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Cultural regionalism in Hungarian context

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ABSTRACT:
As an introduction to the thematic issue of *Hungarian Studies Yearbook*, dedicated to *Regionalism in culture – cultural regionalism*, the article offers an overview of current research interests in the field. Within the domain of Hungarian studies, regional approaches and the idea of cultural areas as an important frame for cultural analysis and comparison was present in research work from the 19th century. After a general introduction, the article presents the current methodological approaches to regionalism studies and the main topics debated in the fields of literary studies, linguistics, and cultural anthropology.

Keywords: cultural anthropology, Hungarian studies, regionalism, linguistics, literary studies, local identity constructions

In general, regionalism is interpreted in political and cultural contexts. As a political term, it refers to administration and to forms of organizing local political power, to the degree of autonomy of the local communities. As a cultural term, it is related to local identity constructions, languages, different forms of physical and spiritual culture (arts, literature, folklore, religion). Since regionality also presupposes complex local identities, the research projects in the field are often connected to the following topics: attitudes of minority and majority groups, traditions and (post)modernity, mobility and cultural change, aspects of ideological backgrounds concerning the function of culture, language, and literature.

The focus of this volume entitled *Regionalism in culture – cultural regionalism* intends to present regions as geographical and cultural units in the context of multilingualism and multiculturalism.

Within the field of literary studies, the concept of 'regional literature' intersects several areas of interest, and during the last decades, the question of literary regionalism was addressed from various perspectives. Area studies, the study of spatial representations, border studies, postcolonialism studies, the study of minor literatures, of intercultural communication and transnational identities have their own research questions to be addressed through the discussion of regional literatures. Within Hungarian literary studies, the question of discussing the topic became increasingly relevant during the last century because of the processes of institutionalization in the minority Hungarian literatures of the countries neighbouring Hungary. In this respect, one of the main research interests referred to the relationship between regional Hungarian literatures and Hungarian literature as a national construct. The result was manifold because of paradigmatic differences in constructing national cultures. As one of the theorists of regional literatures pointed out during the age of postmodernist pluralism, the focus on regional aspects opened up the possibility to highlight the pluralisms inherent in national cultures. However, another fallacy from this perspective was the possibility to repeat the organicist metaphors of traditional approaches to national cultures (Dainotto, 486) – mental constructs of regions may differ substantially from one another.

In this respect, the region as a mental construct, a utopia that tends to incorporate an increasing number of layers connected to social, economic, cultural and political emancipation (Vallasek, 60) became a topic for further research within the domain of Hungarian studies. Rethinking the scale based on which new questions are asked became necessary. Constructs like East-Central Europe, with a focus on its postcolonialist approach, may help to better articulate the relevance of different historical contexts within such analyses (Terian, 21). The articles published in the current issue of *Hungarian Studies Yearbook* may help further explore the question of regionality on different scales, following a comparative method.

The approach proposed by László Boka (*A Missed Opportunity? Transylvania as a Virtual Central Europe*) places the discussion into a Central European context. One of his main arguments highlights the potential to see the regional identity construct of Transylvanism as a version of the idea of Central Europe. The values that are central to the early theories of Transylvanism, formulated by authors like Aladár Kuncz or Károly Kós seem to show relevant analogies with the ideas of cultural dialogue characteristic for the Central European area.

Another important possibility is to compare European microregions like the Tornio Valley in Northern Scandinavia with Transylvania. Such approaches have a tradition in the interwar Transylvanian press, where Aladár Kuncz proposed a thematic column in his journal *Erdélyi*

Helikon, dedicated to minority cultures and regional cultures of Europe. In her article (*Components Of Belonging in Two Finno-Ugric Minority Literatures*), Enikő Molnár Bodrogi compares linguistic and cultural strategies of authors like Bengt Pohjanen, writing in Meänkieli, and Károly Molter, writing in Hungarian – examining, in fact, the literary representations of such issues. The analysed novels create viable models for constructing regional identities, discussing in detail the functionalities of different languages within the Scandinavian and Transylvanian contexts.

Code-switching, as an alternation between languages, is a distinctive feature of bi- and multilingual persons living in regions where several languages are spoken. The phenomenon was searched intensely in bilinguals' speech (Myers-Scotton 1993, Martin–Wei 2009), but it is also present in literary texts. Johanna Domokos and Marianna Deganutti in their article (*Four major literary code-switching strategies in Hungarian literature. Decoding monolingualism*) provide an innovative framework that can be used to cover most literary multilingual practices as aesthetic play. As the authors point out, these multilingual literary practices can be classified in multiple ways and the functions of codeswitching in literary texts are complex and multi-layered.

A comparative approach by Zsuzsanna Varga (*Writing For The Family Audience*) raises also a more general question of the aims and results of comparing products of different cultures and of different regions. The author analyses the relationship between the German *Gartenlaube* and the Hungarian *Családi Kör*. Contrary to a long historiographical tradition, the article offers an alternative view of their relationship, distancing herself from models of influence and originality; as a result, the article avoids the colonial narrative that views Eastern European press and literary modernization as mimetic afterlives of Western European 'origins' and 'originality'. The article performs an inversion of this tradition, arguing that the *Családi Kör* as a spin-off of the *Gartenlaube* opens another path and worldview that was not available for the German periodical.

In linguistics, regionalism is connected to the regional and social varieties of a language. It also implies bilingualism and plurilingualism since, in most cases, cultural regions presuppose more language variants and multiculturalism. In a multi-ethnic context, the relationship between languages is very complex. We can speak about the symmetry and asymmetry of languages concerning their usage, juridical status, and linguistic competence of bilingual speakers. As it is well known, the main base of ethnicity is the mother tongue: language community is seen as an ethnic community. The varieties of a language are also connected to different forms of identity since through different verbal codes speakers also identify their geographical origins, their social background, and group membership. Dialects can have the function of sociolects and thus local and social identities are interconnected.

The linguistic diversity of a territory contributes to building up different cultural and ethnic identities and thus language is also one of the region-forming factors. As it is known, about 3,000 000 Hungarian speakers (about one-third of the Hungarian-speaking population) live outside Hungary in a minority situation, most of them in the regions neighbouring Hungary: in Transylvania (Romania), in the Southern part of Slovakia (former Upper Hungary), in Vojvodina (Serbia), etc. Their minority situation also means limited possibilities of using mother tongue in formal context: in education, administration, and justice. The intense influence of the official languages leads to interference and contact phenomena in these minority variants of Hungarian, and also creates a multicultural context with complex social interactions.

Hungarian-speaking people living in Slovakia are the largest minority in Slovakia. The efficiency of their education in Hungarian and the primary school students' language competence is presented in the article written by Viktória Gergelyova and Ildikó Vančó (*Difficulties in reading comprehension of Hungarian primary school students in Slovakia*). The study presents the problems found in cognitive reasoning, accurate interpretation of information, and complex reading comprehension. The empirical research of the article was conducted in two grade levels in bilingual regions in the eastern, central, and western parts of southern Slovakia. The results point out that independent processing of the text was a problem for most students. Another competence that needs to be developed is the correct interpretation of information without ignoring the context. The conclusions of the study are useful and relevant for educational planning in cases of bilinguals living in a minority situation.

Another Hungarian minority situation is presented by Boglárka Németh in the context of dialects and language variants. In her article (*On the enregisterment of Szekler. Communicational stereotypes recreated in the sketch Úgy-e, Magdi? by Open Stage*) Németh analyses aspects of stereotypical representations of a Transylvanian Hungarian dialect (Szekler) through a case study on a satirical representation. The work is a contribution to a new field of study: the enregisterment of language variants, the process through which a linguistic repertoire becomes a socially recognized register. The process of enregisterment is manifested through public discourses, as the article points out. The analyses show that enregisterment is based not only on lexical and phonetical aspects of speech but also on specific grammatical and conversational practices which are also part of stereotypical representations of Szekler speech. The study also carries out a pragmatic analysis of the interactions depicted by the sketch, revealing the semiotic repertoire assigned to the Szekler dialect.

Hajnalka Dimény's article (*Do verbal meanings have a radial organization?*) is a cognitive-functional analysis of two Hungarian verbs (*eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed'). The results and the conclusions contribute to a better understanding of the structure of polysemy and the process of new meaning formation. The hypothesis of the study, that it is possible

a radial category description of the internal semantic structure of both verbs, was not confirmed by the analysis. However, the article shows that figurative uses of verbs are not motivated only by the primary meaning but also by other semantically plausible links in the polysemantic structure of the verb. The article refers to different language variants, styles, and texts types in the analyses. The way of approaching the problem opens up an important line of discussion concerning the structure and origin of verbal polysemy.

While in cultural anthropology and partly also in European national ethnographies,[1] the main approach is the case study[2], i.e. a deep, detailed and focused analysis of a particular settlement/community through long-term fieldwork and participant observation (known in Anglo-Saxon terminology as ethnography), the larger spatial-territorial organization of culture also was and still is at the forefront of different subfields and approaches. In this respect, the concept of larger cultural homogeneity, the existence of cultural areas as an important frame for cultural analysis and comparison was present in research work from the 19th century. On a different level Hungarian ethnographers – following and furthering the ideas of their German counterparts – also envisaged national culture as the entirety of smaller regional cultures with their differences and boundaries, but also similarities and continuities.

In European national ethnographies ethnographic atlases on the one hand and the study of regional cultural groups, on the other hand, clearly represented the endeavours of describing and delimiting territorially distinct cultural units, while the same endeavours urged ethnographers to formulate the need of transcending national boundaries and investigate cultural phenomena in more European, international contexts. Thus, a significant amount of scientific efforts was invested in conceptualizing the tools for the investigation and description of these territorial units, and also in the description of different regional cultures. The conceptualization included a debate on terminology and pointed to the potentially relevant components of such conceptualizations. Customs, dances and folk music, religion, dialects, folk dresses, vernacular architecture, marriage relations, tools and economic practices – only a few examples of how Hungarian ethnographers tried to grasp the complexity of regional cultures. And while discussing these cultural facts, they inevitably brought into discussion the problem of boundaries, identity and identity politics, the conflicting ideas of identity constructions, the contexts of globalization and nation-building.

As one can see, the idea of territorial organization of cultures is rooted in the 19th and 20th-century traditions of cultural anthropology and

1 Following the German tradition sometimes referred to as *Völkerkunde* and *Volkskunde* (Vermeulen).

2 Although he 19th century tradition of cultural anthropology predicted a more general framework in discussing the large-scale processes of humankind. But this general view was more or less entirely abandoned with the emergence of Malinowskian model of anthropological fieldwork.

national ethnographies. But through these contemporary connections to the problem of identity and boundaries, this is a field that fruitfully contributes to the reinterpretation of our knowledge about culture. In the context of territoriality and culture, one can discuss, *inter alia*, the characteristics of a particular region, but also nationalism and transnationalism, locality and multilocality, territoriality and deterritorialization etc. (Appadurai 2005). The articles included in this issue reflect the complexities of this reinterpretation.

Helena Ruotsala in her article investigates the impacts of the Covid-19 in the cross-border region of Tornio Valley between Finland and Sweden, using concepts of transnationalism and multilocality. The formerly almost invisible border suddenly became visible again with the Corona outbreak and was marked by a riot fence. The local inhabitants were forced to realize the reemergence of their nation states and the different strategies in fighting Covid-19, the tangibility of the new border and its impact on their everyday routines. A cultural and economic region became suddenly split by a "new" border, putting under question mark the existing practices of transnationalism and multilocality.

One of the key representatives of the spatial approach in Hungarian ethnography was György Martin, a folk dance researcher and musicologist, who had an enormous contribution to the elaboration of concepts of dance dialects. Sándor Varga presents his findings in this framework – also by reinterpreting it – when names and delimits the internal regions of Mezőség (Câmpia Transilvaniei, a particular ethnographic region in central Transylvania, that has a highlighted importance in Hungarian ethnography due to its archaic folk music and folk dances). The author argues that one needs a closer look to successfully grasp the similarities and differences in the geographical distribution of traditional dance culture in Mezőség, and delimits a smaller area called the Palatka dance district.

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A Missed Opportunity? Transylvania as a Virtual Central Europe

Forms of Transylvanism and Their Potentials between the Two World Wars

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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on the analysis of the ideas of Aladár Kuncz, a writer, literary critic and editor who defined Transylvanian Hungarian literature after 1918 in a European context. The concept of Transylvanism is discussed through the debates of the interwar period, and is situated within the context of Hungarian literary modernism. In the light of the Transylvanian literary ideas of the 1920s and 1930s, minority / regional literatures would have been directly related to a new concept of European and world literature beyond national literatures, along a line of thought that acknowledged the deterministic character of regionalism, and prioritized it also at the level of cultural memory, considering it to be primary over linguistic, national, and the changing geographical boundaries. These endeavours sought to revive an emphatic idea of Central Europe with its strict ideals of quality besides strong local, decentralized, yet transnational aspirations, while making them compatible with the preservation of linguistic and cultural ties with the three traditional Transylvanian nations. The article also discusses the reasons why, in the midst of the 1930s, facing political restrictions, the literary form of Transylvanism became outdated in the eye of the younger generations of the Hungarian community.

Keywords: Aladár Kuncz, Central Europe, contexts of deverged state and nation, reconciliation, regional literature, Transylvanism

'The wise and intelligent balancing of nations, religions, worldviews, ethnic traditions, social classes and external political interests – this is what we call Transylvanism in history.' (Kuncz 2019, 294) The above lines were written by Aladár Kuncz, who, after giving up his career as an academic and writer in Budapest, in 1923 decided to move back to the place of his youth, Kolozsvár (today Cluj-Napoca, Romania), and become one of the most important intellectual leaders of the marginalised

Hungarian intelligentsia and the local literary life that was taking shape. In the following I cannot undertake a comprehensive presentation of the changing and diversified idea of Transylvanism of different periods and eras in its historical context,[1] partly because of lack of space and partly because we are talking about a complex *set* of phenomena and its variants that have been under formation over the centuries, and not about a singular, stable and uniform phenomenon. I can only approach the one of the undoubtedly significant school of thought in the history of ideas and intellectual tradition of the time, in a new, post-Trianon period[2], along the lines of the ideas of Kuncz, who belonged to the first generation of *Nyugat*[3] and defined Transylvanian Hungarian literature in a period when this was forced to become independent and partly autonomous. Along this I will try to shape the progressive, European vision and concept of regional/minority literature of some Hungarian intellectuals who, like him, worked in Transylvania or moved back there after the First World War (and to give some insight into its important role in the efforts of the so-called synthesizing literary modernity[4] of the Hungarian history of literature in the interwar period). In the two decades in question, a new, stable 'theory of Transylvanism' had become dominant, which, in addition to its specific roles in minority policy, remained emphasized in its legal, moral and religious aspects, but primarily manifested itself in its literary and cultural impact.[5] Moreover, the new Transylvanist ideas of the 1920s led to such concept of art and literature according to which the new minority/regional literatures would transcend the national border(s) and be more directly linked to

1 Of course, within the framework of this study I cannot go into the so-called early or pre-Transylvanian ideas before 1920, nor into the forms of political Transylvanism within Romania, such as *federalistic* or *decentralizationist* concepts (mainly along the lines of Zsolt K. Lengyel's research), especially since they can only be discussed in the light of the so-called internal relations between Hungarians and Transylvanian Hungarians, or in the political context of the Romanian state system and regionalisms. See for more Zsolt K. Lengyel 2007, 2017.

2 The Treaty of Trianon was prepared at the Paris Peace Conference and signed in Versailles on 4 June 1920. It formally put an end to the First World War and defined the new borders of Hungary, which lost more than two-thirds of its former territories. These borders had been set already from the end of 1918 on, when the so-called ceasefire lines were established. Though the areas allocated to neighbouring countries (the principal beneficiaries were the Kingdom of Romania, the newly founded Czechoslovak Republic and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) had a majority of non-Hungarians, in them still lived 3.3 million Hungarians – 31% – who found themselves in a minority status.

3 Hungarian for 'West', the most important modernist literary journal issued in Budapest, a two-weekly periodical of the time, that existed between 1908–1941.

4 The history of Hungarian literature discusses the different forms and phenomena of Hungarian literary modernity within the first decades of the 20th century in three succeeding phases, according to which differentiates the so-called Early or Aestheticizing Modernity, the Avant-garde Modernity and the Synthesizing Modernity.

5 According to Nándor Bárdi, there were at least three aspects (ethical, political and aesthetic) of Transylvanism in that period. (Bárdi 2013)

the universal, to a new concept of European and world literature, along a line of thought that considered the deterministic origins of regionality to be primary at the level of cultural memory, even in relation to linguistic and (changing) geographical borders.

'We are destined to serve only the purest literary aspirations and to reflect the spirit which seeks to create a world order of artistic and moral values under the protection of ethnicities who are united along cultural relations. We must start from Transylvania and, with one leap, rise to a height from which the fate of Transylvania will become a world problem. Transylvania is our homeland. From the outside, this may seem a narrow framework, but it expands when the rays of minority thinking that are spreading all over Europe penetrate through this framework.' (Kuncz 2019, 304) Kuncz presented a kind of finished programme along these principles, from the mid-twenties onwards, giving the main characteristics and qualities of the Transylvanian literary culture born of necessity. He was not alone in his endeavours. At the beginning of the decade, a pamphlet entitled *Kiáltó Szó* [Shouting word] (often wrongly associated only with the name of Károly Kós) was published,[6] which could be considered a kind of hymnal formulation of Transylvanism, since it can be described primarily as a desperate attempt to awake the Transylvanian Hungarians to survive the trauma of the Trianon-treaty, that of becoming a minority in their homelands. By the end of the decade Kós – in his work *Erdély (Kultúrtörténeti vázlat)* [Transylvania (Cultural history outline)], also published as a separate volume – considered the triad of Transylvanian land, Transylvanian destiny and Transylvanian psyche to be the defining factor through historical, religious and cultural events, emphasising that the region has been an economically 'predestined territory for individuality' for a thousand years, since – as he put it – it has always been a 'threshold' located 'between the East and the West of Europe'. (Kós 1934) Thus, beyond the territories of the former, historical Transylvania (after 1920 supplemented by the also annexed territories of Partium, Banat and Southern Bukovina), he sought to form a new kind of Transylvanism, which for several reasons started with the open claim to revive a formerly viable and even prosperous historical region, (Kós 1920, 5–6) in which both liberal and conservative historical segments were equally included. In these, Kós 'extended the image of a single space to the other territories', which the concept of Transylvania 'encompasses as a synecdoche'. (Vincze 23–24) The essence of this concept formulated by Kós (and his colleagues) is that in the land of Transylvania, under the combined influence of historical changes and geographical conditions (the somehow geographic isolation of the region and the characteristic landscape), such a particular spirit took shape which can be found in all the peoples living there (Hungarians, Romanians, Saxons, Swabians,

6 Besides Kós, it can also be credited to Árpád Paál and István Zágoni, the latters enriching it with their thorough analyses and professional studies, thus providing a kind of political action programme. Cf. Kós 1921.

Armenians, Jews, Gypsies, Rusyns, etc.) and which (might) bind them into a unity that distinguishes them from all others. Transylvanism, a wise and pragmatic concept of Transylvanian ideology was based on the historical common destiny and interests of these ethnicities, it considered the mutual appreciation of each other's humanistic and spiritual values fully compatible with the preservation of national consciousness and the linguistic and cultural memory of each of the three largest ethnic groups.[7] In the state of affairs that developed after 1918/1920, apart from characteristics that were seen in the architectural style and folklore, it was of course more important that this idea emphasized, from the Hungarian point of view, both in relation to Budapest and Bucharest, the liberal traditions of historical Transylvania, its openness, tolerance and agreement in worldviews for centuries, instead of nationalism and radical ethnic approaches. All this happened in an era – after a lost 'Great War' from a Hungarian perspective – when a new European perspective and, closely related to this, the values of local specificities (thus somewhat independent from the national) could be presented as pieces of a broken mirror or new foundations of universal values and humanism to be transferred. Transylvanism – although its form at the time was best represented by contemporary fiction, which performed additional functions and social tasks – can be regarded as a fundamentally *regional social action programme*, which most Transylvanian Hungarian artists (writers, journalists, visual artists, etc.) had adopted by the mid-twenties. Beyond its literary dimensions an emphasized new humanist vision was also underlying, which corresponded to the intellectual trends of an Interwar Neoclassicism, a turn back to the classical or antique ideals, and which, after the system of values being dissolved or mocked in the aftermath of the War, was seeking for a reliable set of new values, a kind of new European cultural literacy which still 'contains the whole past'. As Mihály Babits put it in his well-known 1925 essay: 'The writer has to choose between time and eternity, between modern statements and the eternal human: compromise is increasingly impossible. […] we take refuge in works whose truth is deeper than the changing truths of the Age.' (Babits 1925, 17) In it, he wanted to present inherently authentic small worlds, more ancient ties, not entirely corrupted by politics, or at least other than the nationalisms that had been growing since the 19th century and which had caused the stratified European crises of the time. On the other hand, the question of Transylvania – in terms of value preferences and ideals – was intended to realise, at a smaller scale, a whole idea of Central Europe in the region it had formed, i.e. it also had the potential to create a more sublime intellectual framework that projected decades ahead the transnational spirit of democratic

7 In the 103,000 square kilometres of territory annexed to Romania – even after the considerable number of Hungarian refugees and 'repatriated' residents – a population of over one and a half million Hungarians came under the new state power. In terms of mother tongue, 54% of the population of the annexed territory was Romanian, 32% Hungarian and 11% German.

cooperation, even along the Danube, or even in pan-European countries. Its ambition was to be in harmony with the best European traditions, to be open rather than closed, to have a perspective on world literature rather than provincialism, and to have the necessary critical standing and rigorous quality standards in the primary literary and artistic world. At the same time, it was imbued with a sense of responsibility towards minority communities (Hungarian and other), a commitment to and respect for daily (individual) sacrifice instead of simple assimilation, and thus the formulation of a new kind of collective morality, as well as the need to transcend the ideological interests of the moment. Besides all these, looking back in time, the idea also emphasized the increasing need for national self-criticism, primarily drawing on the intellectual heritage of István Széchenyi and that of Endre Ady.

The message of the promoters of this comprehensive concept might be considered out of date or somehow ahead of its time in that it proclaimed reconciliation and tolerance between ethnicities, a new kind of humanism at a time when the other nations of the Carpathian Basin, surrounding the Hungarians were triumphing in their nationality. Kós and his followers' basic idea of preserving the Hungarian national community, which some would say was romantic or even naive, developed however in the following years into a comprehensive world of ideas that actually determined all levels of life in the region. Although it was later subjected to much criticism, its inclusive and hospitable nature meant that it neither became the solely dominant nor homogenous, but rather existed as a kind of 'guiding principle of the times' (Szász) in a combination with other political, ideological and literary or cultural intentions. In this sense, it intended to create a sovereign entity from the traditions of Transylvania – now in a new form of state – which sought to realize its uniqueness through cooperation with the Romanians (mostly unsuccessfully) and Saxon communities on the one hand, and through products that were different from those of the disintegrated Hungary of the 1920's, but enriched the overall Hungarian culture, on the other. Of course, this also meant a forced trajectory, also because of the former institutional system of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which had been dismantled as a result of the change of the supreme power, so the censored press became its almost exclusive medium, and fiction remained its main form of expression. This is why the literary and artistic manifestation of Transylvanism did not have a precise definition (and for certain censorial reasons, perhaps deliberately, could not have a fixed ideology). (K. Lengyel 2007, 2017) Its first serious institutions for articulating a programme – beyond some press organs and ecclesiastical and then political bodies – only emerged around the middle of the decade. In the case of the literary aspects of Transylvanism, moreover, – as Béla Pomogáts has noted – the users of the term have always poured their own opinions and feelings into the supposed melting pot of the broader idea. (Pomogáts 204) They agreed on certain basic assumptions (such as the spirituality they hoped to have at least in part in common among

the Transylvanian nations, the regional traits derived from the region's geographic isolation and history), and in general they were looking for stable, immovable, unchangeable elements of local forms of identity that transcended languages. From a Hungarian perspective, in the general post-1920 narrative of loss, the fact that the homeland, the landscape and the historical past are unchanging and therefore *inalienable*, proved to be a fundamental spiritual-religious-intellectual resource in the eyes of the Hungarian readership. In any case, beyond the ethical, the 'aesthetical representation' of Transylvanism 'in the poems of the so called »Helikon triad« (Lajos Áprily, Sándor Reményik, László Tompa) was quite different from that in Károly Kós's novels or Áron Tamási's short stories'. (Vallasek 4) 'Its shorelessness can also be explained by the fact that the aesthetics of the literature of Helikon (although it avoided certain political or more radical social content) was quite open – it embraced a wide range of trends'. (RMIL 5/2, 924) Its propagators thus spoke of it with clear enthusiasm, but with little conceptual accuracy, while they had to prove – later towards several directions – the real content and intention of their claims, the value preference that sought to create and promote the idea of a virtual Central Europe through the example of Transylvania. This mostly enthusiastic use of words, but sometimes vague terminology, nevertheless gave rise to the internal criticisms which, from the mid-1930s onwards, sparked generational debates within the creative community of minority Hungarian literature. But even before that, at the very end of the twenties, they had already led to a reserved reception from two directions: from the Romanian government policy and its increasing censorship, which was striving for rapid assimilation and open deprivation of rights, and from the advocates of a Hungarian high politics that was offended by the nationalist outlook and was seeking revision.

The framework – even if we approach it only from the perspective of the overall Hungarian intellectual chart – is of course much broader. The key role of literature and the press in the period, the boom in Hungarian publishing,[8] the increased number of literate audiences and the inversely proportional decline in taste, the era of 'penny dreadfuls', (Szerb 1991, 499) and then the new expansion of the role of literature, and, after the early aestheticising forms of modernity, the social principles and, as a central idea of the 1920s, neoconservatism and its tendencies towards the past, are all inescapable in this field. In addition, given the key role of this medium, the mutual transfer of literary texts between Transylvania and the so-called 'truncated Hungary',[9] which took place despite the economic difficulties of the period and the new borders set up after the Treaty of Trianon, and which was not

8 'While a number of 1882 newspapers and magazines were published in Hungary (within the Monarchy) in 1910, 1934 periodicals were issued in 1938'. (Romsics 537)

9 This includes the distribution of the Transylvania Art Guild's publications in Hungary and government support for the review *Erdélyi Helikon* in Budapest, in addition to financial support for other literary and cultural events.

independent of ideological forces, can also be included here, as can the fact that the critical approaches from Budapest aimed at equating the differences which could be derived from the emotional range of the works coming from the annexed territories. In addition to this, the development of the self-evaluation and self-promotion strategies of these new 'literary segments', the continuous questioning and doubt of their right to exist, or even their position as a secretly hoped-for transitional one, have become the subject of dozens of debates. While from the 1920s, in a pronounced crisis of artistic values – to use Antal Szerb's expression – the move away from 'toothless l'art pour l'art' became a noticeable trend throughout Europe, (Szerb 1981, 678) within the annexed, but formerly Hungarian territories – mainly due to the lack of Hungarian political representation –, the necessarily expanded roles and additional tasks of literature (Szentimrei 537) were discussed in a natural manner. All this was also published in an accepted manner on the pages of the most aesthetically oriented Hungarian periodical, *Nyugat*. This brief outline seems to support Antal Szerb's statement that in the 1920s 'nowhere was there so much debate about the purpose, essence, role and place of literature', (Szerb 1991, 504) or the clarification of these, as in the new Transylvanian Hungarian literature, which naturally forced the Transylvanist ideas and their adherents to constantly update and reformulate their principles more and more accurately.

'This *Transsylvanism* is the exact opposite of the irredentist defiance of politics and public law which, in the spirit of the ideology of the old Hungary, would seem to be the literary attitude appropriate to the new fate and condition. Perhaps this is why Hungary looked upon it at first with a certain distrust: […] we listened to every notion like »Transylvanian spirit« and »Transylvanian thought« with secret disapproval. And if we spoke of the »Transylvanian spirit«, then by this word we want to understand something old and not something new, something recalling the ages of Gábor Bethlen and Zsigmond Kemény; however, the spirit of the new Transylvanian literature takes hold not of the past but of the future, and it does not look at the future through the eyes of the past, instead examines the past from the point of view of the future.' (Babits 1931, 482) Writing about Géza Tabéry's *Emlékkönyv* [Memorial book] in *Nyugat*, Babits explained this, looking back on the development and the commendable writings of literary life over a period of ten years. By the time these lines were written, Aladár Kuncz, who had a friendly relationship with Babits and had previously asked him to write a programme (on the relations between Europeanism and literature, and regionalism and literary modernity) as editor of *Erdélyi Helikon*, was no longer alive. Babits referred to him and to his tragically premature death when he said of Transylvanian literature: 'It has not only great hopes, but also serious works, even a *chef-d'oeuvre* and famous representative, who have passed away, and, perhaps even more in this respect, a unified spirit and a thought-provoking history of ideas.' (Babits 1931, 482)

Kuncz's entire critical, editorial and organizing activities regarding the Transylvanian literary life from 1923 on, the 'essence of his life' and his 'silent leadership' served this renewed transcendental ideal and freedom of thought, what Babits called 'a unified idea, a community of worldviews and strength.' In fact, Kuncz proclaimed this throughout the decade, as he expressed in the very first issue of *Erdélyi Helikon* in 1928, in his summarizing article entitled *Tíz év* [Ten years]. In this sense, after 1918, Transylvanian Hungarian literature grew out of the two, often contradictory conceptions of the former vision of literature, (Kuncz 2019, 256–262) as a strongly decentralized, regionally traditional, yet constantly renewing, ideologically independent, intellectually freer than that of Hungary, a self-validating concept with ambitious goals. Among these, the following five, which can also be read in the minutes of the meetings in Marosvécs (today Brâncovenești) after 1926, were given special emphasis. 1. The necessity to transcend ideological sides, intellectual platforms and separate groups; 2. to replace the previous literary centralisation (to Budapest) with an emphatic decentralisation and the search for the antecedents from Transylvania and Partium that point to this, and to form a 'regional consciousness'; 3. the promotion of the Transylvanian brotherhood of ethnicities instead of various forms of nationalisms in a literary guise, which aimed to strengthen rapprochement at the practical level through concrete translation programmes and joint events, as well as through the transfer of texts (including a Hungarian-Hungarian book exchange programme); 4. indirectly, the representation of a new European concept of humanism and Christian ethics; 5. the maintenance of critical prestige and the highest aesthetic standards, the application of the earlier achievements of literary modernity, a kind of its synthesis with local traditions and the historical challenges of the time.

If we look at the Hungarian intellectuals of the time who supported these aims and stood behind these initiatives, it can be clearly seen that the prominent figures of Transylvanism were not chasing dreams out of thin air, and did not think it impossible to reconcile the values of local culture with European quality standards. First among them – as we have seen – is the eternally humanist Kuncz, a former student of the Eötvös College in Budapest, a lover of French culture and a colleague of *Nyugat*, who returned from the French internment camps of the First World War, and who was preoccupied with the inner freedom of ethics and the ballast of the inner prisons in individuals even after the horrors of the war. And then there is in the background Count Miklós Bánffy, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, a truly Renaissance personality of enormous erudition, who was also a renowned playwright, novelist, graphic artist and scenographer, a versatile creator and an experienced diplomat, who returned home in 1926 to lead the Helicon group; the young Baron János Kemény, born to an American mother, who studied in Vienna from 1921 and came into contact with Hungarian emigrant authors, a lover and patron of literature and theatre, who, together

with his Scottish-Greek wife, invited the best authors to his castle in Marosvécs; and Áron Tamási, a Szekler who had also travelled to the United States; Károly Kós, writer and architect of German ancestry, born in Temesvár (today Timișoara), who, alongside Bánffy, also took part in the preparation of the royal coronation celebrations of 1916 in Budapest; the cosmopolitan, Jewish-Hungarian journalist Ernő Ligeti, who called himself an 'urban Transylvanist'; Géza Tabéry, who once studied in Switzerland and, like Ligeti, was a follower of Endre Ady, moreover, as a young man had already been following the literary decentralisation efforts of the modernist group around the famous anthologies of *A Holnap* (Tomorrow) in Nagyvárad (today Oradea); Elek Benedek, a great storyteller committed to the education of children and the youth, a former member of Hungarian parliament, who also decided to return home during these years; and Sándor Makkai, a young theologian and essayist, who became a Protestant bishop in 1926 in Kolozsvár (today Cluj-Napoca) and who was one of the most influential spokesmen for the Transylvanian ideology even as an author of historical novels, but who also wrote the famous *Magyar fa sorsa* (The fate of the Hungarian tree) about the role and importance of Endre Ady's poetry, which provoked fierce controversy in conservative circles. Among the representatives of different cultural fields was the painter Sándor Szolnay, who in 1927, the year of the publication of the aforementioned volume, decided to move to the intellectual centre of Transylvania, Kolozsvár, and there together with Károly Kós, he organized series of Transylvanian contemporary art exhibitions, and in 1929 established the Miklós Barabás Guild. All of these people were committed to a kind of predestined, ideal Transylvanism, to the emerging Central European democracy, and they were raising a new generation of Transylvanian writers and artists who will remind their nation's intellectuals of their own responsibility, while at the same time believe in the need to be internationally informed at all times. They consistently combat the real dangers of provincialism as well as the political influence that makes reconciliation between nations difficult, albeit with less success.

This is why the group of Helikon was going to give priority to cooperating with other minorities, including the Transylvanian Saxon intellectuals. The relationship with the Transylvanian Saxon periodical *Klingsor*, founded in 1924, initially meant a close creative cooperation, both because of the ideology it promoted and because it was the most important forum for modern German bourgeois literature in Transylvania. It tried to stand in the middle and reject, for example, the openly class-oriented concept of literature proclaimed by Gábor Gaál's 'world-view periodical' *Korunk* (Our Age) which was also a frequent polemic with the representatives of *Erdélyi Helikon*. In the second half of the twenties and the first years of the thirties, this cooperation was

embodied in a series of specific literary events and productive translation programmes.[10]

The emphasis on regionality and Transylvanian consciousness in this concept above is just as important as the underlying ethical attitude, which was primarily based on the relationship between minority and majority, and the mutual responsibility of the individual and the community, and above all, focused attention on universal human values. The former, i.e. the idea of a local specificity necessarily superseding the national, the idea of a closed geographical region forming identity, did not mean a separation from the culture and national literature of the individual authors' 'mother nation,' (Kuncz 2019, 259) nor a decline in quality, or even a descent into provincialism, but rather the opposite. Mihály Babits, Aladár Schöpflin and other thinkers, essayists from Budapest also spoke of the so-called 'swamp' danger rather early on, in terms of the Hungarian literary life and its works in the annexed territories. By the turn of the decade, however, the same writers had already emphasized that 'of the rivers that have been cut off', the Transylvanian one 'is actually triumphantly breaking out' of this feared, hypothetical swamp, and this also shows the vitality of the local Hungarian spirit. (Babits 1931, 483) But the other accentuated feature, the literary ethic that emerges here, according to Babits, was *'Transsylvanism* itself: an elevated, unified world view that inspires all writers to a greater or lesser extent, and transcends the frustrations of parties as well as the aimlessness of the individual. And the *freedom*. The greater literary and intellectual freedom that this worldview represents.' (Babits 1931, 483) Aladár Schöpflin, when referring to this freedom factor a few years later, said that in Transylvania, 'a certain liberation also took place, a liberation from the pressure that the official authorities and the social powers that relied on them had applied against the new literature. The decline and almost total annihilation of the conservative forces, which went hand in hand with the transfer of state power into foreign hands, unleashed the progressive spirit.' (Schöpflin 109–110)

The *Kiáltó Szó* was intended by Kós to be the source from the very beginning of separate and independent schemes of new Transylvanism (both in content and in scope), what László Szabédi aptly called years later *Country Transylvanism*. Szabédi distinguished the concept of *Landscape Transylvanism*, which was more strongly prevalent among the Helikon group, from this concept of a figuratively independent, autonomous Transylvania, and within it a hypothetically independent cultural life (which was represented in the literary works and novels by Kós alone). The latter discussed the inspiring colours of Transylvania

10 However, a very different historical situation was the result of the fraught period of the 1930s, a decade of global political and economic crises. Unfortunately, the second half of the 1930s – for several reasons – was already a time of a deterioration in these relations. The fact that the new decade Heinrich Zillich, the editor of the paper, was drawn into the circles of the German imperialist ideal, certainly played a role in this.

– in Kuncz's apt expression 'Transylvanian colouring' in the field of literature and art – as specific features and enriching regional phenomena within the Hungarian culture and literature as a whole. The vast majority of Transylvanian Hungarian artists were convinced that 'we are a separate constellation in the Hungarian sky.'[11] Both adjectives of the statement – its quality of being specific and at the same time having clear integrity – remained prominent and important.

In 1928 Kuncz, in addition to his categorical response to the unfounded accusations of schism from Budapest, also spoke of the relationship between minority literatures and European literatures as a vital necessity. 'Even with all its regional character, Transylvanian Hungarian literature, by virtue of its historical purpose, cannot lose its links with Hungarian and European literature in general, because its main characteristic is that it is the literature of a minority group. A minority group's only form of existence compared to other peoples' is its language, its culture and its literature, and it would be an act of suicide to reduce these to separatist isolation.' (Kuncz 2019, 260) A year later, already as editor, he launched the *Kisebbségi irodalom – világirodalom* [Minority Literature – World Literature] column in *Erdélyi Helikon*, studying the intellectual life of other European minorities (Provençal, Irish, Catalan, Sudeten German, Jewish) at the time. Sándor Makkai also confirmed the original intention of the launch with similar thoughts, i.e. the cultural image of minorities, which was always valued, the necessity of intellectual outlooks (and the indirect condemnation to death in their possible self-exclusion), but also emphasising a higher moral and religious value system. 'The many millions of minority people scattered across Europe are faced with a double challenge. […] In the absence of political autonomy and power, the only way for it to maintain itself is culture, an intellectual and moral life based on its own national traditions, but which must develop independently in relation to its own circumstances; on the other hand, it must also realise that this culture cannot be closed off and shrank, and therefore doomed to death […] but must be a more universal culture, approaching the eternal heights of humanism and more deeply human'. (Makkai 1929, 227) Kuncz, in agreement with Makkai and Bánffy (and of course with Babits' famous concept of a *cultural nation* dating back to 1919), explained that, in a virtual Central Europe, this circle of ideas is 'the main touchstone of our future', 'on which the most diverse Transylvanian minds and concepts can be polished into a unified harmony.' (Kuncz 2019, 294) This is why he wrote confidently but with great hope of the Helikon community, which according to him was putting this into practice, as it is 'perhaps the most coherent and united of all the intellectual groupings in Europe', which 'will one day be called upon to introduce the purely

11 The thesis was written in this form by Sándor Reményik, and Kuncz, like him, used a spectacular 'park simile' in connection with Transylvanian Hungarian literature: 'Before it was only a part of a beautiful park, now it had to meet the needs of a whole park at a small scale.' See Kuncz 2019, 166.

artistic and pacifist ideals of minority literature into the European public consciousness.' (Kuncz 2019, 294)

Kuncz, of course, was not talking about a ready-made aptitude, but about an opportunity, a goal to be achieved with hard work, a difficult and bumpy road, which is lined with angry nationalism and distrust, fuelled by politics on the one hand, and can be jeopardised by excessive provincialism on the other. It was for this reason that he repeatedly formulated his emphatic and necessarily apolitical thesis on the relationship between literature and politics, in an article written in 1923, immediately after his arrival to Kolozsvár. 'Whatever political spirit we may imagine,' he wrote, 'it is always in direct opposition to the literary approach. Politics simplifies and uniformizes life, while literature emphasizes its diversity and complexity. Politics, if it wants to lead the people, is forced to turn them into abstractions; literature can only give back even conceptualism by sensitizing it. Politics always serves interests; literature fails if it cannot rise above interests…' (Kuncz 2019, 63) In 1928, he confirmed the same in an interview in Budapest, published in *Literatúra*: 'literature can only fulfil its cultural mission if it is free to pursue its own specific objectives and is not bound by any political or religious doctrine'. (Kuncz 2019, 245) He was an excellent diplomat, a person who could reconcile sides, a real 'literary gentleman' of refined manners, whose role – also because of his erudition and his analytical skills – ranged from a good pragmatic situation awareness to a conscious literary canonizer. He knew the interests of big politics, he had experienced it first hand, yet he knew little about its spineless games. He firmly believed that the key to survival for all minorities lays in culture and sophistication, in creative freedom capable of renewing earlier values, in an international openness and the preservation of a specific national colour, and at the same time in a new kind of humanism that must be built up by and depend on education. He had a decisive role in uniting the various groups of Transylvanian artists of different styles and worldviews within *Erdélyi Helikon*, which existed from 1928 to 1944, and his early death in 1931 marks the beginning of the disintegration of this unity. His ideas influenced his contemporaries, such as Áprily, Bánffy, Ligeti, János Bartalis, László Tompa, as well as the younger ones, the young 'angelic poet' Jenő Dsida or Zoltán Jékely, the son of Áprily, who considered Kuncz his paternal mentor and role model. Until his unexpected death, the European opportunity and cooperation outlined by him and his colleagues was partially taken up by the representatives of the Saxon intelligentsia, and almost not at all by the Romanian intelligentsia, for several reasons. Dsida, who sought to use the talents of faith and reason to counter nationalist blindness and obscurantism, or Makkai also invoked the words of his ally, namely that the preservation of minority consciousness is not incompatible with tolerance towards other nations, that these two values do not exclude but presuppose each other.

Of course, many of the members of the new generation of Transylvanian Hungarian artists of the 1930s, who were already socialised predominantly among minority conditions, also realised that the internal, collective expectations of their own readership could become a burden, a ballast for art, although, as Dsida wrote: 'The task of the poet is not to lament, but to celebrate life' (*Szabad-e nekem énekelni* [May I Sing]). In accordance with the third generation of poets of *Nyugat*, Dsida or Jékely, remaining in the inner circle of the creative personality, already felt a certain suspicion of great historical events and movements, and wanted to participate less in the struggles of public life. Although Dsida's idea of patriotism was also primarily about his narrower region, Transylvania, he avoided to exaggerate or empty out the Transylvanian epithet in his poetry (*Kerülöm a neved – Erdély* [I avoid your name – Transylvania]), not wishing to degrade it into a commonplace or battle-cry. 'The pines have debauched into Christmas trees, / Their needles prick themselves,' he wrote in his late autobiographical poem, continuing: 'They say, it's our fathers' fault, what happened. / Whatever. Fate and destiny are ours. / They still look into the past like a mirror, / we see our faces and the law / in the mirror of the drifting water: / To endure – the pepper on the food of the wise, / to learn – a necessity, to forgive – a kindness, / to work – the most complex reality.' The obvious Attila József parallel, the idea from his poem *A Dunánál* [By the Danube] (1936) ('And to settle at last our communal affairs'), appears frequently in Dsida's work, even when he was primarily struggling with the moral and cultural tasks of poetry. The poet, who also proclaimed a programme of tolerance, mutual respect between peoples and real, inner Christian freedom, and who built up friendly relations with several Romanian artists, translated Eminescu and corresponded with Attila József, could therefore write in exemplary lines the moral thesis of minority intellectuals that could be taken up alone: 'This is how we prepare for a gentle war, / always for ourselves, never against others, / we steam salt and weave canvases / and while we are being diminished, we slowly grow.'

