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**HUNGARIAN-SLAVIC BILINGUALISM
IN TRANSCARPATHIA, VOJVODINA
AND PREKMURJE**



The paper deals with the interaction of the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages, namely, with the interaction between Hungarian and Slavic languages. I investigated the transformation of the Hungarian language and the internal features of Slavic languages and their structure (Ukrainian and Russian languages in Transcarpathia (Ukraine), Serbian language in Vojvodina (Serbia) and Slovenian language in Prekmurje (Slovenia)). The typologically similar phenomena (influenced by Hungarian) are registered in all Slavic languages (spoken as L2): violation of gender, number and case agreement, combination of prepositions with the nominative case, use of the nominative case after quantitative words, SOV word order.

Keywords: bilingualism, Hungarian language, Slavic languages, typology, sociolinguistics, agreement, word order.

The paper deals with the interaction of the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages, namely, with the interaction between Hungarian and Slavic languages. I will focus on the situation of bilingualism and on the mutual influence of language systems.

In my field research, initiated in 2009, I have investigated the polylingual situation of Hungarians living in Slavic countries that border Hungary: Ukraine, Serbia and Slovenia [1; 2; 3]. At the first stage of my work, I applied the sociolinguistic methods, the method of questionnaires, while at the second stage the data collection was carried out using the methods of anthropological linguistics by conducting semi-structured interviews with interlocutors. Thus, I investigated the transformation of the Hungarian language and the internal features of Slavic languages and their structure (Ukrainian and Russian languages in Transcarpathia (Ukraine), Serbian language in Vojvodina (Serbia) and Slovenian language in Prekmurje (Slovenia)). I noticed that the Hungarian and Slavic speech is heterogeneous and is influenced by such variables as the area of residence, education, language use within family etc. So, the degree of penetration of Serbian items varies considerably in the Hungarian speech of the inhabitants of Novi Sad (located in the south) and in the communities located in the north of Vojvodina, and accordingly, the level of proficiency in the Serbian language decreases with the



change of percentage of the Hungarian population. The typologically similar phenomena (influenced by Hungarian) are registered in all Slavic languages (spoken as L2): violation of gender, number and case agreement, combination of prepositions with the nominative case, use of the nominative case after quantitative words, SOV word order.

At the second stage of this project, the quantitative method was modified to qualitative method, and it was applied for data collection on such issues as bilingualism, bilingual education (on the diachronic and synchronic level), preservation of identity, traditions etc. So, I chose the orientation for the school of anthropological linguistics that focuses on the importance of each interlocutor in the study (for details about the methodology see [4]). The semi-structured open-ended interviews were conducted with informants. When speaking with bilingual informants, I chose the strategy of language change: one part of the interview was conducted in Serbian, another part was in Hungarian. This was done in order to check the degree of bilingualism, the penetration of items from L1 to L2, and also to evaluate the linguistic competence of the informants. In addition, it should be said that the researches in the field of L2 acquisition by Hungarian minority in Slavic countries have not been conducted earlier, or just some aspects of this issue have been concerned [5; 6].

Before examining the linguistic peculiarities of the speech of the informants, it is necessary to describe very briefly the language situation in these regions.

Transcarpathia is one of the most ethnically diverse regions in Central Europe. According to the 2001 census, Transcarpathia is the region of Ukraine that is inhabited by Ukrainians (79,9 %), Hungarians (12,1 %), Romanians (2,6 %), Russian (2,5 %), Gypsies (1,1 %), Slovaks (0,5%). In the XX century, the official language in Transcarpathia changed many times [7. C. 637]. Now we can see a strengthening of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of public life. It is important to emphasize (in order to understand the language situation) that in Hungarian and Moldavian schools of the Transcarpathian region until the early 90-ies the Russian language was taught and not Ukrainian [8. C. 350–351]. Hungarians live in Berehovo (41163 – 76,1 %), Vynohradiv (30874 – 26,2 %), Uzhhorod (24822 – 33,4 %), Mukachevo (12871 – 12,7 %) districts as well as in Khust (3785 – 3,9 %), Tyachiv (4991 – 2,9 %) and Rakhiv (2929 – 3,2 %) districts.

