The use of Hungarian language and language attitude in the Subcarpathian region amongst university and college students

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Abstract

In my study I compare the language attitude of Subcarpathian college/university students, learning in Hungary and in Ukraine. I make an attempt to answer the question, what do the college and university students, involved in my study think about the effects of contact and dialectical phenomena coming from bilingualism. Besides that, I am curious, that from their own point of view in which extent do these peculiarities occur in their use of language. According to my presumptions, in the language use of the Subcarpathian-Hungarians, who study in Ukraine, there is a higher possibility of the occurrence of dialectical features and the effects of contact, and they judge it more positively than those Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, who try to gear their language use to Hungarian in a monolingual environment.

Keywords: bilingualism, dialectical phenomenon, language attitude, online communication, spoken language

Preface

Those Hungarian minority groups, who live in the neighboring countries are separated from Hungary by borders, which has several results. On the one hand, the connection between the cross-border and monolingual Hungarians has been limited, moreover, the language of the majority states has become determinative in the everyday communication of the Hungarian minority groups. These factors have an impact on the use of the Hungarian language, and result in differences between the Hungarian native and minority language use. One of the features of it is the powerful occurrence of dialectical characteristics in the cross-border Hungarian language. The innovations of language spread slower into the regions which are far from Hungary, therefore the archaic and dialectical forms are preserved for a longer time. The other important characteristic comes from the bilingual situation. Besides their mother tongue, the majority states' language is also present in the everyday life of cross-border Hungarians. Moreover, on most scenes of language use, in the minority territories the national language is

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The region has both the denominations of Subcarpathia and Transcarpathia. The usage of these depends on whether we look at it from East or West. Since the region is part of Ukraine, the official form is Transcarpathia, at the same time Subcarpathia has the same meaning, only from the Western direction.

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more common, while in Hungary on these platforms mostly the vernacular language is used (Csernicskó & Szabómihály 2010: 181-182). In my study I examine the attitudes of participants towards utterances, which contain particular code-switching and dialectical phenomena. I also wanted to know that in what extent find they these characteristics typical in their spoken and online communication, and in general, what kind of attitude do they have in connection with the Subcarpathian-Hungarian language use. The examination is comparative, the first group of participants contains Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, who study in their homeland, and whose everyday communication is influenced by both of the Ukrainian and Hungarian language. The other group contains students, who moved to Hungary because of their University studies, but they are related to people from the Subcarpathian-Hungarian minority as well as to monolingual Hungarians, and the dissimilar language environment can form and influence their language use and attitude.

The definition of language attitude

Language attitude involves knowledge about the language, in which individuals' and groups' judgement and relation is shown in connection with certain languages, language variants and any kinds of linguistic phenomena. Attitudes can extend from sorely positive surmises to complete rejections, which judge the "correctness", value and the speaker's personal characteristics in particular language variants (Grin 2013: 682, Trudgill 1997: 58).

Primarily, Language attitudes have social origins; therefore, they do not show linguistic or esthetical quality, but social habits and behavioral rules including prejudices. Sociolinguistics studies have shown that language attitudes are created as a linguistic verification and reinsurance of previously developed non-linguistic stereotypes (Kiss 2002: 136). Consequently, language attitudes can influence language changes, behavior, and can result in language insecurity. Language insecurity involves the speakers' repugnance towards their own dialect, questioning the "correctness" of it. They try to acquire a language variant, which has a higher status. On the part of individuals, it can lead to hypercorrection, while in groups it can result in the overuse of norms (Trudgill 1997: 58).

However, in some cases the stigmatized language variants can also have prestige, when they hold a positive value amongst the members of a social group. These can mainly show togetherness and solidarity, which encourage language users to use those language forms. It is called hidden prestige. In connection with that, we need to mention Peter Trudgill's research about the use of Norwich language, as a result of which he created the definition of hidden prestige. He stated that the examined society groups ascribe prestige not only to the standard but also to their non-standard language variant, and are connected to it, even if they experienced negative discrimination because of that before (Trudgill 1974).

Language attitude studies in the Subcarpathian region

By now numerous researches have been carried out amongst Subcarpathian-Hungarians in connection with the mother tongue, majority language and surrounding language variants. In point of the mother tongue, the respondents qualify the Hungarian language beautiful, while they rank the Ukrainian language only average. They also transmitted that the Hungarian

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language is used in the most proper way in Subcarpathia, which shows their positive attitude towards their mother tongue (Karmacsi 2009: 415-422).

