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Introduction: From Musealisation of Music to Italian Migrant Workers in Hungary Through Some Linguistic Issues

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ABSTRACT

This introduction reconstructs the arguments of the editor and contributors of 2022 volume of the Hungarian Studies Yearbook that focuses on the possible thematic and methodological challenge that authors brought in our attention.

Keywords: Hungarian studies, music culture, sociolinguistics, languages in social and economic context, education in minority languages, second language acquisition, conventional metaphors, online reader, industrial history

The general purpose of the Hungarian Studies Yearbook is to seek and accept proposals that fall within the conventionally defined borders of Hungarian studies. Usually, volumes are focused on a specific interdisciplinary or disciplinary theme, however, the editors agreed not to thematise this year's volume. Therefore, we were open to any subject covering aspects of Hungarian studies. Thus, papers published in this volume are related to a variety of fields bringing together many facets of our general interest: music culture, sociolinguistics, teaching languages, cognitive linguistics, translations, and even industrial history. Based on the titles, the interests of individual authors seem to be so diverse that a common feature cannot be established. However, most studies seem to approach the questions arisen from the perspective of the embeddedness in society.

Bálint Veres, the author of the first paper (entitled *Franz Liszt and the Temple of Art*) presents Franz Liszt's manifesto published in 1835, among other problems, from the perspective of sociology of culture. He argues that – by his manifesto – the musician emphasised the problem of the artists' place in society, and that he was a cultural mediator, a key figure of musical modernity. Since for Franz Liszt music was a

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social, community experience, in his manifesto, he brought together some mutually supportive aspects (cultural policy, education, art management, demand for musical literacy) in order to make music a real experience. The paper deals with the historical, sociological background and context of the question: is it possible or desirable at all to establish a museum of music? B. Veres also focuses on the questions raised by the contradiction between the historical narrative and the frozen set of encyclopaedic data, a contradiction still existing when one thinks about a musical museum, or a museum of any sort of art that is created over and over by each performance. Besides, the author mentions the contradiction between presenting works of art as a historical phenomenon and the ever-changing canon, namely what can be recognised as work of art or – more precisely – canonical work of art in a given period of history.

The aim of Miklós Kontra, author of the paper entitled *Hungarian Sociolinguistics in the Carpathian Basin, 1985-2022*, is to give an overview of Hungarian sociolinguistics research to those who do not read Hungarian. Therefore – after presenting Hungarian sociolinguistic research in the countries adjacent to Hungary, and the history of the first two phases, namely the early studies with 2 major projects, and a research conducted after 1995 – the author chooses to present by topics the major trends in Hungarian sociolinguistic research, the Hungarian National Sociolinguistic research, the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview project, and the publications chosen mostly from publications in English, however he cannot bypass the most important publications in Hungarian either. The fields involved are: language policy and rights, language shift and revitalization, language contact inside and outside Hungary, the debate about pluricentricity, urban dialectology, rural cross-border dialectology, English-Hungarian contacts, historical linguistic studies, computerized Hungarian dialect atlases, Romani, slang, gender, linguistic landscape. At the end of the paper, there is a bibliography containing almost 200 entries of important handbooks and studies.

The paper entitled *Hungarian Beyond the Border – On the Contexts of Education, Bilingualism, and Labour Market in the early 21st century. The Transylvanian Perspective* written by Angella Sorbán discusses the correlations between minority bilingualism and social structure characteristics based on sociological surveys, taking as approach the sociological space and John Ogbu's ecological cultural model of schooling. The study is centred on the aspects of interrelation between the language of education and labour market. Attitudes and patterns of behaviour towards the official language, with the focus on the role that languages play in the society and, in narrow sense, in self-positioning on the labour marker are also discussed. Thus the analysis is centred on certain aspects of the context of education and labour market, more specifically on those linked to state language proficiency, the attitudes and patterns of behaviour towards mother tongue and official language. The author chooses the ecological cultural model as a theoretical framework,

adopted to the Transylvania's Hungarian community. Aspects of social structure and labour market, namely educational, occupational asymmetry and wealth inequalities, linguistic asymmetry as a context of the structural processes are shortly presented, the focus being on minority models and behavioural patterns associated with self-positioning on the labour market and the social effects involved. The author emphasises in the conclusions that „In the context of the outlined asymmetric minority situation, the features of language use are largely shaped by economic and social constraints and determinations, just as by the established cultural models, beliefs, attitudes, and the 'community forces' manifested therein. (…) We must not overlook the impact generated by the adaptation responses that a community or social group may produce – for considerations of repositioning – under the given circumstances, to changed situations, exploring their options and room for manoeuvre."

Kristina Katalinić and Eszter Tamaskó, the authors of the study entitled "*We were that small, special group in that large school with »normal« classes – Education in a Minority Language in the Context of Hungarians From Zagreb"* bring to the fore a community that has so far escaped the attention of scholars dealing with the questions of sociolinguistics, although there were conducted researches on Hungarian language use and its communication functions in Croatia. In order to better understand the challenges this community is facing, the authors present the socio-demographic context, the general factors of assimilation and language shift, the institutional and legal framework for education in minority languages in Croatia. Although Croatia ensures an institutional framework for education, exercising this right is difficult when we are dealing with a small community as that of Hungarians living in Zagreb. Education is a key factor in supporting families in language transmission and language preservation, therefore it is an important component that has to be maintained formally by kindergarten, school classes, and informally by extracurricular activities. Because formal education cannot replace language transmission in family, there is a need of organising various workshops for parents as well. In order to obtain a clearer image of how various class models in Hungarian language actually function and which problems their participants are faced with, the authors conducted a preliminary research among younger members of the community who attended classes in Hungarian at least at one point during their education. They completed the results with informations obtained through informal conversations with preschool and school teachers as well. Being a preliminary research, it did not comprise a large number of respondents, and the authors' aim is to extend it by interviewing more pupils, their teachers and parents, because the possible language shift that they are facing has numerous aspects and motivations to be revealed in this particular community. In the conclusion, the authors draw our attention to an important aspect revealed by all the respondents, namely that they expressed a clear desire to pass the

language on to their children, even though they are not certain that the level at which they speak Hungarian will suffice.

The author of the study *What are we Speaking of? A New Perspective on the Post-verbal Field in Hungarian*, Paolo Driussi proposes a functional approach to both describing and teaching Hungarian as a foreign language, because the Functional Discourse Grammar allows the interplay between pragmatics, syntax and semantics. The article focuses on one particular aspect of Hungarian syntax, namely the word order with special regard to the so-called post-verbal field. Because teaching a foreign language requires a balance between theory, applied linguistics results and teacher's intuition, the author chooses to present the problem of word order with a functional background emphasizing practical aspects as well as approaching the subject matter as a non-native speaker. A teacher has to have a detailed knowledge on grammatical problems of the language he is teaching, however a more general picture of the language has to be given to students. This is particularly important in the case of Hungarian language, because the word-order is not motivated only by morphosyntactic rules, but by semantics, and the pragmatic intentions of the speaker. After presenting some fundamental issues in Hungarian, and the theoretical frame, the author focuses on some principles of word order, and presents the variations on pragmatic functions in case of verbal predicates as well as in case of nominal predicates, writes about the post-verbal field as a sequence of modifiers. In conclusion, he proposes a model for gradual construction of a Hungarian sentence which offers a frame that makes easier for students learning Hungarian as L2 to understand how a sentence is built in various communication situations.

The novelty of the next study entitled *Transylvanian Hunglish: Phonological Properties of Hungarian Accented English in Transylvania* written by Bálint Huszthy consists in the comparison of English pronunciation of Hungarian native speakers living in Transylvania and those living in Hungary. The study relies on direct speech recordings made with 30 Hungarian speakers descending from various parts of Transylvania, and with 15 speakers from Hungary, who participated in the same reading experiment. The results indicate that the English pronunciation of the two groups mostly share the same phonetic and phonological features, however there are some persistent phonological differences. After a very detailed analysis of data (i.e., loanwords in L2 reading, vowels, consonants, laryngal phonology, word stress), the author states that "[t]he differences basically originate in the fact that Transylvanian speakers' interlanguage is much more heterogeneous than that of Hungarians', i.e. Transylvanians speak a substandard version of Hungarian as L1, they speak a Transylvanian dialect, they speak Romanian at high level as L2, and they usually speak further foreign languages as well beyond English; these varieties all affect their foreign accent." However, this paper is only a preliminary work, based on its results, one can build a large-scale research in the future.

In her paper, *Comparative Analysis of Genitival Components in Time Metaphors*, Zsuzsa Máthé proposes a contrastive cross-linguistic approach of time metaphors within the framework of the cognitive metaphor theory. The paper, as a part of a doctoral thesis, compares only the genitival components in time metaphors and their cognitive aspects in a sample of three languages: English, Finnish, and Hungarian. The aim is to compare metaphors not only at a linguistic level, but at figurative and conceptual level, as well with a focus on spatial and force schemas identifying cognitive mechanisms that metaphors are based on. The analysis is based on a huge corpus gathered from three major databanks: the Corpus of Contemporary American English, the Hungarian National Corpus (Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár), and the Finnish Language Bank (Kielipankki). The chosen data are selected from formal, informal, and literary texts. The analysed metaphors are the following: the WHEEL OF TIME, HANDS OF TIME, MILL OF TIME, ARROW OF TIME, TOOTH OF TIME, MARKS OF TIME, SANDS OF TIME, MIST and VEIL OF TIME, PATINA OF TIME, WATER OF TIME, WINDS OF TIME, WEIGHT OF TIME, and SIEVE OF TIME. The author demonstrates that the schemas are found in each language, however some of them are put more in evidence in certain languages through metaphors than in others, while spatial schemas tend to be more frequent then the schema of force.

The study written by Tibor M. Pintér and Katalin P. Márkus (*The Role of Online Bible Readers in Biblical Concordance Making*) investigates the problems encountered while building an online Bible reader based on the Hungarian translations of the Bible. The paper shows different approaches to online Bible concordance of the Hungarian translations, and illustrates the obstacles connected with terminological and lexicographic approaches as this concordance is based on translations of the keywords of the ESV Bible Concordance. The authors present the problems emerging from interpretation while translating a foreign text, and those given by the distance in time and space between the original and translated text. Making of a biblical concordance is a complex linguistic and exegetical task, and the various translations, semantic interpretations of several words, expressions are challenging those who work on a Unified Bible Reader. Besides, morphological richness of the Hungarian language can be an obstacle as well in building an online reader. The analysis presented "shows that the online versions of the Hungarian Bible translations are not uniform in their handling of concordances, but it also shows that there is currently no good solution for dealing with them in a satisfactory way (the improved version of the Unified Bible Reader – Egyesített Bibliaolvasó, ebo.kre.hu – will try to provide a solution)", as the authors state. However, a solution has to be found in order to help researchers, since concordances can be useful in theolinguistic-terminological research, in translation studies, in linguistic and hermeneutic research, as well.

Barbara Blaskó, in her paper entitled *The Friulian Presence in Hungarian Industry with Particular Regard to the Meat Industry of Debrecen*

in the 19th century, chooses to present a particular phenomenon of the industrial history, namely how the Italian emigrants of Friuli region influenced the development of industry in the 19th century Debrecen. The author emphasises that even though some scholars are engaged in Friulian emigration research, Hungary as a destination has never been examined previously, so this paper offers new informations that can be a starting point for future in-depth elaborations. After presenting shortly the history of Friulians' migration that goes back to the 13th century, the author focuses on the circumstances and causes of the most significant Friulian migratory movement: the last decades of the 19th century when Friulian workers preferred destination became Hungary. They gained a leading role in the Hungarian meat industry by establishing salami factories, and creating conditions for the spread of a new product, the salami. The last chapter of the paper describes some aspects of the history of the Vidoni salami factory in Debrecen. The study highlights that a research on Friulian factories in Hungary are not important only for Hungarian industrial history, but they shed light on the migratory processes, and broaden the horizon of historical knowledge on Hungarian-Italian relations as well.

On behalf of the editorial committee of the HSY, as the editor of this issue, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude for the generous support of the Hungarian Studies Yearbook to our permanent academic sponsor, the Kolozsvári Akadémiai Bizottság (KAB), the local representative of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Author's profile

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Franz Liszt and the Temple of Art

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ABSTRACT

Is it possible or desirable at all to establish a museum for music? The question was first posed by Franz Liszt in the 19th century. This essay will not only present the background and context of the question, but also the contradictory conclusions that emerge from the idea of the musealisation of music, and which still linger in 20th- and 21st-century music culture.

Keywords: Franz Liszt, musealisation of music, 19th-century music culture, museum theory, virtuosity in music, music aesthetics

1. Pantheon of Music

In 1835, a twenty-four-year-old young man from a distant land – a phenomenal piano virtuoso whose comet-like artistic career, legend has it, was foretold by miraculous celestial signs from the moment of his birth (Walker 1983, 53) – published an eight-point manifesto in Paris in the *Gazette musicale*, with the strange and authoritative force of a foreign prophet's voice, to an educated public (not least to the administration of Philip Louis). The manifesto is included in the article *On the Position of Artists and Their Place in Society,* and this title immediately provided a context for the demands which in themselves are both a cry for explanation and all too obvious. Below is the full text of the relevant section of Franz Liszt's manifesto:

> In the name of all musicians, of art, and of social progress, we require:
> (a) The foundation of an assembly to be held every five years for religious, dramatic, and symphonic music, by which the works that are considered best in these three categories shall be ceremonially performed every day for a whole month in the Louvre,

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> being afterwards purchased by the government, and published at their expense. In other words, we require the foundation of a musical Museum.
> (b) The introduction of musical instruction into the primary schools, its extension into other kinds of schools, and, at that point, the calling into existence of a new church music.
> (c) The reorganization of choral singing and the reformation of plainchant in all the churches of both Paris and the provinces.
> (d) General assemblies of Philharmonic Societies in the manner of the great musical festivals of England and Germany.
> (e) Opera productions, concert and chamber-music performances, organized after the plan sketched in our previous article on the Conservatoire.
> (f) A school of advanced musical studies, established quite separately from the Conservatoire by the most eminent artists—a school whose branches shall extend to all the provincial towns having a chair in the history and philosophy of music.
> (g) A cheap edition of the most important works of old and new composers from the musical Renaissance to the present time. It will embrace the development of the art in its entirety, from folk song to Beethoven's Choral Symphony. This publication as a whole might be called the "Pantheon of Music." The biographies, treatises, commentaries, and glossaries which would have to accompany it would form a true "Encyclopedia of Music." (Walker 1983, 159-160)

Before we are absorbed in the contemporary museological implications of the idea to envision symphonic orchestra concerts at the Louvre (the museum as a multimedia space, as a cultural *Forum Romanum*, etc.), let us first discuss the phrase "Pantheon of music". All the more so, because this idea seems to form the basis of even late bourgeois music culture, in so far as it refers to the collection of musical pieces that constitutes the canon of classical music. And the canon is the material basis of the hall of fame in which the gods, demigods and heroes of music are placed.

Whatever the field of art, the canon does not, of course, appear out of nowhere, but is the result of a complex selection process.[1] In order to rise to canonical dignity a work of art – whether a surviving piece of antiquity or a contemporary novelty –, it must be subjected to certain processes of evaluation, and even become a standard itself. The circumstances of any canonisation process need to be analysed on a case-by-case basis,

1 On aspects of the canonization of classical music, see Bergeron and Bohlman 1992.

even if those fit into broad trends.[2] Without getting into the changing circumstances of the canonization of art, we can safely conclude that the decisions behind the inclusion of art in the museum canon in the first third of the nineteenth century can in no way be traced back to a single ideal of art, but were born in a field of competing political-museological-aesthetic ideas.

The Lisztian concept of "musical museum" does not lack a polyvalent coordinate system of evaluation. This is indicated by the separation of the three leading musical genres in principle, and this is also evident from the fact that Liszt identifies a deep historical connection between the qualities of the *classical* and the *progressive*. What taste with no sense of history has not long before seen as a contradiction, now by relating the two categories (the classical and the progressive) to each other, it becomes the framework for a rite of initiation in the nineteenth century, in which only those entities can be worthy of admission to the museum which occupies an unmissable position in the arc of artistic evolution, i.e., which, although it is a bearer of timeless values, represents progress in its time.

The assertion of genealogical thinking in the Liszt manifesto calling for canonisation and musealisation creates an instructive anomaly: the museum management is at a loss to furnish the very first rooms of the Hall of Fame. For, in contrast to the guaranteed identity of the composer of *Choral Symphony*, the prodigy of the "folk song" (whatever meant by it) disrupts the pantheology that represents the idea of *de viris illustribus*.[3] This anomaly gives rise to questions and dilemmas that still haunt art theory, which is caught up in the problem of historicity, and to which it must somehow respond.

If the history of art is nothing but a process of classicisation, where does the experience of classicism come from? Is the history of art identical with the autonomous history of intellectual objects considered as art (although those objects are subject to the judgment of historical consciousness that recognises them as art), or does the history loom behind works of art that are dissolved in a state of timelessness by their universality, to be found precisely on the side of the creators, in the history of the artists? Are those who become part of the history of art by their intention and those who receive any role in it against their will equal part-takers? If canonical works of art float in the timelessness of "being classics", while their creators are real historical beings, is the museum right to present art as a historical phenomenon, or rather as a monstrance of timeless values?

2 Cf. Burkholder (1983) who in this much-cited study explicitly addresses the problem of the musealisation of music in order to shed light on the emergence of a modern composer's self-consciousness.

3 The same problem arises here as in the unstable opposition between museums of fine art and natural history.

2. Encyclopaedia and history

We can shed light on the problem outlined here from another angle by pointing out that the genre of *encyclopaedia*, which Liszt also mentions in the last point – and which is closely linked to the Enlightenment programmes of public education, classical archaeology, museology and museum pedagogy, as well as the cultural-political identity to be acquired individually – is ultimately in conflict with the idea towards which it was initiated: that of *history,* for encyclopaedia, by relying on reason and breaking the power of tradition, presents horizontally extended timeless knowledge, as opposed to the temporal extension of traditional knowledge prior to the Enlightenment.[4] The pre-modern tradition is the identification of a present state with a past story that is still going on, and the latter is a reference point for the former. To be in the tradition is to know the meaning of a story and the present occurrence, and to acknowledge the power of the events of tradition over what is happening.

As we know, the Enlightenment breaks with this stream of stories set by tradition and it develops a kind of map-like field of knowledge, which, instead of the image of a plant growing by its roots and shoots, has the character of an air-root that extends to infinity, of a limitless rhizomatic addition. Cooperation is essential for the pre-modern tradition to work. Questioning any element of tradition is a serious event that potentially threatens the very essence of tradition. In contrast, critical consciousness is a prerequisite for encyclopaedic construction. Critical work, grounded in the timeless principles of reason, can weed out any element of the encyclopaedia at any time, without any substantial damage to the potentially infinite network of knowledge.

This survivability of the encyclopaedia, however, not only demonstrates its strength in the face of tradition, but also betrays, in some sense, its inferiority because the questions to which the articles of the encyclopaedia are to answer are all about relevance, and they are therefore defenceless against historicism, against historical scepticism. If the pre-modern Western self-conception, based on the biblical tradition, always approaches questions of relevance from the perspective of a historical narrative, the second "big book" of Western culture, the encyclopaedia, denies the very need for narrative. This refusal implies, on the one hand, breakaway and freedom, but on the other hand, lack and new questions that are lost in the infinity of time: the possible historicization of any relevant rational questions.

The encyclopaedia, which supersedes the traditional narrative, can thus only be a transitional stage for the third "big book" to come, which

4 More precisely, encyclopaedia is not without an aspect of time, but here, unlike the traditional knowledge, which is based on the past, the expanding fields of knowledge are open first and foremost towards the future.

is the book of *history* (philosophy of history and historiography).[5] It was only after this temporary suspension through the encyclopaedia that the decisive old narrative of biblical thought was replaced by new great narratives, the "new mythology" (Schelling), the "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm), the identity-forming stories of the chosen tradition, and among them one of the most influential narratives – complementing the medium of the book with the medium of space – the programme of *art history*.

"The age of art history as an academic discipline coincides with the age of the museum" – this is how Hans Belting (2003, 8) summarises, in his basic thesis on the history and fate of art history, in a single sentence the connection between the experience of the late-modern parallel crisis of art history and museums and the need to redefine their identity in the 1970s (Belting 2003). In 1835, Liszt was only talking about the problem of the place of artists in society when he proposed the introduction of a musical museum, whereas contemporary museum theory has been addressing the lack of legitimacy of the museum and its questionable social function for decades. The recent crisis of the museum, which plays a significant role in the formulation of collective cultural identity, is not only the result of the emergence of external challenges (the boom on the global art market, telecommunications, mass media, cultural pluralism, political and ethnic conflicts, etc.), but also of the internal conflicts that have accompanied the idea of the museum and art history from the beginning. There is a price to pay for the fact that the museum as an institution is born not only from the spirit of art history, but also from the spirit of the encyclopaedia.

The tension of these motifs is unresolvable, but manageable. Albeit with different emphases, since its beginnings in the eighteenth century, the museum has almost always occupied an intermediate position between the pillars of the unhistorical encyclopaedia and radical historicity. The choice of this intermediate situation is based on the consideration that the objects of art history that the museum receives are ultimately derived from aesthetic experience, even if they also have considerable historical significance and can serve historical interest. Aesthetic experience, however, is the experience of *simultaneity*, the beautiful cannot be merely past, but is necessarily actualised (cf. Gadamer 1986). If the encyclopaedia is a space of valid knowledge, then the museum is, similarly, a place for the timeless but always relevant presentation of beauty – at least the public perception at the time of Liszt's manifesto is still in line with this idea. However, the above equation is itself rapidly becoming historicised, precisely because of the rise of the art historical

5 Point 7 of Liszt's manifesto refers to the same dichotomy, assigning to the institutional system of (musical) art the faculties of (music) history on the one hand, and (music) philosophy on the other. On the interfering relationship between historical and philosophical research – which Nietzsche analysed so perceptively and somewhat hysterically in his second *Untimely Meditations* – see Jacob Burckhardt's far-reaching epistemological conclusions capitulating to the problem (1943, 15. ff.)

approach. Contrary to the eternal laws of reason, beauty is not entirely timeless, and aesthetic sensibility can also make a profit from it where qualities different from beauty (like the *sublime*, the *characteristic*, the *interesting*, the *ugly* in the emphatic sense and the *like*) appear. The questioning of the timelessness of beauty and the expansion of aesthetic sensibility are the conditions that have allowed the spirit of the modern museum to be defined not only by an encyclopaedic ethos, but increasingly by a historical vision.

Belting (2003) is right to point out the paradox that is already latently present at the moment of the birth of the modern museum: that Winckelmann (1987), who spread the programme of art history and the museum approach, ultimately replaces the encyclopaedic approach to art (i.e. the monadic view of individual masterpieces) with narrative stories only because he can thus more vividly depict the ideal accomplishment of beauty, surrounded by the *still* unattainable and the *already* unrealizable conditions (cf. Belting 2003, 126-136). In this narratively reprogrammed space, the same homogeneity no longer prevails as one that provides the implicit consistency of the articles of the encyclopaedia (in the encyclopaedia's space, all the propositions are in principle equally true). The space of art history becomes – both literally and in a metaphorical sense of the word – a building with its own dramaturgy, with lobbies, transit areas and a sanctuary that is home to the most precious objects (not everything in the museum space is equally beautiful). The whole building serves only this sanctuary, and the choreography of entering the building is aimed at preparing the experience of the sanctuary and a rewarding exit from it that stays with us.

However, alongside this weak and technical sense of the historicist approach as a narrative introduction to the timeless experience of ideal art, there is also a strong, theoretical sense. This means that artistic perfection, ideal beauty, is not a natural phenomenon, but the result of the process of attaining perfection – counterpointed on the other side by decay. The museum is therefore an institution that aims both to make artistic excellence public and, at the same time, to show the processes of development and decline that surround it. The ideal is not possible without a historical process, and vice versa: a meaningful historical process is not possible without an ideal that is above history.

However, the tension between these two aspects does not come to the surface at first, because the early museum movement following Winckelman's (1987) approach is still based on the assumption that art has a *single* ideal realisation, and the only question is which piece of work or which period is worthy of this title. And if a historically situated ideal can no longer be given – as was the case at the time of Liszt's manifesto – then it is at least necessary to determine which pieces of work from the most distant periods of history possess the highest ideal of art.

In fact, this spiritualised/abstracted option is already implicit in Winckelmann's (1987) concept. Sándor Radnóti, a major Hungarian

expert in the field, rightly points out those internal contradictions in the introductory chapter of his book on Winckelmann, which were present but not yet revealed at the beginning of the museological approach:

> The new system of arts is based on a new historical consciousness and contributes to its unfolding. The powerful retrospective work of the alliance of historicism and aesthetics reorders the memory of the past. Taking them out of their context, this alliance juxtaposes works of art that are often very distant from one another, and even recognises or defines as works of art many items that were not – or are no longer – seen as works of art. It articulates and expands historical space and time, seeks and finds new traditions, and systematically separates and relates the old and the new in this process. The problem is the normativity of the old and the legitimacy of the new. New relations of distance and proximity, continuity and discontinuity are established, and as a consequence, the notions of pattern and measure are separated. That which no longer functions as an example to be imitated or followed, that which no longer has a direct connection with one's own being, can remain a measure, and as a result, a significant – and increasingly significant – part of works of art is stabilised as a monument and (as far as the visual arts are concerned) is musealised in its institutional form. (Radnóti 2010, 22)

Now, the musical museum that Liszt calls for in the first point – and to which he would link a comprehensive state institutional system in points 2-6 – foreshadows the extension of this internally and increasingly conflicting construction of cultural identity to musical culture. Liszt's claim differs from Winckelmann's ambitions, however, his demand for a museum does not derive from the aim of a connoisseur to work out its *own* cultural identity against the dominant tradition, but rather from that of the producers of music, who are not in a position to establish themselves the same way as contemporary literature and the fine arts in terms of institutionalisation. This difference, however, is not only worthy of attention from the point of view of the sociology of art, but it also offers insights into art history: directly in terms of the development of Liszt's career, and indirectly in terms of explaining the great paradigm shifts in nineteenth-century music history.

In contrast to Wagner's monomaniac culture-making, for Liszt, who was deeply committed to both the professional and lay *societas*, the 1835 proposal is only one of the reactions in his career in which he tries to develop a sustainable relationship between the artist and society that goes beyond the eventualities of subjectivity. Liszt's career has a special

historical significance in that it was strongly linked to all three major musical paradigms of the century: his work shows traces of pre-modernity, modernity and post-modernity.

3. The virtuoso

The proposal for the establishment of a musical museum in 1835 was itself an alternative, thought experiment, and can be defined as a novelty and a challenge in relation to the image of a piano virtuoso who arrived in Paris as a child prodigy at the age of 13, and who remained there until the first half of the 1840s as one of the most respected members of the socialite, as well as an opinion leader in the modern sense. For Liszt, music is a social, community experience in the most direct way possible. The novelty of the 1835 manifesto lies not in the articulation of this, but in the way he attempts to make this (personally dominated) communal experience mediated and social, a cultural praxis in which the institutional agent, rather than the artist-individual guarantees the integrity of culture. When Baron Bernhard Freiherr von Eskeles, a Viennese banker – a true musical amateur – published an article in 1838 in the Augsburg edition of *Allgemeine Zeitung* on one of Liszt's concerts in Vienna, he was able to capture the apex of a cultural-social bonding that emerges in the immediate gravitational field of this genius, against which Liszt argues for in the name of the collectivist/historical community-building potential of the museum in his manifesto.

> The impact of Liszt's public performance in Vienna has so far surpassed any previous similar phenomenon, and so many artistic and social reflections are connected with it, that I may perhaps allow myself to dwell on this topic for a while. Franz Liszt was born in Hungary and brought up in France. The genius instinct, the inner restlessness, the usual companions of genius, tempted the young artist to take a multifaceted approach to life and to meet the most diverse circles of society. He was concerned with politics, literature, as well as newly raised social and moral issues […] Year after year, Paris paid tribute to him with growing admiration, even though for these genuinely witty but somewhat too lively people, certain elements of the young master's play seemed alien and difficult to understand. Thus Liszt returned to Vienna after fourteen years, which he left at the age of thirteen with a reputation as a great virtuoso. If you ask musicians and experts about his playing, they all agree that all the difficulties that had previously been known have been transformed by him into lightness, and that his piano

technique could hardly be improved any further, even if he continued to study. The sounds that he conjures from the piano seem to have nothing to do with this cold instrument […] If Liszt pursued his studies for years with stubborn diligence and almost exhausting his strength, it was ultimately the ideal that drove him, the initially dark, deep, burning desire for beauty, the enthusiasm that not only produces happy moments but, when it heats a person to the core, inspires the greatest perseverance and constant training of the inner being […] He interpreted musical works [performed at the concert] according to their characteristics, with witty modifications and additions suggested by the moment, which often made the works of other composers seem his own […] Whoever brings his personality to the masses must be able to assert it. Liszt can be a role model for all performing artists in this respect. A young man walks in, with a witty, almost slender appearance; his greeting and smile attest to his social upbringing at first sight. The hall is almost overcrowded; a few ladies can find their way to their seats with some difficulty; the virtuoso rushes up to them, offers his arm; they are surprised, reluctant – he offers them a seat beside him, which they are clearly not dissatisfied with […] the Viennese look like very different now. The second and third concerts follow; people scramble for tickets; on a hot summer's day, an hour before the start, they are already seated in the concert hall; the orchestra is removed to make room for the elite of the company of ladies near the virtuoso. Liszt stays the same, but every day new and excellent qualities are discovered about him, anecdotes about his life are told, people wait for him on the street, catch a word of him, order his portrait, buy his manuscripts – he becomes fashionable.

They try to get to know him under pretext of all sorts, they showe him with invitations to dinners, suppers and social gatherings. Distinguished gentlemen long for the honour of inviting him and receiving him graciously. This is where his Parisian upbringing prevails. As is well-known, in Vienna there is no social life, only cliques; everyone feels most comfortable among like-minded people. This is a fairly precise distinction between wealth aristocracy and birth aristocracy. The performance of a virtuoso in higher social circles is therefore always a rarity; but even rarer is the way in which our virtuoso handled the honour that was

> intended for him. He moved with a friendly ease in a world he knew well, chatting merrily, even gallantly […] In return, Liszt hosted dinners and suppers at his hotel, to which he invited, in a Parisian-style, anyone he liked. Musicians, poets, painters, journalists, critics, art dealers, connoisseurs and non-connoisseurs, counts, dukes, honourable gentlemen were among the invited guests. They all sat together peacefully, drinking, enjoying themselves, perhaps to wonder later how the amiability of the host, who seemed to make no distinction among his guests, could have made such contrasting components into a coherent whole. Joking apart, it may be said that Liszt's performance actually contributed to bringing the witty men of different circles closer together, and that the actually excellent and amiable Viennese perhaps need only a few more of these examples to make them aware of how important the elements of social life that they are, which can be united with a little bit of effort. (von Eskeles 2008, 21-24)

It was necessary to quote von Eskeles' article at some length here because the paradigm of the 'musical virtuoso', which characterises the first phase of Liszt's work, is fully reflected in this description. It is clear that the virtuoso's phenomenon is credited not only to his unearthly musical qualities but also to his unparalleled human character – in this respect, Baron Eskeles' description is perfectly consistent with the most diverse contemporaneous testimonies. While the professional aspects are important in this attempt to capture the phenomenon of the virtuoso in words – the way the work of a different composer becomes emphatically actualised in Liszt's fantastic interpretation as if his own works, furthermore the ease of how technical difficulties dissolve into brilliant lightness, and diligence disappears in obsession – the social aspects outside the profession are just as important.[6] Liszt's presence (characterised by constant change, exciting unpredictability and a self-identity that nonetheless prevails) triggers the experience of *comunitas* of the educated audience. Boundaries are opened up and rearranged in the space of social communication, and the artist himself is not defined as a counterpoint to the audience, but rather as a centre. And his central position is due to the fact that he is much more than a competent craftsman: as a knight of art, he also carries the dignity of an ambassador, when he acts as a cultural mediator on a wide range of issues: political, moral, social, legal, philosophical and religious.

6 This duality makes the figure of the musical virtuoso comparable to quasi-contemporaries such as Philidor (1726-1795), the first hero of the chess game and a noted opera composer, Carême (1784-1833), who opened a new chapter in the art of cooking, detective Vidocq (1775-1857), who had a devilish logic, or the fantastic illusionist Robert-Houdin (1805-1871). (Cf. Metzner 1998.)

4. The museum as compensation – and compensations of museum art

In 1835, when Liszt came up with the idea of the "musical museum" as an alternative to the above paradigm, he certainly had a specific ideal of the museum in mind, which for him was best represented by the Louvre, mentioned in the text (cf. Binni and Pinna 1989). It is a place that, in keeping with its ideology, displays the civilisational progress of humanity through the authentic presentation of original artefacts, and the staging of the collective norms of the emerging nation-state's system of values, and the demonstration of the enlightened reason itself that brings order to a chaotic experience. It does this for the greater glory of rulers and states that can appreciate the values of revolutionary citizens, for the spiritual and moral edification of the visiting public, for the enrichment of their national and global self-awareness – not least, finally, for the social legitimisation of the artists of the present who create their works of art with respect to the museum canon. Moreover, the legitimating power of the museum extends beyond its sociological aspects to the overall image of an entire culture. As the Hungarian aesthete Krisztián Kukla puts it "without the museum, the modern ideal of art could not have come into being, which creates a link between cultures and historical epochs, an autonomous medium of aesthetic experience and taste, the main function of which is to embrace the visualised course of history as well as the particular junctions of this course, i.e. the masterpieces, where all other works of art are relegated to the background" (Kukla 2005, 10).

This model has perhaps never lost its importance for Liszt, and it is safe to say that in the zenith of his career, as a composer at the Weimar court, he tried to assert the ideas of his youth at several points. His acceptance of the presidency offered much later, when the Budapest Academy of Music was founded in 1875, also shows that, as a clergyman, despite his changed social identity, he did not feel that the early 'museum' programme, including its institutional aspects, was out of date. At the same time, the last decade of his artistic career suggests that his relationship to the great programme of art history had become ambivalent, to say the least. But, whatever one may think of Liszt's determination to create a 'musical museum', one can admit that he certainly could not foresee the crises that the institution, envied by the volatile musical practice, was to face in the century to come.

Obviously, the institution of the museum understood as a "temple of culture", exemplified by the Louvre, did not become openly problematic only in the second half of the 20th century, and the musical pantheon foreseen by Liszt was not shaken only in that time. In fact, even in the 19th century, when art academies and other state-founded art and art history institutions were established, the problem of the unsustainability of a collective cultural identity secured by art history, with its characteristic question "whose museum is it?", came to the surface in certain situations, e.g. the debate around the *Salon des Refusés* (cf. Belting 2003).

As modernity unfolds, the art of the present time, which is losing its consensuality, is becoming isolated (like Liszt in his time), and is grouped in alliances (like the avant-garde), mostly in opposition precisely to the museum and the institutional system of art. On the one hand, art historians and scholars attempt to compensate for this unfortunate situation – except when they are themselves trying to devalue the new art – by producing critically reviewed, edited and annotated "oeuvres" for a bewildered public (bracing themselves up, time and again, to overcome the methodological difficulties that such efforts entail).[7] On the other hand, the public itself compensates for the situation by the freedom/licence it gives to the subjectivist and partial view of fragmented cultural production as a proper experience of art.

This is particularly the case in music, where the musical phenomenon is not given in the way as it is reconstructed in the scrutiny of philology and music theory. The basic case of musical experience is not the totality of the "Urtext" edition of an oeuvre, but an occasional and partial encounter (in the era of technical reproduction, typically a passage caught on the radio). Except in the extreme case of *Musikwissenschaft*, the listener of music does not encounter oeuvres – often not even individual pieces – but a mixed assemblage of concerts, records, programmes, broadcasts, i.e. *composites* emerged along hermeneutic self-cultivation that is hard to normalise.[8]

The contemporary practice of museum reception – as detailed in the analysis of the Hungarian museum expert Gábor Ébli in the context of the Musée d'Orsay – has an analogy with the distinctively modern nature of the attention and inattention paid to music.

> The Great Hall of Orsay, with its route named the Central Promenade, is particularly well-suited to the distracted tourist in search of a special experience. Instead of people focusing on the works, if you pay a little attention to the visitors, you can see something like strollers in the street, slowly drifting with the others. We can benevolently call this a contemporary cultural *flâneur* attitude: the visitor does not see individual paintings or sculptures, but ensembles, trying to absorb the experience of the museum space, immersed in the public life of art a hundred years ago, as suggested by today's museum professionals. The sightseeing continues in the museum with a bit of time travel. (Ébli 2011, 26)

7 "[…] the *work* of art—to say nothing of collected or complete works—is a conventionalized construct first isolated and then dissected by epigones" – insists K. Ludwig Pfeiffer while referring to Oskar Becker's insights. (Pfeiffer 2002, 196)

8 The composite nature of the musical experience also means that there is no primordial event, no *first* encounter.

It is as if we were talking about a piece of music which – apart from already being played when we enter its space and continuing to play after we have left its range, without being able to control it – would be presented as a continuous intermezzo, a transition and fragment, as a 'piece' of a colossal context emitting only excerpts for the passing listener.

The journey of experience of both the amateur listener to the 'musical Pantheon' and the amateur visitor to the museum collection is a rhapsodic one. In contrast to the institutional perspective, which provides a single and timeless view of the totality of the exhibited material, the lay experience is drawn out by volatile and heterogeneous impulses, and with its ephemerality, it brings processuality to the seemingly immobile exhibition – even if (and perhaps especially if) it does not discover the conceptual centre that defines the exhibition. In Liszt's manifesto, the mutually supportive aspects (cultural policy, education, science, arts management and, above all, the supposed general demand for musical literacy) do not prove to be peaceful partners in the long run, and the museum space inevitably becomes fragmented and fraught with contradictions.

The specifically unstable cultural position of the museum, which results from the duality of its actualising and historical task on the one hand, and the tension between institutional staging, which seeks to assert the legitimacy of art, and the individualised experience of art as a composite through the recipient's behaviour, on the other, can make the institution adaptable to and resilient even in the situation of a bourgeois culture in crisis by reprogramming the institution's self-conception. Instead of presenting a historical narrative of a no longer existing consensual culture, it can also take a position in which it is precisely the composite nature of artistic experience that is brought to the fore, hence making a claim for aesthetic quality against the *contexts* of art, which, at the beginning of modernity, was expected from the *text*, the piece itself. Musicologist Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich reminds us of this when he discusses the contextual qualities that are becoming increasingly important in post-modern musical practice: "There is no sound to music on paper; it must be interpreted in order to come to life, and that involves not only the act of playing but also the choice of context. It is the shape of this context that reveals a performer's creative potential" (Jungheinrich 1997).

The illusion of the objective validity of institutional representation is replaced by an admitted fictionality in which the quality of the fiction is the main stake (cf. Dahlhaus 1983, 33-43). Instead of an art history and museology with objectivist ambitions, a kind of mito-museology takes the stage here, starting from the vague and ecstatic experience of anonymity, which casts a Dionysian shadow over the Apollonian chain of (art historical) names, and which, concurrently with the revaluation of context, inevitably goes hand in hand with the devaluation of the text in itself. The post-modernisation of the museum is inconceivable without

the post-modernisation of the canon it exhibits. It is no coincidence that the dramatically reduced musical sketches of Liszt's last creative period only gained their place of distinction in a classical music canon that had itself adopted a position of primacy of contextuality half a century after his death.

5. Music-making, musical composition, and the unstable cultural context

However, the subordination of the closed, autonomous work of art to a higher instance (above all to the context of presentation) is not only unfolded by the tendency of post-modernity, but it structurally corresponds to the suggestive practice of pre-modern artistic performativity. Among the most impressive examples of the latter are the castrati with their unearthly voices (Farinelli, Caffarelli), the brilliant actors (Garrick), and the instrumental virtuosi (Tartini, Locatelli, Paganini, Thalberg, Rubinstein), including Liszt, whose breath-taking playing "made the works of other composers seem his own" (von Eskeles 2008, 22). Although virtuosity had to bow its head to the demands of artistic autonomy during the nineteenth century, this does not mean that it had become dispensable. The contemporary music philosopher, Lydia Goehr rightly stresses that the Dionysian flow, which does not simply 'execute' musical pieces in performance, but dissolves them into the act of performing, is also present in contemporary musical practice, above all in some instinctive gestures but not necessarily in a reflexive way (for example, in certain practices of improvisation, arrangement or collective composition; in *covers* of popular songs). In her book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (1992), she basically talks about two types of musical practices, partly layered on top of each other, that have defined the last two millennia of European music. The first is the emergent and regulative practice of creating and interpreting musical pieces as *opuses* – Goehr (1992) sees the dominance of this practice since the end of the eighteenth century, and thus considers it primarily a *modern* musical gesture. The second is the preceding but covertly uninterrupted musical practice, which is not about music, but about *music-making* (Goehr 1992)[9] – even when the musician happens to be performing an opus.[10]

The conflict between the two practices has been constant throughout modern music history, as the dominance of the music work conceived as *opus* has not invalidated the pre-modern and anti-modern practices emerging in improvisation, collective composition, interactive music games, incidental music, modular *works-in-progress*, etc. It must be

9 According to Goehr, the two types of practice usually obscure each other at the level of reflection, and only rarely do they achieve a balance in their controversy, as in Richard Wagner's *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg* (cf. Goehr 1998).

10 Cf. Roland Barthes' discernment (introduced after Julia Kristeva) between *pheno-song* and *geno-song* (Barthes 1977, 179-189).

added to Goehr's correct observations, however, that one of the most exciting groups of 20th-century music production is precisely that which, without replacing the paradigm of the opus with the pre-modern paradigm of radical performativity, as many avant-garde experiments aimed, provides a reaction to the decisive nature of art's contextuality, when it challenges the ideal of opus art at essential points, without absolutising the position of *music-making* on the other side.[11] Lydia Goehr (1998) lays down the framework conditions for an autonomous, closed work of art – first affirmed by Liszt in his programme of the "musical museum", but later questioned – in the following points:

> (1) the concept of the artwork is a derivative of paradigmatic examples, i.e. it is the result of cultural operations unfolding along the concept of the *classical*;
> (2) the concept of the artwork follows and enforces certain ideals, i.e., it has a regulative force;
> (3) the concept of the artwork applies to a projected *artefact*, appropriate for the practice of collecting and presenting, located in a fictionalized aesthetic space;
> (4) the modern concept of the *opus* is emergent, i.e., it is composed of elements that existed before but did not previously form unity and did not have a regulative function.[12]

Liszt is a key figure of musical modernity, not only because he is the first to announce – at least in words – his programme of an 'imaginary museum of musical works', which foresees Malraux, but also because in the first three decades of his life, as a travelling piano virtuoso, he fully embraces the idea of the pre-modern praxis of *music-making* as opposed to musical works.[13] His influential contribution to these two musical paradigms, and to the fruitful tension between them, gives Liszt a prominent role in cultural history in his own right, but he is also linked to a third general artistic paradigm that only emerged in the 20th century: the post-modernist trend that conceives the text of a work of art as subject to an overwhelming contextual force on the side of reception.

11 Adorno masterfully formulated the paradoxical claim that appears here:"Today the only works which really count are those which are no longer works at all." (Adorno 2007, 22)

12 In the context of these functions, following Burkholder's analysis (1983, 118-124), it is, above all, the factors of deprivation of social context, aesthetic originality, formal closedness and organicity, technical perfection, art historical significance and orientation towards private contemplation that deserve mention.

13 "At that time (1846), virtuosity was his main aim, with little emphasis on the artistic significance of the music," said Hanslick (2008,102) who, as an opponent, was still an admirer of him, in the mid-1840s. For a sensitive discussion of the figure of the virtuoso Liszt, see Gooley 2004; and for a musicological perspective, see the dual theme discussed in Samson 2004.

Looking back from the perspective of the 1960s, the latter phenomenon is described by Susan Sontag as "the aesthetics of silence" (Sontag 1969, 3-34). The gestures of reduction and denial that characterise Liszt's works from the 1880s are part of a poetics that testify to the shaking and shattering of the concept of composed and more or less fixed musical pieces of work. In contrast to the quite clear tendencies in the self-perception of the travelling virtuoso and the composer who produced everlasting masterpieces, the relationship between intention and result is highly problematic in the case of the late Liszt. For what appears in the late Liszt to be a shaking of opus art from the perspective of immanent music history, a self-conscious creative gesture, seems to be a haphazard or fateful event from a cultural-historical perspective: a cultural shock, which testifies to a sensitive recognition of the great crisis of the legitimacy of art and the artist. Furthermore, implicitly, his late works can be understood as symbols of the crisis of the museum ideal that aims to exhibit autochthon works of art as if in a natural way, creating the illusion of objectivity.

Hans-Georg Gadamer too, who is so sensitive to the continuous cultural dialogue, addresses the sociological crisis in modern art, arguing that the legitimacy crisis of art has its roots in the gradual disintegration of the Christian-humanist world view. Rather than discussing the emergence, the process and the development of this crisis, it is sufficient to note in the present context that in the last third of the nineteenth century (think of the famous double literary scandal of 1857: the publication of *Les Fleurs du Mal* and *Madame Bovary*) all this becomes an acute and irreversible problem. Gadamer (1986, 6-7) emphasizes that a "self-evident integration, and the universally shared understanding of the artist's role that accompanies it, no longer exists – and indeed no longer existed in the nineteenth century", adding that "in the nineteenth century, every artist lived with the knowledge that he could no longer presuppose the former unproblematic communication between himself and those among whom he lived and for whom he created".

