengedik őket, de már eltelt öt hónap, és sehol senki. Sőt, egyeseknek halálhíre is jött. A falu olyan, mint a felbolygatott darázsészek. A jehovisták járvák a házakat és az utolsó ítélet szörnyűségeiről prédikálnak.*

*the women, because the men were taken to work from eighteen to fifty-five. They promised to let them go home in three days, but five months have passed and no one is to be seen. In fact, news of the death of some people came. The village is like a disturbed hornet's nest. Jehovah's witnesses go door to door and preach about the horrors of the last judgment.*

*- Mit mondjak az asszonyoknak, fiam? - kérdezi az apja.*

*- What should I say to the women, son? - asks his father.*

*- Az igazságot - mondja Gábor, és érzi, hogy keserű a szája.*

*- The truth - Gábor says, and feels a bitter taste in his mouth.*

*- De honnan tudjam, hogy mi az igazság? Három napra vitték el őket és tessék. Már heten haltak meg. Kettő közülük kommunista volt. Nem értem, fiam. Gábor sem érti (Kovács, 1965: 27-28)*

*- But how do I know what the truth is? They took them for three days and there you go. Seven have already died. Two of them were communists. I don't understand, son.*

*Gábor doesn't understand either.*

László Balla in his executive director's opinion on the novel questions if writing about the deportation of Hungarian men was truly essential in the story. Kovács tried to explain the necessity of writing about the topic in his response to Balla's opinion, arguing that it was not the fault of the Soviet leadership or it cannot be blamed on the nature of socialism, but rather the overreaction of the cult of personality (Kovács, 2002b).

#### **4.2.1. Features of multilingualism in *Holnap is élünk***

The environment of the novel is indisputably multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multilingual, where Ukrainians, Russians and Hungarians with some other Nationalities live together. An example to this is the following example:

*A lakó fiatalasszony. Férje nincs. Faluról került fel, a gyermekkórházban dolgozik, a konyhán. Az asszonyka helybeli ukrán, magyarul nem tud. Gáborral oroszul beszél, de az oroszot is töri, és mindig mosolyog. Az Ildikó anyja szerint folyton vigyorog Gáborra. Az asszonyka különben is mindig mosolyog. Mosolyog, ha a nagymama magyarul szól hozzá, és ő nem érti, mosolyog, amikor a Gáborék szobáját súrolja, mosolyog, ha a kislánya akadozva mondja nagymama után a magyar szót. Mosolyog, nem bánja. Az egyszerű emberek nem nacionalisták. A nacionalizmus főleg intellektuális lelki táplálék (Kovács, 1965:94).*

*The resident is a young woman. She has no husband. She came from a village, works in the children's hospital, in the kitchen. The lady is a local Ukrainian, she doesn't speak Hungarian. She speaks Russian with Gábor, but she butchers Russian too and is always smiling. According to Ildikó's mother, she keeps grinning at Gábor. Anyway, the lady is always smiling. She smiles when her grandmother speaks to her in Hungarian and she doesn't understand, she smiles when she scrubs the room of Gábor's family, she smiles when her little daughter repeats the Hungarian word after her grandmother stuttering. She smiles, she doesn't mind. Ordinary people are not nationalists. Nationalism is mainly intellectual spiritual food.*

And also:

*Markovits bácsi régebben ruszinnak vallotta magát, most pedig ukránnak, de lelke az összeomlott Monarchia talajában eresztett gyökeret, és onnan szippantotta magába a magyar kultúra nedveit. Tökéletesen beszél ukránul, az oroszot viszont töri. És tanulni már nem tud, csak tanítani. Festészetet.”(Kovács, 1965:95-96)*

*Uncle Markovits used to claim to be a Rusyn, and now he is a Ukrainian, but his soul took root in the soil of the collapsed Monarchy, and absorbed the juices of Hungarian culture from there. He speaks Ukrainian perfectly, but his Russian is broken. And he can no longer learn, only teach. Painting.*

This is not the only case where the author points out that some Ukrainians could not master Russian perfectly. On page 225 we can read about a letter that Gábor received from a Ukrainian friend:

*Hív, hogy menjek el. Megürült az egyik szobája, az édesanyja elköltözött a lányához. Gyere, azt mondja, nézd meg, honnan indultak el az őseid abba a beteg Európába... Viktor kijevi, tudod, „h”-nak ejti az orosz „g”-t, ukránosan, és engem is úgy hívott mindig, hogy Hobi. (Kovács, 1965:225)*

*He invited me to go there. One of his rooms got empty, his mother moved in with her daughter. Come, he says, see where your ancestors left for that sick Europe... Viktor is from Kiev, you know, pronounces the Russian "g" as "h" like Ukrainians do, and he always called me Hobi*

Ukrainian and Russian geographical names, brands, Slavic names of different characters all appear in abundance throughout the novel. Some examples include the following: Kolomeja [Kolomyia], Zsitomir [Zhytomyr], Sztarij Szambor [Stariy Sambir] for geographical names; Verhovina, Kazbek, and Mahorka are all cigarette brands; rubel [rouble] and kopek [copeck] are Russian money, Sputnik is a Russian satellite. Names which are surely Slavic, either because of how they sound, or since they are used together with the paternal names include the following examples: *Sztyepan Sztyepanovics, Tolik, Vaszilij Iljics, Belov, Litvinov, Milja, Vaszilij Ivanics, Zsora, Belkin, Vanya*, among others.

Although the story of the novel clearly takes place in a multilingual setting, the writer delivers all of it only in Hungarian. His reasons for doing this are unknown but we can assume that he was counting on some monolingual Hungarian readers as well, and this is why all the text appears only in Hungarian, even if it is clearly said or written in Russian. Some examples from the book are the following:

*Kihúzta a zsebéből a papírost, amit az orvostól kapott, és még egyszer elolvasta a cirill betűs szavakat: szív működése normális (Kovács, 1965:4).*

*He took the piece of paper he had received from the doctor out of his pocket and read the Cyrillic words once more: his cardiac function is normal.*

It is obvious from the context that the words “his cardiac function is normal” were written in Cyrillic, but the author chose to use Hungarian instead of actual Cyrillic. Similarly, in the following scene the main character visits a doctor, and it is less obvious from the context than in the previous example, but we can read the following:

*Az ajtón kis tábla: „M. Popovics, A small sign on the door: “M. Popovics, belgyógyász, rendel...” Mi az? Hát ma internist is consulting...” What is it? Isn't nem Szekeres van szolgálatban? Na, ezt jól Szekeres consulting today? Well, just your kifogta. Most mit tegyen (Kovács, luck. What to do now? 1965:51)?*

It is safe to assume that any sign in a Soviet hospital would be in Russian, just as the results of the medical examination in the previous example. Also, we can see, that the main character, Gábor is disappointed by the fact that he was going to see a new doctor, not the one he already knew. While this can be simply because he is not as comfortable with a stranger, but it is also possible that based on the surname, he assumed that the doctor would not be Hungarian. While the surname Szekeres is clearly a Hungarian one Popovics has a Slavic origin, and it is possible that the main character was uncomfortable speaking about his health issues in a language he could not express himself perfectly, a phenomenon well-documented in sociological and sociolinguistic research in Transcarpathia (Ferenc & Séra, 2013:101; Márku, 2003:103). And, this brings us to the question of the attitude of minority speakers to the state language.

This issue is tackled in the novel through the attitude of Gábor Somogyi, the main character, as the whole story is told from his perspective. Gábor clearly struggles with Russian at the beginning of the novel as it can be seen in the following example:

*Azért jöttünk, hogy valami kérvényt We came so you write us some official írassunk veled. Itt van a cím. Sztarij request. Here is the address. Sztari Szambor, vagy hogy hívják. Még Sambir, or whatever its name is. It's kimondani is nehéz. Apádnak is szóltunk difficult even to pronounce. We have már, de ő azt mondja, hogy nem kell already told your father, but he says that kérvény, majd bemegy, oszt megtudja, there is no need for an official request, hogy mi van velük, de csak ígéreti. Meg then he will go in and find out what is aztán te iskolán vagy, oroszul is tudsz. going on with them, but he only promises. Gábor nem tud oroszul. Honnan tudna? And you're at school, you know Russian. Iskolába se jár, mert a magyar iskolákat Gábor does not speak Russian. How could bezárták. De mert tanulni akar, most he? He doesn't even go to school because nyelvтанfolyamon van. Bickó tanítja őket, the Hungarian schools were closed. But*

*a görög pap. Csak Gábornak sehogy sem megy a tanulás.* *because he wants to learn, he is now on a language course. They are taught by*  
*- Abszolút bükkfanyelvű vagy, fiam - mondja neki a paptanár.* *Bickó, the Greek priest. Only Gábor can't study well.*  
*- Igaz lenne? - kérdezi magától, és otthagyja a tanfolyamot (Kovács, 1965:28).* *- You are absolutely hopeless, my son - the priest tells him.*  
*- Would that be true? - he asks himself and leaves the course.*

But, he does not give up learning Russian completely, later we can read:

*Este pokrócot, gyertyát visz az üres szobába és tanul. Oroszul. Naponta harminc-negyven szót magol be. Közben orosz újságot olvas (Kovács 1965:30).* *In the evening, he brings a blanket and a candle to the empty room and studies. Russian. He inculcates thirty to forty words a day. At the same time, he reads Russian newspapers.*

Changes of state were always accompanied by a change in the official language. During the Czech era, the same person heard and experienced that in order to get by, one had to learn the Czech language, then between 1938 and 1944 Hungarian became the dominant language again, then after 1945 it was Russian, and even though Transcarpathia belonged to Ukraine within the Soviet Union, even the Ukrainians had to deal with learning the Russian language (Cserniczkó & Ferenc, 2014). The issue of language skills was a prominent topic throughout the Soviet era; the central government implemented a series of measures that were hoped to increase the Russian language skills of the population. One of these measures was the so-called internationalist schools. In the institutions that taught several languages in parallel, the prestige language was not Hungarian, and the necessary conditions for nurturing the Hungarian language and culture were not provided. As a result, the Hungarian language was increasingly pushed into the background and placed in a subordinate position. In those institutions where education was conducted in three languages at the same time, it was placed in a twofold subordinate position (Orosz, 2005:100-102; 2022:144-148).

Despite his efforts Gábor is depicted as a person who never managed to fully acquire the state language, as it is shown in the following situation:

*Tóninak egyáltalán nem volt igaza, hogy Tóni was absolutely not right that Pityu Kantos Pityu dadogni fog. Folyékonyan Kantos would stutter. He spoke fluently beszélt és hévvel. Felszólalásában sűrűn and with passion. The superlatives fell durrogtak a szuperlatívuszok, akárcsak a frequently [were thick] in his speech, just lövöldékben az eltalált állatfigurák, like the animal figures in the target shot, amelyeket biztoskezű kiszolgált bakák which were hit at by veteran bucks with vettek puskavégre. Gábor megpróbálta steady hands. Gábor tried to find the megtalálni az összefüggést a sokemeletesre connection between the Russian sentences épített orosz mondatok között, de hiába. Az built on high-rises, but in vain. The whole egész beszámoló olyannak tűnt neki, mint report seemed to him like an opened egy felbontott boríték, amelyből kiszedték envelope from which the letter had been a levelet, és csak a címzés maradt taken out, leaving only the address on it. rajta.”(Kovács, 1965:79)*

At the same time, we can also see that there are minority characters who are fluent in Russian in the novel, as the name Pityu Kantos clearly belongs to a Hungarian person and, based on the above example, he uses Russian with great confidence and fluency.

The main character, Gábor is a painter who often attends trade union meetings that all take place in Russian, yet every speech or conversation from these meetings is only delivered in Hungarian. We can read the following on page 81:

*- Tehát, elvtársak, kezdte a mondókáját. - So, comrades, he began his speech. Ha oroszul szólalt fel, mindig a tehát When he spoke in Russian, he always szóval nyitott, és beszéd közben is sűrűn opened with the word so, and used it használta. - Meghallgattuk elnökünk frequently during his speech. - We listened beszámolóját. A beszámoló kimerítő volt és to our president's report. The report was igen részletes. Teljes képet nyerhettünk egy exhaustive and very detailed. We were újabb országos méretű kulturális able to get a complete picture of another rendezvényről. Tehát teljes képet nationwide cultural event. So we were nyerhettünk róla. Látszik, hogy Kantos able to get a complete picture of it. It can elvtárs igen gondosan szemügyre vette a be seen that Comrade Kantos took a very kiállítás gazdag anyagát és sok mindent careful look at the rich material of the*

feljegyzett róla. Remélem, hogy amit exhibition and wrote down many things  
hallottunk tőle, segítségünkre lesz a mi about it. I hope that what we heard from  
szerény kis gárdánk munkájában, és him will help us in the work of our humble  
útmutatásul szolgál nekünk a little troop and will serve as a guide for us  
továbbiakban. Mint igen sajnálatos going forward. As a very regrettable  
hiányosságot említem meg, hogy ezúttal shortcoming, I mention that none of us  
egyikünk sem szerepelhetett ezen az could participate in this national event this  
országos rendezvényen, de remélem, hogy time, but I hope that in the future...  
a jövőben... (Kovács, 1965:81).

Similarly, when Gábor is hospitalized, everybody around him, his doctor, nurse, and  
roommate are Russians, yet every dialogue is written in monolingual Hungarian. On  
page 109, we can read the following:

<p><i>Ilyenkor Milja nézte a fényes tej üveg- burát, vagy a novemberi csillagokat, és sohasem szólt közbe. Csak egyetlenegyszer jegyezte meg tréfásan:</i></p> <p><i>- Maga egészen más bolond, mint a többi. Milja ritkán tréfálkozott, és a betegekre is gyakran rászólt. Talán ezért volt, hogy tartottak tőle és nemigen kedvelték. Vaszilij Ivanics, a Gábor szobatársa, valósággal félt tőle.</i></p> <p><i>- Nem bírom ezt a nőt, hiába - mondta, mikor Milja már kiment a szobájukból.</i></p> <p><i>- Ha meglátom, mindig rosszul vagyok. Maga nem figyelte meg, Somogyi? Olyan a keze, mint valami hentesnek. Nem lesz ebből orvos soha, hiába iratkozott be az esti tagozatra. (Kovács, 1965:109)</i></p>	<p><i>At such times, Milja looked at the shiny milk glass lamp shade or the November stars and never said anything. Only once did she jokingly remark:</i></p> <p><i>- You are a completely different kind of fool than the others.</i></p> <p><i>Milja rarely joked, and she often rebuked the patients as well. Maybe that was why they feared her and didn't like her very much. Vasilij Ivanich, Gábor's roommate, was truly afraid of her.</i></p> <p><i>- I can't stand this woman, I can't help it - he said when Milja had already left their room.</i></p> <p><i>- I always feel sick when I see her. Didn't you notice, Somogyi? Her hands are like a butcher's. She will never become a doctor, even though she enrolled in the evening course.</i></p>
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There are a vast number of similar examples throughout the novel, where conversation that clearly happened in Russian in real life got delivered in Hungarian to the readers. The only utterance in the book actually in Russian is in the following example:

*Negyvenötben, amikor ott járt, már nem húztak semmit, de ötszáz pengőért orosz-magyar fonetikus kéziszótárt lehetett kapni, beszédgyakorlatokkal. Ilyenekkel, hogy: Tovariss, ja antifasiszt... (Kovács, 1965:226).* *In forty-five, when he was there, they no longer played anything, but for five hundred pengős you could get a Russian-Hungarian phonetic hand dictionary with speech exercises. With such as: Tovariss, ja antifasiszt [Comrade, I am an anti-fascist]...*

As it is indicated in the text itself, the last sentence is a phonetic transcription of the Russian utterance “Товарищ, я антифашист...”, or “Comrade, I am an anti-fascist...”.

Language contact can also be traced in the novel in the form of lexical borrowings. It can be said that these words are mostly known by the Transcarpathian Hungarian community, they occur frequently in the spoken language but are not used in other regions, so they do not, or only rarely occur in the local written language or fiction (Csernicskó, 2004:116). In the latter, they mostly serve as a stylistic device, and in the case of the examined novel, they were used in order to imitate the local spoken variety of Hungarian. Some lexical borrowings in the novel include gramota (certificate of commendation for academic progress in the Soviet school of the time), milicista (policeman), diktör (radio announcer), and kopera (the distorted Russian word for a cooperative store). These are not explained in any way in the first, 1965 publication of the novel, but the 2007 version explains the meaning of some in the editorial endnotes.