Along with the aforementioned, a group emerged who had a strong sociographic interest in the everyday life of minority society and its unresolved problems, and who were mostly left-wing or critical of the mythical Transylvanian programme of the 'Transylvanist forefathers', their literary organising practices and their mostly unrealised hopes of a brotherhood of ethnicities. At the beginning of the decade, the majority of this generation – including Ferenc Szemlér, who provoked the debate that became famous in 1937 under the title *Jelszó és mítosz* [Slogan and myth] (Szemlér 1937, Balázs 2004) – still wanted to believe in the practicality and feasibility of Transylvanian principles, but in the meantime, political leaders responded with a series of laws preparing open deprivations of minority rights, and the democratic deficit of the time finally blindsided the mutual aspirations of the intellectuals.

In 1935, Mihály Babits was invited by the Kemény Zsigmond Society in Marosvásárhely (today Târgu Mureș) to take part in a literary tour in Transylvania, but the Romanian authorities banned his visit. Jenő Dsida's lines published in *Nyugat* vividly reflect the mood of the Hungarians in minority: 'they offer us the bitter medicine of disappointment, to heal ourselves once and for all from the timeless desire for spiritual reconciliation and cultural rapprochement. It would be difficult to pass by this misconceived rigour without a comment, even if the ministerial ban were to apply to someone who had been in politics or had ever offended national sensibilities through certain gestures. […] But we are talking about Mihály Babits, whose name has become identical not only to Hungarian literature, but also in the eyes of many to European literature. In the raging noise of the world war, he proclaimed peace […]. He gave Europe to Hungarians and gave Hungarians to Europe. It is as if narrow-minded prejudice were saying: Why do we need Europe? Why do we need culture? It is impossible not to come to the uncomfortable conclusion from the staggering fact of the ban that the idea of a Romanian-Hungarian cultural rapprochement was a very one-sided, very pathetic and naive attempt by the weaker party. It never found any serious support on the side from which this initiative should have emerged. As long as political motives were interwoven into the problem of cultural rapprochement, there was still hope for those in good faith that a meeting in the field of pure literature and art could take place. What has just happened has destroyed not only the «bridges» that had been built, but also the well-meant hopes and illusions about the future. Disappointment is bitter, but also useful and instructive.' (Dsida 1935, 392)

Barely a year later, in 1936, the authorities restricted even more basic human rights, banning the use of Hungarian place names or even the centuries-old names of Hungarian historical regions in the printed press and publishing. In a personal letter to his fiancée, Dsida complained that 'yesterday they banned us from writing «Erdély, erdélyi, Bánság, Székelyföld, etc.» One must write the name *Ardeal*. Now we are trying to find a way around it: we write Transsylvania, our part of the country, in the Hungarian-inhabited counties of the country, among the Szeklers, the Hungarians in Romania – and so on. What do you say to that? I can't even write that I am from Erdély anymore, because instead we have become people from *Ardeal*.' (Dsida 1980, 8)

The shattering of illusions also entails the ultimate disillusionment with the new post-Trianon idea of Transylvania, at least those that, in an elevated vision, had been articulating a local spirit and regional identity that was hoped to be common. It was partly as a result of this that Babits, in his retrospective writing of 1935 distinguished between Transylvanian literary consciousness and Transylvanism, claiming of the latter that it was 'essentially not a literary concept'. (Babits 1935) By the time the above-mentioned political decision was taken, Sándor Makkai – resigning from his episcopate – was already preparing his 'repatriation'

to Hungary. His decision caused the greatest possible consternation among the Hungarians of Transylvania, and shook the foundations of the ideology of Transylvanism. (Makkai 1937) From then on, it was mostly regarded as an outdated, almost idealistic vision of aspiration or a survival strategy that could only be applied to Hungarians, a kind of ideology of consolation, and lived on as an 'ethos' that hoped to achieve some kind of inner catharsis through collective suffering and daily sacrifice. From this point onwards, the emphasis shifted from the coexistence of brother nations and mutual value principles, extended regionalism principles and the joint exploration of literary factors (alongside cooperation between theatrical, artistic and musical workshops) to the elements of distrust and closure among intellectuals. By the end of the 1930s, the advocates of the new generation, who had already been arguing as debaters that Transylvanism had run its course and had become an empty slogan, were apparently right. (They also accused their fathers' generation of political blindness, almost dilettantism). In Hungary, the idea of the *common homeland* of the Danube peoples, which was marked by the name of László Németh, also became an illusion from around the same time, after 1934.

In Transylvania, there were still attempts to unify public and literary tasks at the end of the decade (thus the unrelenting confrontation with the manifold problems of reality as an intellectual attitude will be called, in László Szenczei's term, 'minority empiricism' or 'Transylvanian realism'), but this mostly sought to replace and restore the earlier Transylvanian approaches. Ernő Ligeti, however, in 1937 (in a public reply to the above mentioned paper by Ferenc Szemlér) encouraged a more nuanced viewpoint: 'We have to agree with Szemlér that Transylvanism, as a didactic proposition, as a political principle, has not been fully realised – and maybe it never will be. But there is no harm in pushing in the direction of this idea. However, it is also true that if we understand the Transylvanian character of Transylvanian literature not as a programme, not as a basic idea, not as an inner core, but as an atmosphere, as a particular segment of the European intellectual landscape, then we can observe real facts that do exist. […] It has never harmed us to claim to be Transylvanian, the problem is to claim to be only Transylvanian!' (Ligeti 1937)

The pervasive idea of Transylvanism outlined above, which dominated through a decade and a half more than any other, sought to be a counter-reaction to increasingly darker images of nationalism before a new world war, even if this was not its original, primary aim. The emphatic apoliticism that Aladár Kuncz consistently practiced in the literary aspects of the new, post-1920 Transylvanism, and which, in Babits' words, also contained a liberating 'literary ethic', was also clearly evident in the shocked and sad reply of Sándor Reményik to Makkai, who had now left for Hungary, which, in addition to the elevated ideal of the cultural nation, also sheds faithful light on the original intentions of Transylvanism. 'We have learned from the old Makkai that life, in

spite of all circumstances, is not a mere reality but a quality that can be realized, […] not only a capability but a categorical imperative. […] our entire Transylvanism rested on the cornerstone, stated or unstated, that state and nation are not necessarily one, and that the stateless form of the nation may be deeper, purer, more intimate, more Christian, more ethical than […] its political form.' (Reményik 1937)

Transylvanism's hoped-for exemplary values, i.e. the clever and patient balancing of nations, religions, worldviews and social classes, and its encouraging programme of action, were mostly emphasised as a missed opportunity. By 1938, however, its actuality had been lost, and it was not helped by the foreshadows of a new world war and the accelerating series of historical and political events. In 1938, Carol II of Romania introduced a royal dictatorship and established the National Renaissance Front, which, instead of the bourgeois parliamentarism he had abolished, would mark the beginning of the overtly fascist regime in Romania's history.

Nevertheless, in the interwar ideological framework of Transylvanism, it is worth recalling the consistency, sincerity of conviction and fidelity to principles of its adherents. The essence of the Transylvanian idea, which also pervades fiction, and at the same time its credibility, is well illustrated by the fact that after 1940, when Northern Transylvania was again part of Hungary, thus the 'plein-air parliaments of Transylvanists' – as once Babits has called them – in Marosvécs made their voice heard no longer from a minority perspective, its organisers and leaders consistently stood up for the values and goals they had formulated in the 1920s, instead of the politics of revenge. In August 1942, in the suggestive lines of the *Nyilatkozat* [Declaration] of the fifteenth meeting in Vécs, the following was stated:

'We have to choose between two options for the future of our working community.

The first would be that now, when the building work of the Transylvanian Hungarian soul and spirit is no longer threatened by the danger of the enemy's destruction […], the Erdélyi Helikon considers its community's work as finished, discontinues it and dissolves its community.

The other possibility would be for the Erdélyi Helikon to continue its community work in the future, namely in strengthening, enriching and defending those spiritual and cultural values, forces and traditions which have more than anything else kept the Hungarian identity in Transylvania alive and secure.

Of the two options, the writing community of Erdélyi Helikon chooses the latter.'

(*English translation by* Zsófia Kincső HUTAI)

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Components of Belonging in Two Finno-Ugric Minority Literatures

The Case of *Tibold Márton* and *The Smuggler King's Son*

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ABSTRACT
The topics of the present research are, in a larger sense, two multilingual and multicultural regions: the Tornio Valley in Northern Scandinavia and Transylvania in Eastern Europe. In a narrower sense, I am analysing two novels written in minority languages, a Transylvanian Hungarian novel written by Károly Molter, entitled *Tibold Márton* and a novel written in Meänkieli by Bengt Pohjanen, *Jopparikuninkhaan poika* (The Smuggler King's Son). I attempt to answer two main research questions: 1. How is the belonging of the two main characters to a different language and ethnic group presented in the analysed Hungarian and Meänkieli novels? 2. How can the borders between "us" and "them" be constructed through inclusion and exclusion and how can they be crossed at the individual level? I will thus concentrate on some aspects of the narratives of inclusion and exclusion, as represented in the above-mentioned novels.

Keywords: border, belonging, non-belonging, inclusion, exclusion.[1]

The Research Topic and the Research Questions

During the past two decades I have conducted research on the Finno-Ugric minorities in Northern Scandinavia in comparison with the Hungarians living in Romania. My special focus has been on the construction of the language and ethnic identity of these minorities. One of my most interesting findings was the fact the Transyilvanianist

1 A research grant provided by the Kone Foundation supported the elaboration of the article.

ideology of the Hungarians in Romania between the two World Wars and the idea of Meänmaa[2], launched in the 1980s in the Meänkieli speaking community in Northern Sweden by Bengt Pohjanen present lots of similarities. Of these, I will mention only those few that serve as a background for the topic of this study. At the basis of both ideologies stands the conviction that a place can form the human spirit and that the region where people speak the same language is a historical unit with its own culture, consciousness, and pride. Particularity is moulded by the intellectual interconnection among the ethnic groups speaking different languages; however, the adepts of these two ideologies emphasise the central role of the language and the minorities' mother tongue. Cults of the local values play a role as well in both cases.

However, there are also basic differences between Transylvanianism and the Meänmaa-concept, due to the dissimilarity of the two types of national identity: the Western European type, based on the concepts of country and citizenship, and the Eastern European type, based on the concepts of ethnic origin and culture. Due to this, the loyalty of Western and Eastern European ethnic and linguistic minorities to their own inner group and the majority language-speaking outer groups differ in many respects. (Veres 88) Their belonging to different groups is also constructed differently in many respects.

Two multilingual and multicultural regions are—in a larger sense—the objects of the present research: Northern Scandinavia and Transylvania. According to literature and culture researcher Anne Heith, Northern Scandinavia is a melting pot "where specific cultural legacies meet" (Heith 24). Transylvania, on the other hand, is an area where nations of different culture and language have been living together for centuries, and yet we cannot see it as a melting pot. Even though these cultures were in touch and had an impact upon one another, they have not mingled and developed hybrid (e.g. Paasi) forms to the same extent as the cultures in Northern Scandinavia.

The basic material of my present study consists of Transylvanian Hungarian and Northern Sweden Meänkieli text-bodies written in the respective minority languages. In case of the Transylvanian literature this was a very simple choice, as Transylvanian Hungarian literature is written in Hungarian, by definition. In case of Meänkieli things are not unequivocal, since most of the Meänkieli writers write in Swedish, the language of their majority. I have chosen for analysis one of Bengt Pohjanen's novels, which was also written in Meänkieli. Pohjanen consequently writes in his minority mother tongue as well, in this sense representing an exception in the Northern Scandinavian literary field.

This study attempts to answer the following research questions: 1. How is the belonging of the two main characters to a different language and ethnic group presented in the analysed Hungarian and Meänkieli novels? 2. How can the borders between "us" and "them" be constructed

2 The meaning of the word is 'our land' and it refers to the imagined community (Anderson 1983) which speaks Meänkieli.

through inclusion and exclusion and how can they be crossed at the individual level? I will thus concentrate on some aspects of the narratives of inclusion and exclusion, as represented in a Transylvanian Hungarian novel written by Károly Molter, entitled *Tibold Márton* and in a novel written in Meänkieli by Bengt Pohjanen, *Jopparikuninkhaan poika* (*The Smuggler King's Son*). My hypothesis is that I will find similarities in the way the representatives of the two minorities approach their situation, as well as in their relation to the minority they willingly belong to, even though they live far from each other.

Borders, Belonging and Imagined Communities

One of the main operative terms I use in this study is *border*. I do not use this concept in its meaning related to a territory, but, in accordance with modern border studies (e.g. Johnson et al), in the sense of a site through which communication can be achieved among different groups of people (van Houtum 672). Border studies are today the study of human practices that constitute and represent differences in space. The main topic of today's border-research is constituted by the symbols, signs, identifications, representations, and narratives the borders are created with. If we accept that the borders are in fact the products of our own knowledge and interpretation, as such, they will serve us as lenses to help us imagine and understand the world. Borders should be interpreted as dynamic phenomena, social (and constructed) institutions, as well as symbols that are malleable and able to dynamically change. The borders between groups of people or between languages and cultures control the social sphere and we can consider their construction—in agreement with Helena Ruotsala—one of the ways to exercise power (Ruotsala 202). Thus, the border generally means the differences constructed in society and space between cultures; along with them, individual and group identities are formulated, and the narratives serving their differentiation are of very different kinds.

During the past decades, the concept of identity and the process of identification have been studied using diverse, parallel, and in some respects overlapping conceptualizations. I do not aim at presenting the theoretical frame of these conceptualizations; instead, I will use in this study the concept of *belonging* as an operative term. In their study, Tuuli Lähdesmäki and co-authors draw attention to the fact that the concept of belonging has emerged alongside and challenged the concept of identity. (Lähdesmäki) Studies concerning this concept have increased in number during the last two decades. Many scholars recommend that instead of concentrating on identity as a stable result of finite processes, identification should be considered as a never-ending process and it could be best conceptualised by using the term 'belonging' (Bauman; Hall; Scott; Woodward).

Belonging includes situational relationships with other people as well as social and cultural practices emerging from these relationships, which are basically political and include emotional and/or affective orientations (Lähdesmäki et al 242). Due to its flexible nature, belonging makes it possible to explore the shifting character of borders and the phenomenon of multiple identities. The concept of belonging emphasises the relational dimension of inclusion and exclusion. (Gerharz 553–554.) As such, the idea of belonging and being included also involves the possibility of being excluded. Belonging is generally regarded as something positive, and people try to achieve it for their own comfort. Belonging can be associated with the trope of home when defining belonging as "feeling at home" (Yuval-Davis 197). The idea of home refers to spaces of familiarity and emotional attachment, while non-belonging in an unfamiliar environment generates the feeling of insecurity. Both belonging and non-belonging are simultaneously embodied, affectively felt, socially constructed, and are influenced by diverse power relations.

Although in the contemporary world globalisation is emphasised, people's identities are still deeply rooted in the local, the regional. However, the right to belong is often politicised in order to exclude others and thus the questions of belonging have practical and political implications. In the contemporary world, acts of inclusion and exclusion, identification, and struggles over identity have become ever more relevant.

Society, as an imagined community (Anderson), is made up of real individuals, which are organised into different groups. In this study, I deal with language and ethnic minority groups. Both smaller and bigger communities can be imaginary and can unite people even without expecting them to live in the vicinity of one another or to be personally acquainted with one another or to be in direct connection with one another. In order to be able to describe these groups, it is important to examine their relationships and their network system. It is worth examining the way they create relationships and networks of relationship, as well as those factors that stand at the basis of their solidarity. Both of the novels I am concentrating on in this study are especially suitable for such an examination.

In the following part of this study, I am going to present a short history of the two regions where the minorities in question live. After that, I will portray the work and literary role of the two authors whose novels I will later analyse.

A Short History of Transylvania

Transylvania is situated in the South-eastern corner of the Carpathian Basin and is part of the territory of Romania. During the Middle Ages, it used to belong to the Kingdom of Hungary. After the Battle of Mohács in 1526 it became an independent Principality until 1690, when the Habsburgs gained possession of Transylvania through the Hungarian

Crown. Transylvania had a separate status within the Habsburg Empire until 1867. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, Transylvania was formally re-annexed to Hungary, as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After World War I, Transylvania was annexed to Romania in the Treaty of Trianon (4 June 1920). In 1940, Northern Transylvania was re-annexed by Hungary pursuant to the Second Vienna Award and remained part of Hungary until 1944, when the borders of 1920 were re-established. (Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi 101–125; Péntek & Benő 33–58.) The majority of Hungarians outside the present-day borders of Hungary live in Romania, mainly in Transylvania. The number of Hungarians in Transylvania was 1,227,623 according to the latest census in 2011 conducted by the National Institute of Statistics in Romania (Institutul național de statistică 2011). For centuries, Transylvania has had a complex ethno-linguistic, cultural, and religious structure, including Romanians (Romanian-speaking ethnic Romanians), Hungarians, Germans, Roma, Ukrainians, and Serbians amongst others.

A Short History of Meänmaa

The geographic area called the Tornio Valley (Tornedalen in Swedish, Torniolaakso in Meänkieli) lies at the border between Finland and Sweden. It was once a culturally and linguistically unitary area until 1809, when the border between Russia and Sweden was drawn. The Treaty of Hamina (17 September 1809) ceded the territory inhabited by Finns, including almost all of the Tornio Valley, to Russia. After 1809, the Finnish-speaking people on the western side of the valley became a language minority in Sweden. As a result of the language assimilation policy launched in the 1880s, the language spoken by the Finnish population has become stigmatised and endangered. Most young people speak Swedish as their mother tongue. The Finnish dialect spoken on the Swedish side of the Tornio Valley, called Meänkieli, was acknowledged as a minority language in 2000. (Andersson and Kangassalo 99–108; Arola et al. 2–3.) The area where Meänkieli (earlier Finnish) is spoken has always been multilingual, Finnish, Swedish, and Sámi being spoken there. There are no official statistics in Sweden concerning the mother tongue of its citizens. The number of the Meänkieli population is estimated to be between 25 000 and 75 000 (Arola et al. 3; Sulkala 11; Winsa 254).

The Writers

Károly Molter (1890–1981) was a Hungarian novelist, dramatist, literary critic, journalist and academic. He was born in the Vojvodina region, Serbia, as an ethnic German, but he adopted Hungarian as his

preferred language. He completed his studies in Hungary and earned a degree in Hungarian and German languages in 1912. Then he moved to Transylvania and settled down in Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely), where he was a teacher at the Reformed College between 1913 and 1945. He obtained his PhD degree at the Bolyai University in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and was a professor of German at the same university between 1945 and 1951. He took an active part in organising the Transylvanian Hungarian literary life after 1918. (RMIL 3, 627.) In 1937, he published one of his most successful works, the novel *Tibold Márton*, which presents a Swabian family in the process of adapting Hungarian culture. At the same time, the novel also captures minority dramas caused by social and identity discrimination in opposition to the civic consciousness of a character that fully experiences oppression and denationalisation. (Nastasă – Salat 236)

Molter's *Tibold Márton* was an important novel of the interwar period Transylvanian literature. Its popularity can be connected to the writer's talent with which he was able to make the reader deeply experience Tibold Márton's interesting way of life, on the one hand. On the other hand, it also presents the aspiration and endeavour of the ethnicities—who do not seem to be capable of living together without conflicts—for a peaceful life together, in the atmosphere of the 1930s fascism breaking forward. According to Éva Cs. Gyimesi, *Tibold Márton* is a typically Eastern European novel, as it bears a message that was already valid several decades before the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and has never lost its validity since. The novel stands for the moral and spiritual behaviour of those who are able to rise above dissensions and accept even the unfavourable consequences of a situation, if necessary. "However, *Tibold Márton* is much more than that. It is the expression of sensitivity manifesting as identity and otherness, national intolerance and tolerance. It is, in other words, the novel of Eastern Europe. Because there is no other region in Europe where the demand for respecting otherness is so great as here, where the ethnic and language differences begin not at the border, but practically at the neighbour's back garden, or table, or church." (Cs. Gyimesi 35) This statement is not only true for Eastern Europe but also, for instance, for the Tornio Valley in Northern Europe. The interdependence of people speaking different languages is an everyday reality in the lives of neighbours, which at the same time also has an impact upon the different generations within one family (the elderly family members still speak the minority language, while the younger ones don't use it anymore).

Bengt Pohjanen (born in 1944) is an all-round and prolific trilingual writer of the Tornio Valley in Northern Sweden and the most dedicated representative of Meänkieli literature. He writes novels, poems, essays, plays, feuilletons, texts for musicals and short stories in Swedish, Meänkieli and Finnish. Pohjanen's mother tongue is Meänkieli, and he has assumed an important role in the revitalisation of this endangered Finno-Ugric language and culture since the 1980's. At the beginning

of his career, he wrote in Swedish; then, at an international seminar in Stockholm, he realised that members of a language minority may often feel as if they were some kind of rare, strange beings, until they find out that there are quite a lot of people in a similar situation: writing in a majority language instead of their mother tongue (Pohjanen 2011a, 8).

Pohjanen is the author of the first novel ever written in Meänkieli (*Lyykeri*, 1985 – The Luger), as well as of the first play (*Kuutot*, 1987 – The Kuutot Family). His best-known work is *Jopparikuninkhaan poika* (2009)[3] (*The Smuggler King's Son*), the first volume of his autobiographical novel. The novel presents the everyday life of a family speaking a minority language, Meänkieli, settled into a piece of the North-Sweden after-war social history; the effects of the cold war upon the North-European people's way of thinking can also be easily traced. In general, Pohjanen's works prove that literature gives the individual an opportunity to partake in their own people's or ethnic group's culture and collective memory. One of Pohjanen's main aims is to present the relation of the Meänkieli culture to the majority (Swedish and Finnish) cultures. He masterfully presents the individual's experience in sharing the same fate of being different, as well as minority strategies in an exclusionary society. Pohjanen is also in search for an answer to the question who "the others" are and whether it would be possible to cross the border between "us" and „them".

Belonging through Inclusion and Exclusion

Human beings are always more than their historical constraints, and it is a matter of individual decision how they relate to different situations and how they construct the borders depending on to their experiences of inclusion and exclusion. I am going to prove with the example of the above-mentioned two novels how much self-consciousness depends on inner urge.

Both of the protagonists of the novels, Martin Tibold and Pänktti Pohjanen are multilingual *Bildungsroman* heroes. Martin is a Swabian[4] child, who was born into a Serbian-Hungarian environment in Bácska (Bačka)[5]. He first experiences the disadvantages of being different from the point of view of a German. The Serbian landlord does not like Martin's father, because he is a friend of Hungarians. When Martin, still as a child, wants to become a *huszár* (cavalryman), the landlord mocks him: "You gluttonous Swabian, you want to be Hungarian,

3 The novel was published first in Finnish (2006), then in Swedish (Pohjanen 2007). The Meänkieli version was translated into Hungarian (Pohjanen 2011b) and English (2014).

4 German-speaking population who lived in various countries of south-eastern Europe, especially in the Danube River Valley.

5 This region was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and is today a territory divided between Serbia and Hungary.

too? You'll get Great Serbia instead" (Molter 6). In this situation, the main character's wish to belong to a certain group appears clearly. And along with it, one also feels the rough mockery of this wish coming from a person who—out of political reasons—deeply despises the main character's ethnic group. At the end of the novel Tibold has to face his otherness from the point of view of a Hungarian. As a teacher of German language, he mentions to one of his Hungarian colleagues how useful it was to him to get the opportunity of learning in Jena, as this had given him an opportunity to experience the West. His colleague interprets this statement in a totally different way, and reacts ironically: "Come on now, little bro' Tibold, you are not going to Germanise here at our place" (Molter 121). In both situations, Tibold follows the way of "otherness" free of political motivations; the way of an intellectual open to others, met by the incomprehension of those who cannot step over the rigid barriers they built themselves.

Pänktti is the child of a Meänkieli family in Sweden. He experiences from his early childhood the fact that those whose mother tongue is not Swedish are discriminated by the Swedish-speaking majority. On his very first day at school, he has to learn that the name he had been called in the microworld of his family and native village is not accepted in the majority society. From that day on, he had to be called by the Swedish version of his name, Bengt. The unfamiliar environment fills him with fear and bitterness: "No wonder we feel that the Swedish look down their noses at us as if we were some hungry, orphan little squirrel scratching at some icy pine-cone. This fact poisons all my thoughts and fills me with dread. The Swedish-speaking Tornio Valley inhabitants have no idea about all this. Their identity is clear, they're Swedish-Swedish. They're born with this clear identity, an awareness which grows along with them. On the other hand, it's only planted into us and tears at us from the inside. Some become conceited; others are filled with anger against those who giggle behind us whenever we mispronounce a word." (Pohjanen 2014, 96.) The development of Pänktti's character throughout the novel spans from the intimidated child to the self-conscious adult. He wants to belong to both groups, and while cherishing his mother tongue, he is also conscious of the fact that he has to be able to fit into the majority language society.

Both characters live in a tolerant family environment. Martin learns Hungarian history from his grandfather, who fought during the 1848 Revolution of Independence in defence of Hungary, against the Austrians. "My ancestors have been living here for one and a half century. The idea of captivity is alien to them; they had fled here from economic revolutions and oppression. Now they are rich and arrogant. What could have made them hate Hungarians, who are poorer over here than they are? A few roistering lordlings, the officials, some hicks, or servile new-Hungarians do not count. These Swabians have given their blood for their new homeland. And I feel an exception even compared to them because I am one with the Hungarians." (Molter 26.)

Hatred against those fellow citizens who speak other languages is alien to Martin and generally to his own group.

Pänktti's family is very much alike. It is interesting that he learns while still a child that there are functional differences among languages, and the use of a certain language implies the construction of belonging or non-belonging. These border-constructions are ingeniously presented in the novel. He is taught not to lie in his own mother tongue, because for his community mother tongue is as sacred as God. Mandatory lies are therefore told in the majority language, as it is situated outside the sacred space. "All the necessary lies are told in Swedish, so they can't be that dangerous and can't count as sins either. God might not even understand Swedish. We only talk Swedish to the masters, and Finnish to the Lord, and probably only Lappish to the dogs." (Pohjanen 2014, 83.) According to this quotation, two closely related languages are of high priority in the life of the protagonist's community: Meänkieli and Finnish. Swedish is for them the language of political and social power and as such, it generates negative feelings, while the value of Sámi is the lowest in their society. However, in the context of the whole novel the attitude toward Swedish and Sámi is not unambiguously negative, which means that crossing the border of different languages is not impossible for the protagonist.

Tibold's conscious construction of self-identity does not go hand in hand with suppressing or despising those who belong to another language group. The following quotation expresses the way he firmly refuses the use of pejorative names for Romanians and Serbians, at the same time being aware of the fact that it is characteristic for every nation to use stereotypes towards other nations. " 'Romanian or Serbian? Better say *Oláh* or *Rác*[6]. That's how they say it over here, scornfully…' 'Well, those who say it. This narrow-mindedness is characteristic for every nation alike.' " (Molter 68) Neither does Pohjanen's hero and *alter ego,* Pänktti, despise those speaking the majority language, although he is bitter because they dispute his own (and his community's) right to choose where they want to belong. He expresses his feelings using the metaphor of two different worlds which can never meet each other: "Only those who are looking for words while being pushed into the background can understand what living without words means. Those whose first language is Swedish live on quite a different planet from us, the Meänkieli. They can't even perceive our things. The language we speak during the first three years of our life is our mother tongue. That's what language researchers and linguists say. Those with the Swedish mother tongue have a Swedish world; those who speak Meänkieli have a Meänkieli world. And these worlds can never meet each other." (Pohjanen 2014, 158) Another metaphor used in this quotation is "living without words". This is also the main metaphor of one of Pohjanen's poems, central to his whole work (entitled *Jag är född utan språk* – Born

6 Pejorative names for the given nations.

Tongueless). The poem is a manifestation of being excluded and deprived of identity in an exclusionary society. The lyrical ego, member of a language minority, is born "tongueless" because the only accepted language in the given cultural and social environment is Swedish.

One of the basic human rights is the right to belong and non-belong (right to otherness). It is Martin's own choice to learn the Hungarian language and belong to the Hungarian minority which he appreciates a lot. In the following quotation, Martin answers the provocations by choosing basic human values: " 'Are you Martin or Márton?' 'Both. – It would be really difficult to choose.' 'After all, your mother was German, so you are German, too, by birth.' 'By no means. Just a human being. Who can become whatever he wants to. My mother did not talk me into becoming neither German nor Hungarian.' " (Molter 101) For him, multiple identity is only natural; thus, the components fit together peacefully in the spirit of humanity. For Martin it is without question that he wants to become Hungarian and, at the same time, he cherishes his mother tongue and would never deny it. " 'Are you losing your mother tongue here, in Kecskemét?' 'Me? By no means. Only rascals or ill-fated persons would do that. I read in German a lot. I am curious of a lot of things that can be read in this rich language. How beautiful German poems are and how much I love German poets!' 'Do you love them as much as you love Hungarian poets?' 'Exactly as much.' " (Molter 101) In this scene, he is also asked provocative questions and the answers he gives can only be understood by those who have a flexible attitude regarding multiple affiliation.

For Pänktti it is clear that he has to manage in Swedish, having no choice to do that in his own mother tongue. But identity means more to him, as well, than the sum of his social possibilities. He wants to prove—to himself, first of all, but also to his environment—that he is capable of self-realisation on the basis of his own choice, exactly the way Martin does. Learning to write in Swedish is a huge effort for him, but he knows that this is the price he has to pay for stepping out into the world of the majority. He manages to turn this obligation to his own advantage and he considers a success each step he takes towards achieving his goal. "And that's what I always ask whenever, with Finnish persistence, I torture myself with Swedish words. Is that acceptable? It also gets engraved into my skin's memory: »Am I acceptable?« Whenever Rosa nods, my already written words are asking for other letters, for straight lines and further Swedish words." (Pohjanen 2014, 220) At the same time his mother tongue is the basis of his personality, which the grown-up narrator of Pohjanen's novel expresses using a metaphor of high emotional value: "Your mother tongue is the fingerprint of your soul" (Pohjanen 2014, 31).

Neither Martin nor Pänktti identify themselves with a certain ethnicity in order to gain advantage; on the contrary, they assume even the biggest inconveniences to remain loyal to their decision. In both novels, one can detect what Cs. Gyimesi considers valid for minority ideologies: "The ethical components of minority ideology […] are

specific in their functions: they sanction the situation, on the one hand, and dissolve the disharmony between situation and identity awareness, on the other. Minority life in itself is itemised as possibility of gaining values. The following things seem to generously moderate the feeling of being limited by minority situation: self-reliance euphemised into self-sufficiency, the possibility of moral value creation (resistance), the objective interdependence and reliance on the majority, as well as other nations with whom they live together rated as value." (Cs. Gyimesi 42)

Minority life-form is simply a historical-social given, with no value in itself. On the other hand, as Cs. Gyimesi argues, minority status offers value-creating possibilities as well. It offers the ethnicities living together the possibility of coining a fruitful connection from a moral and cultural point of view. Bi- or multilingualism of those living in such a situation enriches the humanism of those who know one another's cultural heritage and literature. (Cs. Gyimesi 29) However, an essential difference can be observed between Transylvanian Hungarians and the Meänkielis: self-reliance in the case of the former ethnic group strengthened the need for language and cultural independence, while in case of the latter one it led mainly to conformation and assimilation into the Swedish majority.

Conclusions

The analysis of the texts in this study gives examples of the possibilities of communication between the different language and ethnic groups living in the same region. The heroes of the two novels are open towards otherness, and gladly approach people speaking other languages and are open to their culture. Still, the basic condition for them is to be treated as equals, and to have their own language and culture respected as well. This very condition, however, is not always fulfilled because of political reasons.

In the two novels, the main characters' belonging to different language and ethnic groups is presented through the process of constructing and deconstructing borders. It becomes clear that one cannot take for granted that people belong to a certain group, neither that the borders between groups are impenetrable; in other words, belonging is a dynamic process depending on the situation. The protagonists of the novels, because of the political status of their mother tongue, basically live in two worlds speaking two different languages and continuously negotiate between them. Their commuting between the two worlds and their looking for a balance is a form of life. Literary researcher Anitta Viinikka-Kallinen stated about minority writers that presenting the connection between the two worlds is usually a lifelong challenge for them. (Viinikka-Kallinen 172–173) In Scandinavia, minority writers (and minority language speaking citizens in general) have to prove themselves in two directions. On the one hand, they make every effort to be believable and acceptable for the majority group, and, on the other hand, they have to prove to their own communities that they belong to them.

As we could see, the construction of borders between the different language and ethnic groups is realised through the process of inclusion and exclusion. The primary condition of crossing these borders is the ability to compromise and to be flexible: "People frequently crossing borders need to compromise. […] They know, out of their own experience, that a rational cooperation between individuals and groups of different origin depends on the mutual concession of those politically in charge. Such an inter-ethnic agreement is never perfect, as it only comes into being and lasts if the protagonists keep decreasing in a balanced and indefatigable way their real or suspected demands." (K. Lengyel 5) On a practical level, this process is often hindered because of political power relations, which build up a hierarchy of values alien to the basic needs of people to communicate and cooperate in everyday life. Anne Heith calls attention to the conflict between the functioning of the cultural and the political borders: "Permeable and symbolic cultural borders have often been in conflict with borders constructed by the state in order to define its territory and the content of national culture and identity" (Heith 25).

As the analysis of the text-bodies proves, cooperation between language and ethnic majorities and minorities can be problematic from many points of view. The shortcomings of efficient and open communication between the above-mentioned minorities and majorities are multiple, including the historical traumas they underwent as double-opposed counterparts, the difficulty of forgetting the experiences of the past and the lack of patience and tolerance in accepting the other's right to be different. Conflicts are likely to appear where history is interpreted in one way by one group, but differently by the other. Two neighbouring nations or ethnic and language groups, coexisting on the same territory, might create parallel and rival narratives of belonging. However, as the example of the protagonists of the two novels prove, it is possible to construct a multiple belonging.

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Four major literary code-switching strategies in Hungarian literature. Decoding monolingualism

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ABSTRACT

The field of literary multilingualism has quickly grown over the last decades. Multiple studies have examined the way linguistic diversity manifests itself in literature by focusing on specific strategies such as code-switching, code-mixing, code-shifting, hybridization, etc. However, the current understanding of multilingual practices is still dominated by a remarkable terminological inconsistency. In this article, we provide a new theoretical framework called 'literary code-switching' (Domokos 2018–2020), that can be used to examine most literary multilingual practices – from the most hidden or latent to the more manifest ones. This formulation, which is scaled into degrees from 0 to 5, will be applied to some key examples taken from the works of Imre Madách, Mihály Tompa, Imre Oravecz, Attila Jász, Ferenc Karinthy, Terézia Mora and Anne Tardos. The aim of picking up these heuristic examples from Hungarian literature is to point towards the necessity of investigating literature more systematically according to its hidden and manifest linguistic diversity.

Keywords: code-switching, literary multilingualism, Hungarian literature, zero degree code-switching, intrasentential and intersentential code-switching

Introduction

A growing interest in literary multilingualism has emerged over the last decades. Despite the prevalence of national literatures circumscribed by the parameter of monolingualism (Gramling 2016, Yildiz 2012), the interest in linguistic diversity has created a parallel multilingual canon, which transcends the nation-state paradigm. This means that literary scholars have progressively focused on reading texts composed

in multiple languages or written by authors who have used more than one language in separate works, sometimes – as in the case of exilic or migrant writers – choosing to employ acquired tongues instead of their first language(s).

Strongly influenced by specific socio-linguistic, narratology or philology studies, these multilingual literary practices have been classified in multiple ways. Among the most popular definitions, the following stand out: "polylanguaging" (Jørgensen et al. 2011), "polylingualism", (Sternberg 1982), "polyglot literature" (Beardsmore 1978), "heterolingualism" (Grutman 2012), "exophony" (Susan Arndt, Dirk Naguschewski and Robert Stockhammer 2007), "semiodiversity" (Gramling 2016), "translingualism" (Garcia 2013), "literary transnationalism" (Kellman 2015), etc. These notions have sometimes been used interchangeably but have also highlighted different nuances of the same practice. The result is that there is "no coherent, agreed-upon terminology, either within or across specific disciplines (or languages)" (Yildiz: 213).

In addition to these notions, scholars have also tried to focus more in detail on different multilingual practices: "Since the 1970s, a large amount of research in the field of bilingualism has focused on the mixing of languages in discourse, in particular code-switching and related phenomena, variously called code-mixing, code-shifting, language alternation or language interaction" (Sebba 97). This list could also be extended to hybridization, interference, and more (Berruto 1998). Even though fewer studies have been dedicated to written (and literary) practices (Callahan 2004; Sebba 2012; Gardner-Chloros and Weston 2015; Delabastita and Grutman 2008; Baldo 2019) than to oral ones, in this case the result has also been a terminological disarray. Bearing in mind the rhetorical argument of Paul de Man in *Semiology and Rhetoric* (1973) or such deconstructive philosophical studies as Jacques Derrida's *Monolingualism of the Other* (1998) still it follows that the analytic tools we possess today to approach literary multilingual texts appear rather fragmented, as well as confusing.

In this paper, we aim to provide an innovative literary linguistic framework that can be used to cover most literary multilingual practices. These practices may vary considerably according to the way multiple languages are qualitatively and quantitatively employed and defined in their works by writers. As suggested by Grutman, "texts can either give equal prominence to two (or more) languages or add a liberal sprinkling of other languages to a dominant language clearly identified as their central axis" (19). Within the same multilingual literary category would therefore belong both texts such as *El desdichado* by Gérard de Nerval or *Harmonia cælestis* by Péter Esterházy, whose titles are in a different language than the rest of the book, as well as works which include wider multilingual insertions "taking up entire paragraphs or even pages, as in Tolstoy's *War and peace* and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*" (cursive in the original) (Grutman 19). Furthermore, a multilingual text could feature

multilingualism in an even more remarkable way, for instance blurring the boundary between the matrix and embedded languages, such as in Anne Tardos's quadrilingual, László Baránszky's bilingual or Cia Rinne's homophonic multilingual poetries. This brief list obviously confounds multilingual practices of different orders, which are probably not suited to being inserted within the same theoretical framework.

Our framework, named "literary code-switching", was first theorized in Domokos 2018–2020. It satisfies the need to accommodate all these heterogeneous strategies, starting from so-called hidden or latent multilingual practices – referring to works in which languages could still be present even when they are not immediately perceptible (Keller 1979; Radaelli 2011; Dembeck 2017; Blum-Barth 2020) – to the most openly expressed or manifest multilingual forms. According to this formulation, code-switching corresponds to several different practices, which are scaled into degrees from 0 to 5 and subdivided into further categories. Given that our theoretical framework concerns code-switching, we will first introduce the way in which it is interpreted in this analysis. Secondly, we will focus in more detail on the 0 to 3 code-switching types, their subcategories, and on the way, they depict different communicative levels in a wide variety of texts, to show how the poetics of code-switching contributes to manifesting localities, linguistic diversities, multicultural memories, and more. The sound poetry of Hungarian artists such as Endre Szkárosi and Katalin Ladik contain examples of the 4th and 5th degrees of code-switching, but they will be examined at a later stage of our research.

The examples given below aim to highlight manifestations of code-switching not yet discussed in Hungarian scholarship, which otherwise effectively deals with the multilingualism of contemporary retrospective novels, reflecting the multilingual and multicultural dynamism of the Central and Eastern European landscape. Such prosaic and poetic literary works, often authored by internationally recognized writers such as Ottó Tolnai, Péter Esterházy, Ádám Bodor, Pál Závada, György Dragomár, Vince Fekete or Andrea Tompa, "create localized perspectives by transforming historical conflicting strata into a vernacular memory, which gives birth to an accented (dispersed) contemporary reader experience" (Dánél, 2021, 55, our translation). There is no question, then, that these novels written with "fluctuating grammar" and "multilingual self-awareness" (as Beáta Thomka formulates, 2018,146.) form the most obvious code-switching core of contemporary Hungarian literature.

Code-switching

Code-switching is usually described by linguists as "the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4). It is also defined as "the alternative

use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation" which could "occur between the turn of different speakers in conversation, sometimes even within a single utterance" (Milroy and Muysken 7–8). The situations described by Gardner-Chloros and Milroy and Muysken happen on a daily basis in multiple societies around the world, given that multilingualism constitutes the normal condition rather than an exception. Apart from being constantly used in day-to-day life, code-switching is also a popular tool employed by writers belonging to the most disparate literary traditions. Writers who could use more than one linguistic code in their works, such as multilingual and transnational authors, have exploited the potential of this tool since ancient times. As Filonov Gove (1973) points out:

> In literature, code-switching is potentially available to any writer who commands another language besides his own and is not restricted from its use by literary canon. Practitioners of code-switching in the West include Petronius and Cicero, medieval translators, Rabelais and Montaigne, Sterne, Tolstoy, Pound, Eliot, Joyce, E. E. Cummings, Hemingway, and Anthony Burgess (79).

Code-switching has been used by writers, for instance, to deal with encounters with individuals possessing different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. If we consider specific literary genres such as migrant literature, travelogues, borderland novels, folkloric tales, epic poems and even comic series and oral poetry, these multilingual or multicultural encounters and contacts may easily occur. In Gardner-Chloros' words, code-switching "affects practically everyone who is in contact with more than one language or dialect, to a greater or lesser extent" (2009: 4). Not to mention that a different linguistic background could materialise even in apparent monolingual backgrounds – it is enough for a character to study a foreign language at university, such as in the Slovene classic *Cvetje v jeseni* (1917) by Ivan Tavčar, in which Elvira talks to her mother in French, one of the languages she has learnt during her studies.

Functions of literary code-switching

The present paper defines literary code-switching as an aesthetic play with multiple formal elements and/or semantic interpretations, not limited to mimetic function. An example of the mimetic function of code-switching is given by Callahan (2004: 90), who specifies that the use of this function in Chicano literature often derives from the need to portray characters' real way of talking, especially when code-switching is embedded into dialogues:

> Codeswitching in these works, then, reproduces the speech of individuals who would be expected to codeswitch. Codeswitching in the main narrative could be said to be an extension of this: the author's own sociolinguistic background predicts his or her use of codeswitching (90).

While this may appear to be the most obvious function of code-switching practices, it should not be forgotten that literary code-switching differs considerably from oral code-switching; it is a fictional tool used by writers to achieve their narratorial goals. As Rainier Grutman underlines: "Mimetic readings do not explain how languages interact with each other within the boundaries of texts whose use of foreign tongues quite often goes beyond mirroring society or supposedly 'translating' reality" (2006: 19). This is the reason why, for instance, Joyce's *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake* should be considered "neither the product nor the reflection of a multilingual environment" (Grutman 1999: 41).

Indeed, the fact that speakers can draw their speech upon more than one code leads to the possibility of conveying meanings, data and nuance that a single code cannot. Code-switching is, in other words, also a way to provide information – from the geographic, social and political circumstances of a specific context to the state of mind of a character or the way it interacts with others – that is implied in the language used. Additionally, literary code-switching has to do with the way the different communicative levels (e.g., the communication between the author and the reader, between the narrator and the addressee, and between the characters) interact between themselves, justifying the use of a certain tongue rather than another. For this reason, it is "of great interest *how*, *when* and *why* targeted linguistic elements from phonemes to larger linguistic units and even alphabets or semantic meanings are selected and combined in a literary work" (Domokos 2018: 85). By considering the way in which these communicative levels work, we can better understand code-switching's functions, given that it may "repeal linguistic and cultural barriers, de-automate semantic production, address the appropriation of linguistic, aesthetic and cultural diversity, and efficiently stage alterity" (Domokos 2020: 44). Beyond this, code-switching is a productive method of staging locality. As Móna Dánél points out in her analysis of the work of Hungarian authors in multiple cultural areas:

> The remaining differences of linguistic distinctness and accents imbued with various geographical, historical, cultural and social localities can be poetically evaluated, while their local attachments do not disappear and are not hierarchized. Such a comparison can keep and maintain local differences, which are never

> purely local but arise in cultural intersections, in the dynamic space of the commensurable-incommensurable duality (2020, 10, our translation).