The Hungarian community in Slovenia is one of the smallest among the communities of Hungarians living in Slavic countries bordering Hungary. According to the 2002 census, 7713 people spoke Hungarian, and 6243 people declared themselves Hungarian [9]. Compact Hungarian population lives in the north-east of the country in Lendava, Dobrovnik, Hodoš, Šalovci and Moravske Toplice. The Hungarian language is an official language, along with Slovenian. There is a bilingual primary and secondary education in Hungarian language. The rights of national minorities are included in the Constitution (these rights were enshrined in the Constitution of 1974, along with the rights of the Italian national minority in the Primorska region).

The autonomous province of Vojvodina in Serbia has a population of almost 2 million and is a multiethnic region in Central Europe. Six languages are official here (Serbian, Hungarian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Slovak and Croatian). Hungarians make up almost 13 % of the population. The majority of Hungarians is concentrated in the north of the province and along the river Tisa.

During my investigation in the Hungarian-Slavic contact area, I noticed that the types of errors that are peculiar to the Serbian speech of Vojvodina Hungarians arise in the speech in other Slavic languages: in Slovenian language of Prekmurian Hungarians in Prekmurje [1. C. 10] and also in the Russian and Ukrainian language of Transcarpathian Hungarians [2, 11].

As I followed the strategy of conversation with informants in two languages (where it was reasonable), the samples of L2 speech of Vojvodina Hungarians were collected. Deviations from the rules of the Serbian language are most noticeable in the speech of the older generation living in Novi Sad, Skorenovac and in the speech of the inhabitants of northern Vojvodina (Ada municipality).

Also, a study was conducted in order to ascertain the linguistic competence of Hungarians in Slavic languages. For instance, I argue that the younger generation of Prekmurian Hungarians speaks Slovenian very well, the diagnostic errors that were found in great numbers in Serbian and Ukrainian languages are minimal in Slovenian. It is caused primarily by the small number of Hungarian community (there is no settlement completely isolated from the influence of the Slovenian language), as well as by the bilingual education system, unique in the region. Here is a description of the linguistic competence in Slovenian language made by Prekmurian Hungarian:

[1] *Időnként a ragozásban, időnként a nemek, főleg édesapámnál, nálunk nincsenek nemek, szlovénnál van hogy a, to je miza^{slo}, és ez női nem, ženskega spola je miza^{slo}, édesapám, lehet, hogy ezt férfi nemnek nevezi, szóval, mikor ragoz, akkor nem tudja helyesen ragozni, írni olvasni tudnak, mert édesapám a szakközépiskola után fejezett egy ilyen továbbképzést szlovén nyelven, nem okoz gondot, dolgoztak, hogy mindkét nyelvet kellett használni, zárójelben érződni az, hogy nem szlovén anyanyelvűek.* ('Sometimes in declination, sometimes gender, mainly my dad, we don't have gender, for example, in Slovenian we have **to je miza** (table) is feminine, **ženskega spola je miza**, my dad, maybe, will call this masculine gender, in short, when he declines, he doesn't know how to decline properly, they can read and write, because my father after the school received further education in the Slovenian language, this did not cause the inconvenience, they worked, used two languages, but still you can feel that their Slovenian language is not native') (Lendava/Lendva, May 2013).

These deviations may emerge in the language of Hungarians living in homogeneous areas and Hungarians from areas with predominant Serbian population. However, the Hungarians of the second group have a low percentage of such deviations as compared to the rate of deviations made by Hungarians from the first group. Such errors are diagnostic and most stable in the speech of Hungarians in L2. The following utterances illustrate the Serbian speech (L2) (especially, the grammatical correctness) of Vojvodina Hungarians:

[2] *Úgyhogy a férfi nem, még a padezsokat, az még mindig* ('So, [a masculine gender] causes problems, and cases, always') (NS).