In conclusion, it can be clear from the text of Vilmos Kovács’s *Holnap is élünk* that the story is placed in a multi-national, multilingual setting, as several references are made that some dialogues or written utterances occur in Russian. However, the author chose to rely on references only, and never actually used any Russian in the novel. Another proof of the multi-ethnic and multilingual environment are some geographical names, peoples names, and brands that appear in Slavic, mainly Russian. The author also aimed to convey the spoken variety of Transcarpathian Hungarian, utilizing either a dialectal language variant or some Slavic lexical borrowings in his characters’ utterances. In the examined novel they are only used as stylistic devices. Apart from the

features of multilingualism, the author tried to capture the people's attitude towards the political situation that changed yet again. Similarly to the novella from between the two world wars, people seemed to think, that the Soviet rule would not last long, the borders would not remain the same for long, and everything they need to face is only temporary. However, Vilmos Kovács needed to be particularly careful about what and how he wrote, as the strong censorship of the era was reluctant to let the novel be published in the first place, and they banned the book soon after publication.

### **4.3. Literary life in the decades of independent Ukraine.**

Following the dissolution of the USSR, the literature-centred Transcarpathian Hungarian cultural life became more and more extensive, and 1989 marked the foundation of a new organization that aimed to protect the cultural interest of local Hungarians, the Kárpátaljai Magyar Kulturális Szövetség [The Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association] (Penckófer, 2019:80). Hungarian cultural life in Transcarpathia began to flourish, and one of the most important achievements was the 1989 establishment of the first independent Transcarpathian Hungarian literary journal, the Hatodik Síp [Sixth Whistle]. The regime change created an optimistic atmosphere in which the authors created a veritable cultural excitement. Ukraine became an independent country in 1991, and the Hungarian government was among the first to acknowledge the newly formed state. Transcarpathian Hungarians were optimistic and welcomed the political change as they saw some kind of common fate with the Ukrainian nation who, similarly to Hungarians, had no control over themselves in the soviet empire in the midst of homogenizing soviet efforts (Penckófer, 2019:82).

After the establishment of Hatodik Síp, two more literary journals were started, Pánsíp [Pan whistle] in 1993 and Véletlen Balett [Accidental Ballet] in 1999. New book publishers were also established, such as Intermix, Tárogató, Mandátum, and Galéria. The number of the latter continued to increase later, after the Hatodik Síp Foundation, the UngBereg Foundation, then the KMKSZ, the Scout Association, the Teachers Association, and later the Ferenc Rákóczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian College and various churches started their own publishing offices. Together, these enriched the Transcarpathian Hungarian community with a significant amount of Hungarian-language publications in the 2000s (Penckófer, 2019:91-92).

2002 marked the beginning of a new literary, artistic and cultural journal titled Együtt [Together]. Today, it is the sole Hungarian literary journal in Transcarpathia, as others slowly disappeared, or changed their territorial attachment, as some of the founders moved to Hungary. All major Transcarpathian Hungarian authors have published in this journal since its foundation, and it also gives opportunity to young, beginning poets, writers, and critics.

### **4.3.1. Works still bearing the influence of the Soviet era**

Regime change is primarily an economic, historical, political and social history concept. However, its use as a literary turning point is not self-evident (Csordás, 2020:21). It does not hold its place as a turning point in language use either, since the language use of the people living in a given area is affected by many complex processes, the changes in it certainly do not take place overnight. Those interpreters who define regime change as an epochal boundary and a turning point in Transcarpathian Hungarian literature justify their position with the unprecedented expansion of the institutional framework. This is partly correct, since, as mentioned earlier, a new Transcarpathian Hungarian literary journal was launched, KMKSZ was formed as a cultural, national and social organization that protects the interests of Transcarpathian Hungarians, new book publishers started their operations, and there was a clear flourishing from a cultural point of view. At the same time, the rigid censorial boundaries overseen by the communist party ceased to exist, so various modes of speech could be created in Transcarpathian Hungarian literature that were unimaginable under the previous system (Csordás, 2020:21). But, after the change of regime, the Transcarpathian Hungarian literary prose still reflected the Soviet times to some extent, since the authors who published after the change of regime all grew up in socialist times, the influence of which undeniably left its mark on what and how they wrote, and what kind of linguistic medium they presented in their works.

#### **4.3.1.1. János Penckófer: *Hamuther***

The novel is the winner of a short story competition organised by the Erdély Magyar Irodalmáért Alapítvány (Foundation for Transylvanian Hungarian Literature) in 2000. The book was critically acclaimed for both its story and its formal and narratological features. The story takes place in Hungary, but the main character comes from

Transcarpathia, Ukraine, not long after it gained its independence. The exact time of the story is not specified but it is implied through several details like the desperate economic situation in the country. Hamuth Ernő, the main character of the story is an elementary school teacher who lives a rather frugal life, his clothes are outdated, as we can read in another character's account of Hamuth:

*...and when he stepped out onto the street at the Sunlight, here, in front of them, well, just imagine - she said - a pair of corduroy trousers the leftovers from about twenty years ago, a bit crumpled, crumpled from washing, from the end of the trapeze fashion era, narrated excitedly Marietta, and those black-acorn shoes, with thick, warm golf socks, all that!... (Penckófer, 2002:22).*

His travels are financed first by his sister, and then by his therapist. And, as it was not unusual in the first half of the 1990s, he did not get paid for several months, as all teachers in those times. During 1993, the inflation exceeded 10,000%, while at the same time, prices grew fast. Job opportunities were scarce and some of the employed did not receive their wages for longer periods of time (Fedinec, 2021:416-417). Instead, they were sometimes compensated with large amounts of groceries, large sacks of flour, sugar, etc. This situation is shown in the novel in the following scene:

*Ernő Hamuth explained what kind of situation developed back home, which is unimaginable from here in Budapest, because if he, Ernő Hamuth, a primary school teacher, could have received his salary for his work, his four months' payment in sugar, yes, yes, he could have maintained two hundred and forty kilos of sugar, then of course, he knows that would sound ridiculous, but it's something to cry about at the same time... (Penckófer, 2002:24-25).*

The meticulously composed main character of the story is named Hamuth Ernő, and the name can be traced in the title of the book as well, foreshadowing that he is the key figure in the story. There is a strong contradiction between the clumsy, blundering person we see on the outside and the contemplative, philosophical person we meet through his thoughts. While the two parts of his character stay in opposition throughout the story, it generates a sort of self-criticism and at the same time, can also be interpreted as contemporary criticism (Ekler, 2006:85). It serves both as a social mirror

and an account of minority existence. A typical moment in the latter is at the beginning of the novel, when Hamuth Ernő is sitting on a train travelling from Transcarpathia to Budapest, Hungary to visit his sister. This is where his ordeal begins, as his three travel companions turn out to be shady criminals from Ukraine. First, when he realises they speak Russian he tries to avoid eye contact and acts as if he doesn't understand what they say. He is also eager to separate himself from them in the eyes of the conductor who seems to look down on the shady passengers (Penckófer, 2002:7-8). Hamuth's efforts fail when he responds to an offer to smoke with them by shaking his head not thus revealing that he speaks Russian and understands them perfectly. This beginning of the novel is so rooted in reality that it is almost verbatim with the incident that happened to István Csernicskó, a well-known Transcarpathian Hungarian linguist, which the wider audience can read about in the preface to Anita Márku's 2013 volume. It is a story from the late nineties, which also coincides with the time of the novel, in which a group of Russian criminals tried to rob the narrator, who was still a linguistics student at the time, in such a way that they first made sure that he spoke Russian. A young Russian man asked him if Budapest would be the next stop, to which he unsuspectingly answered in Russian. After that, a five-member criminal gang attacked him in his cab, and he was only able to escape because the guide was on his way and asked him for help in Hungarian, to which the perpetrators fled. As he later learned from the guide, this is not a unique case, and similar abuses are only committed against Russian-speaking passengers, because they are afraid that the Hungarians will file a complaint (Csernicskó, 2013b:9).

As Károly Balla D. puts it:

*Whether Hamuth has paranoia can be questioned, but the fact that he is Eastern European to the core is beyond dispute, namely from the kind for whom this is not only and perhaps not primarily a geographical, but rather a mental determination (Balla D., 2002).*

He then continues to explain this with the idea that the character acts typically as a clumsy and naive Transcarpathian person visiting a relative in the Hungarian capital. First, he gets mugged by the criminals from the train and then, he is used by his psychologist who is seemingly helping him, but in reality, collects information through Hamuth who happily travels to old friends and acquaintances who moved from

Transcarpathia to Hungary to find out how they cope with their relocation and starting anew. The main character seems to drift with the events of the story, vulnerable and hopeless. His sister is also a typical portrayal of the immigrant who is vary of the “poor relative” while she came from the same background too. She gives Hamuth the money to come visit her but she goes hysterical once she finds out that he does not want to go back after two weeks as they planned. The scene in the novel goes as follows:

*He hadn't seen her sister like this before, well, he really hadn't yet, that from one moment to the next she would have turned so out of herself, that his sister, who had borne her son's decision with dignity, her husband's misfortune, her sister, with whom it had been clarified just a few days ago that it is not excluded, it is not excluded at all, they will live out their old days together, although she would very much like that his, Ernő Hamuth's, decision was not yet final, as far as leaving his wife and daughter is concerned, and now, like this, with this current attitude, it would be good if he would examine it once more, calmly and unhurriedly take into account all the arguments against and for it, and only then, only then, maybe months later, would he make the final decision, because, as his sister said, life is not so easy here [Hungary] either, as he might believe, without knowing the burdens, because his sister doesn't tend to throw tantrums, freak out, definitely not to this extent, and now the edge of her mouth began to tremble, she turned pale, then immediately turned red, and with a fearful hissing, between her hardened and razor-thin lips, the words slipped out that, not this.... (Penckófer, 2002:34-35).*

#### **4.3.1.1.1. Features of multilingualism in *Hamuther***

The novel was first published in 2000, which means that it was probably written after Ukraine was declared independent from the USSR. This is also supported by the fact that in the depicted world, where the protagonist comes from, the characteristics of independent Ukraine can be discovered. However, the linguistic features of the novel show the strong presence of the Russian language and not the Ukrainian.

Following the dissolution of the USSR, almost one-fifth of the population of Ukraine was of Russian nationality. In addition to the large number of Russian residents, the position of the Russian language was strengthened by the millions of Ukrainian citizens who assimilated linguistically and who used the Russian language in

everyday life. The situation was also contributed to by the fact that the Russian community in Ukraine became a minority with the regime change, but they previously belonged to the privileged majority class, and the favourable economic, political and cultural position of the Russian language was largely preserved following the dissolution. So despite being a minority language, Russian remained widely used in most areas of social and public life in Ukraine for a long time (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2020:171-172). No wonder Russian was the language that was depicted as the majority language in the novel.

The novel does not aim to portray contemporary life in Transcarpathia, but rather the dilemmas of the individual, but it inevitably gives the reader a glimpse into this nationally and linguistically colourful world. Interesting to observe the technique János Penckófer used to insert Russian utterances in his book. First, they are not presented in the original Cyrillic, but in Latin letters instead, using the phonetic transcription of the original Russian words. Second, they are immediately explained, and translated into Hungarian for the Hungarian readers. These solutions suggest that the novel was written to appeal to the monolingual Hungarian readers as well, not just the local Transcarpathian multilinguals who would understand even the Cyrillic parts.

Russian already appears on the first pages of the novel, as the main character overhears some of what his fellow passengers talk about. We can find fragments of Russian sentences in the Hungarian text, such as “*pa vszej verajátnasztyi*” “in all probability” (Penckófer, 2002:7) or “*igyom, zákúrim*” “come on, let's have a smoke” (Penckófer, 2002:7) which are perfectly understandable as the characters who used them were native speakers of Russian. The interesting thing about them is the attitude of the main character, Hamuth Ernő. As already mentioned, Russian managed to keep its position in Ukraine as a prestigious language even after the dissolution of the USSR (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2020:171-172). Speakers of Russian were never discriminated against; they could live their daily lives, work, and handle official affairs using Russian despite it being a minority language de jure. In Hungary on the other hand, it seems that, following the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, a kind of wariness has developed towards Russian speakers. This is supported by both Hamuth's attitude towards the three Russians and their own account of the matter, as we can see in the following monologue:

*...és akkor, igen akkor már tudta, hogy ...and then, yes then, he already knew that*

*hibázott, igen, hibázott, mert a megértésre utaló fejrázás valamiféle társsá tette őt ezen a vonaton, ebben az országban, ebben a társaságban... (Penckófer, 2002:8)*

*he had made a mistake, yes, he had made a mistake, because the nod of understanding made him some kind of companion on this train, in this country, in this company...*

and also:

*hát ezért, ezért nem volt ideje, hogy apró részleteket megfigyelje, hogy kialakuljon az utastársakról a kép, kiféle, milyen alakok lehetnek, ezért reagált ösztönösen, és ezért tudták azok egy perc alatt kideríteni róla, hogy abból a világból érkezett ő is, annak ellenére, hogy idegen nyelven olvas, ideális alkalom adódott számukra, hogy kicsit elbeszélgessenek vele, amint mondták, hogy könnyebb legyen az utazás, mert ha nem tudná, elmondanák neki, kurva nehéz lett az élet itt, például csak annyit hadd hozzanak fel, hogy oroszul még megszólalni sem ajánlatos, ha kérdeznek valamit, elfordulnak tőlük az emberek... (Penckófer, 2002:8)*

*so that's why, that's why he didn't have time to observe the small details, to form an image of the fellow passengers, what kind of people they might be, that's why he reacted instinctively, and that's why they were able to find out about him in a minute that he also came from that world, that despite the fact that he reads in a foreign language, it was an ideal opportunity for them to have a little chat with him, as they said, to make the trip easier, because if he didn't know, they tell him that life is fucking hard here, for example, it is not even recommended to speak in Russian, if they ask something, people will turn away from them...*

But the same negative attitude towards Russians can be traced in the sentences of Hamuth's sister, and this time, it is in a more generalized way, not directed at a specific person or people:

*...és ilyen ricsajjal jönni meg, hát nem tudja, hogyan kell becsöngetni, most majd az egész ház arról fog beszélni, hogy*

*...and to come with such a din, he doesn't know how to ring the bell, now the whole house will be talking about the fact that it*

*biztosan valami őrült ruszki, aki must have been some crazy Ruszki who erőszakkal szeretett volna bejutni hozzá, wanted to get in by force - his sister kept csak az lehetett – mondogatta még egy saying for a while ideig a nővére – (Penckófer, 2002:19-20).*

In the story, Hamuth, on the advice of his psychologist, tries to reach out to his old friends and acquaintances, who moved to Hungary from Transcarpathia, in order to find some sort of inner peace. While interacting with them, we can see some of the multilingual and multicultural background they all share. One example is when he talks about an old classmate, we can read:

*...mindenki tudta, hogy a Zituka mindig ...everyone knew that Zituka is always türelmes, és a magyarokhoz magyarul patient and speaks to Hungarians in szól, de megtanult oroszul is, ukránul is, Hungarian, but she also learned Russian annyit legalábbis tudott, amennyi neki and Ukrainian, at least she knew as much kellett, mindegy, szóval ezt a Zitukát is as she needed, whatever, so he sought out megkereste... (Penckófer, 2002:58). this Zituka as well...*

The classmate in this case started working as a bank clerk, thus she needed to acquire the knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian, at least to some extent.

We can also find some code switching in the novel, when Hamuth speaks to his old friend Szaniszló about the shady Russians who mugged him. He inserts the Russian utterance in his Hungarian monologue jokingly, as we can read in:

*Szaniszló számára is megragadható, hogy what is also understandable for Saniszló mondjuk, mi köze van neki ahhoz a három to say what he has to do with the three oroszhoz, akiket az újság is bemutatott, v Russians who are also in the newspaper, v kákih atnasenyijáh, ha így jobban érti – kákih atnasenyijáh [in what relationship], mondta és kacagott hozzá –, milyen if that way he understands better - he said viszonyban állnak egymással ők és a and laughed at the same time - what kind Sunlight (Penckófer, 2002:54). of relationship they and Sunlight have with each other.*

In János Penckófer's book, the reader can come face to face with the characteristics of Transcarpathian identity in the 1990s through the struggles of the main character, at the same time displaying the multilingual linguistic environment that the author places in Hungary, but which was inseparable from the Hungarian reality in Transcarpathia even then.