It was examined amongst Subcarpathian-Hungarian students that how did they adjudge the language of their town/village while they were getting closer to the school-leaving exam. The research proceeded from a hypothesis, according which the answers of the respondents depend on where they live (in a town or in a village), and that they probably adjudge the language use of village-people more negatively than the language use in towns. According to the results, most of the respondents do not find the dialects nice, and in their opinion, it is connected to the language use of the elderly generation. It turned out that those respondents, who live in villages were more likely to state that they speak in dialects than those, who live in towns. As a conclusion of the research, it was settled that the Subcarpathian-Hungarian students do not prefer dialectical speech, which determines their opinion about the language used in their own town/village (Lakatos 2005: 79-104). The former research was reconfirmed by another one, which was carried out between 2008 and 2010 involving several Hungarian language schools in Subcarpathia. As well as in the previous one, there were also 9th and 12th grade students in it, who were requested to tell their opinion about their mother tongue, national language and the changes and dialects of Hungarian language. As a result, the respondents considered the dialects archaic, and they stated that these forms are more typical in the speech of their environment than in their own language use. During the research it unraveled, that they are aware of speaking in different variant in particular situations, but they do not acknowledge it as a dialect in their own speech, despite the fact that it turned out from the research that they use these forms without recognizing it. As a verification of this, the respondents were asked to list several pairs of words, heard from dialectical speakers, and it cleared up that some words they thought were standards, were not actually that (Dudics Lakatos 2015: 34-43).

Teacher trainees' language awareness was examined in a research, which took place in Beregszász. It included the analysis of knowledge about the mother tongue and other language variants, and the differences and similarities between the language use of monolingual and bilingual Hungarians. The result of the research was that the majority of the respondents considered the Subcarpathian-Hungarian language use dialectical, and only a few of them emphasized the effects of the second language. The respondents' adjudgment towards their mother tongue was more positive than towards the Hungarian form and considered both the appearance of dialectical characteristics and the effects of bilingualism acceptable. Only a low percentage (9%) of the respondents stated that they deliberately avoid dialectical elements in their speech (T. Károlyi 2002: 329-333). Another research was carried out in Subcarpathia, about the connection between the mother tongue and identity, which concluded interviews in order to decide that in what extent the mother tongue plays role in identity. It turned out during the research that according to the respondents, mother tongue determines their national identity. There is a similar point of view amongst those, who live in territories, where language change is in an advanced stage, and they find it important for the younger generation to use Hungarian language. It was also discovered that those, who live in smaller communities in Subcarpathia can make a difference between the forms of their own language use and the Hungarian or the surrounding town's/village's varieties. In some cases, it was observable that those who live farther from their homeland, try to gear their language use to the host communities (Csernicskó 2008: 154-158).

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In my own study, I examine the language attitude of college students studying in Ukraine and Subcarpathian-Hungarian university students, who study in Hungary. A third group is also involved in my study, which contains Hungarian university students. I created the third respondent group in order to compare the answers of the three groups in connection with language use and attitude. On the other hand, according to the answers of the questionnaire, I wanted to find out that to which of the other two groups is the language attitude of the educationally mobile Subcarpathian-Hungarian university students similar.

Respondents and method

I carried out my research using a questionnaire test method. The form has been filled in by 227 respondents out of which:

- 82 were students of the University of Debrecen and have Subcarpathian origins. They are studying on the following faculties: science (32), arts and social sciences (27), information technology or mathematics (23). Henceforth, I will refer to this group as: UD Subcarpathian.
- 72 were students, living Subcarpathia, studying in the Ferenc Rakoczi II. Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education. They are members of the following faculties: science (21), arts and social sciences (34), information technology or mathematics (14). Henceforth, I will refer to this group as: THC
- 73 respondents are the Hungarian students of the University of Debrecen, in the following faculties: science (20), arts and social sciences (34), information technology or mathematics (19). Henceforth, I will refer to this group as: *UD Hungary*.

Every respondent's mother tongue is Hungarian, and they take part in the further education in Hungarian. The questionnaire involves the following topics: the sociological characteristics of the respondents (1-7), habits of keeping contact (8-10), online communication features (11-13, 23-26, 30), language skills and use (14-18), factors, which can influence language attitude (20, 22), questions about language attitude, including effects of bilingualism and beliefs in connection with dialects (19, 21, 27-29, 31).