To approach code-switching, in this paper we apply Domokos' 0 to 5 degree code-switching framework (Table 1), which utilizes Myers-Scotton's intra- and inter-sentential code-switching terms, as well as his concepts of matrix and embedded languages (1993). This model allows us to better depict "the multilingual qualities of a literary text from covert to overt manifestations, as well as from the covert usage of the embedded language (0 degree) to the use of a few foreign words (1st degree) and some sentences (2nd degree), up to a high number of embedded language units in a sentence (3rd degree) or even different languages appearing in one word (4th degree), and finally, the complete disappearance not only of the matrix language, but also of understandable words (5th degree)" (Domokos 2018: 98).

Various code-switching types

0 degree or covert, and overt c-s (ZCS)	It allows the writer to utilize or cite language as a medium without any special linguistic insertion, so the reader can better focus on the storyline.
1st degree or intra-sentential c-s (CS1)	It is characterized by the sporadic use of foreign words and tags in the sentences of the matrix language.
2nd degree or inter-sentential c-s (CS2)	It corresponds to a text that includes whole sentences or paragraphs in another language.
3rd degree blurring the border of matrix and embedded languages (CS3)	It is an intensive form of code-switching, where the matrix language is almost deconstructed.
4th degree or lexico-morphological translingualism (CS4)	It uses a high number of diverse lexical and morphological units in a word or a phrase.
5th degree or homophonic translingualism (CS5)	Homophonic and homographic elements abound

Table 1: *0 to 5 degree code-switching classification based on Domokos, 2018*

Whether in an apparently vey multilingual literature such as the Sámi, or very much a population connecting to their literary tradition such as the Hungarian, in both of these cases there are plenty of examples which can be used to illustrate the code-switching classes outlined above. Therefore, below we will provide heuristic examples taken from very different literary productions of multilingual or monolingual contemporary authors.

Monolingual, bilingual, ambilingual writers

There is no national literature that does not have multilingual roots, and authors writing in multiple languages. As the scholar Till Dembeck (2017) points out, there is even no such thing as a monolingual literary text, as such. However, the normativism of modern national literatures has created a blind spot surrounding code-switching. This blind spot is easier to roll back by looking at the poetic strategies of ambilingual individuals: writers who have written different works in different languages (Kellman 2000: 19); translingual writers such as Giorgio Pressburger or Ágota Kristóf; multilingual authors such as Terézia Mora's stylistic switch, or the bilingual production of Orsolya Kalász and Gábor Gyukics. Wherever we look, it is possible to find various forms of code-switching, especially of the zero degree type. This category includes various strategies, starting with inventing a penname that sounds foreign (for example, P. Howard, invented by Jenő Rejtő) or of a transcultural identity (e.g. Attila Jász develops his Native identity in *Bölénytakaró, azaz hogyan lehetsz indián* / Buffalo hide, or how to become a Native). Other zero degree code-switching strategies include 'born translated' works (e.g. Ádám Bodor's *Sinistra körzet* / The Sinistra zone[1]), self-translations, clones and alterverses (which is how the trilingual author Tzveta Sofornieva categorizes her poems), code-entanglement (e.g. allegorical poems with a different messages for the foreign censorship and for the initiated readers), or monolingual mapping of multilingual dialogues and scenes supposedly happening in various languages (as Sándor Petőfi does in *János Vitéz* / John, the Valiant or Imre Madách in his *Az ember tragédiája* / The tragedy of man). As well as some of these zero code-switching techniques, we will discuss further explicit types of code-switching.

Zero degree code-switching

Zero degree code-switching (ZCS) is a widespread writing strategy which can be found in the majority of literary works characterized by linguistic alterity. When creating their literary works, authors have to decide how to transpose the multi- and translingualism of their fictional worlds into their texts. The solution adopted is often to relate multilingual backgrounds into the language of the narratorial addressees or targeted audience, who are expected to be monolingual. These monolingualisation techniques allow the author to focus on the storyline without interrupting the linguistic linearity of the narrative and troubling the reader with the insertion of foreign tongues.

This is the case, for instance, in the internationally well-received existential drama *Az ember tragédiája / The Tragedy of Man,* by the 19th

1 More in Móna Dánél 2019.

Century Hungarian dramatist Imre Madách. Just like Goethe's *Faust* and many other philosophical dramas of the 19th Century and beyond, Madách's work is typified not only by encounters between people of various historical ages, social statuses and cultures, but with animals, plants and also with transcendental beings (the Lord, Lucifer and other Archangels and Cherubs).[2] Compositionally inspired by the Hegelian structure of thesis, antithesis, synthesis and written in the style of a lyrical drama with antiquated and accentual syllabic rhythm and rhyming lines, this historically and philosophically reflecting work has a particularly accurate third-person omniscient narrator. Since setting, religious views and discourse are of great importance to the story, this all-knowing, all-seeing and all-understanding narrator type relates the whole story monolingually, be it in Heaven, on Earth, or in the dark future. Both in the biblical and the historical scenes, the communicating agencies always address each other in a mutually intelligible verbal medium, therefore the intrinsic code-switching is presented only monolingually.

In the excerpt from the opening scene below, the dialogic partners listen carefully not only to each other's communication, which involves human and transcendental beings, but also to animals and other natural entities. As is the case in other examples taken from the same work, in their linguistic reflections the characters consider mainly the semantic level, and rarely the formal (as seen in the second question and the penultimate sentence of the quote.

ÁDÁM
Ne szólj igy, Éva, meg ne szégyeníts.
Mi a hang, hogy ha nincs, ki értené?
Mi a sugár, ha szín nem fogja fel?
Mi volnék én, ha mint visszhang- s virágban,
Benned szebb létre nem feselne létem,
Melyben saját magam szerethetem?

LUCIFER
E lágy enyelgést mért is hallgatom? -
Elfordulok, másképp oly szégyen ér még,
Hogy a hideg számító értelem
Megírigylendi a gyermekkedélyt.
(*Egy madárka énekelni kezd egy közel ágon.)*

ÉVA
Hallgasd csak, Ádám, óh, mondd, érted-é
E kis bohó szerelmes énekét?

2 For a more detailed analysis of 19th century zero type code-switching through Sándor Petőfi's and Mark Twain's works see Domokos, Johanna and Deganutti, Marianna. "Overt and covert zero code switching in Sándor Petőfi's János vitéz (John the Valiant) and Mark Twain's A Tramp abroad", forthcoming.

ÁDÁM
Én a patak zugását hallgatám,
És azt találom, szintén így dalolt.

ÉVA
Minő csodás összhang ez, kedvesem,
E sokszerű szó és egy értelem[3].

ADAM
Do not say that, Eve, don't put me to shame.
What's the voice when nobody understands?
And tell me what is beam without colour?
What would I be when not be mirror'd
In you, like both the echo and the flowers
In which I can adore only myself?

LUCIFER
Why do I listen to this mild flirting?
I look away otherwise I'll be ashamed:
The cold and self-seeking reasoning will
Become envious of the artless mind.
(*A tiny bird begins to sing on a twig.*)

EVE
Adam, listen to it, tell me, do you
Perceive the song of this merry lover?

ADAM
I listen'd to the babbling of the creek
And found it to sing the same merry song.

EVE
Darling, this is wonderful harmony,
These diverse words and one reason only[4].

(translated by Otto Tomschey)

Beside hidden multilingualism, code-entanglement also refers to parallel linguistic worlds, however in the case of the former, the phenomenon is formal (as two different linguistic codes are mapped into one), and in the case of the latter one, it is semantic (as two different interpretations are incorporated in the same linguistic code). Allegorical literary works are good examples of code-entanglement, since all of them have double rhetoric; they can be interpreted to reveal a hidden meaning beside a

3 https://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00849/html/01.htm#1 (20.09.2021)
4 http://mek.oszk.hu/00800/00876/00876.htm (20.09.2021)

more obvious one. Beside the main narrative or dramatic action carried out by animals, plants or even humans, there is typically a hidden moral, erotic or political message decodable mainly by a special readership. A good example of a lyrical allegory is the Hungarian folk-nationalist poet Mihály Tompa's famous poem *A madár, fiaihoz* / *The Bird, to his sons*. He wrote this poem in 1852, during the Habsburg dictatorship which followed the defeat of the Hungarian war of independence, when he could only communicate his true thoughts in a hidden, allegorical form. The bird talking to his chicks advises them to keep their way of life and communication alive, and not to take example from those humans who have switched codes. This is how the poem ends[5]

A bokorban itt az ősi fészek,
Mely növelte könnyü szárnyatok;
Megpihenni most is abba tértek,
Bár a fellegek közt járjatok!
S most, hogy a szél összevissza tépte:
Ugy tennétek, mint az emberek?
Itt hagynátok, idegent cserélve…?
– Fiaim, csak énekeljetek!

Here in this bush your ancient home beholds.
Where first ye spread your wings; will ye not rest
After a vagrant flight through cloud aisles cold
At last, and gladly, in your former nest?
Although the wind hath rent it, will ye be
Like callous men, the wreck abandoning?
Fly not to alien shores beyond the sea.
But sing, I prithee sing!
(translated by Nora de Vallyi and Dorothy Stuart)

ZCS can be also found in works in which inspiration from other literature can lead to creating literary works with exolingual stylistic code, just as the talented contemporary prosaist Terézia Mora implements the Hungarian post-modern style to her storytelling in German in *Alle Tage* / *Day in, day out*, or *Der einzige Man auf dem Kontinent*, *The only man on the continent*. With her 2014 novel entitled *Das Ungerheur* (The Monster) her novelistic style becomes even more complex. The pages of this book are divided into two parallel narratives. The story of the male character runs in the upper part of the page and employs an engaging diversity of voices by constantly changing the focus between the characters and the primary, heterodiegetic narrator. By expertly manipulating the linguistic register and employing furiously quick changes in point

5 https://www.magyarulbabelben.net/index.php?page=work&interfaceLang=en&literatureLang=hu&translationLang=all&auth_id=664&work_id=24615&tran_id=24616&tr_id=0&tran_lang=en (09.21.2021)

of view, Mora's Hungarian reminiscent post-modern style endows the text with an unusual depth and dynamism. Meanwhile, the female character's narrative on the bottom of the page is a lyrical prose, which is a self-translation from Hungarian of notes, diary entries, translation experiments by Hungarian authors (Kassák, Nemes Nagy, Erdős and Pilinszky), and excerpts from reference books on mental illness (at the end of the book the reader is given the link to Mora's Hungarian source text[6]).

Similarly successful and innovative in zero degree code-switching is the recent poetry collection of the Hungarian poet, prosaist and essayist Imre Oravecz. In his book entitled *A hopik könyve*[7] / *The book of the Hopi,* Oravecz creates the universe of a lyrical 'I' in the imagined spirit of a Hopi, as experienced through his reading adventure of the 1963 Frank Waters book, also entitled *The book of Hopi*. Noticing this strong inspiration, the author acknowledges it in his foreword:

> … one day in early April, I suddenly put down the book, and after about a five-year break, I also unexpectedly took out paper and pen. And until then, I never wrote a poem with a characteristic good feeling … And not so much because of the motives used, but rather because of the said good feeling, I decided to write a Hopi poem. Thus, such a kind of occasional lyrics for singing that Frank Waters's book in fact does not contain… (2019, 10, our translation)

Native inspiration is manifested differently by the Hungarian poet Attila Jász, who has systematically built himself a Native identity as Toll Csendes ('Quite Pen'). As inscribed on the cover *Bölénytakaró, avagy hogyan lehetsz indián / Buffalo hide, or how to become a Native*, the authors are Attila Jász and Toll Csendes. This 2020 poetry volume describes how a dislocated *pale face* acquires his native identity during his first two decades of life spent in Central Europe, more precisely, in Hungary. Just as painted buffalo hides commemorate a tribe's historical events or the characteristics of a person, the poems divided into four cycles in the book recount biographical events from the first two decades of this lyrical 'I'. During this time, the child transits to a person with both a pale face as well as a Native identity. In Hungarian culture, the concept of Native American (Hun. *indián*) has very positive connotations, being a symbol of a person with high morals, a free spirit, a deep connection to nature, and being proficinet in old tradition. To play Indián / Native is very common while growing up in Hungary., partly due to Karl May's novels, to the wilderness schools popular during the school holidays,

6 More on hidden and manifest multilingualism in Terézia Mora's work in Domokos 2016.

7 https://konyvtar.dia.hu/xhtml/oravecz_imre/Oravecz_Imre-A_hopik_konyve.xhtml (09.21.2021)

and to the deep sympathy the Hungarians, who consider themselves the Native Indians of Europe, feel towards the Native Americans. In Jász' book the language of the Native is not as much a verbal code, but it is the language of freedom, of liberation from society's conventions, especially in the perception of traumatic events. Beside using certain cultural loan words, like tipi, leather stoking, etc., the poetic language of the book is smoothly monolingual. While it is not explicitly told, the reader understands that everyone speaks Hungarian, even the grandmother, the only person who appears in the eyes of the child as a Native woman.

In the current Native American boom in Hungarian poetry, the 2021 anthology of *Utolsó Indiánkönyv* / The Last Indian Book, containing the homages of nearly one hundred Hungarian poets to the universal Native American spirit, the editors Gábor Gyukics, Attila Jász and Imre Wirth formulated the following call in their preface, not only to authors but also to the reader:

> Are there enough Indians left in you to bring the shadows up because the Bird of Thunder takes your calling word far to blow the fire and blow the smoke out of the kalumet again toward four parts of the world? Do you address, slowly knowing everything, the Great Spirit, do you tell him that the world is closing in vain, and the richness of life of János Xántus and Ervin Baktay is just a dream…? (2021, 4, our translation)

1st and 2nd degree code-switching

Literary multilingualism could also appear in forms which dismantle the linguistic homogeneity of the narrative more evidently; this is the case of 1st and 2nd degree code-switching. These practices can be defined as the sporadic use of foreign insertions (words and tags in the case of intra-sentential code-switching, and whole sentences in the case of inter-sentential code-switching) in a still clearly recognizable matrix language. It is not unusual for these insertions to be followed by translations, explanatory notes or phrases – sometimes in a footnote or even in a short dictionary located at the end of the work. However, these insertions do not excessively trouble the linguistic homogeneity of the narrative. The assumedly monolingual reader, who could nevertheless be familiar with the culture or specific concepts of the work, is hardly fazed by these insertions as the matrix language of the narrative clearly dominates.

Intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching can be employed by writers for several reasons. One of these could be the fact that some words or expressions might correspond to culture-specific elements, which writers struggle to find an equivalent for in other

tongues. Another plausible reason for the switch may be related to the authors' choice to add a folkloristic or exotic trait to their works. Intra-inter-sentential code-switching could also be used to directly depict the linguistic troubles faced by a character, such as in Ferenc Karinthy's *Epepe* (1970)[8], a novel in which ZCS, intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching are widely used.

The story is based on the main character Budai's linguistic mishaps in an unknown foreign country. This linguist of Hungarian origins inadvertently takes the wrong flight and instead of reaching Helsinki, where he is supposed to take part in a conference, ends up in a displacing country whose language is completely alien to him. The character is puzzled by his inability to understand people and being understood by them despite his extraordinary linguistic background, which is often underlined by the narrator.

> Budai's instinct for language had been sharpened by his studies: etymology was his area of interest, the way words developed, their origins. He had to deal with the strangest languages in the course of his research, both Hungarian and Finnish in the Finno-Ugrian group, but also to some extent Vogul, Ostyak, Turkic, some Arabic and Persian, and beyond these Old Slavic, Czech, Slovakian, Polish and Serbo-Croat. The language here did not remind him of any of them, nor of Sanskrit, Hindi, Ancient or Modern Greek, nor of his High German either, for he knew German proper, as well as English and Dutch. Besides these, he was also acquainted with Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish as well as having a smattering of Portuguese, Romanian, Italian Retoroman and a smidgeon of Hebrew, Armenian, Chinese and Japanese. Most of these he could only read to a so/so standard of course, to the point that they were useful for tracking the development of one or other words, but he knew them sufficiently well to recognize that this language did not resemble any of them (7).

Multiple times in the text, Budai seeks to interact with the locals, whose tongue sounds to him like a sequence of randomly arranged sounds, which are reported, for example, as sequences of "edededе" or "gagagaga" (8). The character desperately seeks to understand the language of this unknown country in order to free himself and finally return home. For instance, Budai "tried to address the receptionist in Finnish, then in English, French, German and Russian, all clearly to no avail since the man replied in a different unknown language" (31). In these

8 In the English version, the title book is translated by György Szirtes as *Metropole*. The quotes inserted in this study originate from this publication.

cases, Karinthy uses overt (indexed) ZCS, when the narrator only signals to the reader that the real language in which the story occurs in that specific passage does not correspond to the matrix language. This practice may be understood as the writer's need to specify the presence of a different tongue (with all the implications that it brings) without burdening the reader with a foreign insertion.

In *Epepe*, however, Karinthy also widely uses intra-sentential code-switching, in particular when dealing with concepts or ideas which would be difficult to translate into the matrix Hungarian. In the following passage, Budai compares the unknown language with other foreign tongues, in a desperate attempt to understand it.

> He spent a whole day looking into this kind of thing, neatly noting down everything in columns for easier scrutiny. He found mostly those where only the first two or three elements were the same. Of course, he couldn't exclude the possibility that these were individual words, their resemblance merely coincidental, such as *batter* and *battle*, or like the English *six* and *sister*. But if they were root-words or syllables, exactly as he hoped they were, then what did the various agglutinations mean? Were they substantives, verbal inflections, formative syllables, notations, postpositions? Might they represent differences of gender as in the case of the French *directeur* and *directrice*? (54)

The English and French words are examples of intra-sentential code-switching. This work also offers cases of inter-sentential code-switching – insertions of whole foreign sentences – especially when the narrator refers to the incomprehensible tongue spoken in the unknown country. The following passage reports a sentence Budai heard from Pepé, a friendly girl whose job is to accompany the guests in the hotel where he is staying. By interacting with her, Budai is trying to understand how the mysterious language works.

> He began by writing down the first ten numbers, hurrying out to the lift, finding Pepé, having her take him up to the top floor, then holding out the sheet of paper while pointing to the 1. It wasn't clear what the girl replied, and he was sure she hadn't understood him or what he wanted, because she laughed, lit a cigarette and shrugged her shoulder saying something like: *'Tuulli ulumúlu alaulp tleplé …'* (93)

The opposition between ZCS used for known tongues and 2nd degree code-switching employed to express the unknown language seems to be

part of a specific narratorial strategy, activated by the writer to let the reader experience Budai's difficulties first-hand.

3rd degree code-switching

This section presents an insight into the quadrilingual poetic laboratory of Anne Tardos, where translanguaging offers great potential for the manifestation of multilingual authorship. This code-switching type blurs the boundaries between the matrix and the embedded languages, which do not appear clearly recognizable as in the types described above. New York-based Anne Tardos grew up speaking French, Hungarian, German and English. In an essay she confesses:

> … when writing poetry, I don't necessarily make a point of noticing the language I'm writing in. I don't feel predominantly English speaking, even though I've lived most of my adult life in New York and am definitely most comfortable in English today … My prerequisite for writing multilingually could be nothing more complicated than achieving a certain state of mind, creating an environment that is favorable to abandoning the barriers between languages and dealing with the rhythm, balance, harmony of the sounds, and even meaning—but without a particular focus on any language's identity[9].

In the short poetic excerpt below, interlingual translanguaging blurs the boundaries of embedded and matrix languages and gives voice to a multilingual 'lyrical I' who unravels her thoughts on transiency. The two multilingual title words of "Ami" and "minden" can be decoded by several linguistic codes which the author consciously plays with. However, the poem will mostly be approached by readers with other referential frameworks. For example, although Tardos quite likely did not think of the small town of Minden in North Westphalia, a reader who has some knowledge about this neighborhood will definitely activate this denotation. Below you can find the original text (Hungarian, French, English, German marked accordingly) and its rough English translation.

Ami minden

Ami minden quand un yes or no je le said
viens am liebsten hätte ich dich du süßes

9 Anne Tardos,"Why I write the Way I Write" [Paper presented at Conference on Poetry and Pedagogy], Bard College, June 24-27, 1999. Updated and retitled "How not to teach Multilingual Writing", 2002., [en ligne], disponible sur URL: http://annetardos.com/essays/hownotto.pdf, consulté le 28 août 2019.

de ez nem baj das weisst du me a favor
hogy innen se faire croire
tous less birds als die Wälder langsam verschwinden.

Minden verschwinden, mind your step and woolf.
Verschwinden de nem innen—
je vois de void in front of mich—
je sens, als ich érzem qu'on aille, aille,
de vágy a fejem, csak éppen (eben sagte ich wie die Wälder verschwinden).

I can repeat it as a credo so it sinks into our
cerveaux und wird embedded there, mint egy teória
mathématique, "d'enchâssement" die Verankerungstheorie in
der Mathematik, hogy legalább . . .

What's all / My one and all / Friend, everything

What is all, as I said yes or no
come on, I would rather have you, Sweety
but that's not a problem, you know, do me a favor
from here make me believe
all the / some birds as the forests slowly disappear

All disappear, watch your step and your wolf
Disappear but not from here—
I see the emptiness in front of me—
I feel how I feel they go go away
but my head a desire, just now (I just said "as the forests disappear").

I can repeat it as a credo until it sinks into our brains,
and there gets embedded as a mathematical theory
of "embedding" the anchoring
theory in mathematics,
so that at least …

Table 2, Anne Tardos: *Ami minden* (1991), excerpt, with our English translation

Summary

Various kinds of literary code-switching manifest in the verbal body of a literary work, including the name of the author (official and/or ethnic), the title of the book, the prologue (if any), the major text (often devided into smaller units with their own titles), as well as the epilogue (if any) and a glossary of place names and realias (as is often the case in Sámi

literature). The broader definition of literary code-switching takes into account the shifting from one linguistic code (a language, dialect or register) to another during the literary process starting with choosing the linguistic medium, throughout the writing, editing, even translating processes of the text, up to the reading and mediating of a book. The narrower interpertation of formal aspects of this aesthetic device concentrates only on its linguistic appearances on the surface of the text. However both approaches work from the verbal corpus of the literary work: the first one concentrates more on how linguistic competence of the agents from all of the narrative levels influence each other, while the second one analyzes formal, semantic and stylistic aspects in the linear manifestation of the text. However in both cases code-switching is seen as a linguistic device serving the aestheticism of the text, that arises in the process of negotiating form and meaning in relation to the normative trends and allowed artistic freedom of a specific literary community.

In this article, we have applied 0 to 3rd degree code-switching to some key Hungarian literary works, in which multilingualism is expressed in several different ways. ZCS practices confirm the possibility for apparently homogeneous texts to carry more or less visible forms of linguistic diversity. This strategy exploits the fact that while the narrators project their own use of signifiers to present the story to the reader, the latter will be empowered with understanding the story beyond his or her individual linguistic skills. 1st and 2nd degree code-switching express a foreign linguistic presence in a text more directly. These techniques are used by writers to achieve multiple aims in their works, such as to better detail specific episodes and circumstances, add a folkloristic trait or culture-specific elements which would not be easily expressed in the matrix language, let the reader directly experience another linguistic background, etc. 3rd degree code-switching dismantles linguistic homogeneity even more remarkably, sometimes calling into question the matrix language of a text. In this case, the writer might activate multiple denotations, which would be unthinkable in a monolingual work. By employing this framework, the current terminological confusion dominating the literary multilingual field is replaced by a well-structured and clear theoretical structure based on code-switching practices. Literary code-switching – in all its varieties and nuances – helps us to identify innumerable factors and connections, from the materiality of language and the narratorial strategies exploited by writers to the connections between the verbal, the poetic, and the world. The advantage of this framework also consists in the fact that it facilitates comparisons between different practices which are needed to understand the multilingual literary complexity.

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Writing for the Family Audience

Gartenlaube, Családi Kör and the subversion of a domestic magazine

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ABSTRACT

Családi Kör (1860–1880) was the leading Hungarian domestic magazine of the mid-19th period, which, under the editorship of the first Hungarian woman of letters Emília Kánya, played a major role in introducing the domestic readership to contemporary European literature and in discussing the struggle of women's employment opportunities before a wider public. Critical studies have also suggested that it was edited and published under the influence of the German *Gartenlaube* (1853–1944), the journal credited with embedding the journal of domestic magazine in the broader regime of 19th century print culture. Based on a close reading of the two magazines' coverage in its European cultural historical context, this chapter offers an account of the possible connections and affinities between the two periodicals, and argues that the Hungarian magazine was significantly more daring in its politics and more systematic in its pursuit of introducing the local audience to European literary trends and works.

Keywords: Hungarian domestic magazines, Családi Kör, Gartenlaube, E.Marlitt, women's employment, periodical culture in the 19th century

In the yet to be written history of Hungarian popular magazines in the 19th century, an important place should be given to *Családi Kör* (Family Circle), the domestic magazine that ran from 1860 to 1880.[1] It stood out as the most sought after and most influential of family magazines, and its close association with Emília Kánya (1830–1905), the first Hungarian female periodical editor and one of the first acknowledged Hungarian

1 There is no comprehensive history of Hungarian popular press in the 19th century, but general press histories provide accounts of some journals. Of late, important articles about individual women's magazines have been published by Zsuzsa Török, Petra Bozsoki and Zsolt Mészáros. Zsuzsa Török is also responsible for the RECITI conference volume series. (Budapest: MTA), some of whose volumes focus on 19th women's writing.

woman of letters, gave it a particular intellectual flavour. Though rather undervalued by posterity until recent times, women's magazines fulfilled a range of functions: through the vehicle of literature, biography, travelogues and news digests and popular texts, they created and shaped an educated (female) reading public and also shaped and strengthened the sense of modern bourgeois national identity. *Családi Kör* carried an impressive range of material, encompassing contributions from the best national writers like Mór Jókai and János Arany, polemicists like Pál Balogh Almási, and fiction by foreign authors like Washington Irving, George Sand and Dumas père in translation. It was instrumental in the assertion of women's role in national history, in familiarising the woman reader with contemporary foreign literature and introducing the developments of the women's movement. Though not the only one in Hungary in the genre, it was the most influential and of the highest standard among them.

Family magazines did not just reflect on local or regional news or national history, but they were also closely embedded in a wider network of the transnational circulation of information, reportages and literary publications; a process which is largely undocumented by 20-21st century literary historians, though some recent work has already started to map out the field.[2] The initial work on 19th century periodicals focused on periodicals of the major European languages, represented by the work of Joanne Shattock and Alexis Easley in the British context and Kirsten Belgum's work in the German one. The work of Marianne van Remorteel and Gillian Down has made important inroads into literary interactions between French and English periodicals, driving the point home that by the mid-19th century, printed content was often transmitted between major European publishing cultures, or directly adapted or borrowed from periodicals printed in the languages of international circulation.[3] For domestic magazines, the German language illustrated *Gartenlaube* was known to provide a model which they all followed and it is commonly claimed to be the progenitor of domestic magazines. (Belgum 1988, xii) *Gartenlaube* was a particularly important journal in the context of women's popular magazines, and critics have argued that the Hungarian magazine owed much to its mother journal. (Fábri 118 and Varga 'Translation,' 2016, 86) This article sets out to revisit this thesis put forward by Anna Fábri and later repeated in my own work about the *Gartenlaube* serving as a model, and argues that notwithstanding the similarities, the Hungarian magazine shifted political and aesthetic

2 The European Society for Periodical Research has done an immense amount of work to give institutional shape to European periodical research, and its journal, the *Journal of European Periodical Studies,* launched in 2016, is an increasingly important hub for scholarly work on European periodicals.

3 I am particularly indebted to Wendy Bracewell (UCL-SSEES) for introducing me to the concept of 'languages of international circulation' which enables a nuanced distinction between languages with many native speakers and languages used by many different non-native speakers.

emphasis in significant ways, and by these shifts, it subverted the model of the domestic magazine.

Gartenlaube stood out both by circulation and geographical spread. First launched in Leipzig in 1853 with 5,000 printed copies under the editorship of the liberal Ernst Keil (Fitzpatrick 97) its circulation rapidly grew: in 1863, it was printed already in 160,000 copies and it reached its height in 1875 with 382,000 copies. (Belgum 1994, 92) Aimed specifically at family readership, the magazine reached millions, and subscriber information shows that German speakers of Brazil, or of the Habsburg Empire also read the magazine. The Hungarian journal *Krassó-Szörényi Lapok* briefly mentions 10,000 subscribers in Hungary alone. (Krassó 1882 n.27:2) We do not have such reliable figures for *Családi Kör*, but the journal mentions 1,400 subscribers in 1864 (1864/12), and the correspondence columns indicate a broad geographical spread in the territory of Hungary.[4] Though slight in comparison with *Gartenlaube, Családi Kör,* with its highest circulation of 2,000 copies, was likely to reach at least ten thousand readers in its heyday. The fortunes of the two magazines greatly diverged: *Családi Kör* was influential, popular with readers and supported by the leading polemicists of Hungary until 1876, when it went into decline until its final demise in 1880. *Gartenlaube* underwent several transformations from its early days as a 'moralistisches Wochenblatt' (1853–1871), when the entertainment and moral education were in focus, to the fostering of liberal politics in the following decade, while after Keil's death in 1878 it shifted towards political conservativism and entertainment. The focus of comparison is the period between 1860 and 1876, when both periodicals expanded in circulation and coverage and when both deliberately and self-assuredly identified themselves as family magazines for the domestic audience. Due to language, circulation and the solid network of distribution, *Gartenlaube* established itself as the model of mainstream popular magazines that other magazines felt compelled to imitate. (Belgum 1988, xii)

Popular magazines in Germany started with the moral weeklies. The first German magazine, relatively safe from censorship, was the educative-entertaining *Pfennig-Magazi*n (1833). It was followed by the *Illustrierte Zeitung* 10 years later; rich in images and much more expensive. Between 1850 and 1890s, 140 family magazines existed. (Belgum 1988, 10) *Gartenlaube* therefore built on an existing tradition of production and reception, and the combination of illustrations and cheapness largely contributed to its phenomenal success. Women's magazines were considerably more scarce in Hungary, but *Nővilág* (1857–1864) already preceded it with its specifically domesticity-oriented agenda , and running the prominent woman writer Júlia Jósika's letters from Brussels and letters describing Pest-Buda literary sociability. (*Nővilág*) But,

4 An important and yet unexplored area is the availability of reading material for Hungarian émigré communities.

significantly, *Nővilág* exclusively addressed the female – rather than domestic – audience as is shown by the emblazoned masthead.

Vasárnap febr. 22-én 1857. **7-ik szám.** Első évi folyam.

NŐVILÁG.

HETILAP A MAGYAR HÖLGYEK SZÁMÁRA.

Előfizetési díj helyben kiadóhivatalból elhordva negyedévre 1ft. 15kr., félévre 2ft. 30kr., egészévre 5 pft. — Vidékre postán vagy helyben házhoz hordatva negyedévre 1 ft. 30 kr., félévre 3 ft., egészévre 6 pft.

Szerkesztési iroda: Sebestyén-tér 3. szám. Kiadó-hivatal: Pesten egyetem-utcza 4. szám.

A szépről a szépekhez.

II.

Hogy az ember ítélhessen valami nagy tárgy fölött, szükség, hogy abból a végleteket lássa — a legkisebbet és legnagyobbat, s tulajdonképen mint-hogy a kisszerüvel uton utfélen találkozunk, a teljes fogalmat csak a legnagyobbnak látása szerezheti meg. Szerintem például az élettel, természettel megismerkedett, megérett ember, ha a szépnek teljes fogalmát akarja megszerezni, bizonyos alaptanok megismerése után legjobban cselekszik, ha előveszi Homér Iliászát, azt egész átengedéssel, belémerüléssel végig olvassa, és midön e gyakorlati uton saját nézeteket, önálló fogalmakat szerzett magának, csak azután forgassa át a jelesebb szépészek értekezéseit, s mintegy vitatkozzék azokkal, fogadja el a mit bennük helyesnek talál, s a mi nézeteivel ellenkezik, azokat tegye függő kérdésekké, s a további tanulmányok nyomán vagy teljesen megczáfolja, vagy igazságukat ismerje el.

Nem egy iróról tapasztaltam, hogy széptani ismereteket igyekezvén szerezni magának, elővette a Lessing, Schlegel, Herderféle igen becses, nagyértékü tankönyveket, s köteteket emésztett meg belőlök — míg Homer Iliászából egy sort sem olvasott.

A magyar közmondás: „ha a fejéhez mehetsz, ne menj a lábához" — itt is igen alkalmazható. A szépnek megismeréséhez legrövidebb, legvirágosabb és leghűlásabb ut, a világ legnagyobb költőjének, a görög népnek hőskölteménye — az Iliász.

Azért mondom népnek, mivel egy nagy nemzeti hőskölteményt oly óriás

The family audience was an unquestionable target for both Ernst Keil and Emília Kánya. Keil intended to enlighten the German middle classes in the spirit of educated liberalism, yet his earlier imprisonment for political activities showed him the necessity to keep explicit political issues at bay. (Fitzpatrick 97–98) *Családi Kör*'s distance from politics was equally motivated by recent history: after the overthrow of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and war of independence and the subsequent Bach era repression, the magazine could only be launched when the Oktoberdiplom of October 1860 offered some sort of limited constitutionalism to parts of Habsburg Austria. For Keil, there was a strong self-defensive element behind choosing ostensibly harmless, familial concerns, for Emília Kánya, the choice also stemmed from notions associated with her gender. But for both periodicals, developing a community of domestic readers and a bourgeois readership was shared purpose. This readership was instrumental in creating a bourgeois public sphere, where nationally minded reading was a prerequisite.[5]

5 Bozsoki puts forward an important argument about constructing the 'daughter of the homeland' in *Családi Kör* in her PhD Dissertation. Bozsoki, 2021.

The choice of genres played a significant role in constructing themselves as a particular type of periodical in a bid to develop their audience. On the weekly 16 pages, *Gartenlaube* strove to offer reading material to young and old, male and female. The lead piece in each issue was usually a serialised novel or a short story, and it also contained poetry, short biographies of prominent people, travel writing. It devoted considerable attention to German communities abroad. (Belgum 1998, xii) As it became more established, the number of illustrations increased but they always framed the readers in a domestic context. All in all, as the century wore on, *Gartenlaube* represented German scientific, literary and colonising achievement in increasingly assertive terms.

Családi Kör followed these thematic, generic and formulaic patterns. Also appearing with a weekly frequency of 16 pages, the magazine deliberately drove the message home about its intended domestic audience. As the mast heads illustrated, both magazines purported do reflect and shape the domestic audience.

Articles belonged to the same genres: serialised fiction and short stories, biographies of prominent people, with particular respect to great exemplary men.

The connections between the two periodicals were manifold and occasionally directly textual, though currently we have no evidence of any correspondence between editors or regular contributors. *Gartenlaube* occasionally covered Hungarian topics. In 1864, it carried an article from an unidentified author about the 'charitable bazaar of Hungarian women' ('magyar nők jótékonysági bazára,' 1864, 283–286), which was organised by the National Association of Hungarian Housekeepers (Magyar Gazdaasszonyok Országos Egyesülete), which was immensely significant in shaping earlier, sporadic and uncoordinated actions for education into a broad social movement. (Szegvári 82) The Association was presided over by Emília Csernovics Damjanich, the widow of one the martyrs of the 1848-49 war of independence – a highly respected aristocratic lady whose charitable work focused on providing formal education for the daughters and orphans of the impoverished middle class. Emília Kánya was closely connected with the Association, and she did publish an article about Mrs Damjanich (1865/6), but this came out after the *Gartenlaube* report. Occasional articles discuss Kossuth and Ferenc Deák (1861/51 and 1866/23), while Daniel von Kaszonyi, the Leipzig-based Hungarian journalist contributed a series of articles about the Hungarian outlaw Sándor Rózsa, a staple figure in the exoticising description of Hungarian matters. (1868/21, 1868/25). Though political changes and the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich could have attracted some attention, the journal's general lack of interest in non-German politics attitude militated against it. In *Családi Kör,* there are very few references to the German magazine, apart from a direct connection in 1866, when commenting on the high circulation of the journal, the article praises the German magazine for 'spreading the true, the good and the beautiful;' for being the source of 'pure truth.' (1866, 1)

But textual connections are scarce.

Importing oeuvres

Guiding female literary taste and reading was one of the agendas of the *Gartenlaube*, achieved by the very traditional tool of publishing letters penned by leading literary men to a fictitious female reader requiring guidance in matters of literature. (Belgum 1994, 98) But apart from this rather indirect and perhaps somewhat patronising method, the publication of text by authors – mostly novels and novellas – was the main tool. On the pages, we find an almost endless flow of contemporary writes including the novelist and biographer Amely Bölte (1811–1891), who also made her name as the author of the German governess novels, Elise Polko (1822–1899), the Galician German writer Leopold Sacher-Masoch (1836–1895) and the journal's star writer Eugenie Marlitt

(1825–1887). (Müller-Adams) Marlitt's prolific production of fiction marked her as the novelist whose domestic plots concern themselves with romantic choices of younger women and the channelling of unruly impulses into the safety of domesticity, but behind the façade of the ingénue, these heroines are inventive, adventurous and subversive of gender norms. Marlitt's first novel *Goldelse* appeared in 1866, and it was soon followed by *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsell* (1867), *Reichsgräfin Gisel*a (1869) and *Das Heideprinzesschen* (1871) which were all later published in book form. (Belgum 1994, 101) *Gartenlaube* owed much of its popularity to these serial publications, and Marlitt's standing as the most popular and widely translated German woman writer was inextricably linked to her role in the periodical. (Stohler and Mihurko-Poniz) An early example of constructing the author as celebrity is shown by an article in 1869, which describes the author's home from close quarters.

Családi Kör was similarly committed to publishing German popular fiction for the domestic audience. Bölte, Polko and Marlitt were the recurrent names amongst their writers. Bölte's fiction and other instructional writing were run in the *Gartenlaube* in the 1850s ('Das Begegnen in der Oper,' short story, 1853/35–36, and different articles about girls' education in 1854) and *Családi Kör* ran one article by her about the assassination attempt against Tsar Paul in 1867. Elise Polko's fiction was also published in both journals, although *Családi Kör* published her writing with about a 10-year delay, but the titles here, too, were different. But the cult of Eugenie Marlitt also reached *Családi kör,* and *Blaubart* (1866) – *Kékszakáll* (1871) was published in both periodicals. Emília's appreciation for Marlitt's work found its main outlet in the 100-volume book series 'Library of Hungarian Ladies, ' accompanying the magazine and given as gift to subscribers, and, in a bid to serve the popularity of women writers. It included several novels by Marlitt and by the Scandinavian writers Marie Schwarz and Flygare-Carlén, who all had some presence in *Gartenlaube*. The fact that five of Marlitt's novels came out here in a quick succession and closely following the publication of the works in *Gartenlaube* shows an intimate connection between the two publishers.[6]

Despite these perceivable structural connections and similarities, there are several different aspects that indicate the strong intention on Emília Kánya's part to adapt the model of the family magazine to her own purposes. The daughter of the Lutheran intelligentsia of Pest, the editor was bilingual in German and Hungarian, broadly educated through formal and informal means of education, and was well-versed in English, German and French literary matters.[7] A mother of eight

6 *Goldelse* (Gartenlaube) 1866—*Aranyos Erzsike* (Library) 1867; *Das Geheimnis der alten Mamsel* (Gartenlaube) 1867- A vénkisasszony titka (Library) 1867; Reichsgräfin Gisela (Gartenlaube) 1869—Gizella hercegnő (Könyvtár) 1870; Die zweite Frau (Gartenlaube) 1874—A második feleség (Library) 1874.

7 Her memoirs *Réges-régi időkről* amply illustrated her education. See Varga, 'Translation' 2016 and Varga, 'Emília Kánya' 2016.

children and a professional woman earning her bread by writing, she was equally committed to supporting women's emancipation in life and in her journal and to the emancipation of women in matters of world literature. It was these two themes that were pursued in *Családi Kör* with unprecedented commitment.

The early woman's movement was one of the shaping forces of mid-19th century political life, and it is also commonly acknowledged that the struggle for women's private rights and educational and employment opportunities preceded any struggle for political participation, whose precedence over private rights is more reflexive of 20th century concerns with equality than of 19th century realities. (Caine 2–3) *Gartenlaube* also gave emphasis to an articulation of demands for education. The article 'Frauenbewegung in Deutschland' (1871, 817–818) is particularly important from this perspective. The author specifically states that the focus of enquiry is women's education and employment, but education and employment are important for their ability to support the notion separate spheres rather than as a way of challenging them. Giving wide berth to more subversive topics, the author avoids the discussion of women's organisations, and shifts emphasis to the introduction of Auguste Schmidt and Louise Otto-Peters, who presided over the German women's union. (Belgum 1994, 96–97) Occasional references introduce a work of authors on the 'woman question' like the educator Fanny Lewald (1862) and Dora d'Istria (1864/15) whose 'Les Femmes en Orient' discussed the life of women in Europe's East. While the Hungarian magazine also devoted attention to both authors, the references stem from a general interest in contemporary issues rather than from explicit connections.

Gartenlaube's commitment to the expansion of women's employment opportunities was apparent already at its launch. The opening article in 1853 was explicit about the nature of reading: it envisioned it 'on long 'winter evenings' in a family circle: they would be 'far from all political debates and disagreements in religious and other matters … truly good stories about the history of the human heart and the world's peoples.' (1853/1) The apolitical claim of the opening has been amply challenged by recent scholars who pointed out the clearly articulated liberal-national political agenda of the journal, but the manifesto did state that no explicit political agenda was to be followed. (Fitzpatrick) But *Családi Kör* made its commitment to voicing the importance of women's role in public and literary life unquestionable. The polymath, linguist and naturalist Pál Balogh Almási (1794–1867) opened the journal with an long article 'A nők mint a társadalmi élet tényezői' ('Women as factors in social life') then turned into a series and ran for another five issues. Almási asserted women's natural capability for abstract thinking and intellectual training, which, in turn, qualified them to perform their patriotic duties through the production of literature.

This systematic engagement with women's work and employment opportunities is also manifest in the transformation of a particular

Gartenlaube article for *Családi Kör*. The former ran two articles about American women in the 1860s, 'Die amerikanische Hausfrau' (1866) and 'Zur Characteristik amerikanischer Frauen' (1867). American women, they suggest, are domestic angels of competence who dutifully take care of the physical and moral wellbeing of their households while supporting their husbands through financial misfortune with a great determination. The first article was directly adapted to the Hungarian audience and used it as a springboard for Kánya's concerns. (1866/10) The passages translated from the original are used as a prompts for shifting emphasis from American domestic virtue to the need for female remunerated employment, in which field North American women are far ahead of their European sisters: 'they become milliners, grocers, bookkeepers, doctors, postmistresses, writers, artists, teachers, lady companions, industrialists, librarians – in other words, pursue thousands of types of employment that European women would not be capable.' (1866, 219) This careful twisting of the narrative – through which the original article's marginal theme of female employment is turned into the main topic – eventually leads to the plea for better education which would thus enable the pursuit of occupation for women, which will then contribute to the improvement of morality. (1866, 219)

Családi Kör was consistently courageous in its treatment of the woman's movement, women's literary work and education. In 1863, the legitimacy of women's literary participation was defended by Emília Kánya in a debate with Pál Gyulai (1826–1909), the pre-eminent literary critic, literary historian and maker-and-breaker of literary reputations, whose short story 'Nők a tükör előtt' ('Women in front of the mirror'), published in the periodical *Koszorú* (Wreath) in 1863, contained the infamous sentence about women writers being unable to knit or embroider. ('The old gentleman knew that women writers would not knit or embroider.') In her reply 'Néhány szó a nőnem érdekében ('Some words in the defence of the female sex'), Emília Kánya defended women writers from this accusation of unwomanliness and advocated women's right to literary work. She argued that literary work was not defeminising, that it did not detract women form their domestic duties, and it also served as a source of livelihood. (Fábri 1999, 272–281)

The journal continued support for women's education focused on the expansion of women's employment opportunities. The periodical became the official organ of the *Pest Benevolent Alliance of Women* in 1864, and this fact is reflected by long series of articles 'A nőről' ('On Woman,' 1864) in which Emília Kánya again argued for women's education. (Fábri 1999, 309–312) Education included moral as well as professional training: the former was to enable women to exercise their innate moral authority ('[t]he heart, as well as the plants, require air and movement to become stronger and to grow towards the sky, and to enrich the earth with fragrant flowers and delicious fruits") whilst the latter made it possible for her to earn her own livelihood. (Varga 'Emília' 2016, 226) Emília was keen to point out that woman's education did in fact serve

women's duties: if women were educated and capable of taking care of themselves, marriages of convenience would disappear and there would be many good marriages, in other words, 'pragmatic and modern education… would be …of immense benefit to family life.' Again, the notion that women's domesticity is natural and that professional or vocational training would not defeminise them resonated with contemporary European notions of womanhood and education.