#### **4.3.1.2. Marianna Brenzovics: *Kilátás***

*Kilátás* is the first novel of the author, and it was published in 2010 in Bratislava. Undoubtedly, it carries the possibility of a referential reading, since the narrator calls herself “Marjanna”, and we can recognize many characteristics of the author’s environment, including the places where the author lives and works, thus Zápszony, Beregszász, as well as Vérke (the river of Beregszász) all appear in the text. This fact has not escaped the attention of the critics of the novel, nor of experts studying the text from other perspectives. János Penckófer (2019:235) writes the following: “*The strikingly rich and emphasized objective-factual reality immediately draws attention to itself. It is as if the novel had also set out to present this, it is so clearly based on visuality.*” While the idea of young literary historian László Csordás is the following:

*The impact potential of *Kilátás* can obviously be related to the (linguistic) representation of the mixed cultural space as well as to the specific poetic procedures. Viewed from this perspective, the novel is constantly in a borderline situation due to its mixed language, texts drawn from multiple traditions, genre code systems, and maps appearing in the text. The recognition or non-recognition of these marks by the reader place of the work in the cultural space, and also frames its Transcarpathianness, which is emphatically not an automatic “given”, especially not an appropriation, but a rhetorically justified reading experience and an experience that holds possibilities different from Hungarian interpretations. (Csordás, 2020:93)*

Even the names of actual shops in Beregovo at the time appear in the pages, such as *Asztra* or *Vopak* (Brenzovics, 2010:53) that leave no doubt concerning the amount of real life experience the author used while writing the book. It is no wonder then that according to the author of the present thesis too, the multilingual world surrounding the

author also shines through in the novel; especially the text of the first chapter entitled "PAST" is interwoven with loanwords.

The interesting thing about the novel is that it is the first of the ones analyzed so far, in which the influence of both the Russian and Ukrainian languages on Hungarian can be discovered. And it is no wonder since the author was born in the USSR but she went to university in independent Ukraine, while she belonged to the Hungarian community. These facts are all reflected upon in the text of her novel, e.g. in chapter PAST, page 13 we can read the following:

*We called the school principal gander because he stretched out, strained his pink neck. He cried, we quickly circled him. He had a Petőfi volume in his hand, showing the battered book. He stood in a pulpit inscribed CCCP[USSR], up to his chin. (Brenzovics 2010:13)*

In this scene the narrator writes about her school experience, which had to be a Hungarian school, as the principal was holding a volume of famous Hungarian poet Sándor Petőfi, and it was also in Soviet Ukraine based on the inscription on the pulpit. While the scene in chapter two named PRESENT, page 40 undoubtedly takes place in independent Ukraine:

*I can't bear to read any more Goethe, I feel it, and I turn on the TV. The Ukrainian national anthem plays, castles rise from the ground, shining wheat fields, typical representatives of the UA people, and finally a rainbow. I change the channel, I'm watching Tüskevár. (Brenzovics 2010:40)*

Basen on the above examples from the novel we can see that the place and time of the novel are the same as the writer's in reality, Transcarpathia in the USSR and later in independent Ukraine. It is only natural that some features of multilingualism in Transcarpathia together with the author's attitude towards it appear in the text as well.

#### **4.3.1.2.1. Features of multilingualism in *Kilátás***

As it was already mentioned earlier, in this novel, the influence of both the Russian and Ukrainian languages on Hungarian can be observed.

The most revealing traces of this are the Slavic proper names, which in the case of people are not easy to decide whether they belong to the Russian or Ukrainian language, since in most cases the original language spelling could help the researcher, but in this text the Slavic elements are also transliterated in Latin letters, just like in the previously examined literary works. Names, such as Lenin, Morozov, Nádja, Kolja, Sirokov, Vlagyik, Petro Migyanka, Andrij Ljubka all belong to the Slavic culture. Other proper names include geographical names such as names of towns and villages like Beregszász [Beregovo], Zápšzony [Zapson'], Moszkva [Moscow], Belgorod and Csernobil [Chernobyl] that happens to be the name of the neighbour's dog, are all written according to their names used in the Hungarian language.

Slavic loanwords and code-switching also appear in the text predominantly in the chapter titled PAST. The lexical borrowings in the novel predominantly come from the Russian language. They include words like *pizgyec* (Brenzovics, 2010:17), *blatnojok* (Brenzovics, 2010:26,) *drob*, *sztolicsnoje* (Brenzovics, 2010:29), and *usánka*, *dusambe* (Brenzovics 2010:30).

The reader can even have some insight into how the author reflects on her own language use in some scenes. On page 47 we can read the following:

***Klopotanja***, *ismétlem*, ***klopotanja***, ***Klopotanja***, *I repeat*, ***klopotanja***, *I have to*  
***klopotanját*** *kell írnom, de nem tudom, mi* *write a klopotanja*, *but I don't know what*  
*az.* (Brenzovics, 2010:47). *it is.*

*Klopotanja* (Ukrainian: *клопотання*) is a written formal request and it is quite conceivable that the author took a situation from reality, from her own life, which she recorded in the novel. As it was already mentioned in the present thesis, Transcarpathian Hungarians are often required to use the state language in official settings which is and it is regulated by language laws and regulations. However, in this specific case, which is far from unique in Transcarpathia, the person in this situation learned Russian during her primary and secondary education as a state language, or language of the majority. But, later in life, due to a change of state, she suddenly needs to use Ukrainian instead, in which her fluency is not excellent. Following the adoption of the new Ukrainian Constitution in 1996, the Ukrainian language and culture became compulsory at the different levels of education, for all citizens of Ukraine. Ukraine aimed for a nation-state, and just like the Soviet model before them, used education as a

tool to achieve it (Orosz, 2022:150). Since Ukraine gained its independence following the dissolution of the USSR, minority education, and especially the language of it still has an impact on Transcarpathian public discourse and Ukrainian-Hungarian interstate relations (Csernicskó, 2022, Csernicskó & Kontra, 2023).

#### **4.3.2. Éva Berniczky *Méhe nélkül a Bába***

Éva Berniczky's *Méhe nélkül a bába* is a Transcarpathian Hungarian novel bearing several indicators that it was created in a multilingual environment. It did not escape the attention of the reviewers of the novel, Béla Bodor writes about it this way:

*[...] the story is extremely abstract and very little referential, so it is more like a „story from a story”, a fairy tale or a myth than a narrative drawn from reality. [...] However, it is a fact that no matter what twists and turns the epic takes over the millennia, it finds again and again the procedures that apply the connections of fiction to reality in some sense. In this case, for example, I risk the statement that Éva Berniczky's prose, which is fictitious in the fullest sense, born in language and its order is coordinated by the code of poetry, paints a more accurate picture of the last decades of Transcarpathian Hungarians than a series of reports and sociographies. (Béla Bodor 2008)*

It does not depict the Transcarpathian linguistic reality in the same way as the previously analyzed novels, but the interweaving of Hungarian and Slavic culture is definitely present in this work. Slavic characters, several examples of code-switching and loanwords appear in the book indicating the culturally and linguistically colorful environment the book was written in.

As Balcsik-Tamás puts it in her book review:

*The use of words from the Transcarpathian dialect fits the sensual style and contributes to the perception of the specific atmosphere of the location, taken out of time, which also plays a decisive role in the development of the fate of the characters. (Balcsik-Tamás 2007)*

The multilingual world is illustrated, for example, in the use of code-switching and loanwords that are typical of the multilingual environment. However, considering the

fact that the examined literary work depicts the multilingual world in a way that the local multilingual speaker understands but the monolingual Hungarian does not, the author needs to interpret the above-mentioned code switches and loanwords for the latter group in some way. This can be done in several ways. There are authors who translate texts in the non-Hungarian language into footnotes or endnotes, others describe their meaning in the text as narrators or by creating a proper dialogue, and there are cases when the author expresses multilingualism only in mood and description.

As mentioned above, in Éva Berniczky's *Méhe nélkül a bába* there are several indicators that it was created in a multilingual environment. One of the locations in the novel is a fictional village called Jóna; the other significant location is a little Transcarpathian village called Chornoholova located 45 km from Uzhgorod, or Ungvár in Hungarian. However, we can easily place the novel geographically even without using a map based on the unique linguistic characteristics of the novel as well as the atmosphere of the places, since these features all reveal that the novel is somehow connected with Transcarpathia (Mádi, 2018).

#### **4.3.2.1. Features of multilingualism in *Méhe nélkül a Bába***

The first and most prominent traces that testify to the local co-existence of Hungarian and Slavic languages are the names that bear a symbolic meaning, like Szvitelszkij, whose name originates from the Slavic word for 'light', and his simple wife, Mokrinka, whose name comes from the Slavic 'wet' with a diminutive suffix at the end. But some classic examples of Slavic names appear as well, when the people are addressed by their first name with their patronymic as in the example of Nyina Mikolajovna or Ernest Ernestovics. Typical vehicle names like Kamaz or Pázik appear, the latter being explained in the glossary at the end of the book.

In many places, the novel indicates that the conversation takes place in several languages, but there is no other trace of this multilingualism in the texts beyond the reference. We can see examples of it in the following excerpts: *Although she apparently did everything, while speaking trying to create order with her own logic, sometimes she used words from this language, sometimes from that language* (Berniczky, 2007:101). And also in: *They often persuaded and encouraged each other in at least two or three languages. The sanytarka often did not understand a single word of the beaten midwife's explanations, but she was not particularly bothered* (Berniczky, 2007:102).

Some examples of code-switching from the text:

*... a vállamon lógó táskámmal elsodortam ... with my bag hanging on my shoulder I  
kezeből édes fegyverét, a prjányikok swept his sweet weapon out of his hand,  
szanaszét szóródtak, gurultak a porban, s the prjaniks [honey biscuits] scattered and  
akkor úgy sajnáltam meg, ahogyan rolled in the dust, and at that moment I  
magamat szoktam, ha megfosztanak a was so sorry for him as I usually am for  
következő édes falattól, **oj pardontye**, myself when I am deprived of the next  
szóltam hátra, igyekeztem összezavarni, ne sweet bite, **oh pardontye** [oh I beg your  
is sejtse, milyen nyelven kértem pardon], I said back, I tried to confuse  
bocsánatot... (Bernizcky, 2007:21). him, so he wouldn't even surmise in what  
language I apologized ...*

It is evident from the situation that pardontye is a form of saying sorry. It is not an existing word; it is the author's hapax legomenon combining the words pardon and Russian izvinite.

Another example is:

*...beleszedegettem a mocsokból a mézes ... I collected the honey biscuits from the  
puszedliket, s amikor azzal, **hogy holubi dirt, and with the words holubi budut  
buduty gracijnyi**, visszaadtam a megtelt **gratziyni** [the pigeons will be grateful], I  
zsákot, rám mosolygott, majd hangosan returned the full bag, he smiled at me,  
kinevetett, szerintem nem hallhatta, vagy then laughed at me aloud, I think he could  
nem értette, mit is mondok, így aztán not hear or could not understand what I  
kénytelen voltam megmutatni neki a hálás was saying, so I was forced to show him  
galambokat a templom oldalánál the grateful pigeons on the stone cross at  
magasodó kőfeszületen, mert láttam ezen a the side of the church, because I saw it on  
kiéhezett mackón, mindenképpen a this hungry teddy bear, I definitely need to  
madarak elé kell szóratnom vele a zacskó have him scatter the contents of the bag in  
tartalmát, különben maga falja be a poros front of the birds, otherwise he will  
prjányikokat. (Bernizcky, 2007:21). engorge the dirty pryaniks himself.*

Here it is obvious from the context that the author refers to grateful birds. The word *gratziyni* is again a hapax legomenon created by the author which sounds as if it belonged to a Slavic language.

With the „pseudo-words” *pardontye* and *gracijni*, which do not exist in any Slavic language, the author creates an „interlanguage” that is characteristic of postmodern literary works. The fact that the writer does not insist on using the standard Russian or Ukrainian dialect indicates that the specific language in which these texts are spoken is not the point. These words are important from the point of view of the multilingual world created by the writer and the mood of the literary work. Analyzing this kind of language use can lead us towards translanguaging.

The interesting thing about the examples above is that the word *prjányik* which occurs many times in the excerpt has a translation in the endnotes despite the fact that the author repeatedly mentions in this section that this is the Slavic name of honey biscuits.

Lexical borrowings or loanwords are also frequent characteristics of languages that exist in a multilingual environment. In the novel, direct borrowings are predominant, some of which are explained by the author in the glossary at the end of the book (Mádi, 2019:250). Some examples of direct borrowing from the book include:

*“Elhagyva a várost, a domb aljából Leaving the city, from the bottom of the kinőttek az egyforma ronda dácsák, hill emerged the same ugly dachas, gray szürkén, feltartóztathatatlanul kísértek. and inexorably accompanied me. (Bernizcky, 2007:10).*

Dacha is a Russian loanword for a weekend house. The word dacha appears in the dominating-variety of Hungarian as well, with the meaning of weekend-house in Russia, but it is obviously not a Russian house in the novel since it is situated in Transcarpathia according to the story. Also:

*Végül ott, ahol már elfogyott a peron, Finally, where the platform ended, the eltűnt az őrbódé, a forgalmista, a lámpák, sentry box, the traffic controller, and the és kinyílt a mező, az elektricska utolsó lights disappeared, and the field opened, rándult. (Bernizcky, 2007:10). the electriczka twitched for the last time.*

Electrichka is the electric train in Slavic languages. Another example is:

*Legutoljára mindennek ellentmondva a Last, in contradiction to everything, the fiatalabbak illedelmesen leszedegették a younger politely picked the **babis** off the kosaras, zaydás **bábikat**, a répapálinka train with their baskets and zaydas, and bűzével átítatott öregembereket. the old men soaked with the stench of beetroot palinka.* (Bernizcky, 2007:10).

The old women with zaydas are included in the explanations provided by the author in the end-notes, zayda is a woven basket carried on the back, babi is a name for elderly women. Palinka is a strong spirit made from fruit, originated from Hungary, known in the Carpathian Basin.

Lexical borrowings and code-switching occur several times throughout the novel, as these are natural occurrences in the everyday language of local Transcarpathian Hungarians. These contact effects appear both in the everyday communication of the narrator of the novel and in the diary of the unknown woman she is hired to translate. The utterances of the narrator are predominantly Hungarian, using Slavic words only when referring to the name of a character or some specifically Slavic objects, like vehicle brands. Loan words and code-switching appear in almost every diary entry of the unknown woman, usually with names and items that have no proper translation or when the Slavic word bears a specific additional meaning. They appear more often in the diary of Alla though, probably due to the fact that she wrote it in an unspecified Slavic language. The explanations and paraphrases that the author provides both in the text and the endnotes interpret the meaning of some foreign elements for the monolingual Hungarian reader. However, they are not mere translations but the mediatory elements of the unknown world that aid the reader to understand this unique world. They help the reader to submerge in the stories and the life of the two women, almost the same way as the narrator needs to immerse in the stories and the life of the unknown woman in order to find herself in them. She tries to piece together as many pages of the scattered diary as she can, even though she knows that it is impossible to find them all, and some details of the life of the mystical stranger will remain hidden forever.

#### **4.4. Slavic loanwords and lexical borrowings that appear in the novels**

The term "borrowing" has been a prevalent concept in linguistic studies, particularly following the foundational works of Haugen and Weinreich. It refers to the incorporation of a structural element from one language into another. The language from which the structure originates is termed the "donor" language, while the language that incorporates this structure is known as the "recipient" language (Matras, 2019: 148).

The process of borrowing begins when speakers of the recipient language come into contact with speakers of the donor language. This contact can range from being superficial, impacting only a small group of language users who introduce new terms, to being characteristic of an entire bilingual community. In cases where users are bilingual and proficient in both the donor and recipient languages, the challenge lies in identifying lasting structural changes and distinguishing them from spontaneous language mixing or code-switching (Matras, 2019:148).

According to Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller, borrowing and code-switching are separate phenomena. They define "borrowings" as structures that are formally integrated into the recipient language and appear with greater frequency in the corpus. However, these criteria are necessarily context-dependent. Languages in contact may exhibit structural similarities (e.g., phonological convergence), complicating the determination of integration, and setting a frequency threshold is somewhat arbitrary. Conversely, Myers-Scotton views all instances of language mixing as part of the same phenomenon, governed by a hierarchical relationship between a "Matrix" language and an "Embedded" language (Matras 2019:148).

A further complexity arises in the context of Mixed Languages, where substantial structural components from two language systems merge into one. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) describe Mixed Languages as cases of "broken transmission," arguing that there is no continuity between the source languages and the mixed outcome. This suggests that it is not possible to distinguish between a donor and a recipient language. However, in later work, Thomason and Thomason and Everett cite Mixed Languages as examples of borrowing, implying that it is possible to identify the donor and recipient languages (Matras, 2019:148).

The distinction between borrowing and code-switching is most difficult to discern in cases where active bilinguals alternate between meaning-equivalent structures in two or more languages. On the other hand, the most straightforward example of borrowing occurs when an entire speech community adopts structures from another language following a gradual process of dissemination. Thus, the distinction between borrowing and code-switching can be viewed as a continuum. The clearest case of borrowing involves the regular use of a structure for its inherent meaning (rather than for conversational effect) by speakers who do not actively command the language that is the historical source of the structure (Matras, 2019).

