

**Eötvös Loránd University
Faculty of Humanities**

ABSTRACT OF THE PHD THESIS BY

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**STRATEGIES IN THE LANGUAGE
SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN BEING
BROUGHT UP IN ETHNICALLY
HETEROGENEOUS FAMILIES IN
TRANSCARPATHIA**

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- студентів та аспірантів «Актуальні проблеми філології та журналістики», Ужгород, 10–11 квітня 2014 року
- Etnikailag vegyes házasságban nevelkedő óvodáskorú gyermekek nyelvhasználatának jellemzői Nyitra és Párkány környékén [Characteristic features of language use of children being brought up in ethnically mixed marriages around Nyitra and Párkány]. 18. Élőnyelvi Konferencia, Nyitra, 2014. szeptember 18–20.
- Ukrajnai és szlovákiai szláv-magyar etnikailag heterogén családokban nevelkedő gyermek nyelvhasználatának jellemzői [Characteristics of language use of the child being brought up in Slavic-Hungarian ethnically heterogeneous families in Ukraine and in Slovakia]. A magyar nyelv és az indoeurópai nyelvek, Nemzetközi tudományos konferencia, Újvidék, 2014. október 22.
- Nyelvi szocializáció felvidéki és kárpátaljai etnikailag heterogén családokban [Language socialization in ethnically heterogeneous families from the Slovakian Highlands and Transcarpathia]. A II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola Öregdiák Szövetségének II. Tudományos Konferenciája „öregdiákok a tudományok világában”, Beregszász, 2014. november 27.

children being brought up in ethnically mixed marriages]. 16. Élőnyelvi Konferencia, Beregszász, 2010. szeptember 15–18.

Nyelvi szocializáció etnikailag vegyes házasságokban [Language socialization in ethnically mixed marriages]. XIII. Pszicholingvisztikai Nyári Egyetem, Balatonalmádi, 2011. május 26.

Etnikailag vegyes házasság ≠ nyelvileg vegyes házasság? [Ethnically mixed marriage does not mean linguistically mixed marriage?] 17. Élőnyelvi Konferencia, Szeged, 2012. augusztus 30. – szeptember 1.

Kétnyelvű nyelvi szocializáció, illetve a vegyes házasságban felnövő gyermekek nyelvi fejlődése [Bilingual language socialization and the language development of children being brought up in ethnically mixed marriages]. 44. Kazinczy Napok, Kassa, 2012. november 8–9.

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Мовна соціалізація в етнічно гетерогенному родинному середовищі [Language socialization in an ethnically heterogeneous family context]. Міжнародній науково-практичній конференції

Introduction

Ethnically mixed marriages are extremely common in numerous regions of the world, from which the multinational Transcarpathia is no exception. This is the territory where several nationalities have been living side by side for many centuries (Ukrainian, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian, Gypsy, Rusyn, German, Slovakian, Jewish, etc.) (Kárpátaljai települések nemzetiségi (anyanyelvi) adatai (1880-1941), 1996). Due to this long coexistence, the ‘mixing’ among nationalities and ethnicities appears also on the essential community level of the society, in the family. In these families, heterogeneity is natural not only ethnically, but also linguistically.

Childhood bilingualism in Hungarian-Slavic relations was first investigated in Transcarpathia by me within the framework of a bachelor thesis (Karmacs 2007). Continuing the examination of this issue, the subject of the present dissertation is also the investigation of strategies applied in linguistic socialization within Hungarian-Slavic ethnically heterogeneous families, as well as the investigation of strategies of language use of a child being brought up in such families.

The objective of my work is to explore the characteristic features and strategies of everyday language use of children of kindergarten age being brought up in ethnically heterogeneous families, i.e. it was intended to investigate how children choose the language when communicating with their parents, how they behave in the language situation with adults unfamiliar to them, how much the topic can or does influence their language choice, etc. My further aim was to highlight the language socialization processes in the families and the factors guiding or influencing them, and the (language) socialization ‘plans’ of the family (parents), respectively.

My research was based on the original hypothesis that parents in ethnically mixed marriages try to realize the child's or children's language socialization along some pre-planned strategy, and factors outside the language have a

great influence on these pre-conceived strategies. This is especially true for planning the secondary language socialization (e.g. choosing the language of instruction of the school). Secondly, I hypothesized that the strategy of language use applied in the families, and the parents' decisions concerning languages, respectively, have an impact on the child's language use strategy, which is employed by the child in their everyday language use not only with their parents but also with persons unfamiliar to them (e.g. field workers). Thirdly, my hypothesis was that language socialization in ethnically mixed marriages points in the direction of the Ukrainian language, but several other factors shade and affect the evolving linguistic and ethnic identity.