[3] *Da, ali se gadaju sa padežima, to nikako nije mogla da savlada, ženski, muški rod, dosta je brka* ('Yes, but they are not sure about cases, she could not master, feminine, masculine gender, there was enough confusion') (NS).

[4] *Moji roditelji su govorili mađarski, govorili su srpski s tim što su oni odrasli u sredini mađarskoj, malo manje su pravilno govorili srpski, omaklo im se padeži, i tako dalje, to su znali brkati neke stvari, jer im je maternji bio mađarski* ('My parents



spoke Hungarian, and they spoke Serbian, but they grew up in a Hungarian environment, they spoke less correctly Serbian, they forgot the cases, and so forth, they confused some things, because their native language was Hungarian') (NS).

[5] *Ne znam, padeže, i dan danas* ('I don't know, cases, until today') (NS).

The diagnostic errors are most typical of the older generation, those who are today over 70 years old.

In the further part of my paper I analyze some typical deviations in Hungarian and Slavic languages caused by intense language contact. In the vocabulary of informants, the loanwords from the Serbian language were revealed. The greater number of Serbian words emerges in Hungarian speech of informants living in Novi Sad (an urban Serbian environment). The given examples show the degree of incorporation of the Serbian lexical items in Hungarian and also demonstrate what is borrowed. It is worth noting that some Serbian words are stable, whereas other words are occasional, momentary, spontaneously penetrated into the speech of informants.

Among Serbian words those of the Slavic origin are in majority: *ez plocsa minden, nem kell levenni* ('there are tiles everywhere, there is no need to remove the shoes') (Sk); *rokoltam Horvátországba* ('I served in the army in Croatia') (Sk); *felraktuk a kocsi-ra, prikolica* ('we loaded on a car, trailer') (Sk); *az nekem nem szmétált, szóval, a szüleim neveltek úgy, hogy gyerek gyerek* ('it doesn't bother me, in short, my parents taught me that child is child') (NS); *érezik kicsit az orosz náglászáék* ('one can feel Russian accent') (V); *vagy ha észreveszi, van neki náglászáé* ('or if you notice, he has an accent') (NS); *jöttek, próbáljátok prohát* ('they came, let's try the cornbread') (A); *ők, szerbül, cigányul, magyarul, az tudja minden obavezno cigány* ('they, speak Serbian, Romany, Hungarian, every Roma knows necessarily') (A); *nekem vannak is rogyákrok Beogradban* ('I also have relatives in Belgrade') (A); *s végén van a normális óvoda, predskolszka usztánová, ahová járnak a gyerekek minden nap* ('and in the end [of the village] is a normal kindergarten, a preschool institution, where children go every day') (V).

One can also select the layer of the Serbian words, which were borrowed from the Turkish language: *sok volt kajszi-ja itt* ('here were many apricots') (A); *az itteni csicsa cukrász, ez macedoniai albán* ('the local "uncle" is a pastry chef, he is Macedonian Albanian') (A); *rendes út itt se volt, az a turszká káldrmá, ami volt, úgyhogy az busz csak kétszer jött* ('a normal road was not here, it was only a stone pavement, so the bus came only twice a day') (Sk); *éjfél után ment a szárma* ('after midnight it was stuffed cabbage leaves') (NS).