Loanwords and lexical borrowings are not a typical feature of Hungarian prose since traditionally the language of literature is supposed to be the standard variety, while regional characteristics usually appear as a stylistic device (Cserniczkó & Hires, 2003:127). While it is true, that they predominantly appear in spoken language, Transcarpathian Hungarian literary works, similarly to the Hungarian literature in other countries where Hungarians live in minority, are not completely free from loanwords from the majority language, in our case Slavic, Ukrainian and Russian.

The way they are presented in the works varies from author to author. They can be either incorporated in the text of the novel without any explanation, or they can be highlighted in some way in the text, e.g. cursive, in brackets or in quotation marks and explained right after, or translated in the endnotes.

In the following part of the thesis, I wish to present the collection of Slavic loanwords from the analysed novels. The articles are structured according to the following principle: the loanword is presented in its original form in Hungarian, followed by what part of speech it is. Then comes its meaning in English and its original Slavic form together with whether it is a Ukrainian or Russian word. Finally, examples of its usage are presented from the literary works that were analysed both in Hungarian and in English.

#### **4.4.1. Direct loanwords**

As was already discussed in the second chapter, the majority of loanwords in Transcarpathian Hungarian are direct loanwords. These predominantly appear in the spoken language and rarely sound foreign to the majority of Transcarpathian speakers of Hungarian. But they are not part of the standard Hungarian lexicon, thus the

monolingual Hungarian reader or one who is not familiar with the Transcarpathian variety might find it difficult to understand these in either the spoken or written language. Probably due to this, loanwords are not typically found in fine literature, but Transcarpathian literary works, just as any other Hungarian literature that was created outside the borders of Hungary, still contain them, mainly as a stylistic device. After all, if they are part of everyday communication, it would be difficult to reproduce an authentic-like Transcarpathian milieu entirely without them.

Below, I aimed to present the direct loanwords I found in the novels, in alphabetic order, together with their translation, explanation, and the sentences they appeared in together with their English translations.

Finally, it is indicated whether the given word is included in any of the local Hungarian scientific collections and, if so, the source is also indicated. In the Transcarpathian Hungarian scientific literature, two collections contain loanwords typical of the region: *A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások szótára* [The Dictionary of Transcarpathian Hungarian Dialects hereinafter KMNySz] and *A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* [The Atlas of Transcarpathian Hungarian Dialects hereinafter KMNyA]. The former was published in two volumes, the first in 2012, and the second in 2013, both edited by Péter Lizanec as chief editor and Katalin Horváth as editor. The dictionary is one of the most important results of dialectological research carried out for several decades at the Department of Hungarian Philology of the Uzhhorod National University. The work on the dictionary dates back to the 1960s. In the 1970s, its publication was already on the horizon, but it was delayed, and the material of the dictionary was continuously expanded during this time (Tóth, 2015:93). KMNyA is a three-volume collection edited by Péter Lizanec, the first volume of which was published in 1992, the second in 1996, and the third in 2003. Its data collection began in the 1970s and ended in the early 1990s (Tóth, 2006:106). The atlas contains almost exclusively lexical and semantic maps of collected data. Collections of loanwords from the works of Anita Márku (2013) and Vilmos Gazdag (2021) were also reviewed. In addition to these, the collection of the Termini Research Network was also reviewed (Péntek, 2009). The research network carries out collection work, which records the loanwords of Hungarian speakers beyond the borders of Hungary in the so-called “Ht-list” (*határon túli* means over the border). This collection is freely accessible to anyone from the website of the research network (URL1). It has been accessible since 2007 and the collected loanwords are mainly used by Hungarian minority communities in the

Carpathian Basin outside Hungary (Benő et al., 2020; Cserniczkó & Márku, 2021; Cserniczkó et al., 2022:146; Máté et al., 2022).

In the following paragraph, we can see some examples of direct loanwords from Slavic languages in the novels. For the full collection of direct borrowings collected in the novels see the Appendix.

**akuserka** n. – ‘midwife’ <Ukr., Rus. акушерка – Nem választhatok a kettő között, nem szállhatok szembe a hajdani *akuserkák* szigorával, azóta sem bírok természetfeletti erővel (Berniczky, 2007:85). [ I can't choose between the two, I can't face the strictness of the old *akusherka*s, and since then I don't have supernatural power either.] ; Az *akuserka* másodpercek alatt átszabta előttem a poros utcát, jókora darabot foglalt el és vágott le belőle (Berniczky, 2007:96). [ The *akusherka* crossed the dusty street in front of me in seconds, occupying and cutting off a large chunk of it.] ; ...és csak akkor jutottak eszébe hajdani szülési fájdalmai, amikor világra segítette mindenki más gyerekét, közben azonban elfelejtette az akuserka-szentem, hogy évtizedekig visszatartott vajúdása alatt felnöttem a testében,...(Berniczky, 2007:200). [ ...and she remembered her former birth pains when she helped everyone else's child into the world, but in the meantime, my saintly *akusherka* forgot that I grew up in her body during the decades of her delayed labor...].

**blatnoj** adj. – ‘informal cool, a cool person (informal) who knows what to do and how to behave, usually considered popular by others.’ < Rus. блатной – A fiúk *blatnojok* voltak, nejlonszatyorbán hoták a füzeteiket, a zsíros kenyeret, közte piros paprika (Brenzovics, 2010: 28). [The boys were *blatnoj*, they carried their notebooks and bread and lard with red pepper in nylon bags], *Blatnoj* vagy? – egy fiú hasba öklözte, a *blatnoj* összegörnyedt, sárba esett a fehér nejlonszatyra. – Most mit tettél? – rámutatott a sáros szatyorra. – *Blatnoj* vagy, nem? Minek neked tiszta szatyor (Brenzovics, 2010:28)? [ Are you *Blatnoj*? – a boy punched him in the stomach, the *blatnoj* bent over and fell into the mud on the white nylon bag. – What did you do now? – He pointed to the muddy bag. – You're *Blatnoj*, aren't you? – Why would you need a clean bag?] Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:84.

**dácsa** n. – ‘holiday home, resort, weekend house’ < Ukr., Rus. дача – Elhagyva a várost, a domb aljából kinöttek az egyforma ronda *dácsák*, szürkén, feltartóztathatatlanul kísérték. (Berniczky 2007:10). [Leaving the city, from the bottom

of the hill emerged the same ugly *dachas*, gray and inexorably accompanied me.] Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:89.

**elektricska** n. – ‘electric train’ <Ukr., Rus. *электричка* – Végül ott, ahol már elfogyott a peron, eltűnt az őrbódé, a forgalmista, a lámpák, és kinyílt a mező, az *elektricska* utolsó ránált (Berniczky, 2007:10). [Finally, where the platform ended, the sentry box, the traffic controller, and the lights disappeared, and the field opened, the *electriczka* twitched for the last time.]; Ingerülten lengette sárga zászlóját, küldte tovább a vonatot, vinné el a rosseb a részeg urával együtt, ilyenkorra mindig leissza magát az az állat, ő meg helyettesítheti, mert ez az átkozott *elektricska*, ha néhány óras késéssel is, előbb vagy utóbb megérkezik (Berniczky, 2007:11). [She waved her yellow flag irritably, sent the train on, the hell would take it along with its drunken master, that animal always gets drunk by this time, and she can replace him, because this damn *electriczka*, even if it's a few hours late, will arrive sooner or later.]; Közöttük futott a fekete pálya, amelyen most már az *elektricska* írta le az iszonyatos köhögés, vartyogás, harákolás útvonalát (Berniczky, 2007:41). [Between them ran the black track, on which the *electriczka* now ran the route of the terrible coughing, wheezing, and hacking.]; Az elsők között kászálódhatott le az *elektricskáról*, így érhetett nálam kicsivel korábban az iskola elé (Berniczky, 2007:97). [She was one of the first to get off the *electriczka*, so she got to the school a little earlier than me.] Also collected in: KMNySzi/209, Ht-list, Márku, 2013: 240, Gazdag, 2021:93.

**fortocska** n. – ‘fortochka (a small ventilation window)’ <Ukr., Rus. *форточка* – ...amikor Nyina Mikolajovna örege félórát járhatja a Zaporozsecét és ez a kivénhedt csotrogány bepufogja hozzám a világ összes bőzét a nyitott *fortocskán* át (Berniczky, 2007:115). [...when Nyina Mikolajovna’s old man runs the engine of the Zaporozhets for half an hour and this decrepit old vehicle shoves all the smells in the world at me through the open *fortochka*]. Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:94.

**usánka** n. – ‘ushanka, a Russian hat made from fur with ear-covering flaps that can be tied up on the top of the hat, or fastened under the chin to protect the ears from the cold.’ <Ukr., Rus. *ушанка* – Ha térdig ér a szemét, a drob, usánka, dusambe, a portásnő (Brenzovics, 2010:30)? [If the rubbish is knee-deep, the drob, usánka, dusambe, the doorwoman.] Also collected in: KMNyAI/329, KMNySziII/373, Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:138.

From the collection of direct loanwords found in the novels, it can be seen that most of them are nouns, with only one or two adjectives appearing among them. It is in line with the Transcarpathian Hungarian linguistic literature, as the local researchers also showed that loanwords are predominantly nouns with very few verbs among them. The texts of the novels therefore reflect scientific observation. Most of the direct loanwords collected from novels are also included in previous collections, but there were also some that could not be found in any previous professional work. Based on this, it can be concluded that it is possible to consider the text of the novels as a linguistic corpus since the use of some Transcarpathian loanwords has also been identified and demonstrated.

#### **4.4.2. Name usage: personal, newspaper and geographical names**

The Slavic influence can also be traced in the use of names in Transcarpathian Hungarians. In Transcarpathia, according to Eastern Slavic custom, Hungarians are also registered with a three-element name, family name, first name, and paternal name. (Beregszászi & Cserniczkó, 2003b:153-163), and Hungarian names are also written in Cyrillic letters in all personal documents in accordance with the Ukrainian script (Beregszászi & Cserniczkó 2003c:163–169). It is inevitable that their use is not restricted to official documents but they are also frequently used in the Transcarpathian Hungarian vernacular. Their verbal use can also be understood as a kind of metaphorical code-switching since it can also be interpreted as the linguistic representation of the majority culture's tradition in addressing people (Gazdag, 2023:128).

The peculiarity of the use of names in Slavic is that in the case of acquaintances or well-known people, the paternal name often takes over the role of the surname, and the specific person is identified by it. There were numerous examples of this in the analysed literary works. Another way to incorporate Slavic in the names of people appearing in literary works is to create fictional characters whose names define or determine them in some way. This applies to geographical names as well and can explain why the author decided to use the Slavic word instead of the Hungarian name for the same village.

Some examples of name usage include the following:

**Anfiszka** – ‘Anfiska’ < Ukr. Анфіска, Rus. Анфиска – Nickname for the first name Анфиса. (Berniczky, 2007:160).

**Anton Karlovics** – ‘Anton Karlovych first name and paternal name’ < Rus. АНТОН Карлович [Kovács, 1965].

**Bahcsiszeraj** – ‘Bakhchysarai’ < Ukr., Rus. Бахчисарай, (a town in Crimea. It is the administrative center of the Bakhchysarai district). – ...arcomhoz egészen közel olvadnak a jégcsapok, talán csalóka képzet növesztette az ereszre pillájukat, valójában szememre ereszkedtek a kemény tél beálltakor, megakasztva a folyó időt, a szökőkút keringését *Bahcsiszerájban*, ahol először érintettelek...(Berniczky, 2007:166). [the icicles are melting very close to my face, perhaps a false imagination raised their eyelashes on the eaves, in fact they fell on my eyes when the harsh winter set in, stopping the flow of time, the circulation of the fountain in *Bakhchysarai*, where I touched you for the first time...].

**Csornoholova** – ‘Chornoholova’ < Ukr. Чорноголова (a village in Velykyi Bereznyi Region, Transcarpathia, Ukraine. Its Hungarian name is Sóhát.) – Köröket, kacsaringókat rajzolni, pálcikákat húzni még a szülőfalujában, *Csornoholován* megtanították, a betűket felismerte az istenadta, a különböző formák találkozásakor azonban megszakadt a tudománya. (Berniczky, 2007:26) [She was taught to draw circles, squiggles, and sticks in her village, *Chornoholova*; the pathetic she was, she recognized the letters, but her knowledge was interrupted when she encountered the meeting of different shapes].

**Ernesztovics** – ‘Ernestovych h, paternal name’ < Ukr., Rus. Ернесиович [Berniczky, 2007].

**Fegyir** – ‘Fedyr, a common Ukrainian first name’ < Ukr. Федір [Berniczky, 2007].

**István Istvánovics** – ‘Ishtvan Ishtvanovych, the Slavic usage of an otherwise obviously Hungarian name, as both the person’s first and paternal names are the Hungarian version of the name István. Slavic would have been Ivan Ivanovych (Іван Іванович) for a Ukrainian person, Stepan Stepanovych (Степан Степанович) for a Russian.’ [Kovács, 1965]

**Kamenyica** – name that originates from the Slavic ‘stone, rock’ < Rus. камень n. with a suffix ‘ica’ appended to words to create a feminine noun, commonly used for forming diminutives. [Berniczky, 2007].

**Krím** – ‘Crimea’ < Ukr., Rus. Крым, (a peninsula in Ukraine). – március nyolcadikán (hiány) amikor megérkeztem, csak akkor vettem észre, hogy nincs a helyén, mintha a *krími* meleggel illant volna el,...(Berniczky, 2007:184). [when I

arrived on the eighth of March (absence), I only then did I notice that it was out of place, as if it had disappeared with the *Crimean* heat,...].

**Kolja** – Nickname for the Slavic first name, in the current example probably the Russian version < Ukr. Микола, Rus. Николай. [Brenzovics, 2010:24].

**Kolomeja** – ‘Kolomyia’ < Ukr. Коломїя, Rus. Коломья, (Kolomea is the former name of the city located on the Prut River in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Ukraine.) – *Kolomeja* alatt volt, az egyik faluban. (Kovács, 1965:20) [It happened near *Kolomeya*, in one of the villages].

**Kozlov** – surname derived from the Russian word козёл meaning ‘goat’. [Kovács, 1965]

**Lityerturnaja Gazeta** – ‘Literature Gazette’ < Rus. Литературная газета – augusztus tizenötödikén (a postás) nem hozta a *Lityerturnaja Gazetát*, újság nélkül zörgetett be,... (Berniczky, 2007:22) [on the fifteenth of August (the postman) did not bring *Lityerturnaja Gazeta*, he knocked without a newspaper].

**Lenin** – Rus. ЛÉНИН was a Russian revolutionary, politician, and political theorist. [Brenzovics, 2010:13].

**Mokrinka** – name that originates from the Slavic ‘wet’ < Rus. мокра adj. with a diminutive suffix ‘inka’ appended to the word to create a feminine adjective. [Berniczky, 2007]

**Morozov** – Rus. Морозов, or his full name Pavel Trofimovich Morozov was a Soviet youth praised by the Soviet press as a martyr [Brenzovics, 2010:13].

**Nádja** – Nickname for Slavic first name < Ukr. Надїя Rus. Надежда [Brenzovics, 2010:23].

**Nyina Mikolajovna** – ‘Nina Mykolajovna, first name and paternal name’ < Rus. Нина Николаевна [Berniczky, 2007].

**Sirokov** – Slavic Surname [Brenzovics, 2010:24].

**Szimeiz** – ‘Simeiz’ < Ukr. Сімеїз, Rus. Симеиз (a resort town in Yalta, Crimea.) – november huszadikán (rákpástétom) holnap elutazom a tengerhez, *Szimeizbe*, ahol a szanatóriumokban büntetlenül keverednek a testek,...(Berniczky, 2007:154). [on the twentieth of November (crab pate), tomorrow I will go to the sea, to *Simeiz*, where bodies can mix with impunity in sanatoriums,...] ; január nyolcadikán (gleccser) belém költözött a kérlelhetetlen *szimeizi* tél, szétáradt tagjaimban a hidege,...(Berniczky, 2007:162). [On the eighth of January (glacier), the relentless *Simeiz* winter moved into me, the cold spread through my limbs,...]

**Szimferopol** – ‘Simferopol’ < Ukr. Сімферополь, Rus. Симферополь (the second-largest city on the Crimean Peninsula.) – ...odahaza, ahová nagyokat rándulva elindul velem a hosszú szerelvény, amelynek homályos ablakából *Szimferopolt* akarom látni a maga bonyolultságában,...(Berniczky, 2007:168). [...back home, where the long train takes off with big jerks with me, from the dim window of which I want to see *Simferopol* in all its complexity,...].

**Sztarij Szambor** – ‘Saryi Sambir’< Ukr. Старий Самбір, Rus. Старый Самбор (Saryi Sambir is a city in Lviv Oblast of western Ukraine, near the Polish border.) – *Sztarij Szambor*, vagy hogy hívják. Még kimondani is nehéz. (Kovács, 1965:28) [*Sztarij Szambor*, or what its name is. It is difficult even to pronounce.]