The same process of crisis is reflected in creative workshops. Different attempts to find solutions point in opposing directions (Burkholder 1983, 129-132). One direction is giving up the need for referentiality (what would the reference refer to in the absence of a shared experience of the world?), the tendency towards the medial-aesthetic auto-referentiality of the arts. Another trend is the radicalisation of the relationship between art and philosophy, the infinite self-reflection of art that transcends its own medial boundaries, and even arrives at a fusion, so to speak, with its philosophy.[14] A third direction is a programme of giving to art those new functions that go along with increased sociability (cf. Bürger 1984). The fourth version is the transformation of art into

14 The Hegelian question "is art still art" is replaced by the Kantian question "why can something be a work of art at all" by Duchamp (cf. Danto 1986). And in the light of the developments after Duchamp, Danto asks: "what in fact distinguishes art from its own philosophy" (Danto 1981, 56).

applied art, and its dissolution in the spectacle of everyday life (Wellmer 2007, 95-112).

The second one of the above options seems to be the closest to Liszt, who is increasingly ambivalent about opus art: although at him by philosophy one should not think of Duchamp's conceptual orientation, but rather of prestigious literary and ecclesiastical traditions. The fusion of art and philosophy is far from being a surprising development, considering that art lost its embeddedness in the humanist-Christian tradition; furthermore, due to the absolutistic claims of truth in science, art broke with the bonds between *true* and *good* when pursuing beauty. Thus, the fusion of art and philosophy is an apparent symptom of art's reconfiguration. At the beginning of the century, Romantic art was still looking for legitimacy in the work of the genius who is simultaneously hermetic and sociable (there is no better example of this than Liszt himself). However, as soon as confidence in a genius falters (either on the part of the audience or of the 'possessor' of the doubted talent), and the individuality taken to the extreme becomes untenable, art hopes to confirm its identity, or simply to find a substitute for it, in a hermeneutically renewed traditionalism, placing the emphasis once on theoretical, other times on poetic factors in its quest for its origin. Liszt is an instructive example in this respect, as much for his rhapsodies[15] as for his 'literary' and ecclesiastical works.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the increasingly frequent emergence of questions about the origins, function and means of art is the result of a situation in which art, in response to its problems of social legitimation, starts pushing the boundaries of its own art-historical and museum-secured boundaries. The artistic revolutions of the avant-garde were, for instance, long seen as autonomous innovations along the lines of scientific progress, but today they are more of an 'escape' from a deepening social crisis (cf. Bürger 1984). The entire life of the leading figure of the Romantic generation, Liszt is a telling example of how "great artists were beginning to find themselves to a greater or lesser degree displaced in an increasingly industrialized and commercialized society, so that the modern artist found the old reputation of the itinerant artist of former days confirmed by his own bohemian fate" (Gadamer 1986, 6-7).[16]

When the ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl attempts to draw an anthropological sketch of the music culture of modernity, he reconstructs

15 Liszt, wrongly, attributed deep traditional embeddedness to his rhapsodies. He considers the melodies he hears from the Gypsies, most of which have not so long ago descended into popular culture, to be the remnants of an ancient Gypsy epic lost to the past, and he himself, like a Greek Rhapsodos, attempts to reconstruct them. His views along these lines are also expressed on a theoretical level in his famous and infamous study of the wandering Gypsies: *Des Bohémiens et de Leur Musique en Hongrie*.

16 Alan Walker also points out that Liszt was influenced by two life-changing influences during his childhood in Doborján: religion and the world of the strolling Gypsies who often appeared around the village (Walker 1983, 53-70).

the image of the 'modern musician' as defined in relation to society, starting from the use of language.[17]

> Why it should be Italian [language], in a repertory dominated by Germans, moves us to another guiding principle of Western art music, that of the musician as stranger. Deep in the roots of European culture is an ambivalence about music, suspicion of it, a belief that somehow the musician, often a strangely behaving person who can perform incredible feats, is in league with the devil. The musician is permitted, even required, to be a strange, unconventional person, wear his hear long, speak with an accent, be absent minded. The mad, inexplicable genius, perhaps; but he may also be thought to have a deviant lifestyle, to be a habitual drunkard, drug addict, debtor, homosexual, womanizer, but then also a foreigner. (Nettl 1992, 142)

The collapse of the consensual community of art led to the age of Messianic art-religion, various esoteric art sects, isms and artist hermits. In this situation, as Gadamer warns,

> The nineteenth-century artist does not live within a community, but creates for himself a community as is appropriate to his pluralistic situation. Openly admitted competition combined with the claim that his own particular form of creative expression and his own particular artistic message is the only true one, necessarily gives rise to heightened expectations. This is in fact the messianic consciousness of the nineteenth-century artist, who feels himself to be a "new savior" [Immermann] with a claim on mankind. He proclaims a new message of reconciliation and as a social outsider pays the price for this claim, since with all his artistry he is only an artist for the sake of art (Gadamer 1986, 7).

The museum seen as an artistic public space, and the institutions like it, thus face a serious challenger in none other than the artist, who, although he lacks the suggestive gravitational power of the pre-modern virtuoso, nevertheless attempts to assert a balanced relationship between publicity and intimacy that his predecessors were still able to enjoy and that museum culture seems to be forced to do without.

17 It is striking how this image is permeated by Paganini, Liszt, Chopin and their ilk – all legendary figures.

6. Museums in a disintegrating culture

In a disintegrating cultural milieu, the museum and art history (with their associated institutional system, especially the educational institutions) enter the scene with the promise of stability, maintaining the cultural consensus, which has become less and less valid in practice. The way consensuality is maintained by the museums and art history is a strategic priority; its goals are, however, realized at most in technical terms, formally, and (with the support of political power) in the space of *heterotopia*. If art is primarily a 'foreign' practice,[18] then those who enter the temple of art are obviously visiting the same foreign country and can realize, at least in this foreign terrain, how heterogeneous mental entities (the works of art, which are themselves individuals) can freely and unselfishly enjoy each other's company, thanks to the integrating idea of 'art'. Likewise, the free community, the open pantheon of creative geniuses that stands behind the works of art is delineated in the art history in line with the museum mentality above. This mentality is also reflected in Liszt's essay of 1835.

The modern museum, which promises cultural stability by pretending to maintain the cultural consensus, has to pay the price by permanently separating the notions of history and occurrence. The stabilising museum makes everything it receives a thing of the past in order to make it universal (generally communicable). This universality, however, is nothing more than the dream of the cultural community, and in music this became clear at the latest during the rise of ethnomusicology. Nettl (1992), quoted earlier, sought to follow the 19th-century cliché that the musician was something of an outsider or 'foreigner' by setting his own research perspective on a distinctly extra-terrestrial trajectory:

> When I teach courses in the anthropology of music, one of my favorite figures is an "ethnomusicologist from Mars" who has the task of discerning the basics of Western art music culture as manifested by the community of denizens of a fictitious (well, maybe not so fictitious) Music Building. […] Walking around the Music Building, he sees names engraved in stone around the top: Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, Palestrina (on Smith Memorial Hall in Urbana); or a more hierarchical, much longer list clearly featuring Beethoven, Mozart, Bach, Haydn, and Wagner (in Bloomington). […] Seeking a score at the library, he must look under "Mozart." "Symphony," "long

18 Winckelmann introduces his influential 1755 *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* with this claim: "The arts were introduced into Saxony as a foreign element." Winckelmann says it enthusiastically about the exemplary Dresden art collection of the Saxon prince-elector August the Strong (Winckelmann 1987, 3).

> pieces," "loud pieces," "sad" or "meditative," "C minor" and "Dorian" won't do.
> There is no need to belabor the impact that the initial experiences may have on any newcomer to a culture. Confronting the Music Building, one is quickly exposed to a number of guiding principles of Western art music. […] Importantly, they include the concept of hierarchy – among musical systems and repertories and, within art music, among types of ensembles and composers. There is a pyramid, at the top one of two or three composers. There is the pre-eminence of large ensembles and grand performances, and their metaphorical extensions to other grand, dramatic events in life. Talent and practicing go together in a way, but they are also opposing forces, the one both practically and philosophically a possible complement for the other. There is the great value placed on innovation, but it is the old and trusted, the music of the great masters of the past, that is most respected. In particular, our visitor is struck by the enormous significance of the concept of the master composer, a concept of which the figure of W. A. Mozart is paradigmatic (Nettl 1992, 138-139).

Of course, it is not only the master composers of opus art (Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, etc.) who enjoy the ambiguous qualification of "unearthly", but also the virtuoso representatives of the paradigm that preceded it (the "diabolical" Paganini, the "demonic" or even "Orpheusian" Liszt, the "angelic" Rubinstein, and others). However, the reason for this qualification differs in a characteristic way between the two groups: the virtuoso enjoys transcendent significance above all in his person (or through memories and legends about him) (literally as a medium possessed by his genius); the master composer, on the other hand, gains his own indirectly awarded majesty from the transcendent medium of the closed artwork (thus creating the condition for music to be musealised). The master composer also transmits the artistic capacity of virtuosity into the objectified work: the compositional values and qualities encoded in it make the external suggestiveness of performativity intimate.

From this it also follows that while the central position of the virtuoso is a real social fact, the master composer is already in a polar relationship with his audience, and the institutional system guarantees both the mediation of the aesthetic values of his masterpiece and also the general reproduction of art (in contrast to the inheritance dynamics of the pre-modern master-student relationship). The *societas* gathering and appearing around the masterpiece is essentially virtual – despite the fact that the transitive nature of music maintains the appearance

of factual sociability. In this respect, the purpose and the consequence of Franz Liszt's museum manifesto published at a young age do not point in the same direction. Although the young virtuoso spoke up on the one hand, for extending the music *societas* (the musician cannot be everywhere at once – the masterpiece that enjoys the support of the institutional system knows no such limits), the emerging institutional system of the arts, on the other hand, accomplishes the virtualisation of this *societas*. Even if the museum can successfully balance the factors of the encyclopaedia and narrative, it can hardly counter the consequences between the polarisation of the artist and society. Only music that has been musealised can belong to everyone.

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Bálint Veres is a tenured Associate Professor of Art and Design Philosophy at the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design, Budapest (MOME), and holder of a prestigious stately teaching award (Apáczai Csere János Award). Specializing in music, media, architecture, and design, he is the head of a PhD-in-practice Program at MOME Doctoral School. Formerly acted as a regular music critic and curator of contemporary music festivals.

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Hungarian Sociolinguistics in the Carpathian Basin, 1985–2022[1]

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> "Hungary, as described in the chapters by Csaba Pléh and Miklós Kontra, was a pioneer in the introduction of western-style sociolinguistics into Eastern Europe."
>
> Peter Trudgill (2000)

ABSTRACT

Until about 1985, apart from traditional dialectological research, the study of Hungarian in Hungary focused mostly on the Codified Standard Hungarian variety, whose speakers are powerful in social but not in numerical terms. Sociolinguistic research since 1985 has now resulted in a program which embraces not only the 10 million (largely monolingual) Hungarians in Hungary proper, but also the 3 million bi- or multilingual minority Hungarians in the seven neighboring countries (kin-states). This program was initiated by researchers of the Department of Sociolinguistics in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This paper offers linguists who do not read Hungarian an overview of this research carried out between 1985 and 2022.

Keywords: Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, variationist sociolinguistics, language contact, language rights, language shift, urban dialectology

1. Introduction

Until about 1985, apart from traditional dialectological research, the study of Hungarian in Hungary focused mostly on the Codified Standard Hungarian variety, whose speakers are powerful in social, but not in numerical terms. Sociolinguistic research since 1985 has now

1 I am grateful to Anna Borbély (Budapest), Peter Sherwood (London) and the two anonymous reviewers for their generous help in improving the original draft of this paper.

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resulted in a program which embraces not only the 10 million (largely monolingual) Hungarians in Hungary proper, but also the 3 million bi- or multilingual minority Hungarians in the seven neighboring countries. This program was initiated by researchers of the Department of Sociolinguistics in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This Department had its ups and downs in the Linguistics Institute during its quarter of a century of existence: it was generously supported by the director of the Institute between 1985 and 1992, its work was tolerated by his successor (1992 through 2001), and the Department was disbanded in 2010 by its then director.[2] Nevertheless, Hungarian sociolinguistics in the Carpathian Basin is alive and kicking in 2022.

My aim is to provide linguists who do not read Hungarian with an overview of our research between 1985 and 2022. The references are somewhat biased toward publications in English. In this text, minority Hungarian placenames follow majority-language placenames after a slash, e.g., *Dlhá nad Váhom/Vághosszúfalu* (a village in southern Slovakia). Earlier reviews of Hungarian sociolinguistics in international handbooks are available in Kontra (1997, 2006b), and Kontra, Nekvapil & Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak (2010), as well as Kontra, Sloboda, Nekvapil & Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak (forthcoming in 2023).

2. Sociolinguistics in Hungary

Research into sociolinguistic variation in Hungary began in 1985 when a research group was established in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences with the aim of "studying the living language". At that time the study of Hungarian was limited to the description and analysis of Codified Standard Hungarian, i.e., the high-prestige, "correct" Hungarian variety, which was used by a relatively small number of speakers in Hungary who followed the prescriptive rules. Except for dialect dictionaries, all the dictionaries, grammars and usage books described linguistic forms used by an unknown number of monolingual native speakers of the language.

As late as 1998, structural descriptions of Hungarian e.g., É. Kiss, Kiefer & Siptár (1998) and Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi (1998) used the terms *szabad váltakozás* and *free variation* respectively several times, paying little or no attention to the social and stylistic variation in Hungarian increasingly available in published research. To illustrate the discrepancies between a structural grammar and actual language use in Hungary in the 1990s, I quote what Kiefer (1998: 2015–216) says about the 1SG conditional suffix of verbs in the indefinite conjugation:

2 Borrowing Lakoff's (1974/1982) phrases, the first director was a Humanist linguist, but his two successors were Nuts-and-Bolts linguists.

> "The first-person inflection is *-ék*. This suffix does not in fact alternate, and 'violates' the rule of vowel harmony, which would require e.g., *vár-nák* [for the back-vowel verb *vár* 'wait'], but that form would be the same as the 3PL conditional form of the definite conjugation. Since the two forms are different in person (1SG and 3PL), such homonyms are, if possible, avoided by the language."[3]

Two years before Kiefer (1998), Lanstyák & Szabómihály (1996) demonstrated in a written questionnaire study (n=735) that 14% of high schoolers in Hungary used the nonstandard form *tud-nák* 'I would be able to' as opposed to 25% of Hungarian high schoolers with Hungarian as the medium of teaching in Slovakia, and 65% of Hungarians with Slovak as the medium of teaching.

Using data from the Hungarian National Sociolinguistic Survey conducted in 1988, Kontra (1994 and 2003a, 126–130) demonstrated that 45% of a representative sample of adult Hungarians in Hungary (n=832) judged the highly stigmatized nonstandard form *kap-nák* 'I would get' to be grammatically correct. Social stratification by occupation had a significant ($p < .01$) effect on the judgments, as did educational achievement, age, and other factors. It was also shown that the nonstandard judgments were undergoing standardization in Budapest, but not in the rest of the country. Oral sentence-completion data in the same study showed that 15% of the representative sample used nonstandard forms like *tud-nák* 'I would be able to' and *in-nák* 'I would drink'. Social stratification by education, residence, gender, occupation, and race (Gypsies vs. others) all had a significant effect on the spoken forms used. Ongoing standardization was revealed in the speech of women ($p < .01$), though not of men.

3. Hungarian sociolinguistics in the adjacent countries

Hungarian sociolinguistic research in the countries adjacent to Hungary began a few years after 1985, largely aided by a series of *élőnyelvi konferenciák* 'conferences on the living Hungarian language' hosted by the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest or a partner institution in a neighboring country, e.g., in Novi Sad (then Yugoslavia), Cluj-Napoca (Rumania), Nitra (Slovakia), Uzhhorod (Ukraine), amongst others. The first of these conferences

3 My translation of: "Az első személy személyragja *-ék*. Az első személy nem váltakozik, sőt tulajdonképpen 'szabálytalan', a szabályos alak *vár-nák* lenne, ami viszont egybeesne a feltételes mód, tárgyas ragozás többes szám harmadik személyű alakjával. Itt nem áll fenn személybeli egyezés (egyes szám első személy – többes szám harmadik személy), az ilyen homonimát a nyelv, ha teheti, elkerüli."

was held in Budapest in 1988, with its proceedings published in 1990.[4] Harlig (1992, 175) concluded his review of this book as follows:

> "The regional studies [in the book] suggest that Hungarian dialectology is only slowly shifting to a more modern, Western framework, and has not yet accepted the goals that framework suggests. The stratification studies, however, show a healthy and promising future for structural sociolinguistics in Hungary."

4. The history of the first two phases

The history of the first two phases of Hungarian sociolinguistics is described by Pléh (1995b) and Kontra (1995a) in a book which provided the first comprehensive presentation of sociolinguistic research in several East European countries (Harlig & Pléh eds. 1995). It is interesting that Pléh (1995b) describes the simultaneous development in the early 1970s of generative linguistics and western-style sociolinguistics in Hungary in terms of a romantic enthusiasm for everything modern. Kontra (1995a) outlines the professionalization of Hungarian sociolinguistics between 1985 and 1994, with the launch of two quantitative projects (the Hungarian National Sociolinguistic Survey and the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview). In 1994, the study of bilingualism in Hungary and the neighboring countries (where millions of L1 speakers of Hungarian live[5]) was mostly uncharted territory. Serious sociolinguistic research on the Hungarians in Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria[6] began in 1995 (see Kontra 1998b, 2005).

5. Language policy and rights

Twenty-four years ago, Sherwood (1998, 42–43) stated that "The story of those Hungarian speakers left in the successor states remains to be written, but it is certain to be a mainly unhappy tale, if seen in terms of human (and especially linguistic) rights of the Hungarian minorities." By today, the stories have been written and, as Sherwood surmised, they are indeed rather unhappy tales.

4 To date, 21 such conferences have been held. We have been privileged to have as plenary speakers, among others, Peter Trudgill (in 1995 and 2018), Petteri Laihonen (in 2010), Susan Gal (in 2014), and Dennis Preston (in 2016).

5 Today Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin live in one cultural nation and eight political nations.

6 Except for Gal (1979), an American linguist who described the Hungarian > German language shift in Burgenland, Austria.

Analyses of language policy loom large in Hungarian sociolinguistics. However, language minorities and minority language issues were neglected in the Carpathian Basin before the collapse of Communism in 1989. As Harlig (1995, 15) correctly wrote: "the socialist governments were sitting on a powder keg with the minorities issue, and it has exploded today."

The explosion in Slovakia was caused by the very repressive Slovak State Language Law (1995), which was analyzed by Kontra (1995/1996, 1998a), Driessen (1999), and Simon & Kontra (2000). Davies & Dubinsky (2018, 221–234) provide a good analysis in English of the Hungarian–Slovak conflict, beginning with the hegemony of Hungarian until World War I, then (Czecho)Slovak hegemony following World War I, including discussion of the 1995 State Language Law and the 2009 Slovak Language Law. For an example of administrative gerrymandering in a compact Hungarian territory in order to reduce language rights in Slovakia, see Kontra (2011b, 51–52). Orosz (ed., 2012) is a rich quadrilingual (Hungarian, English, French, and Slovak) history of language rights in Slovakia between 1918 and 2012.

Csergo (2007) is a comparative work on language and social conflict in Slovakia and Rumania. Benő & Péntek (2016) deals with language policy and mainstream language ideologies in Rumania. Kontra (1999) is a documentation and analysis of folk linguistic rights in Rumania in the 1990s. For a brief review in English of Sándor N. Szilágyi's (1994/2003) highly original theoretical and practical propositions (based on *universal language rights* rather than minority rights) to solve the language rights problems of all the linguistic minorities in Rumania, see Kontra, Nekvapil & Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak (2010, 362–363).

Language policy and rights in what is today Transcarpathia (Ukraine) are discussed in a host of publications in Hungarian, English, Ukrainian and Russian, e.g., Csernicskó (2013), Csernicskó & Fedinec (2016), Csernicskó & Tóth (2019), Fiala-Butora (2020), Skutnabb-Kangas (2019), Гиреш-Ласлов et al. (2021), Товт & Черничко (2018). The linguistic human rights plight of Hungarians in Ukraine prior to Russia's attack on Ukraine in February 2022 is analyzed in Csernicskó & Kontra (forthcoming in 2023).

Historian Ágoston Berecz's (2013) book is a sociolinguistically well-informed treatise on how Hungarian was taught to ethnic Rumanian and German children in the eastern tracts of the Kingdom of Hungary between 1870 and World War I. It is a rare example demonstrating how educational policies can succeed or fail in assimilating linguistic minorities.

An extremely useful sociolinguistic analysis by Katona (2016) deals with Hungarians' attitudes to the use of their L1 in Rumania and their knowledge of their language rights after 1995. The data gathered by the author from 180 respondents show clearly the heterogeneity of Rumania-Hungarians, with significant differences between local-majority Hungarians, local-minority Hungarians, and those situated

between these two groups. Translanguaging as an educational strategy of local-majority Hungarians learning the state language in Rumania is analyzed by Rácz (2022).

Tolcsvai (2021) describes how significant parts of the Hungarian language community were annexed to the newly formed non-Hungarian states after World War I, and makes the claim that these communities became 'indigenous' as described in international regulations and resolutions, while staying on their homeland.

Hungarian intralingual linguicism is also a form of language rights violations. The first serious study of the social stratification of Hungarian in Hungary (see Kontra, Nekvapil & Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 2010, 360–361, Cseresnyési 2005, and Kontra 2006a) revealed that Hungarian language cultivators and schoolteachers promulgate a set of rules adhered to by only 8 per cent of the country's adult population, even when they are on their best linguistic behavior, as indeed they are when answering questions on linguistic correctness posed by a social scientist. Oral sentence completion data reveal that Hungarian language cultivators and schoolteachers strive to change the speechways of two-thirds of the country's population. Kontra (2018) believes that this serious linguistic discrimination in education could at least be reduced by changing pre-service teacher education, promulgating additive, rather than subtractive, language pedagogy. However, as Kiss (2003: 150) has shown, subtractive language pedagogy in Hungarian public education, which badly stigmatizes dialect forms, is almost universal. In this context, noteworthy is Szabó's (2018) comparative analysis of Hungarian and Finnish ideologies that pertain to linguistic diversity and multilingualism from a linguistic landscape approach to education, and Fehér's (2020) useful investigation into the developing linguistic prestige of the standard vs. local dialect varieties in Hungarian bidialectal kindergarteners.

Before the collapse of Communism in 1990, as regards the Gypsies, Hungarian linguists were divided or rather, diametrically opposed, between the attitudes represented by Vekerdi (1988) and Réger (1988). The former scholar, whose philological studies of Gypsy language and culture are highly regarded, expressed very linguicist views, which were vehemently opposed by Réger (1988, see also 1995). Szalai (1999) is a good analysis of the problems from a linguistic-human-rights-in-education point of view. Kontra, Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Várady (1999, 13–14) show how denial of the right to mother-tongue-medium education leads to lifelong unemployment for many Gypsies in Hungary. Kontra (e.g., 2019) has for decades been calling attention to the linguistic genocide of those Roma whose mother tongue is not Hungarian but Romani or Boyash (over 50,000 people according to census data). The mother tongues of these people are made invisible by the Hungarian Census, which appears to have been the deliberate policy of Hungarian governments for over two decades. However, recently we have been witnessing a truly revolutionary event in the history of Gypsy education in

Hungary, a sociolinguistically and pedagogically sound way of combating anti-Gypsy linguicism in Tiszavasvári, Hungary (see Heltai 2020, 2021, and Heltai & Tarsoly eds. 2023).

Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing people in Hungary were deprived of their right to use Hungarian Sign Language (see Muzsnai 1999) until 2009, when a new law changed the status of HSL from barely tolerated to promoted. HSL–Hungarian bilingualism is now encouraged in education, teacher education, and research, which also includes, among other things, HSL lexicography (see Bartha & Holecz 2017).

Finally, Adamik's 2006 volume on language policy in the Roman Empire should be mentioned, which is reviewed in English by Cser (2008).

6. Language shift and revitalization

As a result of border changes after World War I, millions of L1 speakers of Hungarian found themselves citizens of a neighboring country where they became national minorities overnight. The effects of the changes are shown in Table 1 (Kontra 2011a, 662).

	Slovakia		Ukraine		Rumania		Serbia	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1921	650,597	21.68	111,052	18.1	1,423,459	9.96	371,006	24.2
2001	520,528	9.67	166,700	13.4	1,431,807	6.60	290.207	14.3

Table 1: The effects of post-World War I international border changes on indigenous Hungarians in four neighboring countries, total numbers (N) and Hungarians as a percentage of the total population of Slovakia, Transcarpathia (Ukraine), Rumania, and Vojvodina (Serbia).

The demographic changes in all seven neighboring countries in the 21st century are shown in Table 2.

Carpathian Basin	Population in 2001	Hungarians by nationality	Population in 2011	Hungarians by nationality
Hungary	10 198 315	9 416 045 (92.3%)	9 937 628	8 314 029 (83.7%)
Transylvania, Rumania	7 221 733	1 415 718 (19.6%)	6 789 250	1 216 666 (17.9%)
Slovakia	5 379 455	520 528 (9.7%)	5 397 036	458 467 (8.5%)
Vojvodina, Serbia	2 031 992	290 207 (14.3%)	1 931 809	251 136 (13%)
Transcarpathia, Ukraine	1 254 614	151 516 (12.1%)	1 249 000	141 000 (11.3%)
Prekmurje, Slovenia	120 875	5 445 (4.5%)	118 988	4 000 (3.4%)
Burgenland, Austria	277 569	6 641 (2.4%)	286 215	10 000 (3.5%)

Carpathian Basin	Population in 2001	Hungarians by nationality	Population in 2011	Hungarians by nationality
Osijek-Baranja County, Croatia	330 506	9 784 (2.9%)	305 032	8 249 (2.7%)
Total in Carpathian Basin	26 815 059	11 815 884 (44.1%)	26 014 958	10 403 547 (40%)

Table 2: Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin around 2001 and 2011 (based on Tóth 2018: 94)

The local changes in ethnicity vary greatly; for instance, in Nitra/Nyitra, Slovakia the percentage of Hungarians vs. (Czecho)Slovaks and others was 48 in 1900, but only 2 in 2011 (Kontra 2020, 33). By contrast, elsewhere, especially in some villages in Szekler Land, Rumania, the ethnic composition of Hungarians vs. others remained unchanged for a century.

The causes of the loss of L1 speakers of Hungarian are many, ranging from a change of the symbolic value of languages (Gal 1979) through population resettlement to forced assimilation. One excellent description of unenforced assimilation in Dlhá nad Váhom/Vághosszúfalu, a village in southern Slovakia, is provided by Tóth (2003); on the other hand, what is probably the worst example of linguistic genocide in education in today's Europe is described in Csernicskó & Kontra (forthcoming in 2023). The right to study in one's mother tongue was provided by all the states that possessed the territory of modern Transcarpathia (Ukraine) between 1867 and 2017. However, since 2017, because of new laws, mother-tongue-medium education for national minorities is restricted to kindergarten and primary school (6- to 10-year-olds).

There is a growing number of fieldwork-based studies of the Csángós, a Hungarian ethnic group in Moldavia, Rumania, beyond the Carpathian Mountains (see Laihonen et al. 2020, Sándor 2005, Tánczos & Peti (eds.) 2012). Bodó & Fazakas (2018) is an extremely insightful analysis of authenticity (or authentic language) in a Csángó revitalization program directed from Hungary. Fazakas (2013) discusses the possibilities of the revitalization of Hungarian in Transylvania.

Bartha & Borbély (2006) conducted truly pioneering research on six linguistic minorities in Hungary: Boyash, German, Romani, Rumanian, Serbian, and Slovak. Also in Hungary, Borbély (see, e.g., 1995/1996) has been conducting a real-time study of Rumanian > Hungarian language shift over several decades. Borbély (2014) is a monumental Hungarian monograph on variation and change in bilingual communities in Hungary, which provides a Sustainable Bilingualism Model (SBM) based on longitudinal and comparative analyses carried out in Hungary's six national minorities. Also relevant are this author's papers on language shift and the SBM (2015, 2016). Finally, language shift, in this case to Russian, among the Mansi (whose Uralic language is related to Hungarian) is studied by Sipőcz & Bíró (2009).

7. Language contact inside and outside Hungary

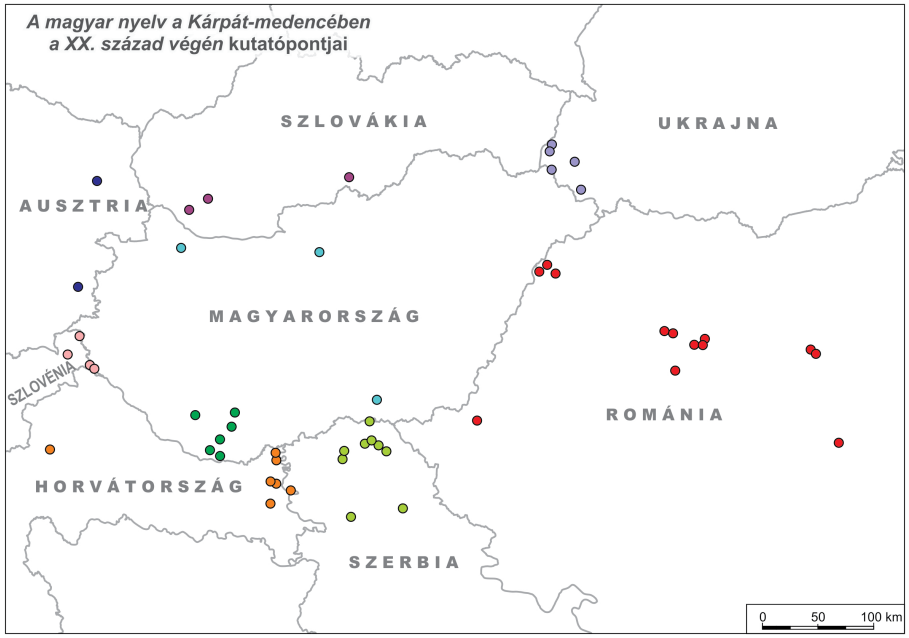
Bartha (ed., 2016), a Hungarian-language yearbook on general linguistics, contains 18 substantial papers on contact linguistics by linguists in Hungary, Rumania, Finland, Ukraine, and Australia. The topics range from the Csángós through Hungarian Sign Language users to the role of codeswitching in a Hungarian novel, and beyond.

Langman (1995/1996) is an analysis of the types of codeswitching used by Chinese immigrants to Hungary in interviews conducted in 1994. Németh (2010) studied the patterns and evaluation of German–Hungarian codeswitching among dialect speakers of German shifting to Hungarian. Gal (1995) looked at linguistic ideologies in the German–Hungarian town Bóly in Transdanubia, Hungary. Janurik (2017) provided a structural analysis of intrasentential codeswitching between the Uralic language Erzya and Russian.

Researchers in Hungary and the adjacent countries began an ambitious project to study the Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary (SHOH for short) in 1995, see Kontra (2005). The project used Goebl et al. (1997) as guidelines for producing historical sociolinguistic portraits of the Hungarian minorities from 1920 through the mid-1990s, or, in two cases, through the second decade of the 21st century[7] (see Map 1). Project members set out to systematically gather data in a replicable fashion, which would allow them to answer questions such as the following:

a. In what domains are Hungarian and the majority languages used?
b. What is the de jure and de facto situation of Hungarian in the neighboring countries?
c. What are the attitudes to Hungarian used in Hungary, to Hungarian used in the neighboring countries, and to the majority languages therein?
d. What roles do Hungarian and the majority languages play in education and in government?
e. Are the contact varieties diverging from the Hungarian of Hungary?
f. How could L1 teaching of Hungarian for minority Hungarians be improved?
g. In order to help minority Hungarians to maintain their mother tongue, what should (and what should not) be done with regard to language policy, linguistic ideology etc.?
h. What is the social and geographic distribution of important linguistic variables, i.e., what makes the contact varieties of Hungarian similar to, and different from Hungarian in Hungary?

7 Owing to the Yugoslav war, the study in Croatia could not be carried out until 2013–2014, and the volume for Rumania appeared as late as 2020 (and also discussed the results of a project conducted in 2009).



Map 1: Research sites of the Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary project in eight countries

Before this project, most of these questions were not even asked by Hungarian linguists, let alone answered. Fifty-nine linguistic tasks were used in the 1996 survey with 846 respondents[8] in Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania, Serbia, Slovenia, Austria, and Hungary (see note 7). The respondents were stratified for age, education, local majority vs. local minority, and, in Rumania, proximity to the Hungarian border. The results of the project have been published in the Hungarian books by Csernicskó (1998), Göncz (1999), Lanstyák (2000), Szépfalusi et al. (2012), Fancsaly et al. (2016), and Péntek & Benő (2020). In English, the best descriptions are to be found in Lanstyák & Szabómihály (2005), Csernicskó (2005), Benő & Szilágyi (2005), Göncz & Vörös (2005), and Bodó (2005). Also based on the SHOH project are papers by Beregszászi (1995/1996), Csernicskó & Fenyvesi (2000), and Kontra (1999, 2001, 2003b). Two of the six volumes are reviewed in English by Fazakas (2014), and Biró & Laihonen (2021). In the book edited by Fenyvesi (2005), Thomason (2005) and De Groot (2005) summarize the typological and theoretical aspects of contact-induced change in Hungarian.

Not related to the SHOH project is Sherwood (1996), a socio-historical study of attitudes to Hungarian, Laihonen (2009), a study of language ideologies in the Rumanian Banat, Fenyvesi (2012), who studied minority Hungarian schoolchildren's attitudes to languages, and Kiss (2011), who documented language policy and ideology in Szekler Land (Rumania). Finally, Kalocsai (2013) is a topical treatise on English used as a lingua franca by Erasmus students studying in Szeged, Hungary.

8 Together with the Croatia study we had a total of 1059 respondents.

For more recent studies of Hungarian in Transylvania (Rumania) see Némethy (ed., 2015), Benő (2020), and Németh (2021); on Hungarian in Austria and Slovenia see parts of Laakso, Sarhimaa, Åkermark & Toivanen (2016); on Hungarian in Slovakia see several studies in issue 1 of *Hungarian Studies* Volume 34 (2020), and Gergelyová & Vančo (2021); and on variation in the Hungarian used in Transcarpathia, Ukraine see Csernicskó & Fenyvesi (2012).

Finally, two groundbreaking studies by Sándor (1998, 2021) have shown how several problems in Turkic–Hungarian language contact research could be profitably tackled if Hungarian Turkologists were to use the theory and methods of historical sociolinguistics.

8. Pluricentricity

In the 1990s, a fierce debate among Hungarian linguists centered on whether or not Hungarian is a pluricentric language à la Clyne (ed. 1992).[9] Huber (2020) is a good analysis and summary of the issues and research through 2019. Vančo et al. (eds. 2020) includes several studies in English on Hungarian as a pluricentric language in the Carpathian Basin. Csernicskó, Márku & Máté (2022) is a concise report on the online dictionary of pluricentric Hungarian. Sebők (2021) provides an overview of language planning and management issues of Slovakia Hungarians. In the same field, also important are Lanstyák & Szabómihály (2009), and Lanstyák (2018, 2021). Beregszászi (2012) and Kádár (2020) are excellent guides to teaching Hungarian as a pluricentric language in schools in Ukraine and Rumania respectively.

9. The Hungarian National Sociolinguistic Survey (HNSS)

Data for the HNSS was gathered in the spring of 1988, at the eleventh hour of the socialist regime in Hungary. The HNSS was based on a pen-and-paper questionnaire administered to a random sample (n=832) of adult Hungarians in Hungary, stratified for age, sex, education, and type of settlement. The first publications in English appeared in Kontra & Pléh (eds.): *Hungarian Sociolinguistics* (IJSL #111) by Kontra (1995b, 10–11), Kassai (1995), Pléh (1995a), Terestyéni (1995), and Angelusz & Tardos (1995). The final book in Hungarian (Kontra ed. 2003) is reviewed in English by Cseresnyési (2005).

9 István Lanstyák (1995) is duly credited with first describing Hungarian as a pluricentric language in print. However, referring to an unpublished report written in 1981 by Peter Sherwood, then Chief Examiner for Hungarian A and O levels in the UK, Tarsoly (2015, 225) states that "it was perhaps in this report that the idea of Hungarian as a potentially pluricentric language (to use the modern terminology) was first suggested."

10. The Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview project (BSI)

A preliminary volume to the BSI project (Kontra, ed. 1988) contains a prosodic transcript of a 20-minute closed-circuit cable TV program by László Varga (1988/2021), and seven papers based on the same prosodic transcript. For English reviews see Gal (1991) and Nádasdy (1995).

Heavily indebted to Labov (1984), the BSI project began in 1987, when we conducted 50 interviews with a quota sample of 10 teachers, 10 university students, 10 salesclerks, 10 blue collar workers and 10 vocational students. In 1988–89, we conducted 200 interviews with a random stratified sample of the residents of Budapest (total population 2 million). A part of the methodology used is available in English in Kontra & Váradi (1997) and Váradi (1998a, 1998b). English-language publications about the BSI are thin on the ground: in an interim report, Váradi (1995/1996) demonstrated the stylistic stratification of the (bVn) variable in Hungarian speech, Szeredi (2012/2021) carried out a Varbrul analysis of the ongoing loss of agreement between Hungarian relative pronouns and their antecedents, and Kontra & Vargha (2014) looked at the linguistic homogenization of dialect speakers with the phonemes /ɛ/ and /e/ who moved to Budapest, where only /ɛ/ is used.

In 2010, Kontra & Borbély published the test data of the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview project. A decade later, Kontra & Borbély (eds., 2021) published a comprehensive volume of BSI studies. Of the 19 papers all but one (Szeredi 2012/2021) are in Hungarian. In addition to the papers on methodology (e.g., transcription and coding), there are papers on phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, style, and discourse. A DVD in the book contains two anonymized interviews, and Varga's (1987/2021) transcription system of intonation in normal Hungarian conversations, applied to a 20-minute closed-circuit cable television program. As lack of space prevents me from discussing the major results of BSI, I will mention only that we have learned that in normal Hungarian speech, on two occasions out of three the final *-n* is deleted in the tokens of the variable (bVn) 'in'.[10] Deletion is socially stratified, but the phonological conditioning is yet to be teased out. Before us, no Hungarian linguists, whether prescriptive or descriptive, had the slightest inkling about the extent of this deletion. English reviews of Kontra & Borbély (eds., 2021) are available in Huber (2022) and Andor (2022).

11. Urban dialectology

In addition to the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview project, a similar project was conducted in 2012–2016 in the city of Szeged with 165 respondents (370 hours of recordings), see Németh, Kontra & Sinkovics

10 The inessive case-ending (bVn) (meaning 'in' [position]) has two variants: standard [bVn] and nonstandard [bV]. However, the illative case-ending (bV) (meaning 'in(to)' [direction]) also has two variants: standard [bV] and hypercorrect [bVn].

(2015). A third important project is based on The Budapest University Dormitory Corpus (http://bekk.elte.hu/index.php/in-english/), see Bodó, Szabó & Turai (2019) and Bodó, Turai & Szabó (2022) for insightful analyses of men's talk in Hungarian university dormitories. Issues of moving a participatory research project online due to the coronavirus pandemic in Rumania are discussed by Fazakas & Barabás (2020), while Bodó et al (2022) is a review article on participation in sociolinguistic research.

12. Rural cross-border dialectology

P. Lakatos, Károlyi & Iglai (2012) conducted a cross-border sociodialectological study with 537 respondents in 8 locations in Hungary, 6 in Transcarpathia (Ukraine), and 4 in north-western Rumania. All the research sites are within the same north-eastern dialect of Hungarian. The data are stratified by age and educational achievement. 141 maps on the accompanying CD provide a wealth of information on variation and change.

13. English–Hungarian contacts

In the last three decades or so, we have witnessed a growing number of publications on the contact of Hungarian and English in the USA and in Australia. Kontra (1993) is a paper on a near-merger in South Bend, IN, Kovács (2001) studies Hungarian–English and Finnish–English codeswitching and language shift in Australia, and Bartha (1995/1996) describes the final stage of Hungarians' language shift in Detroit, MI. Vázsonyi & Kontra (1995) is a rich storehouse of language contact and loanword phenomena collected from Hungarians in the 1960s in the Calumet Region south of Chicago. One peculiarity of this dictionary is that it is based on tape-recorded conversations: the examples are not invented sentences but instances of actual spoken language use. For English reviews see Moravcsik (1996) and Pugh (1996). Kovács (2005) is a comprehensive treatment of Hungarian language contact in Australia. Fenyvesi (2005), partly based on her own research, is a substantial review of Hungarian language contact research in four regions of the United States: South Bend, IN, the Delray neighborhood in Detroit, MI, McKeesport, PA, and Toledo, OH. Kovács (2018) is an optimality-theoretical analysis of Hungarian–English codeswitching in North Carolina, USA. Finally, mention must be made of Elemér Bakó's American Hungarian speech archive created in the 1960s and digitized by the University of Debrecen, Hungary in the early 2000s. The recordings are downloadable in mp3 format from: https://mnytud.arts.unideb.hu/bako/index.php

Far away from North America, English–Hungarian language contact is investigated by Keresztes (2013) as shown in contact-induced changes evident in Hungarian cardiology discharge reports. Kontra (2016) demonstrated that in Hungary, passivity, and incompetence in dealing with language policy, can be successfully sold as an apparent 'fightback' against the spread of English. Such a language policy helps the insidious expansion of English due to market forces and does so in a way that does not directly criticize the forces behind its spread.

14. Historical sociolinguistic studies

Historical sociolinguistic studies have had a slow start in Hungary. An early attempt was Kiss (1990), in which the author studied the changes between 1889 and 1989 in Mihályi, a village in Transdanubia. Németh (2008) is a study of variation and change in the Hungarian used in the city of Szeged in the 18th century. Dömötör, Gugán & Varga (eds., 2021) is a recent collection of papers on variation and change in 16th to 18th century Hungarian.

15. Computerized Hungarian dialect atlases

Computerized dialect atlases (see e.g., Vargha 2017, 2018, and Presinszky 2020) embrace ever larger areas of Hungarian-populated regions in the Carpathian Basin.

16. Romani

In research on Romani, Szalai (2014) analyzed ideologies of social differentiation in Transylvanian Gabor Roma communities, while Kádár & Szalai (2020) provided a case study of ritual cursing as a form of teasing in Romani.

17. Slang

Most Hungarian research on slang has been published in Hungarian, with the exception of Fenyvesi (2001), which appeared in Russian, Szabó (2004) in French, and Kis (2006) in English. Kis & Gégény (2015) is a unique dictionary of slang used in Hungarian prisons: as an inmate, Gégény gathered slang expressions for more than a decade, while university linguist Kis distance-directed his fieldwork, effectively reducing the observer's paradox, and finally edited a dictionary of 7890 entries.

18. Gender

Gal (1978) is a pioneering study of why Hungarian peasant men cannot get wives in Oberwart, Burgenland, Austria. Huszár (1994) is an interesting early study of gender differences in Hungarian based on vocational and therapeutic interviews. Her (2009) book is the first serious Hungarian introduction to gender linguistics. How current monolingual Hungarian dictionaries represent women and men is meticulously analyzed by Szöllősy (2015), reviewed in English by Sherwood (2016).

19. Linguistic landscapes

Laihonen (2016) analyzes private linguistic landscapes in Hungarian villages in South-west Slovakia. Csernicskó & Beregszászi (2018) explore which languages were represented on the banknotes used in the five different states that Transcarpathia (now Ukraine) belonged to in the 20th century. Borbély (ed. 2020) is a massive panorama of linguistic landscapes of national minorities in Hungary, and Borbély (forthcoming) demonstrates how positive linguistics can be applied to the study of multimodal linguistic landscapes of the nationalities in Hungary.

20. A Hungarian Guinness World Record in pragmatics

In the Fall of 2016 linguistics professor Sándor N. Szilágyi (2016) analyzed the results of a referendum organized by the Hungarian government and came to the conclusion that the government and over 3 million Hungarians in Hungary set a Guinness World Record – in pragmatics. In the referendum, citizens were expected to answer the following question (my translation):

"Do you want the European Union to be able to oblige Hungary to accept the immigration of non-Hungarian citizens without the consent of the Hungarian Parliament?"[11]

At that time, over 8.2 million citizens had the right to participate in the referendum, but only 3.5 million actually participated. 98.34% of the 3.2 million valid votes were *no*'s. Szilágyi explained that the result was no surprise, since behind such an ironic question there is unmistakably another one: "You really are a fool, right?" What makes this Hungarian referendum a good candidate for a Guinness World Record in pragmatics is not its result, but its magnitude. It was a giga experiment in pragmatics, with 3.2 million subjects, and it cost Hungarian taxpayers 13 billion Hungarian forints (about US$ 45 million). Never in the history of humankind, according to Szilágyi, has so much money

11 In Hungarian: „Akarja-e, hogy az Európai Unió az Országgyűlés hozzájárulása nélkül is előírhassa nem magyar állampolgárok Magyarországra történő kötelező betelepítését?"

been spent on an experiment whose results amounted to what had already been known. Unhappily for the masterminds behind the census, the referendum turned out to be invalid, due to the low number of votes cast.