The Serbian words of international origin were registered as well: *nem köll, van mobilni* ('there is no need, there is a mobile phone') (Sk); *orvosira jártam, lehallgat-tam, apszolváltam* ('I went to medical school, I attended classes, and I graduated') (NS); *mert nem volt a pászosom megcsinálva* ('because my passport was not made') (V); *szokszor használnak szerb szavakat magyar prefiks, szufiksokkal* ('they often use Serbian words with Hungarian prefixes, suffixes') (NS); *idegen nyelv ha van, szinkronizálunk* ('if there is a foreign language, we do the dubbing') (NS); *beszéltek magyarul, mint szerbül, paralelno, kezdtek beszélni magyarul és szerbül* ('they spoke Hungarian, and Serbian, simultaneously, they began to speak Hungarian and Serbian') (NS); *ambaszádban volt akkor magyar kiállitás* ('then had an exhibition in the Hungarian embassy') (V); *a városi televízió, lokálná televizijá, hát igen, de annak keretében,*

nagyon nagyon kis pénzt kapunk ('a city TV, local TV, yes, but within this, we got very very little money') (V); *általános tantárgyak, kémia, fizika* ('general subjects, chemistry, physics') (HC); *nincs semmi problem* ('there is no problem') (V).

Among the phonetic contact items in Serbian speech I should note the lack of distinction between the sounds, for example, between the voiceless retroflex sibilant affricate *č* and voiceless alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate *ć*: *onda su umrli, pa deca su prodali kuće* (instead of *kuće*), *su otišli* ('then they died and the children sold homes and left') (An); *jer nisu koristili jer to čisto* (instead of *čisto*) *skoro bilo mađarsko, nisu koristili srpski* ('because they did not use, because it was almost all Hungarian, they did not use Serbian') (NS); *su više nemački* (instead of *nemački*) *znali ovi naši* ('they knew more German, our people') (NS). In addition, instead of the voiced alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate *đ* appears palatalized dental *d'* and instead of the voiceless alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate *ć* appears *t'*: *tamo svad'a* (instead of *svađa*) *nije bilo* ('there were no quarrels') (A); *to je sve bilo sred'eno* (instead of *sređeno*) ('this was all managed') (A); *ona je pričala mađarski, mi smo mađarski* (instead of *mađarski*) *pričali* ('she spoke Hungarian, we spoke Hungarian') (A); *a sad nema oko petnaest dvanaest kut'a* (instead of *kuća*) ('and now there are no fifteen - twenty houses') (A); *šta da ja uzmem ovo i nosim ja kut'i* (instead of *kući*) ('why should I take it out and carry home') (A); *to kad nemaš dat'u, kad nemaš ti, dat'u* (instead of *daću*) ('if you don't have, I will give you') (A); *došo kut'i* (instead of *čisto*), *kasno* ('he came home, later') (A); *sad pred'ete* (instead of *pređete*) *na Mol* ('now you go to Mol') (A).

Thus, we see a reverse process to that which was registered in the Hungarian language of Novi Sad. The transfer of phonetic rules from L2 to L1 occurs in the speech of informants, only the direction of transfer changes. In Serbian language, spoken as L2 by Hungarians, the opposition between *č* and *ć* is neutralized because it is not typical in Hungarian. The sounds *ć* and *đ* are closer to palatalized *t'* and *d'* and replace these sounds, accordingly. M. Ilić notes that in the speech of Hungarian Serbs this phenomenon is also observed [12. P. 139].

The Ukrainian language of Transcarpathian Hungarians is also heterogeneous. The level of proficiency depends on the social and ethnic environment of the informant and on his personal characteristics [11. C. 256]. The most frequent phonetic phenomenon is a mixture of sounds, which occurs both in oral and in written language due to the lack of distinction between velar fricative *ch* and voiced glottal fricative *h*, as well as the lack of distinction between high central unrounded vowel *y* and high front unrounded vowel *i*. The reason for these phenomena could be the fact that in the Hungarian language the sounds *y* and *h* don't exist, and there are only three palatalized consonants <ny>, <ty>, <gy>. The mixture of *h/ch* is stable and occurs in the speech of informants from all localities, even in the speech of informants whose proficiency in Ukrainian is quite high:

Я вважаю, що нема харніших (instead of *гарніших*) *слів, різноманітніших, таких кольорових, як в угорській, ні в одній іншій мові** ('I think there is no language where there are such beautiful, diversified, colorful words, except Hungarian'); *Велике сховище акул у тигому океані* (instead of *тихому*) *океані* ('A big refuge of sharks in the Pacific ocean'); *Я американський фільм* (instead of *американський фільм*) *люблю*

* The original writing of the informants is preserved.