The national and the transnational

Creating a cohesive German textual self was central to Keil's *Gartenlaube* agenda: constructing a unified German past represented major intellectual and conceptual task for the years leading to the creation of a unified Germany. In 1861, he set out to compile a thoroughly German volume. (Belgum 1988, 21–23) The volume contains a number of articles about the fate of the German nation, its foreign occupation in 1806, and general German heroism in the face of foreign powers. Literature also was a medium for praising national heroes, and the novel by Rupius *Ein Deutscher* glorifies a German settler in North America. The glorification of the national past was accompanied by the praising of modern social institutions such as the gymnastics movement, singing clubs and German technological inventions. From the point of literary production, *Gartenlaube* only occasionally referred to or published non-German authors, though sporadic reference to Burns, Dumas, and Daudet occur, and the only non-German woman writer was George Sand whose work was regularly commented on from 1854 onwards.

A different understanding of the national is perhaps the most striking innovation in the Hungarian magazine. Hungarian heroes, heroines and historical events were present in text and image, but the periodical also served as platform for the systematic introduction of foreign literary work. The intentional nature of publishing the best of European literature in a bid to emancipate women is made clear in Almási's opening series. As he explains, Emília 'set her mind on editing this journal, in which more serious and informative essays should be regularly published, by which she will start the emancipation of Hungarian women in the field of world literature.' (1860, 83) From this intention, an important list of travel narratives and travel letters stemmed, such as the early publication 'Letters from London' by Emília Kánya's personal friend Linda White. The letter proved a successful start to expanding the horizons of the female readership, and the work of the Countess of Bassanville, Napoleon's contemporary became the subject of the long opening series in 1861. It was *Családi Kör* that published the first translation of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Letters about Constantinople*, the foundational text for English women's travel writing setting the terms of the Western representations of the Orient. The articulation of a female travel writing tradition is complemented by contemporary travel

writing from major European authors, including Andersen's Spanish travelogue in 1864 and writing about then-exotic territories such as St Petersburg and Livingstone's Africa.

Women's emancipation into world literature – an effective extension of domestic education – is also served by running the translations of the best known European novelists: the short story 'Mrs Badger' by Wilkie Collins appeared in 1861, and in the first couple of years, work by Béranger, Björnson, Turgenev and Smollett came out, and Washington Irving became a regular author in the 1860s. In 1863, the editor decided to expand the horizons of her readership in beyond Europe by publishing translations of parables and examples from Persian and Turkish. Short stories by Dickens came out in the 1870s. French literature was amply represented by Dumas, and Balzac and Victor Hugo as a poet and novelist. Running an excerpt from Hugo's *1793* (1874), reflecting the intention of providing fresh and immediate translations of the best writing of her age. The only extensive piece of the foreign woman writer is that of George Sand's *Marianne* (1876, ns. 1-11), which is published in installments, and which is the corollary of the periodical's regular engagement with Sand. By covering the best of contemporary writers and seminal texts from earlier periods, and publishing them in excerpts or serial installments, the periodical genuinely fulfilled its self-appointed mission of broadening the literary an geographical horizons of the female reader.

Conclusions

Having explored the few similarities and numerous differences between *Gartenlaube* and *Családi Kör*, it is possible to understand how successfully Emília Kánya used and adapted *Gartenlaube*'s format and its fare of German popular novelists for her campaign for women's employment. By doing so, she also made a significant contribution to Hungarian women's literary emancipatory progress through the introduction of modern European work. Both of these projects make Kánya's and her journal's role unique and add an important dimension to 19th century Central European cultural history: drawing on a Western model by no means implies any direct, unreflected borrowing or copying; rather it points to a creative adaptation of an existing model, generating results that here are significantly more engaging and thought provoking than their original.

But the research also uncovered striking gaps in scholarship concerning interactions between European periodicals. Notably, periodical studies and modern reception studies have asserted themselves only in the last 20 years as legitimate and important dimensions of literary studies, and scholarly engagement with the processes of textual circulation emerged even more recently. As the example of these two periodicals shows, formal and structural similarities and unmarked

textual borrowings between publications may inspire conclusions about deep and engrained connections. Yet a closer examination might reveal different conditions and conclusions, and even suggest that a magazine, whose status was assumed to be derivative and only reflexive of its more widely influential predecessor's concerns, subtly yet noticeably introduced intellectually radical agendas to its readership. *Családi Kör*'s championing of women's employment and world literature demonstrated a strategy of turning a domestic magazine into a carrier of truly modern messages.

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Difficulties in Reading Comprehension of Hungarian Primary School Students in Slovakia

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ABSTRACT

Our study aimed to assess the level of reading comprehension, one of the cornerstones of education of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, and to answer the research question of what kind of deficits need to be addressed in the development of reading comprehension. The research was conducted with the participation of students from primary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction in Slovakia. In our study, we shed light on the problems found in cognitive reasoning, accurate interpretation of information and complex reading comprehension. The extent to which the development of new cognitive schemata caused problems for the studied groups was also investigated. In several cases, the responses were not based on textual information, but only on the respondents' existing schemas. The results also show that it was a problem for the learners to answer both the multiple-choice questions and the open-ended and explanatory questions.

Keywords: reading comprehension, deficits, primary school, Hungarian minority in Slovakia, suggestions

INTRODUCTION

The ability to understand texts is key to thriving in society and our everyday verbal activity takes place through texts: we listen to, read, and create texts. We may turn to written texts for a variety of purposes, whether it is to experience something, to learn, or to obtain information. It is known that by understanding written language, we can not only have an inspiring and enjoyable experience for ourselves, but also gain new knowledge, expand our vocabulary and contribute to the acquisition of a multifaceted way of thinking (Nation 2019). It allows us to participate in a vast network of social

discourse, to be a formative part of a living, functioning culture; the reader is not an outsider, but an active participant in a community, a society, (also) based on communication. However, many children do not fully understand the information conveyed through written texts, a problem that can have far-reaching consequences for their learning, cognitive development, and life success (Clarke et al. 2014: 1). The aim of teaching reading in schools is not only to enable children to master the technique of reading, but also to enable them to acquire new knowledge by using their reading skills. This is only possible if the children understand, what they read. Comprehension plays a fundamental role in the acquisition of new knowledge and is a prerequisite for all further learning and acquisition. In a minority situation, high-quality education in the mother tongue is essential for the successful welfare of the minority. However, high-quality teaching is only possible, if the primary goal of education is to develop students' reading comprehension. In our study, we examine the level of reading comprehension of primary school students as a necessary condition for success in education and literacy.

Although reading literacy is one of the most important areas of mother tongue competence and can even be considered as the intellectual capital of the society, international measurements (IEA PIRLS[1], OECD PISA[2]) show that students in Slovakia perform poorly in this area. As for the reading comprehension in the 2018 PISA survey, Slovakia underperforms the OECD and even achieves the weakest results compared to neighbouring countries (see Vančo and Gergely 2021). The most pressing problem in education in Slovakia is that 31.4% of 15-year-olds approaching the end of compulsory education, i.e. almost one third, have a risk factor (Miklovičová and Valovič 2019: 31). The results of the last PIRLS survey from 2016 show similar results: Slovakia performed below the OECD average; among the neighbouring countries surveyed, Slovakia performed the weakest, with 19% of pupils in the fourth grade of primary school with a risk factor (NÚCEM: 6). Although the two measurements cannot be compared, as PIRLS focuses on 10-year-olds and examines reading comprehension tasks related to school situations, and PISA examines 15-year-olds' ability to comprehend texts in everyday life (Sejtes 2018: 242), both international measurements show a negative picture of students' reading comprehension skills in Slovakia.

1 PIRLS is an acronym for "Progress in International Reading Literacy Study". The measurement conducts comparative studies on the effectiveness of learning and teaching processes in the fourth grade in five-year cycles. The last measurement in 2016 was conducted in 50 countries.

2 PISA is an acronym for "Program for International Student Assessment". The international survey measures the ability of fifteen-year-olds to study science, math, and reading comprehension in three-year cycles. In the most recent 2018 survey, 79 countries participated and its main area was reading comprehension

About one-third of the Hungarian-speaking population[3] lives outside Hungary as members of national minorities. Hungarians living in Slovakia are the second-largest Hungarian national minority (after Hungarians in Transylvania, Romania) in the Carpathian Basin.

The largest minority in Slovakia is Hungarian, which has an extensive school system. There are primary and secondary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction in five of the country´s eight districts. Although this is not statistically relevant, we included respondents from all five districts in our study. In the Slovak education system, education for the Hungarian minority is not a separate entity, but the same educational documents of the State Education Programme (Štátny vzdelávací program) regulate the content of majority and minority education. The State Cultural Programme sets out the subject requirements for each grade level. Pupils in schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction in Slovakia are predominantly Hungarian-dominant and acquire the state language – depending on their abilities and wider environment – through the school curriculum (see Vančo 2008).

The research presented in our study aims to assess the reading comprehension skills of fourth and seventh-grade students in primary schools with Hungarian as the instruction in Slovakia and to answer the research questions about the types of reading comprehension deficits and the factors that need to be considered in the development of reading comprehension. The age of fourth-graders seems to be an important stage for the development of reading comprehension. At this stage, students are able to read not only for practice but also for pleasure or learning (Mullis 2019: 1). At this age, the teaching of reading techniques is complete, and students begin to learn through reading. Students complete the first stage by the end of fourth grade, and the compilation of subjects in the second stage means a greater learning load, meaning they are dealing with longer and more complex texts. For all these reasons, it is important to assess what reading habits students have at the end of the first stage and what problems they have in reading comprehension. Seventh grade, as the middle grade of the second stage of primary school, is an intermediate grade between senior class and fifth grade (in the 9-year primary education system). The results of this age group can show the level of development of reading comprehension and possible gaps, but the remaining two school years are also still an opportunity for further development.

3 Almost 13 million native speakers of Hungarian live in the European Union. Outside of Hungary, Hungarian is used as the language of instruction or taught in an organized fashion in the educational system in the following seven countries: Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted between May and June 2019. The target groups studied were the fourth and seventh-grade students of primary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction in Slovakia in bilingual regions in the eastern, central and western part of southern Slovakia. The survey was conducted anonymously, and for privacy reasons, the specific locations where the research was conducted are not enumerated. Respondents were selected based on expert sampling and came from similar bilingual environments.

A total of 668 students, 355 fourth-graders and 313 seventh-graders participated in the research. According to the Slovak Centre for Scientific and Technical Information (CVTI SR), the number of students who participated in the research in 2019 included 10% of fourth-graders and 10% of the seventh-graders in all primary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction in Slovakia.

During the study, both grades received a reading comprehension test[4] with the same structure, which contained three different types of texts (narrative, expository, informational) and corresponding questions. Responses were improved by scoring. Within a question, respondents could receive one point for each correctly answered item. For editability reasons only responses where only the correct answer(s) were provided were accepted. No points were deducted for incorrect responses. Given the difficulty of reading comprehension, students had to use cognitive thinking processes of varying difficulty. Based on the goals of the questions, responses were analysed based on the processes of comprehension used in the PIRLS international measurement. PIRLS examines four broad processes of comprehension typically used by fourth graders. These are as follows:

1. **Focus on and Retrieve Explicitly Stated Information** that requires little or no inference or interpretation – the meaning is obvious and contained in the text (Mullis and Martin 2019: 12-13).

2. To **Make Straightforward Inferences**, the reader should link the information in the text. The relationship between the given information is not explicitly stated, it must be inferred.

4 The reading comprehension test used in the research was developed by the professional group of the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics and Literary Studies of the Constantine the Philosopher University of Nitra, Faculty of Central European Studies, within the project APVV-17-0071 Support for reading literacy in the mother tongue and foreign language. Within the framework of the project, we have developed an intervention program for fourth and seventh graders of primary school with Hungarian as the language of instruction in Slovakia, which aims to develop the reading comprehension skills of students in their mother tongue (see Vančo – Stranovská 2020).

3. **Interpret and Integrate Ideas and Information**: This type of process focuses on the meaning of parts of the text or the text as a whole or the linking of the details. It encourages readers to better understand the text, by connecting their knowledge and experiences to the text's inherent meaning.

4. **Evaluate and Critique Content and Textual Elements**: This type of process requires the reader to critically evaluate the text. In this process, the reader evaluates the text based on his or her value judgement (Mullis and Martin 2019: 13-16).

The following table (Table 1) illustrates the number of questions for the reading comprehension test we used by type of each cognitive process:

		Processes of comprehension			
		Focus on and Retrieve Explicitly Stated Information	**Make Straight-forward Inferences**	**Interpret and Integrate Ideas and Information**	**Evaluate and Critique Content and Textual Elements**
4th Grade	*Narrative text*	**1**	**9**	**3**	**–**
	Expository text	**7**	**3**	**3**	**–**
	Informational text	**3**	**2**	**6**	**–**
7th Grade	*Narrative text*	**2**	**3**	**6**	**2**
	Expository text	**3**	**5**	**1**	**–**
	Informational text	**1**	**4**	**5**	**1**

Table 1: Number of questions for reading comprehension tests by processes of comprehension

RESULTS

During the research, the answers to the questions of the fourth and seventh-grade reading comprehension test were analysed based on the comprehension processes to find out which cognitive process was a problem for the students in completing the test. The following table (Table 2) shows the average percentage of students in the two grade levels who answered the questions correctly for each cognitive process.

		Processes of comprehension			
		Focus on and Retrieve Explicitly Stated Information	**Make Straight-forward Inferences**	**Interpret and Integrate Ideas and Information**	**Evaluate and Critique Content and Textual Elements**
4th Grade	*Narrative text*	**38%**	**54%**	**24%**	**–**
	Expository text	**66%**	**46%**	**36%**	**–**
	Informational text	**79%**	**82.5%**	**58%**	**–**
7th Grade	*Narrative text*	**76%**	**59%**	**42%**	**22%**
	Expository text	**57%**	**53%**	**46%**	**–**
	Informational text	**71%**	**67%**	**25%**	**20%**

Table 2: Proportion of correct answers to questions by processes of comprehension in fourth and seventh grade

The results show that in both grades, a much higher percentage of students were able to correctly answer questions that required recognizing specific, explicit information and making straightforward inferences than those that required interpreting and summarizing data and ideas. In seventh grade, the greatest deficits were in evaluating and critiquing content and text elements. From the data obtained, the degree to which it is difficult for each age group to perform more complex cognitive processes can be seen. Interpretation and summary of data and thoughts on the 3 texts exceeded 50% of correct answers for only one question. The school expects students to understand the text according to age. The results show that the percentage of students in the two grades who have problems with reading comprehension is very similar. This means that most children have problems with reading comprehension compared to the expected level when they have to perform more complex cognitive processes. Regardless of age, about one-third of students have difficulty stating explicitly stated information and making simple inferences from the text. About two-thirds of students have difficulty interpreting and integrating ideas and information. The problem is also underlined by similar results from the PIRLS measure (see IEA web 1). Consequently, the development of reading comprehension cannot be successful without the purposeful development and practice of complex cognitive processes.

The results also show that determining the truth content of the statements leads to a correct answer in most cases when the statement is a simple sentence and its truth content is not conditional. At the same time, the majority of students had difficulty answering complex, negative, or possibly contradictory questions that were true only under certain conditions. When the truth content of a sentence had to be determined based on the meaning of a modifier word, a common pronoun, or an

adverb, the proportion of correct responses decreased. To illustrate this, we show the proportion of correct responses to a sentence of each task in which the truth value was to be determined. The proportion of incorrect responses to one of the true-false questions related to the fourth-grade expository text was 84%. The statement: "*The main root penetrates only 60–70 cm into the soil*." To determine the truth value of the sentence, respondents had to consider the meaning of the modifier word *only*. A similar situation is observed in the seventh grade, when almost two-thirds (62%) of the students judged the truth value of the sentence "*All immigrant groups strive for integration*." Incorrectly judged. In this case, students had to compare the meaning of the word *all* with the meaning of the adverb *usually* in the text, or *some exceptions behave differently*.

In both grades, it can be observed that there is a lack of integration of textual information into the respondents' existing schemata. This is evident in fourth grade with the question "*What do we know about why this plant is called sunflower?*" And in seventh grade in the question "*What do you think it depends on whether people will speak Hungarian in Slovakia in a hundred years? Formulate your answer based on the text!*" question. In both cases, the task emphasized that the question should be answered based on the text. However, in the fourth grade, almost half of the students (46%) and in the seventh grade, more than a third (38%) described their own experiences, without referring to the content of the text and answered the question incorrectly. These responses clearly show the strong influence of students' pre-existing schemas on reading comprehension. A detailed analysis of the incorrect answers shows that students use their familiar schemas from everyday life when reading, but in many cases, these schemas are not related to the facts in the text and replace the information in the text with knowledge from their own schema. To illustrate this phenomenon, the responses to the true-false choices in the fourth-grade narrative text can be used as concrete examples. The narrative text is about Indians living and fishing on the beach. A sentence in the true-false task states: "*In the story, the Indians hunt a lot*.", and the majority of students marked the statement as true. Some students also justified their answer with the statement: "*Indians tend to live in wooded areas*".

The data on the reading comprehension test questions for the two grade levels also show that there were no questions in either grade that all students answered correctly. Regarding the type of questions, it can be seen that both fourth graders and seventh graders left open-ended questions (fourth grade: 27%, seventh grade: 17%) unanswered than closed-ended questions (fourth grade: 3%), seventh grade: 5%). For closed-ended questions, multiple-choice was also a problem in fourth and seventh grade. Although we told students in the instructions for the question that they should have multiple correct answers to the given question, in most cases, without noticing this, only one answer was given. An example of this is the first question in the fourth-grade narrative

text where students had to choose the characters in the story. Two characters had to be named for the correct answer, which was given by just over a third of the students (38%). For the incorrect answers, almost a quarter of the students (22%) indicated only one character. Responses to the multiple-choice question in the expository text showed a similar ratio, with less than a quarter of students (21%) selecting both options when answering. More than half of the students (58%) incorrectly marked only one answer, albeit the correct one. A similar situation is observed among seventh graders. The seventh graders were asked to find out, based on the expository text, what two reasons there might be for the almost complete disappearance of the minor Finno-Ugric languages in Russia. A fraction of the students (13%) indicated both correct answers, while more than half of the students (55%) marked only one of the correct answers. The phenomenon described draws attention to a serious problem for two reasons. The information was explicitly and verbally explained in the texts, yet, only a partially correct answer was given by slightly more than half of the respondents. When respondents had to focus on more information in a question, the percentage of correct answers dropped dramatically. This problem does not improve with age; seventh-graders were just as satisfied as fourth graders with giving the first quickly available information.

CONCLUSIONS

Language allows information, thought, and meaning to be conveyed. Understanding written language can make reading an inspiring and enjoyable experience. In addition, written texts provide information, offer new knowledge, expand vocabulary, and help learn new ways of thinking. However, for many children, the messages of written texts are not clear, they are unable to understand them, and this can have potentially far-reaching consequences for their further learning, development, and well-being.

In our study, we pointed out that reading comprehension is a complex task that depends on a wide range of cognitive and linguistic processes, and we presented some of the results of our research in which we examined various aspects of reading comprehension levels. Using the above results, we examined the nature of reading comprehension problems by validating aspects of the cognitive thinking processes required for complex text comprehension in two age groups. However, even for older students, independent processing of the text was a problem for most students. Ignoring context and the pieces of the precise information of the text is a common problem that problem does not improve with age. The problem of incorporating new information into an existing knowledge schema also anticipates the problem of acquiring new knowledge. The aim of the present study is not to analyse the textbooks used in Hungarian education in Slovakia. However, the fact

that students perform better on closed single-choice questions than on multiple-choice and open questions can also be explained by the fact that students generally find similar tasks in the textbooks they use. The results of the study conducted in two grade levels prove that solving the above tasks is at least possible without targeted support for reading comprehension, which relies solely on the individual. The low level of text interpretation calls into question the success of independent learning in the studied age groups, which in turn underscores the need for targeted support in school.

This can only be achieved through reading comprehension programs that provide separate, targeted development of each cognitive process, taking into account the gaps discussed. It is important to emphasize that the development of reading comprehension, is a step by step, concentrically spreading didactic task that must take into account the basic methodological principles, i.e. the gradual development of developmental programs that correspond to the age-specific characteristics of the students. In a minority situation, only high-quality mother tongue education can help the minority to survive. If education does not do its utmost to raise the level of reading comprehension, it is not only a disadvantage for the individual, but also for the minority as a whole. Hungarian-language education in Slovakia should also be based on this principle.

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On the enregisterment of Szekler. Communicational stereotypes recreated in the sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* by Open Stage

A case study[1]

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ABSTRACT

The article aims at unfolding the key linguistic aspects of nowadays' stereotypical Szekler-representations through a case study on a satirical representation of regional communicative practices in the locally well-known sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* ('Right, Magdi?') by Open Stage. The research is mainly centred around the concept of enregisterment, thus the work is meant to be a contribution to the scarce literature on the enregisterment of Szekler (and Hungarian dialects in general) and on regional communicative practices. After providing a brief overview of the key areas and aspects along which the Szekler dialect has been enregistered so far in public discourse and in linguistics, the article tries to capture the main attributes which create the authentic Szekler voice for Hungarian speakers through analyzing the plot, the characterological figures and the linguistic repertoire conveyed by the sketch, as well as the online reactions to it given by viewers. Besides examining the most prominent phonological/phonetic, lexical and grammatical phenomena construed as characteristic to Szekler, the article also touches upon some regional conversational features depicted through stylization by the sketch.

Keywords: enregisterment, regionalisms, communicative stereotypes, Szekler, parody

1 I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of the article and Edith Kádár for their insightful comments on previous versions of this paper. Special thanks are due to Bálint Huszthy for his helpful suggestions related to my remarks on the phonological/phonetic aspects of Szekler featured in the literature and in the sketch. All remaining errors are, of course, solely my own.

1. Introduction

This article aims at unfolding the key linguistic features of nowadays' stereotypical Szekler-representations through a case study on a satirical representation of regional communicational practices in the locally well-known sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* ('Right, Magdi?') by the comedy group Open Stage.[2] The research is mainly centred around the concept of *enregisterment*, i.e., the process "through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231), thus the analysis is meant to be a contribution to the scarce literature on the enregisterment of Szekler (and Hungarian dialects in general) and to regional communicative practices.

My work is inspired by two main factors. First of all, I have known and enjoyed the sketch since I first watched it in 2013, which of course is not a scientifically legitimate reason for analyzing it, it only makes the work fun for the author. Even at first sight, I felt that in its own parodistic way the sketch captures and magnifies some commonly shared stereotypical views on Szekler communicational practices, and I kept wondering about an adequate framework that could be suitable not only for grasping these stereotypes and how they make their way into social media, but also for explaining them through a linguistically sensible approach. The second factor is that precedent has already been set for such type of research, as Szabó & Bodó (2020) discuss the enregisterment of Szekler in social media based on the analysis of another parody, a video series entitled *Székely nyelvlecke* ('Szekler language course'). The article tries to capture the main attributes which create the authentic Szekler voice for Hungarian speakers through analyzing both the contents of the parodistic mock-language courses and the online reactions to them given by viewers. The authors conclude that the enregisterment of the Szekler speech mode in that particular video series is mainly based on the lexical and phonetic level, and to some extent on the genres of anecdotal discourse and swearing, which are stereotypically associated with Szeklers. The focus on the lexical and phonetic level in the analysis given by Szabó & Bodó (2020) is not surprising, as they dealt with a series of mock-language courses which lack real conversational sequences and mostly consist of assigning Szekler expressions and phrases to pictures of different objects and phenomena.

2 I will cite the title of the sketch in its original form given by the authors, as it is written at the end of the TV version of the sketch. As far as its meaning is concerned, in my opinion, 'Right, Magdi?' is the most contextually adequate, but still approximate translation.
Before proceeding to read the article, the reader should by all means watch the sketch itself, available at full length on the video-sharing platform YouTube. Throughout the article, any reference to the sketch will be done based on the full TV version accessible at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INnwxpboe1A&t=632s&ab_channel=raymondqueneau (30/09/2021).

In my analysis of the sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* I will touch upon these aspects as well, as they constitute a very important basis for creating an authentic Szekler voice; additionally, I will outline some specific grammatical and conversational practices which are also part of stereotypical representations of Szekler speech. I believe that a brief pragmatic analysis of the interactions depicted by the sketch provides a more well-rounded illustration of the semiotic (i.e., linguistic and non-linguistic communicative) repertoire stereotypically assigned to Szekler, which on the other hand may bring us closer to capturing Hungarian speakers' stereotypical images of Szekler. These stereotypes and the values attached to them, in their turn, are a strong influence on speakers' attitudes towards this dialect, and perhaps even towards other nonstandard varieties of Hungarian. In the following pages, I will adopt most of the points of the discussion touched by Szabó & Bodó (2020), as I consider them to be required for a meaningful discourse on the topic.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2. provides a general background related to the concept of enregisterment, including some observations on the social and linguistic ramifications of enregistering different varieties of a language; section 3. then moves on to briefly presenting the key areas and aspects along which the Szekler dialect has been enregistered so far in public discourse and in linguistics; section 4. gives some essential information on the sketch, presenting the plot, the characterological profiles of the personae created in it, the main features of the parodistically depicted speech events, and the reception of the sketch; after which section 5. presents an overview of the most noteworthy aspects and characteristics of the stylized linguistic repertoire construed as Szekler: I will briefly examine the phonological/phonetic, lexical, grammatical and conversational/pragmatic aspects of creating authentic Szekler figures through parody in this specific communicative context; finally, section 6. summarizes the main observations and conclusions drawn in the article.

2. Enregisterment and its relevance

As Sándor (2016), Bodó (2017), Szabó & Bodó (2020) and many others point it out, nowadays' general and Hungarian sociolinguistics debates the legitimacy of the concept of dialects and sociolects presented and widely regarded as autonomous, stable, easily isolatable entities. The impact of these constructions on everyday speakers must be taken into consideration, as it influences their attitudes and linguistic behaviour. This is why recent sociolinguistic studies have taken an interest in everyday speakers' delimitation and concepts of different varieties of their language, which is strongly influenced by their (most often second hand) knowledge of the classifications and representations that have the most publicity in the given community. In Hungarian context, Bodó (2017), for example, investigates, among others, the representations of dialects

in Hungarian digital media, and finds that in the discourse surrounding the representations created by the dialect project of the Transylvanian online magazine *Transindex*, the concepts of language variation are strongly determined by the traditional constructions of autonomous, isolated and static varieties, which often lead to the amplification of their perception as being marginalized speech modes.[3]

The phenomenon of enregisterment has become a key concept in the discussion about the representations and perception of language varieties. Based on Agha (2003, 2005), whom I already quoted in the introduction, processes of enregisterment are processes through which specific patterns of language use become socially recognized by a language community as indexing different speaker attributes.[4] As Agha (2005: 57) explains it, this technical term is derived from the verb *to register* 'recognize, record', while the noun *register* denotes the result of this process, i.e. "a social regularity of recognition whereby linguistic (and accompanying nonlinguistic) signs come to be recognized as indexing pragmatic features of interpersonal role (persona) and relationship". Agha (2005) argues that these registers are not to be considered static constructions within a language, as they are reflexive models of language use disseminated and recreated through communicative processes, which means that they are constantly subject to changes. Thus, large-scale processes of changes in registers are brought about by micro-level instances of interactional register use.

Another important aspect of enregisterment is the fact that enregistered varieties of language tend to be stereotypically correlated with the speakers who convey them through their communicative activities. As Szabó & Bodó (2020) emphasize it, these activities do not need to be especially mediatized instances of communication, since enregisterment may also be carried out by speakers in everyday situations, for example by the stylization of the speech modes or of certain speakers channelling the registers in question. Agha (2005) labels the speakers who are perceived as authentically conveying these registers as *characterological figures*.

The concept of *voice* is related to how utterances index typifiable speaking personae along different social categories like gender, class, profession, etc., and it is also an important notion in the discussions of enregisterment phenomena (cf. Agha 2005). According to Agha (2005), these voices convey registers that are familiar to specific subsets of language users. This familiarity ranges from the capability of recognition to

3 These constructions have their roots in traditional sociolinguistics, but the most important and efficient agents circulating them are the institutions of education which use them almost unanimously in the context of a strongly prescriptivist approach. I will briefly elaborate on this issue in Section 3.

4 The most notable aspects of these processes are elaborately presented by Agha (2003) who analyses in detail the case of the enregisterment of a widely known and prestigious phonolexical register of spoken British English, the so-called Received Pronunciation. Most of the observations exhibited in this section are taken from Agha (2003 and 2005).

the capability of using the register in question and it is strongly related to the degree of speakers' value assignment to the register.[5] The group of speakers acquainted with a register may be conceived as its *social domain* (cf. Agha 2005).

Agha (2005: 46–47) presents some examples of registers and samples of their stereotypical speech repertoires. Besides demonstrating some focal repertoire contrasts and the matching metapragmatic stereotypes of gender registers in two Native American languages, Koasati and Lakhota, and sampling the lexical and stylistic repertoire of the Pentagon military register (Militarese), the author gives examples of distinct syntactic repertoires considered as indexing the register of sports announcer talk in English.

(1) Three aspects of register organization: Repertoires, Social Range and Social Domain (Agha 2005: 47, Table 8 [highlights in the original])
   a) characteristics of **repertoires**:
      • *Repertoire size*: number of forms;
      • *Grammatical range*: number of form-classes in which forms occur;
      • *Semiotic range*: types of linguistic & non-linguistic signs that appropriately co-occur in use
   b) stereotypes of indexical effectiveness, typically exhibiting a **social range**
      • *Stereotypes* of speaker/actor kind; of enactable relationship (e.g., deference, intimacy); of appropriateness to specific social occasions and scenarios of use
   c) **Social domain**(s) of user
      • categories of persons that can recognize (at least some of) the register's forms/indexical effects
      • categories of persons fully competent in the use of the register

The parameters in (1) above constitute the main aspects of register organization. The author also emphasizes that the identifiability of registers by linguists depends on the language users' metapragmatic ability to discriminate linguistic forms across register boundaries and to assign pragmatic values to them. This practice of metapragmatic typification must be an ability shared by at least a subset of speakers in order to establish the existence of a register, and it is subject to constant change provoked by changes in the respective population's composition and knowledge. As the scheme cited in (1) shows, any register must be considered a reflexive model of language use that associates a range of notable semiotic characteristics to a social range, i.e., to stereotypical speakers, relationships and occasions/scenarios of use. Additionally, as (1c) shows, these models of language use are usually only available to a subset of the population, i.e., to a social domain consisting of speakers

5 As the author puts it: "Encounters with registers are encounters with characterological figures stereotypically linked to speech repertoires (and associated signs) by a population of users. Language users typify such figures in social-characterological terms when they say that a particular form of speech marks the speaker as masculine or feminine, as high or low-caste, as a lawyer, doctor, priest, shaman, and so on" (Agha 2005: 45).

who have the ability of recognition and those who have the ability of production as well (cf. Agha 2003, 2005).

Finally, as an important attribute of processes of enregisterment, the role of different authorities and institutions must also be mentioned: "Institutional processes of various kinds frequently seek to stabilize features of registers—their repertoires, indexical stereotypes, the social domain of users—by codifying their normative values or restricting access to them; yet registers frequently change in their defining features through communicative activities that mediate their social existence" (Agha 2005: 47).

3. The enregisterment of Szekler

Before turning to the discussion of our sketch, this section briefly presents the key areas and aspects along which Szekler has been enregistered so far in public discourse and in linguistics. I will not even try to provide an adequate picture of all the relevant representations of Szekler culture and language in art, literature, ethnography, linguistics, sociology, commercial advertisements, the new genres brought about by the spread of digital media, the music and film industry, etc., as I do not possess the vast knowledge needed for such an endeavour, not to mention the lack of space.[6] However, I think that such a thorough grounding is not necessarily needed for our purposes here, and it will suffice to mention the most important and publicly accessible areas of previous enregisterment processes of the dialect itself, which are literature, linguistics, some genres of digital media, and, perhaps above all, the institutions of education and other prescriptivist platforms.

One of the most creative, productive and publicly known areas of the enregisterment of Szekler is literature. Balázs (2015) gives an inventory of previous works featuring strong Szekler characters that use some version of the dialect. Based on the author's discussion, the most representative instances of Szekler literature have been Áron Tamási's *Ábel* trilogy (1932–1935) which portrays the main character, Ábel Szakállas as an abstract, Szekler folk-tale hero; József Nyírő's works, especially the novel *Uz Bence* (1933), which to this day is advertised as embodying through its main character, Bence Uz, the alpine shepherd, the essence of the long-standing stereotypes related to Szekler aptness, archness, and generally the Szekler mentality and attitude; the collections of Szekler anecdotes (*Kilenc kéve hány kalangya?* '~Nine sheaves, how many hay piles?' (1982) edited by Zsolt Szabó and Gabriella Vöő, and *Sáska sógor*

6 For some grounding information on the historic and ethnographic aspects often cited as the most important components of Szekler identity, see the corresponding article in the 4th volume of the *Hungarian Ethnographic Lexicon* (mainly the one entitled *székelyek* 'Szeklers', and the others listed under it containing the adjective *székely*); Hermann (2010), entitled *Székely identitás* 'Szekler identity'; and the main references given by these articles.

'~Cousin Sáska' (1985) by Gabriella Vöő and Lajos Imreh jr.); Attila Sántha's Szekler poems, which use a gibberish-like, hyperbolized, overstylized version of the dialect with lots of mock-words, almost to the point of unintelligibility (Balázs calls this specific style 'Szekler nonsense'), especially the cycle entitled *Gajdó Máris borzalmas élete, melyet csak székelyül lehet elbeszélni* 'Máris Gajdó's awful life, which can only be told in Szekler' (1996); János Dénes Orbán's Szekler poems, partly inspired by Sántha's work, e.g. *A zákhányos csuda* '~The slodgy marvel' (2000); the "Szekler literary anthology" entitled *Iszkiri a guruzsmás berbécs elől* '~Escape from the quacker ram' by Attila György, Vince Fekete, János Dénes Orbán and Attila Sántha (2010); and Sándor Muszka's short story book *Sanyi bá – székely egypercesek* 'Uncle Sandy – Szekler short stories', in which the author uses the rhetoric of hyperbolism and the fragmented style of everyday speech while building on the stereotypes related to Szekler people, thus creating a character who is "a bit cunning, humorous, somewhat imbecile and vulgar, apt, and above all, magniloquent" (approximate translation mine, cf. Balázs 2015: 240). In addition to these authors, some of dramatist Csaba Székely's works, e.g., the critically acclaimed 2015 play *Vitéz Mihály*, also create stereotypical Szekler characters that are worth looking into.

The works enumerated above and the discussions occurring about their characters' speech modes qualify as instances of enregisterment due to the more or less stylized versions of Szekler language and conversational stereotypes portrayed by the authors.[7] Most of them,

7 Another area of enregisterment closely related to literature is Hungarian film industry, or better put, a small segment of it. The plot and location of Hungarian movies produced between the two world wars were often set in Transylvania (either in the subregion of Kalotaszeg, or in Szekler subregions), a region already annexed by Romania at that time. In most cases this was due to the fact that the movies themselves were adaptations of literary works signed by Transylvanian authors. The movies *Torockói menyasszony* ('Torockó bride', directed by Márton Keleti; 1937), *Uz Bence* ('Bence Uz', directed by József Csepreghy; 1938), *Gyimesi vadvirág* ('Gyimes wildflower', directed by Ákos Ráthonyi; 1939), *Erdélyi kastély* ('Transylvanian castle', directed by Félix Podmaniczky; 1940), *Leányvásár* ('Maiden fair', directed by Félix Podmaniczky; 1941), *Emberek a havason* ('People of the mountains', directed by István Szőts; 1942), *Kalotaszegi madonna* ('Kalotaszeg madonna', directed by Endre Rodriguez; 1943) are the most representative creations of this phenomenon. The popularity of the Transylvanian setting was not accidental, as after signing the Treaty of Trianon, Hungarian cultural politics had a strongly revisionist character when it came to the annexed territories. Most of these movies—with the exception of the critically acclaimed drama *Emberek a havason*—are romantic comedies featuring well-known cliches and popular actors of the period. However, even though they have Transylvanian settings, the linguistic specificities of the regions in question were never depicted by the movies: the characters of these movies speak a somewhat folksy vernacular which deviates from the phonetic and lexical characteristics of then standard Hungarian to a relatively small degree. Thus, some of these movies should be considered parts of the enregisterment process of Szekler in a different way than the rest of the works discussed in this section: they claim to feature authentic regional characters, but they do

even the most recent ones, are available to the audiences in Hungary as well, and Muszka's *Sanyi bá* has a CD version too, which provides an audible presentation of the particular linguistic style of the short stories.[8] Regarding Muszka's work, another important aspect should be emphasized. Muszka himself is not only a writer, but also a public persona and frequent performer of his own works, and as such, he constitutes a powerful agent of enregisterment in two ways: first of all, he creates an audible voice of the fictive characterological figure Sanyi bá, through which his audience can observe the phonetic and prosodic characteristics of the repertoire in question in a way other than through the author's practice of heterography in the written version, i.e., the use of spelling different from standard usage in order to more realistically depict a non-standard type of pronunciation (cf. Blommaert 2008, cited by Szabó & Bodó 2020: 47);[9] and secondly, in the interviews given by him on different programmes and at various events, through the use of

not strive to achieve this authenticity on the level of language use, this way they create fictive regional registers, either distorting the viewers' perception of the featured varieties, or leaving them untouched. For that matter, these observations also hold in the case of the 1993 movie adaptation of Tamási's *Ábel a rengetegben* (translated as *Ábel alone*, directed by Sándor Mihályfy), which does not feature much of the Szekler linguistic repertoire either. A further analysis of these movies would lead to a better sense of their standards and techniques of linguistic authenticity. (Special thanks are due to Ernő Csongor Kiss for drawing my attention to these movies and for sharing his insight on their artistic and linguistic characteristics.)

8 The audio version is also available on the video-sharing platform YouTube, and—although it would be interesting to assess its reception on this platform, especially the explicit or implicit evaluations regarding the authenticity of the portrayed register—as of 30/09/2021, it only has 772 views and 0 comments: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JKJSILc4Zvo&ab_channel=Mih%C3%A1lyT%C3%B3th

9 In the coverage of one of his performances of *Sanyi bá* given at a book release in Csíkszereda (RO: Miercurea Ciuc), published in the online magazine *Székelyhon* ('Szeklerland'), the journalist appraises Muszka's performance and quotes Attila György's book review, which presents some commonly shared attitudes towards the work: "*Elolvasván e könyvet részben könnyesre nevettem magam, másrészt annyira jólesett nekem a székely egypercesek varázsa, mint a csángó embereknek a pap beszéde. Ha valaki azt hiszi, hogy a stand up comedy amerikai találmány, erősen ajánlom, vegye kezébe Muszka Sándor könyvét. Meg fog változni a véleménye! Ez a székely felállós nyeletlenkedés sokkal üdébb, néha vaskosabb, de mindenképpen szellemesebb és bölcsebb, és ráadásul a miénk*" (Reading this book, on the one hand, I laughed myself to tears, and on the other hand, the magic of the Szekler short stories touched me as much as the priest's words touch Csángó people. To those who think that standup comedy is an American invention, I strongly advise to pick up Sándor Muszka's book. It will change your opinion! These Szekler standup stunts are much more refreshing, and sometimes heavier, but by all means wittier and wiser, furthermore, it is ours. – Translation mine.) (cf. Iochom 2013).

his Szekler vernacular, he himself becomes a non-fictional characterological figure.[10]

Turning to the field of linguistics, as Szabó & Bodó (2020: 40–41) point it out, the observations made by linguists also qualify as parts of the enregisterment process of Szekler, even though in their original forms they are available to a much smaller social domain. The traditional linguistic literature on Hungarian dialects mostly presents some phonological, morphological and lexical features as prominent characteristics of this variety.[11] The so-called Szekler dialect region is traditionally located on the territory of Hargita (RO: Harghita), Kovászna (RO: Covasna) and the Eastern part of Maros (RO: Mureș) county, and according to the most well-known Hungarian dialectology handbook, it has seven main subgroups with somewhat different features.[12]

Juhász (2001: 302–307) gives separate accounts of the phonological and morphological features present in most or part of the varieties of the dialect.[13] The most noteworthy phenomena on the level of phonology and phonetics are argued to be, among others, the presence of the short closed /e/ phoneme (in the place of /ɛ/) which is missing from the standard phonological system of Hungarian (where /eː/ is always long); the more open realizations of the vowel /ɛ/ > [æ]; the closer realizations of standard /ɒ/ > [ɔ]; the velar realizations of standard /aː/ > [ʌ]; and in some subregions the high frequency of mid-palatal labialization (i.e., /ɛ/ > [œ]).[14] At the morphological level, the handbook enumerates some

10 Just to mention one of these instances, Muszka had an appearance as a guest of the Romanian public television's Hungarian programme entitled *Erdélyi Figyelő* ('Transylvanian observer'), where, besides reading out some sequences of his book, he addressed the host's questions related to his work in a witty and entertaining manner, in this communicative context using a "died down" version of his own Szekler vernacular, i.e., a repertoire featuring characteristics of the regional standard as well. The programme was broadcasted live on television, and it is also available on YouTube. As of 30/09/2021, the online version has 6891 views and 0 comments: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5c9KQEaWq7I&ab_channel=ErdelyiFigyelo (30/09/2021).

11 The research on sentence level grammatical features is vastly underrepresented in the literature, most probably due to methodological difficulties in the domain of data collection.

12 For more information on some further varieties of this dialect differentiated by traditional Hungarian dialectology, cf. Juhász (2001), Péntek & Benő (2020), etc.; for a more recent, dialectometric approach, see Vargha (2017).

13 Some of these characteristics are documented in other regional varieties of Hungarian as well, therefore they are not to be taken as features exclusively specific to Szekler.