Hypothesizes

- 1. Dialectical characteristics and archaic forms are more typical amongst the members of the Hungarian minority living on the periphery of the Hungarian language area, while neologisms get there slower (Csernicskó & Szabómihály 2010). Therefore, I presume that the crossborder Hungarian students consider dialectical phenomenon more natural and value speaking in dialects more than those, who live in Hungary.
- 2. According to the research about Subcarpathian-Hungarian identity, those who live farther from their homeland, try to gear their language use to the host communities (Csernicskó 2008: 154-158). I presume that the language attitude of the Subcarpathian-Hungarian university students, who learn in Hungary is influenced by the monolingual Hungarian environment. As a result of this, they beliefs about several linguistic phenomenon will be similar to the answers of those, who live in Hungary.

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3. According to Trudgill's conclusions (1974) in some cases the stigmatized language variants can also have prestige, when they hold a positive value amongst the members of a social group and show togetherness and solidarity. I presume that for those Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, who learn and live in Ukraine, the Subcarpathian-Hungarian language use become more significant in connection with identity, than for those, who left their homeland.

Results

A few closed questions of the survey collected information about domicile and keeping contact, the respondents were asked to mark where they live and study. Therefore, those who live in Subcarpathia marked Ukraine (100%) and those, who live in Hungary, marked this country (100%). What shows variety in the results is that students, who study in Hungary marked Ukraine (48%) and Hungary (51%) almost equally, they based their decisions on the fact that where do they spend more time. The respondents could choose from three options in connection with the place of living: Hungary, Ukraine or other. At the point "I would like to live here the most" the majority of the Subcarpathian-Hungarian students (61%) and those students of the University of Debrecen, who live in Hungary (81%) marked Hungary, while the college students marked Ukraine and Hungary equally (43-43 %). At the question, which asked that where do they want to work, the majority of the students living in Subcarpathia (57%) marked Hungary, which means that at this point the answers of the three groups were corresponsive. From these data we can make the conclusion that evidently the Subcarpathian-Hungarian students are connected to their homeland, Ukraine/Subcarpathia, but they consider Hungary as a country with better living and working conditions. According to the answers in connection with keeping contact, both two Subcarpathian groups' family (UD Subcarpathian: 96%, THC: 100%) and friends (UD Subcarpathian: 74%, THC: 96%) live in Ukraine, and they keep contact with their distant relatives and friends via internet. Most of those respondents (57%), who live in Hungary meet personally with their friends on a weekly basis, the majority of the THC students (53%) do that more times a day. Those Subcarpathian-Hungarian respondents, who learn in Hungary mostly marked (30%) that they meet with friends on a daily basis, but numerous students stated that it happens more time a day (26%) or only on a monthly basis (26%). However, all respondents use the chat function on the internet more times a day for keeping contact with friends (UD Subcarpathian: 56%, THC: 72%, UD Hungary: 64%). The regular contact keeping and communication via internet plays an important role in the everyday life of the respondents.

The next section of the survey contained questions about language skills. All the three groups speak Hungarian as their mother tongue. In connection with Ukrainian and Russian languages the two Subcarpathian groups had similar results. Majority of the respondents speaks Ukrainian in a less proper way (UD Subcarpathian: 43%, THC: 31%), and they only know a few words in Russian (UD Subcarpathian: 35%, THC: 29%). The majority of those, who live in Hungary speaks neither Ukrainian (75%), nor Russian (84%) languages.

According to the results in connection with spoken language use, code-switching is present in both of the Subcarpathian groups' communication, and it is more typical amongst the members of THC than in the UD Subcarpathian group (1st table).

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Do you use Ukrainian/Russian languages during	Yes	No
your Hungarian dialogues?	%	%
UD Subcarpathian-Hungarians	70	30
THC	82	18
UD Hungary	14	86

1st table: code-switching in spoken language use

The reasons of code-switching are summarized in the table below (2nd table).

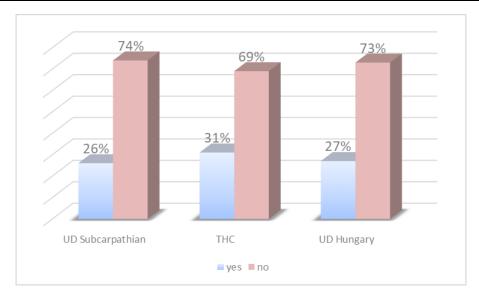
	UD	THC	UD
	Subcarpathian	%	Hungary
	%		%
I use it for practicing the Ukrainian language	11	11	3
I use it for emphasizing my utterances	15	11	0
I use Ukrainian/Russian words to be	56	63	12
humorous			
My Ukrainian/Russian friends do not	20	31	0
understand particular words in Hungarian;			
therefore, I switch to their language			
In several cases some words come to my	33	40	0
mind only in Ukrainian/Russian			