21. Important Hungarian handbooks and bibliographies

Important handbooks on general linguistics *and* sociolinguistics include Bartha (1999), Cseresnyési (2004), Sándor (2014), and Sándor's (2016) textbook for university students. The best bibliographies of Hungarian sociolinguistics are included in the print volumes of the yearbook *Sociolinguistica* (from 1985 to 2018). These bibliographies are not "country-specific" (as mentioned by Darquennes 2020, 268) but cover the literature of Hungarian sociolinguistics in the eight countries of the Carpathian Basin where Hungarians live.

22. Conclusion in two sentences

More than four decades ago Chambers & Trudgill (1980, 55) stated that "Linguists and dialectologists remained, as they still remain to a considerable extent, ignorant about the way in which most people in England (and elsewhere) speak, and have therefore been missing out on a great deal of linguistic data." In the decades after 1985, Hungarian sociolinguists shifted the object of linguistic research from the speech of those who speak Codified Standard Hungarian in Hungary to the speech of all the 10 million residents of Hungary, and the speech of 3 million bi- or multilingual Hungarians in the adjacent countries.

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Hungarian Beyond the Border[1] On the Contexts of Education, Bilingualism, and Labour Market in the Early 21st Century. The Transylvanian Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Borders are particular (in-between) spaces: they have this side and the other side, which involve several real and imaginary spaces at the same time. For minorities, "beyond the borders" is also a specific space of language use. This paper discusses the correlations between minority bilingualism and social structure characteristics based on sociological surveys, taking as approach the sociology of space and John Ogbu's ecological cultural model of schooling. It aims to offer an overview of my research carried out on this topic and tries to provide some references for rethinking the sociological implications of minority education considering the experiences of three decades since the fall of communism in Romania. The main results of this research – in concordance with other findings of similar inquiries – show that a mother-tongue education for ethnic Hungarian children in Romania is a necessary but not sufficient condition for reducing the structural gap that Hungarians in Transylvania have inherited from the 20th century. This study is centred on the aspects of interrelation between the language of education and labour market, more specifically on those linked to the attitudes and patterns of behaviour towards the official language, with particular focus on the role that languages play in the society and, in a narrower sense, in self-positioning on the labour market.

Keywords: Transylvania, bilingualism, minority, education, labour market, models of schooling, languages in the social and economic context

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1. Introduction

The term "Hungarian beyond the borders" entered into circulation in the early 1990s. It has become widely used, and it refers to ethnic Hungarians living in minority status in different countries outside the post-Trianon borders. Nevertheless, those individuals can identify the least with this designation to whom it is applied.

Borders are particular (in-between) spaces: they either divide or connect; they have this side and the other side, which involve several real and imaginary spaces at the same time. Considering these as starting aspects, the approach of sociology of space seems appropriate. From this perspective, we may reformulate the question of minority self-determination, i.e. "Who am I?" – on one side of the border or the other –, now asking "Where am I?", which also marks the specific intersection point of power relations (Hall, 1996; Antaki–Widdicombe, 2008).

On the hither side (in one of the successor nation-states), there are some relevant language use aspects of the Hungarian community's power and structural position. It follows that the challenges of *minority bilingualism* are foregrounded "beyond the borders", in this peculiar space of language use: what language of communication and education should a person of Hungarian ethnic origin choose to preserve his/her identity, advance in his/her career, find proper employment, and fulfil his/her potential? How can the spaces of minority existence – schools, workplaces, institutions, public spaces, etc. – be organized (how do they organize themselves) from time to time in terms of language practices?

The past hundred years have witnessed the power positioning of the Hungarian community – including its language status – develop in the successor states amidst the succession of political-economic apparatuses, within nation-state frameworks. In this respect – using the words of G. Williams –, one can speak of the *minoritization* of the Hungarian community (Williams 2005), that marks the process through which the structural positions of a language and its group of speakers undergo an unfavourable transformation with powerful implications for its language status as well.

Nevertheless, the other side to this coin is what minority positions or repositions are in this process. How are its attitudes towards the mother tongue (re)shaped? What attitudes towards the state language become a characteristic feature? What *values* are assigned to one or the other language, and how do these change in the various political-economic periods? Language attitudes, just as patterns of language behaviour, have, however, repercussions on the social structure characteristics of the community.

In the decisive year 1989 – after more than forty years of communist dictatorship –, one of the first and foremost, so to speak, strategic objectives of the Hungarians in Transylvania was the restoration of mother-tongue education and the institutional system related to it. The Hungarian community can take credit for several successful

implementations in this respect: besides the re-establishment of independent Hungarian public education institutions, a significant achievement has been developing the Hungarian-language private university network, leading to a considerable expansion of Hungarian-language higher education opportunities and thus creating a situation wherein early in the 21st century almost one-third of ethnic Hungarian young people and half of those graduated from high schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction receive tertiary education in their mother tongue (Szikszai 2010).

Research in the sociology of education – in line with PISA and TIMSS reports – corroborates the efficiency of learning in the native language when it comes to knowledge acquisition (Papp Z. 2019; Csata 2014; Sorbán 2020), but it also warns that the minority education system remains to be lopsided and patchy, while their structural disadvantages are also growing by leaps and bounds (Kiss 2015, Sorbán 2012). Results of analyses focusing on language use in the labour market are likewise Janus-faced. On the one hand, they point out the preferential nature of finding and providing employment, more precisely the phenomenon in which the Transylvanian Hungarians – especially the graduates of Hungarian-language education institutions – give preference to jobs with Hungarian as one of the working languages, a pattern also followed by employers during the hiring process. In the meantime, however, increasingly present processes of marginalization and ruralization affect the Hungarian community's situation (Kiss 2014, 2015; Veress 2015; Csata 2017).

Diversification of mother tongue education opportunities and the related preferential labour market practices – such as the specific mother tongue set-up of a workplace (Sorbán 2014) – are encouraging developments considering them as long-standing signposts of the spread and restoration of the Hungarian language in Transylvania on the institutional, labour market, and public arenas. Having said that, they are nevertheless accompanied – under the prevailing conditions of power asymmetries and bilingualism – by phenomena favouring the persistence of the structural handicaps passed down from previous generations. Such a phenomenon is the tendency of Transylvanian Hungarians and young graduates of Hungarian-language education institutions to *under position* themselves in the Romanian labour market.

This attitude is usually connected with insufficient knowledge of the state language, namely that Hungarians in Transylvania do not have a sufficiently good command of Romanian, and are not proficient speakers of the official language, which conforms to the majority opinion of similar content, making the two mindsets mutually reinforcing. From a minority perspective, it is undeniable that having good state language skills is a fundamental, though not the sole – as our research demonstrates – accessory of social advancement (Sorbán 2012, 2014). Consequently, state language competencies should be analysed in a broader cultural and behavioural context, given the complexity and

depth of the phenomenon that goes beyond the state language deficiencies present among members of the Hungarian community.

The present paper aims to offer some references for rethinking the labour market context of minority education, with consideration of the fact that the experience after passing more than three decades since the regime change is as follows: for ethnic Hungarian individuals, learning in the mother tongue on the territory of Romania is a necessary condition but not enough to reduce the structural handicaps inherited from the 20th century and to have the potential of closing this gap in the long term.

The analysis adopted herein draws on my research projects[2] done over the past decades as well as on the results of sociological investigations relevant to the subject. It is centred on certain aspects of the context of education and labour market, more specifically on those linked to state language proficiency, the attitudes and patterns of behaviour towards mother tongue and official language, with particular focus on the role languages play in the society and, in a narrower sense, in *self-positioning* on the labour market.

2. The Ecological Cultural Model as a Theoretical Framework

John Ogbu's ecological cultural theory serves as a starting point and a valuable model for the outlined topic and analytical perspective (Ogbu 1978, 1992; Ogbu–Simons 1998). Although the author has initially developed his theory with a view to a broader understanding of the educational problems encountered by minorities living in the United States, it admittedly contains certain points of reference that – setting out from similarities in the minority histories – can be adapted to the subject matter of the present study. Among them, the essential feature is that it allows for the thematization of *voluntary* (immigrant) and *involuntary* (autochthonous) minorities along different societal characteristics and cultural models.

A basic tenet of the theory is that issues related to minority education (drawbacks, lagging in school performance) are most often associated with *in-school aspects*, family characteristics, and the individual's skill set. Despite their high importance, the model's primary focus is on *out-of-school aspects*, on the cultural patterns operated by the so-termed community forces as factors influencing minority groups' beliefs, behaviours and attitudes related to schooling and, in an expanded context of interpretation, the issues around the minority situation, the backlogs, and social advancement.

2 In this period, I carried out several empirical projects on this topic, mostly related to my PhD dissertation. These sociological surveys were methodologically mixed – I used both qualitative and quantitative methods, but mostly in-depth interviews. The most relevant publications included in this summary are listed in the bibliography.

The *community forces* referred to above are the following: the cultural models that a minority group has at its disposal regarding the given society and school; the cultural/language frames of references that are revealed in the self-image of the community; the degree of trust or acquiescence in a relationship with the majority; finally, the educational strategies deriving from the aforementioned. As postulated by Ogbu, we can gain a proper understanding of minority education problems only if we take into account the effects generated by these community forces, while substantive changes to the efficiency of minority educational performance can be attained if the minority itself reinterprets, realigns, and reshapes certain convictions, attitudes, and behaviours that come from the already mentioned community forces. This way, the model considers a sociocultural sphere essentially operated outside the school but that has a powerful influence over schooling-related behaviour and consequently on school performance appreciable at the community level, therefore implicitly having a vital impact on the minority strategies of advancement/effectiveness.

The community influencing forces featured in the model have two main organizing principles: the history of the minority group and the self-image related to the majority. Subject to this, the author distinguishes between autonomous, voluntary, and involuntary minority groups, and then bases his model mainly on comparing the latter two.

He starts from the idea that *voluntary minorities* are characterized by other sorts of beliefs and patterns of behaviour about advancement when compared to autochthonous minorities, as their history engenders a different kind of attitude towards disadvantageous situations and the difficulties they come up against, which then triggers dissimilar adaptation responses from them. At the same time, having ended up as a minority against their will, *involuntary, autochthonous minorities* experience a subordinated existence and are sceptical about their advancement facilitated by the generally accessible mobility strategies. There is a tendency among them to put down the economic and other structural handicaps they are suffering from to institutionalized discrimination, which cannot be eliminated simply by way of hard work and learning as their experiences show them otherwise.

A noteworthy fact is that the two minority groups differ significantly also in the level of confidence their members attach to majority institutions, including education institutions managed or controlled by them. In this regard, non-voluntary minorities are characterized by *trust deficit*, in response to which they seek to strengthen and maintain community identity, and linguistic and cultural boundaries, and resist assimilation. It follows that members of the two types of minorities experience and express their membership differently, a reality reflected in their choices, actions, and behaviours alike. Accordingly, the essence of the cultural ecological model is that knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and patterns of behaviour arising from community forces shape the features of minority societies *also from within* and implicitly contribute to how parents school their children, thereby influencing the latter's

school performance/progress as well. The author wishes to underline that albeit individual differences may be noticed in the way of coping with disadvantages and occasional overlaps may occur concerning the attitudes expressed, the previously mentioned community forces prevail and are in play at the group level.

While it is true that structural handicaps and inequalities affecting autochthonous minorities manifest themselves differently in the US and the Eastern European, post-communist societies (within them being even further diversified depending on power structures and minority politics) in terms of school performance and socioeconomic advancement, the impact of community forces outlined in the model can be observed likewise in the case of Transylvanian Hungarians by looking at either the strategies adopted in choosing the right school and being effective or at the associated "minority" behavioural patterns. To stress the role played by these components – in terms of reflecting on one's own group as well as on the other –, we should quote Brubaker's thought pertinent to this subject: "(…) thinking of ethnicity, race and nation, not in terms of substantial groups or entities but in terms of practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemes, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects and contingent events" (Brubaker 2001, 61 – qt. in Bárdi 2013, 16).

Historical determinations, the cultural patterns passed down, particularities of the minority's social discourse, the trust deficit ingrained in relation to the majority, i.e. state institutions, practices of producing social boundaries, the minority political representation, turning towards Hungary, the motherland, and so on, which are elements posited as the assurance of survival, assume Transylvania's Hungarian community as a pillar society within Romania.[3] The questions remain, however: What characteristics can be used to describe this minority society? How does it work in practice? About which factors is it realistic or visionary? Considering its current features, what sort of future does it foreshadow for the Hungarian community in Transylvania thirty years after the fall of communism?

3. Characteristics of the Transylvanian Hungarians' (Quasi-)Pillar Society. Aspects of Social Structure and Labour Market

According to a commonly accepted definition, pillarized societies develop along religious, ideological, or ethnic fault lines. Pillarization means co-existing but separate communities that have their institutions, networks of schools, press, political parties, and representation

3 Recent decades have seen several approaches emerging to define Transylvanian Hungarians as separate entity and describe its operational features. Among these, A. Zoltán Biró's and his colleagues' anthropological approach gives prominence to behavioural science aspects, notably that in living our everyday lives there are patterns of behaviour "generating collective identity" (A. Z. Biró (ed.) 1995, 17).

bodies. This brings about coexisting life worlds for each community apart, where political action is predestined by group affiliation (Lijphart 1968, Enyedi–Körösényi 2001).

In his study entitled *Marginalizáció, etnikai párhuzamosság és aszimmetrikus akkomodáció. Az erdélyi magyar közösséget érintő társadalmi és politikai folyamatok* (Marginalization, Ethnic Parallelism, and Asymmetric Accommodation. Social and Political Processes Affecting the Hungarian Community of Transylvania), Tamás Kiss (2015) investigates the circumstances of Transylvanian Hungarians' pillarization process and to what extent this exists at the social and institutional level. Relying on census data, statistics on the social structure, and sociological survey results, Kiss concludes that Transylvanian Hungarians' pillar society in Romania is only a partial reality since its principal features are related to the *institutional and power asymmetries* maintained by the Romanian minority policy regime. What this means in practical terms is that the Romanian state allows a certain degree of ethnic parallelism but at the same time maintains the power asymmetries forcing the minority into a subordinate position (Kiss 2015, 32). This duplicity has a strong influence on the behavioural patterns of minority group members, acting as another way of shaping the specific characteristics of the minority society.

Kiss's paper describes the macro social processes characterizing the Hungarians' situation, which continue to point towards the declining number and the gradual marginalization of the Transylvanian Hungarian population within the Romanian society, even though more than thirty years have passed since the fall of communism. Census data on the period following the regime change suggest that the proportion of ethnic Hungarian inhabitants decreased by 21% between 1992 and 2011. Some well-understood reasons for this are massive emigration, negative natural growth, and assimilation. In terms of our topic, however, the combined effect of all these should be highlighted, with particular emphasis on the regional context where the Hungarian population less densely lives. It is essential to mention that these groups were the most affected by emigration, a decrease in natural growth, and assimilation alike, leading to a 40% population decrease in the period indicated above. A look at the settlement types – a factor otherwise found to be closely related to the characteristics of population dispersion processes – will reveal that the ruralization of Hungarians, high on the communist agenda, is still an ongoing process. From a social structure point of view, this bears relevance because the numerical ratio, the circumstances, and the position of Hungarians in Transylvania were adversely affected by the industrialization processes of communism, just as by the deindustrialization processes of the post-communist era. While demographic prospects are more favourable for the minority-concentrated regions of Szeklerland, we are still dealing with an economically lagging area. When placed into this marginalization context, this also implies a growing proportion of Transylvanian Hungarians living in economically underdeveloped ruralized regions in Romania (Kiss 2015, 36).

3.1. Educational, Occupational Asymmetry and Wealth Inequalities

These processes are amplified by backlogs present at the level of educational attainment and occupational structure. Data yielded by censuses held after the regime change repeatedly indicate that the Hungarian population is underrepresented among higher education graduates. Results of the 2011 census show us that 10.2% of the Transylvanian Hungarians have a higher education degree, whereas the national average is 14.4%.[4] The situation is further exacerbated by the lopsided nature of the Hungarian-language higher education structure, as a much narrower range of study courses is available in the Hungarian language compared to the Romanian palette, i.e., less marketable courses can be opted for in the mother tongue. These drawbacks become apparent in the occupational structure as well as in wealth inequalities. Analyses of the occupational structure are consistent in showing that Hungarians in Romania are mostly concentrated in lower-status positions (they are overrepresented among employees and have a low presence in management positions, just as among the professional intelligentsia, see Kiss 2015, 38, Veres 2015, 119–120), which implies a rather unfavourable labour market situation, also entailing lower income levels. An analysis carried out in 2012 suggests that the net income per capita among Hungarians in Transylvania is lagging 8% behind the national average and 14% behind Transylvanian Romanians (Kiss 2014, 210). Further investigations corroborate the wealth inequalities between Hungarians and Romanians and call attention to the role of the *language factor* in this process, namely that income levels are closely associated with the level of state language knowledge – in other words, individuals with a better command of the Romanian language are higher on the payroll, a situation shared, for some specific reasons, by those employed in ethnically mixed work environments (Csata 2019).[5]

3.2. Linguistic Asymmetry as a Context of the Structural Processes

The gaps to be surmounted in terms of minority social structure are tightly linked to linguistic asymmetry, besides which language barriers are often the very reason for the emergence of the more pronounced presence of socioeconomic inequalities. The (asymmetric) impact of the state language skills factor applies – either directly or indirectly – to the entire system of minority education and labour market attitudes, in

4 In his study presenting the changes taking place in the social structure between the censuses held in 2002 and 2011, Valér Veres points out that: "Despite all the new opportunities that have emerged and developed in Hungarian-language higher education since the year 2000, two structural drawbacks persist: one of them is that the anchor function performed by the capital city of Bucharest in the field of higher education has no effect on the Hungarian population given that it is situated far away from the Hungarians' living space in Transylvania. In those cases, however, when Budapest becomes the alternative, most of the graduates stay abroad and thus fall out of the scope of the Hungarian community in Romania" (Veres 2015, 78).

5 URL: https://tinyurl.com/4f4pr4em [last accessed on: 06.08.2020].

a considerable number of cases even covering up the structural disadvantages, so to say giving them a linguistic look. This situation brings to the fore the problems – inherited from the Trianon period – around teaching (language acquisition and the related examination system) the official language in Hungarian-language education institutions in Transylvania. In their volume entitled *A magyar nyelv Romániában (Erdélyben)* (The Hungarian Language in Romania (Transylvania)), János Péntek and Attila Benő conclude as follows:

> Hungarian-language education is under tight central supervision, which cannot be counterbalanced without autonomy concerning the content and textbooks. The heavy presence of nation-state ideology working against practical effectiveness becomes most conspicuous in teaching the Romanian language to Hungarian-speaking students: the past hundred years have seen Romanian educational authorities, the ministry, as the main stumbling block to teaching the Romanian language effectively, for their fixed idea according to which an approach to teaching the Romanian language that follows the efficient methodology of foreign language teaching would impugn nation-state sensitivities. Insufficient knowledge of the state language and poor levels of education dramatically reduce the Hungarian community's economic and linguistic competitiveness, ensuring its long-term subordination and vulnerability. Another aspect connected to *the failure to resolve the teaching of the state language in schools*[6] is that the necessarily emerging bilingualism is already unstable in terms of both languages, often turning into code-switching bilingualism, with a preponderance towards the state language, and then into language shift. And language shift, linguistic assimilation is the crucial point of complete assimilation (encompassing denomination and ethnicity). (Péntek–Benő 2020, 338)

The past hundred years have witnessed a wide variety of responses on the part of the Hungarian community to the situation resulting from the power asymmetries, a pivotal point of which is the nature and functioning of the above-outlined structural and linguistic asymmetry, including the inability to resolve the teaching of the state language in minority education. Within the patchwork of the consolidated power structures, these responses have developed and still operate various *schooling models*, strategies of self-assertion and the associated beliefs, attitudes, and

6 Emphasis mine (A. S.).

patterns of behaviour, which often have consequences acting in opposite directions concerning the identity, legal awareness, and prospects of the Hungarian community in Romania. From an educational and labour market standpoint, the patterns of attitude discussed herein are also dependent on *how the Hungarian community of Transylvania positions itself* – as a group and/or as individuals – in Romanian society and the recently expanded international migration (labour market) space including the territory of Hungary (the motherland) as well.

This is tied up not only with the fact that, for instance, balanced bilingualism would ideally go hand in hand with a different kind of self-image, labour market confidence, and legal awareness, just as the asymmetrical one would create an opposite scenario, but also with the fact that language – due to its more hidden social functions (e.g. inclusion and exclusion) – is the emotional organizing principle of self-positioning; for linguistic connections and the attitudes manifested towards them have an identity- and behaviour-shaping power. While this is usually stressed in relation to the mother tongue and less frequently in the context of the attitudes developed towards the official language, the role played by the latter – in the case of minorities with such a historical background as that of the Hungarians in Transylvania – is essential.

What are these schooling and self-positioning models in the light of sociological surveys carried out in the past decades?

4. Minority Models and Behavioural Patterns Associated with Self-Positioning on the Labour Market and the Social Effects Involved

4.1. The Self-Fulfilling Model of Minoritization[7]

This pattern of behaviour is essentially related to the commonly known topos that can be formulated as "the child should learn Romanian so that s/he can make better in life", and it is one of the routine responses of the Hungarian minority in Romania to the social inequalities rooted in power and, within that, linguistic asymmetry. It means that parents of Hungarian ethnic origin, perceiving it as a greater chance of advancement, enrol their children in schools with Romanian as the language of instruction, or even if they choose a Hungarian-language primary school, they transfer them to the Romanian section once they reach higher grade levels. In the light of the research conducted in the sociology of education over the past decades and the social structure characteristics outlined above, both intended and unintended consequences of this practice are edifying.

7 The phrase *minoritization of languages/language group* was coined by Williams Glyn (2005).

This schooling model was opted for by ethnic Hungarian parents, i.e. homogeneous Hungarian families,[8] prioritizes a sound knowledge of the official language and the more promising mobility opportunities associated with it, whereas, on the flip side, focus being placed on the importance of state language skills actually obscures the mechanisms of mobility prevailing through the majority educational structure, in particular the opportunities/study courses the education system has to offer in the majority language in contrast to the minority alternatives. From a language proficiency point of view, however, it hardly ever entails balanced bilingualism considering that amidst the existing structural conditions and social constraints the use of mother tongue is gradually losing ground in this model, it is coupled with linguistic insecurity, and then it transforms into "home language". Still, because of its consequences, it is an essential aspect that it contributes to the "voluntary" minoritization of the Hungarian language (of the Hungarian-speaking community) because the higher prestige of the state language is asserted precisely among the Hungarian population on the one hand, and because it conveys one of the discursive frameworks of reproducing linguistic inequalities on the other. Indeed, from the moment that the language of success, the working language is the state language, the lower status of the mother tongue becomes accepted as a norm since the minority has given up on the technical terminology, on the specialized language of a particular profession in favour of the state language (Sorbán 2014). From linguistic rights perspective, it implies that the minority *voluntarily relinquishes* even those of its linguistic rights that it could otherwise exercise and that would be permitted by the laws in force.

Our research confirms that school choice – regarding the language of instruction – follows a family model (Sorbán 2000). This means that those Hungarian parents have their children go to schools with Romanian as the language of instruction (or transfer them to Romanian lines of study upon reaching higher levels of education) in a significantly greater proportion who themselves were enrolled in Romanian-language schools or completed higher grade levels in the state language. This transfer of traditions also implies that ethnic Hungarian parents who have completed their studies according to this schooling model cannot be expected to have their children go to Hungarian-language schools – first not for reasons of having greater success but because they do not have sufficient knowledge of the Hungarian language and culture. The fact is that Romanian-language schools offer no opportunity for acquiring such knowledge, and shortcomings in native language competencies and cultural awareness can rarely be made up for individually. This way, school choice in favour of Romanian-language education institutions becomes a self-induced and self-fulfilling moment of leaving the minority system of cultural references, as Hungarian-language schools will be no longer required at a certain point in the process of population dispersion.

8 The present study does not cover the practices adopted by mixed families when choosing the right school for their children.

Recent years' PISA surveys indicate that Romanian students' scholastic achievements fall significantly short of the European average. However, it can be argued that students using the Hungarian language at home and completing the tests in their mother tongue yielded results above the national average, even though these performance gaps should be interpreted with some caution due to the small number of minority subsamples. It also emerges from the data that students who do not study in their mother tongue perform considerably worse than their ethnic Romanian schoolmates, consequent upon which they do not only have better chances of assimilation but will also have a much smaller set of competencies on entering the labour market (Papp Z. 2019).[9] These results go against the mainstream assumption that Hungarian-language schools in Romania would be associated with lower educational achievements compared to the majority of schools. In this regard, it is worth highlighting the *confidence* expressed towards mother tongue education reflected by the 2020 data of Minority Monitor. The survey indicates that although Transylvanian Hungarians have a very low opinion of Romanian education, they think much higher of Hungarian-language education in Romania.[10]

The period following the regime change brought about the re-establishment of the Hungarian-language school network, and the range of Hungarian higher education programmes has considerably diversified. As important as these achievements are in themselves,[11] they were not accompanied by an education strategy based on Transylvanian Hungarians' social structure characteristics, regional differentiation, and changed labour market needs, a strategy that would genuinely involve research relevant to the topic, consider survey results, and introduce performance monitoring including the effectiveness of teaching the Romanian language and the impact of the associated stress factor that teaching the state language presently entails for Hungarian-language schools.[12]

9 URL: https://tinyurl.com/2wdf82bp [last accessed on: 12.11.2020].

10 URL: https://tinyurl.com/4fyxkayh [last accessed on: 12.11.2020].

11 The 2011 enrolment data reveal an upward tendency on all levels of education for the ratio of students in Hungarian-language education institutions when compared to the year 2002 even though having failed to enrol all Hungarian students in Hungarian-language schools. In 2011, ethnic Hungarian students attended Romanian-language schools in varying proportions at different levels of education: primary school – 0.6% (according to calculations, this percentage is higher among Hungarians, but it is balanced out by the number of Roma children going to Hungarian-language schools), high school – 21.6%, vocational school – 82.1%, post-graduate school – 75.4%, university – 61.6% (Veres 2015, 89).

12 In this context, Zsombor Csata notes the following: "A survey based on students' self-reports shows that nearly 40% of the planned learning time is spent on the Romanian language, and even so many of them are facing fundamental difficulties in communication after 12 years." URL: https://osszkep.hu/2017/12/az-erdelyi-magyarok-berhatranyanak-egyik-oka-a-hianyos-roman-nyelvtudas/ [last accessed on: 11.10.2020].

Provided that the right to education is a basic civil right, as enshrined in Romania's constitution, then failing to resolve the teaching of the Romanian language and properly address its associated effects – which take the form of linguistic disadvantages and stress factors – can be classified as discrimination concerning minority students' school performance. Drawing on the experience of the past thirty years, a new kind of language rights approach having particular regard for this discrimination and combined with the associated language rights awareness would allow for *repositioning in the Hungarian minority's future education strategy,* where performance measurement and monitoring provides the necessary support to overcome the minoritizing topos of "the child should learn Romanian (…)", the focus is set on a sound knowledge of the mother tongue and the state language (balanced bilingualism), and differentiated methodologies of teaching the state language are implemented.

4.2. Mother Tongue Education and the Model of the Preferential Labour Market Practice

Speaking in linguistic and cultural terms in the Transylvanian context, the preferential labour market practices also involving Hungarian-language education are confirmed by successive and independent empirical studies. Conducted as long as over two decades ago, our 2001 research adopting in-depth interviews to investigate employment practices following the economic restructuring pointed out the existence of this preferential nature in all three segments of the labour market (viz. employers, employment agencies, and employees), implying that ethnic Hungarians prefer to find employment where they can speak their mother tongue, employers themselves use this as a basis for selection, and employment agencies also have experience supporting this phenomenon. It is important to add here that our survey indicates on the Romanian side the functioning of a similar model of finding/offering employment, which, however – oddly enough –, does not entail a definitive labour market disadvantage for ethnic Hungarian employees, so it does not increase their chances of unemployment.[13] This is bound up with the generally positive perception of Hungarian working culture, members of this ethnic group being seen by employers as rather hard-working, industrious, and trustworthy (Sorbán–Nagy 2003, 169). At first glance these data might give the impression that the employment of ethnic Hungarians takes place in a relatively closed system in comparison with the Romanian one, but there is much more complexity to this phenomenon. A qualitative survey I conducted in the period 2007–2008 among ethnic Hungarian graduates backs up this practice of preferential hiring, underscoring while the Romanian employment system tends to be much more exclusive when it comes to

13 This is confirmed by the 2011 census data as well as our 2012 analysis results: unemployment is no more prevalent among Hungarians than it is among Romanians (Veres 2015, 115, Sorbán 2012, 11).

hiring for higher-profile positions. Thus, employers welcome members of the Hungarian community with a sound knowledge of Romanian if they are recruiting for lower positions, but hiring them for managerial/leadership positions takes place remarkably less frequently (Sorbán 2014). This so-termed glass ceiling is a commonly known structural phenomenon,[14] and it does not refer to linguistic or cultural differences but to ethnic affiliation, which is a socio-historical heritage[15] and which influences the majority's as well as the minority's attitudes, including the latter's tendency to underposition itself.

Recent studies in the field reinforce this tendency of preferential treatment. Zsombor Csata calls this phenomenon economic ethnocentrism, which – as he argues – "generates homophily in economic choices", a very powerful aspect in the Transylvanian private sector: "The proportion of Hungarians in Transylvania is 19%, but at their workplaces this is around 65%, the difference being most striking where Hungarians do not live in concentrated regions but in scattered areas." He then goes on to note that the proportion of Hungarians at the workplace is negatively related to the income levels, that is, those who have more Romanian colleagues earn a better living. Csata considers that one of the underlying reasons is the greater competitiveness of Romanian companies in their specific domains and that income is not the only factor implicated in opting for a workplace (Csata 2019).

Taking a Hungarian perspective, ethnic "pillarization" as discussed herein – which could override application for higher-income jobs and rational career development, so it occasionally involves some sort of under positioning on the labour market – is influenced by several factors. Surely, these are connected to various cultural markers as well such as stereotyped beliefs about working culture. On the latter – although investigated less systematically and only in the labour migration context –, our research results indicate that a clear distancing can be experienced

14 The glass ceiling is a metaphor coined in the field of social science, and it alludes to the hidden barriers standing in the way of minority group members in availing themselves of career advancement opportunities beyond a certain level.

15 A highly insightful addition to this context is the following excerpt from an interview conducted during our research based on a sample population of higher education graduates, a fragment not simply showing this barrier as something embedded in the minority tradition but presenting it as a natural element: "In terms of career development, ethnicity represents an obstacle. Ethnic affiliation is the barrier. Not the language! If you don't understand it, you should read Sándor Fodor's novel *Egy nap – egy élet* [One Day – One Life]. (…) He says that you are allowed to, but you cannot. Being Hungarian undermines success, yes. For instance, in the eighties, I had already reached a professional level that could have put me in a leadership position, but then it was not possible because I was Hungarian. I wasn't promoted in the nineties either because they wanted me but because I had gained it. Career advancement… – this is so; back then, I would've been the top candidate – I just happened to have some of my publications sent to the right place at the right time, abroad, etc. (…) I wasn't singled out, it's only natural; people living in minority must reckon with such an eventuality" (Sorbán 2014, 51).

on the part of the Hungarians, which is a "Romanian specificity" in this respect. This is a very clear practice of producing boundaries, and it can be observed even in the verbalization of opinions, as it is not at all uncommon for ethnic Hungarian interview subjects to switch languages to give an idea of the perceived or real Romanian (Balkan) peculiarities, formulating in Romanian the characteristic features they do not mean to apply to themselves.[16]

Nevertheless, a crucial aspect of preferential labour market practices that contributes toward ethnic separation in labour market choices and attitudes is tied up with the *particularities of Transylvanian bilingualism* and the resulting patterns of language use. Indeed, if we look at this bilingualism from both sides of the fence, i.e., also including Transylvanian Romanians' attitude to the Hungarian language and its public use,[17] what Transylvanian Hungarians' bilingualism looks like on the practical level and what direction this has taken over the past thirty years, then we will find rather lopsided and increasingly feeble bilingualism in the Transylvanian society of the early 21st century, otherwise assumed to be multilingual and multicultural. This is reflected in the everyday patterns of language use, and it reinforces the linguistic markers of employee attitudes and job-seeking strategies.

The socio-historical background of the present characteristics of this bilingualism situation is that a drastic change took place in terms of ethnic proportions, and, with them, in the everyday patterns of language use, on the territory of Transylvania during the communist period. This change is closely linked to the massive emigration of the minority population, the radical modification of the ethnic structure of the population in the Transylvanian urban areas, the specific features of the process of population dispersion, and the dominant nature of the state language alike. All of this resulted in the presently prevailing scenario where Romanian–Hungarian bilingualism in Transylvania can be mentioned exclusively from the minority's point of view, as a very marginal proportion of Transylvanian Romanians speak or understands Hungarian (Kiss 2015, 40–41). It follows that if in a particular work environment there is an ethnic Romanian colleague, code-switching usually takes place on the part of the Hungarian co-workers, while speaking Hungarian may be perceived as the exclusion of the Romanian individual, and it could engender frustration in his/her part. Likewise, if a Hungarian employee cannot use his/her mother tongue at the workplace (or has no one to

16 An example of code-switching that refers to workplace hierarchy and illustrates the Balkan methods of negotiation: "I enter, and then I see the *Director* [the same in Romanian] sitting there. He tells me: '*Doamnă dragă* [My dear madam], that's not how it works" (Sorbán 215, 64).

17 A 2012 survey conducted by the Institute for Research on National Minorities shows that a mere 27% of the respondents agree that Hungarians should have autonomous education institutions, and 24% consider that they should be able to use the Hungarian language in their communication with local authorities. It should be stressed, however, that these proportions are even lower among the Romanians in Transylvania (23.9% and 18.2% resp.) (Kiss 2015, 39).

talk to in his/her native language), s/he may feel like an "outsider", like someone who does not belong to the group, for these kinds of *including/excluding games* of language use are intensely lived experiences on an emotional level. These aspects tend to have a substantial impact on communicative spontaneity and workplace comfort and may even produce conflicts within specific groups or workplace communities, giving rise to economically counterproductive situations. An obvious response to this language use asymmetry is the "language set-up" of work environments (prioritization of linguistic-cultural aspects in searching for / shifting jobs and hiring), which could outweigh applying for jobs with promises of better earnings or even higher positions.

The other side of the coin is that, despite an overwhelming majority of Transylvanian Hungarians are regarded in general terms[18] as bilingual, recent surveys call attention to the decreasing number of ethnic Hungarians with a good command of Romanian. Published in November 2020, results of the previously cited Minority Monitor reveal a growing number of Hungarians who self-reportedly do not have a satisfactory knowledge of Romanian or do not speak at all this language. Survey evidence shows that 55% of the respondents rate themselves as fluent speakers of the state language, which can be broken down as follows: 22% have perfect or native-equivalent language skills (by their admission), and 33% speak fluent Romanian but with a noticeable accent. By contrast, the other half of the participants report a low level of state language skills: 29% believe that they can make themselves understood in most cases, while 16% can speak the official language only with difficulties or not at all.[19] Research shows these proportions to be most unfavourable in the regions of Szeklerland and Partium, and survey professionals draw attention to the puzzling nature of the phenomenon that poor speakers of Romanian are more heavily present among people of young age.

In a minority situation and in a social context resulting from the prevailing linguistic asymmetry, the knowledge of state language coupled with linguistic insecurity[20] is not a positive self-positioning aspect that would make an individual or community appear self-confident in the labour market. In connection with the foregoing, the aforesaid Minority Monitor turns the spotlight on the importance survey participants attach to the proper acquisition of the Romanian language, who

18 Literature on sociolinguistics lists several definitions for bilingualism depending on the underlying criteria (e.g. level of second-language skills, frequency of the alternative use of the two languages, identification with the particular languages, etc.). As a vast majority of them have some knowledge of the state language, Hungarians in Transylvania may be broadly defined as bilinguals.

19 URL: https://tinyurl.com/4fyxkayh [last accessed on: 11.12.2020].

20 Let us note here that the poor Romanian language skills of Transylvanian Hungarians have become a topic of entertainment on various social media platforms: cf. Ionuț Rusu's relevant parodies such as his video spot on the school-leaving exam: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-q7mAx_wPJU [last accessed on: 21.09.2020].

would therefore welcome the reintroduction of mixed-language schools as a possible solution, whose abolishment (precisely because of the trust deficit towards majority-led institutions) was one of the major objectives set by the Hungarian minority of Transylvania after the regime change.

The specific situational picture emerging from the data can be accounted for by several factors. In essence, it can be certainly linked to the failure to resolve the efficient teaching of the state language and the associated stress factor, but at the same time, it can also be tied up with the learning, job-seeking, or even job transition strategies that virtually *eliminate* the set of problems around the official language. Indeed, in Transylvania – owing to the recent re-establishment of the Hungarian-language education network – there are opportunities for pursuing further education in the Hungarian language, and even though these represent a much narrower segment compared to the possibilities offered in the majority language, options for continuing education in Hungary or other countries may also be considered. Correspondingly, upon the completion of studies, choosing employment is assumed to take place in Hungary's or other international labour market arenas (as well), transcending the borders of Transylvania.

A relevant example in this specific context is the results of the research conducted among the graduates of Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Sorbán 2020). During the survey, I followed the development of the relationship between Hungarian-language higher education and language use at the workplace, under the assumption that the continuous use of Hungarian as the language of instruction (from kindergarten to university level) brings into action natural language use attitudes in the world of work as well due to its role played in reinforcing the positive attitudes related to the mother tongue. However, given that Sapientia graduates do not highly rate their state language competencies – our survey results even indicate relatively greater confidence in their English language skills compared to the Romanian –, shortcomings identified in the field of state language acquisition and the related linguistic insecurities could entail certain social effects that – paradoxically – preserve the more unfavourable situation of the Hungarian community within the Romanian social structure.

One such consequence can be observed in the job-seeking process, and it consists in assuming a low-profile attitude toward the labour market. This can be translated as employees' tendency to underposition themselves in the Romanian labour market, to *narrow down* their possibilities of employment and business creation having regard to linguistic considerations, acting so because of their rather substantial inexperience in the various registers of the Romanian technical terminology, the language of the economy and business, or even the standard language on the one hand, and for reasons of having few relationships that would connect them into the majority labour market segments on the other. Certainly, these cultural and social forms of capital (Bourdieu 1997)

– language skills, cultural literacies, networks of relations, trust – are fundamental features of the economic sphere.

Another phenomenon that accompanies state language deficiencies and that balances out domestic under positioning is *expanding* the range of possibilities, thus eliminating the stress factor associated with the said shortcomings and turning to international career/job-seeking opportunities. Hence, the data suggest two interrelated social-level effects of this model, one of which is the *ejection effect* and the other the *barrier effect*. The former denotes that Transylvanian Hungarian graduates who have completed their pre-university studies in Hungarian language will seek further education in Hungary or another Western country, will find employment there, and will not return to Transylvania since their opportunities and career bind them to another country. The barrier effect, on the other hand, refers to the circumstances when following a longer or shorter period of studying or working abroad (the latter option – as per relevant research – implies in most cases lower-status jobs compared to the obtained degree), any return plan that may arise is significantly restrained, or perhaps completely upset, by deficient state language competencies.

From the perspective of the period passed since the regime change, we can summarize the results of the above-presented social science studies as follows: minority education institutions must earnestly consider the actual economic, social, cultural, and linguistic environment that produces the framework for employment, success, career development, and social mobility in Romania. For "remaining in one's homeland" cannot be realistically envisaged in a vacuum but in the domestic economic-cultural milieu and its conditions determined by language, where state language competencies bear strategic relevance. Over and above that, we may come across state language deficiencies – rooted in power asymmetries – under other forms of capital, constituting further disadvantages and thus generating corresponding effects. This works both ways: a good command of the official language is a cultural capital that can be converted into trust-based career opportunities, broader professional relationships, better earnings, and higher positions.

5. Hungarian beyond the Border. Minority Existence and Language Use: A Sociology of Space Perspective

The subject of this analysis (by its title alone) is embedded in space, and several space representations and space metaphors have been employed in a bid to offer explanations for it. "Beyond the border" is undoubtedly a real space but at the same time is a social construct and a rather *peculiar space of language use* as well. Underlying the presented data, economic and structural tendencies, we can identify the classical categories of the sociology of space: the perceived, the conceived and the lived space as well (Lefèbvre 1974). In this respect, the notion of minority "pillar

society" shaped "side-by-side" the majority one is highly expressive, just as the "glass ceiling" metaphor in the occupational structure, the "barrier" that closes off return migration of Hungarians due to the lack of state language competencies, or the established terminology of sociolinguistics, including "home", "workplace", or "official" language, all these pointing to real-life spaces too. Indeed, "exclusion" and "inclusion" by way of language use, as the core emotional organizing principles of the conceived or lived spaces involve spatial representations.

Considering that language use is a continuous social *action*, our explanation can be placed in Martina Löw's theoretical framework of sociology of space. A crucial tenet in this context is that spaces are social constructs to which various *atmospheres* are connected. Through a sense of belongingness or, conversely, alienation, these atmospheres – self-powered, without physical or other constraints – have control over who can feel them as their own and, consequently, who will frequent them. Consequently, one must not overlook either that atmospheres are ideological realities (Löw 2001, qt. in Berger 2018, 212) that cover up social disadvantages and inequalities, as being excluded from certain places/spaces seems to take place voluntarily, the people involved choosing to agree to the exclusion *of their own accord*, wherein trust or trust deficit plays a key role. However, what this all boils down to is that structural principles and determinations become *habitus*. Also, all these processes account for the phenomenon of how different social groups create different spaces in the same (physical) places. The involved behavioural aspects bear relevance in the research of social inequalities, in this approach from the perspective of the sociology of space. In her study entitled *The Constitution of Space. The Structuration of Spaces through the Simultaneity of Effect and Perception*, Martina Löw writes about the space-constituting power of atmospheres:

> Reformulating Giddens's duality of structure thesis, a duality of space is proposed as a conceptual approach. One possible consequence that can be developed from the argument of the simultaneity of space-ordering structures and the immanence of action is to conceptualize the power of spaces as atmospheres, which can provoke moods in people, in extreme cases even against their will. Atmospheres, it should be said, can be deliberately deployed. Theoretically, however, they must be understood as simultaneous acts of interpretation/perception and external effects of objects in their spatial ordering. They are hence never equally perceptible to everyone. Little research has yet been done on what must be basic conceptual knowledge for spatial theory, namely, how inclusion and exclusion are organized through atmospheres. In contrast to the opportunities for access to spaces secured by

> resources, atmospheres veil the processes of access and exclusion. Atmospheres have to be sensed, and avoidance behaviour experienced as self-exclusion is the frequent consequence of a spatial atmosphere perceived as unpleasant. Atmospheres secure consent to inclusion and exclusion. The complexity lies in simultaneity: neither the staging alone nor solely the preferences of the subject taking a position and synthesizing produce inclusion and exclusion. (Löw 2008, 46–47)

The above-outlined approach identifies the language use space – as some sort of synthesising concept – as a defining attribute of the condition of Hungarian minorities "beyond the borders". What we can see is that linguistic aspects (language competencies and attitudes, the visual or mental linguistic landscape of different spaces, including workplaces, etc.) are of utmost importance for minority self-positioning. As a matter of course, self-positioning is itself a "spatial" expression that takes place *somewhere* in a peculiar relational system, which in our case is a nation-state with another language than Hungarian.

At this point, I return to Ogbu's cultural-ecological model, where the author distinguishes between the behaviours and attitudes of voluntary and involuntary minorities in terms of schooling and which results from historical experiences and different cultural patterns. The introductory part mentioned that Transylvanian Hungarians do not identify with the term "beyond the border", which is applied about them within the very borders of the motherland, Hungary. Instead, they resort to using the names of specific regions (e.g. Transylvania or even smaller geographical, cultural, or ethnographic areas) as part of their self-determination, intending to replace, so to speak, the dispossessing sense of "beyondness" involving extraneity. This replacement, however, implies only a partial acceptance of "being on this side of the border" since this is not a case of voluntary minority, and the processes of the previously outlined pillarization can be understood as responses to this situation marked by trust deficit towards the majority. However, these phenomena include imaginary space creation too, which in quite a few cases means reconstructing sites of memory or spaces of bygone worlds.

Consequently, one can state that the possibilities of minority existence – looking at them from either or another side of the border – are shaped by power relations and by the adaptation responses of the members of society, inter-alia, through playing the games of inclusive and (self-) exclusive attitudes in the arenas of language use. These games have no rules set once and for all but always bring along a certain amount of freedom for action.

6. Concluding Thoughts: Summary and Outlook

The present study undertook an analysis of the correlations between minority bilingualism and the social structure characteristics, based on the sociological surveys relevant to the subject, taking the sociology of space approach, and starting from a theoretical model centred on minorities' educational and mobility challenges as well as the responses and patterns of behaviour generated in their wake, all of which is viewed in the prevailing asymmetric power relations.