(‘I like American movies’); *Тому що цей державний* (instead of *державний*) *мова* (‘Because it is a state language’); *Угорська* (instead of *угорська*) *мова це моя рідна мова* (‘The Hungarian language is my native language’).

Among the grammatical errors, I found the most typical deviations: there is no agreement between noun and adjective or possessive pronoun or there is only incorrect agreement. In Hungarian there is no grammatical gender, so the informants agree feminine and neuter nouns with masculine adjectives or pronouns. This occurs, probably, due to the fact, that Hungarians choose the masculine as the main grammatical form: *Це невеликий*_M *село*_N (‘It’s a small village’); *Це угорський*_M *село*_N (‘This is a Hungarian village’); *Тут є один*_M *маленький*_M *озеро*_N *Téglagyár* (‘There is one small lake Téglagyár’); *Є багато магазин, один*_N *загальна*_F *школа*_F, *дитячий садок, церква, пошта і диско* (‘There are many shops, one public school, kindergarten, church, post office and disco’); *Я дуже люблю цей*_M *місто*_N (‘I love this city’); *Цей*_M *село*_N *повністю угорсько* (‘This village is entirely Hungarian’).

However, we can find examples of agreement with adjectives in feminine: *Берегово дуже красива*_F *город*_M (‘Berehovo is a very beautiful city’); *Чома маленька*_F *село*_N (‘Choma is a small village’); *У центрі є великий диско (я не ходжу) і дуже гарна*_F *парк*_M (‘In the centre there is a big disco (where I don’t go) and a very nice park’); *Якщо на природі холодна*_F *вітер*_M *віє* (‘If the cold wind blows’). The nominal part of the predicate can be used without agreement: *Це*_N *вулиця*_F *дуже чистий*_M *і гарний*_M (‘This street is very clean and beautiful’); *Цей*_M *село*_N *дуже велика*_F (‘This village is very big’). Such examples of disagreement are registered in the verbal forms of the past tense (and what is interesting – even if we are talking about the informant!): *Там був*_M (instead of *було*) *дуже добре* (‘There was very good’); *Я народилося*_N (instead of *народився*) *Горонглаб* (‘I was born in Horonhlab’). In oblique cases can occur the choice of incorrect gender: *Жити в іншому*_{LOC.M/N} *країні*_{LOC.F} (‘To live in another country’), *Гратися на мокрому*_{LOC.M/N} *траві*_{LOC.F} (‘To play on wet grass’); *Навчаюся у Великодобринської*_{LOC.F} *лицей*_{LOC.M} (‘I’m studying in college of Velyka Dobron’); *У другому*_{LOC.M/N} *світовому*_{LOC.M/N} *війні*_{LOC.F} (‘During the Second World War’). As can be seen from the above examples, in most cases the informants choose the form of the masculine gender in Slavic languages spoken as L2.

The gender agreement can cause difficulties for Hungarians, because in Hungarian language there is no agreement between noun and adjective if the adjective is used in the function of the predicate [13. 282 o.]. This is not only typical for Transcarpathian Hungarians, but also for Vojvodina and Prekmurian Hungarians. For example, the words of feminine ending in a consonant, are perceived as masculine words, i.e. there is a formal agreement in Slovenian: *Slovenski*_M *književnost*_F (‘The Slovenian literature’); *Dobrovnik pa je tisti*_M *vas*_F *kjer je še govoriyo oba jezika* (‘Dobrovnik is a village where two languages are spoken’).