General considerations

The concept of bilingualism is interpreted by many experts in many different ways. When defining the concept, many experts believe it an essential question to what extent one should master two languages in order to be considered bilingual (Bartha 1999: 34). However, a comprehensive definition of bilingualism including all aspects has still not been reached. Very often, the aim of defining bilingualism was distancing from monolingualism, rather than describing the essence of the phenomenon (Göncz 2004: 28). The difficulty of defining lies in that the limits of the concept are delineated according to various criteria, and also, that representatives of different sciences highlight diverse characteristic features of the phenomenon (Göncz 1985: 12). There are completely extreme definitions, and also such that consider bilingualism a continuum. However, most definitions describe the phenomenon on some scale or along some pair of concept (Bartha 1999: 34). Therefore, bilingualism can only be approached from its types both from the point-of-view of community bilingualism and individual bilingualism. Meanwhile, it must be emphasized that 'bilingual' is a consistent whole that cannot be divided into two parts, thus a bilingual person should be regarded as a whole, together with their bilingual competences, who has the skill to manifest themselves in different ways (Grosjean 1985). According to Grosjean (1992), one of the

Presentations about the topic of the thesis

- Interferencia-jelenségek az etnikailag vegyes házasságokban nevelkedő gyermekek beszédében. [Phenomena of interference in the speech of children being brought up in ethnically mixed marriages.] Diákok és fiatal kutatók konferenciája, Beregszász, 2004. május 20.
- Interferencia-jelenségek az etnikailag vegyes házasságokban nevelkedő gyermekek beszédében [Phenomena of interference in the speech of children being brought up in ethnically mixed marriages]. 13. Élőnyelvi Konferencia, Kolozsvár, 2004. szeptember 5-8.
- Az etnikailag vegyes házasságok hatása a gyermek beszédére [Influence of ethnically mixed marriages on the speech of the child.]. Kölcsey Esték, Beregszász, 2005. február 23.
- Szia Anyu! Привет Тато! (gyermeki nyelvhasználat etnikailag vegyes házasságokban) [Hello, Mum! Hi, Dad! Child language use in ethnically mixed marriages]. IX. Pszicholingvisztikai Nyári Egyetem, Balatonalmádi, 2006. május 21-25.
- Figyelem! Увага! ВНИМАНИЕ! (Nyelvi presztízs a kárpátaljai magyarok körében) [Attention, attention, attention. Language prestige among Transcarpathian Hungarians]. 14. Élőnyelvi Konferencia, Bük, 2006. október 9-11.
- Nyelvhasználati jellegzetességek kárpátaljai kétnyelvű gyermekek beszédében [Peculiarities of language use in the speech of Transcarpathian bilingual children]. Nyelv, identitás és anyanyelvi nevelés a XXI. században, Nemzetközi tudományos konferencia, Beregszász, 2009. március 26-27.
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- Etnikailag vegyes házasságban nevelkedő gyerekek nyelvhasználatának jellemző vonásai [Characteristic features of language use of

elméletben és gyakorlatban. A 16. Élőnyelvi Konferencia előadásai. Tinta Könyvkiadó – II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola Hodinka Antal Intézete, Budapest–Beregszász, 343–350.

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2014. Мовна соціалізація в етнічно гетерогенному родинному середовищі [Language socialization in the ethnically heterogeneous family context]. In: *Студії з філології та журналістики. Випуск 2, матеріали міжнародної науково-практичної конференції студентів та аспірантів «Актуальні проблеми філології та журналістики»* Ужгород, Видавництво ФОРМ Бреза, 95–97.
2015. Felvidéki és kárpátaljai etnikailag heterogén családok nyelvhasználatának és nyelvi szocializációjának jellemzői [Characteristic features of language use and language socialization of ethnically heterogeneous families from the Slovakian Highlands and Transcarpathia]. In: Márku Anita és Hires-László Kornélia szerk. *Nyelvoktatás, kétnyelvűség, nyelvi tájkép*. Autdor–Shark, Ungvár, 89–113.

characteristic features of the bilingual speaker is that when they behave seemingly as a monolingual, they cannot switch off their second language so it can have a role any time. When defining childhood bilingualism, one has to face a problem that is more complicated and wide-ranging than its general definition. (Vančóné Kremmer Ildikó (1998: 116) calls the attention to the fact that when defining childhood bilingualism, one must avoid using the viewpoint of language knowledge, because it is not only the bilingual child, but also the monolingual child whose language knowledge is 'imperfect' as the 'complete' language competence is being formed at this age of the child.