Both experiences and research results accumulated in the past thirty years converge on the conclusion that the need has arisen for linking the educational and labour market issues of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania more closely together and for taking account of the real socioeconomic conditions to rethink these aspects along practical principles transcending the currently adopted paradigm of minority education/empowering. Firstly, this calls for another kind of linguistic rights approach, one that puts substantive focus on the right to state-language acquisition in addition to the mother tongue rights and that attaches strategic importance to eliminating the associated discriminative elements from minority education. Secondly, it appears necessary to adapt the state language teaching methodology to the specific local/regional bilingual situations and labour market needs as well – even by drawing up institutional-level language policies supporting state language education –, based on performance measurements including the development/implementation of the internal measurement system for state language competencies. Yet another core element of all this rethinking is the pragmatic approach to state language proficiency that regards it as a form of cultural capital that is convertible into others and that emerges – as corroborated by the present analysis – in structural advantages and disadvantages alike.

This context also calls for the reconsideration of the conversion potential of bilingualism as a form of capital, as viewed in the prevailing asymmetric language situation. A subject at the heart of the interrelationship between economy and language is the connection between language proficiency and social positions, answering the question as to whether bilingualism or multilingualism in each region is conducive to gaining a superior labour market position and how a sound knowledge of two or more languages pays off at the level of social mobility or in terms of income. Albeit literature abounds in the various approaches to the economic benefits of bilingualism, the following should be stressed: research points out that these benefits are not always evident and are occasionally quite uncertain if the lingua franca is the dominant language and if the minority language does not find a milieu of openness and proper social circumstances that maintain and reinforce its positive perception (Grin 1990, Vaillancourt 1980). Based on this perspective, Transylvanian Hungarians' economic initiatives that embrace bilingualism and build upon the business policy of cultural sensitivity may

well be playing a key role in (re)shaping the patterns of language use. The linguistic marketing of these models and practices may help to reassess the stereotypes associated with state language proficiency and, simultaneously, shape the positive perception of the Hungarian language, all the while giving prominence to balanced bilingualism as a form of capital, as well as to its conversion potential.

The economic approach to language is politically relevant from the perspective of language planning at the national level. "Given the 'public good' character of language, decentralised choices by social actors may fail to ensure the socially most desirable level of linguistic diversity. Moreover, language does not serve a simple communication function, and non-market values, even in an essentially orthodox economic analytical framework, must be taken into account" (Grin 2003). Obviously, the relation between language and economics is complex and multifaceted. In the economic field, there are linguistic tools for influencing economic processes, economic culture, economic discourse, and customer consumption. At the same time, language could express different identities, trust, group markers as well as power or resistance in very subtle ways (Sorbán 2018).

In conclusion: In the context of the outlined asymmetric minority situation, the features of language use are largely shaped by economic and social constraints and determinations, just as by the established cultural models, beliefs, attitudes, and the "community forces" manifested therein. Taking this ecological cultural approach as a model, significant changes to the efficiency of minority educational performance can be achieved if the minority itself reinterprets several convictions and behaviours that essentially work outside the school but that have a vital impact on the minority strategies concerning their structural positions. We must not overlook the impact generated by the adaptation responses that a community or social group may produce – for considerations of repositioning – under the given circumstances, to changed situations, exploring their options and room for manoeuvre.

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"We were that small, special group in that large school with »normal« classes" Education in a Minority Language in the Context of Hungarians From Zagreb

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ABSTRACT
The latest research conducted in the Hungarian community of the City of Zagreb has shown that the Hungarian language is slowly losing its communication functions in informal domains (family, friends, the sphere of intimacy) and is withdrawing before Croatian, i.e., that language shift is in progress. As one of the key factors affecting language shift, school is mentioned as support in families in intergenerational language transmission and language preservation in the community. Croatia has ensured an institutional framework for education in minority languages to its minorities through a series of regulatory acts. However, exercising this right is often followed by numerous difficulties. In case of the Hungarian minority, this is due to geographical dispersity. Nevertheless, during the 1990s, a Hungarian group in kindergarten, a bilingual class and nurturing language for primary- and secondary-school pupils were launched in Zagreb. In order to obtain a clearer image of how various class models in a minority language actually function and which problems their participants are faced with, we conducted a preliminary research among younger members of the community who attended classes in Hungarian at least at one point during their education. We completed the results with information obtained through informal conversations with preschool and school teachers as well as through immediate observations of the community.

Key words: Hungarian minority, domains, language shift, education in minority language

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1. The Hungarian minority in the City of Zagreb

1.1. Socio-demographic context

Even though the ethnic homogenisation of the Croatian state territory has been on a constant rise over the past thirty years (Babić 2015), Croatia is at the very top among the European Union member states according to the number of officially recognized and protected national minorities and their languages. "Officially" means that the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia lists 22 national minorities. Article 15 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia warrants freedom to minority members to express their national affiliation, to freely use their language and script as well as cultural autonomy. These rights are regulated by the Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities dated 2002. Hungarians are among the stated minorities that enjoy these rights.

Hungarians belong to old or native national minorities. With regard to the old national minorities, on the grounds of comparing censuses from 1991, 2001 and 2011, Babić (2015, 55) concludes that these minorities exhibit a tendency to decrease in number and to assimilate into the Croatian population, and the results of the latest census from 2021 show that their number is still declining, whereby Hungarians are no exception. Hence, their number is still gradually decreasing and today (2021 Census) amounts to 10 315, which is merely 46% of the total number of the Hungarian population back in 1991 when there were 22 355 of them. The share of 0.27% in the total population of Croatia indicates that this is a small community whose members are geographically mostly gathered in Baranya and several villages in eastern Slavonia (where Hungarians live in blocks), where they also constitute indigenous population[1], while others are scattered across other parts of the country (diaspora). In these areas, they are not indigenous, but rather immigrants, mostly from Vojvodina (Ćurković-Major 2002, Sebők 2006, Kontra 2016). This also stands for the Hungarians in the city of Zagreb.

The statistical data from the last census from 2021 show that, even though the share of national minorities in the total population of the city amounts to a meagre 4.12% (or 31 624 persons from the total population of the City of Zagreb which amounts to 767 131), here we find members of all 22 nations which are mentioned in the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia. Among them, the most numerous ones are Serbs (12 034 or 1.57%), Bosniaks (6 566 or 0.86%), and Albanians (3 475 or 0.45%), followed by Roma (2 167 or 0.28%) and Slovenians (1 312 or 0.17%), whereas other minorities are represented with a number of members which does not surpass 1000 citizens (Austrians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Germans, Poles, Russians, etc.). The

1 The majority of Hungarians (6059 or 58.7% of all Hungarians in Croatia) live in Osijek-Baranya County where they make up for 2.35% of the total population (2021 Census).

latter group also comprises Hungarians whose number, according to the last four censuses, is constantly decreasing: in 1991, 1168 citizens declared themselves as having Hungarian nationality; in 2001, 841; in 2011, 825; and in 2021, 646 which accounts for 0.08% of the total population of Zagreb and for 6.26% of the total number of Hungarians in Croatia.

The Hungarian population is represented by groups which came to Zagreb between the two world wars and later from various regions, as we mentioned before, mostly from Vojvodina, but also from eastern Slavonia and Srijem, and from Hungary in the 1990s or later (Škiljan 2015)[2]. This was also shown by a research conducted in 2018 (Baričević-Tamaskó – Katalinić 2020), when out of the total number of respondents (N=67) 46.3% stated Vojvodina as their place of birth, 30.3% Hungary, and 6% of the respondents were born in other regions of Croatia with native Hungarian population or abroad. The remaining 16.7% of the respondents were born in Zagreb, and they belong to the second or third generation.

1.2. Factors of assimilation and language shift

Relying on demographic, historical, regional and social statistical data about the Hungarian ethnic minority in Croatia from 1910 to 2001, Gyémánt and Drozdik (2004) conclude that this little community with a decreased number of members is affected by the process of assimilation. Thereby, they emphasise that this is inevitable in groups that are scattered (diaspora), which also applies to a significant number of Hungarians. In Croatia, most national minorities are in the process of assimilation, and among the main reasons which generate assimilation, sociologists state political systems with an insufficiently elaborated system of national minorities' rights as well as a series of other factors such as mixed marriages, social conformism, unfavourable socio-political atmosphere and the inactivity of the community members themselves (Babić 2015). It is important to bear in mind that assimilation must not be observed as a simple and linear process. Sándor Oláh (cited by Bartha 1999, 83) defines assimilation of an ethic community as a cultural adjustment; this is a process comprising multiple stages in which cultural codes, structural properties of the society, and emotional characteristics are mashed and mutually adjusted. Furthermore, language shift, as one of the elements of the identity and the basic cultural code, precedes a complete adjustment and invisibility of a national minority in society.[3]

The most general definition of language shift comes from Uriel Weinreich. He defines language shift "as a change from habitual use of

2 For more information regarding the Hungarian population throughout the history of the City of Zagreb, from the Middle Ages to the present day, dynamics and historical circumstances of their immigration, see Škiljan 2015.

3 Language shift or assimilation does not necessarily always have to be followed by a loss of national identity (ethnic assimilation); American emigrants are such an example (Borbély 2001).

one language to that of another" (Weinreich 1968, 68). Borbély (2001) emphasises that language shift must be understood as a process. We know that the process begins when one or more community members do not speak the minority language anymore, whereas at the end of the process there is not a single community member who speaks the minority language. Between these two poles lie various stages of bilingualism, from that in which the domination of the minority language is present, through stable bilingualism, to the domination of the majority language. Stable bilingualism is characterised by diglossia[4], i.e., an equal functional distribution of functions in the two languages, which is quite rare, and even if it happens, it usually does not last long. Minority communities are more often found in the state of unstable bilingualism when the use of two languages is not strictly separated, i.e., their functions overlap, which eventually results in one language (usually the majority language) completely taking over all functions.

There are many factors by which sociolinguists explain why language shift has occurred in some minority communities, whereas others have managed to maintain their language[5]. Some of them are the following: the current policy on language and education of minorities, development of the group's institutions, attitude of the minority group towards their language, towards majority language, towards bilingualism, etc. (cf. Grosjean 1982, Bartha 1999, Romaine 2005, Borbély 2014). It is important to note that some of these factors are ambivalent in that they may favour either maintenance or shift, and that the direction of the change is never determined by a single factor as many factors affecting maintenance and shift interact in complex ways (Grosjean 1982).

Systematic research that would attempt to show which factors affect assimilation and how (in their mutual co-relationship), and which are or will be responsible for language shift amongst Hungarians from Zagreb has still not been conducted. Nevertheless, various works mention certain individual factors (mostly in the context of socio-demographic data) that are considered relevant in the process. This is primarily the already mentioned diaspora in which a large portion of Croatia's Hungarians live. For instance, education in a minority language (which is also stated as an important factor in language maintenance) is difficult to organize in diaspora conditions, so children do not have an opportunity to get formal education in a minority language (Ćurković-Major 2002)[6].

4 Diglossia here does not imply Ferguson's use of several specific codes (languages or varieties) within a society where each code performs functions different from the ones considered appropriate for another code, but rather functional differentiated linguistic varieties of any kind, as seen by Gumperz and Fishman (Fishman 1972).

5 The notion contrary to language shift is language maintenance. According to Baker (2006, 75), language maintenance usually refers to relative language stability in the number and distribution of its speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains (home, school, religion).

6 In that sense, Ćurković-Major emphasises Zagreb itself as a positive example, which will be dealt with in more detail later.

Furthermore, the demographic factor which is often stated as key for assimilation process in these communities, are mixed marriages (Kontra 2016, Sebők 2006) in which minority partners retain their identity, but their children as a rule accept the identity of the majority nation. A large number of Hungarians from Zagreb also live in mixed marriages[7] which will, in the future, define not only the identity of the children born in these marriages, but it will also affect the dynamics of language shift at community level. Language shift in diaspora usually takes place within three generations; the first generation is monolingual or with dominant minority language, the second one is bilingual, whereas in the third generation the majority language is either dominant or the only language spoken (Borbély 2014, Baker 2006). Ćurković-Major (2002) claims that this is the situation with Hungarians from Zagreb, and that the third generation (grandchildren) speaks no or just a little bit of Hungarian. Besides, the author also points out the fact that in the 1991 census 15% of the Hungarian minority members from Croatia stated that the Hungarian language *was not* their mother tongue, foreseeing that this percentage, if viewed as a consequence of language shift, would most likely increase further. Thirty years later, we can see from the 2021 census that it grew to as high as 30%. When Hungarians from Zagreb are taken into consideration, today 25.6% of them do not consider Hungarian as their mother tongue[8].

1.3. The domains of language use

As another factor in the process of assimilating minority groups in general, Kontra (2016) emphasises the lack of functional domains in which languages are used, i.e., the precondition for longer maintenance of a bilingual state are clearly separated functions which are for an individual or a community filled in by one or the other language (Bartha 1999, 123).

The notion of functional domains is tied to sociolinguist J. A. Fishman and his study of bilingualism and language choice-patterns in minority communities. With these observations, Fishman wanted to provide "descriptive and analytic variables which may contribute to an understanding of *who* speaks and with *whom* and *when* in those settings that are characterised by widespread and relatively stable multilingualism" (Fishman 1965). He defined "domains – regardless of their number – in terms of institutional context or socio-ecological co-occurrences. They

7 According to the research conducted by Baričević-Tamaskó and Katalinić (2020) in 2018, 48 out of the total of 67 respondents either are or were married, out of whom 79% are in a mixed marriage with a partner of Croatian nationality.

8 A high percentage of Hungarians to whom Hungarian is not their mother tongue is not characteristic for the communities of cross-border Hungarians (Sebők 2006). In their research, Baričević-Tamaskó and Katalinić (2018) attain a bit more favourable result than showed by censuses. In the interviewed group, 89.4% of the respondents state that Hungarian is their mother tongue, i.e., just a bit over 10% of those to whom it is not. A high percentage probably stems from the respondents' age group (38.8% 50-54 years old; 44.8% 33-53 years old).

attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings. (…) Domain is a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationship between communicators, and locales of communication" (Fishman 1972). In his research, Fishman establishes five of them: family, friendship, religion, education, and work, but it is possible to define a potentially unlimited number of domains relevant to some multilingual context. Domains are often referred to as either formal or informal, whereby the dominant language is more often used in public domains characterised by formality, and the minority language is more represented in private domains characterised by intimacy and solidarity. Fishman starts from the point of macro-perspective and seeks domains applicable to the entire language community, which are therefore prototypical and static, but they do not provide insight into how bilingual or multilingual speakers actually use their languages. Rydenvald (2019) explains that language use of multilinguals has proved to be more dynamic than the domain theory suggests. Not only do multilingual individuals use different languages in domains, but they also use different languages in the same domain. The borders between the domains are thus blurred, and the domains overlap. For instance, the school domain does not only relate to education but also social life between peers, resulting in the domains of school and friendship domains to be, to a large extent, interwoven. For this reason, domain research in recent studies consists of both quantitative and qualitative analysis. For example, Rydenvald (2019) complements the data obtained from the questionnaire with the data obtained from self-recordings and interviews. Even earlier, in the analysis, Bartha (1996) includes data collected through immediate participation and observations of the studied community, as was also done by Baričević-Tamaskó and Katalinić (2020) in the analysis of the domains in the community of the Hungarians from Zagreb. Their research shows that the functional division of the domains assumes the use of Hungarian in church (Hungarian mass), in the Hungarian cultural society, the Hungarian institute and other formal bodies, followed by family and among friends, and finally, in an entirely private sphere (prayer, reading, radio, and television). Therefore, we can talk about a formal and informal division. The use of the two languages is clearly divided by function, and the choice of the language is tied to certain situations, participants in the interaction, topics discussed, but also to communication competency (cf. Bartha 1993, 46). Consequently, Hungarian is completely dominant in the religious life domain as well as in formal domains (cultural society[9], institute), whereas both

9 Programs in the cultural society are exclusively held in the Hungarian language. However, communication among the society members after the official part of the program, during informal socialising, is carried out as follows: older members communicate among themselves only in Hungarian, younger members communicate with the older ones mostly in Hungarian, whereas the Croatian language is dominant among younger members.

languages are present in the informal domain. Moreover, the deeper we enter the private sphere, the more the use of Croatian increases and that of Hungarian declines. This also refers to linguistic practices in families where, regarding the choice of the language, the factor of generation and age is noticeable. Whereas Hungarian prevails in the communication with the older generation (grandmothers and grandfathers), the second-generation members most commonly communicate in Croatian among themselves and with their children. In addition, the younger the person, the greater the extent to which Croatian is chosen for communication both with family members as well as friends and acquaintances. From the aforementioned, we can see that in this community the Hungarian language is more present in formal than in informal domains, and that there is a threat that it might soon disappear from the most important one, i.e., the family which is considered a major direct cause in the decline, revival or maintenance of a minority language (Baker 2006).

The mentioned research in this community did not examine school as the domain in which the minority language is used. This is the kind of domain that provides conditions for "practicing" a language (both for the pupils and the teachers), moreover, learning a minority language, i.e., what is even more important, learning in a minority language has an important role in minority language maintenance (Lanstyák 1994). The use of minority languages in education has its political framework, i.e., it is defined with official state acts. Further in the paper, we shall demonstrate the manner which regulates rights concerning education in minority languages in Croatia and what the Hungarian community has done to exercise the warranted rights.

2. Institutional framework for education in minority languages

Exercising special rights and freedoms of national minorities in Croatia is regulated by the *Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities* dated 2002[10] according to which, among other things, members of national minorities are guaranteed to "use their own language and script, privately as well as in public and official use, upbringing and education on the language and script they use as well as cultural autonomy by maintaining, developing and expressing their own culture, and conserving and protecting their cultural goods and traditions".[11] Therefore, in the education domain, Article 11 of this Act is extremely important,

10 For the historical overview and current situation in the Croatian legislation regarding education in minority languages see Lewis et al. 2020.

11 This means that national minorities can establish institutions for performing cultural, publishing, museum and library activities, establish associations, etc., in which they are supported by the Ministry of Culture that provides continuous financing of their programs.

as well as the *Act on Education in Languages and Scripts of National Minorities* dated 2000 which prescribes the manner of conducting education of national minorities in preschool and school institutions. The mentioned documents show a certain aspect of positive discrimination in the protection of national minorities' rights as they give advantage to enrolling children belonging to a national minority, enable holding classes (class organization) even for a smaller number of pupils from the one prescribed for school institutions with classes in the Croatian language as well as ensure schooling of the teaching staff required for the needs of holding such classes. For members of the Hungarian national minority and for exercising rights to education in Hungarian language, apart from the mentioned acts, the bilateral *Agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Hungary on the protection of Hungarian minority in the Republic of Croatia and Croatian minority in the Republic of Hungary* dated 1995 is also extremely important as seen in Article 2 which ensures support to existing kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and high school institutions which hold classes in the languages of minorities (which then ensures all educational levels in a minority language), in the sense of employing and schooling teachers who are minority members, sharing experience among experts in this field from both countries, but also encouraging learning of minority languages in schools of the majority nation which seems as a highly important segment showing the relationship the majority community has with the minority language communities. The mentioned acts support the following forms of formal education: a) teaching in the language and script of the national minority (Model A), b) bilingual courses (Model B), or c) optional learning of the language and culture of the minority – language and culture nurturing (Model C). Thus, minority members themselves propose and choose the model and program in accordance with the possibilities for its realisation.

Model A means mother tongue medium education with compulsory learning of Croatian in the number of hours identical to the number of hours of minority languages. This model in the Croatian educational system is used by the more numerous and better organized national minorities; Czech, Serbian, Italian and Hungarian (Lewis et al. 2020). These are homogeneous communities geographically gathered in one area, like the Hungarians in Osijek-Baranya County in eastern Croatia. For them all levels of education in the Hungarian language are ensured in Hungarian Education and Cultural Centre in Osijek where after preschool and primary school, secondary-school pupils can choose among five programs: preparatory school (*opća gimnazija*), hotel and tourist technician, economist, merchant, and cook. Besides, there are three kindergartens and three elementary schools in that county where classes for children of the Hungarian minority are organized according to this model. According to many authors, only educational structures with tuition in the native language, i.e., education *in* the minority language, ensure its maintenance; all other types of education help language shift

(for example, Lanstyák 1994, Benő 2015). Skutnabb-Kangas (2004) also emphasises the importance of mother tongue medium education from the perspective of students' school achievements: „those students who reached the highest levels of both bilingualism and school achievement were the ones where the children's mother tongue was the main medium of education for the most extended period of time"[12].

The regions in which Hungarian minorities are smaller in number and less homogenous use Model B or Model C. Model B is bilingual: the natural group of subjects is taught in Croatian, while the social group of subjects is taught in the language of the members of the national minority. This model is realized in special departments in schools with classes in Croatian. Teaching according to Model B for Hungarians in Croatia is organized in two elementary schools. In Model C (language and culture nurturing), with regular teaching in Croatian, the language and culture of the national minority in the minority language are taught in two to five school hours a week. This includes learning the language and literature of the national minority, as well as geography, history, music and arts. Teaching according to Model C for Hungarians is organized in one kindergarten, 23 elementary schools, one high school and one higher education institution.[13] Lanstyák (1994) calls this type of teaching an alternative solution which is often used in the former Yugoslav countries. These models of education in the minority language were based on programs created at the end of the 60s of the previous century. In them, teaching according to Model C was foreseen only for high school pupils, while today it is also used in elementary schools. Ćurković-Major (2002) believes that the proposed structure, or a network of schools as she calls it, has not corresponded to the real needs of the Croatian Hungarians neither then, nor today. Not only that more than half of the population scattered throughout the country was unable to educate their children in the minority language, but in such conditions, it was also difficult to achieve any kind of teaching in the Hungarian language. An exception and a positive example is Zagreb, where for more than 25 years lessons have been held for the children of the Hungarian minority: in one kindergarten group according to Model A, in elementary school (from first to fourth grade) according to the bilingual or Model B, and nurturing the language or Model C for elementary school pupils (grades 5-8) and high school pupils. In order to gain insight into how certain teaching models in the Hungarian language in Zagreb function in practice in real life, we decided to conduct pilot-research which comprised the participants coming from the educational process itself. The remainder of this paper shall present the results of this pilot-research.

12 Skutnabb-Kangas (2004) further argues in the same paper: „Indigenous and minority children should have their education mainly through the medium of their own language, with good teaching of a dominant language as subject, taught by bilingual teachers. (…) This would lead to high levels of bilingualism and multilingualism."

13 Data refer to the school year 2015/2016 (Kontra 2016, 145).

3. Method and respondents

How a certain minority community uses its legally regulated right to practice its language singularity within the educational process and which problems it is faced with can be best demonstrated by its very participants, teachers, pupils, and parents. Thereby, we were most interested in how learning Hungarian in schools was perceived by pupils. Therefore, in spring 2021, we conducted a preliminary research with the help of qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews (open-ended questions). The respondents included eight former (aged 24 and 29) and two current pupils (aged 10 and 11). We found it very important that all respondents were members of the second and third generation of Hungarians from Zagreb and that at least in one part of their education (kindergarten, primary and secondary school) they had learnt or were currently learning Hungarian according to one of the three models described in the previous section. The interviews were planned in a way to obtain information on language transmission in family and learning language in school as well as their daily language practices within these domains (family, school, friends). Since we did not examine language knowledge, the interviews were conducted both in Hungarian and Croatian, depending on the option the respondents felt more comfortable with at a given moment. All interviews were conducted live, recorded and then later transcribed.

The first interview was conducted with siblings (a brother and a sister) (further in the text Respondent 1 and Respondent 2) belonging to the third generation of Hungarians from Zagreb. Their mother was born in Vojvodina, but she moved to Zagreb with her parents in adulthood. Her husband is Croatian; therefore, the children grew up in a bilingual marriage, in which a huge role in passing on the language was played by their grandmother and grandfather with whom they communicate exclusively in Hungarian (the exceptions are situations when their father is present, who understands Hungarian, but does not speak it). With their mother they communicate mostly in Hungarian, but in their mutual communication the Croatian language prevails. The other two participants of the focus group were sisters (R3 and R4) born in a mixed marriage where the father is a Hungarian who moved to Zagreb from Vojvodina to study. According to their own words, they learnt the language primarily from their grandmother and grandfather who lived in Vojvodina. The two of them communicate in Croatian, and the Croatian language also prevails in the communication with their father. They stopped speaking Hungarian as actively as they did before after the death of their grandparents. They all passed all levels of education in the minority language offered in Zagreb. The next two respondents were siblings (a brother and a sister) (R5 and R6) born in a purely Hungarian marriage. They came to Zagreb from Hungary when they were 1 and 2 years old. Hungarian is their first language, and they learnt Croatian in kindergarten and school. They communicate exclusively in Hungarian within the family, and between themselves they use both languages, depending on the topic, even

though Hungarian feels more natural to them. They attended a bilingual Hungarian class in primary school. The sister is to be employed in a Hungarian kindergarten where she had internship for three consecutive years, so she shared that experience with us as well. Although Hungarian is their mother tongue and first language, now they do not feel that they are better in another language. The next interview was conducted with a pupil (R7) born in a bilingual family. He learnt Hungarian from his mother and Croatian from his father. At the time we spoke to him, he was attending a bilingual Hungarian class. The last interview was conducted with two students (R8 and R9) of the graduate program of the Hungarian Studies in the University of Zagreb. They were both born in mixed marriages. One of them learnt Hungarian from his grandmother who lives near Zagreb, and with whom he communicates exclusively in Hungarian even today (with his Hungarian mother he speaks Croatian, or they sometimes mix both languages in certain situations). He had learnt Hungarian as an optional subject according to Model C since the 7th grade. The other respondent enrolled in the Hungarian Studies with, according to his own words, basic knowledge of the Hungarian language. He is the oldest of the four children in the family in which the mother is Croatian and the father is a Hungarian from Vojvodina where his grandmother and grandfather (both Hungarians) live. He remembers that he and his sister spoke Hungarian until primary school because they spent much more time at their grandparents', when they also communicated in Hungarian with their father. Later, the father stopped being consistent in speaking Hungarian, and the language "disappeared" from the family (the two younger children have no knowledge of the Hungarian language), also due to less and less frequent visits to Vojvodina. He is convinced that this would not have happened had the grandparents lived nearer. He attended a Hungarian group in kindergarten, but he did not attend other forms of classes in Hungarian.

Apart from the pupils, one interview was given by a preschool teacher (R10) with 28 years of work experience who had been working in the Hungarian kindergarten group since the very beginning.

As we did not interview other participants of the education process in this preliminary research, for the purposes of this paper, we completed the data obtained in the interviews with the data obtained by immediate participation in the community (school visits, conversations with parents at kids' performances and family gatherings), as well as through informal conversations with two teachers working in a bilingual class and a teacher teaching Hungarian according to Model C in higher grades of primary and in secondary school. In addition, a valuable source of information was a publication compiled by teachers for the 25th anniversary of the existence of the Croatian-Hungarian class department (Lorencz Urkom et al. 2021). The publication contains short school reviews by the former and the incumbent school director, the former and the present teachers, two former pupils and five parents whose children are currently taught according to Model B.

4. Education in the minority language from the perspective of its participants

Model A is conducted only at preschool level, through a full-day kindergarten program in the Hungarian language intended for children of the Hungarian national minority, but also for other children whose parents want their kids to learn Hungarian as a foreign language[14]. The group was initiated in 1994 in the Potočnica Kindergarten located in the area of a wider city centre following the initiative of the Democratic Union of Hungarians of Croatia. This is a kindergarten group attended by children aged between two and half and seven, and the program is carried out by two preschool teachers who have higher professional education, and Hungarian is their mother tongue. The objective of the program, as mentioned on the kindergartens' website, among others, is to support families in nurturing national identity and creating the atmosphere of tolerance towards national (and every other type of) diversity. The average number of children ranges between 10 and 15, and in the school year 2020/2021, 12 children enrolled in this group. Before, there were more children, which is also indicated by the data from Kontra (2016: 146) for the school year 2015/2016 when the Hungarian kindergarten program was attended by 19 children, as also stated by the preschool teacher with 28 years of work experience in this kindergarten. She sees the reason for this trend in the *convenience* of young parents.

> R10: It is primarily out of convenience that fewer children come to the group because if there is a kindergarten nearby, and the parents work from home (which has often been the case since the beginning of the pandemic), then, it is easier to take the kid, that is, send it to that nearer kindergarten… not because they don't want that their child speaks Hungarian, because they do teach it at home, but because they are not aware that such teaching is not the same as the one in the kindergarten.

One former pupil, however, states that this was also the case earlier, some fifteen years ago:

> R5: We did not go to the Hungarian kindergarten not because it was not good, but because it was far away from the place we lived then.

The respondent who attended practice in the kindergarten sees the small number of children in the Hungarian kindergarten as:

14 This very „openness" to enrol children into the group raises a question of whether the requirements put before preschool teachers by Model A can be met.

> R6: the advantage before Croatian kindergartens with groups of thirty children. Still, there are days when, for instance, because of an illness, only two of them (children) show up, and then it is more difficult to organize some activity.

With regard to language knowledge, most children in the group are bilingual coming from mixed or purely Hungarian marriages. The preschool teacher with 28 years of work experience sees positive tendencies in mixed marriages regarding the use of the Hungarian language in families as well as the prestige of Hungarian in society:

> R10: It is evident that they also use Hungarian at home. Young families today speak Hungarian, they are not afraid that they will find themselves in an unfavourable situation because of Hungarian. That was not the case before. (…) This changed because of the political situation, the Hungarian language now has much more prestige.

Nevertheless, it often happens that parents enrol their child in the Hungarian program for the very purpose of learning the language which then puts a difficult task before the preschool teachers. They try to speak only in Hungarian as they teach according to Model A, but because of the children who do not speak Hungarian, at the beginning they say everything in both languages, and at the end of the year all communication is conducted only in Hungarian. The respondent who attended practice as a kindergarten teacher looks at the issue in the following way:

> R6: Parents from mixed marriages enrol their children in the Hungarian kindergarten because they do not speak Hungarian at home, but these children have a lot of difficulties in learning the language, let's say that half of them masters it, and the rest just struggle.

The mixed composition of the group consequently also influences the choice of language in which the children communicate among themselves. Preschool teachers state that both Hungarian and Croatian are used, depending on the situation and the interlocutor (e.g., they address the teachers in Hungarian). Sometimes the kindergarten group is divided into two subgroups; one only speaks Hungarian, the other Croatian. Apart from this fact, the group dynamics is also conditioned by the children who do not speak Croatian, and then the ideal situation is created in which Hungarian is given advantage to:

> R10: An interesting situation happens if there is a child in the group who does not know Croatian (most often this is a diplomats' child), and then it "draws" the entire group towards Hungarian.

After kindergarten, Hungarian children can continue their schooling in the minority language according to Model B in a bilingual, Hungarian-Croatian, combined class organized in a primary school in the city centre (Ivan Gundulić Primary School). The program was launched during the school year 1996/1997 following the initiative of the Hungarian community and parents who chose this very model as they considered that their children should pass bilingual schooling in order to be included in the program of Croatian schools after the fourth grade without any difficulties. School subjects taught in the minority language are the Hungarian language, natural and social sciences, and music, whereas the children attend the Croatian language, mathematics, arts, and physical education classes in the Croatian language. The program is carried out by two teachers whose mother tongue is Hungarian. The children attend the lessons of foreign languages and religion together with pupils from regular classes. The number of children has changed over the years, and since the beginning of the school year 2020/2021 (when this bilingual Hungarian department celebrated its 25th anniversary), exactly one hundred children passed through the department. The number of children enrolled in the first grade ranges between two and a maximum of eight (in the school year 2011/2012), whereas 2015/2016 was the only year when there were no enrolments in the first grade according to Urkom-Lorencz et al. 2021. The tendency towards a decreasing number of children has especially been evident over the last several years which is a consequence, as thought by one of the teachers, of various external factors, from the pandemic, through the earthquake which struck Zagreb in 2020, to changes in the very "family dynamics". Namely, similarly as in kindergarten, many parents find it more and more difficult to make the decision to drive their children to school every day from the suburbs to the city centre. Working from home showed that it is easier if children attend a school which is located near the place of their residence. One of our respondents subscribes to the fact that such an attitude of parents is not anything new:

> R6: I attended the first three grades of primary school in a Hungarian class in Gundulić school, and then we moved to another part of the city, so my parents transferred me to another school because the Hungarian school was too far away.

Some parents are nevertheless more motivated than others as well as more aware that passing on language within the family is not enough and that children also require formal education in Hungarian:[15]

> Despite the fact that it is not always the easiest thing to organize bringing kids to school, it is worth every sacrifice.
> We find it is important that the children learn Hungarian, that they learn the Hungarian language and orthography, that they also get introduced to other topics in Hungarian, that they get around in a Hungarian environment outside the family home as much as possible. We know that it is difficult to develop a language without all that.

Words of a dad whose child did not speak Croatian at the time of moving to Zagreb also express the attitude towards the majority language and the quality of the school program:

> I would like to point out that with this school, apart from knowing the Hungarian language and culture well, she can also learn the Croatian language well, which will facilitate her future schooling and adjustment to the society where she lives.

Much like in the kindergarten, here too the group is heterogeneous with regard to language knowledge. The teachers state that many children come without any knowledge of Hungarian, therefore, their parents expect that they will acquire it in school. Others understand a little bit and speak Hungarian, whereas in the third group Hungarian is the mother tongue and frequently the only language spoken in the family, i.e., they do not know Croatian. This composition of groups puts teachers before a difficult task and requires a lot of flexibility from them when it comes to class contents and teaching methods as well as individual work with certain pupils. In addition, this situation impacts the choice of language which will prevail among children in their mutual communication during the recess and after school:

> R1: I was lucky because there was a girl from Pécs in my class, so we only talked in Hungarian, and then there was another boy who didn't know Hungarian at all, so I only spoke Croatian with him.

The youngest respondent at the time of interviewing was a pupil of the fourth grade who described similar situations:

15 Taken from Urkom-Lorencz et al. 2021.

> R7: With my best friends I only speak Hungarian, and with others I speak Croatian because they still don't know Hungarian well.

Combined classes pose an additional challenge both for teachers and pupils. As one former pupil said:

> R2: At the beginning, it was weird to learn in a combined class, the teacher first explained something to the little ones, and then to us who were older.

The same respondent also indicates a feeling of isolation that pupils in minority classes experience compared to other pupils from the school:

> R2: Another weird thing was that the classes were A, B, C, and then, there were we – the class M. We were that small, special group in that large school with »normal« classes. Even our classroom was small, so we found it rather unusual to be in a big classroom with a lot of pupils during, for example, an English lesson. And it was even more unusual to come to the fifth grade.

Namely, in the fifth grade, the pupils are included in the regular classes with Croatian pupils, and they can continue to learn Hungarian according to Model C (nurturing Hungarian language and culture). This possibility is also offered to secondary-school pupils from Zagreb in Novi Zagreb where Hungarian is part of the optional subjects offer, and it is taught by a native speaker of the Hungarian language. The classes are attended together by pupils from Prva Gimnazija and pupils from other secondary schools, and due to organizational reasons, a part of the lessons is held on Saturdays. According to the teacher's own words, the number of pupils who continue to learn the Hungarian language based on this model is decreasing every year, thus, in the school year 2021/2022, she taught 13 primary-school and 6 secondary-school pupils. She sees the small number of pupils as a result of kids and parents' disinterest, whereas the former pupils explain this with other numerous obligations and activities as well as a lack of time, but also with a period of crisis in growing up:

> R1: There was one period of crisis, the end of secondary school, beginning of faculty, at that time Hungarian wasn't all that important to us. Later we realized that it was important nevertheless, it was part of our identity, but also an advantage.
> R2: Sometimes it was difficult to force myself (to come), sometimes I was late, on Saturdays everyone else went out to the city, and we went to Hungarian lessons, but we did go.

Nevertheless, some of them were more motivated, by grades for example, and they have a positive attitude towards the program itself and its advantages:

> R4: It was relaxed, and we gladly went (to lessons), we were also motivated by the fact that it was a subject of equal status in secondary school for which we got grades that increased our average.
> R1: The program was very well designed, and it was pleasant to attend lessons, we felt nice, we were in puberty, so we always had some fun, at the beginning we would learn grammar according to Hungarian textbooks with fresh heads, then we would read (e.g., János Vitéz), later we would talk, but grammar and reading were never left out.
> R8: It really helped me because my family friends in Subotica used to say that it could be noticed that I spoke Hungarian better and better, and that my pronunciation was much nicer, and all in all, it wasn't that intensive, only two lessons on Saturdays.

At the end, even though this does not belong to the domain of formal education in minority languages, we shall briefly also mention teaching Hungarian at university level. Almost at the same time with the launching of the Hungarian class in primary school, at the beginning of the 1990s, initiatives arose for founding Hungarian Studies at university level[16]. Before that, Hungarian was taught at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb within the framework of exercise courses as an optional course. Even though the program was primarily intended for those who do not know the Hungarian language, and the program was designed based on the model of other foreign philologies (thus, it is not really a part of institutional education for a minority and does not belong to any of the described models), it is also enrolled by those who learnt Hungarian in their family and/or passed all previous educational levels in the Hungarian language offered by the City of Zagreb. Currently, there are three pupils of Hungarian Studies who are minority members, and two of them are our respondents. Their motive for enrolling the studies was primarily learning and mastering the language:

> R8: Since I've been studying, I can feel even a greater progress, I think that now I speak (Hungarian) better than my grandmother.

For the respondent who spoke Hungarian in his early childhood, and then the language "disappeared" in the family (R9), enrolling in Hungarian

16 For more information about this study program see Ćurković-Major 2022: 84-90 and Katalinić and Sekso 2016, 32-44.

Studies was the only logical choice, both for emotional connection with the language and for the viability of learning minor languages at the labour market. He is now trying and managing to speak with his father and his family in Vojvodina solely in Hungarian, and he also noticed that with this practice he raised interest for learning Hungarian in his younger brothers and sisters. Right now, he does not know how successful he will be in this revitalisation of the language within his family (which indeed benefited from formal language learning), but he definitely wants his children to learn Hungarian one day as well.

5. Conclusion

This paper presents the results of a preliminary research conducted among younger members of the Hungarian community in Zagreb in order to obtain a clearer view on how education in a minority language truly functions within the context of the given community, whereby we were interested in learning about the problems its participants encounter. The research did not comprise a large number of respondents, therefore, it is necessary to supplement it by interviewing pupils who are involved in the educational process at this moment. Nevertheless, it does pose several relevant conclusions.

Even though official data show that the number of children attending Hungarian classes in school is low, according to the respondents' statements, their number has never been significantly higher. They themselves learnt Hungarian in smaller groups and combined classes which sometimes proved to be an advantage. The parents' decision on whether a child will attend the Hungarian program (kindergarten, primary school) is crucial, but other factors, such as school commitments and extracurricular activities, also play a major role in that matter in higher grades of primary school as well as secondary school, and the distance of the place of residence has also proved to be a persistent issue.

In practical performance of the curriculum, the greatest challenge for pre-school and school teachers is the heterogenous composition of the group or the class with respect to language knowledge. Teaching children whose parents have enrolled them in the Hungarian program to learn the language is a very complex task requiring adjustment of the school program and an individual approach. The school itself can hardly replace language transmission in families, therefore, it would also be very important to educate parents on that matter through various workshops. As far as children are concerned, moving to the fifth grade when their bilingual schooling is de facto finished and when they become included into teaching with other students in "large classes" poses a certain stressful situation, whereas a special bilingual program in small groups, on the other hand, creates a feeling of isolation. Therefore, they would benefit from a greater visibility of such classes at school level and their inclusion in joint programs with other students.

Finally, the fact that was not particularly emphasized in the analysis of the results, but we want to mention is that all respondents expressed a clear desire to pass the language on to their children, even though they are not certain that the level at which they speak Hungarian will suffice. It is characteristic to this generation that it is no longer certain in its language knowledge that school can be both assistance and support in language transmission. Thus, a combination of formal and informal language learning in the family might create conditions for maintaining Hungarian in the next generation.

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What are we Speaking of? A New Perspective on the Post-verbal Field in Hungarian[1]

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ABSTRACT

Hungarian displays a characteristic syntax, that within the generative approach was called non-configurational. For this reason its description is at least unusual, and it cannot be taught with the same formal concepts used for most of the other European languages.

Functional approaches, with Functional Discourse Grammar among them, seem to be especially useful in both describing and teaching Hungarian, because they allow the interplay between pragmatics, syntax and semantics. This article sets the most important traditional assumptions about Hungarian syntax within the functional approach, concentrating on issues with word order. It is suggested that the so-called post-verbal field is very important. The central claim is that in a Hungarian sentence not only is the context of the expression recognized, given by the Topic and a possible Focus of communication, but also a distinct target of our discourse: a constituent signalling what we are speaking of that facilitates the making of the sentence.

Keywords: Hungarian; language production; structural-functional description; pragmatics; word order

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the pragmatic aspects that motivate the syntactic structure of Hungarian. Reflections suggested here are inspired firstly by teaching Hungarian as a second language, which leads also to the comparison of other languages, both with descriptive scopes and with the purpose of finding better correspondences in translation. While theories can explain specific grammatical constructions and

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give detailed descriptions of them, in language teaching a more general picture of the language must be given to students. For these reasons all approaches to description and interpretation of sentences result in a number of different questions about the language. It is possible to summarise this by saying that what led to this research is the need for efficient communication. In order to achieve this complex target, the approach that is more convincing, especially for Hungarian, seems to be the structural-functionalist one. The theory adopted is Functional Discourse Grammar, which is very syncretic and efficient for the objective proposed here.

After introducing the target of this research as *fundamental issues* (2) in Hungarian syntax, the paper recalls the most important *theoretical* (3) points touched upon, and presents the *terminology* (4) adopted. The core of the paper suggests examples that reflect on some aspects of *Parts of Speech and phrase ordering in Hungarian* (5), driving the attention on the possibility that the functional approach proposed here can offer an essential and efficient description of it, allowing an insight of the post-verbal field that shows its importance, and especially that of the last component of the nuclear sentence. A main *output* of the research (6) is the introduction of the pragmatic function Catalyst, that is claimed to convey what the sentence is about.

2. Fundamental issues in Hungarian

Hungarian constituent order is a very interesting aspect of the language that puzzles scholars still nowadays. In the 19th century, Fogarasi (1838) demonstrated that the part of the sentence that the Speaker wants to emphasise, is placed immediately before the predicate. From the late 1970's Katalin É. Kiss wrote a number of works driven by the generative theory that put this statement in a wider context (É. Kiss 1978; 1987). The concept of the pragmatic function Focus, the part of a communication that is emphasised by the Speaker, now has an extensive literature.

Today we know that in Hungarian the disposition of the phrases is not motivated by morphosyntactic rules only, but – together with their semantics – by the pragmatic intentions of the Speaker, too. Two main rules that motivate the disposition of phrases and Parts of Speech (PoS) are recognised for Hungarian; rules that are recalled also by Naumenko-Papp (1987): (a) the Focus position precedes the verb; and (b) modifiers are always put before what they modify, either a word or a phrase. Rule (b) has been lately recalled by Hegedűs (2004, 2019) as one of the fundamental features of Hungarian grammar. A *modifier* can be defined here as any lexical item that restricts pragmatically and semantically the value of a PoS or a phrase. The most evident example is the attributive adjective that in Hungarian must always precede the noun it refers to.

While rule (b) is recorded in all grammar books at least within the scope of phrases, Focus is a function difficult to be grasped by traditional descriptions, and can only be handled using newer approaches. Similarly, another pragmatic function is important in Hungarian that is not always introduced in traditional grammar books, namely the Topic.

In the analysis of the Hungarian sentence, generative studies introduced the concept of Topic, recognising this function at the beginning of a sentence, followed by the Focus (if there is one) and then by the predication, and suggested that word order after the predicate is free. It was Varga who noticed the possibility of specific word order even after the verb: "But if among the Arguments placed after the verb there is also one that can be treated as new information, which can be emphasised, together with a known piece of information which is not to be emphasised, then the Argument to be emphasised can only be placed at the end of the Comment, not in its middle" (Varga 1981, 200. My translation PD). Such an approach fits well to a functional theoretical analysis of the Hungarian grammar, that takes always into account the whole language production issues, and is helpful for a pedagogical description of the Hungarian sentence, too. The results of the research presented in this paper suggest in fact that the last position of the nuclear sentence plays a fundamental role in the displacement of phrases, indicating what the Speaker is speaking of.

3. Theoretical frame

Therefore, the theoretical position assumed here is the functionalist one. For the purposes of analysing communication, it was useful to start with the studies about language production, and the renowned Levelt's model displays precisely the complex interaction of many factors acting on language production that is useful to point out when trying to give a comprehensive picture of discourse. Its model is explicitly referred to in the Functional Discourse Grammar theory (hence FDG), where it is applied to grammar in the strictest meaning of the study of the rules of language communication (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 7).

The FDG's model can be introduced with the graphic shown in figure 1. The picture summarises not only FDG approach, but also Levelt's model, in that it displays the important interaction between the many different factors that interplay in communication: the creation of the idea to communicate, the context in which communication happens and the final output of the communication.