In addition, there is also unmotivated case agreement in Slovenian, when the gender of noun can be predicted (e. g., despite the ending *-a*, that is typical for feminine nouns, the agreement occurs in the masculine gender): *Ime Cousteau nosi en*_M *raziskovalna*_F *točka*_F *v bližini La Paz* (‘One research station in the vicinity of La Paz has the name Jacques Cousteau’); *Otok*_M *je dobila*_F *ime Jacques Cousteau v Mehiko* (‘The Island in Mexico received the name Jacques Cousteau’); *en*_M *šola*_F (‘One school’).

In the Serbian language of Vojvodina Hungarians there are also examples of formal agreement: *Puškaš to je najpoznatiji_M mađarski_M reč_F* ('Puskás is the most well-known Hungarian word'); unmotivated agreement in predicate: *škola_F u oktobru je organizovao_M put u Budimpešt za učenike mađarskih razreda* ('In October the school organized a trip to Budapest for pupils of Hungarian classes'); unmotivated agreement between noun and adjective: *Najbolja_F pisac_M na mađarskom jeziku je Petefi Šandor* ('The best writer in Hungarian language is Sándor Petőfi'). According to E. Bernak, the category of gender is one of the most complicated for Slovenian-Hungarian bilinguals [14. S. 54]. This observation is valid for the Serbian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Hungarian bilinguals.

The reason for the use of nominative case after preposition can be a transfer of rules from the native language of the informants to the Slavic languages (the postpositions in Hungarian language, mainly, agree with the nominative case), or the informants are not able to choose the correct form and they use nominative, as the easiest option in Slavic language system: *Недалеко від центр_{NOM.SG}* ('Not far from the center'); *В Україні не можливо жити без угорська_{NOM.SG} мова_{NOM.SG}* ('In Ukraine it is not possible to live without Hungarian language'); *Він писав про природа_{NOM.SG}* ('He wrote about nature'); *Навколо село_{NOM.SG} є озеро, ліс і поле* ('Around the village there is a lake, a forest and a field'); *Щодня крім субота_{NOM.SG} і неділя_{NOM.SG} я живу у Берегови* ('I live in Berehovo every day, except Saturday and Sunday').

The influence of the Hungarian language is also noticeable in constructions with quantitative words: after these words the informants use nouns in the nominative case in singular, as in their mother tongue: *У Вари є багато магазин_{NOM.SG}* (compare Hung. *sok bolt*), *клуб, будинок, поліклініки, дитячий садок* ('In Vari there are many shops, clubs, houses, clinics, kindergartens'); *У селі є багато магазин_{NOM.SG}* (compare Hung. *sok bolt*) ('In the village there are many shops'); *В Берегово ми можемо робити багато цікавий_{NOM.SG} річ_{NOM.SG}* (compare Hung.: *sok érdekes dolog*) ('In Berehovo we can do a lot of interesting things'); *У селі є багато будинок_{NOM.SG}* (compare Hung. *sok épület*) *церква, пожежна машина, магазин, кафе, школа, дитячий садок* ('In the village there are many buildings, church, fire truck, shop, cafe, school, kindergarten').

The bright Hungarian construction on the syntactic level is the word order. In Hungarian the object usually stands before the verb (SOV) if we mean the position where the verb is used without prefix: *A fiú levelet ír* [15. S. 132] ('The boy writes a letter'). A different position of the verb and object in Slavic languages and Hungarian language in a neutral sentence is also the cause of the interference. I found the following examples in Ukrainian as L2: *Англійську мову в сьогоднішні часи дуже багато людей вивчають* ('Today many people learn English'); *Я реп музику слухаю*; ('I listen to rap music'). In Slovenian we have the following examples: *V Novi Zelandiji glečerci več leda in snega so izgubili* ('New Zealand's glaciers lost more ice'); *Sonce vedno manjkrať vidimo* ('We see the sun less and less'); *Tam, še veliko stadionov majo* ('They have more stadiums there'); *Ledeniki se zelo hitro topijo. Veliko snega in leda izgubijo* ('The glaciers are melting very quickly. They will lose a lot of snow and ice').