**Szvitelszkij** – name that originates from the Slavic word for ‘light’< Ukr. світло n. with the addition of the Russian suffix ‘szkij’ < Rus. –ский used to form adjectives from nouns or sometimes other adjectives, often relational like -ian, -ic, -ish in English. [Berniczky, 2007].

**Tolik** – nickname of the name Anatoly < Ukr. Анатолій, Rus. Анатолий [Kovács, 1965].

**Vaszilij Iljics Belov** – ‘a full name in Russian, first name, paternal name, and surname’ < Rus. Василий Ильич Белов [Kovács, 1965].

**Vlagyik** – Nickname for Slavic first name < Ukr. Володимир, Rus. Владимир [Brenzovics, 2010:50].

**Zsitomir** – ‘Zhytomyr’< Ukr., Rus. Житомир (Zhytomyr is a city in the north of the western half of Ukraine.) – Szóval, *Zsitomir* alatt történt. (Kovács, 1965:20) [So, it happened near *Zsitomir* ]

As we can see in the highlighted examples, the use of geographical names creates an atmosphere that indicates where the story takes place. Although we are reading a Hungarian novel, it is evident to the reader that the events do not take place in Hungary.

In the area of name usage, we can see that the Slavic, three-element name usage forms that were forced on the Hungarians by the Soviet system were also included in the works of fiction. They often had to be used even in Hungarian conversations in formal situations, offices, and educational institutions. It was common for Hungarian names to be registered as their Slavic equivalents in birth certificates, and for the same person to have different names, alternating between the Slavic and Hungarian equivalents (Máté & Cserniczkó, 2020:69). *István Istvánovics* or *Sztyepan*

*Sztyetpániovcs* is an excellent example of this name usage, as the first name and patronymic are actually both the same name, but the former is in the Hungarian form while the latter is the Slavic equivalent, illustrating the forced nature of this type of name usage (Csernicskó et al., 2023: 111–117).

### 4.4.3. Loan-translations

Loan-translations are loanwords created through translation, based on a second language model (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003:136). These are a kind of indirect loanwords, as they are elements of foreign origin that enter the language through translation or borrowing of their meaning.

**keserű** adj. ‘bitter (in the meaning of hot and spicy)’ < Ukr. гіркий Rus. горький – A konyak csípős. Érdekes. Az orosz azt mondja erre, hogy *keserű*. *Keserű* a konyak, keserű a csípős paprika (Kovács, 1965:34). [Cognac is spicy. Interesting. Russians say that it is bitter. Cognac is bitter, hot peppers are bitter.]

**megőrzés** n. ‘preservation (to halt premature labour)’ < Ukr. збереження, Rus. сохранение – “*Megőrzésem*”, ahogyan a bába nevezte, kísértetiesen megismétlődött, kivéve a hajdani hetek folyamatos zuhanását (Berniczky, 2007:96). [My ‘*preservation*’, as the midwife called it, was eerily repetitive, except for the erstwhile weekly fall].

### 4.4.4. Brands

Although not considered to be loanwords in the traditional sense, the presence of Slavic brand names in a Hungarian linguistic environment undeniably creates a multilingual linguistic experience. In the following part, I aim to provide a list of brand names that appeared in the novels together with the explanation of their meaning and the linguistic environment they appeared in.

**Kamaz.:** Is an acronym from Russian Камский Автомобильный Завод – КАМАЗ. The plant is a Russian manufacturer of trucks, buses, and engines. – ...ma dolgom akadt a nagyvárosban, s ahogyan mindig, Pavellal utaztam, aki a kivénült *Kamazsal* követ szállít a közeli bányából,... (Berniczky, 2007:35). [...today I had some business in the big city, and as always, I travelled with Pavel, who transports stone from the nearby mine with the old *Kamaz*,...].

**Kazbek:** A brand of cigarettes made in the USSR. – Valko például csak leningrádi gyártmányú *Kazbeket* szív (Kovács, 1965:179). [Valko, for example, smokes only Leningrad-made Kazbeks]

**Pázik:** Derived from PAZ-3205 with a diminutive suffix ‘ik’. PAZ-3205 is a common Soviet midibus model. – A két irányból nyíló, ki-be lengő ajtón időnként eszeveszett cuppogás, szürcsölés hallatszott ki, klór keveredett a csizmák erőszakosabb kipárolgásába, s a közben felszabaduló záptojásszag ráérősen telepedett rá a kinti környezetre, törött padokra, a fagyaltárus rozsdás hűtőládájára, a hörgő, levegőért kapkodó *Pázikokra* (Berniczky, 207:117). [From the door swinging in and out from both directions, frantic knocking and slurping could be heard from time to time, the smell of chlorine mixed with the more violent evaporation of the boots, and the smell of rotten eggs released in the meantime settled on the outside environment, broken benches, the rusty refrigerator of the ice cream vendor, the growling *Páziks* gasping for air.]

**Pektuszin:** A trademark of a Russian medicinal product with the composition of eucalyptus oil and menthol. – Bár a mezítláb kiszaladó lánykának mind gyakrabban kapart a toroka, nem segített rajta a kanalas orvosság, önthették belé literszám a *Pektuszint*, életre szólóan berekedt (Berniczky, 207:144). [Although the girl running out barefoot kept having a sore throat more and more often, the draught did not help her, they could have poured several liters of *Pectusin* into her, she became hoarse for life].

**Szemipalatinszki:** Semi-smoked sausage, the color of the minced meat is dark red, the taste is spicy-salty, garlicky. – A falánk mozdonyvezetőből lett asztalos eleinte valóban imádta hitvesét szagolgatni, megőrült a nyershús kirolgásáért, de rövidesen megcsömörlött, kezét szűkülő gyomrára szorította, s keserves képpel folyton azon rágódott, ugyan milyen irtózatos bunt követett el, hogy vezeklésként, amíg él, a *Szemipalatinszkit* rágcsálhatja (Berniczky, 207:105). [At first, the gluttonous train driver-turned-carpenter really loved sniffing his wife, he went crazy for smell of the raw meat, but he soon became cloyed with it, he pressed his hand on his shrinking stomach, and with a bitter expression he kept thinking about what a hideous crime he had committed, that as penance he could chew on the *Semipalatinsky* as long as he lived.].

**Szputnyik:** Russian satellite. – És tudod, mit jelent ez a negyven perc? Azt, hogy egy *szputnyik* ezalatt majdnem megkerüli a Földet (Kovács, 1965:42). [And do you know what forty minutes means? That a Sputnik will almost circle the Earth during that time].

**Sztolicsnaja:** Stolichnaya is a vodka made in the USSR. It is made of wheat and rye grain. – Valami rejtélyes sugallatra azonban időben megtalálta őket, még mielőtt kiderülhetett volna, a *Sztolicsnaját* kevesellte-e, vagy egyszerűen a helyzeten kívánt változtatni (Berniczky, 2007:179). [However, due to some mysterious intuition, he found them in time, before it was possible to find out whether he was considering the *Stolichnaya* too little, or simply wanted to change the situation]. Éhes voltam, lejöttem a dombról, vettem pálinkát, *sztolicsnoje*, zöld üveges, gyorsan kihánytam (Brenzovics, 2010:29). [I was hungry, I came down the hill, I bought palinka, *stolichnoje*, green bottled, I threw it up quickly].

**Verhovina:** A brand of Soviet mopeds produced by the Lviv Motor Plant. – Azontúl éktelenül berregő Verhovináján kívül nem ért fel mást (Berniczky, 2007:99). [From then on, he could not reach up to anything but his indecently buzzing Verhovina].

**Verhovina:** A brand of cigarettes made in the USSR. – *Verhovinát* szív (Kovács, 1965:32)? [Do you smoke verchovina?]

**Volga:** The Volga is an executive car that originated in the Soviet Union. – Mint ahogy te is, ha ki akarnád cserélni ezt a tragacs kocsidat, nem konflist vennél helyette, hanem *Volgát*, mert az szebb, job és gyorsabb, fiam, gyorsabb (Kovács, 1965:40). [Just like you, if you wanted to change your car, you wouldn't buy a carriage, but a *Volga*, because it's nicer, better and faster, son, faster].

**Zaporozsec:** ZAZ Zaporozhets was a series of rear-wheel-drive city cars made in Soviet Ukraine. –...amikor Nyina Mikolajovna örege félórát járhatja a *Zaporozsecét* és ez a kivénhedt csotrogány bepufogja hozzám a világ összes bőzét a nyitott fortocskán át (Berniczky, 2007:115). [...when Nyina Mikolajovna's old man runs the engine of the *Zaporozhets* for half an hour and this decrepit old vehicle shoves all the smells in the world at me through the open fortocchka].

Artistic or literary style simultaneously elevates the style to artistic while drawing from the same set of linguistic elements as non-artistic style types. The effect of literary works, and within that the stylistic effects, do not increase by increasing the number of linguistic elements, but by means of connotations, i.e. by doubling their meaning and role (Szikszainé, 2007:665).

The individual literary style, while it means the unique use of linguistic signs, naturally includes general ones as well as unique linguistic and stylistic features. Such unique elements are brand names and geographical and proper names from the regional language use that may appear in a literary work. Their function is to indicate that

although the novel is in Hungarian, the location is different, somewhat exotic, outside Hungary. These linguistic elements and stylistic devices help the author to use one language, here Hungarian, to evoke the multilingual reality in which the novel's characters exist. In this way, literature not only describes and reflects the multilingual environment but also creates a multicultural, multilingual world on the pages of the book, the fictional description is at the same time a reproduction and interpretation of this reality in which the writers live.

#### **4.5. Code-switching in the novels**

Bilingualism literature considers the phenomenon of code-switching to be one of the characteristics of bilingualism. It usually serves either to express identity and roles within the group or is a means of signalling a change in the situation (Csernicskó, 2003.b:121). Linguistic research specifically investigating the phenomenon of code-switching in Subcarpathian Hungarian came to the conclusion that "code-switching in the Hungarian-speaking community of Subcarpathia is rarely typical in situations where Hungarians are talking to Hungarians" (Csernicskó, 2003.b:122). When Hungarians do use code-switching in their conversations with other Hungarians it is usually a quotation of a previous dialogue in a different language, thereby supporting what they say and validating it at the same time (Csernicskó, 2003.b:123).

It is not surprising that the examples of code-switching in Transcarpathian Hungarian literary works are also a scarce phenomenon, and they predominantly appear in the form of quotations. These quotations always appear transliterated, according to the pronunciation in the original Slavic language, but with Latin letters. This way they can be read by the monolingual Hungarian reader, but they reflect the multilingual environment. In most cases, as we will see in the examples below, writers translate the embedded foreign utterances either immediately or later in the text in Hungarian as well. Some examples of code-switching include the following:

*... a vállamon lógó táskámmal elsodortam ... with my bag hanging on my shoulder I  
kezeből édes fegyverét, a prjányikok swept his sweet weapon out of his hand,  
szanaszét szóródtak, gurultak a porban, s the prjaniks [honey biscuits] scattered and  
akkor úgy sajnáltam meg, ahogyan rolled in the dust, and at that moment I  
magamat szoktam, ha megfosztanak a was so sorry for him as I usually am for*

*következő édes falattól, **oj pardontye**, myself when I am deprived of the next  
szóltam hátra, igyekeztem összezavarni, ne sweet bite, **oh pardontye** [oh, I beg your  
is sejtse, milyen nyelven kértem pardon], I said back, I tried to confuse  
bocsánatot... (Bernizcky, 2007:21). him, so he wouldn't even surmise in what  
language I apologized ...*

It is evident from the situation that pardontye is a form of saying sorry. It is not an existing word; it is the author's hapax legomenon combining the words pardon and Russian izvinite.

Another example is:

*...beleszedegtettem a mocsokból a mézes ... I collected the honey biscuits from the  
puszedliket, s amikor azzal, hogy **holubi** dirt, and with the words **holubi budut**  
**buduty gracijnyi**, visszaadtam a megtelt **gratziyni** [the pigeons will be grateful], I  
zsákot, rám mosolygott, majd hangosan returned the full bag, he smiled at me,  
kinevetett, szerintem nem hallhatta, vagy then laughed at me aloud, I think he could  
nem értette, mit is mondok, így aztán not hear or could not understand what I  
kénytelen voltam megmutatni neki a hálás was saying, so I was forced to show him  
galambokat a templom oldalánál the grateful pigeons on the stone cross at  
magasodó kőfeszületen, mert láttam ezen a the side of the church, because I saw it on  
kiéhezett mackón, mindenképpen a this hungry teddy bear, I definitely need to  
madarak elé kell szóratnom vele a zacskó have him scatter the contents of the bag in  
tartalmát, különben maga falja be a poros front of the birds, otherwise he will  
prjányikokat. (Bernizcky, 2007:21). engorge the dirty pryaniks himself.*

Here it is obvious from the context that the author refers to grateful birds. The word gratziyni is again a hapax legomenon created by the author which sounds as if it belonged to a Slavic language.

In one case, the code switching is appears in the Hungarian text without being explained further in the novel:

*...ha mégis, tetted hozzá, akkor meg ...and if you are, he added, then it doesn't  
teljesen mindegy, rajtunk már nem segít az matter, the **acetylsalicylovaya kislota***

*acetyilszalicilovaja kizslota sem [acetylsalicylic acid] won't help us either.*  
(Berniczky, 2007:163).

*Acetyilszalicilovaja kizslota* is the transliteration of the Russian acetylsalicylic acid, or aspirin, but it is only explained to the readers in the endnotes.

While in the above examples the code-switching parts were not highlighted in any way in the text, the examples below are both cursivated, and explained in Hungarian right after they appear in transliteration:

*...amikor pedig a harmadik társ is kilépett, and when the third companion also jól érthetően mondta, többek között azt, stepped out, he said clearly, among other hogy **pa vszej ververajátnasztyi**, minden things, that **pa vsej ververajtnazti** [in all valószínűség szerint (Penckófer, 2002:7)... probability], in all probability,;*

*de mivel hármójuk közül az egyik azon but since one of the three immediately nyomban benyitott hozzá és azt mondta, stepped back inside to him and said, **igyom, zákúrim**, gyerünk, gyújtson rá... **igyom, zákúrim** [come on, let's have a (Penckófer, 2002:8)... smoke], come on, let's have a smoke...;*

*szóval, vigyázzon, de **tő szmatri!**, nézd ... so, be careful, but **tő smatri!** [look!], már!, csak nem Kőbánya-Kispest look!, is it not Kőbánya-Kispest coming következik hamarosan.. (Penckófer, soon... 2002:9)*

*...a térről átkiáltottak neki, hogy héé, **igyi** they shouted to him from the square that **szjudá**, gyere ide és így, ezen a nyelven... hey, **idyi sjudá** [come here], come here (Penckófer, 2002:77) and like that, in this language;*

*...ugyanis a Sunlightban várják őket, ...because they are waiting for them in the **váprasző resájutszá gyengámi**, a Sunlight, **vaprasző resájutsza gyengámi** fölmerülő kérdéseket pénzzel lehet [the issues that arise can be solved with megoldani, mondta... (Penckófer, 2002:77) money], the issues that arise can be solved with money, he said...*

*hogy ő is a külső körbe tartozik, kudá ta náda csiszlyityyszjá, az embernek valahová tartoznia kell... (Penckófer, 2002:77)*      *that he also belongs to the outer circle, kudá ta náda csiszlyityyszjá [a person has to belong somewhere], a person has to belong somewhere...*

Some of these conversations are retold by the main character to himself, other parts to an unknown or imagined person in a mental institution, where the main character ends up eventually. In these utterances the main character is in a conversation with the supposedly Russian characters. But in one instance the main character, Hamuth Ernő speaks with an old friend, who is somehow connected to his tormentors and tries to confront him about his relationship with them. Here, we can see a Hungarian to Hungarian interaction with a Russian code-switching, similar to the others in the novel:

*... Szaniszló számára is megragadható, hogy mondjuk, mi köze van neki ahhoz a három oroszhoz, kiket az újság is bemutatott, v kákih átnásenyijáh, ha így milyen viszonyban állnak egymással ők és a Sunlight... (Penckófer, 2002:54)*      *It is understandable even for Saniszló to say, what does he have to do with the three Russians that the newspaper also presented, v kákih átnásenyijáh [what kind of relationship], if you understand it better - he said and chuckled - what kind of relationship do they have with the Sunlight...*

But in some cases, the writer does not include a translation for the monolingual reader, like in the following sentence:

*...a szomszédomtól, Nyina Mikolajovnától hallottam, goszpogyi pomiluj, portörő ronggyal tömte be a száját, mert megrendelője elmulasztotta felvilágosítani a profi betörőt... (Berniczky, 2007:189).*      *... I heard from my neighbor, Nyina Mikolajovna, goszpogyi pomiluj [Lord have mercy], that he covered her mouth with a duster cloth because his client failed to inform the professional burglar ...*

‘Gospogyi pomiluj’ is part of a Slavic prayer meaning ‘Lord have mercy’, usually repeated in the prayer several times, but it can serve as filler during conversations in the Slavic culture.