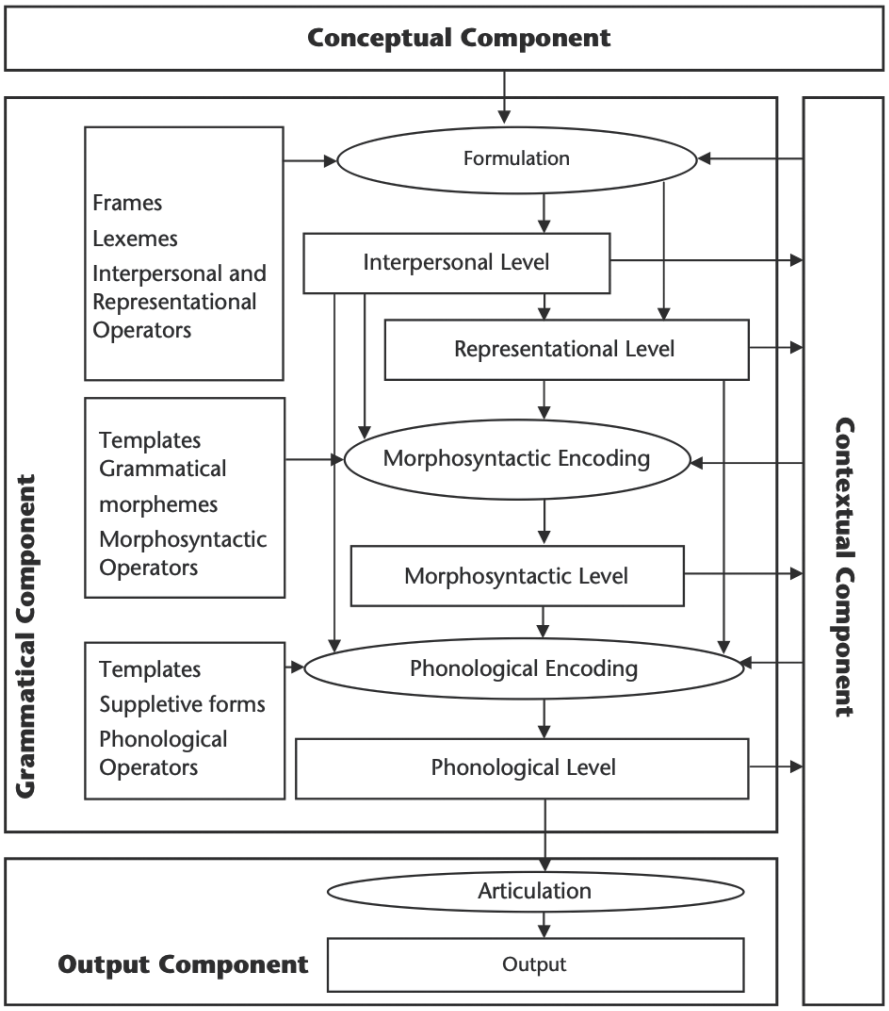

Figure 1: Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 13.

For the purposes of this article, it is important to retain two main points from the picture and from the theory itself. Firstly, in order to deal with the Grammatical Component, that for sake of brevity will be referred to as capitalized Grammar, it is necessary to recognize the complex interaction between this and the other components of the communication process, as well as between the different elements that are part of it: lexicon with semantic content, lexicon with grammatical content, different rules for different parts of the language. FDG recognises the primitive elements of language (in Figure 1 contained in the boxes on the left) and the processes (operations) necessary for the formulation of the communication, which are rule-based. Primitives are those elements that are the prerequisite knowledge for the use of language, such as the lexicon (both semantic and grammatical), the structures that some items presuppose, the required regency of verbs and adjectives, the semantic restrictions required by some words, and the functions of prosody, to mention a few. Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008, 19) define them as 'building blocks'.

Secondly, within Grammar and within language production a necessary step for the analysis is the acknowledgement of hierarchies. As it can be seen from the graphic, the making of a communication is a top-down process, where the interpersonal level (containing the pragmatic functions) offers informations to be conveyed, that must be decided upon before the semantic choices made at the representational level, and the combination of the two allows the application of morphosyntactic rules necessary for realising the phonological chain that can be represented through the output offered to the Hearer.

4. Terminology

In order to avoid misunderstandings it is worthwhile defining general concepts that will be dealt with in the paper, together with some characteristics of the Hungarian language.

Simple definitions are needed for the concepts that are analysed, most of which are taken from the functionalist view as presented by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), which is practical and coherent in itself and is useful here. A key concept is the Focus, a pragmatic function that "signals the Speaker's strategic selection of new information, e.g. in order to fill a gap in the Addressee's information, or to correct the Addressee's Information" (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 89). In Hungarian this is usually understood as the (piece of) information that is highlighted by the Speaker. The Topic function, as another pragmatic function, is that of signalling how the clause is related to the context, which must be intended as both the textual and the situational context. In FDG terminology "Topic function will be assigned to a Subact which has a special function within the Discourse Act, that of signalling how the Communicated Content relates to the gradually constructed record in the Contextual Component" (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 92). Therefore, in FDG the Topic function is expressed along the dimension of the Topic-Comment, and is not complementary to Focus. Many studies recall only partial functions of the Topic, that can be anyhow recognised all within the previous generic definition. It is possible to read a recognition of these functions in Tolcsvai-Nagy (2008). Ever since the works of É. Kiss, Topic in Hungarian is recognized as occupying the first position of the nuclear sentence. Given the fact that Topic and Focus are communicative elements that influence the clause structure, we must recognize that the Hungarian nuclear sentence is made of a Topic; a Focus, if required by the Speaker; and compulsory morphosyntactic elements prescribed by the predicate frame, i.e. the predicate and its Arguments. Topic and Focus may or may not be expressed by compulsory elements. This specificity of the nuclear sentence requires attention when considering the making of the communication. FDG recognises a third pragmatic function, namely the Contrast, on the dimension of Contrast-Overlap. The Contrast "signals the Speaker's

desire to bring out the particular differences between two or more Communicated Contents or between the Communicated Content and contextually available information" (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 96). According to FDG pragmatic functions can combine. This is a major difference with other theories: when a contrastive focus or contrastive topic is posited, FDG treats the constituent as bearing two distinct pragmatic functions, namely Focus and Contrast, or Topic and Contrast.

In Hungarian literature, the Focus is frequently explained by phonological means, considering word and sentence stresses (see Komlósy 1989, 172 and Hegedűs 2019, 72–73, for two different treatments of this approach). It is important to recall here also the case when the whole communicated content is assigned a focus, and no specific part of the sentence bears this function. These are considered thetic statements (presented in Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 89 with the relevant literature), and sometimes recalled as neutral sentences in Hungarian literature (this term is used for example in Hegedűs 2004). Put differently, thetic statements express a new piece of information as a whole, and can represent a point of reference in Hungarian, when paralleled with categorical statements. In fact, with bivalent verbs having an Argument signalled with Accusative there is a rule of thumb, according to which, in neutral sentences the indefinite object goes before the verb and the definite one after it, while the object indicated with an indefinite article can be found in either place.

A central concept used throughout the whole research is that of modifier, already introduced above. Again, FDG has a straightforward definition of modifier that can be used here: a lexical strategy that restricts a variable, referred to as Head (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 14). As signalled above, in Hungarian, when a lexical element has this role, it is placed before the variable that it restricts. Hegedűs describes this as the principle of left building, i.e. "*balra építkezési elv*" (Hegedűs 2004, 291). In this paper, it is claimed that all that precedes a PoS or a phrase can be considered its modifier, or restrictor, in a recursive way throughout the whole sentence.

Bearing these points in mind we can start our journey into the word order of Hungarian clauses.

5. The Hungarian language

5.1. Some principles of word ordering

Language specific characteristics to be recalled here are key factors in the study of constituent order in Hungarian, the first being precisely the position of Focus. Many scholars debated about word order in Hungarian, and did not understand the behaviour of constituents, until Fogarasi (1838) made it clear that it is not possible to explain this referring to the grammar of Latin, or trying to reduce it to morphosyntactic rules only. In fact, he explained that the emphasised PoS, the one highlighted by

the Speaker, must be placed before the predicate. We can now refine this by saying that the constituent in Focus in Hungarian is placed before the part of the predicate marked for tense, being the predicate a verbal or a nominal one. The analysis presented here became possible trying to explain the behaviour of verbal particles, in Hungarian *igekötők*, known in literature also as verbal prefixes. In fact these are usually placed before the verb as stressed affixes, but must separate in some cases and in others must be placed, unstressed, after the verb itself, sometimes separated as well. The main case for this displacement is precisely the introduction of a focused PoS, because this must be placed immediately before the part of the predicate marked for tense, that can be the verbal stem, without the affix.

In the following examples a highly simplified glossing is given (according to rule 4C of the Leipzig glossing rules) in order to highlight the features under discussion only, and the description of verbal particles is abbreviated with the subscript $_{ik}$, while subscript $_{\text{FOC}}$ and $_{\text{TOP}}$ placed before the constituent indicating Focus and Topic.

(1) *Megcsinálom.*
MEG$_{ik}$:I:do:it
'I will do it.'

(2) *Meg* *kellene* *csinálnom.*
MEG$_{ik}$ have.to;SUBJ doing:I
'I should do it.'

It is suggested here that the verbal particle is in the Focus, placed before the verbal form conjugated for tense. This consideration is not widespread, but can be probably accepted by the end of this paper.

(3) *Ezt* *csinálom* *meg.*
$_{\text{FOC}}$this:ACC do:I:it MEG$_{ik}$
'I will do *this*.'

(4) *Nem* *csinálom* *ezt* *meg.*
$_{\text{FOC}}$not do:I:it this:ACC MEG$_{ik}$
'I will not do this.'

As we can see, the verbal particle can behave in all possible different ways, being separated from the verb, preposed, or postponed and separated.

The second feature of the Hungarian language that must be explained is usually presented as modifiers that must be placed before what they modify. This is easily seen for PoSs, in that adjectives precede nouns they qualify, adverbs precede the word they modify or the whole clause, when referred to it.

(5) *A* *kényelmes* *szék* *szép* *is.*
The comfortable chair beautiful too.
'The comfortable chair is also beautiful.'

The adjective *kényelmes* is placed before the noun it is modifying, and this phrase is preceded by the definite article that modifies (or: restricts by recognising its definiteness) it all. Please note that the word *is*, both as adverb and conjunction meaning 'also, too', is placed after the phrase it refers to, being a relator, not a modifier.

(6) *Ez a drága bor nem igazán jóízű.*
This expensive wine not really good.
'This costly wine is not really good.'

The wine is specified (that is: restricted in its representation) as being expensive, and the 'expensive wine' is specified with the demonstrative pronoun, all modifiers preceding the modified part of the constituent.

(7) *S tegnap ilyenkor ott álltam*
And yesterday at.this.time $_{\text{FOC}}$there was:I
Montségur sziklavárának legmagasabb omladékán.
Montségur rock castle:Px:DAT highest ruin:Px:SUPE
'And yesterday at the time I was there, at the highest ruin of the rock castle of Montségur.' (MNSz2: doc#362)

The adverb *tegnap* 'yesterday' refers to the whole communication (restricts the whole communicated content), and is placed before everything else. Here we have also two possessive constructions (*sziklavára* 'rock castle of' and *omladéka* 'ruin of'), in which the possessor specifies the possessed, and it is placed before it, a relationship that is also marked with the Px suffix. In Hungarian literature, *ott* 'there' has been recognised as carrying a special behaviour that makes it resembling a verbal particle (an in-depth discussion of it is found in Kocsány 2021). In this paper, a major claim is that verbal particles too are in focus before an item signalling tense, and therefore similarly in all cases when they are realised as stressed affixes. But in this case FDG also suggests a different interpretation, namely that what follows the verb is a Tail with an Orientation function (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 55). This reinforces the supposition that *ott* 'there' is in focus position signalling a "strategic selection of new information".

(8) *Az ítéletet tegnap végrehajtották.*
$_{\text{TOP}}$the.sentence:ACC yesterday VÉGRE$_{\text{ik}}$:carried:they
'The sentence was carried out yesterday.' (MNSz2, doc#362)

In this case the temporal adverb *tegnap* 'yesterday' only refers to the action, and therefore it is placed before it as a restrictor of its time of execution.

5.2. Variations on pragmatic functions: verbal predicates

We can now list some examples and reconstruct the way in which Hungarian builds up its sentences. Grétsy-Kovalovsky (1985) tell us that a sentence like

(9) *A* *vihar* *közeledett.*
The storm:NOM approached:it
'The storm was coming.'

has the usual "balanced word order that expresses an arid fact. This is even more true for clauses with nominal predicate: *A sas madár.* ('The eagle is a bird')" (Grétsy-Kovalovsky 1985, 885; My translation PD). Because of the use of a definite article, this single sentence is not really autonomous. The definite article pertains to something that is well known by both Speaker and Hearer, and this is only possible if they both can refer to a context or co-text. Because it does not need any special attention, when at the beginning of the sentence it simply allows the attention to be on what follows. In this case this constituent specifies the verb, filling its Argument with the due information. We can therefore imagine the verb as the incentive or the catalyst of the realisation of an item of communicative content. This somehow allows for an interpretation that is balanced, telling us about what's happening: something was approaching, and that something was the storm.

This paper will not deal with clauses that, like this one, offer the possibility of different stresses signalling different nuances in communication (see Komlósy 1989, 173), but only it focuses on a possible generalization of word ordering principles from a functionalist point of view. The same words of the previous example can be scrambled to make:

(10) *Közeledett* *a* *vihar.*
Approached:it the storm:NOM
'The storm was coming.'

At the beginning of the sentence the Hearer is given a totally new piece of information, which is the verbal predication. This predicate is used also to set the communication in the context, and is therefore a Topic. But because it is a predicate, according to language specific morpho-syntactic rules it is unexpectedly put in this position, and therefore gets the special emphasis that can be recognised as Focus according to the definition given above: out of all things that can happen to a storm, the Speaker chooses to put special attention on the fact that it was approaching. Because what follows the Focus is definite, it is not a novelty. Therefore, the tension of the Hearer is maintained on the Focus. Again, it is possible to interpret this clause by saying that what is found at the end of the sentence is the incentive, the catalyst of the communication: the Speaker suggests that the clause is saying something about

the storm, and that what is specially conveyed about it is that it was approaching.

Grétsy and Kovalovsky (1985, 885) admit then that if we say

(11) *Vihar* *közeledik.*
Storm:NOM approaches
'A storm is coming.'

the Argument of the verb (what is usually treated as subject) receives a stress. What is placing the communication in context is a generic storm, something not definite, neither for the Speaker nor for the Hearer. This requires specific attention that is directed toward knowing why the communication is introduced in this way. Again, we can imagine that this is urged and catalysed by the predicate "was approaching", put last in the sentence. Therefore, something (or someone) is approaching, and in order to specify this we put what is approaching before the predicate itself. Because it is indefinite, contrary to example (9) we can consider it focused: in this case the generic initial constituent makes the clause unbalanced. Hegedűs (2019, 436) treats this Argument as a modifier of the verb. The results of this research strongly suggests that this approach is possible, in that the Argument of a lexical item specifies, and therefore restricts it.

Not much different is the case of

(12) *Egy* *asszony* *közeledett.*
one lady approached
'A lady was coming.'

In this case the subject is indefinite, i.e. not specified by the Speaker and certainly not known by the Hearer. Again, out of everything that can have approached there is a lady. According to Grétsy and Kovalovsky (1985, 885) there is a stress on *asszony* 'lady' that emphasises it. We have therefore a Focus here, that restricts (modifies) the predicate: out of what was approaching we have a lady.

Eventually the most neutral sentence made out of the same lexical words is

(13) *Közeledett* *egy* *asszony.*
Approached:it one lady
'A lady was coming.'

The predicate is in Focus being in first position, but the indefiniteness of the Argument places a special accentuation upon it that is equal to the one on the Focus. This balance motivates the thetic value of the clause.

5.3. Variations on pragmatic functions: nominal predicates

The same principles are true also for nominal predication, as recalled by Grétsy and Kovalovsky (1985). It is known that nominal predications at the 3Sg and in the present tense in Hungarian do not require a copula. Therefore, the structure of such a clause is parallel with that of monovalent verbs. It is interesting to list some examples because in these cases when we have two constituents the predicate is always the less definite of the two, and the interpretation as Focus realised syntactically is evident when the predicate is placed before its argument. This paper does not deal with Focus expressed by a phonetic stress on it, but only with its syntactic realisation.

(14) *Ő* *Erzsébet.*
She Elisabeth
'She is Elisabeth.'

(15) *Erszébet* *az* *orvosunk.*
Elisabeth the medical doctor-Px2Pl
'Elisabeth is our family doctor.'

(16) *Erzsébet* *szakorvos.*
Elisabeth specialist
'Elisabeth is a specialist.'

(17) *Az* *orvosunk* *(egy)* *nő.*
the medical doctor-Px2Pl (one) woman
'Our family doctor is a woman.'

(18) *Egy* *nő* *orvos.* *(Két nő tanár.)*
one woman medical doctor. (two women teacher)
'One woman is a medical doctor. (Two are teachers.)'

(19) *Az* *orvos* *egy* *tudós.*
the medical doctor one erudite
'The medical doctor is an erudite person.'

(20) *Az a* *szék* *kényelmes.*
that chair comfortable
'That chair is comfortable.'

(21) *Ez* *jó.*
this good
'This is good.'

All these are balanced narratives, and can easily become unbalanced by putting the predicate in the first place, and therefore the restrictive Argument after it. This will set the predicate in the Focus (and Topic) position.

For example:

(22) *Nő* *az* *orvosunk.*
$_{\text{FOC}}$woman the family doctor:our
'Our family doctor is a woman.'

(23) *Kényelmes a szék.*
FOC comfortable the chair
'The chair is comfortable.'
(24) *Jó ez.*
FOC good this
'This is (really) good.'

Hungarian nominal predicates suggest that a nominal hierarchy can be recognised that will help in more difficult analysis. It is worth noting that the definiteness trait is also important here. This hierarchy is comparable with those suggested elsewhere (e.g., Aissen 2003):

> personal pronouns > pronouns > nouns marked with possessive > proper nouns > nouns marked for definiteness > nouns marked for indefiniteness = adjectives.

Such a hierarchy can help quickly explain (and teach) not only the reasons of the previous structures, but also some other features of the Hungarian language.

5.4. The post-verbal field as a sequence of modifiers

A slightly more complex communication can give a better picture of what has been written until now, and allows clarification of many characteristics of the language. Let's consider the following clause, from Csukás (1975):

(25) *A kiscsacsit nagyon érdekelte a lakodalom.*
The small.donkey:ACC FOC really interested:it the nuptials,
és egy kicsit megrázta a szék lábát.
and slightly MEG$_{ik}$-shook the chair leg.of.it:ACC
'The small donkey was really interested in the nuptials, and shook the leg of the chair.'

We have two coordinated sentences. The common Topic is introduced at the beginning: *A kiscsacsit* 'the small donkey'. In the first sentence it is the second Argument (the one in the Accusative) of the verb *érdekelte* 'interested', and in the second sentence the coordinating conjunction confirms the Topic, which becomes the first Argument (the subject) of the verb *megrázta* 'shook'. This form is realised with the verbal particle *meg*, and because it is not separated, it means that there is no Focus. Or it is possible to interpret the verbal particle itself as a focus filling the gap in the addressee information about the realisation of the action. In the first sentence the Topic is followed by the verb (*érdekelte* 'interested') that is modified by the adverbial form *nagyon* 'very', which is in Focus. The last part is the first Argument (the subject *a lakodalom* 'the nuptials'). In the hypothesis proposed here, within the comment what initiates the communication and to which the Hearer can refer as the

pivot of the comment itself are *a lakodalom* 'the nuptials'. If it is the catalyst of the communication, applying rule (b) we can imagine that it is modified firstly by the verb: out of all things that can happen with 'the nuptials' they are '(very) interesting', and for whom 'the nuptials are very interesting' is the constituent that precedes, which therefore modifies these, restricting all other possibilities: 'the small donkey'.

In the second sentence the initial modifier (*egy kicsit* 'a little, gently') tells the Hearer that the attention is on the following PoS, which is the verb (*meg*)*rázta* 'shook', starting with a (stressed) verbal particle that indicates the absence of a Focus (or the highlighting of the action itself). In this case the modifier adverbial is referred to the whole sentence, not only to the verb. The verb is followed by a complex constituent: *a szék lába* 'the leg of the chair.' According to rule (b) the head is *lába* 'leg of it', which is modified by the previous word *szék* 'chair', and the whole is preceded by the definite article that modifies it. Again, beside the linear onward interpretation suggested in traditional approaches we can think of a backward one, namely that the pivot of the comment, the catalyst of the communication is the last constituent of the nuclear sentence, 'the chair leg that is shaken', and the whole thing is done gently by 'the small donkey'. This can sound unusual and against logic, but it is worth waiting for the last word to be uttered in order to fully understand what is being said, as students are always advised when practising translation and interpretation.

5.5. The last place in the sentence

An example of what was intended by the initial citation from Varga (1981) is offered by the scrambling of such a clause as "Stephen loves Maria", where the second Argument is marked for the Accusative with a *-t* suffix.

What is considered to be the neutral realisation is:

(26) *István szereti Máriát.*
Stephen loves Maria:ACC
'Stephen loves Maria.'

But we can have all possible combinations, with different Focus and Topic:

(27) $_{\text{TOP}}$*István* $_{\text{FOC}}$*Máriát szereti.*
(28) $_{\text{TOP}}$*Máriát* $_{\text{FOC}}$ *István szereti.*
(29) $_{\text{FOC-TOP}}$*Máriát szereti István.*

What concerns us here, though, are the following two examples, where the two constituents follow the verb (that according to what has been previously stated can be considered both Topic and Focus):

(30) $_{\text{FOC-TOP}}$ *Szereti István Máriát.*
(31) $_{\text{FOC-TOP}}$ *Szereti Máriát István.*

According to Varga (1981), only if one of the post-verbal pieces of information is newer does it have to be placed in last position, otherwise the order is truly free. This corresponds also to É. Kiss's (1998) later contribution on the informational Focus. If we accept a backward interpretation, though, we admit that the Speaker has always been very clear about what the catalyst of the clause is; what constituent is intended to be shown to the Hearer as the pivot of the communication, and to be put in the last position of the sentence.

One of the examples given by Varga (1981, 200) is itself even more rich:

(32) *Szilveszterkor, ahogy szoktam, megemlékeztem*
New.Year's.Eve.time as used:I MEG$_{ik}$-commemorated:I
a Magyar Nemzetben Petőfiről.
the Magyar.Nemzet.newspaper:in Petőfi:about
'As usual, on New Year's Eve I commemorated Petőfi in the newspaper.'

Varga analyses the sentence saying that the newspaper is well-known by the reader, and the new information is therefore what the author is commemorating. In the suggested backwards interpretation, Petőfi is the starting point, of which is said that something happens in 'the newspaper', and what is happening is 'the commemoration', which takes place 'as usual, on New Year's Eve'. Again, it is possible to reconstruct the meaning from the last constituent of the nuclear sentence considering all previous constituents as modifiers. In this case, according to Varga, the Focus of the clause is the verbal particle. Such an interpretation seems to reinforce what has been stated in this article with a different approach.

6. Concluding remarks

Introducing the Catalyst function
What is suggested with this paper is that the Speaker always makes a choice about what to put in the last position of the nuclear sentence, a position that can be defined as the pivot of the Comment. It is therefore possible to recognize a Catalyst (CAT) pragmatic function for it.

Building the Hungarian sentence
The gradual construction of a Hungarian sentence can therefore be presented in the following way, and suggested graphically in figure 2:

The Speaker decides whether there is a Focus, a stressed part in its communication. If there is, then it stands before the part of the predicate marked for tense. If it is the predicate itself it stands at the beginning of the nuclear sentence.

After having decided for the Focus, the Speaker can decide about the Topic; the element that links to context. If there is a Topic it is placed in the first position of the nuclear sentence. It can also be the Focus.

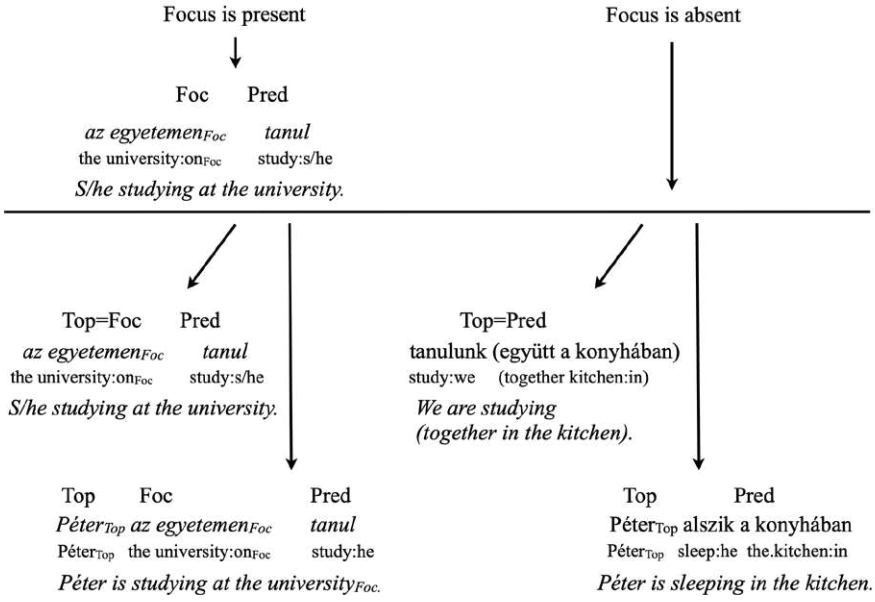

Figure 2: Construction of Hungarian sentences

At this point, most grammar books (Rounds 2001; Hegedűs 2019) suggest that all other constituents are positioned freely. It is proposed here to recognise that the Speaker makes one more decision about what can be defined as the pivot of the Comment, and can be imagined as what we are speaking of, which is the catalyst of the communication. This is put in the very last position of the nuclear sentence, and somehow is what the Hearer is waiting for. It is gradually modified by all that is preceding it. Whatever the Speaker puts in the last position is a key point of the communication.

This view relies greatly on the rule that modifiers are placed before the modified word or phrase. Among others, Hegedűs (2019) suggests that the Focus itself can be considered a modifier of the verb, and this reinforces the possible interpretation presented here.

It is worth noticing that in the last thirty-five years many scholars already dealt with this issue with a different approach. Works like the one by É. Kiss about identificational and information focus (É. Kiss 1998), or Gécseg's article on countertopic (Gécseg 2001) present situations that cannot be resolved by the Topic and Focus recognition only. In both cited works, special emphasis is given also to the last component of a nuclear sentence. In É. Kiss's paper, it can be the informational focus. Moreover, in most examples a major concern is the coexistence of more than one Focus or Topic. Because FDG allows for the compositionality of pragmatic functions, and among them counts also Contrast, many questions posed there find an easy explanation within this theory,

and, therefore, are not treated as problematic constructions. Instead, this study opted for the introduction of the Catalyst function because it seems that this component of the sentence can be justified with a specific syntactic rule (namely, being placed as the last component of the nuclear sentence), that must be applied once the Speaker decides upon it. The Catalyst function is always present in a sentence, and not restricted to the cases when it can be interpreted also as counterfocus, countertopic or informational focus.

Possible applications

Such a strictly structural-functional approach that combines syntactic and morphological rules with semantics can help also with other features, whose description can still be examined in depth, for example the function of verbal particles and the behaviour of PoSs that can be inserted between verb and verbal particle. Moreover, Komlósy (1989) signalled that some verbs force a specific behaviour, some of them abiding Focus position (*hangsúlykerülő igék*), some craving it (*hangsúlykérő igék*). This is another important issue in word order that is difficult to describe and teach, and probably has to be linked strictly to semantics.

The one suggested here is only one of the possible approaches to Hungarian word order, and two opportunities are offered. A first one is the possibility of better understanding interpretative nuances when translating. While in many cases it is believed that after all the feedback in most language can not reflect precisely all meanings, in practice a better understanding of the original communication can result in an adaptation of the communication in order to take advantage of the many pragmatic expressions of a language (see also Driussi 2020). Moreover, in teaching the interpretation of a sentence many situations can be simplified by suggesting such a 'backwards' reading of it. Quite interestingly, the fact that this analysis reflects, on the basis of Levelt's model, the production of communication can help in teaching the language in an active manner, giving not only rules for language interpretation, but also rules for speech production.

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"Transylvanian Hunglish" Phonological Properties of Hungarian Accented English in Transylvania

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ABSTRACT

Hunglish is a term for Hungarian native speakers' English pronunciation. It is a well recognisable and quite homogeneous accent, which is thoroughly described in the literature of second language acquisition. However, this paper proposes that Hungarian speakers living in Romania use a phonologically different Hunglish compared to those living in Hungary. The study is built on direct speech recordings made with 30 Hungarian speakers descending from various parts of Transylvania. Their accent is confronted with the pronunciation of 15 speakers from Hungary, who participated in the same reading experiment. Results indicate that the English pronunciation of the two groups mostly share the same phonetic and phonological features. Only a few persistent phonological differences can be identified; for instance, English open back vowels [ʌ, ɒ, ɑ] are replaced with Hungarian [ɒ] by the Transylvanian informants, and with [a] by the speakers from Hungary; Transylvanian informants preserve more English schwas and diphthongs due to their L2 Romanian, etc. The differences basically originate in the fact that Transylvanian speakers' interlanguage is much more heterogeneous than that of Hungarians', i.e. Transylvanians speak a substandard version of Hungarian as L1, they speak a Transylvanian dialect, they speak Romanian at high level as L2, and they usually speak further foreign languages as well beyond English; these varieties all affect their foreign accent. The paper takes account of the most important characteristics of Transylvanian Hunglish, with a synchronic phonological analysis, and a contrastive analysis with the general phonological properties of Hunglish found in the literature.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, second language acquisition, phonetics and phonology, foreign accent, Hunglish

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1. Introduction

1.1. Preface

In the last decades the literature on second language acquisition has shown growing interests towards the phonetic and phonological aspects of acquisition phenomena. Foreign accents acquired a central role in recent studies, and were analysed from multiple aspects. Apart from general descriptions about the phonetic and phonological composition of foreign accents (cf. Scovel 1969; Flege 1981, 1987; Major 1987, 2008; Gut 2007, 2009; Moyer 2013), an applied approach was widely adopted so as to overcome pronunciation mistakes during second language acquisition (cf. Flege 1995; Nádasdy–Szigetvári 1996; Nádasdy 2000, 2006; Szpyra-Kozłowska 2015; Balogné Bérces–Piukovics 2019b; Huszthy 2022). Various works were published using perceptive and pshycholinguistic approaches, too, with the aim of identifying factors which contribute to the perception of foreign accentedness and to determine the limits of accent intelligibility (cf. Flege–Munro–MacKay 1995; Piske–MacKay–Flege 2001; Munro 2008; Munro–Derwing 2011). And finally, the point of view of theoretical phonology appeared to be important as well to gain information about the implications that foreign accents may have towards the synchronic phonology of the speakers' mother tongue (cf. Altenberg–Vago 1983; Eckman 2008; Huszthy 2016a, 2019, 2020).

Foreign accent is the product of phonetic and phonological interference between the mother tongue (L1) of the speakers and the foreign languages (L2) they speak.[1] Actually, it is part of the so called *interlanguage*, the idiolectal variety which is created by the combination of all of these languages (cf. Selinker 1972; Ioup–Weinberger 1987; Keys 2001). Among the various components of interlanguage, L1 plays a key role, since speakers unconsciously transfer their L1's phonetic and phonological elements to L2 (cf. Major 2008). Some of these elements are developed in a "transition zone" between L1 and L2 (e.g., some interlanguage sounds show an intermediate acoustic realisation between authentic L2 and native L1 sounds), but even so interlanguage elements reveal active components of L1 phonology.

Foreign accents can be sorted into groups according to L1 influence, since they are recognisable on the basis of L1 elements which dominate the speakers' interlanguage. Some foreign accents also have a name and literature, e.g. *Spanglish*, *Franglais*, *Itangliano*, *Swenglist*, *Denglish*, *Slogleščina*, *Konglish* etc.[2] (cf. Ahamad–Anand–Bhargava 2020); and one

1 The literature on second language acquisition often uses the abbreviation L2 for any foreign language, independently on the number of L2s spoken by the speakers. There is also another use of the term, for the second (L2), third (L3), fourth (L4), etc. strongest foreign language spoken by the speakers. In this paper the first use is applied, but in some required cases we will also use the term L3.

2 Meaning Spanish, French, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Slovenian and Korean accented English.

of them is *Hunglish*: the Hungarian accented version of English (cf. Doughty–Thompson 1983).[3]

1.2. General characteristics of Hunglish

Hunglish, as foreign accents in general, is characterised by transfer phenomena from the speakers' L1 (that is, Hungarian) onto L2 (that is, English) at every level of phonetics and phonology; including minor articulatory differences between the same phonemes, recurrent segmental substitutions, interference between L1 and L2 in phonological processes and phonotactics (the latter depending on syllable structure), laryngeal features (voice vs. spread glottis) and prosody (word stress, intonation patterns, etc.). We do not give a detailed description here, only outline the most relevant factors which are necessary to compare the Hunglish varieties spoken in Hungary and in Transylvania. Examples derive from the literature about Hunglish (Doughty–Thompson 1983; Nádasdy–Szigetvári 1996; Nádasdy 2000, 2006; Balogné Bérces–Szentgyörgyi 2006; Balogné Bérces–Piukovics 2019b; Piukovics 2021).

In order to discover L1 transfer phenomena onto L2, we also need a preliminary contrastive analysis between Hungarian and English. If we confront the articulatory bases of standard English varieties (Wells 1982; Jenkins 2000; Cruttenden 2014)[4] and standard Hungarian (Siptár–Törkenczy 2000), we find several segmental differences that must be faced by any Hungarian learner of English. According to Flege (1987)'s terminology, the "new" and "similar" phones found in L2 are regularly substituted in the foreign accent by L1 segments (or, on an advanced L2 level, are developed into interlanguage sounds, but still on the basis of L1 articulatory phonetics).

In consonant inventories, five segments are present in English which are absent from Hungarian: the interdental fricatives [θ, ð], the bilabial-velar approximant [w], the rhotic postalveolar approximant [ɹ], and the so called "dark l", a postalveolar-velar lateral approximant [ɬ]. Moreover, the velar nasal [ŋ] is phonemic in English, but it is not in Hungarian, so although it is also present in the Hungarian segmental inventory as an allophone of /n/, it causes difficulties for L2 English learners. Further phonetic differencies concern the voicless stops [p, t, k], which are aspirated in English, but unaspirated in Hungarian.

3 The first mention of *Hunglish* goes back to Doughty and Thompson (1983)'s textbook (they were visiting professors at ELTE, Budapest), which collects the most typical Hungarian pronunciation mistakes of English. They introduce the term Hunglish with these words: "Each country makes its own mistakes in a foreign language. Teachers of foreign languages know that there are certain mistakes that are particularly typical of the country in which they are working. The most frequent – though not the only – cause of these mistakes is interference from the learner's own language. In the case of Hungarian learners of English, we have called the language that arises Hunglish."

4 The two English L1 target accents of the study are *Received Pronunciation* (RP; i.e., Standard Southern British English) and *General American* (GA).

The "new" consonants of the English inventory are commonly replaced by homorganic L1 consonants in Hunglish: [θ, ð] are substituted by [t, s, f; d, z, v; dz] (most likely by the stops [t, d]), as in *thick* [θɪk] > H. [tik(:)], *this* [ðɪs] > H. [dis];[5] [w] is replaced by [v], as in *what* > H. [vat]; [ɹ] is usually pronounced as a trill [r] or a tap [ɾ], as in *red* > H. [ɾɛd]; dark [ɬ] in syllable coda is not applied, it remains a clear [l], as in *feel* > H. [fi:l]; while [ŋ] is generally produced as an [ŋg] sequence by spelling pronunciation, as in *sing* > H. [siŋg]. Aspirated stops are substituted by unaspirated ones, e.g. [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ] > [p, t, k], as in *pit*, *tip*, *key*. Moreover, we often find needless intersonorant s-voicing in Hunglish, such as in *basic* [b̥eɪsɪk] > H. [be:zik] and *Chelsea* [tʃɛɬsi] > H. [tʃɛlzi], etc.; while the postconsonantal *s* suffix is voiceless in Hunglish, e.g. *films* [fiɬmz] > H. [films], *dogs* [d̥ɒgz] > H. [doks], *gloves* [g̊lʌvz] > H. [glo:fs], etc.

In the vowel system even more substitutions appear compared to the consonants. Although there are 14 vowel phonemes in the standard Hungarian inventory [ɒ, a:, ɛ, e:, i, i:, o, o:, ø, ø:, u, u:, y, y:], only a few of them is present in English varieties, and even those have a slightly different acoustic configuration and a completely different phonemic distribution. Besides, there are at least 17 English vowel phonemes (9 monophthongs and 8 diphthongs in RP) which are missing from the standard Hungarian vowel system, and are usually replaced in Hunglish by similar L1 vowels (or intermediate realisations from the individual speakers' interlanguage).

Lax vowels [ɪ, ʊ, ʌ] are regularly substituted by tense vowels [i, u, a], as in *bit*, *put*, *but*. Back long vowels [ɑ:, ɔ:] are usually replaced by [a:, o:], as in *bar*, *bought*. Even [ɒ], which is present in both vowel systems, is often changed in Hunglish for [o] by spelling pronunciation, as in *Bob*. Schwa-like vowels [ə, ɜ:] are replaced by the rounded mid-front [ø] or the unrounded [ɛ], as in *ago*. The *ash* vowel [æ] is one of the hardest to acquire for L2 learners, it is replaced by [ɛ] for a long time, as in *bat*. Finally, a general monophthongisation can be observed in Hunglish, since standard Hungarian does not have diphthongs; e.g. [eɪ] > [e:] as in *face*, [əʊ/oʊ] > [o:] as in *boat*, [ɪə(ɹ)] > [i:(r)] as in *beer*, [ɛə(ɹ)] > [e:(r)] as in *bear*, [ʊə(ɹ)] > [u:(r)] as in *cure*.

Phonotactic differences between L1 and L2 may result in three types of phonological processes: insertion, deletion and assimilation (cf. Cser 2015). Such processes usually happen when two or more vowels or consonants appear next to each other. Both the hiatus resolution strategies and the methods for handling consonant clusters are different in Hungarian and in English, which leads to various foreign accent elements. Many of these are linked to spelling pronunciation, that is, L2 learners often pronounce consonantal combinations according to the orthographical form of the words, which are produced differently by L1 speakers for phonotactic and diachronic reasons, e.g. in initial [pn, ps, kn, gn] clusters, final [mb, mn, gn] clusters, [h] in medial unstressed

5 In the examples Hunglish is abbreviated to H.

syllables, etc. (for more details and examples see Piukovics 2021). The same statement is valid for geminates as well; in fact, English does not have intramorphemic geminates (unlike Hungarian), but since spelling suggests otherwise, long consonants often appear in Hunglish, e.g. *suggest* [səˈdʒɛst] > H. [sadˈːʒɛst], *appear* [əˈpʰɪə(ɹ)] > H. [ɛpˈːiːr], etc.[6] On the other hand, certain English consonant combinations are not allowed for Hungarian phonotactics, so they can be simplified in Hunglish, e.g. *texts* [tʰɛksts] > H. [tɛk(t)s], *sixths* [sɪksθs] > H. [sik(t)s], etc.

English syllabic sonorants [n̩, m̩, l̩, (ɹ̩)] contribute to another feature of Hunglish, since sonorant consonants in Hungarian cannot be parsed into syllable nuclei (cf. Siptár–Törkenczy 2000). Accordingly, Hungarians usually extend English words containing syllabic sonorants with a short unmarked vowel (generally [ə], [ø] or [y]), e.g. *prism* [ˈpʰɹɪzm̩] > H. [ˈprizmᵊ]/[ˈprizᵊm], *rhythm* [ˈɹɪðm̩] > H. [ˈridmᵊ]/[ˈridᵊm], *Wimbledon* [ˈwɪmbl̩dən] > H. [vimblᵊdon], etc. Further segmental quantity phenomena also appear in Hunglish, e.g. English long vowels (or diphthongs) often undergo shortening, mostly when spelling does not allude to lengthening, e.g. *details* > H. [ˈditːls], *Suzy* > H. [ˈsuzi], *model* > H. [ˈmodɛl], *locate* > H. [ˈlokːt], etc.[7]

English laryngeal phonology causes additional problems for Hungarians (cf. Balogné Bérces–Szentgyörgyi 2006; Balogné Bérces 2017b; Piukovics 2021). In English, most utterance initial and final obstruents (e.g. [b, d, g]) are voiceless, e.g. *good* [g̊ʊd̥],[8] but since spelling suggests otherwise, Hungarians pronounce them voiced, e.g. *good* > H. [gud]. On the contrary, syllable initial voiceless stops are aspirated in English (pronounced with spread glottis, i.e., with the insertion of a small [h]), e.g. *pet* [pʰɛt]; but aspiration is generally not applied by Hungarians, e.g. *pet* > H. [pɛt].

In terms of laryngeal phonology, Hungarian is a *voice language*, while English is an *aspiration language* (Balogné Bérces 2017b). As a consequence, in English there is no regressive voice assimilation, unlike in Hungarian and in Hunglish; that is, Hungarians use regressive voicing where English speakers do not, e.g. *baseball* [ˈb̥eɪsb̥ːɬ] > H. [ˈbeːzbol], *cookbook* [ˈkʰʊkb̥ʊk] > H. [ˈkugbuk], *shoot back* [ˈʃuːtˈb̥æk] > H. [ʃudˈbɛk(ː)], etc.

6 There is another gemination process that also appears in the Hungarian foreign accent, and sometimes gets lexicalised in loanwords: intervocalic obstruents may undergo "unmotivated" gemination in words of foreign origin, e.g. *doping* > Hun. [ˈdopːiŋg], *sweater* > Hun. [ˈsvɛtːɛr], *weekend* > Hun. [ˈvikːɛnd], *Gripen* > Hun. [ˈgripːɛn], etc. Similarly, final obstruents also tend to undergo gemination in Hunglish (and in Hungarian in loanwords), e.g. *shock* > Hun. [ʃokː], *flash* > Hun. [flɛʃː], *tip* > Hun. [tipː], etc. (cf. Huszthy 2016b).

7 Similar phonotactically based features may occur in the Hungarian foreign accent in the case of other L2s as well, like in Ungheriano, i.e., Hungarian accented Italian (see Huszthy 2022).

8 Voicelessness is indicated in IPA by small combining rings above or below the consonants.

Eventually, numerous features of Hunglish are due to prosodic differences between English and Hungarian. First of all, word stress is often misplaced by Hungarians in L2 English, since words (or intonational phrases) are always stressed on the first syllable in Hungarian, while English has mobile stress patterns. Stress misplacement may have multiple consequences for phonetics and segmental phonology as well (for details see Piukovics–Üstöki 2019; Piukovics 2021).[9] Secondly, Hungarians typically use L1 intonation patterns when speaking in English, and speech melody is one of the most evident (and less evitable) features of foreign accents (cf. Balogné Bérces–Piukovics 2019b; Piukovics 2021).[10]

2. Preliminaries to Transylvanian Hunglish

2.1. Hypotheses

The starting point of this study was an informal, impressionistic observation of mine, made after hearing Hungarians of Transylvania speaking English. My first, observationally based hypothesis was that Hungarians born (and raised) in Transylvania use a phonologically different (and less marked) Hunglish compared to Hungarians born in Hungary. The literature on second language acquisition treats Hunglish as a homogeneous accent: Hungarian accented English (see Section 1.2). However, the English pronunciation of Hungarians living in the situation of *social bilingualism*[11] has not been approached from the point of view of second language acquisition; therefore, the first attempt is made in this study.

The most evident sociolinguistic reason for differences between the two target Hunglish varieties is that the interlanguage of Hungarians living in Romania is more heterogeneous compared to those living in Hungary. Most Transylvanians are *dialectophones*[12] (while most speakers in Hungary are not); that is, their L1 is a local dialect of Hungarian, and they also speak the Hungarian substandard; or vice versa, their L1 is the Hungarian substandard, and they also speak the local dialect depending on situation (cf. Péntek–Benő 2020). Because of the above mentioned

9 Hungarians often place the stress to closed syllables (following the Stress-to-Weight principle), even if it is not the stressed one in English, e.g. *energy* [ˈɛnə(ɹ) dʒi] > H. [ɛˈnɛrdʒi]. This is a common feature of the Hungarian foreign accent, which is present in the pronunciation of other languages as well, e.g. in Ungheriano, i.e. Hungarian accented Italian (see Huszthy 2022).

10 Further, more specific theoretical studies on Hunglish propose that advanced learners' accent is a semi-rhotic variety of English (see Balogné Bérces 2017a, Balogné Bérces–Piukovics 2019a, Piukovics–Balogné Bérces 2019).

11 Hungarians of Romania live in social bilingualism, since their L1 is Hungarian, but the official language of the state is Romanian, which they acquire as L2 from childhood and use in public life situations during interactions with non Hungarians (for details see Péntek–Benő 2020).

12 The French loanword *dialectophone* will be used here as a sociolinguistic technical term for dialect speakers; both for those whose L1 is a local dialect and for those who speak a regional dialect or a dialectally based substandard.

sociolinguistic reasons, for the most part they also speak Romanian as L2;[13] moreover, they (especially the younger generations) often speak English and further foreign languages, too (cf. the informants' data in Section 2).

The hypotheses of this study are not specific, since we chose an inductive research method following the lead of the speech recordings. However, two general hypotheses have been formulated at the beginning: first, from a phonetic point of view, we expect more variation in vowel quality from the Transylvanian speakers (induced by the wide dialectal fragmentation of the territory); second, from a phonological point of view we expect less segmental substitutions and less phonotactically based accent features compared to the Hunglish variety described in Section 1.2., given that Transylvanian speakers are presumed to have a more heterogeneous interlanguage, so, a wider articulatory base and fewer phonotactic restrictions.