The cognitive structure of the bilingual child allows for a more flexible adaptation, their more creative, communication competence is expanded and establishing language contacts is widened for them (Jarovinskij 1994: 68, Kiss 1995: 219). Hoffmann (1991: 37–38) also indicates the crucial fact from the point of view of childhood bilingualism that the monolingual child spends twice as much time with acquiring their mother tongue as a bilingual child does acquiring their first language.

Besides reproduction, the main aim of the family is child's socialization and educating them to traditional values and standards (Homišínová 2008: 25). The family as a social group plays a significant part in strengthening and developing the ethnic identity of the family members. The social and cultural knowledge transferred to the child during socialization is mostly mediated through the language, i.e. the child's behaviour is primarily formed by the adult context with the help of the language (Réger 1990: 37). The language socialization process (beyond transferring and acquiring language and language use knowledge) is also a factor forming social behaviour, personality, and world view; therefore it is an integral part of the socialization process. Based on this, one can state that acquiring the social-cultural knowledge and the language – language use knowledge are closely-knit processes; the socialization takes place partly during acquiring the language and the rules of language use (Réger 1990:

88).

In the case of ethnically mixed marriages, mother tongue(s) acquisition and the socialization processes are even more complicated, as well as the question of identity. In such families two languages are used in everyday life, which causes the child to switch between languages in different situations. In these marriages, the qualitative and quantitative indices of mother tongue use of the parents, their attitudes to their own mother tongue and that of their spouse's, etc. greatly influence the final output of the child's language socialization process.

The most essential bilingual family socialization models were summarized according to three main criteria by Harding and Riley (1986): 1. the language status of the parents (parents' mother tongue, if they know each other's mother tongue), 2. interrelationship between parent languages and the community's dominant language, 3. the parents' communicative strategies during communicating with the child.

Characteristic features of the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority

The Transcarpathian Hungarians live in minority within Ukraine (the ratio of Hungarians is 0.3%), and also in Transcarpathia because they form only 12.1% of Transcarpathia's total population of 1.25 million (Transcarpathian Regional Statistics Office 2003a, 2003b, Molnár – Molnár 2005: 20–21). The Hungarian inhabitants form a relatively homogeneous block in the south-western part of Transcarpathia, mainly along the Hungarian–Ukrainian borderline. Their presence is significant in four administrative units and a County-City: in the Beregszász District they form the majority (76.1%), in the Nagyszőlős (26.2%) and the Ungvár (33.4%) Districts their ratio is above 25%, in the Munkács District 12.7% of the population is Hungarian, while in the city of Beregszász 49.1% of the inhabitants is Hungarian.

The Transcarpathian Hungarian community is considered to have minority bilingualism; mainly the features of folk bilingualism apply to it.

Publications about the topic of the thesis

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2007. *Kétnyelvűség és nyelvsajátítás [Bilingualism and language acquisition]*, II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola, Beregszász, p. 144
2009. Nyelvhasználati jellegzetességek kárpátaljai kétnyelvű gyermekek beszédében [Peculiarities of language use in the speech of Transcarpathian bilingual children]. In: Karmacsi Zoltán és Márku Anita szerk. *Nyelv, identitás és anyanyelvi nevelés a XXI. században*, II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola Hodinka Antal Intézet, Beregszász, 64–70.
2010. A kétnyelvűség kialakulása a családban, avagy: mikortól lehet/érdemes elkezdni a második nyelv intézményes tanítását/tanulását? [Forming of bilingualism in the family, or: when is it possible or worth starting to teach or learn a second language?] In: Csernicskó István szerk. *Megtart a szó, Hasznosítható ismeretek a kárpátaljai magyar nyelvhasználatról*. MTA Magyar Tudományosság Külföldön Elnöki Bizottság–Hodinka Antal Intézet, Budapest–Beregszász, 56–62. (társszerző)
2011. Etnikailag vegyes házasságban nevelkedő gyerekek nyelvhasználatának jellemző vonásai [Characteristics of language use of children being brought up in ethnically mixed marriages]. In: Hires-László Kornélia, Karmacsi Zoltán, Márku Anita szerk. *Nyelvi mítoszok, ideológiák, nyelvpolitika és nyelvi emberi jogok közép-európában*