14 The intonational patterns characteristic to Szekler, although very prominent and specific to this dialect, constitute another vastly underrepresented research area in Hungarian linguistics, with very few works on the topic, Bálint Csűry being the only linguist who provided detailed observations on the intonation patterns specific to the northeastern and Szekler varieties of Hungarian. In their groundbreaking study, Huszthy & Sándor (2021) set out a new and promising direction for this research: the inquiry of Szekler intonation patterns using the methods of laboratory phonology. Based on a case study done with Szekler informants, the

specific affixes like the markers of the allative (*-ni* 'to'; *Erzsi-ni megyünk*, standard *Erzsi-hez megyünk* 'we are going to Erzsi's'), the adessive (*-nitt* 'at'; *Erzsi-nitt vagyunk*, standard *Erzsin-nél vagyunk* 'we are at Erzsi's') and the ablative (*-nUl* 'from'; *Erzsi-nül jövünk*, standard *Erzsi-től jövünk* 'we are coming from Erzsi's'); some archaic tense markers that are no longer present in other varieties of Hungarian, with the exception of the so-called Csángó dialect, like the preterite or perfective past *-á* mainly used to refer to the recent past (*most harangoz-á-nak*, standard *most harangoz-t-ak* 'they have just chimed the bells'), the plusquamperfect marked by the construction V-*t* + *volt* (*kér-t volt*, standard *kér-t* 'he/she had asked'), and the imperfective past usually used to refer to the recent past, marked by the construction *V-t* + *vala* (*tegnap jár-t vala itt*, standard *tegnap jár-t itt* 'he/she was here yesterday'); and mentions some morpho-phonological phenomena as well, like the derivation pattern of diminutive constructions formed with the suffix *-cskA* (*szoba* 'room' + *-cskA*: *szobacska*, standard *szobácska*), and some others (cf. Juhász 2001: 302–307).

The lexical repertoire of Szekler has been captured by idioticons, i.e., regional dictionaries, providing lexical inventories of a dialect or multiple dialects, and some shorter glossaries. The most important dictionaries are János Kriza's *Erdélyi tájszótár* ('Transylvanian dialect dictionary', first published as a dictionary in 1940, and most recently republished in 2019); József Szinnyei's *Magyar tájszótár* ('Hungarian dialect dictionary', first published between 1893–1901); *Új magyar tájszótár* by Éva B. Lőrinczy and Ferenc Hosszú ('New Hungarian dialect dictionary', published through an extended period of time, with the first volume released in 1979, and the last one in 2010); and the most recent one, *Nagy magyar tájszótár* by Gábor Kiss ('Great Hungarian dialect dictionary', published in 2019). In addition to these monumental works, Attila Sántha's non-professional dictionaries *Székely szótár* ('Szekler dictionary', 2004) and its extended version *Bühnagy székely szótár* ('Hugeous Szekler dictionary', 2018) provide a more concise but recent and well-advertised collection of Szekler words and expressions.

As far as the pragmatic research on specific conversational patterns is concerned, the situation is quite different. The only work that I know of addressing Szekler conversational peculiarities is Biró (1997). After

> authors conclude that the specificity of unmarked Szekler intonation patterns is the following: while standard Hungarian and most dialects are characterized by an immediate fall of tone after the prominent stressed syllable of any intonational phrase, Szekler intonation patterns show extended sequences of high tone syllables after the first prominent high tone syllable, with a later, sudden drop in pitch. In the case of emphatic speech, the extreme alternation of high and low tone sequences produces even more salient intonation patterns. Huszthy & Sándor (2021) also point out that, unlike other phonetic, phonological, lexical and grammatical features, this specific intonation pattern seems to be uniformly characteristic to all varieties of Szekler and it is a persistent feature of Szeklers' vernaculars, as—based on the authors' informal observations—these intonation patterns are the last to change in cases of dialect or language loss.

making several anthropological observations on Szekler humour regarding recurrent humorous scenarios, the process of socialization and some specific types of everyday verbal aggression construed as humorous, in one of the chapters of his book, suggestively entitled *On the issue of the Szekler "devious turn of mind"*, Biró (1997: 71–96) discusses the long-standing ethnic stereotype related to the wittiness of Szekler people, and among others applies a linguistic approach to the conversational symptoms of this wittiness. Based on the analysis of some humorous communicative events, he argues that the events of conversational teasing, for example, always tend to create a sense of 'us versus her/him/them' which from the first moment of the interaction puts the target in a defeated position due to the hierarchical incongruity of the situation (the majority of the group, arbitrarily claimed to be represented by the actual teaser, generally an older person vs. one person or a small portion of the group, the target, generally (much) younger than the teaser). Regarding the structure of the key utterances constituting the punch lines of different humorous speech events (both in the cases of teasing and in the inoffensive cases of everyday witticisms), the author concludes that they tend to be formed by two sequences: an introductory part implicitly setting the illocutionary force of the utterance as a speech act of authoritative declaration (even the simple discourse marker *no* '~now then, well' can have this function in these contexts), and a sequence giving the actual propositional content, which tends to implicitly or explicitly negate an impossible state of affairs, and through this negation presupposes that the occurrence of said state of affairs is possible, thus discursively creating a parallel universe in which what is negated is possible. The examples in (2) below are meant to give some substance to the author's conclusions presented here.

(2) a. [In an overcrowded bus a group of five middle-aged men loudly discuss everyday topics. At one of the stations, a younger man from the same village manages to get on the bus, however, he barely makes it past the door, and has to stand on tiptoe wedged between the bus door and the back of a seat. He greets the five men, and they exchange a couple of words. After a while, the main speaker of the group addresses the young man loudly, but in a familiar tone:]
Hát te Karcsi, mét nem ülsz le? Ne állj annyit! 'Now then, Karcsi, why don't you sit down? Don't stand for so long!'
b. [In the winter dawn, four men stand in silence around the pig they have just slaughtered, well-content with their work. The oldest man of the group says, almost as if he would be talking to himself:]
No, e se fut messze! 'Well, this won't run far!' (cf. Biró 1997: 73–74)

Biró (1997: 81–85) argues that the sequence *mét nem ülsz le? Ne állj annyit!* 'why don't you sit down? Don't stand for so long!' in (2a) presupposes that Karcsi would be able to take a seat if he wanted to, even though it is clear in the given circumstances that this is not the case, while the sequence *e se fut* ***messze!*** 'this won't run **far**' in (2b), by the use

of the adverb *messze* 'far' presupposes that the slaughtered pig could well be able to run away. According to the author, by creating the possible universes where Karcsi could take a seat and where the dead pig could run, the speakers shift the background of reference of these utterances, thus producing additional components of meaning and a so-called communicational impasse. The utterances themselves could be adequate with both backgrounds, but the propositions implied by these negations are obviously contradicted by actual reality, and they cannot even be denied as they are not explicitly phrased in the utterances. This shift of dimensions usually occurs instantly, it is the reason why these punchlines are interpreted as humorous, and, according to Biró, this conversational practice constitutes the core symptom of the mentality often captured as a "devious turn of mind" (cf. Biró 1997: 71–96).

Even though they are not widely known by the population, the linguistic works mentioned above (and several other similar works) are all contributions to the enregisterment of Szekler in the scientific community, moreover, many of their observations are echoed to some extent in Hungarian first-language education by Hungarian language and literature textbooks and by teachers. Thus, a portion of these representations make their way into public knowledge, usually integrated into the framework of prescriptivism.

The next important area is the vast field of digital media. Transylvanian online magazines like *Székelyhon* 'Szeklerland' or *Transindex* are highly productive platforms of constant enregisterment, as, on the one hand, they often report on people's observations related to the register, and on the other hand, they facilitate reflexive discussions on the Szekler dialect. Two of these instances are the already mentioned dialect project of *Transindex* and the Szekler dictionary publicized by the same portal, entitled *A székelyek szavai és kifejezései* 'The words and expressions of Szeklers' and managed by Attila Sántha, in which readers are asked to contribute to an online glossary by sending Szekler expressions.[15]

Video-sharing platforms like YouTube constitute another productive area widely available to the public, where several representations of Szekler are channelled and open to discussion. Some of the most publicly known representations are the numerous sketches, stand-up comedy performances and music videos signed by the comedy group *Open Stage*, one of which is the sketch to be analysed in this paper; Nándor Jakab-Benke's mock-language courses entitled *Székely nyelvlecke* 'Szekler language course', analysed by Szabó & Bodó (2020); the sketch series of the comedy group *Csíkszentgyörgyi Székely Góbék* 'Szekler wanglers from Csíkszentgyörgy'; some recorded performances of the comedy group *Szomszédnéni Produkciós Iroda* 'Neighbour lady production

15 To get a feel of the contents shared within the confines of this dictionary project, see the relevant page on Transindex: https://szekelymagyar.transindex.ro/ (30/09/2021); for more on the Szekler issue of the dialect project, see: https://eletmod.transindex.ro/?cikk=15966 (30/09/2021) and the analysis provided by Bodó (2017).

agency', like the one entitled *Székely–magyar csajozós szótár* 'Szekler–Hungarian dictionary for picking up girls'; the videos of a recently emerged young vlogger by the pseudonym *Mr Originality/Csabika*, who even has a video series entitled *Székely vs. Magyar – Hogyan mondja?* 'Szekler vs. Hungarian – How do they say it?' (in which he gives a contrastive comparison of his version of standard Hungarian and Szekler, both represented in a stylized, satirical manner through stereotypical characters: a Szekler figure and one meant to represent a stereotypical speaker from Budapest), etc. These videos are usually humorous, they give satiric representations of different Szekler characters, and they facilitate lively discussions related to their specific topics and to the authenticity of the representations of the Szekler dialect.[16]

The online representations mentioned above, and the several others to be found on different social media platforms, have an immense impact on everyday users' stereotypical concepts of Szekler as they possess the most extensive social domain. These items contribute to the spread of awareness about Szekler culture and language use with an unprecedented effectivity, and they all deserve reflection in order to get a better sense of nowadays' ongoing enregisterment processes of Szekler.

16 Nándor Jakab-Benke's language courses are available on his channel: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2IQ6I1NMe7Y&list=PLwWb1a5AU6HpVuMpKlafnKO8b3-AaHOQq&ab_channel=N%C3%A1ndorJakab-Benke (30/09/2021), the first part of the video series has almost 200,000 views; for more on the videos and their reception, see Szabó & Bodó (2020).
The sketches, music videos and stand-up comedy performances signed by Open Stage are also available on YouTube, and they can be found through active search, as they are scattered all over the platform, the comedy group not having a channel of their own. The hit song of *Open Stage* is without a doubt the one entitled *Aranka Szeretlek* 'Aranka, I love you' with 11,254,379 views, over 46,000 likes and over 2,800 dislikes: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qUZppD_Zd0s&ab_channel=schtibor (30/09/2021).
The sketch series of the group *Csíkszentgyörgyi Székely Góbék* is available on the group's channel: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3NjH32Ch5gqwey2Bif0pDg (30/09/2021); the most viewed video of the series is the one entitled *Hónaptól kapható a Székely Vacina… Kéne csináljunk mű es va-egy lejit…* (sic!) '~The Szekler vaccine will be available from tomorrow on… It's time we make some money', which, as of 30/09/2021, has 184,132 views and over 2400 likes.
The videos of the comedy group *Szomszédnéni Produkciós Iroda* are available on the group's channel: https://www.youtube.com/user/szomszedneni/videos (30/09/2021); their most viewed video featuring stereotypes related to Szeklers is the one entitled *Székely–magyar csajozós szótár* 'Szekler–Hungarian dictionary for picking up girls', which, as of 30/09/2021, has over 2,337,000 views and over 21,000 likes.
The videos of *Mr Originality/Csabika* are available on his channel: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCCsU0OH3hrepwaLDfhCqImA (30/09/2021); his most viewed video is the third episode of the series *Székely vs. Magyar – Hogyan mondja?* 'Szekler vs. Hungarian – How do they say it?' with 196,012 views and over 6,800 likes.

Finally, in order to create a proper context for the observations on the enregisterment of Szekler in the analysis to follow, a brief presentation of the status of dialects in the Hungarian speaking population must also be given. It is a long-standing observation, that the status of Hungarian dialects and all non-standard varieties is to a high degree governed by the viewpoint of the prescriptivist movement, channelled by the institutions of education and the other platforms used by prescriptivist activists, i.e., articles, TV and radio programmes and their counterparts available on digital media platforms (cf., Sándor 2016). I do not have the space to accurately elaborate on the complex history and mechanisms of Hungarian prescriptivism, however, in the remainder of this section I will depict the essential components of the status of dialects within the population, with some remarks specific to Szekler.

Similarly to the case of many other populations and languages, the instructions imposed by Hungarian prescriptivists can be summarized in the following way: speakers should strive to elevate their speech modes making them as close as possible to standard Hungarian, which is the apotheosis of linguistic value, the most "adequate", "logical", "educated", "clean" and "beautiful" way of speaking Hungarian in any context. This type of approach, of course, completely ignores the essential features of languages and their use, as it does not take into consideration the fact that languages exist through the use of several regional, professional and other social variants, the choice of which is always context dependent and usually signals important pragmatic parameters (i.e., speakers' actual intentions, the level of familiarity, and generally the social distance among the participants of different speech events). In order to achieve the required level of elevation, speakers are advised to omit the phonetic, lexical and grammatical characteristics of their vernaculars, and when they do not speak according to these instructions, they are too often subjects to ridicule by teachers, other authoritative figures, and fellow speakers in general. For more on Hungarian prescriptivism and the high level of linguicism in the Hungarian population, see, for example, Kontra (2006) and Sándor (2016).

As Kontra (2006), Sándor (2016) and many others emphasize it, in the Hungarian language culture, the prescriptivist approach is by far much more publicized than the observations made by linguists, and the most important and effective channel for these principles is education. In Romania as well, the institutions of public education are partial to prescriptivism in more than one way: on the one hand, there is a long-standing tradition among teachers of Hungarian language and literature by which the overwhelming majority of them tend to constantly instruct pupils, in an implicit or explicit way, to avoid non-standard variants, labelling them as mistakes of speech, regardless of the

contents of the textbooks they use in class;[17] and on the other hand, as argued by Kádár (2017, 2019), the textbooks themselves do not counteract this approach either, to say the least. Based on her analysis of the Hungarian language and literature textbooks used in primary and secondary education in Romania, Kádár (2017, 2019) concludes that these textbooks tend to create a *standard vs. deviance* framework while discussing linguistic phenomena, the key principle of which being that standard Hungarian is a much more valuable variety than any other variety of this language, not primarily because of its functions, but because of its linguistic qualities as well, thus, any deviation from it equals to decay and deviance. The instances when they present dialectal specificities in a positive, almost nostalgic way, assigning positive cultural and aesthetic values to them, tend to be discussions based on sequences taken from literary works (most often with a Szekler setting, portraying some characteristics of the repertoire of Szekler). However, the regional communicative practices depicted in these works are usually presented as belonging to the past or being isolated products of folksy creativity, rather than everyday communicational practices of hundreds of thousands of speakers. The author also emphasizes that schools constitute the primary, practically only official medium of acquiring knowledge about the varieties of Hungarian (or language as such, for that matter), this way education has a determining impact on the linguistic attitude and (linguicist or tolerant) behaviour of the whole population, one generation at a time (cf. Kádár 2017: 11).

These observations are crucial to our discussion as well: non-standard varieties, with no exception to Szekler, are often regarded as less adequate registers by the main and most authoritative sources of language knowledge, thus—even if they have strong emotional connections and cultural appreciation towards their Szekler vernaculars—speakers have the warning about non-standard language use standing in the way of their professional and social successes engrained in their consciousness from a very young age.

The situation of Szekler, however, is not as withering as that of other non-standard varieties. Although the impact of the prescriptivist agenda is undeniable, other enregisterment processes, like those previously discussed in this section, have managed to assign positive values to the register of Szekler, both locally and regarding the whole language region. Szabó & Bodó (2020: 40–41) draw attention to the fact that Szekler regional varieties have an exceptionally positive assessment among

17 I do not possess an account of this generalization based on hard data, however, I stand by it based on the many reports given by over 1,000 students of BBU's Faculty of Letters during the last 14 years, practically unanimously reinforcing the legitimacy of this observation each year when asked about their school experience regarding the presence of prescriptivism in their primary and secondary education. Additionally—even though there seem to be some changes in teachers' attitudes, as in the recent years more and more students report on experiencing less linguicist or non-prescriptive approaches as well—practically anyone who has frequented school in Romania seems to be aware of the phenomenon.

speakers. Benő (2011) reports on the results of two language attitude studies made in 1996 and 2009, which show that both the informants from Hungary and the Transylvanian informants declared to think that Hungarian is spoken in the most beautiful way in Transylvania.[18] This phenomenon is noted by multiple studies on the assessment of regional varieties of Hungarian; Péntek (1999, 2001, etc.) and Péntek & Benő (2020) make multiple observations on the fact that there is a conflicting duality in local speakers' assessment of their own vernaculars: they tend to give a symbolic appraisement of most of these varieties, but at the same time they often refer to these same vernaculars and the Hungarian language itself as constituting an additional burden for them when it comes to their children's schooling, as attending Hungarian language and literature classes and exams are often regarded as additional efforts only made by Hungarian pupils in Romania.

In conclusion, the linguistic repertoire of Szekler has a controversial evaluation among Hungarian speakers: there is a prevailing attitude dominated by strong positive values assigned to the register by local and non-local speakers, which is reinforced every time recognized agents of enregisterment produce positive, or rather enjoyable representations of Szekler, but at the same time, due to the enregisterment processes adopting the prescriptivist approach, there is a somewhat depreciative attitude towards the use of this dialect as well.

4. The sketch and its reception

This section aims at providing some essential information on the sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* and some required preliminary steps to the examination of the linguistic repertoire to follow in the next section, by presenting the plot, the characterological profiles of the personae created in the sketch, the main features of the parodistically depicted speech events and the reception of the sketch. As the sketch is full of cultural and linguistic specificities that are practically untranslatable to those outside of the register's social domain (i.e., readers who are not familiar with Szekler communicational practices), it is paramount to give a proper outline of all the key features that viewers who are to some degree insiders are automatically receptive to.

The authors of the sketch are the actors László Zsolt Lung and Attila Kozma, who together form the comedy group Open Stage, which has been active with these members since 2002. Their first big success was the 2007 single and music video entitled *Aranka szeretlek* 'Aranka, I love you', which is also a parody and, as I already mentioned, it is their most

18 In the 1996 study, 80%, while in the 2009 study 74,8% of Transylvanian informants expressed this opinion, and the fact that the rate of informants giving this same evaluation is the highest among those from the Szekler region (84,2%) also shows that in theory Szekler is highly valued among local speakers (cf. Benő 2011).

viewed video. The TV version of the sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* '~Right, Magdi?' was first released in 2013 and it has been available since then on the video-sharing platform YouTube, along with three other quick audio versions.[19] At the time this article is written, the TV version has 455,024 views and 88 comments.

A short description of the plot would be the following: Ferenc, the comedian (Attila Kozma) goes to an office (that, based on the context and the discussion in the scenes, seems like an office of a local agency of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania) to register a private company. Upon arrival, he enters office 24, where he presents the cause of his visit to clerk Veca (László Zsolt Lung) in a calm, almost cheerful, optimistic manner, after which he is curtly sent back and forth between three offices by clerks Veca and Magdi (Attila Kozma). Each time he enters or reenters an office, he has to explain again and again what administrative problem he wants to resolve. After Veca sends him to the boss's empty office, he has no other option than to go back to her office, where he is offered a seat to wait for the boss. While Ferenc is waiting, Veca, completely ignoring Ferenc's presence, initiates a discussion with Magdi in the neighbouring office about preparing a meal, which becomes a session of mutual bragging between the two women. Then Veca suddenly acknowledges Ferenc's presence and asks him again, in an inpatient, authoritative manner, why he is there. After three more rounds of explanation, and a threatening appearance of the security guard (László Zsolt Lung), Ferenc who has totally lost his patience by now, explains for the seventh time what he wants, and Veca, still disapproving of the comedian's goals, finally gives him some templates of the official documents needed, and tells him to take them to another building, the mayor's office, casually summoning him to do her a personal favour on his way. On his way out, Ferenc bumps into Robi (László Zsolt Lung), the aggressive and demanding young man who turns out to be one of his fans, and hardly manages to get away from him. A Romani businessman (Attila Kozma) enters Veca's office and resolves his official issue within minutes by bribing her. In the final scene, Ferenc comes back with the documentation Veca had asked for. While browsing through the documents, Veca starts enumerating missing documents she never mentioned before in a dispraising and reprehensive manner, shouting *Ezek hol vannak?* 'Where are those?', which then is echoed by all characters, except for Ferenc, in the form

19 I will not separately analyze these versions; however, I will take their comments into consideration when discussing the aspects viewers seem to be the most receptive to. The quick audio versions are the following: *Open Stage Ugy-e Magdi* – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=koRh-jDLjfM&t=113s&ab_channel=digital151515 (30/09/2021), with 51,173 views and 13 comments; *Open Stage Székelylend – Ugy-e Magdi?* – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOB789goKQ4&t=67s&ab_channel=lorihompoth (30/09/2021), with 70,481 views and 16 comments; and *Open Stage Ugy-e Magdi* – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWalXzuE-4s&t=28s&ab_channel=robicika12 (30/09/2021), with 12,196 views and 1 comment.

of four cuts in video sequences. In the final moments of the sketch the pictures of Magdi, Veca, Robi and the businessman come on with a readout caption at the bottom of the screen inviting viewers to send their responses to the question *Ezek hol vannak?* 'Where are those?' via text messages by next Easter. In the following paragraphs, I will briefly present the characterological figures created in the sketch with general remarks about the speech modes featured by each of these characters.

The character Ferenc, played by Attila Kozma, could be labelled as a stereotypical figure of the educated Szekler young man who falls victim to an overcomplicated bureaucratic system and its representatives, the rudely authoritative clerks whom he is compelled to entrust with the official process of establishing a private company. He starts off with a cheerful and polite approach and conveys the stylized repertoire of the regional substandard variety of Szekler, usually spoken in non-familiar situations. Due to the context of discussing official affairs, this repertoire contains characteristics of the official terminology, the most prominent being the resort to Romanian loan words and instances of code-switching, as local speakers generally do not possess a Hungarian version of this register. As he becomes more and more overwhelmed by the two clerks' uncomprehending and dismissive attitude, his speech mode shifts to a more personal and emotional register, also signalled by growth in speed and volume, thus we witness a more regionally flavoured vernacular peeking through the basic setting of dispassionate communication. Besides this shift in manner, another scene where we witness a more familiar, although still defensive speech mode, is when he addresses Robi's questions, remarks and demands.

The characters of clerks Veca (played by László Zsolt Lung), Magdi and Amál (both played by Attila Kozma) show some differences as well, however, they could all be labelled as stereotypical figures of the inconsiderate, abusive, lazy and witless middle-aged bureaucratic worker. Veca has the most prolonged sequences of conversations with other characters. From the first moment of interaction with Ferenc, she takes a familiar but condescending and disrespectful tone, and keeps it up until the last interaction. Through her speech, she conveys a stylized repertoire of a Szekler vernacular with frequent lexical borrowings, code-switchings and some specific regionalisms on all levels of communication. A similar repertoire is conveyed by Magdi and Amál as well. Magdi's most prominent role in the scenes is echoing or reinforcing in a strongly stylized Szekler vernacular some of Veca's assertions when she utters the recurring question *Ugye, Magdi?* 'Right, Magdi?'. The chief clerk of the office, Amál, is only portrayed in a short scene where Veca calls her to tell her that a stubborn client wants to establish a private firm. During their call, we find out that, although she claims to be in a meeting with members of the directorate, she is at home avoiding work. As it will be shown later, these characters seem to be perceived by viewers as authentic representations of bureaucratic workers in the Szekler region or generally in Romania.

Another characterological figure created in the sketch is Robi (played by László Zsolt Lung) who has a conversation with Ferenc at the entrance of the office building. This character embodies the threatening figure of the young, aggressive Szekler man who uses his physical strength and loudness to intimidate anyone who crosses his path and welcomes any opportunity to have a free drink. Through his speech, he conveys a stylized repertoire of Szekler, enriched through an overly emphatic speech mode, full of bantering and threatening sequences.

The character of the Romani businessman (played by Attila Kozma) is a stereotypical representation of the witty and spirited middle-aged Romani man who strives to avoid the traps of the bureaucratic system using a combination of entreating, flattery and bribery. Accordingly, his register of speech contains some phonetic, lexical and conversational characteristics stereotypically assigned to this type of figure. The last character to be mentioned is the faceless announcer (played by Attila Kozma) who reads the appeal to the fictive viewers of the programme in another stylized speech mode, the one stereotypically assigned to speakers of the Transylvanian Plain, e.g., those living in Kolozsvár (RO: Cluj-Napoca). Three main characteristics of this register are represented in a stylized way in the short audio sequence: the specific phonetic/phonologic profile and the intonational pattern characteristic to this dialect (often labelled as 'Romanian accent' by everyday speakers) and the use of Romanian loanwords.

Due to the characteristics discussed in this section, the sketch obviously belongs to the genre of parody. According to Dentith's (2002: 37) broad definition, "any cultural practice which makes a relatively polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice" is an instance of parody. One of the potential key functions of parody is that of being an act of criticism through capturing some aspects of the parodied cultural practice and exaggerating them to ludicrous effect (cf. Dentith 2002: 32). So, what exactly is parodied in the sketch, and why is it funny? In order to answer these questions and create an overview of the main interactions in the sketch, we have to take a closer look at the key features of the fictive speech events that take place in the sketch. I will present these features along the lines of Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING model which I consider appropriate for a proper discussion on our subject. I will concentrate on the main line of interactions among the two clerks and Ferenc.

The Setting and Scene of the speech event depicted by the sketch is quite formal: on an average day in 2013 (as shown by the label on a folder on one of the clerks' desks), an ordinary citizen visits an official institution in order to take all the steps needed to establish a private company. This type of setting and scene determines the expectations related to the Norms of interaction and all other aspects of the Hymesian model, however, most of these aspects turn out not to match the setting/scene in the sketch. This mismatch, on the other hand, creates a shift in the cultural definition of the speech event,

revealing an alternative cultural practice claimed to be specific to the Szekler/Romanian setting.

The Participants of the speech events taking place in the office building are Ferenc, Veca and Magdi. Each of them takes the role of speaker/hearer at one point or another in the course of the communicative events, additionally, whenever two of the three participants are having a conversation, the third one is also part of the audience, either silently witnessing the conversation (e.g., when the two women talk to each other through the open doors and halls of the building, Ferenc has no other option than to overhear what is talked about), or becoming speakers themselves with or without being addressed by the previous speaker (this is the case whenever Veca talks to Ferenc, and stops to shout *Ugye, Magdi?* 'Right, Magdi?' to Magdi in the neighbouring office for her actual utterance to be reinforced, or when Magdi echoes Veca's demands without being asked; e.g., [Veca, 0:26] *Azt nem itt csinálják, azt a 12-es irodába csinálják. Ugye, Magdi?* 'We don't do that here, that is done in office 12. Right, Magdi?'; [Veca, 2:58] *Jó napot kívánok, miben segíthetek!?* 'Good day! How can I help you?' [Magdi, 3:00] *Igen, igen, mondja má' meg Vacacskának, hogy mit akar!?* 'Yeah, yeah, tell Veca already what you want!', etc.). This practice of ganging up against the client deepens the sense of power incongruity between Ferenc and the clerks, constantly putting the former in an even more overpowering position.

The Ends of the communicative events are different than ideally expected in these types of situations, additionally, the personal goals of the participants also differ from each other to a considerable degree. According to idealistic expectations of this setting/scene, the general purpose of these offices and their workers is to resolve official issues in a practical, sensible and respectful manner, however, in this case, this purpose is not served, and based on the events depicted by the sketch, the participants have opposing personal goals. Ferenc's goal is to officially establish a private company with the help of the clerks, while the clerks' goal is not to be bothered and to avoid work as much as possible. This intention is made clear by multiple aspects, like the disrespectful, annoyed tone taken by the clerks throughout the sketch whenever they are asked for help; Veca's demand for Ferenc to wait until she finishes her coffee [3:03 – 3:18]; or the fact that both Magdi and Amál are shown avoiding work (Magdi plays computer games in her office, and Amál is engaged in a self-care routine in her bathroom while claiming to be in a business meeting).

The Act Sequence of the event is made up by Ferenc's directive speech act of requesting help, the first couple of times delivered in a polite and cheerful demeanour, which is followed by the clerks' multiple refusals to be helpful, and by demands related to the official steps to be followed, as well as Veca's personal request for Ferenc to take a sack of rotten potatoes to one of her colleagues in the mayor's office and bring a bottle of milk on his way back. The sequence ends with the expressive

speech act of disappreciation and rejection towards the documentation brought by Ferenc.

As far as the Key of the speech events is concerned, there is an obvious discrepancy in the tone applied by the participants. Ferenc conveys a calm and patient, official Key, which, due to the growing tension between him and the clerks, changes to a more emphatic, nervous and personal tone through time. Contrary to Ferenc, the two clerks take a more colloquial, personal and condescending tone throughout the communicative events presented in the sketch: either they talk down to Ferenc using a personal tone, or they talk to each other about the domestic topic of preparing the Easter lamb in a hilariously hyperbolized Szekler vernacular. All these characteristics are reinforced by the body language of the participants as well.

The Instrumentalities used in the sketch will be analysed in more detail in Section 5. The most important features to be highlighted here are that the method of communication is speaking, and the applied register is a stylized version of Szekler with some elements of bureaucratic terminology, mostly evoked by Romanian loanwords and instances of code-switching. This aspect of the speech event also contradicts the general expectation of using a formal register.

The Norms of interaction generally assigned to this Setting/Scene regulate the practices related to speech volume, taking turns in speaking, physical movement, eye contact, etc. The interactions depicted by the sketch mostly deviate from these norms: due to their annoying mindset and their constant scolding acts, as well as the fact that they talk to each other through the open doors of their offices, both clerks apply a high speech volume; they often ignore Ferenc's presence through the refusal of making eye contact and of granting him the opportunity to speak or be heard, and they convey a strong body language also signalling their discontent.

The Genre usually adopted in this type of communicative event is that of formal conversation, which in our case often turns into one-sided scolding and ridicule.

Based on the above overview of the plot, its characters and the Hymesian aspects of the communicative events, the following observations can be made. Through the method of stylization and hyperbolism, the sketch creates a strong discrepancy between the set of expectations regarding the unfolding of such types of speech events (on the level of the participants' dynamics, the goals of the participants, the sequence of speech acts performed by the participants, the key of the speech events, the registers conveyed by the speakers, the norms of interaction pertaining to speech volume, to the right to speak and be heard, to eye contact and body language) and what actually happens in the sketch. The discrepancies brought about in this hyperbolic manner constitute an act of criticism through humour, as the sketch highlights and exaggerates to ludicrous effect a cultural practice much condemned by the community. The sketch is primarily a parody of the overcomplicated bureaucratic

system and the often demeaning behaviour of its representatives in Romania, and its specific regional flavour that is in effect in the Szekler region of the country. The parody of this system and its workers, on the other hand, is interwoven with and enriched by the satirical representation of Szekler communicative practices and temperament. The stylization of Szekler vernaculars conveyed by the characters simultaneously constitutes a sublevel of the discrepancy between the formal setting and the familiar manner in which these communicative interactions unfold, and a source of humour in itself.

The phenomenon of laughing at certain vernaculars is not an undocumented issue in the literature, and it raises some questions regarding the proper context and audience, as well as the matter of entitlement. As Jonsson et al. (2020) point it out, the identity of the parodist and the parodied are decisive factors determining the outcome of these jokes and whether they are construed as offensive.[20] In our case, the question of who is entitled to imitate Szeklers' voice without sounding disparaging should also be addressed. The two members of the comedy group Open Stage are also members of the community which they treat comically in their sketch through parodying their vernaculars. Additionally, the primary targets ridiculed in the sketch are stereotypical representatives of the bureaucratic system, who embody everything that is wrong with this system; the communicative registers depicted in the sketch constitute one of the many ways they deviate from the norms and expectations generally assigned to the formal setting of the plot, and are means of creating a personal and familiar, thus authentic voice for them. All these factors contribute to the sketch being perceived as non-offensive by those who possess Szekler vernaculars, which is also reflected to some degree by the comments given by viewers.

Before moving on to the analysis of the linguistic repertoire conveyed by the characters, in the remainder of this section I will reflect on the reception and after-life of the sketch, mainly on the aspects traceable through the viewers' comments. I reviewed a total number of 118 comments assigned to the TV version (88 comments) and the three audio versions of the sketch (30 comments) available on the video-sharing platform YouTube. Based on this review, six main categories of comments are identifiable: expressions of general appraisal of the sketch and the two actors; comments reflecting on the authenticity of the figures and plot capturing all that is wrong with the bureaucratic system depicted by the sketch; comments providing quotes and reflections on the communicative practices depicted by the sketch; comments giving explanations for those who are not familiar with the Romanian bureaucratic terminology; comments highlighting minor dramaturgic inconsistencies in the sketch; and one comment related to the after-life

20 Jonsson et al. (2020) discuss satirical representations of the so-called 'Rinkeby' Swedish, a contemporary urban vernacular, which, according to the authors, has been turned into an 'icon of ethnic otherness, associated with an aggressively sexist and homophobic masculinity' due to its parodies in Swedish media.

of the sketch. I provide a small sample of the categories relevant to our topic in (3–6) below, omitting the comments only praising the actors and the ones highlighting small dramaturgical inconsistencies.

(3) a. *Komolyan, gyomoridegem lett ettől a jelenettől, annyira élethű!* 'Honestly, I got a stomach ache from this scene, it's so realistic!'
b. *Tapostam már végig ezt az utat! A tejet meg a krumplit leszámítva szóról szóra így történik! :))* 'I've been down this road! Apart from the milk and the potatoes, it literally happens like this!'
c. *Ez a valós romania.* 'This is the real Romania'
d. *ÜGYINTÉZÉS SZÉKELYFÖLDÖN (BÜRÖKRÁCIA) – "had fejlődjön a zóna"!* 'Administration in the Szekler region (bureaucracy) – let the region evolve!'
e. … *nagyon jó. A csíkszeredai cégbíróságra rá lehet ismerni azonnal. Minden évben átélem ezt, de ilyen jól csak Kozma Attiláék képesek összegezni és "továbbadni"… Gratulálok.* 'Very good. The registry court from Csíkszereda can instantly be recognized. I experience this each year, but only Attila Kozma's group can summarize and transmit it this well… Congrats.'
f. *Don't worry Szekely people. This is normal bearuacracy shit in Romania. Don't feel discriminated. Money buys everything around there.*
g. *Ez egyáltalán nem vicces* 'This is not funny at all'

(4) a. *meg tetszik e várni, amig kihörpötyölöm a kávét* 'Could you wait while I'm sipping up my coffee?'
b. *nyihahahaaa szerusszzööö :D :D* 'neigh' 'hello (SH.[21] *szervusz* from Lat. *servus*, heterographically captured regional version, pronounced with an epenthetic schwa in the sketch [9:15])'
c. *Cse sze pe vagy ecserepecsere…..parsana Fizica….Contrakt Csivil* '[gibberish imitating Romanian acronyms]… [Ro. *natural person*, captured through Hungarian heterography]… [Ro. *civil law contract*, captured through Hungarian heterography]
d. *Ne féjjé ha nem vagy hibás! Ezen behugyoztam! :)* 'Don't be afraid if you're not at fault! I wet myself laughing at this!'
e. *03:49 után elkezdi hadarni xD hááááááááháhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh* 'After 03:49 he starts gabbling, haha'
f. *Nagyon vicces mondjuk a székelyek alapból röhejesek s örvendek stb* 'It's very funny, actually Szeklers are fundamentally ridiculous, and I'm glad, etc.'

(5) a. *faktúra – számla ,,, chitanta (kitánca) -- nyugta, -- intreprindere individuala -- egyéni vállalkozás, szecsepecse, satöbbi: rövidítések.* '[Ro. *factură*, captured through Hungarian heterography] – invoice, [Ro. *chitanță*, also captured through Hungarian heterography in brackets] – receipt, [Ro. *întreprindere individuală*] – private company, [heterographic imitation of Romanian acronyms], etc.: abbreviations.'
b. [Reply to (5a):] *Kösz szépen* 'Thanks a lot'
c. *ezek után ne menjetek ügyintézni fiúk :DDD a határon túliaknak le kellene fordítsátok :)))* '~After all these, don't go to offices, guys. You should translate it to those outside the borders.'

(6) *A múltkor bementem a bankba. Már 10 perce vártam, amikor is az előttem lévő bácsinak a papírjaival valami gubanc lett.. A hölgy készségesen magyarázta, hogy*

21 The abbreviation *SH.* stands for standard Hungarian, and it marks versions generally construed as belonging to Hungarian standard.

mi történhetett és hogy megkéri szépen a bácsit, hogy jöjjön vissza később és hozza magával a …blablabla… a végén meg átkiáltott a munkatársához, a másik asztalhoz: – Ugye Magdi? Rég röhögtem ilyen jót! :)) 'I went to the bank the other day. I had been waiting for 10 minutes when something turned out to be wrong with the documents of the old man in front of me. The lady accommodatingly explained what could have happened, and asked him to come back later and bring the …blabla… then at the end she shouted over to her colleague at the next desk: Right, Magdi? It's been a while since I laughed that hard!'

The comments like those cited above show that the audience is most receptive to the image of the twisted bureaucratic system created by the sketch and the stylized Szekler communicative practices conveyed by its characters. The reactions evaluating the authenticity of the scene depicted by the sketch are either reflecting on the viewers' perception of these cultural practices being specific to the Szekler region of the country (e.g., (3d-e)) or to the whole country (e.g. (3c, f)). This difference in perception is most probably due to the viewers' previous experience: those who are unfamiliar with the Szekler setting, tend to recognize a wider pattern characteristic to the whole country, while those who are familiar with it either reinforce the authenticity on a local level, or go further and remark that these practices are not Szekler-specific at all. Comments like that in (3g) also constitute positive evaluations regarding the authenticity of the depicted interactions through the act of reflexive *unlaughter*, i.e., the absence of laughter where it is expected (cf. Billig 2005: 192, cited by Jonsson et al. 2020), which is meant to signal the commenter's condemnatory attitude towards these practices.

Comments like those in (4-5) evoke characteristics of the semiotic repertoire conveyed in the sketch, evaluating them as funny, therefore salient. These types of comments tend to reflect on peculiarities on the phonetic (cf. (4b, c, e)), morphological (cf. (4a)), lexical (cf. (4b-c), (5a, c)) and conversational level (cf. (4a, b, d)), or constitute general evaluations of Szekler speech patterns and temperament (cf. (4f)). Additionally, comments like (5a-c) acknowledge the fact that speakers outside Romania cannot possibly understand what is talked about in certain sequences. Finally, (6) shares a story regarding the after-life of the sketch, and it shows that it has become a point of reference among its audience.[22]

In conclusion, the sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* exaggerates to ludicrous effect a cultural practice much condemned by the community, thus it is an act of social criticism achieved through parodistic humour. It is primarily a parody of the overcomplicated and demeaning bureaucratic system that is in effect in the Szekler region and generally in Romania. The parody of this system is interwoven with the satirical representation of Szekler communicative practices on all levels of language use, which in this case may be construed as representing a sublevel of the discrepancy between the formal setting and the familiar speech mode of these

22 Another piece of anecdotal information I consider representative of the after-life of the sketch is that I myself experienced many allusions to it or its main punch lines by random speakers in everyday communicative situations in the last 8 years.

communicative interactions. Moreover, the stylized representation of the semiotic repertoire assigned to Szekler is a source of humour in itself, and—together with the evaluative discussions about these communicative practices—it is part of nowadays' enregisterment processes of Szekler. The online reactions to the sketch given by its viewers seem to reinforce these observations as well.

5. Parodistically highlighted "Szeklerisms" in the sketch

This section gives an overview of the most noteworthy aspects and characteristics of the stylized linguistic/conversational repertoire construed as Szekler in the sketch. I will briefly examine the phonological/phonetic, lexical, grammatical and conversational/pragmatic aspects of creating authentic Szekler figures through parody in this specific communicative context. The sketch is far too long and much too difficult to be transcribed here, therefore I will occasionally provide the time frames where the discussed features are present in the TV version, and only show some selected sequences when I consider them essential.

One of the most prominent features of the conversational sequences depicted by the sketch is how they sound. As in the case of any audible speech event, all other features are constantly conveyed through these sound patterns, and in our sketch, due to their stylized execution, these sound patterns themselves are means of creating a humorous effect and a recognizable component of the semiotic repertoire assigned to Szekler. The **phonologic/phonetic level** of the stylized Szekler repertoire highlights some specific features of this variety and its speakers. Based on my review of the sketch, the most salient phenomena captured through stylization are the following: the use of some phonemes characteristic to certain varieties of Szekler, all over the recording (that of the short closed /e/ phoneme, the more open realizations of the vowel /ɛ/ > [æ], and the velar realizations of standard /a:/ > [ʌ]); the frequent presence of schwa epenthesis (which is featured in most of Magdi's utterances [2:19, 5:18, 7:01, 7:53, 8:38, 14:07] in a hyperbolized manner, and it is also detectable in Veca's [3:50], Robi's [9:15] and Amál's [14:13] speech, as well as Ferenc's speech when he switches to a more emphatic pattern [8:52] – this feature is highlighted by some of the viewers' comments as well, e.g., in (4b) above); the specific pace and intonation patterns of emphatic speech characterized by a rapid pace and extreme alternations of high and low tone sequences, present in most parts of the recording (e.g., [1:35-1:37], [7:50-7:54], etc.); and the heavy Szekler "accent", i.e., the prominently Szekler sound patterns, characteristic to the instances of Romanian code-switching (e.g., [0:25], [4:31-4:33], [5:00-5:05], etc.), which, among others, recreate stereotypes regarding Szeklers' way of speaking Romanian.

The **lexical level** of the evoked repertoire also shows some peculiarities, especially in the sequences where characters convey a more familiar

key. The most prominent lexical features are the use of some regional lexical units and the frequent use of Romanian loanwords and instances of lexical borrowing. The table in (7) below shows the most prominent lexical features of the characters' speech.

(7) Prominent lexical units in the sketch

a. Regional lexical units	• *bé* (SH. *be*, 'in') • *reám* (SH. *rám*, 'on/off me'), *reád* (SH. *rád*, 'on/off you') • *es* (SH. *is*, 'also') • *ilyen**t*** (SH. *ilyet*, such-ACC 'something like this'), *ilyen**s**mi* (SH. *ilyesmi*, 'such things') • *ler* (from Ge. Röhre, SH. *sütő*, 'oven') • *szalma**pityókás*** (SH. *sültburgonyás, sültkrumplis*, 'with fried potatoes') • ***elmecseríti** a hangját* ('make one's voice sound like drunken singing', from Szekler *mecsereg* 'sings in a drunken voice') • *szerusz* (SH. *szervusz* from Lat. *servus*, 'hello')
b. Romanian loanwords and instances of lexical borrowing	• *faktúra* (noun, Ro. *factură*, SH. *számla*, 'invoice'), *faktúráz* (verb, SH. *számláz*, 'invoice') • *kitánca* (noun, Ro. *chitanță*, SH. *nyugta*, 'receipt') • *kontrakt csivil* (nominal phrase, Ro. *contract civil*, translated in Transylvanian media as *civil szerződés*, 'civil code contract') • *doszár* (noun, Ro. *dosar*, SH. *dosszié*, 'folder, dossier') • *le**stampiláz*** (verb, Ro. *ștampilă* 'seal', SH. *lepecsétel*, 'enseal') • ***buletin*** (noun, Ro. *buletin*, SH. *személyi igazolvány*, 'identity card') • *intreprindere individuála* (nominal phrase, Ro. *întreprindere individuală*, SH. *magáncég*, 'private company') • *perszana fizika* (nominal phrase, Ro. *persoană fizică*, SH. *természetes személy*, 'natural person')
c. Fictive Romanian expressions	• Ro. *departamentul de **solicificare*** '…department of…' • Ro. *certificat de **recesionare*** '…certificate' • Ro. *certificat de **semancificat*** '…certificate' • Ro. *cartomesticat* • Ro. *lidomesticat*

The examples in (7a) are different types of regional lexical units characteristic, but not necessarily specific to Szekler: some of them are archaic versions of today's standard Hungarian lexemes, characteristic to multiple regional varieties of Hungarian (cf. *bé*; *reám*; *reád*; *es*; *ilyensmi*; *ler*), and others are regional expressions specific to Szekler (cf. *pityóka*, which is a trade-mark Szekler expression; *elmecseríti a hangját*), or regional expressions characteristic to the whole Transylvanian region (cf. the greeting *szerusz*, however, its pronunciation with an epenthetic schwa is specific to Szekler). The Romanian loanwords and instances of lexical borrowing exemplified in (7b) are also regionalisms characteristic to the formal repertoire used by Szekler speakers in this communicative context, even though they are not specific to Szekler. The use of gibberish-like fictive Romanian expressions, like those in (7c), constitute another method of creating a recognizable lexical repertoire. The

discursive function of these latter expressions is that of emphasizing the overcomplicated nature of Romanian bureaucracy and the difficulties speakers are put through due to the obscurity of the official documents, often perceived as bureaucratic nonsense by speakers, however, this aspect is only detectable for those who speak Romanian as well.