The above examples are all quotations of fictional conversations in the novels while the following is not a typical example of code-switching. It is not part of a conversation, as the previous examples that mimicked the actual language use of the local people. This is rather a metaphoric code-switching that according to Gazdag (2023:129) serves as expressing the attitude or relationship to one's own language or to the foreign/second language or to its speakers. Additionally, the context of such utterances can have a symbolic meaning. In the following monologue the inbedded Russian words seem to fall into the category of metaphoric code-switching:

*Negyvenötben, amikor ott járt, már nem húztak semmit, de ötszáz pengőért orosz-magyar fonetikus kézisótárt lehetett kapni, beszédgyakorlatokkal. Ilyenekkel, hogy: Tovariss, ja antifasiszt... (Kovács, 1965:226).* *In forty-five, when he was there, they no longer played any music, but for five hundred pengos you could get a Russian-speech exercises. With such as: Tovariss, ja antifasiszt [Comrade, I am an anti-fascist]...*

As it is indicated in the text itself, the last sentence is a phonetic transcription of the Russian utterance “Товарищ, я антифашист...”, or “Comrade, I am an anti-fascist...”.

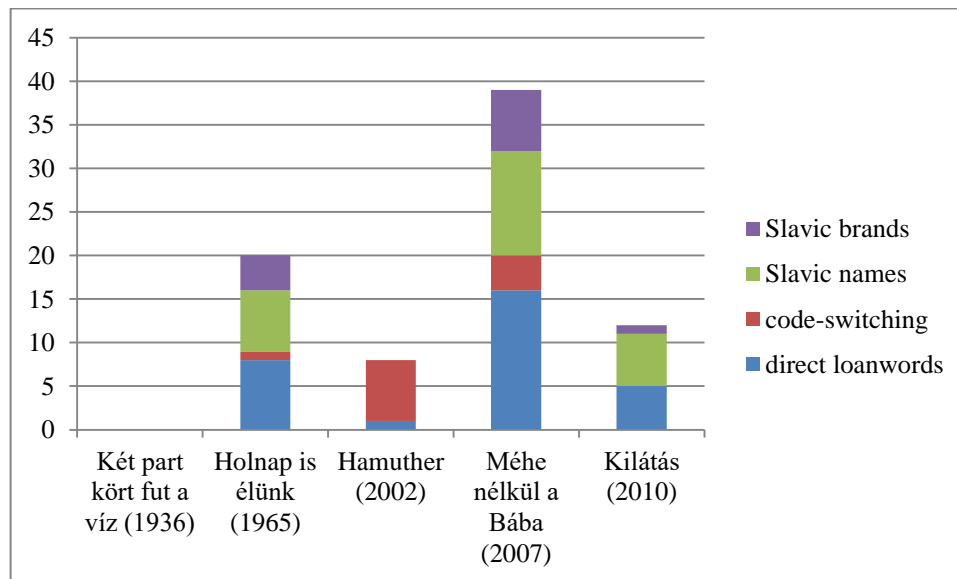
As a summary, it can be said that almost all of the examined authors use code-switching in their texts, despite the fact that this stylistic device cannot be included word by word in a novel that is mainly intended for monolingual readers who do not necessarily know the Slavic language. The fact that they still use this tool indicates that, on the one hand, code-switching is an integral part of Transcarpathian Hungarian language use, and if someone wants to portray it authentically, they cannot avoid code-switching. On the other hand, these are stylistic devices that make the text and style more authentic, exotic, unique, and interesting, and at the same time create and evoke the multilingual world that the writer wants to portray in the novel.

#### **4.6. Observations and preliminary conclusions in light of the results of the research**

Based on the previous subchapters we can see that various signs of multilingualism appeared in all of the novels. In order to see, if the third hypothesis was true, the author

decided to look at the data from another angle. At the beginning of the study, the researcher was positive that the amount of indicators that prove a multilingual environment would gradually increase as novels closer to the present will be examined. It seemed to be logical, that the longer the minority language was under the influence of a majority language, the more loanwords and code-switching appear

**Diagram 1.** The ammount of language contact effects in the novels



If we look at Diagram 1. we can see that this hypothesis did not turn out to be entirely true. Although the first novel investigated from the Czechoslovak period did not contain many visible elements of language contact, such as loanwords or any other lexical units of Slavic origin, the multilingual environment appeared in it in other ways. The linguistic landscape, especially its multilingual nature is emphasised in this novel several times. In the beginning, as the first Czech signs appeared in the streets, all the people believed the new rule, and being the minority to be temporary. Towards the end of the novel, we can read that monolingual signs started to disappear; people began to adapt to the changes and gradually made peace with the new situation.

The second book was chosen from the time of the Soviet regime, and it contained a large number of visual effects of language contact. Based on this, my hypothesis turned out to be not correct. It was the second-richest novel in contact effects, containing a large number of loanwords, Slavic names, brands, and even some code-switching. And, at the same time, in this novel, it was indicated several times that a conversation or monologue was taking place in the majority language, Russian, but it was presented in

monolingual Hungarian, probably in an attempt to make it more appealing to the monolingual Hungarian reader. However, the fact that loanwords are not explained either in the text or endnotes might suggest otherwise (the later republished version contains loanword explanations in the endnotes).

Although it was published after the dissolution of the USSR, Hamuther still bears the marks of Soviet rule. The plot of the novel is set around after the dissolution of the Soviet Union; several details refer to this from the episodes where the main character is paid in sugar or other indicators of the miserable economic conditions the main character is coming from. The setting of the novel is Hungary, and there are not any Slavic names or brands in this work. However, it is particularly rich in code-switching. These appear as quotes from the dialogues spoken earlier, they come up in the main character's monologues when he retells what happens to him throughout the story. It is in line with the natural appearance of Code-switching in everyday communication of multilingual speakers, as it was already detailed in previous subchapters on code-switching.

Surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of multilingual features appeared in the 2007 novel of Éva Berniczky, it contained the largest number of direct loanwords, Slavic names and brand names compared to the other investigated novels, as well as the second largest number of code-switches. But when looked at in the light of the plot of the book it becomes clear why it is so rich in multilingualism. The whole plot of the novel revolves around the translation of some texts. It is not stated, only implied that the fragments are probably in Rusyn, while one of the main characters, who wants them 'translated', is presumably Ukrainian, and the translator and first-person narrator of the story is the multilingual Hungarian. Interesting though that according to some experts, Rusyn is only a Ukrainian dialect, not a separate language, and even the narrator reflects on the translations at one point in the novel, as she does not understand, why she needs to translate them when the person ordering their translation might easily understand them well without her help.

The final novel is the closest to our present time, it was published in 2010. According to my hypothesis, it was supposed to contain the largest number of multilingual features, but the results of my study show otherwise. The answer to this probably lies in the fact that it is a postmodern literary work, and instead of linear storytelling, it uses a mosaic one, building up the text of the novel from story fragments and memories. Despite being published well after the dissolution of the USSR the majority language

effects all come from Russian. This can be explained by the autobiographic nature of the novel, and the fact that when the author was a child it was still in the soviet regime, thus her memories from her childhood must bear the marks of Russian instead of Ukrainian.

The hypothesis was not confirmed, but a conclusion can be drawn that since the appearance of language contact effects in texts is a stylistic device, their number does not primarily depend on the time of publication of the novel, but is instead related to the writing method and attitude used by the author. The fact that the majority of loanwords appearing in the analyzed works are nouns, just like in real speech, or that code-switching appears in the same situations on the pages of novels as in real-life language use, can be attributed to the fact that the writers also belong to the bilingual speaking community the members of which know the rules of language use, that is, they can converse in "Transcarpathian Hungarian", this bilingual way of speaking is part of their communicative competence. According to Grosjean (1982:127-130), when a bilingual speaks, they have to make a choice right away. First of all, they have to decide, analyzing the situation, whether to speak one or another language. Whichever language they choose, they are faced with another choice: whether or not to use code-switching from the other language. They also consider the situation in this case, whether they are dealing with a monolingual or bilingual person. The following idea is similar to the choice constraint described by Grosjean, which, although it was written about the use of the Hungarian language in America, is also valid in the Transcarpathian environment. The essence of bilinguals' speech is that they can converse in two languages. And we can observe certain regularities in the use of the two languages, their occasional mixing or alternation. An American Hungarian bilingual person tries to speak Hungarian when he talks to a monolingual Hungarian, while when he talks to an American who can only speak English, he tries to use only English. In the majority of cases, the influence of English can be felt in their Hungarian speech, and the influence of Hungarian in their English (Vázsonyi & Kontra, 1995:13). However, when English-Hungarian bilingual American Hungarians talk to each other, they can choose either English or Hungarian. It also depends on them whether they speak only in the chosen language, or whether they mix words and phrases from the other language into their speech, or they may use English and Hungarian alternately.

*„Mixing or alternating languages are more or less conscious processes. The interplay between the interlocutors, the topic, the goals to be achieved and other factors, as well as the bilingual individual's language skills, determine whether an utterance is English, Hungarian, or mixed” (Vázsonyi & Kontra, 1995:13).*

When these novels were created, each writer also had to make some difficult decisions. The characters in the novels live and move in a multilingual environment, they often meet multilingual speakers, so they can choose their own language. However, the authors use the contact effects only delicately and cautiously, since overall the novel is not only intended for bilingual readers but also primarily for monolingual readers in Hungary. That is why the appearance of contact effects in texts is always accompanied by some kind of compensation: they are translated, explained in footnotes, or written in Latin letters instead of the original Slavic.

To sum up the results, it can be stated that the novels under investigation yielded an ample amount of data to work with, some of which was foreseeable. In line with previous research on the topic (Gazdag, 2021:15), loanwords, which happen to be predominantly nouns, are the first contact effects to appear in a language, and they were the largest part of the language contact effects in the novels as well. Similarly, code-switching was less typical in the literary texts, just as they are not so frequent in real-life communication either, and are not a typical feature when Hungarians communicate with another Hungarian, just the same as these occurred in the novels.

#### **4.7. Questions of language and power, language shift vs. maintenance, assimilation in the novels**

As we can see in Chapter 2, language has traditionally been an effective tool in the hands of authorities to enforce power, and form an identity, and one can easily see how the questions of language shift or retention might affect the assimilation process of a minority group, so it was crucial to observe how these processes are tackled in the Hungarian minority novels. After all, literature is a perfect tool to communicate ideas to the masses, and it was especially suitable for this before the rise of mass communication, the Internet, and social media. Probably this is why these questions are tackled in an enhanced way in the first two books under investigation, and gradually disappear as we move forward in time.

*Két part közt fut a víz* has an undeniably rebellious tone not only concerning minority issues but political views (eg. communism) as well, which are in line with the author's own ideas and beliefs. The main character tries to defy the new rule, and travel without a passport, just as he did before the regime change. He also refuses to move to Hungary when he has the chance, he is adamant about staying in Transcarpathia despite the turbulent times. Despite being the descendant of Slavic ancestors (it is detailed when other characters contemplate his Slavic surname) he is determined to stay against all odds, and when he has to serve the new power as a soldier, he uses the Hungarian language to command, as if out of defiance, despite the fact that he himself is not used to it.

In *Holnap is élünk*, the focus shifts more towards the issue of language maintenance or shift. The main character's relation towards the majority language comes up several times during the novel, as he struggles to acquire it, then has difficulties using it, and ponders many times before starting a dialogue with someone about what language will he need to use or what will he say. He even presents his views on language shift and the connection between language and nationality. He tells the story of a friend who is Hungarian, works at a Hungarian newspaper as a translator, and talks Hungarian at home, but their children attend a Russian school and they don't want to speak in Hungarian at all. He does not condemn them openly and clearly, but from the heat of his monologue, the judgment against this behaviour and assimilation through it is obvious.

In a less striking way compared to the previous ones, *Hamu* also contains minority issues, but these are not related to the language itself. The question of emigration or staying at home appears from time to time in various light in the novel. On the one hand, the protagonist, who stays at home, is in constant conflict with his sister, who emigrated. On the other hand, while visiting friends who have also emigrated he revisits the idea of how and when they moved, and how they coped with being an immigrant in Hungary.

The last book to contain some accounts of the protagonist's relation to the majority language is *Kilátás*. In this novel, at least in the first part of it, we can read some excerpts from a fictitious biography of the main character, many elements of which can be paralleled with the author's life. At one point, the main character finds herself in a situation where she doesn't understand a word in the second language, but she doesn't say it out loud, she just mumbles it to herself but doesn't reflect on the fact any further.

From these examples, we can see that the attitudes towards language and power, language shift, and assimilation all appear in Transcarpathian works in Hungarian, despite the fact that they do not play a prominent role in them.

#### **4.8. The reception of the linguistic characteristics of the analyzed novels in the Hungarian literature of literary criticism**

It is interesting to observe how the critical reception of these literary works reacted to the language of the novels, and whether the criticisms and analyses of the novels reflect the specific multilingual language environment.

About Mihály Tamás' novel, contemporary criticism prefers to reflect emphatically on the novel's portrayal of society and social criticism, while language and the writer's attitude towards language have become more interesting for analysts looking back from today's perspectives. Adrienn Papp (2014) examines language as an identity-shaping factor in relation to the novel. She comes to the observation that in Mihály Tamás's novel, two types of attitude towards the majority language can be observed: on the one hand, the attitude of rejection and aversion to it, and on the other hand, the attitude of acceptance, which sees the mastery of the majority language as the key to survival. Papp points out that the minority human ideal embodied in the protagonist does not shy away from the Czech language, which is indicative, as it reveals that he now considers the political changes that have taken place to be permanent. At the same time, whatever language the characters speak in the pages of the work, the author always voices them in Hungarian. Papp comes to the conclusion that this also symbolizes the fragmented identity and that this duality is also present in the community (Papp, 2014).

Regarding the novel by Vilmos Kovács, it is important to note that the comparison of text versions curtailed due to the censorship of the time is more emphasized in the literary history and analytical writings dealing with the novel than the reflection on the multilingualism that emerges in the novel. For instance, details that approach the minority situation from the perspective of language were removed from the text, so for example the section on the situation of Hungarian schools was removed before the first publication in 1965, was not included in the second version, and it was omitted from the third, 2007 edition as well (Csordás 2014:15). Also the effect of the censorship is that one of the characters in the novel, who was originally called a 'Rusyn writer' by the

protagonist, turns into a Ukrainian who wrote in Russian in the 1965 edition, and into a Carpathian Ukrainian in the final versions (Csordás 2014:16).

In relation to János Penckófer's novel, the criticism highlights many of the writer's feats but does not respond to the multilingual environment of the novel, even though the interspersed foreign language elements are also valuable stylistic touches. The multilingual language environment here is limited to interactions with foreign characters since the novel is not set in Transcarpathia, the work takes place entirely in Hungary, and the language is the standard Hungarian version, which is only occasionally coloured by interspersed Russian code-switching. In all cases, immediately after they occur, the narrator translates them into Hungarian for the reader within the text.

In the critical reception of Marianna Brenzovics's novel, the reflection on the mixed language takes on a more prominent role, although in the case of this work as well, the Transcarpathian analysts put more emphasis on highlighting it. László Csordás (2014b, 2020), Gergely Marcsák (2020) and János Penckófer (2019) also highlight the peculiar mixed language of the novel, in which sometimes Russian, other times Ukrainian, or even not identifiable Slavic elements have been added, and the recognition or non-recognition of these designates the place of the work in the cultural space for the recipient. The Transcarpathian readers of the novel clearly recognize their own environment on the pages of the novel, even at the level of language use. Penckófer (2019:241) and Csordás (2014:70) both reach the same conclusion that the inclusion of Russian-Ukrainian slang words, typical dialectal forms and geographical locations all link the work to the Hungarian minority community in Transcarpathia, and they state that these words are stylistic elements that help create the referentiality of the novel.

The multilingual world depicted in the novel did not escape the attention of the critics and analysts of Berniczky's novel, but here too, similarly to the previously mentioned book, it can be observed that predominantly the authors from across the border bring this aspect into their analyses. Krisztina Temető states (2009) that Éva Berniczky's writings combine the spirit, worldview, linguistic and religious culture and specificity of the peoples and ethnic groups living in Transcarpathia, while her works are also integrated into Hungarian culture. Éva Toldi (2007) explains in detail the effect of the Slavic elements built into the text of the novel. She finds names particularly interesting in the novel. She says: "Even readers familiar with Slavic languages cannot determine exactly whether they are real or invented names. Based on their sound, they

could even be real, but some of the names are so telling that we get suspicious.” (Toldi 2007:80). Quite a few alienating effects are therefore concentrated in the naming, at the same time inhibiting acceptance, and on the other hand, enveloping the world of the novel with an aura of foreignness and coldness (Toldi 2007:80-81). This statement is rather on the spot about the novel. However, no critical writing deals in depth with elements of Slavic origin in the text of the novel, they do not react at all to the code-switching that appears in it.