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Based on the level of language knowledge the community includes dominant bilinguals. Also, it is characterized by the dominance of the minority language (Hungarian). Based on the intention of acquiring the second language, the bilingualism of those living in settlements with Hungarian majority is prescribed because they come across the Russian and the Ukrainian languages only at school for the first time. In settlements where the population is of mixed nationalities, natural bilingualism is also known. The institutional bilingualism is legally possible; however, it does not work in practice (see Karmacs 2003, 2004, 2005, Csernicskó 2010, 2013). The bilingualism of the Transcarpathian Hungarians is partial because for 68.8% of the inhabitants belonging to the majority (Ukrainian) no level of bilingualism is typical, and only 3.1% of the Ukrainians speak Hungarian besides their mother tongue (Molnár–Molnár 2005: 51–52).

Official statistical data concerning the ratio of mixed marriages are not being made as the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine banned registering the nationality of those getting married with the Order No 1367 issued on 12 September, 2002 (zakon.rada.gov.ua, 2002). Statistics from the period before 2002 have also rarely come to the fore and only very general data can be found in them. The Ukrainian State Statistical Service made a database available on the website of the University of Minnesota in the middle of 2014. The database is a 10% representative sample taken from the 2001 census data broken down to district and county cities and contains anonymous personal data in a way that families are kept together (Minnesota Population Center, 2014). From this one can conclude the ratio of Hungarian–Ukrainian ethnically heterogeneous families. The database proves that about 10000 Transcarpathian Hungarians live in ethnically mixed marriages, out of whom 5700 are males and 4300 are females (Kovács 2015). The Hungarian minorities formed mixed marriages with Ukrainians in the biggest ratio as 11.9% of women and 15.2% of men chose a Ukrainian spouse.

It is an important factor from the point of view of the minority when

selecting the language of instruction of the school, how developed the school system of the certain language is and how complete a training process it can provide. The Transcarpathian Hungarian educational net provides the training levels for the Hungarian minority from the kindergarten to tertiary education.

A significant part of the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority belongs to the denominations of three historical churches: Calvinist reformed (51% of the Transcarpathian Hungarian population), Roman Catholic (21%), and Greek Catholic (9%) (Molnár 2009: 207–208). These three historical churches involve 81% of the Transcarpathian Hungarians, thus the churches have or may have an important role from the point of view of language survival. The majority of the Ukrainians and the Russians are Orthodox and Greek Catholic, while the Hungarians are mainly reformed, Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic. Therefore the Eastern Slavic–Hungarian ethnically mixed families are not only ethnically heterogeneous, but also by religion. The most striking religious differences in such families are related to time according to diverse calendars, as well as the number of religious holidays and the ways of their celebrations.

The research area and the research points

The primary criterion when selecting the families for the research was the regional proportion of the minority, i.e. what is the ratio between the majority and the minority inhabitants in the given region. Based on this, I formed two groups: Hungarians living in a block and Hungarians living sporadic groups. It was crucial in both groups that both the urban and the rural population be represented in the investigation because based on demographic data, the ratio of mixed marriages was also estimated higher (almost three times) in cities than in villages.

The research are covered the Beregszász District (ratio of Hungarians 76.1%), the Nagyszőlős District (26.2%), the Munkács District (12.7%), and the Huszt District (3.9%), as well as two County-Cities, Beregszász

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(49.1%) and Munkács (8.5%). The investigation was carried out at nine research points in the research area: Beregszász (ratio of Hungarians 49.1%, 5 families participated in the investigation), Munkács (8.5%, 5 families), Oroszvölgy (10.9%, 2 families), Visk (45.4%, 3 families), Macsola (80.7%, 3 families), Fancsika (37.4%, 1 family), Oroszi (95.2%, 3 families), Kovászó (5.5%, 2 families) and Beregrákos (45.5%, 1 family) (Molnár – Molnár 2005: 26–27, 82–85).