2nd table: Reasons of code-switching

According to the table the majority of both Subcarpathian groups switch codes in order to be humorous. Besides, the students marked that mostly some words only come to their mind in Ukrainian/Russian. I asked the respondents' opinion about two statements, which are known as myths of code-switching. Myths are beliefs, or non-expert suppositions, which do not at all, or only partly meet objective facts, these are so called half-truths. In general, these are not based on rational principles, but on convictions, which are integral parts in the culture of the given society. Myths can stay on the surface because of the fact that they are not completely wrong and contain partly true elements, which are in connection with the people's everyday experiences and can influence their acts and behavior. These myths can result in the language changes (Lanstyák 2014: 80-83). One of the myths, which was chosen by me in connection with code-switching is: "The usage of more than one language in a conversation can result in senseless dialogues" (Lanstyák 2014: 104). None of the respondent groups agreed with this statement, the percentages are nearly equal. (1st diagram).

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1st table: The respondents' opinion in connection with the statement that code-switching results in senseless dialogues

According to the other myth: "Mixing two languages shows that the speaker do not know one of the languages or maybe neither of them well" (Lanstyák 2014: 105). I used the myth in the survey through the question: What is your opinion about the following statement: "As a Subcarpathian person, I use other languages (Ukrainian, Russian) beside Hungarian, because I do not speak any of these languages properly enough." Do you agree with this statement, or can you mention any other reasons, why we switch codes during a conversation? I only asked the opinion of the two Subcarpathian groups about this. Most of the respondents did not agree with this statement, and they mostly justified it. I categorized the typical answers (3rd table). Next to the answers I marked in brackets that how many respondents mentioned the certain reasons.

Reasons named by the respondents				
THC	UD (Subcarpathian-Hungarians)			
 Solidarity: during communication with 	– Habits (13)			
people whose mother tongue is	- Filling (10)			
Ukrainian (11)	– Solidarity (9)			
 Filling: they can develop particular 	– Humor (6)			
words easier in Ukrainian (7)	- Status improvement (4)			
 Borrowed words: words, applied in 	 Effects of varied language environment, 			
Hungarian, coming from Ukrainian (6)	bilingualism (4)			
 Language practice (4) 	- Borrowed words (2)			
 Status improvement: in particular 	- Language practice (2)			
situations, e.g. in official platforms,	– Quotation (2)			
using Ukrainian language is obligatory	 Keeping others out of the communication 			
(4)	(2)			
- Effects of varied language environment,	 Making an impression: they find 			
bilingualism (3)	particular word more impressive in			
- Habits (3)	Ukrainian (1)			

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_	Humor (3)
-	Quotation: Particular Ukrainian
	expressions or jokes cannot be translated
	into Hungarian, they only make sense in
	Ukrainian (1)

3rd table: The motives of code-switching according to the own experiences of respondents

The Transcarpathian college students mostly use code-switching during a conversation, in order to identify themselves with those, whose mother tongue is Ukrainian. The Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, studying in Hungary switch codes out of habit, because of the frequent use of Ukrainian expressions. Similarly to the spoken language, code switching is also present in the online communication of the respondents. The table below (4th table) shows that code-switching is mostly typical amongst Transcarpathian college students, but it eventuates in the langue use of those, who study in Hungary.

Do you use Ukrainian/Russian expressions during your	Yes	No
online communication?	%	%
UD Subcarpathian	59%	41%
THC	82%	18%
UD Hungary	19%	81%

4th table: code-switching during online communication

As a reason of code-switching, they also marked humor in a higher percentage (5th table).