2.2. Informants and data collection

The empirical part of the study is built on speech recordings made with 30 volunteer informants interviewed at the Babeș–Bolyai University (Faculty of Letters) in Cluj-Napoca, in May 2022. Three of them are professors (one man and two women), the others are students (four men and 23 women),[14] the students' age average is 21. All of them are native speakers of Hungarian (none of them is Hungarian–Romanian native bilingual), and they are all dialectophones, too (that is, they all speak a regional variety of Hungarian).[15]

They derive from different parts of Transylvania, from various localities of the following counties: nine informants come from Harghita (HR) county, six from Covasna (CV), six from Mureș (MS), two from Brașov (BV), one from Cluj (CJ), one from Bistrița-Năsăud (BN), one from Sibiu (SB), and four of them beyond Transylvania, two from Sălaj (SJ) and two from Satu Mare (SM).[16]

13 Their L2 level of Romanian varies from fluent to intermediate, depending on geographical, individual and other sociolinguistic factors; but they are not native bilinguals, except when born in a mixed family.

14 Four informants have been interviewed by two of my students (Ibolya Szikszai and Mónika Szabó), as part of a task for the course of *Applied Sociolinguistics*, they were the ones to choose the sample text, too; I thank them for the excellent enterprise!

15 At the beginning of the recordings they had to introduce themselves: their Hungarian dialects are well definable in this part.

16 The list of the informants' localities of origin (in alphabetic order, with Hungarian spelling): Barót (Baraolt, CV), Beszterce (Bistrița, BN), Bősháza (Biușa, SJ), Brassó (Brașov, BV), Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc, HR), Gyergyószentmiklós (Gheorgheni, HR), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, CJ), Kovászna (Covasna, CV), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș, MS), Nagykároly (Carei, SM), Nagyszeben (Sibiu, SB), Nyárádszereda (Miercurea Nirajului, MS), Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe, CV), Szabéd (Săbed, MS), Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare, SM), Székelykeresztúr (Cristuru Secuiesc, HR), Székelyszáldobos (Dobocșeni, CV), Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc, HR), Szilágysámson (Șamșud, SJ), Szováta (Sovata, MS), Zabola (Zăbala, CV).

All of them speak Romanian as L2 at least at intermediate level, and 16 of them at upper levels, C1 or C2. As far as their English level is concerned, they were sorted into two groups: 16 of them belong to the intermediate group (B1/B2), and 14 of them belong to the advanced group (C1/C2). Many of them speak further foreign languages as well: 16 of them speak one further language beyond Hungarian, Romanian and English, at least at intermediate level (mostly German or French), and 8 of them speak two or three more languages (e.g. German, French, Italian, Chinese, Finnish, Russian, Norwegian).

The data collection had three steps: after a brief self introduction (containing basic sociolinguistic information) in their mother tongue (Hungarian substandard or dialect), the informants had to read out loud an English sample text at first sight, then they had to repeat the reading immediately. The sample text was selected from authentic English materials, it is a small journal article (two paragraphs with title and subtitle) used for B2 level English teaching; a description about Elvis Presley's city of birth. (The sample text can be read in the Appendix of this paper, with phonetic transcriptions.)

A control group of informants from Hungary also participated in the survey: 15 students of Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Faculty of Letters) in Budapest (1 man and 14 women, with the age average of 21), who had the same reading tasks as the Transylvanians. Their L1 is standard Hungarian, and none of them is dialectophone (six of them are from Budapest, the others are from Debrecen, Szeged, Szolnok, Győr, Székesfehérvár, Gödöllő, Piliscsaba, Széphalom and Pétfürdő). Ten of them speak English at intermediate level (B1/B2), five at advanced level (C1/C2). Six of them speak only English as L2, other six speak one more foreign language (mostly German or French), and three of them have acquaintance with a fourth and a fifth language as well (e.g. Italian, Spanish, Classical Latin, Afghan).

One of the hypotheses of the study has already been confirmed after the data collection: the interlanguage of the Transylvanian informants must be more heterogeneous compared to those of Hungary, since they are dialectophones and speak more foreign languages. From another perspective, the main prelimilary difference between the informants from Hungary and those from Transylvania is that the informants of the former group speak English as L2, while those of the latter group speak it as L3, and they also speak additional languages. That is, the foreign accent of the Transylvanian informants must be affected by more sources of interference: their L1 Hungarian, their L1 dialect, their L2 Romanian and their other spoken foreign languages. The phonetic and phonological differences between the accents of the two informant groups are developed in Section 3.

2.3. Additional notes to the Transylvanian informants' interlanguage

Before turning to the results, we must spare a few additional words for the Transylvanian informants' interlanguage, since their dialects and the language contact with Romanian may supply them with extra sounds and phonological features compared to the speakers from Hungary.

From the 20th century, the standard version of Hungarian acquired a high prestige in Hungary, which led to the recession of the dialects; on the other hand, Hugarian varieties in Romania suffered an isolation from the standard, which led to the conservation of the dialects (cf. Péntek–Benő 2020). Dialectal fragmentation in Transylvania is so huge that can be paragoned to the situation of Italian dialects in Italy. Another similar analogy can also be established for the typical foreign accents of Italians and Hungarians from Transylvania. In fact, Italian speakers tend to pronounce foreign languages with a phonologically very similar foreign accent, undependently on their dialectal differencies (Huszthy 2016a, 2019, 2020).[17] Apparently, the same statement can be valid for Transylvanians, too (see Section 3).

Most dialectal differences among Transylvanian varieties and standard Hungarian concern the vowel systems. A few additional segments may appear in these dialects compared to the 14 Hungarian vowel phonemes (see Section 1.2.). First of all, Transylvanian dialects usually have more unrounded mid-front [e]-type vowels, and often have diphthongs (cf. Kiss 2001), which may affect their foreign accent (cf. Sections 2.1. and 4). The most interesting fact about vowel production regards the pronunciation of certain Secler informants (especially from the county of Covasna); in fact, they have the open-front [æ] vowel in their articulatory base (which phonetically coincides with English *ash*), but they do not use it in L2 English (cf. Section 3.2.).[18] Instead, they usually apply the typical Hunglish vowel substitution, and replace English [æ] with [ɛ] of standard Hungarian (cf. Section 1.2.).

Beyond the informants' dialects, we also need to briefly account for a few details of the sound system of their L2 Romanian, since it also contributes to the structure of their foreign accent (for details about Romanian phonology see Chitoran 2002 and Renwick 2022). There is a vowel which lacks from Hungarian (and its dialects), but it is phonemic in Romanian, and therefore it is also present in the Transylvanian informants' vowel system: the mid-central lax [ə], namely schwa. The substitution of English schwas is a typical feature of Hunglish (cf. Section 1.2.), but as we will see, the phenomenon is practically absent from Transylvanian

17 The main reason of this is that the productive phonological properties of L1 dialects, which interfere with L2, basically coindice, and the minor pronunciation differences between the accents are rather phonetic than phonological (see Huszthy 2016a).

18 The Secler informants of the experiment clearly use the [æ] vowel during their self introduction in Hungarian, but they stop to use it during the reading of the English text.

Hunglish. The glide [w] is also present in Romanian (while absent from Hungarian), and its presence may influence the Transylvanian speakers' English pronunciation, since we find less [w]-substitutions in their accent than in that of the informants from Hungary (cf. Section 3.3.).

There are further extralinguistic factors too, which contribute to the impression that Transylvanian Hunglish is a more authentic foreign accent of English compared to Hunglish spoken in Hungary. Most importantly, dubbing is very popular in Hungary, but it is not in Romania (foreign movies and TV-shows are normally transmitted in Romania in original language); accordingly, Romanians (and Hungarians living in Romania) hear authentic English pronunciations from early childhood.[19] Authentic material is also widely used in L2-education system in Romania, while Transylvanians of Hungarian mother tongue often learn English from teachers of Romanian mother tongue. These and other factors can all be responsible for the formation of the Transylvanian speakers' interlanguage, which manifests in their accent when they speak foreign languages.

3. The results of the reading experiment

The speech recordings were processed manually, with an auditory method, i.e., I counted every single pronunciation word by word in an Excel table and made statistics. Certainly there must be some miscalculations, but given the great number of informants, the averages are representative. Most phonological accent features could be identified by perception (e.g. phonemic differences, consonant gemination, vowel lengthening or shortening, obstruent voicing, etc.), others which could not (mostly phonetic features, like precise vowel quality, degree of aspiration, etc.) are not included in the results. The goal was to point out the most important characteristics of Transylvanian Hunglish, and outline the main differences compared to Hunglish from Hungary.[20]

The individual informants usually produced the same pronunciation mistakes and foreign accent features during the first and the second reading, but the second reading was always more confident and faster. As we will see, many phonological components are correspondent in the Hunglish varieties of the speakers, but some show consistent differences. Various target words will be shown and statistically analysed in this section, which were selected from the sample text readings in order to illustrate the most important phonological phenomena which constitute the Hunglish varieties. Many target words had 10-12 phonologically different pronunciations, too, but statistics reveal the most relevant forms used in the Hunglish of Transylvania and in that of Hungary.

19 The accent they predominantly hear is General American (GA), so it is often their target accent during L2 English learning.

20 Results can be still confirmed and specified in the future by more precise, controlled experiments made in a soundproof studio (cf. Section 4).

3.1. Loanwords in L2 reading

L2 words which are also present in L1 as loanwords are often pronounced by the speakers with the loanword form in L1 (i.e., the way how the words have been adapted to L1 phonology in diachrony). Accordingly, the name *Elvis Presley* was pronounced almost by every informant with its Hungarian form [ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli], only a very few of them (and only advanced L2 speakers) applied English features, like dark [ɬ] and lax [ɪ] in [ˈɛɬvɪs], and s-voicing and approximant [ɹ] in [ˈpɹɛzli]. Other similar loanwords were *Mississippi* > H. [ˈmisisipi] and *Memphis* > H. [ˈmɛɱfis], which were all pronounced by the informants in the same forms. However, in four loanwords a systematic difference was revealed between the two informant groups: *Tennessee*, *rock 'n' roll*, *rocker*, *America*, see Table 1.

The subsequent tables of the paper are set up as follows: in the first column we can see the selected target words, in the second one English L1 forms are transcribed in *Received Pronunciation* (RP) and *General American* (GA),[21] while in the last two columns percentage values can be seen about the results of the Transylvanian (T) informants and those from Hungary (H). Percentages are calculated in relation to the overall pronunciation occurrences in the two groups, respectively (that is, each pronunciation form was calculated for each target word in both groups, and the most common varieties are shown in the table below).

target word	RP, GA	T	H
Tennessee	[ˌtʰɛnəˈsi]	[ˈtɛnɛsiː] 55%	[ˈtɛnɛsːi] 69%
rock 'n' roll	[ˈɹɒkənˈɹəʊɬ], [ˈɹɑkənˈɹoʊɬ]	[ˈɹɒkɛndrowl] 41%	[ˈrakɛndrolː] 54%
rocker	[ˈɹɒkə], [ˈɹɑkɚ]	[ˈɹɒkər] 33%	[ˈrokːɛr] 36%
America's	[əˈmɛɹɪkəz]	[əˈmɛɹikəz] 35%	[ˈamɛɹikaz] 31%

Table 1: Loanword substitutions

Apparently, for *Tennessee*, the form with long final [iː] and short [s] was better for Transylvanians, while Hungarians rather used a short [i] and a long [sː]. For *rock 'n' roll* we had various realisations in both groups (12 in total); the winning output was the loanword form [ˈrakɛndrolː] for Hungarians, and although it was also chosen by several Transylvanians, they rather preferred an interlanguage realisation mixing L1 and L2 elements. The same statement is valid for *rocker* as well, where Hungarians chose the loanword form [ˈrokːɛr], while Transylvanians preferred an interlanguage realisation. Finally, in the case of *America's* the Transylvanian informants mainly used an English-like pronunciation, while Hungarians applied an interlanguage realisation closer to the L1 form of the loanword.

21 When there is no difference between RP and GA, only one L1 transcription is shown.

3.2. Vowels

Among vowel substitutions, English closed lax vowels [ɪ, ʊ] are regularly substituted in both Hunglish varieties by L1 vowels [i, u], e.g. *st̲ill* > H. [stil:], *reg̲ularly* > H. [ˈrɛg(j)ulərli], etc. (only a few exceptions can be found in both groups among advanced L2 speakers). English open back vowels [ʌ, ɒ, ɔ, ɑ] are replaced by three L1 segments in Hunglish: [a, ɒ, o], but substitution proportions differ according to the two groups, as is shown in Table 2.

target word	RP, GA	T	H
h̲o̲t	[hɒt], [hɑt]	[ɒ] 52% [o] 26% [a] 22%	[ɒ] 13% [o] 30% [a] 57%
st̲o̲p	[stɒp], [stɑp]	[ɒ] 53% [a] 32% [o] 15%	 [a] 84% [o] 16%
forg̲o̲tten	[fəˈgɒtn̩], [fɚˈgɑɾən]	[a] 65% [ɒ] 26% [o] 9%	[a] 55% [ɒ] 7% [o] 38%
r̲o̲cker	[ˈɹɒkə], [ˈɹɑkɚ]	[ɒ] 64% [a] 29% [o] 7%	[ɒ] 18% [a] 14% [o] 68%
h̲a̲lf	[hɑːf], [hæf]	[ɒ] 82% [a] 28%	[ɒ] 53% [a] 47%
s̲o̲n	[sʌn]	[ɒ] 76% [o] 15% [a] 9%	[ɒ] 40% [o] 7% [a] 53%
s̲u̲mmer	[ˈsʌmə], [ˈsʌmɚ]	[ɒ] 65% [a] 35%	[ɒ] 19% [a] 81%
h̲u̲ndreds	[ˈhʌndɹədz]	[ɒ] 61% [a] 39%	[ɒ] 29% [a] 71%
d̲o̲esn't	[dʌzn̩t]	[ɒ] 56% [a] 44%	[ɒ] 8% [a] 92%
c̲o̲ming	[ˈkʰʌmɪŋ]	[ɒ] 94% [a] 6%	[ɒ] 26% [a] 74%
o̲thers	[ˈʌðəz], [ˈʌðɚz]	[ɒ] 73% [a] 27%	[ɒ] 29% [a] 71%
s̲o̲me c̲o̲me j̲u̲st o̲nce	[ˈsʌm ˈkʰʌm ʤʌst ˈwʌns]	all [ɒ] 88% all [a] 0%	all [ɒ] 26% all [a] 53%
a̲lmost	[ˈɔːɬməʊst], [ˈɔɬˌmoʊst]	[oː] 60% [o] 30% [ɒ] 10%	[oː] 73% [o] 15% [ɒ] 12%
a̲lthough	[ɔːɬˈðəʊ], [ˌɔɬˈðoʊ]	[o] 82% [ɒ] 13% [oː] 5%	[o] 77% [oː] 23%
m̲o̲re	[mɔː(ɹ)]	[oː] 100%	[oː] 100%
imp̲o̲rtant	[ɪmˈpʰɔːtənt], [ɪmˈpʰɔɹtənt]	[o] 96% [oː] 4%	[o] 89% [oː] 11%

Table 2: Hunglish substitutions for English open back vowels

As the data show, the usual Hunglish substitution of English mid-open [ɔ] happens with Hungarian mid-closed [o] in both groups, such as in *m<u>o</u>re* [mɔː(ɹ)] > H. [moːr]. But for the other English open back vowels [ʌ, ɒ, ɑ] a general difference is detected between the two informant groups: Transylvanians mostly use L1 [ɒ],[22] while Hungarians primarily use L1 [a]. The phrase "some come just once" (in English all vowels are [ʌ]) is a significant example from the corpus illustrating the two Hunglish substitution phenomena: 88% of the Transylvanian informants pronounced it as [ˈsɒm kɒm dʒɒst ˈwɒns], while 53% of the Hungarians used the form [ˈsam ˈkam dʒast ˈvans] (and 23% of them used [ɒ] only in the last word: [ˈsam ˈkam dʒast ˈvɒns]).

As far as other vowel substitutions are concerned, the *ash* vowel [æ] bearly appears in the corpus, and only in the case of advanced speakers. The usual substitution in Hunglish is with [ɛ] in both groups, e.g. the *and* conjunction sounded always as H. [ɛnd] on the recordings; while the target word *stamps* [stæmps] was almost always realised as H. [stɛmps].[23]

The most special vowel for Transylvanian Hunglish is schwa [ə]. Since it is a phonemic sound in Romanian (which is all Transylvanian informants' L2), it is present in the Transylvanian Hungarian speakers' articulatory base. However, it is absent from that of the speakers from Hungary, who usually replace it with [ɛ] or [ø] (cf. Section 1.2.), or realise it as an interlanguage sound between schwa and [ø],[24] or as other vowels by spelling pronunciation. In Table 3 various target words appear with typical Hunglish realisations of English schwas found in the corpus.

target word	RP, GA	T	H
ov<u>e</u>r	[ˈəʊvə], [ˈoʊvɚ]	[ə] 91% [ɛ] 9%	[ə~ø] 28% [ɛ] 36% [ø] 36%
summ<u>e</u>r	[ˈsʌmə], [ˈsʌmɚ]	[ə] 93% [ɛ] 7%	[ə~ø] 35% [ɛ] 9% [ø] 56%
riv<u>e</u>r	[ˈɹɪvə], [ˈɹɪvɚ]	[ə] 94% [ɛ] 6%	[ə~ø] 43% [ɛ] 10% [ø] 47%
famo<u>u</u>s	[ˈfeɪməs]	[ə] 96% [o] 4%	[ə~ø] 43% [ø] 57%
rock<u>e</u>r	[ˈɹɒkə], [ˈɹɑkɚ]	[ə] 100%	[ə~ø] 50% [ɛ] 50%

22 Or an interlanguage sound which is heavily based on Hungarian [ɒ].

23 Except in the case of two Transylvanian and one Hungarian advanced English speakers, who sporadically used the [æ] vowel in *stamps*.

24 This Hunglish interlanguage sound is generally a fronting-labialised version of schwa, which is not a plain rounded front vowel like Hungarian [ø], rather an intermediate realisation between [ə] and [ø], indicated in Table 3 as [ə~ø].

target word	RP, GA	T	H
importa̲nt	[ɪmˈpʰɔːtənt], [ɪmˈpʰɔɹtənt]	[ə] 80% [ɛ] 20%	[ə~ø] 29% [ɛ] 71%
millio̲ns	[ˈmɪljənz]	[ə] 80% [o] 20%	[ə~ø] 56% [o] 44%
regula̲rly	[ˈɹɛgjʊləli], [ˈɹɛgjələ-li]	[ə] 93% [a] 7%	[ə~ø] 64% [a] 7% [ø] 22% [ɛ] 7%
wo̲rld	[wɜːɬd], [wɜ-ɬd]	[ə] 100%	[ə~ø] 29% [ø] 71%
a̲go	[əˈgəʊ], [əˈgoʊ]	[ə] 76% [ɛ] 24%	[ə~ø] 77% [ɛ] 23%
a̲ttraction	[əˈtɬækʃn̩]	1. [ə] 87% [ɛ] 13% 2. [ə] 93% syllabic [n̩] 7%	1. [ə~ø] 40% [ɛ] 60% 2. [ə~ø] 71% [ø] 29%
a̲way	[əˈweɪ]	[ə] 80% [o] 20%	[ə~ø] 63% [ø] 32%
profession̲a̲l	[pɹəˈfɛʃənəɬ], [pɹəˈfɛʃn̩ɬ]	1. [ə] 20% [o] 80% 2. [ə] 100% 3. [ə] 80% [ɛ] 20%	1. [ə~ø] 4% [o] 96% 2. [ə~ø] 100% 3. [ə~ø] 32% [ɛ] 35% [ø] 33%
sev̲enty sev̲en	[ˌsɛvn̩ti ˈsɛvn̩]	both [ə] 72% both [ɛ] 10%	both [ə~ø] 29% both [ɛ] 54%
fo̲rgott̲en	[fəˈgɒtn̩], [fɚˈgɑɾən]	1. [o] 74% [ə] 26% 2. [ə] 50% [ɛ] 28% syllabic [n̩] 22%	1. [o] 90% [ə~ø] 10% 2. [ə~ø] 7% [ɛ] 86% syllabic [n̩] 7%
A̲merica̲'s	[əˈmɛɹɪkəz]	1. [ə] 65% [a] 28% [ɛ] 6% 2. [a] 69% [ə] 31%	1. [ə~ø] 24% [a] 76% 2. [a] 81% [ə~ø] 19%

Table 3: English schwa realisations in Hunglish

English schwas are usually substituted in Hunglish by other vowels ([ɛ], [ø], [ə~ø] or others by spelling pronunciation), but in the Transylvanians' pronunciation they principally remain schwas. This is one of the most significant differences between the two Hunglish varieties. Advanced speakers in the Hungarian group mostly use the interlanguage sound indicated as [ə~ø], while intermediate speakers more often apply the front rounded [ø]. Among Transylvanians, however, this substitution did not occur at all in the corpus, not even in those informants whose Romanian is at lower-intermediate level. On the other hand, [ɛ] is used

in both groups, but to a lesser extent; especially in words with *-er* or *-en* ending (like *summer*, *over*, *forgotten*, *seven*, etc.), and when spelling does not allude to schwa, like in *important* > H. [imˈportɛnt], *ago* > H. [ɛˈgoː] *attraction* > H. [ɛˈtrɛkʃən], etc.

English diphthongs often appear in Hunglish as monophthongs (cf. Section 1.2.). Among English diphthongs [aɪ], [aʊ] and [ɔɪ] are usually preserved (and reproduced as [aj], [aw], [oj], like in *miles* > H. [majls], *out* > H. [awt], *voice* > H. [vojs]); but others tend to undergo monophthongisation, which may also lead to vowel shortening. However, Transylvanian informants apparently preserve more diphthongs in their pronunciation compared to the speakers from Hungary. Table 4 shows examples found in the corpus.

target word	RP, GA	T	H
although	[ɔːlˈðəʊ], [ˌɔlˈðoʊ]	[oː] 64% diphthong 36%	[oː] 88% diphthong 12%
ago	[əˈgəʊ], [əˈgoʊ]	diphthong 62% [oː] 38%	diphthong 27% [oː] 73%
over	[ˈəʊvə], [ˈoʊvɚ]	[oː] 77% diphthong 23%	[oː] 92% diphthong 8%
home	[həʊm], [hoʊm]	diphthong 63% [oː] 37%	diphthong 15% [oː] 85%
those	[ðəʊz], [ðoʊz]	[oː] 60% diphthong 40%	[oː] 64% diphthong 36%
most	[məʊst], [moʊst]	long [oː] 48% short [o] 31% diphthong 21%	long [oː] 50% short [o] 32% diphthong 18%
only	[ˈəʊnli], [ˈoʊnli]	short [o] 70% diphthong 20% long [oː] 10%	short [o] 69% diphthong 12% long [oː] 19%
postage	[ˈpʰəʊstɪdʒ], [ˈpʰoʊstɪdʒ]	short [o] 71% diphthong 18% long [oː] 11%	short [o] 79% diphthong 6% long [oː] 15%
make	[meɪk]	[eː] 78% diphthong 22%	[eː] 94% diphthong 6%
famous	[ˈfeɪməs]	[eː] 70% diphthong 30%	[eː] 79% diphthong 21%
major	[ˈmeɪdʒə], [ˈmeɪdʒɚ]	[eː] 73% diphthong 16% [ɛ] 11%	[eː] 73% diphthong 12% [ɛ] 7% [a] 5% [ɒ] 3%
Graceland	[ˈgɹeɪslænd]	[eː] 92% diphthong 8%	[eː] 91% diphthong 9%
tourist	[ˈtʰʊəɹɪst], [ˈtʰɔːɹɪst], [ˈtʰʊɹəst]	long [uː] 44% short [u] 30% diphthong 26%	long [uː] 25% short [u] 59% diphthong 16%
real	[ɹɪəɬ]	[iː] 55% diphthong 45%	[iː] 86% diphthong 14%

target word	RP, GA	T	H
hero	[ˈhɪəɹəʊ], [ˈhɪəɹoʊ], [ˈhiːɹoʊ], [ˈhɪɹoʊ]	1. short [i] 61% long [iː] 39% 2. diphthong 59% [oː] 41%	1. short [i] 23% long [iː] 77% 2. diphthong 17% [oː] 83%
years	[jɪəz], [jɪɚz], [jɜːz], [jɝːz]	short [e] 50% short [i] 32% long [iː] 12% long [eː] 3% diphthong 3%	short [e] 41% long [iː] 52% long [eː] 7%

Table 4: English diphthongs in Hunglish

As Table 4 shows, a general tendency of monophthongisation can be observed in both Hunglish varieties; however, Transylvanian informants pronounce considerably more diphthongs compared to those from Hungary. Diphthongs of Transylvanian Hunglish are mostly backing [ow] in place of English [əʊ]/[oʊ], and sometimes they are even in majority compared to monophthongised realisations, as in *home* and *ago*.[25] Fronting diphthongs are rarer, but still slightly more realisations appear in the Transylvanians' pronunciation than in that of Hungarians, like [ej] in place of English [eɪ] in *make* and *famous*.

The reason for the general monophthongisation in Hunglish is that standard Hungarian does not have diphthongs (cf. Siptár–Törkenczy 2000). However, Romanian does (Renwick 2022), and that may affect the Transylvanian speakers' accent; moreover, certain Hungarian dialects of Transylvania have diphthongs as well, which may be a further reason for the fact that the Transylvanian informants of the study use more diphthongs in English than those from Hungary.

The last aspect of Hunglish vocalism concerns the phenomenon of vowel shortening. We have already seen many examples among the cases of monophthongisation which lead to the abbreviation of the vowel, e.g. in *most* H. [ow] > [oː] > [o]. Vowel shortening deriving from monophthongisation almost equally characterises both Hunglish varieties (see the proportions in Table 4). Shortening primarily arises in closed syllables (as in *only*, *most*, *postage*, *years* etc.), since superheavy syllables are very marked in Hungarian phonotactics (cf. Siptár–Törkenczy 2000).[26] But we can also find the phenomenon in open syllables, like in *tourist* and *hero*; moreover, the ratio of shortening is different in these words in the two target accents: Transylvanians prefer to pronounce *tourist* with a long [uː], and *hero* with a short [i], as opposed to the informants from Hungary, who generally use a short [u] in *tourist* and a long [iː] in *hero*.

25 This diphthong is sometimes realised by Transylvanian speakers as [oʊ], [ou] or [əʊ].

26 A further example of shortening non as the result of monophthongisation can be observed in the target word *seems* H. [sims]. The reason of the shortening is probably the markedness of superheavy syllables again. 60% of the informants from Transylvania pronounced the word with a short [i], as opposed to the 29% of the informants from Hungary (71% of them pronounced it with a long [iː]).

3.3. Consonants

As far as consonants are concerned, the most usual segmental substitutions regard the dental fricatives [θ, ð], which are regularly replaced in both Hunglish varieties by homorganic L1 segments, principally by the stops [t, d]; similarly, aspirated voiceless stops [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ] are also substituted by unaspirated ones, and dark [ɬ] is barely used on the recordings.[27] The velar nasal [ŋ] is almost always produced as an [ŋg] sequence in both informant groups, except in the case of some advanced speakers of English.[28]

The distribution of the bilabial velar approximant [w] is different in the two target accents, though. The informants from Hungary regularly replace it by the homorganic obstruent [v], but Transylvanian informants rather preserve it. Considering three target words from the sample text, in *world* Transylvanians used [w] in 62% of the overall occurrences of the word, compared to the 37% of [w] realisations from Hungary; in *where* the ratio of [w] is 81% vs 35% for the Transylvanians; while in *away* Hungarian informants pronounced [w] in 39% of the occurrences compared to the 58% found in the Transylvanians' pronunciation. Some sporadic hypercorrect [w] pronunciations also occurred on the recordings in place of etymological [v]; especially in the phrase "only one voice", where *voice* was pronounced in a couple of cases as [wojs] in both informant groups.

The rhotic postalveolar approximant [ɹ] shows a similar distribution to [w] in the corpus; that is, Transylvanians often preserve it, while the informants from Hungary mostly replace it by the trill [r] or the tap [ɾ] (the latter especially in intervocalic position). [ɹ] is primarily used at the beginning of words: in the target word *real* 57% of the Transylvanian informants pronounced the approximant [ɹ], compared to the 28% of the speakers from Hungary; in *river* the ratio of initial [ɹ]s is 58% vs 26% for the Transylvanians; while in *regularly* it is 45% vs 25% for the Transylvanians.

Further consonantal phenomena of Hunglish are phonological, primarily linked to phonotactics, syllable structure and laryngeal phonology. A common feature of both target varieties of Hunglish is consonantal gemination inside a single morpheme (cf. Section 1.2). When English spelling suggests long consonants, speakers with a Hungarian mother tongue often pronounce them as long ones, too, as opposed to any L1 English pronunciation. Four target words are in the corpus which are possible inputs for Hunglish gemination. The first one is *still*, whose /l/ occurs before a vowel ("*still a hero*"), and in this position all 45 informants

27 Only some of the advanced L2 speakers used the dental fricatives [θ, ð] (or close interlanguage sounds), aspirated voiceless stops and dark [ɬ]; therefore, I did not make any statistics in this regard.

28 For instance, in the target word *king* 9% of realisations with [ŋ] (and without [g]) were found among Transylvanian speakers, and 5% among the informants from Hungary.

of the study pronounced the word as [stilː].[29] Proportions of gemination are less consistent in the other three target words: *summer* GA [ˈsʌmɚ], *professional* GA [pɹəˈfɛʃənəɬ], *forgotten* GA [fɚˈgɑɾən]. In *summer* 9% of the Transylvanians and 10% of the Hungarians used a long [mː] (but only the intermediate speakers in both groups); in *professional* 63% of the Transylvanians and 87% of the Hungarians pronounced a long [ʃː] (equally in both language level groups); while in *forgotten* 28% of the Transylvanians[30] and 52% of the Hungarians used a long [tː] (mostly from the intermediate group).

The pronunciation of English /u/ with a Yod: [ju] apparently happens by a /j/-insertion process for L2/L3 English learners,[31] as in three target words of the corpus: *U.S.* GA [ˌjuːˈɛs], *regularly* GA [ˈɹɛgjələɚli], *century* GA [ˈsɛntʃəɹi]. The word *U.S.* was pronounced as [ˈjuːɛs] by all of the informants.[32] In *regularly* we found 70% of pronunciations with [j] in the case of advanced Transylvanian speakers, and 33% in intermediate speakers; while 50% of [j] occurred in advanced speakers from Hungary, and 20% in intermediate speakers. In *century* the pronunciation with a Yod leads to /t/ > [tʃ] lexical palatalisation in English: the word was pronounced with [tʃ] by 100% of the advanced and 25% of the intermediate Transylvanian speakers (others pronounced it with a [t]); while among the informants from Hungary 100% of the advanced speakers and 57% of the intermediate speakers used the form with a [tʃ]. Accordingly, the pronunciation of a Yod before /u/ highly depends on the level of L2 English.[33]

Syllabic sonorants were generally avoided by the informants, only [n̩] was occasionally used by advanced speakers; for instance, 22% of the Transylvanians used a syllabic [n̩] in *forgotten*, as opposed to the 7% found in the group from Hungary; in the target word *doesn't* the ratio of syllabic [n̩]s was 20% in both groups, while the year *1977* was pronounced with two syllabic [n̩]s by 13% of the Transylvanian and 10% of the Hungarian informants.

29 Final consonant gemination in monosyllables is not only spelling pronunciation for Hungarians, the phenomenon is also triggered by the *minimal word requirement* of Hungarian phonology (cf. Huszthy 2016b, 2019). This proposal is also supported by the sporadic gemination found in the corpus in the case of the phrase "*hot and sticky*", where the final /t/ of *hot* was geminated in 6% of the realisations from Hungary.

30 A few among the Transylvanian informants used American-like flapping in the word *forgotten*, and pronounced it with [ɾ].

31 As opposed to the L1 English realisations, where [ju] is the underlying form, and historically arose certain forms with *Yod-dropping*, e.g. *sure*, *blue*, *rule*, etc.

32 Some speakers pronounced "*United States*" H. [ˈjunajtitˈsteːts], but still with a [j].

33 Similar results have been found in the case of English /tr/-affrication, too (indicated in IPA as [tr̊]); for instance, in the target word *trip* [tr̊ɪp] 71% of the advanced and 43% of the intermediate Transylvanian speakers applied affrication, while among the speakers from Hungary only the advanced speakers used it, in 82%.

3.4. Laryngeal phonology

Another common Hunglish characteristic found in both groups concerns laryngeal phonology. First, all of the informants pronounce voiced obstruents on the recordings where English spelling suggests voice, even if in L1 English there is no underlying voice in utterance initial and final position (cf. Balogné Bérces 2017b); e.g. *Graceland* GA [ˈg̊ɹeɪslænd̥] > H. [gre:slɛnd]. The absence of aspiration in Hunglish has already been mentioned during segmental substitutions; the main reason for that is the fact that Hungarian is a voice language, while English is an aspiration language (see Balogné Bérces 2017b). Accordingly, Hungarian speakers (both from Transylvania and from Hungary) regularly apply regressive voice assimilation on the recordings. The most apparent cases of this process regard regressive voicing at word boundary, like in the following examples, where all of the informants pronounced voiced consonants (which would be all voiceless in an L1 English pronunciation): *make the* GA [kð̥] > H. [gd], *stop the* GA [pð̥] > H. [bd], *voice that* GA [sð̥] > H. [zd], *yet that* GA [tð̥] > H. [d:].

The frequent voiceless appearance of word final /s/ as a suffix seems to be another common feature in the two Hunglish varieties. Five target words of the corpus are compared in Table 5. RP and GA pronunciations are not transcribed now (in L1 varieties we always find a voiced [z] at the end of these target words), but we separate advanced and intermediate L2 speakers.

target word	T – advanced	T – intermediate	H – advanced	H – intermediate
millions	[z] 53% [s] 47%	[z] 31% [s] 69%	[z] 50% [s] 50%	[z] 21% [s] 79%
miles	[z] 62% [s] 38%	[z] 71% [s] 29%	[z] 30% [s] 70%	[z] 38% [s] 62%
fans	[z] 41% [s] 59%	[z] 50% [s] 50%	[z] 40% [s] 59%	 [s] 100%
others	[z] 88% [s] 12%	[z] 71% [s] 29%	[z] 15% [s] 85%	[z] 22% [s] 78%
hundreds	[dz] 71% [ts] 29%	[dz] 47% [ts] 53%	[dz] 57% [ts] 43%	[dz] 63% [ts] 37%

Table 5: Voicing in the /s/ suffix

As Table 5 shows, the voiced resolution of the suffix /s/ is the most common among the advanced L2 speakers of English, while intermediate speakers more often choose the voiceless [s]. We cannot determine any significant difference between the informants from Transylvania and from Hungary, the choice between voiced and voiceless forms often seems to be accidental; however, statistics reveal that the input form of the suffix /s/ for L2 English speakers with Hungarian mother tongue is voiceless, unlike for L1 English speakers (cf. Section 1.2).

3.5. Word stress

The last foreign accent features which can be determined on the basis of the corpus of this study are prosodic. For now, we only examine the place of the word stress (the intonational patterns found on the recordings can be analysed in a future paper). As a general prosodic outcome of the corpus, we can affirm that the informants assigned stress to considerably more words compared to an L1 English production: almost every word was stressed in the Hunglish pronunciations (see the transcriptions in the Appendix).

In general, speakers with a Hungarian mother tongue often misplace the stress in languages with mobile word stress patterns; a usual replacement strategy is to shift the stress to the beginning of polysyllabic words by the influence of the Hungarian word initial stress (cf. Siptár–Törkenczy 2000). In this regard we also find differences between the informant groups from Transylvania and from Hungary, as it is shown in Table 6.

target word	RP, GA	T	H
although	2nd syll.	1st syll. 44% 2nd syll. 56%	1st syll. 81% 2nd syll. 19%
America's	2nd syll.	1st syll. 30% 2nd syll. 70%	1st syll. 62% 2nd syll. 38%
professional	2nd syll.	2nd syll. 100%	1st syll. 39% 2nd syll. 61%
attraction	2nd syll.	2nd syll. 100%	1st syll. 16% 2nd syll. 84%
important	2nd syll.	2nd syll. 100%	1st syll. 11% 2nd syll. 89%

Table 6: Hunglish word stress assignment

Stress shift to the first syllable mostly appears in the pronunciation of the intermediate speakers in both groups. However, if we compare the productions of Transylvanians and the Hungarians, we see a significant difference. Indeed, the informants from Hungary apply first syllable stress shift much more: in *although* and *America's* in the majority of the occurrences; while in *professional*, *attraction* and *important* to a lesser extent, but in these last three words Transylvanians do not use first stress at all.

The low amount of missed stress assignments in the Transylvanian group may be due to the speakers' L2 Romanian knowledge, since Romanian has mobile word stress, so the informants are able to handle word stress patterns that are different from their L1. The only example where the two informant groups equally misplaced the stress is the case of the phrase *most famous* GA [moʊst ˈfeɪməs]; in fact, in this intonational phrase only the second word is stressed in English, while in Hunglish all of the informants placed the stress to the first word, as it would happen in a similar intonational phrase in Hungarian, e.g. H. [ˈmoːst feːməs].

4. Conclusions

On the basis of the reading experiment presented in the previous section, this paper sorted out the most important phonetic and phonological components which characterise Transylvanian Hungarians' English pronunciation. Several Hunglish features (as described in the literature, see Section 1.2) are common in the L2/L3 English of speakers whose L1 is Hungarian, both from Hungary and Transylvania (see the various subsections of Section 3). In certain aspects, however, Transylvanian Hunglish seems to be a more authentic (i.e., more native-like) non-native accent of English compared to the variety spoken in Hungary. The main reason is that Transylvanians speak English as L3, and they are also dialectal speakers, so their articulatory base is wider, their phonotactic restrictions are less severe, etc.

Among differing vowel substitutions, Transylvanians typically replace English open back vowels [ʌ, ɒ, ɑ] with Hungarian [ɒ] (or an interlanguage resolution based on L1 [ɒ]), as opposed to the usual Hunglish substitution, which happens with Hungarian [a] (see Section 1.2. and the results of the Hungarian control group in Section 3); like in this phrase from the sample text: *some come just once* GA [sʌm kʰʌm ʤʌst wʌns] > Transylvanian H. [sɒm kɒm ʤɒst wɒns] ~ Hungarian H. [sam kam ʤast vans].

There is a general difference in the realisation of English schwas, too. Schwas are often replaced by [ø] in Hunglish, or an interlanguage sound between schwa and L1 [ø] (cf. Sections 1.2. and 3.2.). However, Transylvanians mostly preserve schwas in English, since they have schwa as a phoneme in their L2 Romanian. Nevertheless, the other (less frequent) Hunglish schwa-substitution with L1 [ɛ] occasionally arises in Transylvanian varieties as well, e.g. *import̲ant* H. [imˈportɛnt], *a̲go* H. [ɛˈgoː], etc.[34]

Furthermore, Transylvanians generally use more diphthongs in English than speakers from Hungary. The reason is their L2 Romanian again, which has diphthongs, unlike standard Hungarian (moreover, several Transylvanian dialects have diphthongs, too). Accordingly, the usual Hunglish monophthongisation is less salient in the case of Transylvanian speakers (but it is still present).

Unlike vowels, L1 transfer phenomena regarding consonants are very similar in the two Hunglish target accents. The most important differences concern two segmental substitutions: the use of [v] instead of [w] is less common in Transylvanians' pronunciation, as well as the use of [r] instead of [ɹ]. They also produce more syllabic [n̩]s compared to the speakers from Hungary. Other Hunglish features, like intramorphemic consonant gemination, voiceless input for the /s/ suffix, regressive voice assimilation, etc., equally characterise both varieties.

34 Actually, in these examples the substitution is based on spelling pronunciation, since the "a" letter (which is used to be an English [æ] vowel) is substituted by the H. [ɛ] vowel.

The last aspect which shows differences in the two Hunglish types is word stress assignment. Apparently, Transylvanians apply fewer unjustified stress replacements for L1 influence. The reason is probably their L2 Romanian again, which has mobile stress patterns, unlike Hungarian. But if we concentrate on intonational phrases and not on single words, we find the same stress replacement patterns in both Hunglish varieties; like in the case of the phrase *most famous*, where in L1 English varieties the second word is the stressed one, but Hungarian speakers typically place the stress on the first word of the composition both in Transylvania and in Hungary.

As a general conclusion of the comparison, we may affirm that – apart from the differences seen above – Transylvanian speakers mostly use the same Hunglish features as speakers from Hungary, but to a lesser extent, so their foreign accent seems to be less marked. Accordingly, the initial informal hypothesis of the study has been confirmed only in part: although Transylvanian Hunglish seems to be a less marked foreign accent than Hungarian Hunglish, the two varieties more or less share the same phonetic and phonological components. The second hypothesis of the study about phonetic differences in vowel quality could not be confirmed, apparently Transylvanians use similar vowels to speakers from Hungary, but for accurate vowel formant values we will need more precise speech recordings (made in a soundproof studio, with a headmicrophone).[35] Finally, the third hypothesis has been confirmed: we found fewer segmental substitutions in Transylvanian informants' pronunciation compared to the speakers from Hungary, since they do not substitute English schwas, and they use fewer substitutions in the case of English diphthongs, [w] and [ɹ] as well.

As far as further minor differences are concerned into the informant groups, we can establish some consistencies. Certain pronunciation mistakes typically arise only among the intermediate speakers of English in both groups, e.g. needless diphthongisation in *river* > [ˈrajvɛr] and *lived* > [lajvd], or its opposite in *miles* > [miːls] and *died* > [diːd]. Moreover, considerably more spelling pronunciation mistakes occur among the intermediate speakers (B1, B2) compared to the advanced speakers (C1, C2); some examples from the intermediate groups: *major* [ˈmɒjor], *once* > [ons], *though* > [thoug], *postage* > [ˈposteːdʒ]. All of these features are considered mispronunciations by lower L2/L3 level, and not foreign accent elements by L1 influence. On the other hand, C2 English speakers from both groups occasionally use authentic English pronunciation features, like aspiration in voiceless stops, lax vowels and [æ]. They use fewer elements by Hungarian L1 influence, but they still cannot avoid them, at least some of the time.

35 Only one dialectal difference has been noticed: the target word *where* was pronounced with a mid-closed [e] by four informants from Mureș county: [wer]; while all of the other informants (both from Transylvania and from Hungary) used a mid-open [ɛ] in this word.

An interesting observation is that most Hungarian C2 English speakers' accent is a semi-rhotic variety of English, which confirms previous studies about semi-rhoticity in advanced Hunglish (Balogné Bérces 2017a, Balogné Bérces–Piukovics 2019a, Piukovics–Balogné Bérces 2019; also cf. footnote 10). Many C2 speakers (both among the Transylvanians and the Hungarians) tend to use a non-rhotic English pronunciation, which is obtained by r-deletion in coda position, but sometimes they miss to delete coda-r. They usually manage to delete it when it is not word-final, and before prosodic boundaries, e.g. *wo*r̲*ld* > [wəld], *othe*r̲*s* > [ˈɒðəz], *regula*r̲*ly* > [ˈɹɛgjuləːli], "*rive*r̲ *yet…*" > [ˈɹivə | ˈjɛt], "*rocke*r̲ *(the only…*" > [ˈɹɒkə | ðiˈownli], etc. But they often pronounce coda-r in monosyllables, and in word-final position in connected speech, e.g. *majo*r̲ *tourist…* > [ˈmejdʒəɹˈtuːɹist], *a*r̲*e the…* > [pːɹdə], *fo*r̲ *most…* > [foɹˈmowst], *fo*r̲ *millions ove*r̲ *the world* > [foɹˈmilijənzˈowvəɹdəˈwəld], etc.

Other significant differences could not be find among the informants of the same group; for instance, intermediate and advanced Romanian L2 speakers' Hunglish apparently does not show differences; we could not found any significant differences among professors and students, and males and females, either. However, the four informants of the Transylvanian group who do not geographically belong to Transylvania in a narrower sense (two from Satu Mare and two from Sălaj), show an interesting intermediate accent between the two groups' typical resolutions. In certain aspects their Hunglish is similar to the Transylvanian average, in others to that of the informants from Hungary; e.g., they use schwas and diphthongs, but not as many as the Transylvanians, they rather use [a] than [ɒ] for replacing English back vowels, similarly to the informants from Hungary, etc. It would be worth exploring the differences and the similarities among Transylvanian Hunglish and other Hungarian accents from Romania in subsequent studies.

This paper was a preliminary work for describing the general phonological peculiarities of Hungarian accented English in Transylvania, as compared to the "classical Hunglish" spoken by Hungarians in Hungary. The differences may depend on various factors beyond the heterogeneity of the speakers' interlanguage; for instance, the teachers' accent also affects the students' pronunciation, and Transylvanians often learn English from Romanian teachers. But the influence of their L1 Hungarian is still detectable on their foreign accent. On the basis of the data presented in this paper we can establish additional hypotheses as well, which may lead to further studies about Hunglish and Transylvanian Hunglish in the future.