The most noteworthy phenomena on the **grammatical level** of the stylized repertoire are demonstrated in (8) below.

(8) Prominent grammatical phenomena in the sketch

a. Morphological and morpho-phonological patterns	• *Vec**a**-cska* ([Veca-DIM], SH. *Vec**á**-cska*) • *ad**a**-ja* ([tax-3SG.POSS], SH. *ad**ó**-ja* 'its/your sales tax') • *ki-hörp-**öty**öl-öm* ([out-sip-ITER-1SG.TR], SH. *~elkortyolgatom* 'I sip up') • *Hallga-**ssuk**, (a sok hülye ember hogy mondja)* ([listen-1PL.TR], SH. *hallgat-juk* 'we are listening to (how the dumb people talk)')
b. Syntactic patterns	• *Ez mi ez?* ([this what this], SH. *mi ez?* 'what is this?') • *…tud-om, **ki az maga*** ([know-1SG.TR who that you], SH. *tudom, ki maga* [know-1SG.TR who you], 'I know who you are')

The examples in (8a) evoke morphological peculiarities characteristic to Szekler: the construction *Vecacska*, for example, shows the derivation pattern of diminutive constructions formed with the suffix *-cskA* (where the last vowel of the root is not affected by the derivation, contrary to standard Hungarian, where the derived forms of roots ending in /ɒ/ feature the sound /a:/); the construction *kihörpötyölöm* features a regional iterative suffix; and the construction *hallgassuk* is an instance of the non-standard inflexion pattern labelled as *suksükölés* 'the use of the ending *-suk/-sük* in declarative sentences' in the Hungarian prescriptive literature, which is detectable in non-standard varieties all over the Hungarian speaking region, and it is a frequent inflexion pattern characteristic to Szekler speakers as well. Additionally, (8b) highlights two sentence-level constructions characteristic to Szekler, both showing the practice of doubling demonstrative pronouns (this phenomenon may be due to speakers' perception of the constructions *mi az/ez* 'what is that/this' and *ki az/ez* 'who is that/this' as compact units equivalent to the use of the bare interrogative pronouns *mi* 'what' and *ki* 'who').

In addition to the phonologic/phonetic, lexical and grammatical aspects of the register stylized in the sketch, as a final step, the most prominent phenomena on the level of **conversational/pragmatic features** should also be briefly examined. In the remainder of this section, I will highlight some sequences that give rise to metapragmatic typification on the conversational level by recreating stereotypes regarding Szeklers' delivery of different conversational strategies.

(9) Conversation between Veca and Magdi [2:12–2:57]
V: *Magdika! Ti a húsvéti bárányt hogy szoktátok csinálni!?* 'Magdi! How do you usually prepare the Easter lamb!?'

M: *Jaj, hát az nem olyan bonyolult. Hát én egyszer belétöltöm a tyúkot.* 'Oh, it's not that complicated. Well, first I stuff it with chicken.'
V: *Jaj, azt én is úgy szoktam. Csak én egyszer a tyúkba belé szoktam tölteni a libát.* 'Oh, I do it like that too. But I first stuff the chicken with goose-flesh.'
M: *Jaj, igen, igen, de én aztán úgy szoktam csinálni, hogy először a libába belé szoktam tenni a pácolt tehenet, haha!* 'Oh, yeah, yeah, but then I usually prepare it by first stuffing the goose with salt beef, haha!'
V: *Jaj, azt én is úgy szoktam. Csak én a pácolt tehenet előtte meg szoktam tölteni jó csülkös, szalmapityókás fasírttal.* 'Oh, I do the same. But first I stuff the salt beef with meatloaf made with trotters and fried potatoes.'
M: *Igen, igen, azt én es így szoktam csinálni. Csak én az egészet, mielőtt betenném a lerbe, belé szoktam tűrni az egészet így egy fazék töltöttkáposztába. Hát úgy a finom!* 'Yeah, yeah, I do it the same way. But first, before putting it in the oven, I usually wrap the whole thing into a pot of stuffed cabbage rolls. It's tastier like that!'
V: *Jaj, igen, igen, igen, igen. Csak én ilyenkor az egészet le szoktam önteni zsírral.* 'Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. But I first pour lard on the whole thing.'

The conversation in (9) above is an instance of casual conversation on a domestic topic, which is a genre known to all viewers of the sketch. The two characters talk about preparing the Easter lamb, and as they do so, they try to outbid each other regarding their cooking skills: as they take turns, they take what the other one previously claimed for granted, and make more and more ridiculous and obviously false assertions about the steps they take while cooking this meal, thus the conversation becomes a session of mutual bragging. The sequence is governed by the two women's defensive facework: whatever a speaker says is exceeded by the hearer when her turn comes, and this discursive practice may be construed as a method of the participants saving their own positive faces by sustaining their image of being unbeatable masters of cooking.[23] This very image would be ruined if one of them even implicitly admitted not to know or practice the cooking techniques mentioned by the other. This type of facework is, of course, not specific to Szekler speakers (or any community), however, it recreates the stereotypes regarding Szeklers' pride and tenacity on the discursive level, in a hyperbolized and humorous manner; additionally, through the phonetic, lexical and grammatical patterns of the sequence and the topic itself (cooking a meal with as much meat as possible, which alludes to traditional Szekler cuisine), the authors present this conversation as being an example of authentic Szekler speech.

The main conversation between Veca and Ferenc [2:58–9:01] is one on official matters, and it is dominated by the power incongruity between the two parties: Veca and Magdi are constantly exploiting the fact that in this context they are superior to Ferenc in status, as they hold the key to his successful resolution of the administrative issue he came to address. As shown by the comments presented in the previous section, this type of speech event with its power dynamics is probably known to most viewers of the sketch, which means that the situation

23 For a classical model of facework, see the politeness theory presented by Brown & Levinson (1987).

itself is recognizable to viewers from Romania and Hungary as well. What it does in the case of viewers outside the social domain of Szekler (and Romanian) as a register, is that through its hyperbolized nature it provides an image of the 'Szekler way' of this type of conversation. The most noteworthy pragmatic feature of the sequence is the asymmetry regarding protective facework. While Ferenc conveys an emphatic but still non-offensive approach, Veca and Magdi casually implement one face-threatening act after the other, and take this to the level of bullying.

(10) Sequences of the polylogue among Veca, Magdi and Ferenc [00:05–9:03]

a. Veca and Ferenc [2:58–3:23]
V: *Jó napot kívánok, miben segíthetek?* 'Good day! How can I help you?'
M: *Igen, igen, mondja má' meg Vecacskának, hogy mit akar!* 'Yeah, yeah, tell Veca already what you want!'
F: *Hmm, jó, csókolom, én azért jöttem, mert…* 'Ok, hello, I came because…'
V: *Bocsánat! Meg tetszik-e várni, míg kihörpötyölöm a kávét?* 'Excuse me! Will you wait while I'm sipping up my coffee?' [drinks from her cup]
F [after waiting a second]: *Na, hát azért jöttem, mert szeretnék, hogy mondjam, legálisan dolgozni…* 'Well, so, I came because I'd like to, how do I say it, work legally…'
V: *Meg tetszik-e várni, míg kihörpötyölöm a kávémat?* 'Will you wait while I'm sipping up my coffee?' [loudly sips her coffee]
F: *Nyugodtan, tessék, nyugodtan. Csak tetszett mondani, hogy mondjam, s akkor…* 'Of course, take your time, of course. You just said that I should tell you, so I…'
V [raises her voice in an annoyed tone]: *Na, tessék mondani, hogy mit tetszik akarni! Hát hogyha azt mondtam, hogy mondja, akkor mondja!* 'Well, go ahead, tell me what you want! If I told you to say it, then say it already!'

b. Veca and Amál on the telephone [6:33–6:52]
V: *Halló!* 'Hello!'
A: *Hallő?!* 'Hello?!'
V: *Szerusz, Amál!* 'Hello, Amál!'
A: *Mondjad, Vecacska, mondjad!* 'Go ahead, Veca, go ahead!'
V: *Na, figyelj csak, itt van az a bohóc abból a bohócegyüttesből. Na, igen, igen, az a kövér, amelyik mindig elferdíti a hangját, s csúfolkodik velünk.* 'So, look, one of those clowns from that clown group is here. Yeah, yeah, the fat one, which always distorts his voice and makes fun of us.'
A: *Mit akar?* 'What does he want?'
V: *Hát azért jött, me' ezt le is akarja faktúrázni.* 'Well, he came because he wants to invoice it as well.'

The sequences in (10a-b) show some instances of face-threatening acts, which are characteristic of the whole conversation as well. The sequence in (10a) demonstrates the authoritative and highly threatening speech mode conveyed by Veca throughout her interactions with Ferenc: she asks Ferenc what he came for, then interrupts him two times demanding to wait until she finishes her coffee, then urges him to speed up and tell her the cause of his visit, this way she establishes herself again and again as an unpredictable figure of power, and Ferenc as an incapable,

subordinate figure. Through this technique, the character reinforces her negative face by implying that she accepts no imposition on her preferred daily routines, and simultaneously damages her victim's positive and negative face by ignoring his rightful needs and exposing him to her constant orders. The sequence in (10b) is taken from the telephone conversation between Veca and her boss, Amál, and shows how Veca's speech is highly offensive and ignorant towards Ferenc when she talks to someone else, and he is a silent part of the audience. She, again, uses the strategy labelled as bald on-record by Brown & Levinson (1987), through which she damages his positive face by describing him and his art in an insulting and demeaning way, even though she knows that he can hear every word of her telephone conversation. The discursive function of these pragmatic features is to recreate the stereotypy regarding some bureaucratic workers' ignorant, rude and instinctively selfish demeanour as one of the main characteristics of the Romanian bureaucratic system, however, they also recreate cultural stereotypes related to the bluntness of Szekler people.

Finally, another scene worth highlighting is the one depicting the interaction between Robi and Ferenc [9:04–11:07], which is another conversation dominated by power incongruity, however, this incongruity is not based on official status, but on physical power and loudness. The two participants share some sociological features, they are both men, they are of the same approximate age, and they interact in a casual setting. Robi's character embodies the threatening figure of the aggressive young man who uses his physical strength and loudness to intimidate anyone who crosses his path.

(11) Sequence of the conversation between Robi and Ferenc [10:29–10:51]
R [after shouting at Ferenc and threatening him with physical violence]: *Fizess egy sört, te!* 'Buy me a beer, yo!'
F: *Mi?! Nem fizetek én neked egy sört, én kell menjek, nekem dolgom van!* 'What?! I'm not buying you a beer, I have to go, I have things to take care of!'
R [shouting]: *Fizess egy sört, te! Nagyképű! Na, tessék, a nagy sztárok. Nem fizet nekem egy sört. Bohóc! Puputeve bohóc!* [hits Ferenc's camel costume on his head] *Sztár vagyunk, mi!? Sztárok vagyunk!? Jól van, na!* [scares him by threatening to hit him] *Ne, ne félj, ha nem vagy hibás!* 'Buy me a beer, yo! How self-important! Here we go, the big star! Doesn't buy me a beer. Clown! Camel clown! We are stars, right!? Are we stars!? Ok, all right! Don't be afraid if you're not at fault!'

The short sequence in (11) shows some face-threatening acts, both on the conversational level (through instances of verbal aggression in the form of scolding, which damages Ferenc's positive face, and through ordering him to buy Robi a beer, which damages Ferenc's negative face) and literally (through acts of physical aggression). This type of interaction and its figures are also manifestations of universally known stereotypical figures, and what the sketch does, is that it depicts their

'Szekler version' by showing an overly emphatic and verbally aggressive speech mode conveyed through all aspects of the communicative repertoire used by the character. All these conversational patterns, together with the other linguistic features discussed in this section, contribute to the stylized typification of varieties of Szekler speech modes.

In conclusion, the short analysis provided in this section shows that the speech events depicted by the sketch portray a recognizable linguistic repertoire construed as authentically Szekler. The phenomena listed under the different aspects of this repertoire are not all specific to Szekler, however, through their regional characteristics and their simultaneous use, they all contribute to recreating a register that facilitates metapragmatic stereotypes related to Szekler speech and speakers.

6. Summary, conclusions

The article reflected on the key linguistic features of nowadays' stereotypical Szekler-representations through a case study on a satirical representation of regional communicative practices in the sketch *Úgy-e, Magdi?* ('Right, Magdi?') by Open Stage. The study was mainly centred around the concept of enregisterment, and it discussed the methods by which different agents of enregisterment create representations of the semiotic repertoire stereotypically assigned to Szekler.

After providing a brief overview of the key areas and aspects along which Szekler has been enregistered so far in public discourse and in linguistics, the article attempted to capture the main attributes which create the authentic Szekler voice for Hungarian speakers through analyzing the plot, the characterological figures and the linguistic repertoire conveyed by the sketch, as well as the online reactions to it given by viewers. Section 5. examined the most prominent phonological/phonetic, lexical, grammatical and conversational phenomena construed as Szekler, and concluded that—in its own parodistic way—the sketch highlights some stereotypical, thus recognizable features on all these levels of the stylized linguistic repertoire conveyed by the characters, which is why it should be considered as an instance of the enregisterment of Szekler. These types of enregisterment processes, based on such enjoyable and memorable Szekler characterological figures and humour, are strong factors in Szekler maintaining a mostly favourable image and remaining well branded, noted and appreciated throughout its social domain.

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Do Verbal Meanings Have a Radial Organization?

Figurative meanings of Hungarian verbs *eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed'

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ABSTRACT
The paper presents a cognitive-functional analysis of two Hungarian verbs, *eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed', with the aim of providing a sample for an exhaustive semantic description of verbal polysemy and of relations between verbal meanings.
The hypothesis of the study was that a radial category description of the internal semantic structure of both verbs is possible. The assumption, however, was not confirmed by the analysis; not all meanings of the verb *eszik* 'eat' can be described as deriving from the prototypical eating situation. Some show cases of conceptual blending, while others have a source domain other than the prototypical eating situation. Nonetheless, many figurative meanings seem to be the result of metaphorical meaning shift trigged by common components we experience in the prototypical eating situation and other perceptions. These common components show resemblance on a schematic base.

Keywords: cognitive-functional analysis, verbal polysemy, radial organization, conceptual blending, semantic flexibility

1. Introduction

Verbal polysemy has puzzled linguists for a long time, and the topic is still far from coming to a completion. The holistic and complex nature of verbal meaning leads to an almost unending variability in meaning extension, which in its turn impedes a comprehensive semantic description of the word class. In the second largest Hungarian explicatory dictionary[1] there are 45 418 entries for nouns with a total of 62 322 senses

1 *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár [Hungarian Explicative Dictionary]*. Second, extended edition. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006. Edited by Ferenc Pusztai.

and 16 017 verbal entries with 29 914 senses. This means an average of 1.37 meanings for nouns and an average of 1.86 for verbs, and this shows that verbs are fewer in number in the language, and have more senses. Fellbaum (1990: 278) lists averages with an even higher difference in the Collins English Dictionary: 1.74 for nouns and 2.11 for verbs. These numbers and similar observations for other languages suggest that this difference is not specific to one or two languages, but to most of them, or is perhaps universal. The higher number of senses means more complexity in itself, but verbal meanings are a challenge mainly because of their holistic nature. Generally, verbs cannot be matched exactly to a perception as, for example, nouns can. Verbs correspond to complex perceptions, and refer to them in a flexible way, which gives us a higher diversity in verbal meanings both cross-linguistically and in specific languages, posing serious difficulties in the semantic description. (See also Gentner and France (1988), who have shown that verbal meanings are more easily altered based on other elements with which they appear than nouns are.)

In the paper, I present a cognitive-functional analysis of two verbs to provide a sample for an exhaustive semantic description of verbal polysemy and of relations between verbal meanings. The verb lexeme analysis is complemented with constructional observations to give a more fine-grained account.

As the object of the analysis, I have chosen the Hungarian verbs *eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed', because they are very good examples of verbal profiling, a characteristic attribute of verbal meaning (they express two different perspectives on the same event), and because they have already received some attention in linguistic analyses. Among these Newman (2009a) is a particularly relevant work for the current study. In the introductory paper of the book (2009b) he presents a cross-linguistic overview of 'eat' and 'drink', focusing on properties shared among languages in extensions from these meanings. Given those, the Hungarian extensions of the verb *eszik* 'eat' do not show any surprising cases. They align with the patterns appearing in other languages, being motivated by the prototypical eating situation (which naturally may vary to some degree depending on cultural practices, but the biological experiences are common nonetheless). After presenting my arguments for the present analysis (in sections 2 and 3), I will relate to the properties revealed by Newman (2009a).

My hypothesis in this study was that I will be able to provide a radial category description of the internal semantic structure of both verbs, *eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed'. This would imply that the different meanings of the verbs "can be seen as forming a radial category, in which there is a central meaning and a structure of related meanings which are motivated by the central meaning" (Lakoff 1987: 291). This is the type of relationship we see between a person's legs and a table's or a chair's legs. The latter ones are called *legs* because of the resemblances they show with the human legs, the prototypical element of the linguistic

category. The ground for the hypothesis was, on the one hand, the cognitive linguistics' stand regarding the nature of the relations between the meanings of a word (described either by the prototype-effect, either by family resemblance[2]). On the other hand, there is a vast literature on nominal meaning extension (e.g., Rosch 1978, Szilágyi 1996) which shows that in nominal semantics radial organization is mostly the case, but there are also verbal analyses which suggest this (e.g., Coleman and Kay's 1981 paper on the meaning of the English verb *lie*).

In deciding what sense of the verbs to regard as the central meaning, I have taken into account both the nature of prototypes as suggested by experiments related to frequency and order of mention, order of learning, family resemblance, verification speed and priming[3], and the sense definitions of the dictionary editors. All of these suggest that the central meaning of the verb *eszik* 'eat' is the most common eating situation in which a person or an animal consumes food (also denoted as the prototypical eating situation), while the central meaning of the verb *táplál* 'feed' is the most common feeding situation in which a person or an animal gives or assures food for someone not capable of doing it herself/himself (referred to as the prototypical feeding situation). (For a more elaborated description of the prototypical eating and feeding situations see sections 2.1. and 3.1. respectively.)

The hypothesis that the meanings of these two verbs have a radial organization was not entirely confirmed by the analysis. The meaning of the verb *táplál* 'feed' does show a radial organization, but that of the verb *eszik* 'eat' does not. It seems that there are verbs whose internal semantic structure has a radial organization, but there are verbs whose semantic structure cannot be described in terms of a network of one single central (prototypical) sense and several peripheral senses.

For the analysis, I used a random sample of 2000 for the verb *eszik* and a random sample of 500 for *táplál* abstracted from the Hungarian National Corpus (Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár; Oravecz, Váradi and Sass 2014). From these, I have manually sorted out the instances which can be considered figurative uses, that is, occurrences in which the verb does not refer to a prototypical eating or feeding activity performed by a person or animal. The differences in the sample size are due to the differing number of occurrences of the two verbs in the corpus (12 044 for *eszik* 'eat' and 1 307 for *táplál* 'feed', all instances without a verbal prefix). However, the figurative uses show an entirely different distribution; only 1% of the occurrences of *eszik* 'eat' refer to other perceptions than a prototypical eating activity performed by a person or an animal, while this ratio is 34% for the verb *táplál* 'feed'. In exact numbers, this means 117 instances for *eszik* and 442 instances for *táplál*.

2 "A family resemblance relationship consists of a set of items of the form AB, BC, CD, DE. That is, each item has at least one, and probably several, elements in common with one or more items, but no, or few, elements are common to all items." (Rosch and Mervis 1975: 574–575)

3 For a more detailed presentation see Croft and Cruse (2004).

I have used The Hungarian Explicatory Dictionary (HED, 1959–1962) as a means to widen the array of figurative meanings covered by the search results. Also, I sometimes refer to HED as a reference point in demarcating the senses of the verbs, although I mainly isolate meanings based on their shared and not shared components with the primary meaning.

In the paper, I start from the assumption that all meaning extension is motivated and I aim to show that they are motivated, first of all, by the components and the configuration of the prototypical meaning. The existing analyses concentrate mainly on metaphorical mappings between different domains, which make meaning extensions possible in particular verbs, and not specifically on changes of the verbal semantics. For example, Radden (1996) outlines a detailed analysis of the English verbs *come* and *go* in order to argue for the existence of the more general conceptual metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION. Croft (2009) uses constructional analysis to contribute to the analysis of the semantic frames of eating and feeding. Through the analysis, he identifies the conceptual domains serving as sources for metaphorical uses of the English verbs *eat* and *feed* in his corpus. In the next two sections of the paper, I put forward a detailed analysis of the figurative meanings found in the corpus sample. In section 2 I present the semantic analysis of the figurative meanings of the verb *eszik*, and in section 3 the figurative meanings of the verb *táplál*. In section 4 I elaborate at large on the corollary of the details and results of the analyses. Finally, in section 5 I summarize the aims and results of the paper.

2. Patterns and motivations in the meaning extensions of the Hungarian verb *eszik*

2.1. Primary meaning

The starting point of the analysis is the primary meaning of the verb from which the figurative meanings are derived. Based on the dictionary entry, this could be formulated as follows: *The activity of taking some food in the mouth, chewing it, and then swallowing it to take in nutrients. The activity is performed by a person or an animal, which needs it for subsistence.*

In an encyclopaedic view of meaning, besides these elements, we need to take into account the biological and socio-cultural knowledge pertaining to the activity. That is, we need to consider the biological, nutritional and socio-cultural frames of eating (see also Croft 2009).

The components of a prototypical eating situation are expressed in Hungarian by the verb *eszik* 'eat' and are the following:[4]

- the activity is performed by a person or animal (Eater);
- there is an entity that is consumed (Food);

4 By *prototypical eating situation*, I refer to the type of percepts that are most quickly and most generally evoked types of eating in the speakers' minds. These are percepts associated with the basic sense of the verb.

- the activity is a means to ensure the subsistence of the Eater;
- there is a feeling/phenomenon of growth that is physiologically or visually perceptible generated by the Food;
- Food contains nutrients that are necessary for subsistence;
- the activity consists (schematically) of the adding of something into something (that can stay there for a while and can get out at a given moment); this is a regular activity that generates growth;
- what is eaten, gradually disappears from sight;
- someone can like or dislike a food.

Eating refers, in its basic sense, to an activity during which something is introduced into someone's digestive tract (through the mouth), where it accumulates, and so subsistence is assured. The belly fills and grows larger (even if only for a little while). These feelings and the encyclopaedic knowledge related to eating are a quite univocal bodily experience, and are the basis of figurative uses of the verb.

The prototypical meaning of the verb has two figure-type components: the Eater and the Food that is consumed. The Eater needs Food, which constitutes the nutrients necessary for his/her subsistence. I have taken both people and animals as possible figures of the primary meaning of the verb, because eating as described above is characteristic to both humans and animals. Using or not using cutlery, for instance, is not a relevant factor in the prototypical meaning. This is the reason I have taken both human eating and animal eating included in the primary meaning of the verb. However, we will see that there are cases in which some feature of animal behaviour is the source of meaning extension in *eszik* 'eat'. The second figure-like component, the Food has a nutritional value, and when consumed, a nutritional effect appears. During eating, Food is consumed, it runs out, and it can be to the liking or disliking of the Eater. These details may not seem important and semantically relevant at first glance, but linguistic data confirms that they are. It is mainly these details based on which figurative meanings of the verb can be exhaustively described, as it will be shown.

2.2. Figurative meanings

The perceptions that are expressed by the verb *eszik* 'eat' in the analysed data are the following:

- motor or other mechanical device consumes fuel;
- electrical device consumes energy;
- a person likes someone/something;
- someone hurts another person on purpose;
- someone/something lives on something;
- someone/something ruins something.

Also, there are proverbs and phrases which include the verb *eszik* 'eat'. I will suggest an analysis of these too, using the same approach.

- *ha a fene fenét eszik is* 'by any means' (literally: even if chancre eats chancre); example: *úgyis festeni fogok, ha fene fenét* < *eszik* > *is* 'I will paint, no matter what';
- *nem tudja, hogy eszik-e vagy isszák* 's/he has no idea about something'; (literally: s/he has no idea whether it is to be eaten or drank); example: *azt se tudták, hogy a kereszténységet* < *eszik* > *-e vagy isszák* 'they had no idea what Christianity is';
- *a tenyeréből (/kezéből) eszik* 'someone is totally docile to someone' (literally: s/he eats from his/her palm/hands); example: *a kezükből* < *eszik* > *a teljes bírói kar* 'the entire judiciary does what they say to do';
- *nem eszik valamiből* 's/he will not get anything from some goods' (literally: s/he will not eat from something); example: *Esküdözött, hogy ebből nem* < *eszik* > *az anyaszentegyház* 'S/he swore that the holy church will not get anything from it'.

In the table below, I summarize what components are present in each use of the verb, and then I elaborate on the relations and motivations we can identify. The plus sign means that the respective component is present in that meaning of the verb and the minus sign means that it is not. The same notation is used in further tables.

	Eater (needs Food for subsistence)	**Food (it is nutritive, ensures subsistence)**	**The phase of adding something into something (regularly)**	**The feeling/ phenomenon of growth**	**Food gradually disappears from sight**	**Food can be liked/ disliked**
Motor or other mechanical device consumes fuel	+	+	+	+	+	–
Electrical device consumes energy	+	+	+	+	+	–
Someone likes someone/ something	+	+	–	–	–	+
Someone hurts another person on purpose	+	+	–	–	+	–
Someone/ something lives on something	+	+	+	–	–	–
Someone/ something gradually ruins someone/ something	+	+	–	–	+	–

Table 1. Meanings of the verb *eszik* 'eat' and the semantic components relevant in them

2.3. 'Motor or other mechanical device consumes fuel', 'electrical device consumes energy'

The most frequent figurative uses of the verb *eszik* in the corpus sample refer to consuming fuel or energy. These two uses are discussed in the same subsection, because the configurations they express and their common components with the primary meaning are alike. Both uses are motivated by the fact that machines need some energy source to work, and that energy source (fuel or battery) can run out. Similar to people and animals, who need sustenance to be able to move around, to stay alive, machines need fuel or energy to function. (A specification on electrical devices is needed: there are five plus signs in the table, indicating that all those components are present in this sense of the verb, but actually some of them apply only to devices with a battery. In the case of those without a battery, the energy source does not run out, and there is no phenomenon of growth perceived, because the electricity supply is constant.)

Examples of these uses are the following:

(1) *általában* *10 liter* *dízel-t* < *esz-ikØ* >
usually 10 liter diesel.fuel-ACC eat.PRES-3SG
'It eats usually about 10 liters of diesel fuel.'

(2) *Nagyon nem mindegy, hogy a processzor mennyi-t* < *esz-ikØ* >.
very NEG all.the.same that ART processor how.much-ACC eat.PRES-3SG
'It matters how much the processor consumes.'

This sense of the verb shows how much the nature of the components can change in meaning extension. There is an Eater (the machine) and a Food component (fuel or energy), but they are of an entirely different nature than people or animals and the food they consume. The common experience of growth is enough to motivate the use of the verb in expressing perceptions related to fuel or energy consumption. Later we will see that the verb *táplál* 'feed' can also refer to this type of perception, which suggests a more general correspondence between the construal of eating/feeding events and fuel/energy consumption.

With some arguments, like cigarettes or books, the verb can take on an 'extensive consumption' sense. This use was not attested in the corpus sample, example (3) is taken from the HED.

(3) *Esz-i* *a* *cigarettá-t.*
eat.PRES-1SG.DEF ART cigarette-ACC
'S/he smokes a lot of cigarettes.'

This is interesting, because the verb basically has the same meaning as in cars eating a lot of fuel, or processors eating a lot of energy, so that the motivation for the meaning extension is the gradual disappearance of something, while adding it into some kind of container, but this addition does not ensure subsistence, it is not a need of the Eater. The source of the 'extensive' element of this sense is not clear. It might be simply the prototypical eating situation, in which one can eat too much, but might

also be something entirely else, which would need further investigation. Perhaps an etymological study could account for a timeline of the possible arguments, and from that, generalizations might become possible.

2.4. 'Someone likes someone/something'

This is the only sense of the verb *eszik* 'eat' which seems to be motivated by the fact that someone can like or dislike some food. Interestingly, the verb can refer to liking both a person and an inanimate entity, as the examples (4) and (5) below show.

(4) *mi-t* *< esz-ikØ >* *egy* *23 eves* *csaj* *egy* *16 eves-en?*
what-ACC eat.PRES-1SG ART of.23 years girl ART of.16 years-on
'What does a 23 year old girl like in a 16 year old?'

(5) *nem* *egy* *nagy* *durranas,* *megis* *a* *user-ek* *az-t* *< esz-ikØ >*
NEG ART big bang yet ART user-PL that-ACC eat.PRES-3PL.DEF
'It is not a big deal, yet the users like it.'

In a synchronic approach, the motivation described above is the most probable scenario. However, there are other phrases/idioms with the same meaning ('liking/loving someone') expressed in an EATING configuration, which could have been the sources of the meaning shift leading to this sense of the verb. We can say *úgy szeretlek, majd megeszlek*, which is the equivalent of the English *I love you so much, I could eat you*. In Hungarian this can be shortened to *megeszlek*, literally meaning 'I will eat you', to express the same type of care. The correspondence between eating and loving/liking someone, can be grounded in specific physical experiences, and phrases like *úgy szeretlek, majd megeszlek* 'I love you so much, I could eat you' could have been the previous step in the meaning shift of the verb *eszik* 'eat' to express the liking/loving of someone. In this case, the particular meaning occurs as a shortening of a longer phrase, which is embodied in experience. In the first scenario, the motivation of the meaning extension is also a physical experience, but a different one: the fact that one can like or dislike a food. This experience could have also motivated other phrases expressing similar feelings.

The construction type associated with this sense of the verb (a subject argument and a superessive argument to the verb) seems to draw from two different constructions. Partly from the construction of the prototypical *eszik* 'eat', and partly from the verb *tetszik* 'like'. Sentences (6) and (7) below illustrate this.

(6) *Pistá-nak* *mi* *tetsz-ikØ* *rajta?*
Pista-DAT what.NOM like.PRES-1SG on.her.SUP
'What does Pista like on her?'

(7) *Pista* *mi-t* *esz-ikØ* *rajta?*
Pista.NOM what-ACC eat.PRES-1SG on.her.SUP
'What does Pista like on her?'

The above sentences both mean the following: 'What does Pista like on her?' If referring to the consuming of some particular entity, the verb *eszik* 'eat' needs an accusative argument. This will be the entity that is

consumed. In our example this is expressed by the pronoun *mi* 'what' (*mit* in the accusative case). The superessive argument is inherited from a construction of *tetszik* 'like', where it is an adjunct expressing some external features of entities. And finally, the dative argument of *tetszik* (*Pistának*) corresponds to the subject argument (*Pista*) of *eszik*, because (if possible) a subject argument is needed.

A combination of construction patterns is not surprising in meaning extension, what is more, constructions being interrelated and having properties inherited from other constructions, is of basic importance in constructional approaches (cf. Croft 2001, Goldberg 2006). We witness this inheritance between constructions in other senses of the verb *eszik* too (see subsections 2.6. and 3.5.).

2.5. 'Someone hurts another person on purpose'

The meanings 'a person hurts another person on purpose' and 'someone/something ruins something' are similar to each other in that they are both motivated by the gradual disappearance of the food-like component. Although the examples found in the corpus sample refer to verbal aggressive behaviour, I believe that the ground for these uses is physical injury by biting. This behaviour is specific to some animals (e.g., dogs, foxes), and this is one of the cases which suggest that we should differentiate between HUMAN EATING and ANIMAL EATING as sources of meaning extension in the verb *eszik*. (See also Croft (2009) for the distinction of HUMAN EATING and ANIMAL EATING frames.) This suggestion is supported by the fact that both in Hungarian and in English the verb *bite* can also be used in the meaning 'to hurt' (e.g., *Ne félj, nem harap!* 'Don't worry, it doesn't bite!', referring to some inanimate entity, e.g., utensils or work equipment). So that, both *eszik* and *harap*, and *eat* and *bite* are motivated in this meaning by knowledge about this type of animal behaviour. Below we have two examples from the corpus.

(8) *Az* *az* *egyetlen* *topic* *ahol* *nem* *< esz-ikØ >* *egymás-t.*
that ART only topic where NEG eat.PRES-3PL.DEF each.other-ACC
'That is the only topic on which they don't end up fighting.'

(9) *ha* *a* *laptulaj-ok* *miatt,* *kedvé-ért*
if ART media.owners-PL because.of, mood-CAU
NEM *< esz-ikØ >* *meg* *egymás-t*
NEG eat.PRES-3PL.DEF prefix.PFV each.other-ACC
'If for the sake of media owners they don't fall out with each other.'

There are two cases in the corpus sample in which the meaning of the verb seems to have its source in some kind of animal eating behaviour (see subsection 2.9. for the other case), instead of the prototypical eating situation. The fact that there might be different sources for the meaning extensions of the verb, suggests that a radial organization of meaning is not appropriate in the semantic description of this verb. However, we should note that Newman (2009a) takes destruction as a salient component in the prototypical meaning of 'eat', based on our experience of smashing food with our teeth. He discusses several senses in different languages related

to causing physical and psychological torment as extensions motivated by this component. I am not entirely convinced that this could be the most appropriate motivation for these senses, because hurting by biting is more basic and more salient in animal eating behaviour than in human eating, and experiences related to animal eating can also be considered universal. This is the reason I provide a somewhat different explanation here.

2.6. 'Someone/something lives on something'

The verbal meaning 'someone/something lives on something' shows a shift of perspective on the event configuration, and thus a change in the structure of the verb occurs. Here we have a subject argument and an elative argument to the verb, this latter referring to the entity consumed, yet not expressed in the way food generally is, with a direct object. This use is not frequent though; there is only one example of it in the corpus:

(10) *A* *nyomdafesték* *először* *< esz-ikØ >* *a* *fölháborodás-ból.*
ART print first eat.PRES-1SG ART indignation-ELA
'Print, first of all, feeds on indignation.'[5]

This example is interesting, because it seems to be motivated by the use of the verb *táplál* 'feed' to similar perceptions, but with a different profile. *Táplál* is widely used in expressing the ensuring of an emotional state (see also subsection 3.3.). In those cases the entity or event maintaining the emotional state is most salient. When using the verb *eszik* 'eat' to refer to similar perceptions, the focus turns to the Eater, and the phase of nutrition is more salient in the configuration.

Moreover, the construction related to this sense of the verb is motivated, most probably, by another verb which is also widely used in this sense and in this construction type.[6] The phrase in (11), an example from the Hungarian National Corpus, means that someone ensures his/her subsistence by writing poetry.

(11) *az* *ember* *Magyarország-on* *költészet-ből* *< élØ >*
ART man Hungary-SUP poetry-ELA live.PRES.3SG
'Someone lives from poetry in Hungary.'

The common meaning and the common construction type suggest that this sense of the verb *él* 'live' could have also motivated the presently discussed meaning of the verb *eszik* 'eat'.

2.7. 'Someone/something gradually ruins someone/something'

The meaning 'to gradually ruin something' is most probably an extension of the hurting sense of the verb *eszik* 'eat'. This is exemplified in (12).

(12) *Maguk* *< esz-ikØ >* *meg* *Magyarország-ot.*
1PL eat.PRES-3PL prefix.PFV Hungary-ACC
'You are the ones ruining Hungary.'

5 Here, *print* refers metonymically to journalists (who feed on indignation).
6 There are 5134 results in the HNC for the verb *él* 'live' with a noun argument in the elative case. The search was done with a -5 – 5 window filter.

Although the second figure is not a person, an abstract entity, the construction pattern totally matches the structure of that of the primary meaning.

The explicatory dictionary lists some other cases of this sense, for which there were no examples in the corpus sample, so they are probably more typical of literary texts. These are similar in their motivation to the use in (12). I illustrate them with examples from the dictionary.

(13) *A* *rozsda* *esz-i* *a* *vas-at.*
ART rust eat.PRES-ISG.DEF ART iron-ACC
'Rust is eating the iron.'

Rust eating iron is motivated by our experience of the gradual spread of rust at the same time as the gradual vanishing of iron. This way, there is growth perceived in the amount of rust, as if it is being added more and more to it, and there is a gradual disappearance of iron. Thereby this use is similar to the cases of fuel/energy consumed.

The motivation of the sense discussed next may have the same motivation as the sense 'someone hurts another person', but it might also be the case that it is the extension of the gradual destruction sense (as in *the rust eating the iron*). Or, most probably, the ANIMAL EATING frame as the source of meaning extension is strengthened by other uses of the verb, like the gradual destruction sense.

(14) *A* *méreg* *e-tt-e* *belül,* *ha* *rágondol-t.*
ART anger eat-PAST-3SG inside if think.about.it-PAST
'S/he was tormented by the idea, if s/he thought about it.'

In this example, which literally means that anger is eating up someone from the inside, we have a feeling or emotion that is making someone feel bad, tormenting her/him. This use has its motivation, most probably, in the ANIMAL EATING frame, but there is also a change of perspective: it is not the human figure eating something, but an inanimate figure (a feeling) eating up a person from the inside. The structure of the verb, however, does not change. The feeling is the agent, the subject argument, and the person tormented is the patient, the direct object of the verb.

2.8. Proverbial uses of the verb

Among the proverbial or idiomatic uses of the verb, two are explained by the generalization of some features of the prototypical eating situation. *Nem tudja, hogy eszik-e vagy isszák* 's/he has no idea about it' literally means 's/he has no idea whether it is to be eaten or to be drunk'. The phrase can be used to refer to any kind of situation, so practically we have a meaning generalization of the entire phrase as a whole from a specific uncertainty situation to all kinds of uncertainty situations.

The phrase *nem eszik valamiből* 's/he will not get anything from something', literally meaning 's/he will not eat from something' has the same explication: a generalization from a specific situation (in which

someone cannot have some food, and so does not have any experience of its taste), to any kinds of situations where someone cannot experience something. So, these are actually not extended meanings of the verb, but extended meanings of the phrases, which are conventionalized in these forms in the language (idioms).

The motivation for the phrase *a tenyeréből/kezéből eszik* referring to someone who is totally docile to the speaker is similar. The difference is that the source is not human eating, but the feeding of some animals by humans (see also subsection 2.5.). We do this, for example, with dogs: we feed them from our palm/hands, and with a change of perspective we can say that the animal is eating from our palm/hands. Naturally, we cannot do this with any animal, only with those tamed and friendly. This is the knowledge that is the basis for the extended meaning of the phrase: the one who eats out of my hands is tame, subservient. This phrase is used metaphorically based on an experience connected somewhat loosely to eating, having a more direct connection with feeding, though expressed by using the verb *eszik* 'eat'. The reason for this is that in Hungarian the verb *táplál* 'feed' is rarely used to express people feeding animals. Instead the causative form of the verb *eszik* 'eat' is basic in this sense: *etet* 'giving food to someone/something', from the same root as *eszik*.

Another idiomatic use of the verb in the sample is *ha a fene fenét eszik is*, meaning 'by any means', and having the literal meaning 'even if chancre eats chancre'. This is the only example that leaves me puzzled, although it is not the only phrase containing chancre and EATING. There is also the prevalent *egye meg a fene* 'let chancre eat it all', used as an expletive. *Fene* is a variant of *fekély*, meaning 'chancre', and the different variants of it are used in several expletives. I presume there could have been an influence from the tormenting sense of the verb (e.g., *Esz a méreg* 'Anger is eating me inside') that contributed to these uses of *eszik* 'eat' with *fene* 'chancre'. But Newman's explanation could also be accepted, who notes that "an extension of 'eat' to 'physical destruction, injuring, overpowering' sense is common", and attested in several languages (2009a: 16). The fact that this use is widely spread among the languages of the world, suggests that the motivation lies in some components salient in all of these languages and cultures. This confirms Newman's claim regarding the connection between eating and different forms of harming or destruction.

2.9. Other figurative uses of the verb

I have not found instances of the following sense of the verb enumerated in The Hungarian Explicatory Dictionary: 'torment'. I illustrate this with an example from the Dictionary.

(15) *Anná-t* *esz-i* *az* *irigység.*
Anna-ACC eat.PRES-1SG.PFV ART envy
'Anna is being eaten up by envy.'

We can see that there is a similar construction with a similar meaning in English too. However, the fact that there were no instances of this sense in the sample, suggests that it is not widely used in Hungarian, most probably it is confined to the poetic register.

The motivation for this sense of the verb is quite complex. The construction pattern changes concerning the prototypical meaning. The human figure is the entity being eaten (the Food), though, only partially, from inside, leaving the outside untouched; and the feeling/emotion is the Eater. The common component that motivates the meaning extension seems to be the gradual disappearance on the one hand and the 'someone/something gradually ruins someone/something' meaning on the other hand (cf. *Rust eats iron*). However, other sources must play a role in this meaning of the verb, because the ones mentioned cannot provide for the construction pattern associated to this sense. This third source could be a more general metaphorical correspondence between eating/consuming/digesting and negative emotional states. This correspondence is exemplified by several other cases too in which negative emotions/states are expressed with verbs primarily expressing eating or a phase related to eating (e.g., *rág* 'chew', *emészt* 'digest', etc.).

3. Patterns and motivations in the meaning extensions of the Hungarian verb *táplál*

3.1. Primary meaning

Táplál has two distinct components from those of *eszik*, with all other components being common. This is due to the fact that the two verbs express two different profiles on the same eating event. In *eszik* the focus is on the activity of eating, while in *táplál* the focus is on the activity of making eating possible. Following this, the figurative meanings of *eszik* 'eat' are mostly centred around the growth induced by eating, while figurative meanings of *táplál* 'feed' are mostly based on the nurturing component.

Feeding is an activity performed by a person or an animal, and it occurs in cases in which the Eater is a baby, a person, or an animal not capable of eating by herself/himself/itself or providing food for herself/himself/itself.

The components relevant in meaning extension in the case of *táplál* 'feed' are the following:

- the activity is performed by a person or animal (Feeder);
- the receiver (Fed) is a person or animal not capable of feeding by / providing for herself/himself, but who needs Food;
- Food contains nutrients that are necessary for subsistence;
- the activity is a means to ensure the subsistence of the Eater;
- there is a feeling/phenomenon of growth that is physiologically or visually perceptible, generated by the Food;

- the activity consists of the adding of something into something (that can stay there for a while and can get out at a given moment); this is what generates growth;
- what is eaten, gradually disappears from sight.