Reasons of code-switching:	UD	THC	UD
	Subcarpathian	%	Hungary
	%		%
This is typical in the language use of	21	29	0
Subcarpathian people, we express in this way that			
we are from Subcarpathia			
I only use it, when I am chatting with	13	35	0
Ukrainian/Russian friends			
Humor	46	47	15
Others use Ukrainian/Russian words during their	20	22	0
online communication, and I also would like to			
adapt these			

5th table: reasons of code switching in online communication

Thereinafter, the respondents were asked to mark that on their own admission what are characteristic in their online communication. The majority of the Subcarpathian students, studying in Debrecen marked English words, and more than a half of them use Ukrainian/Russian words and slang expressions by turns. The vast majority of students,

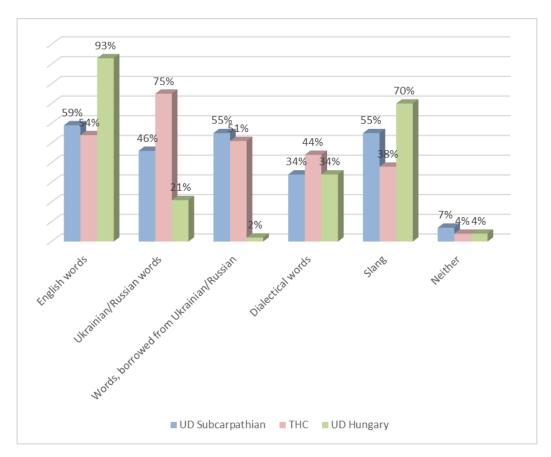
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studying in Subcarpathia marked that they use Ukrainian/Russian words, but more than a half of the respondents use words, borrowed from the Ukrainian/Russian languages, and also English expressions. Amongst the students, studying in Hungary, almost everyone uses English words and slang in a high percentage during their online communication. According to the comparison, the use of dialectical words occurs in a higher percentage amongst those, who study in Subcarpathia (2nd diagram).



2nd diagram: Features of the Internet communication of participants

In connection with the previously mentioned phenomenon, I also asked the three groups that how often do they use Ukrainian/Russian expressions, words, borrowed from these two languages, expressions, containing dialectical features or English words. According to the data, the Subcarpathian students, who learn in Debrecen use these less frequently, than the THC group. The respondents, who live in Hungary mostly use English and dialectical expressions, but they never use Ukrainian/Russian words (6th table).

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	Frequently %	Sometimes %	Never %		
UD Subcarpathian	UD Subcarpathian				
English words	51	40	9		
Dialectical words	11	63	26		
Words, borrowed from	39	45	16		
Ukrainian/Russian					
Ukrainian/Russian words	41	44	15		
THC					
English words	34	42	24		
Dialectical words	39	56	5		
Words, borrowed from	43	40	17		
Ukrainian/Russian					
Ukrainian/Russian words	47	36	17		
UD Hungary					
English words	65	32	3		
Dialectical words	5	45	50		
Words, borrowed from	1	3	96		
Ukrainian/Russian					
Ukrainian/Russian words	1	8	91		

6th table: frequency of characteristics of language use in online communication

I asked for the opinion of the two Subcarpathian groups about the phenomena, when Subcarpathian-Hungarian people use Russian/Ukrainian words during their online communication. The Subcarpathian-Hungarian students of the University of Debrecen think that it is a natural and common phenomenon, which characterizes their own use of language too. Contrarily, the respondents, who study in Subcarpathia marked in a much higher percentage that it has a function of demonstrating identity/orientation, but half of them stated that it is a natural and common phenomenon, which also characterizes their use of language, and it is used because the online communication is casual (7th table).

What is your opinion, when Subcarpathian-Hungarian	UD	THC
people use Russian/Ukrainian words during their online	Subcarpathian	%
communication?	%	
It is a common phenomenon amongst Subcarpathian, and also	45	50
typical in my speech		
It is a common phenomenon amongst Subcarpathians, but it is	32	13
not typical in my speech		
I have never met this kind of situation in online	7	8
communication		
I have already met this kind of situation, but I have no idea,	9	4
what are the reasons of that		
I have already met this kind of situation, but I find these	15	10

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specifically annoying		
I think that its function is demonstrating identity	35	87
It is used for humor, because of the looseness of online	35	50
communication		

^{7&}lt;sup>th</sup> table: attitudes in connection with code-switching

The rest of the survey examined the attitude of the respondents in connection with dialects. Therefore, I asked their opinion about the following sentence, containing dialectical elements: "Jó" van má' te jány, nyugi, oszt miden rendben lesz". Most of the respondents (UD Subcarpathian: 85%, THC: 91%, UD Hungary: 78%) had already came across that kind of example, but as they said, it is not typical in their own speech. In an open question, I also asked the respondents' opinion about the following utterance, which contains dialectical elements: "akkor átjösztök máma este?". They were requested to describe it with two words. Altogether I got 269 answers. There were some characteristics, which were mentioned by all the three groups, or several times inside the same group. The numbers in brackets show that how many respondents gave the answers. I summarized the most typical expressions in the table below (8th table). The answers, given by the respondents can be divided into three categories: neutral, positive and negative markers. Amongst the members of all the three groups mostly neutral markers were mentioned, while positive words occurred in the lowest percentage.