So we could see that the analyses and criticisms written about the examined novels partly reflect on the multilingual world that comes to life on the pages of the books, but this is by no means true for all analyses, and where this aspect of analysis appears, it often only appears at the level of mention in the criticisms.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION**

#### **5.1. Discussion of the Results of the research**

The following chapter aims to examine the results of the study in light of similar research in the field.

The first question of the present thesis was if the features of language contact that can be found in the real everyday communication of multilingual speakers reappear in literature created in the same environment. The results show that yes, almost all Transcarpathian novels in the scope of the research as well as Hungarian minority literature from other countries utilize loanwords, code-switching and other linguistic interference phenomena such as names in the majority language. The only exception was the novel from the Czech period. Following 1919, when Transcarpathia was added to the newly formed Czechoslovakia, Hungarians living in this territory suddenly lost their status as speakers of the majority language and became a minority group. Therefore, it is not surprising that the language of the novel does not contain any elements of multilingualism. However, references to the linguistic landscape are enhanced throughout the novel and they reflect the changes that presumably took place in reality in the few years following the change of state. First, it is mentioned, that street signs are still predominantly monolingual at the beginning of the story which is set immediately after the annexation of the area, while towards the end it is emphasised that multilingual street signs start to emerge while monolingual Hungarians are gradually disappearing. Sticking to Hungarian both in writing the novel as well as by the main character in certain situations can be considered as a speech act. It can be perceived as a rebellion against the new rule against all odds. On page 201 (Tamás, n.d.) the main character is ordered by a superior to command some soldiers. He first asks what language commands are they used to, but when they reply that German, as it was common in the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Stergar, 2019), he starts to command them in Hungarian regardless.

The research also aimed to find out how exactly the language contact effects and minority identity issues are reflected in literary works, and what sort of linguistic resources are used to build or express the multilingual context and the culture and

identity in minority literature. As Hungarian writers who belong to a minority group need to cater to at least two groups of readers: the local Hungarian minority, and the largely monolingual readers living in Hungary it would seem that the easiest way is to omit language contact and interference effects entirely; after all, literature is a fine art that traditionally uses the standard variety of the language. But then, minority literature would lose its credibility, at least in the eyes of the local readers, after all the strictly standard variety of Hungarian is seldom used by locals who are all speakers of the local contact variety. All investigated novels that contained Slavic loanwords and code-switching do so in a similar fashion. In the case of loanwords, they simply use them in the literary texts as they would in their everyday communication, without further explaining them to anyone who is not familiar with the Transcarpathian Hungarian lexicon. The only exception is Éva Berniczky, who added a list of foreign words, or words with foreign origin at the end of her book explaining them to a monolingual reader, but even there not all such words are included. This leads to the conclusion that some loanwords and borrowings in the text were not the result of a conscious decision by the writer but rather the involuntary natural language use, reflecting the everyday language use of the author. Also, a later edition of Vilmos Kovács's *Holnap is élünk* contains such a list at the end, while the original version published in 1965 did not.

In the case of code-switches, all novels chose the transliteration of Slavic utterances, even though it is not without precedent to use the original language in such cases in the Hungarian literary tradition. Code-switching predominantly appeared in 21st-century novels, and they were immediately translated or explained to the monolingual Hungarian reader in the text. While the linguistic literature distinguishes several types of code-switching in the everyday language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians, in the investigated texts only quotations were found by the researcher.

Although traditionally literature and literary texts are not typically in the focus of linguistic research, based on the present study it can be stated that novels can indeed serve as a linguistic corpus for sociolinguistic research. All the marks of language contact and identity issues appeared in the literary texts that are common in a multilingual environment. However, other characteristics of Transcarpatian Hungarian, such as different dialect characteristics that are not the effects of language contact (i.e. the imperative forms of t-final verbs are used in the indicative as well) were scarce in the novels. These are probably just as valuable stylistic devices as Slavic words,

loanwords, or code-switching, but probably more stigmatized by the community of Hungarian speakers (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2000:5).

The writers' attitudes towards language and multilingualism appeared in some novels, but it was more prominent in the earlier books (published in 1936, and 1965). Depicting power struggles, and contemplating the ideas of language maintenance vs. shift seemed to be more important in these works, while the later novels seem to use the effects of language contact merely as a stylistic device.

The main hypothesis introduced in Chapter 1 seemed to be proved based on the results of the research as similar, or even the same contact effects and identity issues appear in minority novels that come up in real life and language use of people who live in minority groups in multilingual surroundings. This was already proved by not only the present thesis but by an earlier project of the author as well (Mádi, 2020).

The second hypothesis was that multilingual language use is present in the literary texts of the region throughout its history also seems to be proved, although it is based on only a limited number of books. Nevertheless, those were chosen according to their importance and impact on Transcarpathian Hungarian culture, which is proved by the fact that the selected literary works are still an integral part of the Transcarpathian Hungarian literary canon, as opposed to the less significant works that have since become forgotten.

The third hypothesis seemed to be disproved by the results of the research. It seemed to be logical that linguistic marks of language contact, such as loanwords and code-switching would gradually increase in the novels as the investigation moved towards contemporary literature since the exposure of Hungarian to the effects of the majority language has increased since it became a minority language for the first time. However, the amount of contact effects did not show any linear increase, there seemed to be no correlation between the time that passed and the degree of linguistic interaction between Hungarian and Slavic languages.

This can be explained by the fact that the Transcarpathian Hungarian community has been living in a minority situation for more than a century, but Hungarian has remained the dominant language in their bilingualism. Based on sociological and sociolinguistic research, it can be seen that the absolute number and regional proportion of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community has decreased over the past hundred years, but the reasons for this are not assimilation or language shift, but mainly emigration.

Hypothesis 4 was that literary criticism reflects on the multilingual world presented in the examined novels and on the specific language-related writing techniques used in the novels, and this proved to be mainly true. Criticism reacts more sensitively to the peculiar language of novels nowadays, even in the case of earlier works, because most of today's analysts already include in their work the fact that language and the relationship towards language are also both a stylistic device, and an identity-shaping factor, while the early critical works slipped over it, putting the political stance of these works in the foreground. It was also interesting to observe that the critics from Hungary more easily ignore the multilingualism appearing in the novels, while the critics of the works from outside the borders of Hungary, who themselves are parts of a multilingual community, always address the effects of multilingualism and the colourful linguistic environment, if they do so only at the level of mention.

According to Thomasson and Kauffman's contactological typology, a greater degree of language contact advances the language use of a community due to social influences (1988:35). Although language contact effects are present in the Transcarpathian Hungarian community, the community perceives language retention as a goal, not assimilation. This fact can be behind the phenomenon that the number of loanwords and code-switching in the texts of the novels has not increased with time.

We know from Palander's handbook (2018) that after the administrative borders are established, the effects of language contact become more prominent in the language use of the regions beyond the border. It is no coincidence that several Slavic loanwords came to be used in Transcarpathian Hungarian language usage after Trianon (Szilágyi, 2008: 110). It is also obvious, however, that the reverse effect is also present: after the borders became more open and permeable at the very end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century since people from Transcarpathia have started to study and work in Hungary, and after the digital and online contact became stronger, linguistic equalization also started. Thus, the use of the language of the Transcarpathian Hungarians came somewhat closer to that of Hungary. Of course, it did not become completely the same as that of the monolingual Hungarians (Csernicskó & Gazdag, 2023).

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

The present research was an inductive study that aimed to investigate language contact phenomena and other sociolinguistic characteristics of Hungarian as a minority language in Transcarpathia. The novelty of the research was that instead of researching linguistic data collected via questionnaires, interviews or other well-known research tools it studied the language of literary texts. Five Transcarpathian Hungarian novels have been chosen to study that were written at different times throughout the past one hundred years. The current chapter aims to sum up the main findings of the research.

Language contact effects and interference phenomena have been present in Transcarpathian Hungarian literature since its beginning. Despite the common stance of experts that literature is predominantly written in the standard variety of the language and regional or dialectal peculiarities are mere stylistic devices in them might not be entirely correct. This is supported by the fact that the one author who collected borrowings in the endnotes of her novel providing an explanation to the monolingual reader left out several such words. This fact points towards the assumption that she did not consider them deliberate stylistic devices but rather elements of everyday speech. At the same time, none any of the other authors added such a list in the book.

The number and use of loanwords in the texts are similar to that of their presence in the everyday communication of Transcarpathian Hungarians. Loanwords were predominantly nouns. Code-switching was less typical in the novels, only two of the investigated novels had more than one of these. This is also in line with the findings of linguistic research in Transcarpathia, as code-switching is a characteristic mainly of spoken communication, and it is less often used by Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers than loanwords. Instances of code-switching in the novels were presented in transliteration instead of the original Slavic and always explained to the Hungarian monolingual reader by the author in the text immediately after, or before their occurrence.

It was interesting to observe that there are more examples from the Russian language (both loanwords and code-switching) in the texts than from Ukrainian. The reason for this phenomenon can be found in the fact that Kovács's novel takes place in the Soviet Union, *Méhe nélkül a bába* [The midwife without her womb] and Hamuther is placed in

the newly independent Ukraine, and the author of the novel *Kilátás* [View] also looks back on her childhood and youth, more of which happened in the Soviet era, not Ukraine, and Transcarpathian Hungarians (including the analyzed writers) in the Soviet era learned Russian, not Ukrainian, and were socialized when Russian was the dominant language in Soviet Ukraine and Transcarpathia within it, rather than Ukrainian.

Other linguistic indicators of multilingualism were also present in the novels, such as references to the mono- or multilingual linguistic landscape, stance on the questions of language shift or maintenance, and assimilation.

As a result of the research, it was proven that it is possible to use literary texts as a linguistic corpus since the same contact effects appear in them as those revealed in the linguistic literature. The writers reflect on the multilingual environment not only by using contact effects but also by presenting the language-related questions and problems of the multilingual community. In the texts of the literary works, among other things, important questions arise, if only tangentially, such as assimilation versus language retention, the issue of language and power, language learning/knowledge of certain languages, choosing a minority Hungarian or majority school, the transformation of the linguistic landscape following various political changes, the influence of political conditions on the people's lives and language use. By creating a text that reflects the multilingual reality, the authors also offer to recreate and interpret it. Language contact effects appear as a stylistic tool in the writers' toolbox and help them create mood and authenticate the fictional world. The language choice of the bilingual person described by Grosjean (1982:127-130) also applies to writers in a minority group affected by multilingualism, because they have to decide how to present a multilingual environment in such a way that it is understandable and acceptable to the monolingual Hungarian reader. By the way, they choose to implement this, they also express their attitudes towards the unity of Hungarian literature and the Hungarian language. Based on their choice to include contact effects it can be concluded that the Hungarian language, literature and culture are interpreted as a unified entity, even in its diversity, where Transcarpathian Hungarian literature and Transcarpathian Hungarian language use are also an integral part of universal Hungarian literature, culture and language. If they did not use contact elements in their works, it would lead to the conclusion that they evaluate them as a stigmatized variety and that they have a negative attitude towards the multilingual environment and the consequences of language contact. However, by using

these elements, Transcarpathia and the people who live here, as well as the language used by the people who live here, are included in the universal Hungarian literature.

By showing the effects of language contacts as a stylistic device in Transcarpathian Hungarian novels (but also in Slovak Hungarian prose, see e.g. Mádi, 2020, Mádi–Szakál, 2023), the authors legitimize these linguistic features and the Transcarpathian Hungarian language variants.

The reception of the novels in literary criticism discovers the specific linguistic code which appears in the novels, the references to the multilingual world are perceived and understood. It is particularly interesting, however, that among the literary critics who analyze the novels, only those who do not live in Hungary or who have also been socialized in a multilingual environment go into this aspect of the works in more detail. This indicates that the world created in the novel and the language variety presented in the novels is authentic and real, and for that very reason, it made the critics reflect on it.

## **6.1. Limitations**

The biggest limitation of the research was the small number of novels that were available to study. Following the first annexation of the territory local Hungarians were quite shocked by the events, and were hoping that the situation was temporary, thus the reorganization of local cultural life did not begin immediately. The most influential novel of the era's most prominent author was chosen for analysis, unfortunately, no other useful source from this period was available. The situation is similar to the period under the reign of the Soviet Union, as book printing flourished during this period, and the state generously supported some authors. But these authors only wrote propaganda books required by the system, the literary value of these is not significant, and thus their text is not suitable for research from this point of view. Here again, the most significant novel of the time was chosen for analysis. Although its text had to be altered somewhat due to the censorship of the era, it is still a timeless and valuable work of Transcarpathian Hungarian literature. Following the dissolution of the USSR, Transcarpathian Hungarian cultural and literary life started to flourish, so the researcher could pick more than one novel for analysis here. In terms of its appearance, the youngest literary work was published in 2010. The author of the thesis was hopeful to include some works of contemporary young Transcarpathian Hungarian writers, but

unfortunately, they do not seem to prefer the form of longer prose to communicate what they have to say.

## **6.2. Implications**

The investigation of language contact effects and interference phenomena in literary works goes beyond the linguistic significance of the present research and perhaps provides useful results from a sociological point of view as well. The most interesting result of the research for the author is that these contact effects are present in the literary works in such a way that, although they are natural for the local multilingual reader, they create a foreign effect for the monolingual Hungarian reader even if the author explains and translates them. At the same time, these works are clearly aimed at the Hungarian readership, since these works do not reach Transcarpathian Ukrainian readers, and no Ukrainian translation has been published so far. Through these literary works, we can observe a double separation of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia as it distances itself both from the Slavic-speaking majority nation and Hungarians in Hungary.

## **6.3. Future directions**

The present research provided some insight into the ways the effects of multilingualism appear in Transcarpathian Hungarian novels. The study also proves that the texts of literary works can serve as a suitable linguistic corpus for linguistic analysis, as literature is inevitably produced in the same language the author uses and thus recreates the same linguistic phenomena that occur in ordinary everyday communication. However, it would be fruitful to study the same effects of other minority literatures as well. The scope of the research could be first extended to minority Hungarian literature of other countries around Hungary, then, perhaps the study of literature produced by Hungarian immigrants could also yield some valuable insight into the linguistic and social characteristics of these minority groups. At the same time, it would be also interesting to examine the ways Hungarian affected the majority language in the regions where linguistic contact takes place, and through the study of local Ukrainian literature to shed some light on how the majority nation perceives the presence of minorities.

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## Appendix

### The full collection of direct borrowings in the novels

**akuserka** n. – ‘midwife’<Ukr., Rus. акушерка – Nem választhatok a kettő között, nem szállhatok szembe a hajdani *akuserkák* szigorával, azóta sem bírok természetfeletti erővel (Berniczky, 2007:85). [ I can't choose between the two, I can't face the strictness of the old *akusherkas*, and since then I don't have supernatural power either.] ; Az *akuserka* másodpercek alatt átszabta előttem a poros utcát, jókora darabot foglalt el és vágott le belőle (Berniczky, 2007:96). [ The *akusherka* crossed the dusty street in front of me in seconds, occupying and cutting off a large chunk of it.] ; ...és csak akkor jutottak eszébe hajdani szülési fájdalmai, amikor világra segítette mindenki más gyermekét, közben azonban elfelejtette az akuserka-szentem, hogy évtizedekig visszatartott vajúdása alatt felnöttem a testében,...(Berniczky, 2007:200). [ ...and she remembered her former birth pains when she helped everyone else's child into the world, but in the meantime, my saintly *akusherka* forgot that I grew up in her body during the decades of her delayed labor...].