Among the examples collected in Serbian language, I found the sentences with a similar word order: *Jako volim moju ulicu, jer sve ljude, koji tamo stanuju znam* ('I love my street because all people who live here I know'); *Napravili su predstrave, film*



gledali ('They organized performances, they saw a movie'); *Emir Kusturica poznati svetski reditelj filmsku operu pravi* ('Emir Kusturica, world famous film director makes an opera film').

The peculiarity of the Hungarian sentence without a direct object is the position of the verb at the end of the sentence if the sentence is neutral: *Holnap Ungvárra utazom* ('I go tomorrow to Uzhhorod') [13. 487 o.]. In Ukrainian speech of Transcarpathian Hungarians the verb tends to occupy the final position in the sentence. Although this is not prohibited by the rules of Ukrainian language, this word order creates an additional meaning, which is unusual in a neutral sentence: *Дуже багато магазинів тут є* ('There are many shops here'); *А зимою сніг падає* ('It snows in winter'); *Тут моя сім'я живе* ('My family lives here'); *Це є місто Тячів в якому я вже 17 років живу* ('This is Tyachiv where I have lived for 17 years'). In the speech of informants from Vojvodina and Prekmurje I registered the similar examples: a verb in a sentence without an object is often located at the end of the sentence, that reflects the situation in the Hungarian language: *Madžarsko starejši babice in dedki govorijo* ('The old grandmothers and grandfathers speak Hungarian'); *Mama mi vedno pripoveduje o tem kako sem se rodila in zakaj je hotela, da bi se v tamkajšni bolnišnici rodila* ('My mother always told me about how I was born and why she wanted I was born at a local hospital'); *Čeprav je tako lepa Lendava, pa nikoli ne bi v mestu živel* ('Although Lendava is so beautiful, I would never live in the city'). The informants from Vojvodina are under the influence of Hungarian and use the verb at the end of the sentence: *Puškaš je bio obožavan i svugde po svetu je igrao* ('Puskas was loved by all people and he played all over the world'); *Do 6 sati Pešte smo putovali* ('We went 6 hours to Budapest'); *Mada verujem da je to posledica toga samo da se jedino srpskim služim onda kada mi je potreban jer sa porodicom i prijateljima na mađarskom komuniciram* ('Although I think that it is only a consequence of the fact that I use Serbian language only when I need it, because I speak Hungarian with my family and friends').