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Appendix: Sample text and transcriptions

The original sample text:[36]

Elvis Presley still "the King"

Although he died almost half a century ago, Elvis Presley, the "King of Rock 'n' Roll", is still a hero for millions all over the world, and Graceland, his home in Memphis, is a major tourist attraction.

It's hot and sticky in the summer in Memphis, Tennessee. The sea is hundreds of miles away from this city on the Mississippi river, yet that doesn't stop the tourists from coming. Some come just once, others make the trip regularly. These are the real fans, those for whom rock 'n' roll has only one voice, that of "the King" himself: Elvis Presley.

Memphis is the city where Elvis lived for most of his professional life; and though he died in 1977, Memphis has not forgotten him. On the contrary, America's most famous rocker (the only one to have had his picture on a set of U.S. postage stamps!) has become the city's most famous son – and seems to get more and more important as the years go by.

Theoretical GA transcription:

ˈɛɬvɪs ˈpɹɛzli stɪɬ ðə ˈkʰɪŋ ||
ɔːɬˈðoʊ hɪ daɪd ˈɔːɬmoʊst hæːf ə ˈsɛntʃəɾi əˈgoʊ | ˈɛɬvɪs ˈpɾɛzli | ðə kʰɪŋ əv ɹɑkənɹoʊl ɪž stɪl ə ˈhɪəɹoʊ fɚ ˈmɪljənz ɔːl ˈoʊvɚ ðə wɚɬd | ənd̥ ˈg̊ɹeɪslænd̥ | hɪž hoʊm ɪm ˈmɛɱfɪs ɪz ə ˈmeɪʤɚ ˈtʰʊəɾɪst əˈtɬækʃn̥ ||

36 Online resource: https://linguapress.com/intermediate/elvis-memphis.htm (last visit: 07/01/2022)

ɪts hɑɾ ənd̥ ˈstɪki ɪn ðə ˈsʌmɚ ɪm ˈmɛŋfɪs | ˌtʰɛnəˈsi || ðə siː ɪz̊ ˈhʌndɹədz əv maɪłz əˈweɪ frəm ðɪs ˈsɪti ɑn ðə ˌmɪsəˈsɪpi ˈɹɪvɚ | jɛt ð̥æt d̥ʌzn̩t stɑp ð̥ə ˈtʰʊərɪsts frəm ˈkʰʌmɪŋ || sʌm kʰʌm ʤʌst wʌns | ˈʌðɚz meɪk ð̥ə tɫ̊ɪp ˈɹɛgjələ˞li || ðiːz ɑɹ ðə ɹɪəł fænz | ðoʊz̊ fɚ huːm ɹɑkənɹoʊł hæz ˈoʊnli wʌŋ vɔɪs | ð̥æt əv ðə kʰɪŋ hɪmˈsɛłf ˈɛłvɪs ˈprɛzli ||

ˈmɛŋfɪs ɪz ðə ˈsɪti wɛɹ ˈɛłvɪs lɪv̊ d̥ fɚ moʊst əɣ̊ hɪz̊ pɹəˈfɛʃənl̩ laɪf | ənd ðoʊ hɪ daɪd ɪn ˈnaɪntʰiːn ˈsɛvn̩ti ˈsɛvn̩ | ˈmɛŋfɪs həz nɑt fɚˈgɑɾn̩ hɪm || ɑn ðə ˈkʰɑntɫ̊əɹi | əˈmɛɹɪkəz moʊst ˈfeɪməs ˈɹɑkɚ || ði ˈoʊnli wʌn tə hæɣ̊ hæd̥ hɪz̊ ˈpʰɪktʃəɹ ɑn ə sɛt əv ˌjuːˈɛs ˈpʰoʊstɪd̥ʒ̊ stæmps || həz bɪˈkʰʌm ðə ˈsɪtiz moʊst ˈfeɪməs sʌn | ənd̥ siːmz̊ tə gɛt mɔːɹ ənd mɔːɹ ɪmˈpʰɔɹtənt æz ðə jɪɚz goʊ baɪ

Most characteristic pronunciation from Transylvania	Most characteristic pronunciation from Hungary
ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli | ˈstil də ˈkiŋg ‖	ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli | ˈstil də ˈkiŋg ‖
olˈdoː hi ˈdajd ˈoːlmost ˈhɒlf ə ˈsɛntʃəɾi əˈgow | ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli | də ˈkiŋg of ˈɹɒkɛndrowl | is ˈstilː ə ˈhirow for ˈmilijəns | ˈɒːl ˈoːvər də ˈwərld ‖ ɛnd ˈgreːslɛnt | his howm im ˈmɛŋfis | iz ə ˈmeːdʒər ˈtuːɾist əˈtrɛkʃən ‖	ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli | ˈstil də ˈkiŋg ‖ ˈoldoː hiː ˈdaːjd ˈoːlmost ˈhalf ə ˈsɛntʃyɾi ɛˈgoː | ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli | də ˈkiŋg of ˈrakɛndrolː | is ˈstilː ə ˈhiːroː for ˈmilijons | olː oːˈvɛr də ˈvørd ‖ ɛnd ˈgreːslɛnt | his ˈhoːm im ˈmɛŋfis | iz ə ˈmeːdʒør ˈtuɾist ɛˈtrɛkʃən ‖
its ˈhɒt ɛn ˈstiki in də ˈsɒmər im ˈmɛŋfis | ˈtɛnɛsiː ‖ də siː jis ˈhɒndridz of majlz əˈveːj from dis ˈsiti | on də ˈmisisipi ˈɹivər ‖ jɛd dɛd ˈdɒzən ˈstɒb də ˈtuːrists from ˈkɒmiŋg ‖ ˈsɒm ˈkɒm dʒɒst ˈwɒns | ˈɒdərs ˈmeːg də ˈtrip ˈrɛgulərli ‖ ˈdiːz ɒːr də ˈɹiːl ˈfɛns ‖ ˈdoːz for huːm ˈɹɒkɛndroul ˈhɛz ˈonli ˈwɒn ˈvojz | ˈdɛt ov də ˈkiŋk himˈsɛlf | ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli ‖	its ˈhat ɛn ˈstiki in də ˈsamør im ˈmɛŋfis | ˈtɛnɛsːi ‖ də ˈsiː jis ˈhandridz of ˈmajls əˈveːj from dis ˈsiti | on də ˈmisisipi ˈrivør ‖ jɛd dɛd ˈdazən ˈstab də ˈturis from ˈkamiŋg ‖ ˈsam ˈkam dʒast ˈvans | ˈadərs ˈmeːg də ˈtrip ˈrɛgulərli ‖ ˈdiːz ar də ˈɹiːl ˈfɛns ‖ ˈdoːz for ˈhuːm ˈrakɛndrol ˈhɛz ˈonli ˈvan ˈvojz | ˈdɛt ov də ˈkiŋk himˈsɛlf | ˈɛlvis ˈprɛsli ‖
ˈmɛŋfis iz də ˈsiti wɛr ˈɛlvis ˈlift for ˈmost of his proˈfɛʃːənəl ˈlajf ‖ ɛn ˈdoː hi ˈdajd in | najnˈtiːn ˈsɛvənti ˈsɛvən | ˈmɛŋfis hɛz ˈnɒt forˈgatən him ‖ on də ˈkɒntrəri | əˈmɛɹikəz ˈmoːst feːməs ˈɹɒkər ‖ də ˈonli wɒn tu ˈhɛf hɛt his ˈpiktʃər on ə ˈsɛt of ˈjues ˈpostitʃ ˈstɛmps ‖ ˈhɛz biˈkɒm də ˈsitiz ˈmoːst feːməs ˈsɒn | ɛnt ˈsims to ˈgɛt ˈmoːr ɛnd ˈmoːr imˈportənt | ɛz də ˈjerz ˈgoː ˈbaːj	ˈmɛŋfis iz də ˈsiti vɛr ˈɛlvis ˈlif for ˈmoːst of his proˈfɛʃːənɛl ˈlajf ‖ ɛn ˈdoː hi ˈdajd in | ˈnajntiːn ˈsɛvɛnti ˈsɛvɛn | ˈmɛŋfis hɛz ˈnat forˈgatːɛn him ‖ on də ˈkontraɾi | ˈamɛɹikaz ˈmoːst feːməs ˈrokːɛr ‖ di ˈonli vɒn tu ˈhɛf hɛt his ˈpiktʃør on ə ˈsɛt of ˈjuːes ˈposteːtʃ ˈstɛmps ‖ ˈhɛz biˈkam də ˈsitiːz ˈmoːst feːməs ˈsan | ɛnt ˈsiːms to ˈgɛt ˈmoːr ɛnd ˈmoːr imˈportɛnt | ɛz də ˈjiːrz ˈgoː ˈbaːj

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Comparative Analysis of Genitival Components in Time Metaphors

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ABSTRACT

Such a universal yet abstract concept as time can show variation in metaphorical language. This research focuses on metaphorical language within the framework of the cognitive metaphor theory, investigating the image of time through a contrastive cross-linguistic approach. This study attempts to identify genitival components associated with time in a metaphorical context, with a focus on image-based metaphors e.g. *the teeth of time* or *the river of time*. The hypothesis is that certain patterns of lexicalization of cognitive processes related to time could differ in Hungarian, English and Finnish, and to support this claim cognitive underpinnings of metaphors are investigated using an empirical corpus-based method.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, rich images, conventional metaphors, novel metaphors.

1. Introduction

Such a universal, yet abstract concept as time shows variation in metaphorical language. This research focuses on metaphors within the framework of the cognitive metaphor theory, investigating time through a contrastive, cross-linguistic approach. The aim is studying genitival components in time metaphors and their cognitive aspects in a sample of three languages, with a focus on spatial schemas and force schemas. The primary objective is to explore such differences and see how they manifest and why, with a focus on cognitive underpinnings. We can agree that such abstract concepts as time are "difficult to define because they form part of the bedrock of our cognitive architecture" (Evans 2004, 8). For this reason, when we speak about time, we often rely on metaphor or metonymy, in fact it is not easy to talk about time without linking it to something more familiar and concrete. Time is therefore often connected with concepts such as money (Lakoff 1987, 210), an

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object (Evans 2004, 253), a moving object (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 42) as well as images such as a wheel (*the wheel of time*), and water (*the river of time*). Such recurrent genitival components are analyzed, which are based on an image, in an attempt to find spatial schemas, force schemas as well as relevant imagery related to time.

To achieve the aims of the research, the following steps are taken: 1. collecting time metaphors that have a genitival component, 2. comparing the metaphors at a linguistic level, at a figurative level, and at a conceptual level, 3. identifying cognitive mechanisms that metaphors are based on.

The metaphor identification method is based on the steps carried out by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The metaphors are collected from *The Corpus of Contemporary American English, The Hungarian National Corpus (Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár)*, and *The Finnish Language Bank (Kielipankki*). Each contain three types of texts: formal, informal and literary. Several dictionaries have been consulted to aid with the corpus research, mainly regarding the etymology of certain lexical items, e.g. Zaicz, 2006 for Hungarian and Hoad, 1986 for English.

The corpus research is carried out by searching for genitival components that are used with the node 'time' as a word (not a lemma), generally using a two-space span. At first glance a large number of these appear to have counterparts in each language. Further analysis reveals that even in the case of shared metaphors, we cannot talk about an exact match, because the metaphors can differ on various levels, in various ways; at the same time, we also rarely have a completely unique metaphor at hand. According to the Conventional Figurative Language Theory: "quasi-equivalent conventional figurative units from different languages are never identical with regard to their semantic and/or pragmatic properties if their image components reveal substantial differences" (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005, 354).

Lakoff talks about rich images in *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (1987), and their relevance in metaphors. We can say that on an abstract level linguistic metaphors are linked with the conceptual metaphor, and on a lexical level with rich images (Piirainen 2005, 94). In this sense "the image component assumes the function of a conceptual bridge between "what is said" and "what is meant", i.e., between the lexical structure and the actual meaning" (Piirainen 2005, 4). Kövecses calls them "image-based metaphors" (Kövecses 2002, 50). Not all image-based metaphors signal a novel metaphor[1], images such as *teeth, wheel, sand, bodies of water, clocks* etc. are frequent in conventional metaphors. The image component is relevant in contrastively analyzing idioms and other figurative expressions in languages, because they can reveal differences and similarities at the level of images besides at the conceptual level.

1 A novel metaphor is a non-conventional, poetic metaphor.

The following genitival metaphor components are discussed below: 'The Wheel of Time'[2] (Finnish and Hungarian), 'The Hands of Time' (English), 'The Mill of Time' (Hungarian), 'The Arrow of Time/ Time's Arrow' (English), 'The Tooth of Time' (Finnish and Hungarian), 'The Marks of Time' (Hungarian), 'The Sands of Time' (English), 'The Mists of Time, The Veil of Time' (English), 'The Patina of Time' (Finnish), 'The Water of Time' (English, Hungarian), 'The Current of Time' (Finnish), 'The Winds of Time' (English), 'The Weight of Time' (Hungarian and English), 'The Sieve of Time' (Hungarian).

2. Genitival components

2.1. The Wheel of Time

Motivation: metaphorical expressions with 'the wheel of time' are based on the image schema of cycle. This image stands for a temporal circle (Johnson 1987, 119), it is associated with the constant change through time. It does not suggest that time is an entity with wheels, but time itself is like a wheel, symbolizing the constant movement and most importantly change. 'The wheel of time' is motivated by the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CYCLE. It can also symbolize fate. Frequency and form: in Hungarian 'the wheel of time', *az idő kerek-e* (the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS), is most frequently used with the verb *fordul*, 'turn'; in such constructions time can be an agent or a patient. In English *the wheel of time* is rare and almost only used in fiction. The frequency of this collocation is lower in Finnish than in Hungarian, but the variation is higher, there are two words for 'wheel', *ratas* and *pyörä* (the latter being more frequent). In Hungarian there are a few metaphors with *az idő mókuskerek-e*[3], 'the treadmill of time', (the time.UNGEN treadmill-3SG.POSS), with a similar literal, but different figurative information.

A recurrent novel metaphor with a similar figurative meaning is the Hungarian *az idő szekere,* 'the carriage of time', as well as *az idő rokkája*, 'the spinning wheel of time', which appears almost excursively in literature. In English a frequent construction with the same figurative meaning is *the hands of time,* discussed below. Not only does it refer to the power to create change, the symbol of fate, but it is used in a similar manner with verbs expressing circular motion, as the examples show. *Hand* can appear in the plural as well as singular form. Difference pattern: the main difference lies in frequency, the rest of the factors are very similar, but it seems like each language has a variety of images

2 Apostrophes are used when terms that might appear in all three languages are discussed. Language specific examples are mentioned under each idiom component. The language in brackets is the language in which these figurative compounds predominantly appear (often they appear in some form in all three languages).

3 *Forgo-tt az idő történelmi mókus-kerek-e,* (spin-3SG.PST the time.UNGEN historical squirrel-wheel-3SG.POSS), 'The historical treadmill of time was spinning' (press; Romániai Magyar Szó).

associated with this figurative meaning, from 'wheel' to 'carriage' and the more different 'hand'. Here the metaphorical compound 'the wheel of time' is motivated by A CHANGE IS A TEMPORAL CYCLE (Johnson 1987, 119).

(1E) *Some think time is a wheel turning forever.* (magazine; *Omni,* vol. 17, 1994)

(2E) *Nobody can turn back the hands of time.* (blog; americablog.com, 2012)

(3F) *Aja-n ratas pyöri vinha-a vauhti-a.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 175, 1995)
time.GEN wheel.NOM spin.3SG.PRS fast-PTV speed-PTV
'The wheel of time spins very fast.'

(4F) *Aja-n pyörä ei käänny taakse päin.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 36, 1999)
time.GEN wheel.NOM NEG turn.3SG.PRS back towards
'The wheel of time does not turn back.'

(5H) *Az idő kerek-e megállíthatatlan-nak látszik.*
(press; article, column: *Publicisztika*)
the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS unstoppable-DAT seem.3SG.PRS
'The wheel of time seems unstoppable.'

(6H) *Nem lehet vissza-pörget-ni az idő kerek-é-t.*
(official; *National Assembly*)
NEG can.3SG.PRS back-spin-INF the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS-ACC
'You cannot turn back the wheel of time.'

(7H) *Szalad az idő szeker-e.* (literature; Utassy József: *Tüzek Tüze*)
run.3SG.PRS the time.UNGEN carriage-3SG.POSS
'The carriage of time is running.'

(8H) Két esztendő pergett le az idő rokká-já-n.
(press; Népszava, Vélemény)
two year roll.3SG.PST down the time.NOM spinning.wheel-3SG.POSS-SUPE
'Two years have rolled down on the spinning wheel of time.'

2.2. The Hands of Time

Conceptual motivation: *the hands of time* may be motivated on a metonymic level, where metonymy is used for the action, and the hand stands for activity/control (Kövecses 2010, 243). It could also be possible that this idiom is motivated by a different metonymy, in which the concept 'hand of time' could stand for the hand of the clock. According to the dictionary, the moving hands (pointers) of the clock point out time, they move in a circle and they represent a temporal cycle. As mentioned above, in English *the hands of time* is used to refer to motion, and expresses a similar meaning as *the wheel of time*. It is also plausible to assume that *the hands of time* is related to change, therefore to fate, in fact *to turn back the hands of time* is an idiom, which suggest the possibility to go back to an initial state. Frequency: it is recurrent in English only.

In Hungarian *az idő kez-e,* (the time.UNGEN hand-3SG.POSS), 'the hand of time' is a rare metaphor that only appears in fiction and refers to the powerful nature of time (TIME IS A CHANGER metaphor), and not to the pointers of the clock. In Finnish there is no such metaphorical connection between 'hand' and 'time', except in novel metaphors in literature. Form: *to turn back the hands of time* is a recurrent multiword expression, as the examples show. It is lexically related to the novel metaphor 'legs' of time, used in Hungarian. As this idiom component is only recurrent in English, there is no difference pattern to discuss.

(9E) *I want to turn back the hands of time.* (spoken; *Ind Limbaugh*, 1994)

(10E) *Slow the hands of time by taking care of your own.* (magazine; *Redbook*, 2006)

(11E) *Stay young and turn back the hands of time.* (spoken; *NBC Today*, 2007)

(12H) *Egyéb dolg-ai-nk-ról az idő kez-e gondoskodik.*
(literature; Sütő András: *Omló egek alatt*)
other issue-PL.POSS-1PL.POSS-DEL the time.UNGEN hand-3SG.POSS care.3SG.PRS
'The hand of time cares for our other issues.'

(13F) *Aika laske-e käte-nsä niin kepeästi (…).*
(literature; Walter Scott*: Talismani Romani*)
time.NOM lower-3SG.PRS hand-3SG.POSS so lightly
'Time lowers its hands so lightly.'

2.3. The Mill of Time

Genitival metaphors with this image component can be found in Hungarian. They are rare, and about half of the tokens appear in literary context. These metaphors can be interpreted as variants of the 'the wheel of time', *(az idő kereke),* and in some cases, they both appear within the same metaphor, as example (15) shows. These two metaphors that appear in once sentence are based on the same conceptual motivation: the cycle schema and TIME IS A CHANGER conceptual metaphor. Difference pattern: compared to the other metaphors based on the schema of cycle, 'the mill of time' differs from 'the wheel of time' on a literal level, but the conceptual and figurative meaning coincides with the former. The main difference here is that *the mill of time* usually appears in negative contexts, often with the verb *őröl*, 'mill' or 'grind', frequently suggesting the negative aspects of time.

(14H)*(…) az idő pokoli malm-á-ban morzsolódva (…).*
(literature; *Dobos László: Évgyűrűk hatalma)*
the time.UNGEN hellish mill-3SG.POSS-INE crumbled
'crumbled in the hellish mill of time'

(15H)*Az idő kerek-e, az idő malm-a lassan őröl.*
(spoken; radio)
the time.UNGEN wheel-3SG.POSS the time.UNGEN mill-3SG.POSS slowly mill.3SG.PRS
'The wheel of time, the mill of time mills slowly.'

2.4. The Arrow of Time/ Time's Arrow

This metaphor is typical for English. Motivation: *the arrow of time* or *time's arrow* is associated with science and the view of time in physics that moves from the past towards the future, and it comes from Arthur Eddington's *The Nature of the Physical World* (1928), where he talks about the direction of time through space (Hoad 1986). This is the old view of time, in which time is seen as a linear path. Conceptual motivation: the arrow of time is also described as the "asymmetry between the past and the future", (Bender and Beller 2014, 344), and it is related to the directionality of time and its linearity (ibidem). There is presumably a link between the concept of the arrow and path, a spatial element. An arrow starts at a point and continues to another point in space; in this case it can once again show the motion of time from past to the future, through the present. The cognitive base therefore is embodiment, a conceptualization of time through space. At the same time, to talk about time as an arrow could be based on some sort of visual priming, because time in the Western culture is often represented by an arrow, for example in the case of timelines. Form: the two variations are *the arrow of time* and *time's arrow,* but there is no recurrent expression with this component. Frequency: this idiom is only found in the English corpus, with a few hits of similar expressions in Finnish and Hungarian, presumably examples of linguistic calque.

(16E) *The arrows of time and evolution only go forward.* (newspaper; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 1998)

(17E) *It might be possible to reverse the arrow of time.* (web; blogs.discovermagazine.com, 2012)

(18E) *The arrow of time shoots backward.* (fiction; Ostriker, Alicia: *The Wisdom of Solomon*)

(19E) *Time's arrow of directional history must be responsible.* (magazine; *Natural History* vol. 107, 1998)

2.5. The Tooth of Time

This metaphor is frequent for Hungarian and Finnish. The 'tooth of time' idiom component expresses the passing of time and its causative force. The presence of 'the tooth of time' in metaphors gives them a higher level of figurativeness, because it has an image component, which contributes to figurativeness (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2010, 36). Meaning: the Hungarian saying *meg-e-tt-e az idő vas-fog-a*[4], 'the tooth of time ate it', (PTCL-eat-PST-3SG the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS), refers to something showing the effects of time, becoming corroded, destroyed.

4 The rarer version, *el-repül-t felett-e az idő vas-fog-a,* 'the tooth of time flew over it', (away-fly-3SG.PST above-3SG.POSS the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS), is the combination of this expression with *el-repül-t felett-e az idő,* (away-fly- 3SG.PST above-3SG.POSS the time.NOM), which refers to something becoming old, obsolete (Litovkina 2005).

Motivation: the motivation of 'the tooth of time' can be pinpointed to several sources and possibilities. There is an intertextual motivation, an identifiable literary source for this concept. This is the case with several other idioms with time: "there are a great number of figurative units whose image components can be traced back to an existing (mostly identifiable) textual source" (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2010, 79). The combination of 'tooth' and 'time' is rooted in shared cultural traditions, and can be found in several sources. The old Latin saying *tempus edax rerum*, 'time devourer of all things', is probably rooted in the ancient image of time, Chronos, who ate his own children[5] (Leeming 2003, 150). Conceptual motivation: this metaphor is the instantiation of conceptual metaphors at several levels. At the generic-level this metaphor is EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, and at a more specific level TIME IS AN ENEMY, or the even more specific level TIME IS A DEVOURER or TIME IS AN ENTITY WITH TEETH. It is motivated by a correlation that the passing of time leads to objects (and not only) deteriorating. The cognitive base of this metaphor is the connection of time with the unknown, the sublime, through the schema of force and causation. Frequency: it is difficult to determine why this idiom is frequent in Finnish (nf 0.35), in Hungarian (nf 0.24) and rare in English (0.008 nf). It is also present in other languages, for example French (Fazakas 1994, 48).

This discrepancy in frequency compelled further research in other corpora, which did not provide a satisfactory answer either. Within the *British National Corpus,* the hits for *tooth of time* or *teeth of time* are even lower than in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. Based on a search in the *Corpus of Historical American English*, it seems that this metaphor was somewhat more frequent in the past (between 1840 and 1920) than after 1990, though the majority of hits show that it mostly appeared in literature, with some exceptions: *the tooth of time has eaten out the layers of the soft old red sandstone* (example from a magazine, 1913).

What these numbers could suggest is that while in English this metaphor became obsolete, in Hungarian and Finnish it did not. In Finnish between 1820 and 1870 the frequency of this expression is slightly lower than after 1990, but the difference does not seem high enough to show a relevant fluctuation between frequencies. This could be what is described as unpredictability of conventional figurative language and how certain aspects can change throughout history in different cultures (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005, 282). In the Hungarian corpus it usually appears in press as well as in online texts, but also in other contexts.

Form: there are some recurrent forms to be observed. In Finnish this construction is a component of the idiom *kestä-ä aja-n hammas-ta,* 'withstand the tooth of time', (withstand-3SG.PRS time-GEN tooth-PTV), but it can be also found in other constructions. In Hungarian the 'tooth of time' is most often referred to as 'the iron tooth of time', *az idő vas-fog-a*, (the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS). Some occurrences of the

5 The same type of reference can be found in Ovid's Metamorphoses (Branyon 2001, 256) and Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (Act V, Scene 1).

simpler *idő fog-a*, 'the tooth of time' can also be found. The concept of 'iron' in the 'iron tooth of time' could be a reference to the strength and powerful nature of time, with an even more specific image component and expressive power than in English and Finnish. In English 'tooth' is typically in the plural: *the teeth of time*; it rarely appears in the singular form or in the possessive form: *time's tooth*. In Finnish it appears in the singular form: *aja-n hammas,* (time-GEN tooth); the compound *ajan-hammas* as a variation also has relevant hits in the corpus. Difference pattern: the literal, figurative and conceptual meaning is the same,[6] a relevant difference lies in frequency.

(20E) *They can throw a challenge in the teeth of time*. (magazine; *Horticulture* vol. 73, 1995)

(21E) *The teeth of time, which have gnawed all her limbs*. (fiction; Meir Shalev: *Esau*)

(22F) *Aja-n hammas pure-e ikuisuute-en asti*.
(magazine; *Karhunkierros*, 1/2012)
time-GEN tooth.NOM bite-PRS.3SG eternity-ILL until
'The tooth of time bites until eternity.'

(23F) *Rakennus on kestä-nyt hyvin aja-n hampaa-n naker-rukse-n*. (newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 154, 1999)
building.NOM be. 3SG.PRS withstand-PTCP.NOM well time-GEN tooth-GEN gnaw-GEN
'The building has withstood the gnawing of the tooth of time well.'

(24F) *Aja-n hammas on-kin si-tä jo nurk-i-sta nakerta-nut.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo,* no. 8, 1998)
time-GEN tooth.NOM be.3SG.PRS.-CLIT it-PTV already corner-PL-ELA gnaw-PTCP.NOM
'The tooth of time has already gnawed its corners.'

(25H) *Meg-e-tt-e az idő vas-fog-a*. (press; *Origó világkörül*)
PTCL-eat-PST-3SG the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS
'The iron tooth of time ate it.'

(26H) *Az idő vas-fog-a suhan át a lég-en*.
(press; *Kultúra*)
the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS swoosh.3SG.PRS through the air-SUPE
'The iron tooth of time swooshes through the air.'

(27H) *Az idő fog-a meg-e-tt-e a kerítése-k-et*.
(spoken; radio)
the time.UNGEN tooth-3SG.POSS PTCL-eat-PST-3SG the fence-PL-ACC
'The tooth of time ate the fences.'

2.6. The Marks of Time

The 'mark of time' in some cases appears with 'the tooth of time', as in example (379H), and it shows similarities with it regarding figurative

6 A very rare metaphor with this figurative meaning but different lexical information is the Hungarian *idő moha*, e.g. *csak az idő-k moha fészkel-te meg magá-t rovátkái-ban*, 'only the decay of time nestled itself into its grooves', (only the time-PL 'moh' nestle-PST PTCL itself-ACC groove-INE).

meaning and prosody: just as 'the teeth of time', 'the mark of time' stands for the negative effects that passing time has. Frequency: it can be only found in Hungarian as *az idő nyoma/nyomai*, and rarely in English; in Finnish there is a construction similar from a lexical point of view, *ajan merkki*, but it has a different meaning, referring to 'the signs of the times'. Motivation: these metaphors are based on the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A CHANGER, built on the image schema of force and causation.

(28E) *The sonnet quoted previously ridicules the lady's attempts to fight against the devastating marks of time.* (academic; *Hispanic Review*, 2002)

(29H) *A beton omladozik, ahogy az idő nyomo-t hagy rajt-a.*
(web; *Facebook*)
the concrete.NOM crumble.3SG.PRS as the time.NOM mark-ACC leave.3SG.PRS on-POSS.3SG
'The concrete is crumbling, as time left its mark on it.'

(30H) *Épület-é-n ugyancsak rajt-a hagy-ta a*
building-3SG.POSS-SUPE also on-3SG.POSS leave- 3SG.PST the
nyom-á-t az idő vas-fog-a. (press; *Közélet*)
mark-3SG.POSS-ACC the time.UNGEN iron-tooth-3SG.POSS
'The tooth of time has left its mark also on its buildings.'

2.7. The Sands of Time

This metaphor appears in English. Motivation: *the sands of time* symbolizes the passing of time and it appears in various idioms. There is probably an association with time measurement, the hourglass and the sand running through it, showing the passing of time, therefore it is motivated by a metonymy. The concept of sand, which is trickling away in an hourglass, thus measuring time, stands for a part of time itself. Frequency: *the sands of time* has relevant hits in the American corpus; in Hungarian it has a few hits but not in any relevant context; in Finnish it is very rare. In Hungarian such an expression usually appears as a linguistic calque; the examples and the context suggest that most occurrences are translated from English and infrequent in the language otherwise. The same is true for Finnish, in most cases. Form: this genitival component appears in the idiom *lost to the sands of time* as well as *lost in the sands of time;* in both cases it appears only in the plural form, and can be attached to various other constructions as well, for example lexical items with a similar meaning to *lost*. They all refer to the past.

(31E) *That thought was lost to the sands of time.* (web; jordanmechner.com*;* 2012)

(32E) *Her story is still literally buried under the sands of time.* (newspaper; *Orange County Register,* 2015)

(33F) *Tiima-lasi-ssa valu-i-kin aja-n hiekka.*
(fiction; *Tapio Rikkonen: Lyyra ja paimenhuilu Runosuomennoksia)*
hour-glass-INE trickle-3SG.PST-CLIT time-GEN sand.NOM
'The sand of time trickles in the hourglass.'

2.8. The Mists of Time, The Veil of Time

Conceptual motivation: the English idiom component used in some contexts with a similar meaning to *the sands of time* is *the mists of time*. However, these two expressions have different motivation: in the case of *the sands of time* we have a metonymical connection at hand in addition to a metaphorical one, while here only a metaphorical motivation. This idiom captures how the passing of time causes forgetting and usually refers to something that has been lost, or something that happened a long time ago. *The veil of time* is another English metaphor, which refers to the past and the unknown in a similar way as the *mists of time*. It is rarer than *the mists of time*, it usually appears in fiction and it is more figurative. While *the mist of time* is often based on a container schema, *the veil of time* is not, however, they have the same figurative meaning. The 'veil of time' could be rather based on a force schema, where time is a force entity that hinders a type of action. In fact, this dichotomy of spatial/containment and force/hindering can be observed across several all of the metaphors discussed at this section.

Difference pattern: the similar Hungarian *az idő homály-a,* ('the dimness of time', the time.UNGEN dimness-3SG.POSS,) and *az idő fátyl-a*, ('the veil of time', the time.UNGEN veil-3SG.POSS), could be motivated by TIME IS A MYSTERY metaphor, AZ IDŐ REJTÉLY (Fazakas 1994, 46). There is a difference in the meaning of the Hungarian and the English metaphor, *homály,* 'dimness', being associated with darkness or obscurity, rather than just haziness or blurriness, and closer in meaning with *the shadows of time*, which is very rare in the *Corpus of American English*. The connection between time and such concepts as dimness or haziness is a logical link capturing the enigma of time in general, as well as that of the past, where all things are lost (this is why most of these linguistic metaphors appear in the past tense).

Form: in English *vanish/disappear into the mists of time* is a recurrent form, usually in the past tense. Frequency: this is an English idiom component; in Hungarian *az idő homálya* 'the dimness of time' is relevant regarding frequency, but there are only isolated, novel occurrences in Finnish, mostly in literature (*ajan sumu,* 'the fog of time', *ajan varjo,* 'the shadow of time'). Variation: the typical lexical variant in each language is the following: *the mists of time* and *the veil of time* in English, and *az idő homálya* 'the dimness of time', in Hungarian.

(34E) *(…)it would have already vanished into the mists of time.* (blog; aintitcool.com, 2012)

(35E) *They vanish into the mists of time.* (spoken; *Talk of the Nation 2:00 PM EST NPR*, 2010)

(36E) *(…) trying to see through the veil of time.* (fiction; *Southwest Review* vol. 85, 2000)

(37E) *(…) had vanished into the fog of time.* (magazine; *American Heritage vol. 55,* 2004)

(38E) *(…) lost in the shadows of time.* (fiction; Gerrold, David: *The Dunsmuir Horror*)

(39F) (…) *on levittä-nyt aja-n synkä-t varjo-t kaikk-i-en*
is spread-PTCP.NOM time-GEN gloomy-PL shadow-PL everyone-PL-GEN
meidän ylitse-mme.
(fiction; Betty Elfving: *Härkmanin pojat Historiallinen novelli isonvihan ajoilta tekijä*)
our above-1PL.POSS
'It has spread the gloomy shadows of time over all of us.'

(40H) *(…) el-tűn-ik az idő homály-á-ban*. (web; forum)
PTCL-dissapear- 3SG.PRS the time.UNGEN dimness-3SG.POSS-INE
'It disappears in the dimness of time.'

(41H) *Az idő zavaros köd-é-be vész.* (press; *Kultúra*)
the time.UNGEN hazy fog-3SG.POSS-ILL disappear.3SG.PRS
'It disappears into the hazy fog of time.'

(42H) *(…) ami-t a „múló idő fátyl-ai" ismét el-fed-nek (…)*
(literature; *Pilinszky János: Publicisztikai írások)*
which-ACC the passing time.UNGEN veil-poss.pl again PTCL-cover-3PL.PRS
'Which are covered by the veils of passing time.'

2.9. The Patina of Time

This metaphor is typical for Finnish. The 'patina of time' refers to the effects of passing time on objects as well as on abstract entities. Conceptual motivation: this metaphor is based on the image schema of causation, the patina being the concrete link between the abstract passing of time and its effects on the physical world. This metaphor captures the correlation of the passing of time with physical signs. Frequency: this idiom component is more frequent in Finnish than in the other two languages, which barely have any relevant hits in the corpus; in Hungarian it almost exclusively appears in fiction. In Finnish, on the other hand, it can be found across all genres and seems to be an entrenched idiom component in spoken language. Form: in Finnish 'the patina of time,' *aja-n patina*, (time-GEN patina), is part of the idiomatic expression *kärsi-ä aja-n patina-sta*, 'to suffer from the patina of time', (suffer-INF time-GEN patina-ELA).

Difference pattern: According to the dictionary 'patina' can have two meanings: (1) verdigris, or a type of oxidation of metals, often used figuratively in association with something valuable (positive); (2) being outdated, worn out, obsolete, thus having a negative prosody (Zaicz 2006). It is not always clear which meaning is used in the metaphorical expression due to a lack of longer context in certain cases within the corpus. In English and Hungarian these associations are positive rather than negative, but often neutral, expressing the passing of time. In Finnish 'patina' marks the passing of time, but it carries a negative prosody, as the metaphor *kärsiä ajan patinasta* suggests ('to suffer from the patina of time'). Besides variation in prosody and therefore in figurative meaning, a major difference lies in the form: in Finnish this

idiom component appears in fixed expressions. The literal meaning as well as the conceptual metaphor is the same in the three languages.

(43E) *Nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history.* (academic; *Journal of Popular Culture* vol. 46, 2013)

(44F) *(ovat) pahasti kärsi-neet aja-n patina-sta.*
(magazine*; Historiallinen aikakauskirja no. 3, 1992)*
(are) badly suffer-ptcp.pl.NOM time-GEN patina-ELA
'They suffered badly from the patina of time.'

(45F) *Vanha-t kaitee-t ovat kestä-neet aja-n patina-a.*
(magazine; *Tampere* 2, 2015)
old-PL balustrade-PL are resits-PTCP.NOM time.GEN patina-PTV
'The old balustrade resisted the patina of time.'

(46H) *Arany tündéri trükk-jei-t már az idő patiná-ja rejti.*
(literature; *Orbán Ottó: Cédula a romokon)*
golden angelic trick-poss.pl-ACC already the time.UNGEN patina-3SG.POSS hide.3SG
'Its golden angelic tricks are already hidden by the patina of time.'

2.10. The Water of Time

As several motion verbs suggest, time is often linked with water and moving water. The ways in which time linked with a body of water manifests differ in the three languages, varying from 'river' and 'sea' to 'ocean' and 'current'. These links are usually in the genitive case, with some exceptions. Motivation: these metaphors are motivated by TIME IS A BODY OF WATER or TIME IS A STREAM conceptual metaphors, in which time appears as the Path of motion (in some cases) and at the same time the Figure of motion, or even the Ground, as captured for instance here: "time is not a thing that passes… it's a sea on which you float" (Margaret Atwood, *The Year of the Flood).* These associations can be explained by a correlation of motion of a fluid, and the passing of time[7]. Some of these metaphors coincide with what Lakoff and Johnson listed as TIME IS A SUBSTANCE (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 66), although they associate the concept of substance with a resource, which is limited or measurable (ibidem). Another explanation of the association of time with large bodies of water can be traced back to the vastness of the amount in question; often *sea* or *ocean* (*tenger* in Hungarian or *meri* in Finnish) have the meaning of large or immeasurable quantity in general. Time as a moving body of water is also in connection with the past-future dichotomy (Fazakas 1994, 40).

Frequency: metaphors with *the river of time* are relevant in English, rare in Hungarian and can only be found once in the Finnish corpus, in literary context. In Hungarian this source manifests through two metaphors, *az idő folyama* and *az idő folyója*, 'the river of time', which both mean the same, but differ in frequency. The rather archaic version,

7 Time measuring devices also often worked with water, for example water clocks, some of the oldest time measuring devices.

folyam, is more frequent. Other metaphors, which are relevant regarding their frequency, are *aja-n virta,* (time-GEN current) in Finnish, and *az idő sodra,* as well as *az idő árja,* (time.UNGEN current), in Hungarian (both mean 'the current of time'). 'The current of time' in Hungarian and Finnish differ both in frequency and meaning; this metaphor appears more frequently in Finnish and is used in various contexts, while in Hungarian it tends to appear in negative ones, sometimes associated with *veszély*, 'danger', or *baj*, 'trouble'. In English 'the current of time' only appears a few times in literary context.

The *waves of time*, *az idő hullámai*, *ajan allot*, has a similar figurative meaning. Unlike in English and Finnish, in Hungarian it is only recurrent in literature. Rarer correspondences between time and water are with 'sea' and 'ocean'. In Finnish *aja-n meri,* (time-GEN sea), is restricted to literature; in Hungarian *az idő tenger-e,* (the time.UNGEN sea-3SG.POSS), is found predominantly in literature and is rare in other genres. The 'ocean of time' is very rare in English, just like *aja-n valtameri,* (time-GEN ocean) in Finnish, and it does not appear in the Hungarian corpus.

Difference pattern: all of these metaphor components are from the same lexical field. Besides the conceptual metaphors mentioned above which they share, they are also often based on TIME IS A CONTAINER metaphor. While the frequent idiom components in English (for example *the river of time*) are based on the containment schema, the Hungarian and Finnish 'current of time' is based on the force schema.

The river of time
(47E) *You're in the river of time.* (magazine; *Saturday Evening Post* vol. 287, 2015)

(48H) *Az idő folyó-ja meg nem áll.* (press; *Origó programajánló*)
the time.UNGEN river-3SG.POSS PTCL NEG stand.3SG.PRS
'The river of times does not stop.

(49H) *Az idő folyamként rohan át rajt-a.* (scientific; *Wikipedia*)
the time. NOM river.like rush. 3SG.PRS through on-3SG.POSS
'Time rushes through it like a river.'

(50H) *Az idő folyó, mely magá-val ragad.* (scientific; *Wikipedia*)
the time.NOM river.NOM which itself-INSTR grab.3SG.PRS
'Time is a river, which grabs you with itself.'

The current of time
(51F) Aja-n virta vie me-i-tä menne-ssä-än.
(web; Suomi24, 2014)
time-GEN current.NOM take. 3SG.PRS us-PL-PTV go-INF-INE-3SG.POSS
'The current of time takes us with it.'

(52F) Aja-n virta hävitt-i talo-n-kin.
(newspaper; Länsi-Savo no. 200, 1991)
time.GEN current.NOM destroy- 3SG.PST house-GEN-too
'The current of time destroys the house.'

(53H) (…) háborgó idő sodr-á-ban (web; *Facebook*)
surging time.NOM current-3SG.POSS-INE
'In the current of surging time.'

The ocean of time
(54E) There are mermaids in the electric ocean of time. (fiction; Ron Wolfe: Our Friend Electricity)

The sea of time
(55E) They also become symbols of lives that might have been drowned in the sea of time. (newspaper; Christian Science Monitor, 1993)

(56F) Ihmis-olenno-t keinu-i-vat aja-n mere-ssä.
(literature; Frans Emil Sillanpää: Hurskas kurjuus Päättynyt suomalainen elämäkerta)
human-being-PL sway-PST-3PL time-GEN sea-INE
'Human beings are swaying in the sea of time.'

(57H) az élet (…) értelmetlen semmiség az idő tenger-é-ben.
(web; forum)
the life pointless nothing the time.UNGEN sea-3SG.POSS-INE
'Life is a pointless nothingness in the sea of time'.

The waves of time
(58E) Our efforts are at best sandcastles in the waves of time. (web; blog: crystalcoastlife.com, 2012)

(59F) Aja-n aallo-t alko-i-vat horjutta-a myös meidän vapaut-ta-mme.
(magazine; Kalpa 3, 2013)
time-GEN wave-PL begin-PST-3SG shake-INF also our freedom-PTV-1PL.POSS
'The waves of time are shaking our freedom as well.'

(60H) (…) vár-om, hogy el-mossa-nak a kegyetlen idő hullám-ai.
(literature; Kassák Lajos: Kassák Lajos összes versei)
wait-1SG.PRS that away-wash-3PL.PRS the merciless time.NOM wave-poss.pl
'I'm waiting for the merciless waves of time to wash me away.'

The stream of time
(61E) *The stream of time flows on, as it always has and always will.* (fiction; F Gwynplaine MacIntyre: *Time Lines*)

2.11. The Winds of Time

The 'winds of time' can be found in all three languages, with a varying degree of figurativeness, and different figurative as well as conceptual meaning. Motivation: in English, like *mists*, it is often used with the verb *lost*, and it is a spatial element, as the example shows, but also with the verb *blow*, similarly to Hungarian, where the force schema is in evidence. In Finnish *ajan tuuli* or *ajan tuulet*, 'the wind of time' or 'the winds of time', is figurative and usually found in literature; otherwise, it has a similar meaning to *ajan henkki*, the 'spirit of the times' and it refers to a time period or age. In Hungarian, on the other hand, 'the wind of time' appears as an intrusive force, based on the image schema of force and causation. Frequency: it is very rare in Hungarian, less relevant

examples are the only recurrent ones in Finnish, so this metaphor is only recurrent in English.

(62E) *Much about the Etruscans, including their language, is lost in the winds of time.* (web; selectitaly.com 2012)

(63E) (…) *blown away by the winds of time.* (web; *designingforlearning.info*)

(64F) *Mutta sillä-välin oli aja-n tuuli käänty-nyt* (…).
(literature; Eino Kaila: *Valitut teokset,* 1910-1922)
but in-the-meantime was time-GEN wind.NOM turn-PTCL.NOM
'But in the meantime, the wind of time has changed.'

(65F) *Toiminta-muodo-t muuttu-vat aja-n tuul-i-en mukaan.*
(newspaper; Karhunkierros 1/1996)
activity-way-PL change-3PL.PRS time-GEN wind-PL-GEN according
'The activities changed according to the winds of the time.'

(66H) *Ez-t a rendszer-t is el fogja söpör-ni az idő szel-e.*
(press; *Nép Szava, Belföld*, 14)
this-ACC the system-ACC also away will sweep-INF the time.UNGEN wind-3SG.POSS
'This system will be swept away by the wind of time.'

2.12. The Weight of Time

Conceptual motivation: time is linked with heaviness in metaphors through TIME IS A BURDEN as well as TIME IS A WEIGHT conceptual metaphor. Although such metaphors are not necessarily based on an image, they are included because of the Hungarian association of time with led. It appears as *the weight of time*, and in Hungarian through *az idő súlya*, ('the weight of time'), but it is expressed through other constructions as well, such as *ólom*, 'led', used in time metaphors with motion verbs in Hungarian. Another example is the recurrent Hungarian metaphor *el-visel-i az idő nyomás-á-t*, (PTCL-bare-3SG.PRS the time. UNGEN weight-3SG.POSS), 'it bares pressure of time', as well as through some verb constructions in English with 'press'; in these cases the conceptual information and the figurative meaning is different (TIME IS A FINITE ENTITY). Difference pattern: there are no relevant differences, but in Finnish *ajan paine*, 'the weight of time', is very rare.

(67E) *Trains are caving in from the weight of time.* (magazine; *National Parks* vol. 82, 2008)

(68F) *Aja-n paine-et ja muuto-kset heijastu-vat perhe-i-den eläm-ään.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo* no. 298 04.11.1993)
time-GEN pressure-PL and change-PL reflect-3PL.PRS family-PL-GEN life-ILL
'The pressure of time and changes are reflected in the life of the families.'