The procedure of the investigation and its methods

Twenty-five Transcarpathian families participated in the investigation one of whose members was Hungarian, and the other member declared themselves as of Ukrainian or Russian nationality, and/or having Ukrainian or Russian mother tongue. Also, the child in the family was older than three years, but younger than six years. When selecting the age group, I took into consideration the investigations of Albert and Obler (1978) according to which the age has an impact on the representation of languages in the brain. Furthermore, I considered the fact that Haugen (1998) emphasizes that language planning can set influencing of only those sociolinguistic contexts as a goal in which the registers of written records are the decisive language codes. In defining the age group for the investigation, I made use of Kiss Jenő's periodic division of socialization in which socialization, and within this language socialization, includes several periods. The primary language socialization period is in early childhood, and in this period the parents' role is determining as the child's world and language samples are defined by the family and the immediate context. He counts the secondary socialization from the start of school age, while the third period is the characteristic feature of adulthood (Kiss 1995: 89–90).

Reaching the families was realized via the local kindergartens and their teachers and the local inhabitants. These people helped me in selecting the families corresponding in all aspects to the research criteria and in

negotiating the date and time for conducting the investigation. I visited the families participating in the research and had guided conversations with the children, during which the starting point was a tale, the everyday activity of the children, their experiences connected to the kindergarten and playing, experiences and activities connected to their friends and peers, etc. When conversing with the children, I applied the visual aids for kindergarten children approved of by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine. They presented fruits, animals, objects of everyday use, clothes, vegetables, birds, etc. furthermore, I worked with two story books that are well-known in the Hungarian, the Ukrainian and the Russian culture: *Little Red Riding Hood* and *The turnip*.

I asked the parents to fill in a questionnaire about the language communication within their family, about the language background and the language knowledge of the parents, and their identity. While filling in the questionnaires, I also conversed with the parents, and took notes of these conversations at the same time. I tried to get answers to questions about the wider social milieu of the family, e.g. in what language context the family lives (e.g. neighbours, friends), what the relationship with the grandparents is like, how frequent the contact is, etc.

The gender distribution of the children participating in the research is as follows: we have interviewed fourteen girls and twelve boys. The average age of the children is 4 years and 4 months. The youngest respondent was 3 years old; the oldest one was 5 years and 10 months old.

Research results

Children living in ethnically mixed marriages behave similarly to bilingual speakers in everyday communication; they apply similar strategies in communication acts according to the language knowledge of their partners: they switch codes, borrow words and use interference.

We can observe numerous criteria of the use of code switching in the language use of children. It is very difficult to separate the communication

language socialization alongside more concrete language socialization aims. Thus in this case the educating of Transcarpathian Hungarians may have a great role, and this can be one of the guarantees of preserving the Hungarian identity via the minority mother tongue in ethnically mixed marriages. In this preservation process the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute can play an enormous role as the only higher educational establishment with Hungarian language of instruction. In addition, the educational and minority policy of the majority state, Ukraine, gain a crucial role in that it can support the ratio of those having academic qualifications in the Hungarian minority through showing greater tolerance. Furthermore, it can show greater affect towards the already existing unfavourable minority education system. Thus, if it is possible to make a career in Ukraine in the language of the minority in an educational establishment with the minority language of instruction, then there is more chance that parents in mixed marriages will not see the prosperity of their children only in schools with the majority language of instruction.

List of literature used

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closeness of the institution.

In the secondary language socialization, parents in bigger ratios decide on selecting the language of the school for their children according to some long-term objective. Although the parents explain their decision even in this case by the argument that there is only one educational establishment in their settlement and thus they do not have a choice, however, it is done in a smaller ratio than in the case of kindergartens. Mentioning this argument is typical mainly for those families which live in smaller settlements where usually one educational institution functions, while for those living in bigger settlements the possibility of choice is always given. The importance of acquisition of the minority language or the majority language, or both, is mentioned as an aim when selecting the language of instruction of the school, too, however, the ratio of such parents is insignificant, although higher than in the case of kindergartens.

One of the most significant arguments when choosing the language of instruction of the school is the hidden educational and language policy objective of the state. Replies like *We live in Ukraine, this is the state language, so that the child prosper in life* were used by both parents in seven families to justify their child's schooling in schools with Ukrainian language of instruction. It refers to the fact that the primary criterion when choosing the language of the school in the process of secondary language socialization is the impact of hidden educational and language policy objectives on parents' decision. Sometimes this argument of the parents was supported by experiences from their own language socialization.