UD Subcarpathian	THC	UD Hungary
dialectical words (12),	dialectical words (11),	dialectical words (14),
annoying (8), familiar (7),	incorrect (9), frequent (5),	incorrect (5), humorous (4),
broad (6), understandable	countrified (5), annoying	countrified (4),
(6), incorrect (5),	(4), familiar (4), broad (4),	understandable (4), weird
Subcarpathian (5), humorous	humorous (4),	(3), archaic (3), disturbing
(4), disturbing (4), natural	understandable (3), homely	(2), Hungarian (2), does not
(3), frequent (3), used by	(2), I also use it (2),	disturb me (2).
elderly (3), I do not tolerate	disturbing (2).	
it (2), I do not use it (2),		
typical (2), poor language		
skills (2), countrified (2),		
weird (2), negligent (2).		

8th table: attitudes in connection with dialects

Summary

In my study, I used a survey to compare the answers of the three respondents' groups. I examined that in what extent are code-switching and the usage of dialectical words typical in their language, and I asked their opinion about these language phenomena. The groups on the one hand contained Transcarpathian-Hungarian college students, who live and study in Ukraine, and on the other hand Transcarpathian-Hungarian university students, who moved to

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Hungary in educational purpose, and thirdly students, whose homeland is Hungary. The aim of my research was to compare the language attitude of the three groups, and to find out, the habits of language amongst the educationally mobile Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, and whether their attitude is rather similar to the group's living in Ukraine or in Hungary.

According to the results, the THC students marked in a higher percentage than Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, studying in Hungary that code switching is typical in their speech. As a reason of code-switching both groups marked humor, but amongst the THC students it was a more common answer that particular words only come to their mind in Russian/Ukrainian than amongst Subcarpathian-Hungarian respondents, studying in Hungary. None of the three groups agreed that switching between two or more languages can result in a senseless conversation. The two Subcarpathian groups also reasoned code-switching. The majority of the THC group switches between codes because of solidarity reasons, which means that they try to adjust to the majority group's mother tongue, while the Subcarpathian-Hungarian respondents, studying at the University of Debrecen mentioned habits as the main reason of code-switching. Code switching is noticeable amongst the respondents of the two Subcarpathian groups, not only in spoken, but also in online communication. As a reason of that, majority of them also mentioned humor. Differences were noticeable between the answers of these groups, especially when they were asked to mark the characteristics of their online communication. The members of the UD Subcarpathian group mostly use English words; therefore their online communication habits are closer to those who are from Hungary. On the other hand, in the THC group the usage of Ukrainian/Russian words is more typical. At the same time more than half of the UD Subcarpathian group use words, borrowed from Ukrainian/Russian or slang expressions during their online communication. According to the comparison, slang words are less common amongst the THC students, and mostly this group marked that they use dialectical words in their online communication. In connection with the frequency of using the previously mentioned language phenomenon the answers of the UD Subcarpathian students were rather similar to the students of Hungary's responses. The two groups had different opinion about code-switching during online Subcarpathian communication. The vast majority of THC students think that it has an identity labelling function, while most of the students in the UD Subcarpathian group stated that it is a common and familiar phenomenon amongst Subcarpathian people, which is also typical in their communication. All the respondent group had met utterances, containing dialectical words during their online communication, and their attitude towards these were neutral. When they were asked to list words in connection with an utterance, containing dialectical phenomena, most of the respondents mentioned "dialectical word", at the same time several students answered: incorrect, broad, familiar.

The respondents' attitude towards dialectical speech shows a wide range of variety, including negative, positive and neutral opinions. In connection with their own language use mostly those college students stated that these elements are typical in their speech, who live and study in Subcarpathia, while amongst the members of the other two groups it is equally typical, according to their own acknowledgement. The answers of the two Subcarpathian groups in connection with their spoken language are similar in many ways, however the answers of the Subcarpathian-Hungarian students, studying in Debrecen, in the matter of online communication are rather similar to the results of the UD Hungary group. Therefore, both the bilingual and monolingual Hungarian environment has an impact on their answers.

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Lastly, in reference to the connection between Subcarpathian-Hungarian language use and identity, for those Hungarian college students, who live in Subcarpathia, it has an identity labelling function, which shows that they are members of a particular group.

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