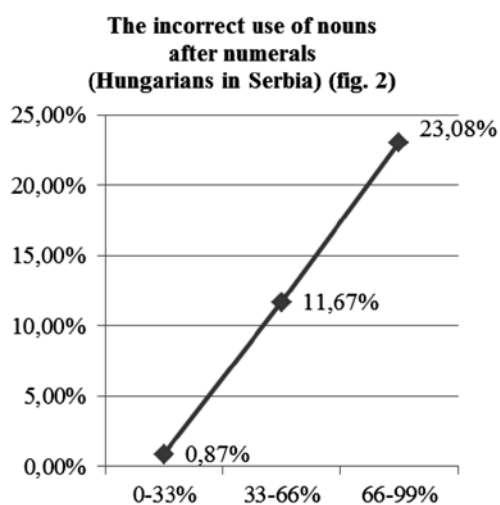
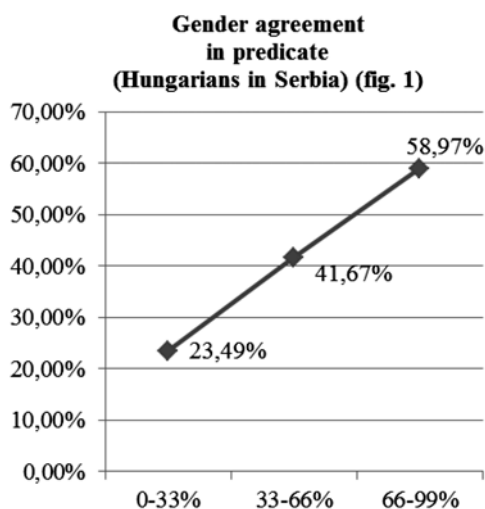
Among Hungarian items I must pay attention to the use of the preposition *NA* in temporal and spatial sentences where the Superessiv case (that ends in *-n*) is used in Hungarian: *Я хочу ступити семінарії на Ужгороду* ('I want to go to the seminary in Uzhhorod') (compare Hung. *Ungvár-o-n_{SUPE}*); *На літо* (compare Hung. *nyár-o-n_{SUPE}*) *я їду до купатися там* ('In summer I go swimming there'). In Slovenian languages the use of the preposition *NA* with the names was also registered: *Naprimera, ko sem se rodil, smo z mojo mamo skupaj na Budimpešti živeli* ('For example, when I was born, we lived with my mom in Budapest'); *Na Budimpešti je zelo krasno* ('In Budapest is very nice'); *Nekega dne sem se jaz in moja družina odločila, da bi šli na izlet v Madžarsko, na Budimpešto* ('One day my family and I decided to go on a tour to Hungary, to Budapest'). The preposition *NA* is used with geographical name *Budimpešta*, whereas in Slovenian language for the expression of movement and the stay in some place the preposition *V* is used.

In the Hungarian language with most geographical names that are located on the territory of modern Hungary or that were part of the Hungarian Kingdom, is used the ending *-n* to express the meaning of location within a place and the ending *-ra/-re* to express the meaning of movement [16. 179 o.]. I found similar structures in Serbian language of Vojvodina Hungarians: *Pre dve nedelje sam putovao na Budimpeštu*



za četiri dana ('Two weeks ago I went to Budapest for four days'); *Putovanje na Budimpeštu* ('A trip to Budapest').

The calculation of mistakes from the written narratives of Hungarians in Serbian language as L2 was done. I divided all my informants into 3 groups: the Hungarians living in settlements with 0–33 %, 33–66 % and 66–99 % of Hungarians. Then, in each of these three groups I compared the number of informants who made errors in gender agreement (fig. 1) and in the use of nouns after numerals (fig. 2) with the total number of informants who completed written assignments. I argue the informants from the third group (66–99 % of Hungarians) make more mistakes.



In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that on the territory of Hungarian-Slavic borderland there are active language contacts, which are reflected in L1 of Hungarians and in their L2. The intensity of these contacts depends on many variables, primarily on the ethnic environment and on language attitudes. The given examples show how the language system of Indo-European languages and Finno-Ugric languages can be permeable, which categories are permeable when we are talking about the centuries-old ethnolinguistic contacts of the languages that belong to different language families.

ABBREVIATIONS

NS – Novi Sad, Sk – Skorenovac, V – Vojlovica, A – Ada.

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Венгерско-славянский билингвизм в Закарпатье, Воеводине и Прекмурье

В статье рассматривается взаимодействие финно-угорских и индоевропейских языков: взаимодействие между славянскими языками и венгерским языком. Было проведено исследование как трансформации венгерского языка, так и внутренних особенностей славянских языков и их структур (украинского и русского языков в Закарпатье (Украина),



сербского языка в Воеводине (Сербия) и словенского языка в Прекмурье (Словения)). Типологически схожие явления, возникшие под влиянием венгерского языка, были зафиксированы во всех славянских языках (используемых как Я2): нарушение согласования в роде, числе и падеже, сочетание предлогов с именительным падежом, использование именительного падежа после количественных слов, порядок слов SOV.

Ключевые слова: билингвизм, венгерский язык, славянские языки, типология, социолингвистика, согласование, порядок слов.

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