3.2. Figurative meanings

These components enumerated in the previous subsection describe in detail a prototypical feeding situation, or the primary meaning of the verb *táplál* 'feed'. The figurative meanings of the verbs are all motivated by one or more of these components. Henceforward, I present those occurring in the corpus sample. I start with a synthesizing table, and then I elaborate on each case in a different subsection.

	Feeder	**Fed (needs Food for subsistence)**	**Food (that is nutritive, ensures subsistence)**	**The phase of adding something into something**	**The feeling/ phenomenon of growth**	**Food gradually disappears from sight**
Ensures the existence of a state or some abstract concept	+	+	–	–	+	–
Ensures the functioning of a system/ mechanism	+	+	–	+	+	–
Entering information into a system	+	+	–	+	–	+
Nature or an element of nature provides for people	+	+	+/-	–	–	–

Table 2. Meanings of the verb *táplál* 'feed' and the semantic components relevant to them

3.3. 'Ensures the existence of a state or some abstract concept'

The most prominent perception expressed by the verb *táplál* 'feed' in the analysed data is that of upholding a feeling or emotion (e.g., hope, hate, love, rage, feelings in general, doubt, sympathy, and so on). The expression of feelings and emotions with this verb is prevalent in Hungarian. The feeling or emotion can be either the agent figure or the patient in the configuration of *táplál*, or both, that is, there might not be a human figure at all. I illustrate this below.

(16) *Ha viszont mély-ebb érzelm-ek-et* < *táplálØ* > *iránta*
if however deep-COMPA feeling-PL-ACC feed.PRES.3SG towards.her/him
'But if s/he has strong feelings towards her/him.'
(17) *publikálØ egy level-et ami-t híres szerelem* < *táplálØ* >
publish.PRES.3SG ART letter-ACC which-ACC renowned love feed.PRES.3SG
'Publishes a letter that was inspired by a renowned love.'
(18) *káröröm, amely-et a szerbség iránti gyűlölet* < *táplálØ* >
gloat that-ACC ART Serbians towards hate feed. PRES.3SG
'Gloat that is fed by hate towards the Serbians.'
(19) *közvetítő, ki-t a jámbor áldozó oktalanság-a* < *táplálØ* >
mediator who-ACC ART pious offeror folly-GEN feed. PRES.3SG
'The mediator, who is inspired by the folly of the pious offeror.'

In the first example, a person is feeding emotions towards someone else. In the second example an abstract thing, love is feeding the birth of an inanimate thing, a letter. The third example shows that we can as well have two abstract things as figures in the configuration, here gloat and hate. Finally, in the last example, folly, a complex attribute is the agent figure, and a person is a patient, the figure that is being fed. These few examples already show the great variety of argument types the verb *táplál* can take in extended meanings, but I will return to this a bit later.

Not only emotions, but thoughts can be fed and can feed in their turn as well. This is illustrated in examples (20) to (23).

(20) *A fiú ezért ördög terv-et* < *táplálØ* >
ART boy for.this diabolical plan-ACC feed. PRES.3SG
'Because of this, the boy has a diabolical plan.'
(21) *Olyan vélemény-ek-et, amely idegengyűlölet-et* < *táplálØ* >
such opinion-PL-ACC that xenophobia-ACC feed. PRES.3SG
'Opinions that amplify xenophobia.'

In numerous examples the verb *táplál* 'feed' refers to an illusion, dreams or aims:

(22) *Oktatási Minisztérium, úgy látszikØ, nem* < *táplálØ* > *illúzió-k-at*
Ministry of Education so seem.PRES.3SG NEG feed. PRES.3SG illusion-PL-ACC
'It seems that the Ministry of Education does not have illusions.'
(23) *Czine Mihály realizmus-a ilyen álm-ok-at nem* < *táplálØ* >
Mihály Czine realism-GEN such dream-PL-ACC NEG feed. PRES.3SG
'The realism of Mihály Czine does not maintain such dreams.'

Both thoughts and illusions are structurally similar to feelings and emotions. We have mentioned them separately, because there are numerous examples of each of them in the corpus sample. This shows that they are prevalent in the language; the verb *táplál* 'feed' is productive in expressing feelings, emotions, thoughts, illusions and other abstract concepts, like time, past and present, life situations, or others. What is common in these uses is the change in the structure of the verb. First of all, the three-figure configuration changes in these meanings to a two-figure configuration. Food is being omitted, and so the components present in these meanings are the following: the Feeder, the Fed and the feeling/phenomenon of growth. In rare cases, the Food is expressed, and more often it is not even possible to express it, because we do not know or

cannot define what it is. Secondly, there is great flexibility in how the verb's arguments can change. There is no restriction to the type of figures *táplál* can take as long as there is some sense of growth perceived in the event. That is, the verb needs to have at least two arguments when used in this sense, and those arguments need to be an agent and patient, subject and direct object respectively. However, the nature of the figures which fill in these roles is entirely flexible and determined only by the growth element of the perception: if there is some kind of growth in a percept, it can be expressed with the verb *táplál* in Hungarian.

The figure below illustrates the shift in perspective in these senses of the verb.

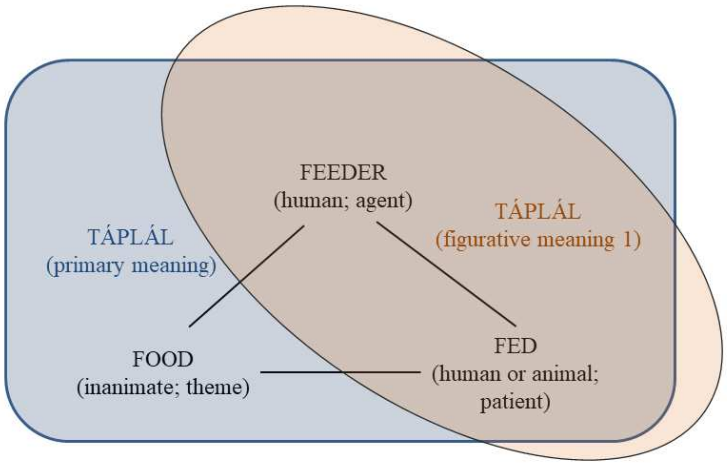

Figure 1. The overlap of the primary meaning and the figurative meaning 'ensures subsistence of a state/abstract concept'

3.4. 'Ensures the functioning of a system/mechanism'

In the case of changes in organisms, organizations and elements of nature expressed with *táplál* 'feed', both the phenomenon of growth and the phase of adding something into something are relevant, but the argument structure of the verb changes in the same way as the figure above illustrates. That is, in these cases the source/cause of growth is also encoded. This can be easily seen in examples referring to elements of nature.

(24) *a láng-ok, amely-ek-et az erős szél is < táplálØ >*
ART flame-PL which-PL-ACC ART strong wind also feed. PRES.3SG
'The flames, which are also fed by the strong wind.'

(25) *tav-ak-ban élØ-het meg, amely-ek-et termálvíz < táplálØ >*
lake-PL-INE live.PRES.3SG prefix.PFV which-PL-ACC termal.water feed. PRES.3SG
'[It] can survive in lakes, which are fed by thermal water.'

Wind can fan a fire, that is, feed it, and this is an element of knowledge belonging to the conceptual frame of FIRE, just as the fact that lakes are fed by rivers that flow into them. However, here we treat this information as a semantic component of the verb, because it blends into the meaning of the verb. This example illustrates again the extremely

flexible nature of verbal meaning. The verb *táplál* 'feed' practically builds this knowledge of the conceptual frame of its argument (FIRE) into its meaning, as a semantic component.

The phase of adding something into something (which in its turn generates growth) is an element coming from another conceptual frame, and is conflated into the verbal semantics in the case of living organisms and food as well. The example in (26) illustrates this.

(26) *Újabban lehet kap-ni kefir-t, nem hizlalØ, mégis* < *táplálØ* >…
recently it.is.possible find.INF kefir-ACC NEG fatten.PRES.3SG yet feed. PRES.3SG
'You can buy kefir, for some time now; it does not fatten, yet is nutritive.'

We know that kefir is nutritive to us because of the nutrients it contains, and this knowledge is conflated into the meaning of the verb, quite possibly precisely because there is a Food component in the primary meaning of the verb too. This knowledge component is built into the figurative meaning of the verb discussed here.

This example also illustrates how the argument structure of the verb can lose further elements. When used in an attributive sense, the verb has only a subject argument. In the example above, the second clause contains the verb *táplál*, and it takes as subject the topic of the former clause, which in this case of the kefir. It is totally plausible in Hungarian to say *A kefir táplál*, that is, 'Kefir feeds' in the sense that 'Kefir is a nutritive aliment'. The figure below illustrates the further change in the semantic structure of the verb.

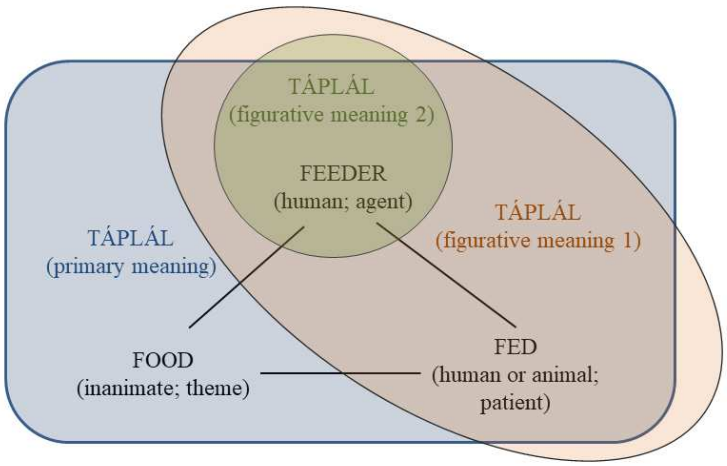

Figure 2. The overlap of three different senses of the verb *táplál*

The component that is the theme in the primary meaning, Food, becomes the agent when other arguments are lost.

3.5. 'Entering information into a system'

This meaning of the verb *táplál* 'feed' is also motivated by the phase of adding something into something and by the element of growth.[7] This sense of the verb is specific to machines that work with data. There was one result for use in the sample.

(27) *computer-be* < *táplálØ* > *304 805* *héber* *betű-t*
computer-ILL feed. PRES.3SG *304 805* Hebrew letter-ACC
'S/he feeds 304 805 Hebrew letters into the computer.'

This use is also accounted for by Croft (2009), that is, it also exists in English. He explains it by a distinct image schema concerning the primary meaning of the English verb *feed*. In English, this use pairs with an *into* directional construction, which is not allowed in the first meaning of the verb. Because of this, he considers that "the container directional *into* is disallowed in the literal meaning of *feed* even though the Food does move into a container (the human or animal body), because the literal meaning employs a transfer image-schema, as expressed by the double object construction or dative *to*, not a motion image-schema, as expressed by the motion preposition *into*" (2009: 24). The same could be said about the Hungarian data, because we have a directional use of the verb *táplál* expressed by the illative construction here as well (see *-be* in *komputerbe*). However, systems, abstract or not, are widely perceived as containers, and this might sanction the directional construction. If so, then the argument of the different image schemas does not account for the meaning extension (that is, we cannot tell what motivates this use), but is merely a consequence of the conceptual frame that comes with the arguments (e.g., the container schema with systems and machines).

Meanwhile, if accounting for the difference with the components of the prototypical feeding situation, we can determine the common components of the perceptions that motivate this use of the verb (the Feeder, the Fed, and most importantly the element of growth and the phase of adding something into something). Moreover, we can generalize, because we experience something very similar to what we have seen in section 3.4. Information or elements from the conceptual frame(s) pertaining to the (non-prototypical) argument(s) of the verb are treated as part of the semantic structure of the verb, blended into it. This phenomenon is in total accordance with the flexibility of the semantic structure of verbs and accounts for both semantic and constructional differences in the distinct senses.

3.6. 'Nature or an element of nature provides for people'

Finally, we have a meaning of *táplál* in which there is a shift in the configuration of the verb. We have already seen examples for changes in the type of the primary or secondary figure, or both. We have the same

7 I am grateful to one of my anonymous reviewers for pointing out that there is a sense of growth in these perceptions too.

in these examples, with the addition that we can identify a specific semantic field in which this meaning extension is productive. It is nature or an element of nature providing for someone or for some community. This is illustrated in example (28).

(28) *kiterjedt és dúsan termő völgy veszØ körül és < táplálØ >*
wide and richly yielding valley sourround.PRES.3SG and feed. PRES.3SG
'[We] are surrounded and nourished by a wide and richly yielding valley.'

In this type of meaning, the agent figure becomes the providing entity, which actually produces the food (fruit, crop, and other). We have a metonymic movement in this case, where the valley (or other productive plants/fields) which is providing, stands for the people who produce and harvest the crop. We can use numerous other nutrients in this way. In the corpus sample the following example appears:

(29) *a gyümölcs frissítØ, élénkítØ, a gabona < táplálØ >*
ART fruit freshen.PRES.3SG vivify.PRES.3SG ART corn feed. PRES.3SG
'Fruit freshens and vivifies, corn is nutritive.'

In The Hungarian Explicatory Dictionary, the senses of the verb are distinguished differently. The editors used mainly the nature of the primary figure to determine whether a usage should be considered a distinct sense or not. In the analysis, I have concentrated on the semantic components and the changes concerning the semantic structure of the verb. Because of this approach, the meanings as distinguished here may differ somewhat from what we find listed in the dictionary, but can nonetheless be matched with them.

4. Results

In sections 2 and 3, I have presented a detailed semantic analysis of two Hungarian verbs, *eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed', and have shown that extended meanings of verbs are motivated and can be described exhaustively, though they need a very meticulous analysis and a complex methodology to reveal the complex semantic relations. In the analysis, I started from the prototypical meanings of the verb. In the case of the verb *eszik* 'eat', the components identified resonate with those used by Newman (2009a). He enumerates metaphorical extensions based on (i) the sensation of the consumer while ingesting, (ii) the internalization, or taking in of something, and (iii) the destruction or disappearance of the entity consumed. Jaggar and Buba (2009) also argue that a significant number of the widespread EAT/DRINK metaphors in Hausa "correlate ontologically with the core meanings of these two bodily consumption verbs, and so have a nonarbitrary, real-world grounding" (230). The present study outlines a more fine-grained analysis as opposed to these,

because of which there are differences between the semantic components identified, but the main findings are similar.

The hypothesis that the internal semantic structure of the verbs can be described by a radial organization of the different senses was not entirely confirmed. Among the senses of the verb *eszik* I have found two which could only be explicated based on a type of animal eating behaviour. (Cf. Croft (2009) who has found several source domains for the metaphorical mappings in which the English verbs *eat* and *feed* are engaged: HUMAN EATING and ANIMAL EATING). Moreover, in several cases, we witnessed more complicated patterns in meaning extension, which could be described as the blending of conceptual contents of the primary meaning of the verb and the conceptual content evoked by some of its actual arguments. This could be easily seen in the change of the constructional choices of the verb in the different senses. We could see examples of this among the extended meanings of both verbs (see especially subsections 2.6., 2.7., and 3.4., 3.5. respectively).

The cases termed as *blending* in the paper, however, are not all the same in terms of the constituents engaged. Some show the blending of two conceptual frames, others show the blending of two constructional patterns, and yet others show both conceptual and constructional properties blended. This calls for a more directed analysis in a blending theory setting in order to be able to deliver a precise delineation of the types of blending engaged in verbal polysemy.

Many figurative meanings seem to be the result of meaning shift trigged by common components we experience in very different perceptions. These common components show resemblance, but only on a schematic base. There is a sense of consumption in both eating and fuel consumption of machines, and a sense of adding something into a container in both feeding a baby and in feeding emotions in someone. The experiences *per se* are quite different, but schematically, we can find the components that motivate their verbalization with the same verb.

Regardless of whether a figurative meaning can be shown to be motivated by common components of the actual perception and the prototypical situation or by some other conceptual content, there can be more complex cases of meaning shift in terms of multiple sources. In the sample, I have found evidence for change of constructional properties on the influence of another verb with similar meaning (e.g., the verb *tetszik* 'like' in the same meaning of the verb *eszik* 'eat'; see subsection 2.4. for details). But studies on the sound form of lexical units with similar meanings (e.g., verbs expressing manner of speaking, or adjectives expressing the spoiled, more inferior element of a category in Hungarian) suggest that sound form might also be a property that can induce approximation in meaning, that is, semantic change (see Szilágyi 2015, Dimény 2018).

All these are in perfect accordance with the words of Fauconnier and Turner: "language does not represent meaning directly; it instead prompts for the construction of meaning in systematic fashion" (2003: 89–90). This brings into attention the argumentation of Raukko who sees polysemy as "patterns of flexibility in (lexical) meaning" (2003: 161). He argues for a more loosely structured "flexible 'mass'" showing up in the network of the semantically plausible links in verbal polysemy. If analogy at large plays a role in these mechanisms, polysemy as a pattern of flexibility might be a method of providing an extensive grasp over the phenomena.

Through the analysis, I believe, I have managed to show that a cognitive-functional approach does make possible the revealing of all motivation in verbal polysemy, at least in some verbs. This is due to the encyclopaedic view that it adopts in linguistic analysis. Nonetheless, there are several limitations to the analysis presented here. Among these, we need to mention first that constructional criteria have been considered, but the analysis is short of a systematic account of all constructional patterns related to the particular senses. A purely constructional approach might shed light on yet other blending cases in the uses of these verbs. Secondly, being a compositional analysis, it cannot be considered to be a sample of how verbal meaning is stored in linguistic knowledge, because it is not probable that it is so. However, the fact that differences of meaning extension in verbs can be described as metaphorical or metonymical extension based on differing components, suggests that compositionality might be an issue to further analysis.

5. Summary

In the paper I have analysed the figurative uses of two Hungarian verbs, *eszik* 'eat' and *táplál* 'feed'. For the analysis I have used a corpus sample of 2500 matches from the Hungarian National Corpus. I have only searched for uses without a prefix, because those can change both the meaning and the constructional patterns of a verb. I have manually abstracted the figurative uses of the verbs from the sample, leaving out the uses in which the activity is performed by a person or an animal and with regular food. This resulted in a corpus sample of 117 instances for *eszik* and 442 instances for *táplál*. The great difference between the proportions of figurative uses, I believe, is due to the fact that figurative uses of *táplál* are more productive (see especially subsections 3.3. and 3.4. for this). The most frequent figurative uses of *eszik* are related to the consuming of fuel/energy of some machine or device. The verb *táplál* also has figurative uses referring to the fuel consumption of machines. Moreover, this is not the only conceptual frame in which the figurative meanings of the two verbs overlap. There is a partial overlap in expressing emotional

states, feelings and existential needs (living on something that someone or something provides), which are present as possible meaning extension links in both verbs. These overlaps are, naturally, due to the fact that the primary (or prototypical) meanings of the verbs also overlap. In their primary meaning, they express two different profiles of the same perception.

My hypothesis was that it is possible to provide an exhaustive semantic description of the figurative uses of the two verbs, *eszik* and *táplál*, based on the detailed components of the prototypical situations. This would have resulted in a radial semantic organization of the verbs. However, I have found that at least two senses of *eszik* 'eat' cannot be explained starting from the prototypical meaning. In subsection 2.5., I have argued that the meaning 'someone hurts another person on purpose' has as its source knowledge of particular animal behaviour, or the ANIMAL EATING conceptual frame. Among the proverbial uses of the verb (subsection 2.9.), I have found another instance in which the meaning of the verb can be described by taking into consideration knowledge pertaining to the feeding of particular animals (e.g., dogs). In other cases, one figurative meaning seems to strengthen the development of another (see subsection 2.7.). These cases undermine the presumption that the semantic organization of verbs can be exhaustively described by common properties with the prototypical meaning. This means that, at least for some verbs, a radial category organization is not appropriate, but rather a family resemblance description is needed, and a wide variety of possible sources needs to be taken into consideration for all the semantically plausible links to be covered.

Generally, we consider figurative uses that are motivated by the primary meaning as metaphorical extensions. I have shown however, that there are several cases that can be described more appropriately as conceptual blending of the verbal semantic structure and the elements of the conceptual frame pertaining to one of its arguments. We can conclude that the sources for semantically plausible links to meaning extension have several sources in verbs. The primary or prototypical meaning is one of the possible sources, but the verbal meaning can blend with the meaning of other words appearing in the construction. As a sequel to this case study, a systematic analysis of the constructional patterns could be fruitful in a blending theory framework. This could account for a higher precision for the constructional property changes in parallel with blended meaning.

Abbreviations

1 = first person; 3 = third person; ACC = accusative; ART = article; CAU = causative; COMPA = comparative (adjective); DEF = definite; ELA = elative; GEN = genitive; ILL = illative; INE = inessive; INF = infinitive; NEG = negative; NOM = nominative; PAST = past; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PRES = present; SG = singular; SUP = superessive

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Living on the both sides of an invisible border – the impacts of Covid-19 in the Tornio River Valley[1]

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ABSTRACT

In her article "Living on the both sides of an invisible border – the impacts of Covid-19 in the Tornio River Valley" Helena Ruotsala discusses what impacts the Covid-19 had in the cross-border region between Finland and Sweden. She uses concepts of transnationalism and multilocality when studying local everyday life. The area is divided by a national border, which has been invisible until March 2020, but when Covid-19 spread over the nations, Finland and Sweden, the border became visible and was marked by a riot fence. The effects of Covid-19 and closing the border from the point of view of local inhabitants are discussed in this article.

Keywords: covid-19, korona, cross-border area, transnationalism, Tornio River Valley

Introduction

Borders (according to Massey "Space, place and gender" 67–68) are tools for organising social space and part of a process wherein places and their identities are produced. The Tornio River Valley is a region in the border zone of Finland and Sweden. It is also known as *Meänmaa*, which literally means 'Our Land'. Swedish, Finnish and 'meänkieli', which literally means 'our language', are spoken in the area. Meänkieli is viewed as a separate language in Sweden, but it is regarded as a dialect in Finland, so usually Finnish people have no problem in understanding

1 This article is based on a key-note paper, which I presented at the pre-congress of Congressus XIII Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum on 17.8.2020.

it, although meänkieli loans words, pronunciation from Swedish and Swedish words are declined according to Finnish grammar.

Already in 2010s I have done ethnographic fieldwork in the area of Tornio River Valley, where I focused on the narratives and experiences of transnationalism and multilocality in the twin city of Tornio-Haparanda[2]. I understand transnationalism here as it is now used in cultural studies, which adapted it earlier from migration studies. According to Steven Vertovec, transnationalism refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states. This transnational aspect challenges concepts which are earlier used in national discourse e.g. in ethnology as national, Finnish and Swedish or in studies focusing on geographical and cultural borders. Tornio River Valley is an excellent example of transnationalism and its meaning. (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc; Wimmer and Glick Schiller) The meaning of place has also gone through several changes. We have to bear in mind the changed situation when studying places and their meanings. Multilocality can briefly be understood of being operating in many places simultaneously. People are attached to many places or they find that many places share the same importance for them. (Massey 51; Rolshoven "Von der Kulturraum- zur Raumkulturforschung", 189; Rolshoven "The Temptations of the Provisional" 22–25.)

I focused on cross-border aspects of life, everyday transnationalism, as it was experienced by the town dwellers. For people living in border regions, the spatial dimension is always present. What use they make of the border area depends, besides their own interests and skills, on the political systems of the border states. Altogether I made sixty interviews in both sides of the border. In addition to this, I also spend several weeks on fieldwork, taking part in different activities. My informants belonged to different age groups and gender. They also represented different ethnicities and language groups as well as different professions and interests.

The two towns, Tornio and Haparanda, demonstrated various forms of co-operation in different sectors. They have e.g. a joint sewage treatment plant, a joint travel center[3] (2014) and a joint museum of Tornio Valley (2013). In 2011 a square, which connects both cities, was opened. (Häkli 213-214.) This co-operation was important also for the inhabitants, but I wanted to study how the local people used this cross-border region from a perspective of multi-locality and transnationalism. The basis for contemporary multilocality in this area is defined in terms of a shared past, a common language (Finnish) and a common culture. Forms of multilocality included for example day-care, school, work, shopping, hobbies, leisure activities and social networks. In addition

2 *Tornio is Finnish and it is Torneå in Swedish. The name of Haparanda is in Swedish, but in Finnish it is Haaparanta. I use here the international name Haparanda.*

3 *The joint travel center could not operate during the pandemic, because it was situated on Swedish soil. I can't go deeper in this question here.*

to economic and social factors, multilocality was characterized here by deep emotional ties to the home area. (Ruotsala "Ez a határ", 137–138.)

When the Covid-19 and the pandemic spread over Finland and Sweden, its effect were unexpected in the Tornio River Valley, which belongs to two different nation states, but inhabitants do not accept the border, but use it as it were without a border. In this paper I will again study the Tornio River Valley, but now I wanted to investigate how the people experienced the new border caused by the coronavirus and how did it effect on their everyday life. To follow the invisible border on the Victoria Square, which connected the two towns, a riot fence was placed splitting the square. Before it I will focus on the history of Tornio River Valley, because the background of the border-area is important in understanding its meaning for the inhabitants.

The history of Tornio River Valley

Until 1809, this area was part of Finland, a time when all of Finland belonged to the realm of Sweden, but when Sweden lost the so-called Finnish War of 1809, Russia acquired Finland. Hence, Finland became part of the Russian Empire. This meant that a border had to be drawn between Finland and Sweden, as it was to become the new border between Russia and Sweden. After the peace negotiations, the border ran along the Muonio and Tornio rivers, with the exception that Suensaari, a peninsula on the Tornio River connected to Sweden where the city of Tornio was located, became part of Finland, and hence, Russia (Kuvaja 354–356; Teerijoki 144–145; Ruotsala "Transnational everyday life", 129).

This new 1809 border was drawn through the Finnish-speaking area. It split families and relations, houses, farms and villages, parishes and recreation areas. To this day, kinship knows no border: families, relatives and friends live on both sides of the border. The lands of one family could remain in the territory of one state, while the churches and cemeteries remained entirely on the other side of the border. For years, those living on one side of the border used churches and cemeteries belonging to another state, as it took years to create new congregations and build churches and cemeteries. On the Swedish side, opposite Tornio, Haparanda was established for purposes of commerce and other traffic. (Lähteenmäki 66–67; Lappalainen et al.) Over the years, it grew from a small village into a town of more than 9,600 inhabitants. The population of Tornio is now approximately 22,000.

The border was drawn through a unified cultural area, an area where people spoke the same language, practiced similar livelihoods and had similar religious inclinations, namely Laestadianism, a conservative revivalist movement within the Lutheran Church. The new rulers, Russia and Sweden, constructed their own state symbols along the border, such as an Orthodox church on the Tornio side for Russian soldiers

and merchants and a large railway station — both at the end of 19th century — and a prominent hotel on the Haparanda side. Each state strategically and tactically appropriated markers of cultural heritage and historical space. Border crossings were also monitored and controlled, but local people crossed the border as before, regardless of the ruling authorities and controls. Customs control was avoided in many ways, and in the last century, for example, smuggling was important, even an industry of sorts, during both the First and Second World Wars and up until the 1960s. A variety of migrants relocated to the border area as a result of the First World War and subsequent political events, such as a civil war and Finland's independence. Tornio-Haparanda was at the forefront of world politics at the time, since it was possible there to exchange prisoners during the First World War between the Eastern and Western fronts, as Sweden was a neutral state. Soldiers, spies, journalists, traders, smugglers and stars of the entertainment business met in the galleries of the Haparanda Hotel (Lähteenmäki 66–67; Ruotsala "Transnational everyday life", 132). These events have later been used in cultural heritage and tourism production events, including photo exhibitions, theatre performances and popular talks.

The new 1809 border was an economic boundary for a long time, up until the 1970s and 1980s. Smuggling is even said to have advanced the economic fortunes of Finnish Lapland more quickly than the economic recovery experienced by the rest of Finland after the devastation of the Second World War. After all, Sweden was not involved in the war, and most of Lapland's residents fled to Sweden when the German army, which had previously been collaborating with the Finns, destroyed Lapland, using scorched-earth- tactics as they withdrew into northern Norway. The following spring, the inhabitants returned. (Ruotsala "From Crime to Cultural Heritage", 36–37.)

Since the regions shared a common history, language and culture, everyday life and cross-border co-operation began to thrive especially in Tornio and Haparanda. Co-operation between the cities increased from the 1960s onwards, and, for example, a common water treatment plant and landfill site and a shared language school were built, and in recent years a common market square and bus station have also been built. Co-operation was further strengthened after both nations joined the EU in 1996. (Nousiainen 433–435; Häkli 213–217.) Such joint actions help to save resources but require work, as the local collaboration efforts are not always well understood in Helsinki, Stockholm or Brussels. For instance, in 2014 a joint Tornio River Valley museum was opened. It had earlier only been for the Finnish side, but now Haparanda agreed to pay part of the expenses, like the salary of a joint museum pedagogue. School pupils from both the Finnish and Swedish side visited the museum.

Since 1996, the towns of Haparanda and Tornio have gradually grown together. They share a joint market square, which is named Victoria Square, named after the Crown Princess of Sweden, and a joint

bus station, which actually lies on the Swedish side of the border because the soil on the Finnish side proved too unstable. They also have a joint tourism information service and use the logo of a twin city. For the people in the area, the border between Finland and Sweden has always been invisible. They have long viewed the whole area as a single entity. For them, the border only exists for administrative purposes. (Häkli 213–217; Ruotsala "Transnational everyday life", 136–137.) Some people cross the national border even several times a day for work, school or to practice hobbies.

Covid-19 split the joint area

All countries have been suffering the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic since March 2020. It has changed the situation for the local people in the Tornio River Valley quite dramatically. I emphasise here that this paper does not deal with the coronavirus itself, its symptoms or people's experiences of illness, nor with the fact that the coronavirus strategies of the Finnish and Swedish states differed considerably; the differences have been hotly debated since the beginning of the pandemic. Yet, the different strategies of the two nation states have also influenced how the border has been, and still is, perceived and how it has affected people's daily lives in the region since March. My aim is to focus on the twin city of Tornio-Haparanda, which has been one of my research topics in recent years. (See more in Ruotsala "Ez a határ", 36–48.)

In March 2020, when the Covid-19 virus arrived in the Nordic countries and was soon classified as a pandemic, the government of each country devised its own solution. Of course, these solutions were based on the ongoing advice and recommendations of the health authorities as the pandemic unfolded. To better control the virus, Finland's borders were closed by government decree at midnight on 19 March 2020. The bridges and streets connecting the twin city of Tornio-Haparanda were closed at all but two points. For vehicles, the checkpoint was on the E4 road, while the pedestrian checkpoint was at Victoria Square, which is shared between the cities. Border control was handled by the Finnish border guard staff.

In addition to this internal EU border between Finland and Sweden, Finland closed its maritime border with Estonia and borders external to the EU, namely the borders with Norway and Russia. Norway and Russia also closed their borders, but Sweden did not. In other words, while it was possible to travel to Sweden with Swedish permission, travel to Finland was at the beginning only possible on the basis of certain restrictions and criteria, discussed later.

In the twin city of Tornio-Haparanda, the border figuratively split the heart of the cities in two at Victoria Square: the border was drawn using riot fences through the heart of the square. As a metaphor, the heart is meant for photography and marks a border between countries

that is not otherwise visible. Tourists wanted a place where they could see the border between different nation states. During the coronavirus, the border between the nation states of Sweden and Finland could only be crossed at certain official places controlled by border guards.

Everyday cross-border life is a reality for many local people, as work and residence or school may be on a different side of the border than families, relatives and other friends. Pursuing hobbies and shopping on the other side of the border have been quite natural for a long time. This region forms a unified economic area divided by the national border. (Ruotsala "Transnational everyday life", 134–135.) The pandemic's effects were inconceivable, as the fact that this is a single economic area was not understood when Finland made its decisions in March 2020. However, commuting to work could continue.

The subject of this article is on the effect of this new visible boundary, drawn as a result of the coronavirus, on local everyday life. During the time of the pandemic, local people experienced several phases of border politics, not all of which do I have the space to discuss here. Some of the phases lasted only a couple of weeks, some for a much longer time. Why did people have such a strong and emotional response to this border, which was now visible again? Everyone had their own view on it, but why and how did such views emerge? These questions gave rise to the central theme of this article: an invisible border becomes visible again. I will argue that the history of the border also affects contemporary experiences of it.

It is interesting to see how the inhabitants of this area both in Finland and in Sweden understood the re-emergence of the border in March 2020. At that point, the Finnish Border Guard took back internal border controls over its territory after the government decided to restrict internal border traffic. So, how have residents experienced this visible border, which had not been there for them before? After all, for decades they had been used to living life just as if the border did not exist, and they had crossed it whenever they wanted, both before and after both countries joined the EU. For example, in the urban areas of Tornio and Haparanda, there are normally seven bridges or areas of land where the border can be crossed. One such place is a shared golf course, where play now required special arrangements.

To give you some idea of cross-border life in Tornio and Haparanda, statistics show that before the coronavirus period there were about 40,000 crossings per day, whereas from March to April 2020 the number of border crossings decreased markedly but have now risen again to around 15,000 to 20,000 crossings a day.

In brief, border residents have experienced for themselves how the varying practices of the two nations have caused problems. Those living and working in the border area — beyond just Tornio and Haparanda — have experienced how the coronavirus spring of 2020 adversely affected their lives and daily existence in many ways. In particular, border controls and the different national coronavirus restrictions and

strategies caused much frustration and confusion. Problems occurred, for example with unclear communication of information and with cultural exchanges, social life and cross-border family relationships. Right at the beginning, the weekend before 19 March 2020, it was unclear how, for example, those working in the fields of health and social care might continue to commute to their jobs. The government and relevant ministries had not understood how much care of the sick and elderly in Norrbotten County, in Sweden, is dependent on a Finnish workforce. Gradually, after various rounds of questioning, information emerged that an employer's certificate would be required to verify the need for such an employee. An identity card was likewise required. Authorities also agreed that such workers would be tested for coronavirus twice a week in Sweden. Sweden also promised that intensive care units could be used for Lapland patients — there were fewer intensive care units in Finnish Lapland than in Sweden at the time. The border could thus only be crossed for essential work tasks and the transport of goods — as stated in EU rules.

The importance of the border to the area's inhabitants

During the time of the pandemic, I have been doing fieldwork on the internet (see, e.g. Haverinen and Östman 49–67). Since the beginning, I have used two different surveys and have, over time, collected and read media articles and discussions on social media about the border between Finland and Sweden. I conducted a small survey[4] myself at the end of March 2020. The survey does not meet the criteria for structured research, as I sent it only to local acquaintances in the Tornio River Valley, both in Finland and in Sweden. Some of them I had interviewed for my research earlier, some I had gotten to know through other means. I asked them to write to me on how they felt about the closing of the border and how it had affected them. At the same time, I asked for permission to quote them.

I received more than twenty responses. I emphasise that the matter under discussion was the border, not the difference in coronavirus strategies, which has been much discussed on social media and in various newspapers and radio broadcasts. I received answers from both sides of the border in Finnish, Swedish and Meänkieli, mainly from Tornio and Haparanda.

The first answer that came to me first was quite revealing about the true meaning of the border for local inhabitants:

> *There's a strange feel at this time, as the border 'didn't use to be there' but now it's there. We can't drive to Haparanda to*

4 The material is now in my personal archive. I am very thankful for those who participated in this survey and especially I want to thank my friend Hannele Kenttä, who is living and working in Haparanda, for her comments on this article.

> *get sweets or something the way we could just a week ago, when it was a completely normal part of everyday life.*

This and many other responses like it underscore the fact that there is no border for these people; they make use of shops and other services on both sides of the border. The border was not even noticed in everyday life, but now it had become different, as noted by one informant who had been working throughout her life in Tornio while having lived in Haparanda for a long time:

> *Although we are two different countries, no-one noticed the border in everyday life until it closed. It feels sad when you can't visit your little sister or do business on the Finnish side. It feels sad and weird.*

In the opinion of a politician who has carried out cross-border collaboration, the situation is also symbolically wretched:

> *Throughout the course of my political life, I've worked to eliminate the border between Tornio and Haparanda. Once upon a time, we were at the forefront of cross-border cooperation in Europe. Today, the border was closed, a necessary act say the elite in Helsinki. But they have never lived here. Now we have been split in two!*

Many people used similar types of expressions, to the effect that we have been split in two or the other part of us is missing. One of my interviewees wrote: 'this is now like half a city; my home is Haparanda-Tornio. There was no border here, but now there is.'

Some thought of it as a state of war: one demented person had burst into tears at seeing the border guards with their guns at the border. The border had always been open, with the exception of the world wars. This has been emphasised by many local people. As stated earlier, in the post-Second World War Lapland War (1944–45), Lapland evacuees fleeing the destruction of their homes were welcomed across the border in Sweden — my home village and relatives included, for example.

The following informant speaks for many about the significance of the border and the restrictions:

> *I understand the precautionary measures of the current exceptional situation and the restrictions on movement, but I do not understand how the national border is where movement must be cut first.*

In these responses and elsewhere, people understood quite well why the restrictions were put in place but were of the opinion that the nature of this border was not understood in the place where the decisions were

being made. This lack of understanding in Helsinki and Stockholm was stressed all the time in the responses. People criticized that the capitals are situated too far way. It was easy to see again the centre-periphery discussion.

The fact that so many in this twin city, and more broadly in the Tornio River Valley, have family members on the other side of the border was clearly highlighted in the responses. A few would have liked to go to the shops or pharmacy for their parents or otherwise help them or care for their grandchildren as usual, but that was no longer possible. Neither was it possible to adequately account for those at risk and those over seventy years of age. People did not want to get used to this closed border because they hoped it would not be closed for very long, as crossing the border is part of their lifeblood. In addition to relatives and friends, many pastime activities are located on the other side of the border, as the respondents also noted. A holiday home in the other country was also a cause of concern for many, as crossing the border to visit a holiday home was not yet allowed in April 2020. Later, permission was granted to do so. It is very common for people in one country to buy a cottage in the other country.

One resident of Kolari parish summed up the meaning of the border as follows:

> *This border has always been a border of peace. The border should not have been put on the map here in the first place; it should have gone across the Kalix River. The border was made in the middle of our own land. We are the same family and people, and we have the same language. And the same mindset! We've been living seamlessly together, especially now that the border is opened by the EU's doing. Some of my close relatives have now stayed in Sweden. Crazy we can't meet them . . . This present situation is my worst-luck nightmare.*[5]

These responses on the meaning of the border were pretty much the same for everyone. For many, the border situation also changed when, at the end of April and beginning of May 2020, it became clear to everyone that according to the Finnish constitution, Finnish citizens can come to Finland and leave again. The emergency law put into force due to coronavirus could not prevent such travel. This made it easier for many to cross the border; in Haparanda, for example, approximately 40% of the inhabitants are Finnish citizens or dual citizens. The number of dual nationals has increased during the coronavirus, but the application process costs money and people find it expensive in relation to the benefits it affords here at the border.

5 Actually, she has two sisters living in Sweden, and she could not visit them nor they her.

Another material source I use here is a Gallup-type survey done by the Facebook group 'Tornio in words and pictures', which asked what people want from the other side of the border, in this case Haparanda in Sweden. I just read how the locals answered to this question. Everybody who was participant in this group, could answer and also comment other answers. The answers — approximately 300 discussions — can be roughly divided into three parts: 1) most importantly, to see family members, relatives and friends; 2) followed by a desire to buy familiar foods and snuff, which may not be sold in Finland; and finally, 3) free movement across the border, as Tornio is nothing without Haparanda, and vice versa.

In my opinion, these answers clearly demonstrate that this is a single city, regardless of the national border. The fact that so many specifically mentioned that they want to purchase dill chips not available in Finland tells us how much the border is a matter of everyday life. It is only noticed when it cannot be crossed; the emergency law that came into force during coronavirus put a stop to shopping trips to Haparanda. The survey addressed to the people of Haparanda in the Facebook group received similar answers. Intimate relations and free movement were at the forefront of responses here as well.

The surveys were conducted in April 2020, when people assumed that the border could only be crossed for work matters. Later, crossing the border became easier. Life became quite different between spring of 2020 and spring of 2021, but during the summer of 2021 it became easier to cross the border once more because people had been vaccinated. Differences still remained between the two nations, though, with it being easier for Finnish citizens to cross the border into Finland. In the spring 2021, internal border controls by the Finnish Border Guard were forbidden, but the border guard stayed in Tornio because the town had asked them to help to control the health situation by preventing those suffering from coronavirus from entering Finland. This control again gave rise to a lack of clarity and problems for the locals. They for instance expressed anger about the long lines of cars at the border.

The significances of the border closure

As previously stated, for many decades people had been accustomed to the border as a collaborative space, not constituting a barrier to interactions. The boundary connects, it does not separate, as my informants said.

After all, the border between Finland and Sweden was not closed when the coronavirus contingency laws came into force, even though people thought so in March and April of 2020. Finnish politicians and the Finnish Border Guard, which controlled the border on the Finnish side, did not correct this misunderstanding. What was needed was one professor of political science, Martin Scheinin, and articles in

newspapers specifying that the constitution guarantees Finnish citizens the right to always leave Finland and always return to Finland. Due to the exceptional nature of the coronavirus, though, they needed to be quarantined for two weeks after arrival. Sweden had not closed its own border earlier, but it did so in spring of 2021 for several weeks. It represented a significant step for Swedish people living near the border because then Finnish people could no longer enter Sweden freely. Finnish people had to provide proof of a negative coronavirus test or they had to live or work in Sweden, meaning many Finnish people could no longer enter Haparanda, Sweden, freely without an important reason. It gave rise to envy and also caused many problems in everyday life. People were used to shopping for several items in Finland because those shops could not be found in Haparanda. People then had to travel to Kalix or Luleå, which are several hours away.

The border crossing process was also facilitated for Swedes, as the rule gradually came into force that Swedish citizens could also travel to Finland if they owned real estate there, had a relative who needed assistance, which necessitated travel to Finland, or had a job that required them to cross the border. Until May 2020, many locals who had a summer cottage on the other side of the border did not make it over to observe the snow or temperature situation, as crossing the border was forbidden. Similarly, the closed border created difficulties for divorced couples' children attending school in one country or the other, especially if they took turns living with their parents in the different countries. There were examples of children not being able to stay at the home of the other parent, even though such exchanges should have been allowed.

Until mid-April of 2020, authorities had permitted people to exchange goods, such as keys or medicines and some groceries, in the market square connecting the cities, though only through the fence that separated them. It took three to four weeks before this practice was banned, with no reason being given. For example, one of my informants talked about how she gave the keys to her summer cottage to her brothers living in Finland so that they could check that everything was well there. The resident is a dual national herself and her husband is a Swedish citizen. Later, they could themselves travel to the cottage — after Finland changed the rules about who could travel to Finland and why. This swap of keys and other stuff was entirely dependent on the will of the border guard on duty at the time, as some were denied this sort of exchange. For example, a resident of Tornio was unable to fetch the car's summer tyres from her child's garage on the Swedish side of the border, but other people managed to do so. Border guards were also criticised for not treating everyone equally; the rules depended on who was on duty. Many respondents emphasised this point, with information on social media and the radio also confirming it. 'How you looked affected whether you got to the other side [of the border] then in early spring', said one respondent.

All of this activity — different coronavirus rules between countries, a border marked by a riot fence, unclear border-crossing practices and inconsistent and perhaps somewhat inappropriate behaviour at the border — contributed to the growth of nationalism and comparable opinions at the border. Some went out to shout their anxiety histrionically at the border, others agreed to a date or a meeting at the border. From May 2020 onwards, some, as if for fun, even went over to the Haparanda side without any purpose whatsoever, just in a showy way. Gradually, it began to feel like a Swedish-Finnish national competition of some sort was going on, akin to the World Hockey Championships, with Finland and Sweden as contenders. People began to talk in such terms, and it was even reflected in their behaviour to a degree. The conversation intensified on social media.