Concluding remarks

From the point-of-view of language acquisition of children being brought up in Transcarpathian ethnically mixed marriages, it should be made approved that the minority language be preserved in mixed marriages. It becomes clear from the investigation that parents with academic qualifications identify their children's language acquisition and primary

partner and the language knowledge, and usually they are a joint factor in code switching. This was also observed in the speech of the children because they made use of the possibility of code switching not only when turning to their parents, but also when communicating with the field workers who spoke in different languages. However, code switching is also influenced by the language choice, because most often the children themselves followed the language selected by the person, though naturally they also made use of the possibility to remain by the basic language of communication that was used originally in the conversation. Besides these factors, the topic has a great influence on the child's code switching, in which case the language of the experience, especially if it is intertwined with a strong emotional impact, hinders the recall in the second language. In the research, this led to code switching of the children mainly when talking to them about tales, and when naming the characters of the tales.

We differentiated borrowings and interferences only at the level of phenomena that became part of the given language variant (fixed borrowings), that also frequently occur at the community level. Thus we speak about borrowings in the latter case only, in all the other cases we speak about interference. Hence, interferences occur most frequently in the speech of children, and we can speak about borrowings less often. Borrowings emerged in both directions: Ukrainian loan words in the Hungarian speech (*nozap, kouap*), while Hungarian loan words in the Ukrainian speech (*bánka, bulacska*). Like borrowings, interferences in both directions can also be observed as a communication strategy in the language use of children. Regarding their types, they range from interferences tackling morphemes to interferences connected to word forms. Less frequently, the so-called hybrid interferences also occur, in which cases the word form of two languages appears in one blended form. We have come across the phenomenon of code mixing only once in the speech of Martin from Macsola.

However, we cannot consider strategies of language use code mixing

and interference types used by children as phenomena of bilingualism that appear in the speech of the children. Rather, it is replacement of language lack appearing in the basic language of the given communication situation. Although it is natural, that the child uses the means of word borrowing or interference strategically, along some strategic objective. But code switching is part of the child's strategic application of language use because, as we have seen above, depending on the person, the language knowledge, the topic, etc. they switch from one language to the other consciously and choose the given code as the basic language of communication. Hence the question arises: how much can calques concerning grammatical units bigger than a word be considered in the child's speech as a strategy? Or, because of the low level of knowledge of one language, the child can only express their thoughts formed in the dominant language in his way. Or is it the strategy itself?

One can find word forms in both languages used by the child that were influenced by the other language, be it a hybrid word form, or even a direct borrowed word, etc. At the same time, due to the two language systems, a significant part of the child's vocabulary can be found in both language structures, and these form pairs of equivalence. This was not only observed in the deliberately investigated names of colours, but they also used equivalent elements in their speech, sometimes within a brief communication act with the aim of direct interpretation.

Language socialization is also impacted by several outer factors. Between 1989 and 2015, first the strengthening factors dominated in Transcarpathia from the view point of Hungarian language attitude and language socialization, and then since 2007 the efforts of the Ukrainian state have had a weakening effect. The possibility of gaining Hungarian citizenship and the support of children attending schools with Hungarian language of instruction within the frame of the program 'In Hungarian in the motherland' has been a strengthening factor since 2010. since 2014 again the weakening factors have come to the fore due to the political and

economic situation in the country, as well as negative effects of the military conflict in eastern Ukraine. As a consequence, the Hungarian citizenship that earlier had a positive effect, now has also gained a negative role due to its facilitating the possibility of emigration. Therefore, an effect cannot only be positive or negative, but several times it might happen that one and the same factor once has a positive effect, at another time it has a negative impact. In addition, it is also possible that for one community both impacts are present at the same time in one and the same factor.

Most often parents do not realize their children's language socialization according to a pre-planned strategy in ethnically mixed marriages. In many families, the parents could not, or did not want to explain and justify why they apply the language they do in the communication with their children, or why they use their own and their spouse's mother tongue in that proportion, etc. the parents' own mother tongue monolingualism and not knowing their spouse's mother tongue show us non-planned language socialization. This explanation emerges in the justification of the use of the language in the communication with children by parents, speakers of either the majority language or the minority language.

Though it can be observed that certain parents set language acquisition as a target, be it the minority language or the majority language, however, this cannot be interpreted as a concrete strategy because in everyday language use these objectives do not define either the parents', or the children's language choice. Only a few parents justified their children's language socialization according to some planned and strategic principles.

Kindergarten education as an institutional educational scene is part of the primary language socialization. Regarding kindergarten education, most often parents do not have a choice concerning choosing the language of instruction of the kindergarten because only one kindergarten functions in smaller settlements. In bigger settlements where there are more kindergartens, the most significant selection criterion for most parents is the