**bábi** n. – ‘crone, grandmother’<Ukr., Rus. баба – Legutoljára mindennek ellentmondva a fiatalabbak illedelmesen leszedegették a kosaras, zajdás *bábikat*, a répapalinka bűzével átítatott öregembereket (Berniczky, 2007:10). [Last, in contradiction to everything, the younger politely picked the *babis* off the train with their baskets and *zaydas*, and the old men soaked with the stench of beetroot palinka.]; ... mert a *bábikámból* szeretett ki-bejárkálni a szufla, eleinte még el is hitték, hogy meghalt...(Berniczky, 2007:54). [...because the spirit liked to come in and out of my *babika*, at first they even beleived she was dead...];...olyan természetes a halál, mint ahogy a *bábikám* reggelente kihajtotta a teheneket,...(Berniczky, 2007:55). [...death is as natural as my *babika* milking the cows in the morning,]; ...sőt kivételesen édeskés illata elért egészen a konyháig, ahol a tűzhelyen bugyogó tejbe csurgatta *bábikám* a cukros tojássárgáját,...(Berniczky, 2007:56). [...in fact, its exceptionally sweet smell reached all the way to the kitchen, where my *babika* slipped her sugary egg yolk into the milk bubbling on the stove];...hát forgó gyomorral muszáj volt elmesélnem barátaimnak, fiúknak és lányoknak, mit hallottam öreg *bábikámtól*, akinek hinnem kellett, hiszen nem volt vérszerinti nagyanyám,...(Berniczky, 2007:57). [...so with a spinning stomach I had to tell my friends, boys and girls, what I had heard from my old

*babika*, whom I had to believe, since she was not my blood-related grandmother,...]. Also collected in: KMNyAI/699, KMNySzi/53.

**balamuta** n. – ‘troublemaker’ < Ukr., Rus. баламут – A két *balamuta* szíves örömet hullott a mélybe, egészen a becsapódásukig megbíztak az ezüstös pázsitban, amelynek szélei a ház, és vele szemben a melléképület fala alá nyúltak (Berniczky, 2007:80). [The two *balamuts* happily fell into the deep, until they hit the silver lawn, the edges of which extended under the wall of the house and the outbuilding opposite it]. Also collected in: KMNySzi/58, Gazdag, 2021:225.

**blatnoj** adj. – ‘informal cool, a cool person (informal) who knows what to do and how to behave, usually considered popular by others.’ < Rus. блатной – A fiúk *blatnojok* voltak, nejlonszatyorban hoták a füzeteiket, a zsíros kenyeret, közte piros paprika (Brenzovics, 2010: 28). [The boys were *blatnoj*, they carried their notebooks and bread and lard with red pepper in nylon bags], *Blatnoj* vagy? – egy fiú hasba öklözte, a *blatnoj* összegörnyedt, sárba esett a fehér nejlonszatyra. – Most mit tettél? – rámutatott a sáros szatyorra. – *Blatnoj* vagy, nem? Minek neked tiszta szatyor (Brenzovics, 2010:28)? [Are you *Blatnoj*? – a boy punched him in the stomach, the *blatnoj* bent over and fell into the mud on the white nylon bag. – What did you do now? – He pointed to the muddy bag. – You're *Blatnoj*, aren't you? – Why would you need a clean bag?] Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:84.

**csája** n. – ‘tea’ < Ukr., Rus. чай – ...mert amint ránk ereszti a *csája* szellemét, elhisszük neki, hogy felkel a nap az átlátszó üvegedényben, beragyogja a nyirkos szanatóriumi szobát, ilyenkor gyorsan körbeüljük...(Berniczky, 2007:160). [...because as soon as she unleashes the spirit of *chaya* on us, we believe her that the sun is rising in the transparent glass container, shining into the damp sanatorium room, and we quickly sit around it...]. Also collected in: KMNySzi/140, Ht-list, Márku, 2013: 240, Gazdag, 2021:87.

**dácsa** n. – ‘holiday home, resort, weekend house’ < Ukr., Rus. дача – Elhagyva a várost, a domb aljából kinőttek az egyforma ronda *dácsák*, szürkén, feltartóztathatatlanul kísérték. (Berniczky 2007:10). [Leaving the city, from the bottom of the hill emerged the same ugly *dachas*, gray and inexorably accompanied me.] Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:89.

**diktor** – ‘radio or TV announcer’ < Ukr., Rus. диктор – Arra gondolt, hogy Valko utolsó mondata úgy hangzott, mint a *diktor* szájából valami nagyon szigorú diplomáciai

jegyzék-rész (Kovács, 1965:169). [He thought that Valko's last sentence sounded like some very strict diplomatic note coming out of the *diktor's* mouth.]

**drob** n. – ‘pearl barely porridge from the Russian word ‘дробь’. In peacetime, soldiers called pearl barley porridge “bullet sixteen” - the size of a poorly boiled pearl barley grain coincided with the parameters of the bullet (about 4 mm in diameter).’ < Rus. дробь шестнадцать – *Drobot*, hideg kását, de valamikor azt sem, még jó, hogy nem voltam ínycenc (Brenzovics, 2010:29). [*Drob*, cold porridge, but sometimes not even that, it's a good thing that I wasn't a gourmet].

**elektricska** n. – ‘electric train’ <Ukr., Rus. электричка – Végül ott, ahol már elfogyott a peron, eltűnt az őrbódé, a forgalmista, a lámpák, és kinyílt a mező, az *elektricska* utolsó rándult (Berniczky, 2007:10). [Finally, where the platform ended, the sentry box, the traffic controller, and the lights disappeared, and the field opened, the *electriczka* twitched for the last time.]; Ingerülten lengette sárga zászlóját, küldte tovább a vonatot, vinné el a rosseb a részeg urával együtt, ilyenkorra mindig leissza magát az az állat, ő meg helyettesítheti, mert ez az átkozott *elektricska*, ha néhány órással később is, előbb vagy utóbb megérkezik (Berniczky, 2007:11). [She waved her yellow flag irritably, sent the train on, the hell would take it along with its drunken master, that animal always gets drunk by this time, and she can replace him, because this damn *electriczka*, even if it's a few hours late, will arrive sooner or later.]; Közöttük futott a fekete pálya, amelyen most már az *elektricska* írta le az iszonyatos köhögés, vartyogás, harákolás útvonalát (Berniczky, 2007:41). [Between them ran the black track, on which the *electriczka* now ran the route of the terrible coughing, wheezing, and hacking.]; Az elsők között kászálódhatott le az *elektricskáról*, így érhetett nálam kicsivel korábban az iskola elé (Berniczky, 2007:97). [She was one of the first to get off the *electriczka*, so she got to the school a little earlier than me.] Also collected in: KMNYsZI/209, Ht-list, Márku, 2013: 240, Gazdag, 2021:93.

**fortocska** n. – ‘fortochka (a small ventilation window)’ < Ukr., Rus. форточка – ...amikor Nyina Mikolajovna örege félórát járta a Zaporozsecét és ez a kivénhedt csotrogány bepufogja hozzám a világ összes bőzét a nyitott *fortocskán* át (Berniczky, 2007:115). [...when Nyina Mikolajovna's old man runs the engine of the Zaporozhets for half an hour and this decrepit old vehicle shoves all the smells in the world at me through the open *fortochka*]. Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:94.

**garmoska** n. – ‘garmon’ <Ukr., Rus. гармошка – szeptember tizenhetedikén (*garmoska*) este néhány pohárka szamogon után az öreg Mirku megszállottan nyúzta a

harmonikát,... (Berniczky, 2007:73). [ ..on the evening of the seventeenth of September (*garmoshka*), after a few glasses of samogon, old Mirku obsessively played the garmon...]

**gramota** n. – ‘certificate, here acknowledging academic progress’ <Ukr., Rus. грамота – A kisjány igen jól tanul. Minden évben *gramotája* van, vagy mi az istennek hívják (Kovács, 1965:120). [The little one studies very well. Every year she has a *gramota*, or what the hell it is called.] Also collected in: KMNyAII/715, KMNySzi/340, Gazdag, 2021:96.

**klopotanja** n. – ‘klopotanja, a written formal request’ <Ukr. клопотання –*Klopotanja*, ismétlem, *klopotanja*, *klopotanját* kell írnom, de nem tudom, mi az (Brenzovics, 2010:47). [*Klopotanja*, I repeat, *klopotanja*, I have to write a *klopotanja*, but I don't know what it is].

**kolhoz** n. – ‘kolkhoz, a sort of collective farm in the Soviet Union, the word is an acronym to the original russian name’ < Rus. Колхоз (коллективное хозяйство) – Krumplit vájni jár a *kolhozba* (Kovács, 1965:66).[She goes to the *kolkhoz* to dig potatoes], Igaz, hogy nem is volt a *kolhozban* semmi (Kovács, 1965:119). [It is true that there was nothing in the *kolkhoz*]. Also collected in: KMNySzi/498, Gazdag, 2021:103.

**kombinát** n. – ‘Combine (enterprise)’ <Ukr. комбінат, Rus. комбинат – Mert amíg az öreg nagy komótosan kireszeli azt a spiccvasat, amit különben tíz kopekéért az üzletben is megkapna, addig egy olyan kis vacak vállalat, mint a mi városi *kombinátunk*, ötezer darabot legyárt belőle egyetlen félautomatán (Kovács, 1965:40).[Because while the old man is clumsily filing out that pointed iron, which he would otherwise get in the store for ten kopecks, a small, crappy company like our local *kombinat* is producing five thousand pieces of it on a single semi-automatic machine.] Also collected in: KMNySzi/499, Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:105.

**kopek** n. – ‘shortened kopijka/kopejka; coin currency in some Eastern European countries, both Ukraine and Russia among them.’ <Ukr. копійка, Rus. копейка – Mert amíg az öreg nagy komótosan kireszeli azt a spiccvasat, amit különben tíz *kopekéért* az üzletben is megkapna, addig egy olyan kis vacak vállalat, mint a mi városi *kombinátunk*, ötezer darabot legyárt belőle egyetlen félautomatán (Kovács, 1965:40).[Because while the old man is clumsily filing out that pointed iron, which he would otherwise get in the store for ten *kopecks*, a small, crappy company like our local *kombinat* is producing five thousand pieces of it on a single semi-automatic machine.] Also collected in: KMNySzi/503, Ht-list, Márku, 2013: 241, Gazdag, 2021:107.

**kopera** n. – ‘shortened form of cooperative store’ < Rus. кооперативный магазин,– Igaz, hogy tejet mérnek a *koperában*, de az isten bírja kivárni, mire rákerül a sor...(Kovács, 1965:120-121). [It is true that milk is measured in the *copera*, but who the hell can wait until it is their turn...] Also collected in: KMNyAII/673, KMNySzI/503, Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:108.

**mahorka** n. – ‘Nicotiana rustica, commonly known as Aztec tobacco, tobacco of rather poor quality. It was wide-spread among the poor to smoke machorka throughout Russia’ < Ukr., Rus. махорка – Aki megjárta a táborokat, az még a mahorkát is elszívja (Kovács, 1965:179). [Anyone who has been to the camps will smoke even mahorka]. Also collected in: KMNySzII/45.

**nyeborák** n. – ‘hopeless, desperate’ < Ukr., Rus. неборак – Nem is értem, miért keveredik bennem saját vérszerinti fiam és a lányom születése a kis idegen *nyeborákok* történetével (Breniczky, 2007:84). [ I don't even understand why the birth of my own biological son and daughter is mixed up in me with the story of the little stranger *neboraks*.]

**paszport** n. – ‘either passport or identity document (here the former)’ < Ukr., Rus. паспорт – ...ő csak annyit látott, hogy ОПТ, és gyanút fogott, jó értelemben, ne ijedjen meg –mondta és kacagott hozzá –, hogy az a PASZPORT cirillbetűs felirata lesz alighanem...(Penckófer, 2002:9). [...he only saw that ОПТ, and he suspected, in a good way, don't be scared - he said and laughed - that it would probably be PASSPORT written in Cyrillic letters...] Also collected in: KMNyAIII/737, KMNySzII/160, Ht-list, Márku, 2013: 242, Gazdag, 2021:118.

**pizgyec** n. – ‘(vulgar) screwed, fucked up. Sometimes (here as well) used as a filler or intensifier.’ < Ukr. пиздэць, Rus. пиздэц – Pizgyec? – kérdezte a barátnőm. Pizgyec – válaszoltam (Brenzovics, 2010:17). [Pizdets? – asked my friend. Pizdets – I replied.] Also collected in: Márku, 2013: 242, Gazdag, 2021:226.

**prjányik** n. – ‘traditional honey biscuits’ < Ukr., Rus. пряник –...a kiszámíthatatlan, felkorbácsolódott hullámok vetettek egymás mellé ezen a jellegtelen koszos kis főtéren, ahol a matrózok *prjányikos* zacskóval törnek utat az emberáradatban,...(Berniczky, 2007:21)[ ...the unpredictable, whipped up waves tossed us next to each other in this uncharacteristically dirty little main square, where the sailors make their way through the crowd with bags of *pryaniks*,...]; ... a vállamon lógó táskámmal elsodortam kezéből édes fegyverét, a *prjányikok* szanaszét szóródtak, gurultak a porban, s akkor úgy sajnáltam meg, ahogyan magamat szoktam, ha megfosztanak a következő édes

falattól... [... with my bag hanging on my shoulder I swept his sweet weapon out of his hand, the *pryaniks* scattered and rolled in the dust, and at that moment I was so sorry for him as I usually am for myself when I am deprived of the next sweet bite,...](Bernizcky, 2007:21).;... mert láttam ezen a kiéhezett mackón, mindenképpen a madarak elé kell szóratnom vele a zacskó tartalmát, különben maga falja be a poros *prjányikokat*.” [...I saw it on this hungry teddy bear, I definitely need to have him scatter the contents of the bag in front of the birds, otherwise he will gorge the dirty *pryaniks* himself.] (Bernizcky, 2007:21). Also collected in: Ht-list.

**rubel** n. – ‘Russian ruble, the currency of the Russian Federation, and formerly the USSR’ < Rus. рубль – Ezért kapja az ötven *rubel* pótlékot (Kovács, 1965:38). [That's why she gets the fifty *rubles* additional pay.] Also collected in: KMNySzII/225, Gazdag, 2021:126.

**saslik** n. – ‘shashlik (a grilled meat dish on skewers)’ <Ukr. шашлик, Rus. шашлык – március huszonhatodikán (*saslik*) nem is értem, hogy keveredett el ennyire a füzetem, hetekkel ezelőtt tűnt el, már azt gondoltam, elő sem kerül...(Berniczky, 2007:186). [on the twenty-sixth of March (*shashlik*), I don't even understand how my notebook got so mixed up, it disappeared weeks ago, I thought it would never be found again...]. Also collected in: Ht-list.

**szamogon** n. – ‘moonshine’ <Ukr., Rus. самогон – szeptember tizenhetedikén (garmoska) este néhány pohárka *szamogon* után az öreg Mirku megszállottan nyúzta a harmonikát,...[ ..on the evening of the seventeenth of September (garmoshka), after a few glasses of *samogon*, old Mirku obsessively played the garmon...] (Berniczky, 2007:73). Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:129.

**szanyitarka** n. – ‘nursing assistant’ < Ukr. санітарка, Rus. санитарка – A *szanyitarka* gyakran megveszekedett szót sem értett a megvert bába magyarázkodásaiból, de különösebben nem zavarta (Berniczky, 2007:102). [The *sanytarka* often did not understand a single word of the beaten midwife's explanations, but she was not particularly bothered.] Also collected in: Gazdag, 2021:129.

**szaráj** n. – ‘barn, shed’ < Ukr., Rus. сарай – ...s az igénytelenségben újjászületve újra beköltözöm az illatos fahasábok tetejére valamelyik *szarájba*, ahogyan a helybeliek teszik, amikor nyári idényben fillérekért kiadják az utolsó szobát, végül az aprócska konyhát, s nem marad ágyuk, sem párnájuk, sem takarójuk,...(Berniczky, 2007:156). [...and, reborn in modesty, I move again into a *saray* on top of the fragrant logs, as the locals do, when in the summer season they rent out the last room for pennies, and

finally the tiny kitchen, and they have no beds, pillows, or blankets left...] Also collected in: KMNyAI/155, Gazdag, 2021:227.

**sztárik** n. – ‘old man’ < Rus. старик – [...]és Nyina Mikolajovna örege, a kis *sztárik* attól kezdve templomba járna, ahogyan jó ideje már mindenki a környéken,[...] (Berniczky, 2007:18). [...and Nyina Mikolajovna's little *starik* would go to church from then on, as everyone in the neighborhood had been doing for a long time,...] Also collected in: Gazdag, 2021:227.

**ukáz** n. – ‘order, decree’ < Ukr., Rus. указ – ...kiadtam az *ukázt* az indulásra, összeszedtük a sikerebb portékákat és szaladtunk velük egészen a kis kőhídig...(Berniczky, 2007:137). [I gave the *ukaz* for departure, we collected the more successful goods and ran with them all the way to the small stone bridge]. Also collected in: Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:137.

**usánka** n. – ‘ushanka, a Russian hat made from fur with ear-covering flaps that can be tied up on the top of the hat, or fastened under the chin to protect the ears from the cold.’ < Ukr., Rus. ушанка – Ha térdig ér a szemét, a drob, usánka, dusambe, a portásnő (Brenzovics, 2010:30)? [If the rubbish is knee-deep, the drob, usánka, dusambe, the doorwoman.] Also collected in: KMNyAI/329, KMNySzII/373, Ht-list, Gazdag, 2021:138.