The closure of the border has again led to a more visible type of nationalism (Billig 6). Cars registered in one country have been stared at in the other country. When there is a car with a Swedish registration plate outside a shop on the Finnish side of the border, for instance, or even vice versa, then people wonder out loud about what on earth it is doing there. At least once, a can of Coke was poured on top of someone's car. Swedes working in Finland were not allowed to shop in Finland, and the same applied to Finnish people working in Sweden. At the beginning of July 2020, several Swedish-registered cars were in the yard of a shop in Tornio, so two border guards went to the shop and said all cars with Swedish registration had to return to Sweden immediately. Regardless of whether or not this was permissible by law, no one objected, and everyone meekly left. Complaints have been made about being turned away at the border by both Swedish and Finnish citizens. There are many examples of a general fear of Swedes and the Swedish language being stoked among Finns out of fear of the coronavirus.[6] It was indeed more a fear of coronavirus, and not hate, as several newspapers at the time claimed.

Conclusion

In my previous study (cf. Ruotsala "Ez a határ") I have focused on transnationalism and multilocality of the people living in the border-zone. Both transnationalism and multilocality were key issues how people reacted on the closure of the border in the Tornio River Valley. The border still defines very strongly the economic, social and cultural relations in the twin city of Tornio-Haparanda. It is seen in the everyday life and in the customs of the area (see Billig 1995). If you understand multilocality according to different generations, the situation reminds the views of Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola, that the multilocality experienced by the younger generations belongs to the routines of everyday life. The experiences

6 *These are stories told by my informants, but I have not referred here to the interviews.*

of the border and multilocality of older generations belong to the war time and post war era. Also, the working years in the southern parts of Sweden is part of their stories and experiences. Haparanda has attracted those older Finnish people, who have earlier spent their working years in the southern parts of Sweden. So the everyday life of people living in the border-zone is transnational and multivocal. At the same time, it also contains multiple voices and is rich in nuances. Emotional ties are very important. The history of a joint Tornio River Valley is very old.

The situation caused by coronavirus has been continuously discussed in various media since March 2020. As pointed out earlier, changes have been made in people's border-crossing rights, with it being easier to cross the border into Finland if a person received a negative coronavirus test or was fully vaccinated. The debate about legalities and fairness was still ongoing in August 2021.

The closure of Finland's borders and the introduction of the Emergency Preparedness Act were drastic measures and are not being used lightly. In March 2020, the effects were not entirely thought through: the intention was to avoid the coronavirus. Experience has shown that closing the border in the twin city in the Tornio Valley shaped a completely different reality for locals compared to those in southern Finland or on the eastern border. This was further emphasised by the fact that most of the border guards were transferred here from the border between Finland and Russia, where they are used to completely different border crossings and crossing practices, as the Haparanda-Tornio border is called the most peaceful border in the world.

In the Tornio Valley, the border has been more a borderless border (Jukarainen 10). An open, borderless border is an important part of Tornio Valley identity on both sides of the border. The importance of the border for both good and ill has varied; it was only closed a few times previously. Even with WWII, it was quickly re-opened in the autumn of 1944 when the people of Lapland had to evacuate to Sweden. This story has been used as an example even now.

Everyone hopes that the effects of the pandemic will not go on to affect cross-border co-operation, but that border collaboration will only improve afterwards. Some wonder whether, if there had been more collaboration and sharing, the border would ever have been closed in this way. The restrictions resulting from the coronavirus have led to an important initiative: a collaborative organisation, the Tornio Valley Advisory Council, has taken the initiative of setting up a special area here that would not be cut off by the state border as it was during the pandemic. One informant put into words the fear that many feel at the moment: 'I don't like closing the border, but I understand the reason and accept it. However, I fear the possibility that some will want to make this permanent. At least in some respects.'

An open border is important for people of all ages. In summer of 2021, some young people in Haparanda made a rap song when it gradually became possible to cross the border. The name of the rap song was

Återförenas, 'Re-joining' in English. The message included in the song is that how the re-joining of the twin city is important for everyone. The lyrics are both in Finnish and Swedish, and it is also played in both towns (Återförenas).

Only time will tell how such a special area will work in the future, but the conditions for cross-border transactions and everyday life in the area have developed over the years and still exist. Local people attempted throughout the pandemic to keep the border in the same state as always: it does not exist if you do not think about it being there (Juntti) This is the essence of the meaning of the border for the people who use it on a regular basis. They tried to continue living a transnational live even during the pandemic. The local voices are multiple, but they are evidence of transnational phenomena that consist of social formations and cultural practices transcending nation-state borders.

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Helena Ruotsala is a professor in European Ethnology at the University of Turku. She has done ethnographic fieldwork especially in Sápmi (in Finland and on Kola Peninsula, Russia) and later in Mari Republic in Russia. Her main interests are northern cultures and animal studies. Her previous study was on transnationalism and multilocality in the cross-border region between Finland and Sweden. Before the Corona pandemic she studied a rural village in Mari El and its changes during 2000's. Now she is involved in a multidisciplinary project "Paimio Sanatorium: Social, historical and cultural perspectives", which focuses on the experiences and memories of patients and members of staff of the former tuberculosis sanatorium in Paimio, Southwest Finland.

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Geographical Distribution of the Traditional Dance Culture in Mezőség

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ABSTRACT

The exact definition of the Mezőség/Câmpia Transilvaniei/Transylvanian Plain, hereafter Plain, as a region with an independent folk culture having a coherent internal structure is still a subject of debate among ethnographers. Some of them regard certain small regions (Borsa/Borșa Valley, Kis and Nagy Szamos/Someșul Mic și Someșul Mare etc.) as belonging to the Mezőség/Plain, while others do not. I distinguish a central group of the villages in the Mezőség/Plain region (Belső-Mezőség or Central Plain: e.g. Visa/Vișea, Magyarpalatka/Pălatca, Katona/Cătina, Pusztakamarás/Cămărașu) from the rest of the territory, similarly to György Martin, István Pávai and László Barabás, relying on material culture and folklore research, as well as my own investigations. When advancing outward from this core area, the concentric circle of so-called peripheral areas follow (the West, North, East and South Plain/Mezőség), reaching the boundaries on the edges of the region: Nagy Szamos/Someșul Mare Valley, Lápos/Lăpuș Valley, Sajó/Șieu Valley, Maros/Mureș Valley, Marosszéki[1] Mezőség/Mureș Seat Plain, Erdőalja/Sub Pădure area, Borsa/Borșa Valley, and Kis Szamos/Someșul Mic Valley. A further, smaller group of villages can be distinguished in the area of Belső-Mezőség/Central Plain by their dance and music culture; for the regular weekend dance events of these villages, organised by local youths in the 1960s, Roma musicians of Magyarpalatka/Pălatca would play the music. I assign the name **Palatka dance district** to this area in my paper.

Keywords: Mezőség (Transylvanian Plain, Câmpia Transilvaniei), dance dialects, linquistics, folklore research, traditions and modernisation, migration of cultural elements

Introduction

Over recent decades, ethnology and cultural anthropology, including ethnochoreology and dance anthropology, has been increasingly

1 Szék/Scaun/Seat: former unit of administrative-territorial organisation.

turning towards contemporary research, nevertheless historical topics have recently come to the forefront of our interest (Kavecsánszki; Varga, "Two Traditional Central Transylvanian Dances"). By critically combining the approaches, theories and methods of historical anthropology and micro-history with the earlier inquiries of historical ethnography and folklore studies, new perspectives are opening up for our discipline (Bárth), which, in my opinion, point towards inter- and even transdisciplinary cooperation. In my study, I raise some questions in connection with the regional-historical investigation of Hungarian folk dance research, which may help us to critically review the theories underlying the earlier approaches, and thus provide us with an opportunity to supplement and further reflect on György Martin's investigations, which have remained unfinished.

The question of the regional fragmentation of folk culture and the spread of cultural elements has been of interest to local and international researchers since the end of the 19th century (Kósa, 11–30). Among the major anthropological theories, such questions have been addressed within the framework of diffusionism; for many decades European historical folklore studies were dominated by the Finnish historical geo-historical method, which was close to diffusionism and to some extent to evolutionism (Szőnyi, 107–111).[2] The work of Bartók and Kodály, who were the founders of European folk music research, and the Hungarian dance folklore research that followed in their footsteps, were also based on this approach, supplemented by methods borrowed from linguistic structural analysis (Fügedi; Könczei, "Has Dance Research").[3] Martin attached great importance to the study of dance culture according to its distribution, emphasising that the geographical division of folk culture is related to the social and historical development of a region ("Hungarian dance dialects", 217). He considers that the study of the different genre-based or formal groupings is important from both a cultural and an aesthetic (artistic) point of view ("Magyar tánctípusok", 6–7).

Some problems in the research of dance dialects

Perhaps one of the most important – and most troubling – questions in the field of dance-dialect studies is what we are actually studying. What do we consider to be folk dance culture or traditional dance culture? Do these concepts overlap? It is not the aim of my study to solve this theoretical question, but it is necessary to point out that Martin's definition of

2 Csilla Könczei has written thorough analyses of the evolutionist foundations of the research model developed by György Martin for the historical research of Hungarian folk dances ("Dance", 143-144; "A '60-as–'80-as évek", 832–833).

3 In addition to those mentioned here, several important studies have been published in recent years, which bring uscloser to understanding the history of Hungarian dance folklore (Hofer; Könczei, "Dance"; Könczei, "A '60-as–'80-as évek"; Szőnyi; Varga "The Scientific Legacy"; Varga "Reassessing conclusions").

dance dialects as those dances that "lived without institutional dissemination and learning, as an integral part of the slowly changing peasant life and customs" ("Magyar tánctípusok", 6) seems to be somewhat outdated and imprecise. Today, it seems that by relying on this definition, we obtain an inflexible and in a certain extent an "unhistorical" system, in which we cannot place very many elements of dancing practice (dances, related customs, etc.), nor can we see the dynamics of the cultural processes behind the changes in the phenomena under study.

Martin speaks of dance styles and dance customs from different periods and fashions in European dance history that have been embedded in local cultures – folklorized, if you prefer – despite their intermingling at different rates and to different degrees. This is how the traditional dance culture of certain areas or settlements has developed („Magyar tánctípusok", 6–7). The various dance genres and elements of customs were intermingled in European peasant culture in some areas in the middle of the 20th century (and in some places not even until the 21st century). Nevertheless, certain "dominant genres" ("Magyar tánctípusok", 11) emerged from these, which can be examined to outline the cultural-historical processes that shaped the peasant dance culture of the area or settlement under study ("Magyar tánctípusok", 11). On the basis of this logic, Martin divided Europe into three large-scale geographic regions and, within this framework, the Carpathian Basin into three major and twenty minor dance dialects ("Magyar tánctípusok, 10–12; "Hungarian dance dialects", 220).[4]

Martin argues that the pattern of uneven social and cultural development has meant that different dance styles reached certain areas at different rates and with different strength. In exploring the possible reasons behind this, Martin finds that certain ethnic groups preserved their cultural traits in a more isolated state during feudal fragmentation, that some others did not do so, a difference which can be observed even in the present days ("Hungarian dance dialects", 217); this may explain the relative heterogeneity of dance culture in certain areas. The homogeneity of dance culture in other areas, on the other hand, may be due to the unifying effects of modern capitalist development, the development of national culture, the spread of literacy, and the development of infrastructure, which gradually dissolved "the boundaries of feudal territories" in Europe ("Magyar tánctípusok", 14). In Eastern Europe, however, differences, which were rooted in feudalism, do not disappear completely, but are only pushed into the background, due to the delayed development of the bourgeoisie.[5] In my opinion, Martin examines this

4 For the major European dance dialects and the Hungarian territorial division, see also: Martin, "Performing styles"; Martin, "The relationship".

5 It is interesting that the principle of László Kósa's summary of the regional-historical division is contrary to this idea. According to Kósa's hypothesis, feudal conditions maintained cultural homogeneity and the emergence of regional differences in peasant culture was due to the differential impact of the development of civil society that started after the serf emancipation (Kósa, 44–48).

complexity at a kind of macro level in his summarizing works (Varga, "Scientific legacy", 88). At the same time, he also refers to changes at the meso- and micro-level, such as the integrating effect of population migrations during the Turkish occupation ("Magyar tánctípusok", 14), or the specific historical and social situation of certain regions and villages (e.g. Szék/Sic in Mezőség Plain) ("Hungarian dance dialects", 277). Martin speaks of the combined, often simultaneous, influence of separating and unifying factors in the historical development of Hungarian dance dialects. In addition to the unequal development of civil society already mentioned above, the spread of foreign and internally developed dance styles and interaction with other peoples are emphasized ("Hungarian dance dialects", 217–218). Regarding the latter, Martin notes that "the adoption of these influences was possible during the period of contact" ("Magyar tánctípusok", 19).

Writing about the limits of dance dialects, Martin repeatedly refers to the influence of the problems and methods used in linguistic dialect research on his approach. In this connection, he clearly argues, in my view, for a kind of etic approach to culture, saying that the criterion of linguistic dialect researchers as to whether speakers understand each other has proved useless when applied to dance.[6] As an analogy of the differences between languages and language dialects, he draws attention to fundamental differences in national dance dialects. He notes that the Hungarian dance heritage is vertically structured, as the traditional dance culture of a village bears the imprint of many layers of dance history. In contrast, the Romanian dance heritage is sharply separated horizontally – "the so-called dance zones of the Danube, the Carpathian countryside and Transylvania represent three separate worlds in the Romanian dance heritage", he writes in Hungarian Dance Types and Dialects ("Magyar tánctípusok", 20). The question is whether we can speak of dance as a kind of national characteristic or product – either in an early or a late sense – on the basis of the linguistic analogy.[7] The fact is that there are many more similarities in the dance culture of a Hungarian village in the Mezőség/Plain and a Romanian village in the Mezőség/Plain than in the dance culture of, say, a Hungarian village in the Mezőség/Plain and a Hungarian village in Transdanubia (I could cite a Romanian village in Banat also as an example). This shows that, in the case of traditional dance culture, geographical distance, regional fragmentation and other circumstances that cause differentiation are much more decisive than in the case of language – if we can even speak of former national roots in the case of dance in the Middle Ages or earlier periods. For this reason, the linguistic analogy may (also) be

6 Indeed, studies have shown that there can be profound differences between certain dialects, but not always between languages (Kiss, 31–36).

7 In a study, Tamás Hofer points out that "there was an early wave of cultural integration and national identity building in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries" and that this process also affected Hungary. György Martin drew attention to this with his historical study of the *hajdútánc* (Hofer, 65–66).

misleading here, as Csilla Könczei points out in one of her studies: „nonverbal media cannot be categorized according to the boundaries of spoken language. Nonverbal communication communities are not at all similar to language communities. They are much smaller or larger" (Könczei, "On the verbal representation", 168).[8]

When drawing the boundaries of dialects, György Martin speaks of "essential phenomena" that are considered crucial, which the researcher must select[9] and on the basis of the overall picture obtained from the analysis of these, the "approximate boundaries of the dance dialects" can be defined. In this case, we are talking about a research construct that marginalises the possibilities of an emic approach to culture.

Martin also considers it important to examine the temporal spread of dance phenomena: Given that the aim of defining dance dialects is to reconstruct the situation before the complete disintegration of peasant dance culture around the turn of the 20th century, temporal-historical control is essential to draw the right boundaries" ("Magyar tánctípusok", 22). Here too we are talking about a criterion, the application of which makes our historical approach inflexible. Not only does the question of the interaction between modernity and traditionalism thus remain outside the focus of research, but the question of the lower boundary of the period under study also becomes questionable. If we accept Martin's axiom, stated in several places, that the dominant dance forms of the Middle Ages were circle and chain dances and weapon dances, then we should expect a rather homogeneous picture of the dance dialects of this period – which is in complete contrast to Martin's other statement, quoted above, that the feudal period could be characterised by a heterogeneous dance culture.

In the course of my research on the Mezőség/Plain from 1994 to the present, I have conducted fieldwork primarily in two settlements, Szék/Sic and Visa/Vișea, but in addition to these in this paper I use

8 "The dance cultures of larger European regions are similar – regardless the language and ethnicity – despite that since the spread of national consciousness certain people carefully record and emphasize their differentiating marks. For an observer having a bird eye perspective Balkan, respectively East European and West European dances are amalgated. The outsider has little capacity to make a difference between Russian and Ukrainian, between Slovakian and Hungarian or Transylvanian Romanian, between Romanian from Walachia and Serbian, between Macedonian and Bulgarian. Separating German from Czeh or Polish is as difficult as separating Swedish from Finnish" (Pesovár, 10).

9 Martin considers the most important of these to be the study of the dances themselves ("Hungarian dance dialects", 218). Another important aspect is: the existence or absence of certain dance types; the formal-structural characteristics of the dances, their motifs; the dance name and the related terminology; the use of space in connection with the dance; the use of tools in connection with the dance; the place and function of certain dances in peasant dance life; the nature of dance calendars, dance arrangements, customs, dance styles; dance order; musical accompaniment, melody, tempo; instruments and the formation of the orchestra ("Hungarian dance dialects", 218–220).

data from my long-standing fieldwork, carried out in nearly fifty villages.[10] (Varga, "Folk dance research" 123–124) My questions have been based on the etic factors identified by György Martin, as the existence or absence of certain dance types, the motif and structure of dances, the development of dance order, the co-use of certain dances, the use of tools, the terminology related to dance, the role of dances in peasant dance life, the nature of the dances, the way in which the dances were performed, the role of the dance in peasant life, the characteristics of the musical accompaniment, the nature of the dance and the customs of dance arrangement, and the dance style. I also collected emic data from my respondents questioning on the villages to which their dances resembled their own, the villages to which they went to dance, the villages to which they married, and the striking features of the dance culture of neighbouring villages. I do not consider my research to be closed and I also touch upon several problems of principle that I cannot yet undertake to solve.

The Mezőség/Transylvanian Plain as an ethnographic landscape

There is no consensus among ethnographers as to the exact delimitation and internal division of the Mezőség/Plain as an area with its own ethnographic culture (Keszeg, 7–8). The most recent summary of the regions of Hungarian folk culture has treated the Erdélyi Erdőhát/Someș Plateau, the Lápos/Lăpuș Valley, the Nagy Szamos/ Someșul Mare Valley, the Sajó/Șieu Valley, the Felső-Maros/Upper Mureș Valley, the Mezőség/ Plain, the Erdőalja/Sub Pădure, the Aranyosszék/Aranyos Seat and the Torockó/Rimetea area as separate regions (Magyar, 189–235). It is therefore difficult to determine the exact size of the region: some people include a hundred villages, others two hundred to two hundred and fifty, perhaps three hundred. All the researchers emphasise the cultural distinctiveness of the former market town of Szék/Sic (Martin, 8; "A széki hagyományok", 74). A precise delimitation is made difficult by the lack of an unifying conceptual framework, the scant attention paid to the study of cultural changes (the impression of timelessness), and the differences in the research carried out in the individual landscapes (Pávai, 22–23). In summary, however, the above-mentioned divisions mark a central area, to which the peripheral or border regions are connected.

Kós Károly refers repeatedly to the regional differences in the culture of Mezőség/Plain in his analysis of costume, folk architecture and folklore phenomena. In doing so, he distinguishes between the

10 This paper is a more elaborate version of the relevant chapter of my doctoral dissertation written in 2011 (Varga, "Változások" 52–59). More details about my fieldwork in the Plain area can be found in: Varga, "Néptánckutatás" 123–124. Other relevant information about my research related to my present paper: Varga, "Formai változások"; Varga, "A nemesi kultúra"; Varga, "Zenészfogadás".

North-Western, the Southern and the „true" villages of the Mezőség/Plain ("A Mezőség", vol. 2: 77, 196–239, 257–259, 269, 271, 273). László Barabás holds a similar view, based on the experience of previous ethnographic and folklore research, as well as based on his own research into folk customs. According to these, he distinguishes a central group of villages within the Mezőség/Plain region (Belső Mezőség/Inner Plain: Visa/Vișea, Magyarpalatka/Pălatca, Katona/Cătina etc.), and from there, in the next concentric circle the following peripheral areas are located (Western, Northern, Eastern and Southern Plains), then at the very edge of the region the following border areas are located: Nagy-Szamos/Someșul Mare Valley, Lápos/Lăpuș Valley, Sajó/Șieu Valley, the Beszterce/Bistrița region, the Szászrégen/Reghin region, the Felső-Maros/Upper Mureș Valley, the Maros/Mureș Valley, Marosszéki Mezőség/Mureș Seat Plain, the Ludas/Luduș region, the Torda/Turda region, the Erdőalja/Sub Pădure, the Borsa/Borșa Valley and the Little Szamos/Someșul Mic Valley (Barabás, 57–58).[11]

At the heart of the region lies the historically and infrastructurally most isolated Belső-Mezőség/Inner Plain, while the border areas are located in close proximity to cities and related larger regions with sharp cultural differences. The cultural distinctiveness of the former petty noble villages along the Kis Szamos/Someșul Mic and the Erdőhát/Someș Plateau, and the cultural distinctiveness of the market towns along the main roads further colour the overall cultural picture of the area. It is questionable how far these concentric circles can be specified and to what extent the different cultural phenomena show a similar distribution. Quite large cultural differences can be observed between small areas, and sometimes also within them (see for example Szék/Sic) (Barabás, 59–60). Comparative research to date (on agriculture, architecture, costume, folk dance, folk music, folk customs) shows a strong cultural influence from the surrounding ethnographic regions in the border areas, which gradually weakens as one moves towards the Belső Mezőség/Inner Plain. According to Barabás, this is also supported by the internal (emic) image of culture that the inhabitants have of the region in terms of their perception of the landscape and their sense of belonging (Barabás, 59). Looking at dance culture, I am of the same opinion, but I think that a thorough study of regional identity would be needed to better define the external and internal borders of an area.[12] It would be important to examine, for example, how the local understanding and acceptance of the term „Mezőség" has changed over the last decades. As late as 1964, Zoltán Kallós

11 Similarly, the Romanian ethnographic regional classification includes the area between the Kis és Nagy Szamos/Someșul Mic and Mare and the Maros/Mureș in the Mezőség/Plain (Barabás, 59).

12 I consider Balázs Balogh's and Ágnes Fülemile's research in Kalotaszeg/Land of Călata to be exemplary in this respect (Balogh and Fülemile, 9–15.) Besides, it is worth mentioning Csongor Könczei's research in the Lozsárd/Lujerdiu Valley ("A regionális identitástudat").

wrote that the inhabitants of Bonchida/Bonțida, Válaszút/Răscruci and Szék/Sic did not accept the term "Mezőség" which they could identify with ("Tánchagyományok", 235), and Károly Kós also refers to the fact that the inhabitants of Ördöngösfüzes/Fizeșu Gherlii consider the „backward" Mezőség/Plain to begin from the line Kékesvásárhely/Târgușor – Vasasszentiván/Sântioana bordering them on the East ("A Mezőség", vol. 2: 212, 225).

My own research confirms that until the mid-1990s, most villagers in the area considered the term "from the Mezőség/Plain" undesirable. However, afterwards, presumably due to the growing interest of folk-tourists and the positive image projected by the media, this opinion slowly began to change.[13]

Delimitation and internal division of the folk music and dance dialect of the Mezőség/Plain

Only since the 1950s – following the studies of László Lajtha, Zoltán Kallós, János Jagamas and their colleagues – has Mezőség/Plain been included as an independent dialect in the territorial division of Hungarian folk music (Pávai, 27). Lajtha drew attention to the possible internal division of Mezőség/Plain as early as the 1950s,[14] but the delimitation and internal division of the area according to folk dance music aspects was carried out extremely late, only in 2005. In this context, István Pávai, in addition to the Mezőség/Plain, mentions the Kalotaszeg/Land of Călata – Mezőség/Plain transition area (Erdőalja/Sub Pădure and the petty noble villages of the Erdélyi-Erdőhát/Someș Plateau), Aranyosszék/Aranyos Seat, the Maros/Mureș and Sajó/Șieu regions, the Marosszéki Mezőség/Mureș Seat Plain and the Felső-Szamos/Upper Someș region (including the tributaries of the Nagy és Kis Szamos/Someșul Mare and Mic), and within the region he distinguishes between North, Inner, South and East Mezőség/Plain (Pávai, 38–39). Pávai warns on the dialectal differences in dance and dance music, saying that in addition to the uniformity of dance and dance music styles, the same structure of dance order, the presence or absence of the same dance types, the identification of the areas of operation of village bands may also be a factor in determining the dance music sub-regions (Pávai, 37). I find the results of his study instructive to compare with György Martin's findings on the dance dialect in the Mezőség/Plain.

13 According to Keszeg, the first dance folkloristic summaries of the 1970s and 1980s, the táncház/dance house movement that flourished at that time, emphasized the archaic, untouched nature of local culture, thus creating a "positive myth of the Mezőség/Plain region" (Keszeg, 14).

14 The material collected so far suggests the existence of a Northern and a Southern Mezőség/Plain dialect (Lajtha, 4).

Martin classifies the Mezőség/Plain as belonging to the Eastern or Transylvanian dance dialect ("Hungarian dance dialects", 110–113),[15] distinguishes Mezőség/Plain from three other Central Transylvanian provinces, Kalotaszeg/Land of Călata, the Maros-Küküllő/Mureș-Târnave region and Marosszék/Mureș Seat ("Hungarian dance dialects", 108–118), and detects five small provinces by delineating the smaller internal units of the region:

1. Some features of the dance culture of the Borsa/Borșa and the valley of the Kis Szamos/Someșul Mic are related to those of the villages of Kalotaszeg/Călata and Szilágyság/Sălaj.
2. He considers the valleys of Nagy-Szamos/Someșul Mare and Sajó/Șieu and the Lápos/Lăpuș valley as a more urbanised region. Few collections of dances from this region were available at the time Martin wrote his summary.
3. The best known area of the mixed population villages in the central part of the Mezőség/Plain (Magyarpalatka/Pălatca and its surroundings and the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca) is a region with a rich men`s solo dance and couple dance culture, where there is a great overlap between the Hungarian and Romanian dance traditions. The old-fashioned, asymmetrically pulsating couple dance is considered to be typical here. He mentions that, in addition to the musicians from Magyarpalatka/Pălatca, who played in a large area, there were several peasant musicians in the area.
4. He defines the South-Western Plain as a transitional area bordering the Kalotaszeg/Land of Călata and the Maros-Küküllő/Mureș-Târnave region, whose dance culture was poorly known at the time of his writings. Some features of its dance culture suggest that it is related to the dialect of the Maros-Küküllő/Mureș-Târnave region.
5. The Eastern Plain "dance and music culture is characterized by more modern, Szekler influences. The old asymmetrical slow couple dance is absent in the countryside, but the *korcsos* and *Szekler verbunk*, typical of the Marosszék/Mureș Seat area, appear" ("Hungarian dance dialects", 111). According to Martin, the Hungarians of the county adopted dance types from the Szeklers in more recent times

15 Romanian dance scholars classify Transylvania as a Western dance dialect, within which several smaller dance dialects are distinguished. According to Andrei Bucşan, the core of the Western dance dialect is the Western part of Transylvania, to which Northern and Central Transylvania, including the Mezőség/Plain are organically linked. He considers the area around the lower Maros/Mureș a separate sub-dialect (Bucşan, 327). For the different interpretations of Hungarian and Romanian, see the following sentences of László Kürti: "Romanian scholars utilize a one-sided ethnographic map and Hungarian folklorists yet another. Hungarian ethnographers and folklorists speak of regions that are never uttered by Romanian scholars with such an awe and reverence […] Clearly what is at the heart of this problem is that both Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals live and work in a dual positivistic tradition separated into majority and minority spheres" (Kürti, 93 cited by Quigley, 120).

(probably at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries), which is why this dance dialect has developed over the last half century through the "fusion" of the Hungarian dance repertoire of the Mezőség/Plain region and the dances of the Maros/Mureș region ("Magyar tánctípusok", 18).[16] This is important because it is here that Martin takes the most account of the changes over time in the dance culture of the Mezőség/Plain region.

In his last summary, published in 1985, Martin thus spoke of the central part of Mezőség/Plain, when he tried to define the cultural unit, as consisting of the villages of e.g. Visa/Vișea, Magyarpalatka/Pălatca, Feketelak/Lacu, Mezőkeszü/Chesău (111). As a parallel, the findings of Zoltán Kallós and Károly Kós should also be considered. In what Kallós calls, albeit not always consistently, the Northern Plain, he distinguishes three smaller units: the valley of the Kis Szamos/Someșul Mic and the area to the West of it, the territory of Erdőhát/Someș Plateau; and the central group of villages (Visa/Vișea, Vajdakamarás/Vaida Cămăraș, Mezőkeszü/Chesău and Magyarpalatka/Pălatca), which is distinct due to its ancient culture, and to which a few settlements (Kötelend/Gădălin, Mezőszava/Sava, Légen/Legii, Gyeke/Geaca and Katona/Cătina) are added on the basis of the cultural characteristics of the local Hungarian minority. In his division, the third area includes the villages around Cege/Țaga, Feketelak/Lacu and Vasasszentgothárd/Sucutard, the Lacurile Geaca ("Adalékok"; "Észak-mezőségi"). Kós Károly, when discussing the differences in singing culture, dance organisation, spinning house customs and games, speaks of villages in the North-Western Plain (Girolt/Ghirolt, Kecsed/Aluniș, etc.) and the villages of belső-Mezőség/Inner Plain. Within the latter, he identifies a narrower circle: Magyarpalatka/Pălatca and its marriage districts (Visa/Vișea, Vajdakamarás/Vaida-Cămăraș, Mezőkeszü/Chesău), where he has found similarities in terms of spinning games and song repertoire. In this respect, he treats villages further East, such as Katona/Cătina and Mezőköbölkút/Fântânița as being different ("A Mezőség", vol. 2: pp. 257–258, 269, 271, 273).

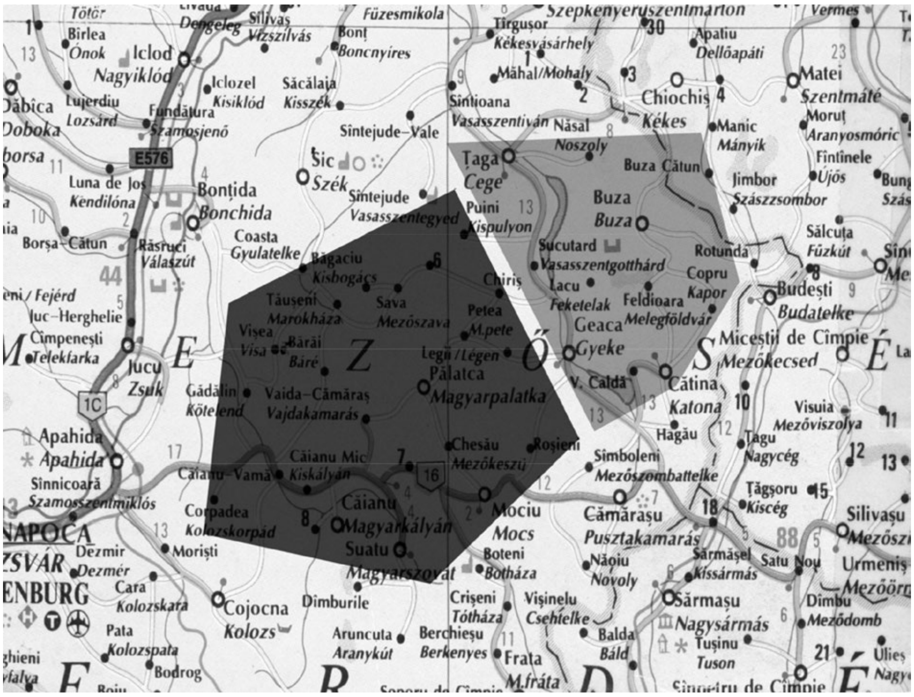
By an etic examination of the features of dance culture that Martin also identified as important, and by including some emic aspects in the research, I believe that György Martin's regional division can be further refined in relation to the Mezőség/Plain. In the light of István Pávai's recent studies on dance music, I think that, when examining dances danced by Hungarians, it is worth discussing Mezőség/Plain separately from the surrounding small areas (the area along the Kis Szamos/Someșul Mic, the area along the Nagy Szamos/Someșul Mare, the Sajó/Șieu, the Erdőalja/Sub Pădure, the Marosszéki

16 László Kósa, however, writes in his summary that in the Mezőség/Plain region of Marosszék/Mureș Seat the consciousness of belonging to the Szekler minority persisted long after the end of the orderly division of the estate-based society (Kósa, 155–159, 319–344).

Mezőség/Mureș Seat Plain), obviously bearing in mind that the dance and music culture of these areas is linked to the North, East and South Mezőség/Plain in many ways (Pávai and Abonyi).[17] My own research is also in line with István Pávai's data (Pávai and Abonyi), and, based on this, I treat the Belső-Mezőség/Inner Plain, the villages of the former Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca (e.g. Cege/Țaga, Buza, Feketelak/Lacu, Melegföldvár/Feldioara, Vasaszentgotthárd/Sucutard, Gyeke/Geaca) and the villages West of this line up to Gyulatelke/Coasta – Visa/Vișea – Kötelend/Gădălin as a separate village group. The villages bordering the area to the North (Ördöngösfüzes/Fizeșu Gherlii, Füzesmikola/Nicula, etc.), as well as the former market town of Szék/Sic, are excluded from this unit. In the South, the villages (Magyarszovát/Suatu, Mócs/Mociu) still belonging to this area, form the border along the Kolozsvár/Cluj-Szászrégen/Reghin route. My research shows that the above classification can be further considered and deepened, since in the area of the Belső-Mezőség/Inner Plain, from the point of view of dance and music culture, another small group of villages can be outlined, in which until the 1960s, the Roma musicians from Magyarpalatka/Pălatca played music for the weekend dance festivals regularly organised by the local youth. Hereafter I will refer to this area as the **Palatka dance district**, which comprises twenty-three villages (and several small groups of farms belonging to them).[18]

17 Csongor Könczei's studies on Aranyosszék/Aranyos Seat and on the Transylvanian Erdőhát also show that research on the Erdélyi Mezőség/Plain still needs to be continued, as well as the discussion of theoretical issues related to dance dialects ("A regionális identitástudat", "Az aranyosszéki tánckultúráról").

18 These villages are: Báré/Bărăi, Bélditanyák/Chiriș, Gyulatelke/Coasta, Kisbogács/Băgacu, Kályáni-Vám/Căianu-Vamă, Kolozskorpád/Corpadea, Kötelend/Gădălin, *Kiskályán/Căianu Mic*, Kispulyon/Puini, Lárgatanya/Văleni, Légen/Legii, Magyarkályán/Căianu, *Magyarpalatka/Pălatca*, Magyarpete/Petea, **Magyarszovát/Suatu**, Mócs/Mociu, Marokháza/Tăușeni, Mezőgyéres/Ghirișu, **Mezőkeszü/Chesău**, Mezőszava/Sava, Omboztelke/Mureșenii de Câmpie, **Vajdakamarás/Vaida-Cămăraș**, **Visa/Vișea**. In the more remote villages (Apahida, Botháza/Boteni, Gyeke/Geaca, etc.) the Palatka Roma musicians played much less frequently, on the occasion of a calendar festival or a wedding. (The villages in **bold** have a Hungarian majority population. In the villages in *italics*, the proportion of Hungarians and Romanians is roughly 50-50%. In these villages, the nationalities danced separately when they could. In the villages marked with underlining, the proportion of Hungarians is negligible – 10-12 families at most. In the others there are no Hungarians.)



Inner Plain dance dialect. The Palatka/Pălatca dance district is in dark grey, the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca district is in light grey colour.
Map of Transylvania, 1993, Dimap Editions, Budapest

Comparing the dance repertoire and the choreological characteristics of the dances of the local settlements with those of the other Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca, vague differences emerge. The asymmetrical slow couple dance (*lassú cigánytánc/slow gypsy dance*) with asymmetrical pulsation, which was typical of the Palatka district and danced by Hungarians, had already disappeared in the late 1800s in the areas around Buza, Melegföldvár/Feldioara and Feketelak/Lacu. The mixed *magyar/Hungarian* or four person dance (men and women dancing together) also fell out of fashion sometime around the First World War, while in the Palatka dance district it was still danced by Hungarians in the 1960s.

The asymmetrical, rotating couple dance (*vațitură*) of the Romanians of the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca has choreological features different from the so-called *joc românesc* danced in the Palatka district. In the Romanian dance of the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca, men and women dance almost exclusively holding each other's left hands, in many cases moving almost opposite each other, whereas in the Palatka dance district, couples mostly hold hands with their right hands. In addition, in the symmetrical couple dances in the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca there is an under-arm rotation, where the woman turns twice around her own axis in a simple duple meter (2/4) while in the Palatka district the same movement is almost always executed in a simple quadruple meter (4/4). These latter differences may seem very small, but in many cases they

can confuse dancing and, in the case of the Romanian slow couple, even make dancing together impossible.[19]

The separation of the two small regions is justified not only by the different musical accompaniment and dance terminology[20] but also by the locals' image of their own dance culture (the dance group they define). At the time of collectivization, many people from the villages around Magyarpalatka/Pălatca moved to the larger, and therefore more labour-intensive, village of Katona/Cătina in the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca. A recurring motif in their memories is that they were reluctant to attend the festivities because they could not dance with the locals.

According to my informants, the Hungarians of Visa/Vișea still have close kinship relations with the Hungarians of Kötelend/Gădălin, Mezőkeszü/Chesău, Magyarpalatka/Pălatca, Kispulyon/Puini, Vajdakamarás/Cămăraș, Mezőszava/Sava and Magyarszovát/Suatu,[21] which they claim to belong to the same ethnographic unit. The much broader marriage relations of the Visa/Vișea Romanians concerned all the villages around Magyarpalatka/Pălatca except Kisbogács/Băgaciu, Magyarpete/Petea and Légen/Legii, and apart from these they rarely married with the inhabitants of the Romanian villages along the Kis Szamos/Someșul Mic, but not at all with the inhabitants of the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca. Until the 1960s, Hungarian and Romanian men from Visa/Vișea attended weekend dances in the villages belonging to the marriage circle outlined here.

Conclusions

The above division is mainly based on the analysis of the Hungarian dance material. In terms of the formal and structural characteristics of Romanian couple dances, as well as the motif repertoire, the Mezőség/Plain and the surrounding small provinces present a rather homogeneous picture, and only in the case of the men's dances, which make up a much smaller part of the dance stock than the couple dances, do we see regional differences similar to those of the Hungarians.[22] All this warns us that it is worth reviewing and refining the aspects on the basis of which we conduct our dialectological investigations. In my opinion,

19 I experienced this at several festivals where we tried to get dancers from the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca and the Magyarpalatka/Pălatca area to dance with each other.

20 István Pávai's most recent map also marks the Tóvidék/Lacurile Geaca and the Belső-Mezőséget/Inner Plain separately (Pávai and Abonyi)

21 They married less frequently with people from Bonchida/Bonțida, Válaszút/Răscruci, Mócs/Mociu, Mezőgyéres/Ghirișu and Kályán/Căianu, and occasionally with people from Légen/Legii and Szék/Sic. In addition, some Hungarian families of Kötelend/Gădălin and Zsuk/Jucu are of Visa/Vișea origin.

22 The Romanian dance material is all the more worth examining, as since the 18th century the Romanians have been the most important ethnic group in the Mezőség/Plain.

in the case of the dances, the study of the symmetrical pulsating pair dances known as the *Gypsy dance*, the *csárdás/ceardaș*, the *szökős/bătuta* and the *sűrű/des* is of particular importance, since, unlike the men`s dance, the majority of the people of the Mezőség/Plain know and still dance them. This idea is supported by the fact that in the vast majority of cases, the locals distinguish between these dances when defining dance districts.

All this also shows that when examining dance dialects, we should be careful with our national or ethnic focus, and that in the future it would be worthwhile to examine the dance culture of the Mezőség/Plain from a Romanian, Saxon and Roma perspective in addition to the Hungarian one.[23] It is worth quoting Károly Kós: "The Mezőség/Plain is the common homeland of the Romanian and Hungarian people, and even of the settled Saxon and the Gypsy ethnic group living in some villages on its Northeastern periphery. As such, it is obvious that the „Mezőség/Plain" specificity can hardly be understood without taking this into account" ("A Mezőség", vol. 1: 18). Among Romanian researchers, Anca Giurchescu drew attention to the interethnic realtions of the dance culture of the villages in Central Transylvania (Giurchescu and Bloland, 275).[24] Such research, which seeks to explore the inter-ethnic and transnational aspects of dance culture, would require a change in approach and methodology, and would also necessitate the creation of new theoretical frameworks.[25]

23 According to our present knowledge, which is superficial from this point of view, considering the formal appearance of the dances, the accompanying music and the related use of space, it seems that in the case of the Roma dances in the areas of Central Transylvania we would get a much more homogeneous picture than both Hungarian and Romanian. It is conceivable that a study focusing on Roma culture from a Roma ethnic perspective would interpret Central Transylvania as a single large dance dialect.

24 I agree with Colin Quigley's next statement: "Dance tradition, I would argue, as practiced among different ethnic communities in central Transylvania is […] mixed and difficult, if not impossible to disentangle. Ethnic distinctions that can be made and that are used to mark ethnic difference are usually only relevant in local contexts. This is particularly so in the Mezőség/Câmpia Transylvaniei central region" (Quigley, 121).

25 György Martin already referred to this in a 1984 study: "Today the peoples of East Central Europe remain unaware of the fact that their specific national dance cultures have common roots and how similarly their national dances have evolved. The public opinion considers these dances to be individual and unique, originating in the distant and hazy past of the nation. In reality, the differences in the peasant dance culture of various peoples were created by the different pace and phases of historical development in smaller or larger regions. The differences deriving from belated development were emphasized by national elites; they filled them with ideological meaning and made them serve their own political objectives during the period of national awakening. The ultimate goal of political and cultural efforts during this period was the achievement of national independence and the demonstration of the distinct cultural standing of independent national communities. Stressing distinctness one-sidedly was justified as long as national independence had not yet been achieved. But the objectives of national

"Research to date on the regional segmentation of folk culture reflects a concept of culture that understands culture as a set of products that can be described and measured," writes Csongor Könczei in 2002. He rightly points out that, in contrast, little attention has been paid to cultural processes ("A regionális identitástudat", 7). I believe that the solution to this problem, and the clarification of the notion of „transitional territory", also questioned by Csongor Könczei, lies in carrying out micro-level studies sensitive to changes over time. Not only would this solve the problem of uneven collections, but it would also fine-tune the now rather rigid framework within which Martin and his colleages studied dance culture and the spread of related cultural elements. Such studies might show that certain phenomena of dance culture could have been brought to quite distant places, even by jumping through cultural units previously thought to be closed (the school, the church, the dance masters, or perhaps the influence of contemporary literacy, for example). The question of migration also needs to be examined in more detail, as Márta Belényesy did with the Szeklers of Bukovina ("Kultúra és tánc"). Finally, the relationship between traditional and contemporary culture needs to be reconsidered. Some of my studies show, for example, that there have been changes in peasant culture in the different phases of acculturation, caused by modernisation in the 20th century (festivals, cinema, etc.), changes which have left their mark on the traditional dance culture of some villages ("The Necessity", 195).

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independence have by and large been accomplished. Today we should look back upon the enthusiastic youth of the development of national cultures as adults. Instead of cultivating historical myths further, research must bring to light real historical interrelationships in the interest of unprejudiced national self-consciousness" (Martin, "Peasant", 211).

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