(69H) *(…) visel-ni tud-ta az idő súly-á-t.* (press; article)
bear-INF can- 3SG.PST the time.UNGEN weight-3SG.POSS-ACC
'He/she could bear the weight of time.'

(70H) *Az idő* *ólom-szárny-on* *jár-t.* (press; *Népszava Szépszó*)
the time.NOM led-wing-SUPE walk-3SG.PST
'Time walked on wings of led.'

2.13. The Sieve of Time

In Hungarian there is an idiom that appears in a variety of contexts (formal, informal and literary), which links the image of time with a sieve used with the verb *hull*, 'fall', occasionally with *esik* 'fall' or *pereg* 'roll'. This might be a variation of an old proverb, 'it falls through the sieve', *ki-hull/át-esik a rostá-n* (out-fall.3SG.PRS/through-fall.3SG.PRS the sieve-SUPE), which refers to something or someone becoming unimportant, worthless with the passing of time (Nagy 1985). A similar, likewise rare construction is *az idő mérleg-e,* 'the scale of time', (the time.UNGEN scale-3SG.POSS), with a similar figurative meaning, but different image component. Conceptual motivation: the conceptual motivation behind this idiom is based on framing: the image of the sieve, through which some things pass through, is similar to values that either disappear in time or maintain their place in society. Through this it has a negative prosody that is associated with a spatial schema, in which the sieve of time is a space that we need to go through to be judged. Thus, it is a boundary, a part of the image schema of containment.

(71H) *Nem* *hull-ott* *ki* *az idő* *rostá-já-n.* (spoken; radio)
NEG fall- 3SG.PST out the time.UNGEN sieve-3SG.POSS-SUPE
'It didn't fall through the sieve of time.'

(72H) *Nép-ek* *hulla-nak* *ki* *az idő* *rostá-já-n.* (press; *Romániai Magyar Szó)*
nation-PL fall- 3SG.PRS. out the time.UNGEN sieve-3SG.POSS-SUPE
'Nations fall through the sieve of time.

(73H) *Az idő* *mérleg-é-n* *annyi-t* *ér-tek,*
the time.UNGEN scale-3SG.POSS-SUPE that.much-ACC worth-2PL.PRS
amennyi érték-et ön- magatok-ban (…) fel-mutat-tok. (press; *article: VKH)*
as.much value-ACC your- selves-INE up-show-2PL.PRS
'You are worth only as much on the scale of time as much value you can show within yourselves.'

An idiom component with a similar figurative meaning as 'the sieve of time' but without an image is *the test of time* or *az idő próbá-ja in Hungarian*(the time.UNGEN test-3SG.POSS). In English this genitival construction is part of the idiom *to stand the test of time*. In Finnish *aja-n haaste,* 'the challenge of time', (time-GEN challenge.NOM), has a similar literal meaning, but as it is used in the expression *vastaa ajan hasteisiin*, 'to meet the challenge of the times', it differs both conceptually and figuratively, as it refers to age, or a period of time, and not the passing of time. The Finnish idiom where the figurative and the conceptual meaning coincides the most with *withstand the test of time* is *kestää ajan hammasta*, 'withstand the tooth of time', although the literal

information is different. Due to the fact of how it is used, it is based on the force schema (opposition), rather than a spatial schema, like the similar 'the sieve of time' (*az idő rostája*).

(74E) *His band has withstood the test of time.* (web; blog: grungereport.net, 2012)

(75F) *Tietokone on vastaus ajan haaste-i-siin.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo no.* 118, 1999)
computer.NOM be.3SG.PRS answer time-GEN challenge-PL-ILL
'The computer meets the challenge of the times.'

(76F) *Abba-n musiikki on kestä-nyt aja-n hammas-ta.*
(newspaper; *Länsi-Savo no. 143,* 1999)
Abba-GEN music.NOM be.3SG.PRS withstand-PTCP.NOM time-GEN tooth-PTV
lit. 'The music of Abba withstood the tooth of time.'
'The music of Abba withstood the test of time'.

(77H) *De a Beatles zené-je kiáll-ta az idő próbá-já-t.* (press; column: *Monitor*)
but the Beatles.UNGEN music-3SG.POSS withstand- 3SG.PST the time.UNGEN test-3SG.POSS-ACC
But the music of Beatles has withstood the test of time.

3. An Overview of Genitival Idiom Components with Time

To sum up, time is expressed by several genitival components that are often based on images and are motivated by similar conceptual underpinnings. Above each idiom component is discussed separately. This section is a contrastive and comparative overview of these metaphors, including their conceptual basis, such as image schemas. Another aspect that is investigated is how transience appears in these metaphors. Causative verbs capture transience without spatial elements, a few exceptions being verbs such as the Hungarian *magával ragad*, 'drag away with it', where there is also motion and the schema of path.

In some cases, time appears with the same idiom component as an agent or as a patient, for instance the *wheel of time* can *turn* and it can also be *turned back*. The majority of these metaphors have no polarity, but if they do, it is negative, such as the 'tooth of time' or the 'patina of time' (*ajan patina,* Finnish).

The overview in Table (1) shows that in most cases the same figurative meaning and conceptual information can be identified across the three languages; what differs most frequently is in the lexical information, e.g., 'the sieve of time' (*az idő rostája,* Hungarian) vs. 'the test of time', or 'the wheels of time' vs. 'the mill of time' *(az idő malma,* Hungarian). In some cases, the lexical information is the same, but the figurative meaning is different, e.g., 'the hands of time' and *az idő keze* (Hungarian). There are some examples when the same conceptual information surfaces through similar, but not identical lexical means, e.g., TIME IS A BODY OF WATER through 'the ocean of time', 'the river of time' (*az idő folyója*, Hungarian) or the 'current of time' (*ajan virta*, Finnish).

Among the list of metaphors there are six that are only characteristic for English: 'the hands of time', 'the arrow of time/ time's arrow', 'the sands of time', 'the mists of time, the veil of time', and 'the winds of time'; three that are typical for Hungarian: 'the mill of time' (*az idő malma*), 'the marks of time', (*az idő nyoma*), 'the sieve of time', (*az idő rostája*); and two that are typical for Finnish: 'the patina of time', (*ajan patina*), and 'the current of time', (*ajan virta*). While many of these metaphors appear in all three languages, more can be found in English that are presumably only linguistic calques or novel occurrences in Hungarian and Finnish.

No.	Metaphor component	Cognitive basis	Most characteristic of	Polarity
1.	'the wheel of time'	spatial schema: image schema of cycle	Hungarian, Finnish	–
2.	'the hands of time'	metonymy spatial schema: image schema of cycle	English	–
3.	'the mill of time'	spatial schema: image schema of cycle image schema of force	Hungarian	negative
4.	'the arrow of time'	spatial schema: path schema	English	–
5.	'the tooth of time'	image schema of force (counterforce)	Hungarian, Finnish	negative
6.	'the marks of time'	image schema of force	Hungarian	negative
7.	'the sands of time'	metonymy spatial schema: image schema of containment	English	–
8.	'the mist of time'	spatial schema: image schema of containment	English	–
9.	'the veil of time'	image schema of force spatial schema: boundary (containment)	English, Hungarian	–
10.	'the patina of time'	image schema of force	Finnish	negative
11.	'the river of time'	spatial schema: containment schema or path schema	English	–
12.	'ocean of time, sea of time'	spatial schema: image schema of containment	rare in all	–
13.	'the current of time'	image schema of force	Hungarian, Finnish	negative
14.	'the winds of time'	image schema of force spatial schema: image schema of containment	English	–
15.	'the weight of time'	the image schema of force	Hungarian, English	negative
16.	'the sieve of time'	spatial schema: boundary (containment)	Hungarian	negative

Table (1) *An Overview of Genitival Idiom Components with Time*

Regarding the transience of time, we can observe what Galton calls consumption (destruction) by time (2011: 702). This surfaces in those metaphors that are based on the force schema. The counterpart of consumption, production or creation (ibidem), cannot be identified in any of these metaphors. In the following selected genitival metaphors consumption can be identified: 'the tooth of time', 'the marks of time', 'the patina of time', 'the weight of time' and the 'the veil of time'.

Several of these metaphors bring into evidence the transience of time through a spatial aspect. These are 'the wheel of time', 'the hands of time', 'the mill of time', 'the arrow of time', 'the sands of time', 'the river of time', 'the current of time', 'the ocean, of time' and 'the winds of time.' 'The mist of time', and 'the sieve of time' are spatial metaphors as well. If we consider type and not token frequency, spatialization seems to prevail in these metaphors compared to transience without the spatial aspect.

Table (1) shows that these metaphors often carry a negative and not a positive attitude towards time, e.g., in the case of 'the tooth of time', 'the current of time' or 'the patina of time'. The positive polarity only surfaces in non-typical, novel examples, e.g., 'the hand of time', *az idő keze* in Hungarian, which links time with the image of a caring entity.

Below there is an overview by cognitive theories, their mechanism and other factors. In some cases, there are several mechanisms behind a metaphor, for instance 'the mill of time', which is either based on the image schema of cycle, which is a spatial schema, or the image schema of force, depending on the context; *the wheel of time* can be based on the cycle schema in some of the metaphors, in which time is an agent, as well as the force schema, where the antagonist-agonist roles are switched. The idiom components are placed into the category that they most often occur in, unless instances suggest that there are a variety of mechanisms that can motivate them equally.

- spatial schemas:
  - containment: 'the river/ocean/sea of time' (English), 'the sands of time' (English), 'the mists of time' (English), 'the shadow of time' (Hungarian), 'the winds of time' (English);
  - containment through the boundary component: 'the sieve of time' (Hungarian), 'the veil of time' (English, Hungarian), 'the mist of time' (English);
  - path: 'the arrow of time' (English), 'the river of time' (English);
  - cycle: 'the mill of time' (Hungarian), 'the wheel of time' (Hungarian, Finnish), 'the hands of time' (English);

- force schema
  - (transience without spatial aspect)
  - the image schema of compulsion: 'the current of time' (Hungarian, Finnish), 'the waves of time' (Finnish), 'the winds of time'(English);

- the image schema of counterforce: 'the tooth of time' (Finnish, Hungarian);
- other image schemas of force and causation: 'the tooth of time' (Finnish, Hungarian), 'the patina of time' (Finnish), 'the mark of time' (Hungarian), 'the weight of time' (Hungarian, English);

◦ other aspects to note:
- anthropomorphized time: 'the tooth of time' (Finnish, Hungarian);
- metonymical basis: 'the sands of time' (English), 'the hands of time' (English);

4. Conclusion

What this overview of genitival time metaphors shows is that while the schemas are found in each language, some of them are put more into evidence in certain languages through metaphors than in others. The metaphors components discussed are based either on spatial schemas (e.g., containment, path, cycle) or the schema of force (e.g., compulsion). Overall, in the three languages spatial schemas tend to be more frequent than the force schema, which expresses the transience of time without the spatial aspect.

This overview is based on recurrent genitival time metaphor types, and not frequency of tokens. The difference lies therefore in the extent to which spatial schemas or force schemas are preferred, or in other words how much the spatialization versus the transience of time without the spatial aspect is exploited. In English spatial schemas especially the schema of containment and the path schema are frequently used in metaphorical language; force schemas are overall less frequent than in the other two languages. In Hungarian the majority of genitival components are based less frequently on force than spatial schemas, where the image schema of cycle is dominant. In Finnish causation is more productive in these constructions than spatial schemas; from the latter the schema of cycle shows the highest productivity. Other cognitive components that stand out are the metonymical basis in English, which is preferred in contrast to Hungarian and Finnish. The anthropomorphism of time can be seen in examples throughout all three languages.

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The Role of Online Bible Readers in Biblical Concordance Making[1]

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ABSTRACT

Bible concordances lead Bible readers with rendering words and phrases of the Holy Bible in alphabetical listings and show where the terms occur throughout all books of Scripture. With cross-references for verses, concordances make it easy to understand the meaning of terms and the context in which those words are used. In Hungarian Bible studies several translations of the Bible are available (also online) and some of the contemporary translations are provided with on-the-fly concordances. Online versions of the Bible translations can easily build KWIC-concordances but not in an equal way. The study shows different approaches to online Bible concordance of the Hungarian translations to be found online and also tries to illustrate bottle-necks of concordance making on the off-line concordance being built to the so called ÚRK Bible (Újonnan Revideált Biblia – Newly Revised Bible). The obstacles in this concordance are connected with terminological and lexicographic approaches as this concordance is based on translations of the keywords of the ESV Bible Concordance.

Keywords: Bible translations, Bible concordances, terminology, online Bible readers

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1. Introduction

In our study, we present the search functions of an online Bible which can be opened and read in a web browser and its importance for concordance making. Our study contributes to broader research on Bible translation and concordance making. In our present work, only the linguistically relevant details of concordance making are presented, as well as the functionalities of websites containing Hungarian Bible translations for concordance preparation. The analysis and the interpretation of Bible translations placed in the online space can help several fields of translation studies, including the review and further reflection of specific translational and terminological problems.

For more than half a century, translation studies have paid special attention to the theory and practice of Bible translation. The rise of computer technology has opened new possibilities, making it easier to research texts in the digital space. It has also made it easier to navigate and search the Bible. For example, through Bible readers – programs offering Bible texts on IT tools.

2. Hungarian Bible translations

The Bible has many layers: it can be spiritual-historical, translational-linguistic, or above all religious-theological – a cultural transmission through language, where the target language text is produced as a translation interpreted through the translators' hermeneutic interpretation or through the principles of translation studies they apply. As the linguistic or interpretative problems affecting the translator are quite diverse (see Naudé 2010, Lanstyák & Heltai 2012, Lanstyák 2013, Pecsuk 2020, 22–44, Fabiny 2021), the equivalence of the translated text can be achieved at different levels. It is no coincidence that a good translator must have the empathy of a psychologist in addition to the knowledge of a linguist-theologian (cf. Pecsuk, 2020, 13). As Naudé states, a translator without knowledge of translation studies is "similar to a ghost without a sheet or a corncob without kernels – useless or at least not very effective" (Naudé 2021, 10).

The "fluidity" of communication with regard to the text of the Bible is not easy: mostly because of the distance in time, space and language from the original texts, and the resulting distance in interpretation. Interpretation for translators and readers alike can be affected by language-related problems (see also Lanstyák 2013; M. Pintér 2020). Perhaps the most obvious, but also the most complex reason for the linguistic and interpretative problems is the distance in time and space of the text's creation, which has an impact on other cultural, linguistic and hermeneutic interpretations. Thus, for example, the term "circumcision", which means not only a physical act, but also, through it, a relationship between people being chosen, even a relationship with God:

„And the LORD your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your offspring, so that you will love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul, that you may live." (Deut 30,6)[2]. The same physical and temporal distance characterises some of the geographical names and units of measurement in the Bible, which can feel a little distant to European culture.

The distance between the text and its readers can of course be reduced by "updating" the language of the target text, with the appearance of new translations, which can contribute to an easier understanding of certain passages, not only through the contemporary language use, but also through new interpretations of the re-translation (in this regard see Nord 2016). The last 20–25 years have seen several Hungarian translations, re-translations, and revisions, the most important of which are the following:

- Neovulgate 1997 (KNV)
- Bible of the St. Stephen Association 2005 (SZIT)
- Newly Revised Károli Bible 2011 (ÚRK/NRT)
- Károli version by Patmos Publishing House 2012 (PK)
- Easy-to-read Version 2012 (EFO)
- Revised Hungarian Bible 2014 (RÚF)
- Revised Károli Translation (Károli 21)

From a translation studies aspect, it is interesting to ask whether the differences between sacred and vernacular language use were more significant in the present or in the past. Although the language of Hungarian Bible translations today is closer to the spoken (secular) varieties of Hungarian, the use of sacred language is mostly marked by the use of specific terminology. At the same time, its specialised linguistic character is reinforced by the style (and even the diversity and richness of styles) and the thematic-cultural binding, on the one hand, and by the theoretical issues and problems related to the creation and translation of texts, on the other. Gergely Hanula sees the difference between sacral language and vernacular language in the permanence (the subject and object of the Bible are the same in all translations) and limitation (lexical, syntactic and semantic constraints in the respective languages) of the sacred language, in the obscurity of the meanings it covers (whether in terms of wording or content, the inconceivability of the representation) and in its renunciation of individual intention (the individual is eliminated by the community) – together creating a sense of strangeness or inspiration (Hanula 2016, 102). Hanula's idea is that it is not the process of translation that makes the text and the language sacred, but rather the use that makes it so: the more uniform the target language versions, the stronger the authority of the language, its "sacred" character. This is clearly evident in the 1908 edition of the Károli Bible, the text of which still determines more recent translations and is still in use today.

2 ESV Bible.

3. A possible analytical framework for online readers

Reading and analysis of translations are greatly facilitated by digital bibles and digital reference works, which can be used to help interpretation by including multiple electronic texts or to allow parallel Bible reading. Luke's Gospel asks the question, "How do you read it?" (Luke 10,26). The question can be interpreted and answered with exegetical precision (e.g., Fabiny 2021) and in lay "reading". In layman's terms, the question can refer to the design of the way of reading, which means the way of reading biblical texts, the technical layout of texts and the design of possible interoperability between them. At the same time, the answer is also related to the technical parameters of the research on biblical translations: how web technology can help in interpreting and comparing translations, and in designing and implementing new translations.

Websites containing Hungarian Bible translations can be categorised according to several parameters (for more information see M. Pintér 2021), the presence or absence of certain characteristics does not necessarily mean a qualitative difference. Online content, on the other hand, can be categorised according to objective criteria relevant to its use, showing the various parameters necessary for reading and research. Digital assets for reading and research can be analysed according to the following characteristics:

- the length of the text on the interface (block layout, possibly with a verse or longer pericope to aid reading),
- the number of translations that can be displayed on the interface, i.e., whether it is possible to read parallel texts,
- the number of Bible translations available on the site,
- the presence or absence of search functionality built into the site[3] (whether it is possible to search, and if so, what type – word-based or regular expression),
- specific content: what specific extra applications are included to help research and read Bible translations.

Another area of use for digital Bibles is language technology and digital humanities (a good example is language analysis, for example using SketchEngine), which focuses on the use of longer texts. A longer text in this case means a text of hundreds of thousands of words, which for some Hungarian canonical Bible translations means more than half a million words. The translations of the Bible are an important field for computer-assisted text processing, including corpus linguistics, because they are a large amount of annotatable text that can be stored and analysed on a computer, with an accurate bibliography, available in several

3 It should be noted that the browser's search function (Ctrl+F or Cmd+F) cannot be used in this case, as pages are displayed one section at a time and the browser's built-in search engine can only search in the text that has been preloaded by the browser and displayed in the user interface. The real purpose of search engines is to search hidden texts (including the whole Bible) and list results in an organised way.

languages and language versions so that even the translated versions can be paralleled.

The online comparison of the text of Scripture is not only a useful opportunity for translation studies – but it is also a useful and important opportunity for humanities and religious studies. The interoperability between Bibles in the same language is a useful help for researchers or even for those interested (the diversity of research and readings would justify that the search engine built into the query interface should have as detailed search functions as possible – more about these and the corpus linguistic basis of Hungarian Bible translations in M. Pintér & P. Márkus 2021).

Perhaps the most important element of online readers is the parameterisation of the query and the vertical listing appearing after the query, the so called concordance list. In case of online Bible translations, the word "concordance" has a double meaning: on the one hand, it refers to an alphabetical collection of words and places where they occur in Scripture, helping to locate and contextualise a topic or phrase. Research in lexicology and translation studies is in fact again based on concordances, since relevant decisions based on linguistic knowledge can be made on the basis of the hit and the context. In other words, concordances are returning to help translators and exegetes in a computerised form, in keeping with the postmodern, contemporary age.

Digital visualisation and searching in digital text are a useful aid to concordance – query interfaces are now capable of producing concordances in real time. Using the search functions of online Bibles, it is possible to do keyword searches, i.e., to put words of Scripture into context. The online sites that display Hungarian translations usually have a search function, some of them with multiple parameters (switching between lower- and upper-case letters, searching for the beginning or end of a word). To highlight just a few good examples, the following sites allow real-time online concordance creation:

- A Biblia mindenkié ('Bible is for everyone') (https://www.abibliamindenkie.hu/keres/uj/): the search allows to search case-sensitive or phrases and expressions; the result returns the verse or locus, pointing to the book and verse as a hyperlink.
- Szentírás.hu ('Scripture') (https://szentiras.hu/kereses/search): in the search, it is possible to select and narrow down between books and/or translations, and to display results by verse, chapter, book, Old Testament and New Testament; the search results display the verse per translation and the locus, pointing to the book and verse as a hyperlink.
- On-line Biblia ('On-line Bible') (biblia.hit.hu): the search can be fine-tuned according to a number of parameters, including the possibility to select and narrow the search by book and/or translation, or to set word match only the beginning of a word and to toggle diacritical marks off and on; the search results are shown in table format with the locus. The locus here also acts as a hyperlink,

marking the verse containing the search term in the text of the displayed section. Another important feature is the possibility of substituting one or more characters in the search string and using the AND, OR and NOT operators.

- biblia.hu (biblia.biblia.hu): the website contains the revision of Károli's translation published in 1908, in which words, phrases and expressions can be searched for, either by book or by searching the Old and New Testaments separately. The search engine allows to toggle diacritical marks and upper- and lower-case letters on and off, and to use the AND and '-' (minus) operators to narrow down the search.
- Okos Biblia ('The Vise Bible') (https://biblia.szeroczei.hu): the search engine allows to search for words and word structures in different translations of the Bible, narrowed down to books or larger units, or to search for multiword units. Unlike above, it is also possible to search according to numbers of the Strong's concordance. The result will return the verse per translation, or mark the locus, pointing to the book and verse as a hyperlink. Clicking on the locus returns the chapter, with the verse containing the match highlighted in colour.
- http://www.polarhome.com/biblia/: The page contains the 1908's revised edition of the Károli translation as plain HTML text, which does not handle the diacritical characters of the Hungarian alphabet. The search looks for the characters entered in the search field in a single line of a verse, or, as a narrowed search, it is possible to substitute one or more characters. It is important to note that the search engine is not case sensitive and that it is the oldest of all the listed sites.

4. Concordances

A useful feature of online readers is the automatic (but somewhat inaccurate or incorrect) concordance generation. The Hungarian linguistic literature on Bible translation is less concerned with concordances and is mainly structured around two distinct themes: the literature on Bible translation in general, and the literature analysing Hungarian translations. It is important, however, that the linguistic approach cannot be "bypassed" in literary and hermeneutical approaches (e.g., the writings of Northrop Frye).

In addition to translation studies, it is also worth mentioning a less researched area, namely biblical concordances, and their production. The benefits of concordance are manifold: it helps the translator to understand the context, to clarify meanings, to understand syntactical information, but it also helps the lay reader to find a word or a word combination, to understand the verses. Concordances can also be seen as a means of increasing intellectual knowledge about the Bible. They

give the context and exact biblical location of a word. More recent, mainly online, concordances have been supplemented with Greek and Latin dictionaries, as well as various other dictionaries to aid interpretation and hence translation (a good example is the Blue Letter Bible in English, which interactively integrates various dictionaries and interpretive materials).

In today's computerised world, concordancing no longer seems like a complicated and lengthy process, as most of the Bible readers mentioned above, for example, have search engines that can display concordance results. However, computer developments cannot replace human beings in this respect – but they can be a useful complement to the research of the Bible.

Although it is not obvious, since concordances are produced for monolingual Bibles, the production of a concordance can be useful in the field of translation studies and terminology. Terminology affects religious language use in many ways (one only has to think of the theolinguistic aspects, and the boundedness of liturgical language use), from the point of view of translation theory it plays an important role in distinguishing translations between religious denominations (a typical example in Hungarian is the difference between translations of 'neighbor' e.g. in Mark 12,31 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself', where the older Catholic translations use *embertárs* whereas other translations use *felebarát* or the spelling of proper nouns, e.g. Bathsheba who is translated as *Betsabé, Batseba, Betshabé* being connected to several religions; or the usage of small-caps in *Úr* – the translation of Lord), or even in the choice of the appropriate equivalents and their form in the course of concordance preparation. If we bear in mind that the linguistic role of the words and expressions used in the Bible is specific not only in their meaning but also in their range of usage, it becomes clear that the biblical lexicon is highly terminological. A concordance, i.e., a list of words and their places of occurrence in the Bible, reinforces the domain orientation of the Biblical terminology, let it be a lexical item typically found in the Old or the New Testament, or lexical items typical of a certain translation.

In this chapter, we present some terminological solutions to the concordance of the Newly Revised Translation (NRT) published by Veritas Publishers in 2021.

The NRT concordance is based on the literal translation of the English Standard Version (ESV Bible[4]) (online version: https://www.esv.org/resources/esv-global-study-bible/concordance/), which contains 3077 headwords, but does not contain all the references to all the verses, but only the most important ones as considered by the editors.

As the Hungarian concordance is based on the Hungarian translation of the English list of headwords, the first step of the Hungarian concordance is to translate the English headwords (some of them have

4 See more on ESV Bible: https://www.esv.org/preface/ or https://www.challies.com/book-reviews/the-esv-study-bible-a-review.

clear denotative equivalence, but there are also headwords with more complex meaning fields, for example, 'ability', which in the Hungarian translation can be 'ability' or *képesség*, 'talent' or *tehetség*, 'wisdom' or *bölcsesség* but also 'intelligence' or *értelem*).

For illustrative purposes, below are a few examples of how headwords are established, and concordances are made. There are two important aspects of concordances: meaning and word form. The meaning is important because the search engine wants to find the place of the verse based on the word form that matches the meaning. In this respect, homonyms may cause problems, as their confusion would confuse the interpretation. For example, it makes a difference whether the lexeme *hisz* 'believe' is used as a conjunction, adverb, or verb, or whether *szeretett* 'loved' is used as a past participle, or as a past tense verb. Some of the aforementioned items (forms ending in *-tt*) are easier to handle, partly because there are few of each form that can be manually selected, and partly because they are local (if *szeret* 'like' is a verb, there is an infinitive ending in *-ni* in the verse). Semantically more complex lexemes are more difficult to handle, which have to be reviewed manually, and the verses have to be reordered under a different headword. Such is the case of the adverb *felett* 'above', which can mean physically 'vertically above someone, higher than someone', but in the Bible, the transcendent meaning 'above some level, above some degree, above something' is much more common. In the same way, *nyomorult* 'wretched' can be used in the sense of 'suffering severe hardship, unfortunate', but also 'living in misery, poor conditions'. The identification of homonymous word forms is simple, as the two meanings of the same string can be resolved by the surrounding word forms, affixes, etc., but in the case of variant roots, there can be significantly different word forms. The system of variant roots in the Hungarian language is relatively well-regulated, with each type covering the forms occurring in the text of the Bible, but the archaizing language of the Bible (cf. Győri 2014) and the significant modifications of the strings (e.g., in the case of plural verbs with *v*-s variant root forms) raise several questions. Although the Hungarian word forms (*alma ~ almá** 'apple', *madár ~ madar** 'bird', *elalszik ~ elaludt* 'sleep', *eszik ~ ettem ~ ettek* 'eat', *zászló ~ zászla** 'flag', *hisz ~ higgy** 'believe') can be found without prior grammatical analysis, in the case of concordances the representation of identical word forms in a headword can be problematic. In the Hungarian tradition, concordances are based on the root, i.e., the different word forms are placed one below the other.

The structure of each entry, the linking of the headword and the related verses containing other word forms, and the presentation in the same group are by no means unproblematic (even if it is based on tradition in some respects). When compiling the concordance for the Hungarian translation, we are confronted with the following types of grammar concerning the word forms, which need to be dealt with when making the concordance:

1. different morphological types of root alternations: multiform word roots (e.g., noun, verb), some of which are locally manageable because there are few main variants besides the dictionary root (*hisz – higgy* /nominative and imperative of the word 'believe'/, *eszik – evő* /forms of the verb 'eat'/, *medve – medvék* /singular and plural of the word 'bear'/, *között – közé – köztem* /forms of the word 'between'/); the same root, which behaves irregularly (*szép – szebb* 'nice – nicer' or *jó – jobb* 'good – better'); the treatment of suppletive forms (*egy – első* 'one – first', *kettő – második* 'two – second', *van – lesz* 'is – will', *sok – több* 'much – more') is mostly a linguistic problem since in concordance suppletive forms will be separate entries,
2. the same root with multiple suffixes: for example, *fényes* 'shiny' and *fényesebb* 'shinier' will be two independent headwords but word forms with inflections will be listed under the headwords.
3. lexemes with the same form, but belonging to different parts of speech (a type of homonymy): homonymy is treated similarly to dictionaries, in that an entry contains concordances related to only one part of speech (i.e., the adjectival forms of *puszta* 'mere' are separate from the nominal forms),
4. prefixes: due to the English translation, this group includes *leg-* 'most' and verbal prefixes, but like the suppletive forms, they are not a major problem as they form separate entries (e.g., *alszik* 'sleep' and '*elalszik*' 'fall asleep' are two separate independent entries),
5. verb tenses: since there is primarily a formal difference between headwords, Hungarian verb tenses are treated separately, but are not a major problem; with regard to verb tenses, words ending in *-t/-tt* '-ed' can be problematic, since they can also be verbs, and participle forms – they are listed in a separate entries,
6. compounds: independent lexemes can also be members of compound words, in which case they are treated as separate headwords (i.e., *balzsam* 'balm', *balzsamolaj* 'balm oil', and *olaj* 'oil' become separate entries),
7. separable verbal prefixes: although separable verbal prefixes are formally more difficult to handle (since they are not part of the orthographic word), the search algorithm takes this into account, so that the postposed verb phrases appear together with the prefixed verbal prefixes (e.g., *fölmegy* 'go up' and *megy föl* 'go up' will be found in the same entry under *fölmegy*; *felmegy* 'go up' and *megy fel* 'go up' will be listed under *felmegy*).

The types defined above, as well as some of the examples, typically require a 'human', not a 'machine' to solve, and therefore cannot be satisfactorily handled by the search engine of a Bible reader on the Internet. Online Bible readers only perform character matching, so they are not able to analyse roots automatically or even recognise and distinguish word groups.

The concordance of the NRT follows the headwords of the English ESV Concordance, i.e. the relationship between the English source language lexeme and the target language Hungarian equivalent is based on the relationship between the two Bible translations, and the Hungarian headwords are given on the basis of the Hungarian translation of the NRT. Thus, the meaning of the Hungarian equivalent is not always identical to the source English, since concordance does not primarily require the Hungarian equivalent of the English lexeme, but the lexeme used in the Hungarian translation of the word in the English verse, which is usually equivalent in meaning, but there are also semantically distant words among the target language equivalents (language used in Bible translations is close to a language for special purposes signalising the sacred usage – this provides a basis for the so called theolinguistic researches). Thus, for example, the equivalents of 'ancient' in the concordance are *örökkévaló* 'everlasting', *öregkorú* 'old aged', *régi* 'old', since the ESV Bible word 'ancient' is used in Hungarian with the three equivalents above; the Hungarian equivalents of 'church' include 'church' (*egyház*), 'congregation' (*gyülekezet*), but also 'temple' (*templom*). The headwords of the Hungarian Concordance reflect those of the English ESV Concordance. The English headwords were extracted from the pdf-file of the ESV Bible Concordance chapter (ESV, 2008: 2665–2742) using optical character recognition and pattern matching. The English source file contains the English verses and the locus to give and check their Hungarian equivalents. The headwords in the English list of headwords are used as the basis for the Hungarian equivalents. The Hungarian Bible translation is based on the translation by Veritas Publishing House. After parallelizing the English and Hungarian headwords, the Hungarian verses were extracted from the Hungarian translation by pattern matching. In the file containing the command lines that automatically compile the Hungarian concordance, it can be later modified and changed after checking and fine-tuning.

The semi-automated concordance making is useful but some concordances in Hungarian have to be checked over "by eye": because of the semantic and grammatical homonymy. Concordance cannot be done fully automated, as finding the exact equivalents cannot be done without semantic clarification. During the concordance process, the following situations occurred which made automation difficult:

a) The automation cannot handle upper- and lower-case letters satisfactorily: case sensitivity and punctuation, and the automated search for words, which are also used as common words and proper nouns, homonyms are more difficult. Afterwards, words and verses with the correct meaning should be manually sorted into separate groups.

b) The handling of word boundaries is not always satisfactory: if we look only at a string (e.g., *épít* 'build'), or if we embed the string in a longer unit, we may encounter problems of interpretation that we cannot foresee when writing the scripts – but we can foresee that when checking manually. Besides the character sequence *épít* 'build' *építő*

'builder', *építőmester* 'master builder', *templomépítésre* 'to build a church', *szépítésük* 'beautify', *újjáépítik* 'rebuild' will also be found. Some of these can be handled by defining the word boundaries precisely (however, the definition of the final element can be problematic because of the suffixes). When defining *sereg* 'band', the word *hadsereg* 'army' should be excluded, as it is a separate headword. Similarly, there is a problem with separable verbal prefixes, which can be found with a special script.

c) There is also a special way of dealing with expressions such as *börtönbe vet* 'imprison', *életben marad* 'stay alive', which behave like separable verbal prefixes – there can be chunks of orthographic words between the two items of the dictionary form.

d) Automation can only partially (e.g., small and capital initials) or not at all handle differences in meaning (homonyms). Without automatic morphological analysis, the forms belonging to different word classes (e.g., *haragos* 'angry', *szegény* 'poor', *hát* 'back') can only be distinguished manually.

5. Conclusions

The experience and research area provided by online Bible readers are becoming increasingly important for researchers. Bible reading and various linguistic research (whether theolinguistic-terminological or translation studies) can be aided by concordances. In addition to the paper version of these, concordance makers built into the search interface of online readers are becoming increasingly fashionable, but the morphological richness of the Hungarian language and the biblical meanings make them currently less useful compared to the semi-automatic and handmade concordances. The analysis above shows that the online versions of the Hungarian Bible translations are not uniform in their handling of concordances, but it also shows that there is currently no good solution for dealing with them in a satisfactory way (the improved version of the Unified Bible Reader – Egyesített Bibliaolvasó, ebo.kre.hu – will try to provide a solution).

The making of a biblical concordance is a complex linguistic and exegetical task: the concordance tested on the translation of the NRT (currently under construction) served as a basis to demonstrate that manual and semi-automatic solutions can be successful – the proper implementation of the experience could even help in the development of a search engine written for Hungarian.

At the same time, concordances can be useful in the context of theolinguistic-terminological research, since not only the semantic fields of a word or an expression can be clarified, not only the characteristics of the language use of a particular denomination can be explored in more depth, but also the translation theory and translation technique of individual translations can be examined.

Terminological clarification and quality assurance procedures are also useful for lexical problems encountered in the preparation of concordances. The two types of solutions for concordance production – manual and computer-based – provide useful experience for all parties: the linguist, the linguistic technologist and the theologian.

High-quality concordances, which can be produced quickly, can help to make linguistic and hermeneutic research more complex.

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The Friulian Presence in Hungarian Industry with Particular Regard to the Meat Industry of Debrecen in the 19th century

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ABSTRACT

Emigration has been a crucial experience for the inhabitants of the Italian Friuli region, at least since the 13th century when Friulian peddlers started journeying from country to country. When it grew into a mass phenomenon in the 19th century, an increasing number of Friulian workers arrived in Hungary, and were involved in industrial activities as both entrepreneurs and employed labour. They gained a leading role in the Hungarian meat industry with the establishment of salami factories that created the conditions for the spread of a new product, the salami. In Debrecen, two Friulian families pursued this activity with numerous Friulian workers and one of them, the Vidoni company, became the third-largest salami factory in Hungary. The activities of the Friulian factories are considerable not only for Hungarian industrial history, but also because they shed light on the migratory processes and broaden the horizon of historical knowledge on Hungarian-Italian relations.

Keywords: Hungarian-Italian relations, seasonal emigration, industrial history, salami factories, migrant workers, Debrecen, Friuli, Hungary

Introduction

This study presents data that resulted from the research on the history of the Vidoni salami factory in Debrecen owned by a Friulian family. Investigating the archival documents, several sources about other immigrants of Friulian origins in Hungary came to light. These data reveal the continuous immigration of the past centuries in the Hungarian territories and indicate many Friulians who kept mainly industrial activities, especially in the meat industry. The sources offer informations about this topic with many possible ramifications, while previous

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research led to a history of only one family (Blaskó). This paper enumerates similar immigrants with all the currently available data about them. Even though some foreign scholars are engaged in Friulian emigration research, Hungary as a destination has never been examined previously, so this paper offers new informations that can be a starting point for future in-depth elaborations.

For centuries, emigration has been a central experience in the life of the north-eastern Italian territory of Friuli. This region, being a border area, was one of the most active European territories in the migration processes, especially in the 19th century. The oldest and most characteristic form of temporary migration departing from the mountains of that region was of the *cramârs* (peddlers) of the Carnic Alps. In the winter period, they crossed the Alps and journeyed from country to country as early as the 13th century to sell fabrics, medicines and spices. They had a distinguishing feature called a *crassigne* which was a storage device containing drawers carried pickaback (Davide et al. 2011, 17).[1] Their characteristics had already been mentioned in Fabio Quintiliano Ermacora's *De Antiquitatibus Carneae* and in Jacopo Valvason di Maniago's *Breve Descrittione della Cargna* which both describe their positions as traders and artisans looking for better opportunities and prosperity abroad (Valvason di Maniago 1869–1870, 176).

Their activities inspired other wayfaring craftsmen of the 18th and 19th centuries to be involved in this type of seasonal migration while many different conditions facilitated the migration processes. More and more people chose this way of working based on the experiences that previous emigrants shared with them through personal relations. Therefore, they created a chain migration route kept alive by this informational network (Baily; Baines). The construction of railways in the second half of the 19th century also contributed to the increase of emigration. With the direct connection of the Pontebba railway to Vienna, the journey became simpler, faster, and apart from directing immigrants to the Monarchy, remote destinations became more easily accessible. Therefore, the most significant Friulian migratory movement dates back fifty years before World War I when the growing labour market caused by European industrial development required enormous numbers of workers. This economic growth triggered migration processes in several countries of Europe, but in the Apennine Peninsula, emigration was particularly characteristic, in fact a necessity, due to economic and demographic conditions of the time. Besides internal migration, 20% of Italian people emigrated abroad permanently (Berend–Ránki 1987, 421–487).

The Friulian emigration differed from that of the other Italian territories, because most of the people chose seasonal emigration to nearby countries. Their social status not always changed after their homecoming, but through working a season abroad, they earned their families'

1 Supported by the National Talent Programme NTP-NFTÖ-21 scholarship.

living for some months (Cosattini 1983, 29–37). The official statistics available since 1876 record the trend of temporary migration: emigration in those decades had grown to become a mass phenomenon. Under the above-mentioned circumstances, the Austro-Hungarian Empire became the main destination of the movement, while in the years between 1892 and 1894 the primacy of Austria as a preferred destination was surpassed by Hungary. Cosattini's railway statistics (Cosattini 1983, 12–13, 126–138) show that 8% of emigrants chose this destination: Hungary accepted Friulian seasonal workers in various sectors of its industry between 1867 and World War I.

Friulian immigrants in Hungary

„*Polenta buona, formaggio del migliore, acqua più buona della birra!*
Andiamo ragazzo a lavorare nelle fornaci dell'Ungheria!"
"Good polenta, better cheese, better water than beer!
Let's go, boy, working in the Hungarian kilns! "
(Pellegrini 133)

Several examples of migration between the two countries are known since the Middle Ages (Jászay 2003) with that of the Friulians being significant among them. Three peddlers from Carnia worked in Hungary already in 1608, and it is also known that Giacomo Jacob and Antonio Duriguzzi were active in Nagyszombat (today Trnava in Slovakia), as well as other *cramârs* of Dierico, hamlet of Paularo (Ferigo 2010, 325–327). A survey of 1679 lists the residents of Carnia staying abroad and names 44 men in Hungary (Lorenzini 1997, 450–471).

Name	Place of origin	Year	Destination
Pietro Grasi, Francesco Grasi and his sons, Antonio and Andrea	Formeaso (hamlet of Zuglio)		Ongaria i.e. Hungary
Domenico and Giacomo Grasi (brothers)			
Beltramino Venuto			
Jacomo di Urban	Valle (hamlet of Arta Terme)		
Domenigo delle Corte			
Leonardo di Orlando	Zuglio		

Name	Place of origin	Year	Destination
Tomaso and Antonio Valesio (brothers)	Paularo		Ongaria superiore i.e. Upper Hungary
Leonardo and Antonio Valesio (brothers)			Ongaria i.e. Hungary
Pietro Gortano			
Antonio and Giacomo Valesio			Ongaria superiore i.e. Upper Hungary
Floriano Valesio			Ongaria i.e. Hungary
Antonio and Matia Valesio (brothers)			
Pietro Meneano	Villa Fuori, Mezzo and Riù (hamlets of Paularo)		Ongaria superiore i.e. Upper Hungary
Floriano Spiziaro			
Pietro Spiciaro (brothers)			
Biasio di Gleria			
Floriano Tarusio			
Leonardo del Moro	Chiasaso (hamlet of Paularo)		
Pietro Sartor	Dierico (hamlet of Paularo)	1676	Ongaria: Scaliz (=Szakolca, Hungary; today Skalica, in Slovakia)
Odorigo Fabiano		1677	Ongaria: Tirnavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Pietro Fabiano (his son)		1678	Ongaria: Modra (=Modor, Hungary; today Modra in Slovakia)
Dominico Lombardo		1676	
Jacomo and Domenico Dereiano (brothers)		1677	Ongaria: Stonfa (=Stomfa, Hungary; today Stupava, Slovakia)
Bertolo and Jacomo (brothers) and Bernardo Spiciar (grandson/nephew)		1678	Ongaria: Ternavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Daniel Dereiano			
Michel Raputino		1674	Ongaria: Tirnavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Jacomo Fabiano		1677	Ongaria: Ternavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Michel and Silvestro Sartori		1674	Ongaria: Stonfa (=Stomfa, Hungary; today Stupava, Slovakia)
Christofaro and Bortolo Sartor (brothers)		1676	Ongaria: Tirnavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)

Name	Place of origin	Year	Destination
Zuanne Gasparo	Salino, Lambrugno and Castoia (hamlets of Paularo)		Ongheria i.e. Hungary
Antonio Poppisso			

Some sources mention emigrants from several hamlets of Paularo as residents in Hungary in the first decades of the 17th century together with the name of Federico Ulderico Fabiani from Dierico since he brought a copy of the miraculous painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Sasvár there. In 1741 he was in the city of Modor (today Modra in Slovakia, Moro 2004, 45–46). The Moro family from Ligosullo also lived in the Hungarian town of Sasvár (today Šaštín, in Slovakia) from the 1750s (Moro 1993, 84–85). At least from 1750, the chapmen from the valley of Natisone left for the Balkans and for the Eastern European territories in the winter to trade images of saints, books, prints, and decorated papers produced by the Remondini printing house of Bassano del Grappa besides other small articles from some Austrian businesses who were trading with Hungary (Kalc 2009, 18). In the first half of the 19th century, one of the main routes passed through Újlak (today Ilok in Croatia) and reached the region of Subcarpathia (today in Ukraine). Then, also from the 19th century some Friulians from the districts of Tarcento, Gemona, San Daniele del Friuli and Carnia settled in Hungary to process milk, and deal in cheeses in the Hungarian plain (Ciconi 1862, 419). Other Friulians – such as Domenico Savonitti from Urbignacco (hamlet of Buia) together with his father – dedicated themselves from 1840 to 1866 to the export of Friulian cheeses, for which they had warehouses and shops (Zanini 1964, 284). According to an old story conserved in the memories of the local communities, a cheesemaker called Patat from Maniglia (hamlet of Gemona) got into a disagreement over his Hungarian interests with one of his colleagues, who therefore killed him in Artegna. Near the building called the house of Comini, there was a cross still in the 1930s with the year 1788 engraved in a stone in memoriam of this case (Zanini 1964, 29). In the last decade of the 19th century Friulian women also emigrated and worked in Hungarian spinning mills, such as Ermenegilda Savio who betook herself every spring with 30 companions to Buia, Pontebba and even to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to look for work (Varutti 2011). It's also known that at the turn of the 20th century the members of two families from Segnacco (hamlet of Tarcento), nicknamed the Suprians (Cipriani) and Baldassuz (Baldassi) traded animals between Friuli and Hungary (Pellarini).

The impact of these immigrants is revealed also in the Hungarian language: Hungarians used to call the Italian peddlers *bális,* or *bálizs,* "the itinerant merchants who come from Istria with their minute

articles", "who walk from village to village carrying their merchandise in a closet" and "the cheese-maker Italians and the Carantanians who lease sheep from the *puszta* for milking in the summer and make salami in the wintertime" (CzF; MTsz.).

The Friulian builders and construction companies of the 19th and 20th centuries were also well known (Merluzzi 2005). Zanini in his book *Friuli Migrante*, mentions an entire district (including a parish) inhabited by Italians on the hill of Buda. Most of them were painters, blacksmiths, tinkers or coppersmiths, bricklayers, stonemasons, stonecutters and altar makers. So they all worked for the building industry (Zanini 1964, 85–88). A publication from 1902, though, reveals other Friulians who were staying in the Hungarian capital (Frangini 1902, 8–34). Luigi di Pol from Cavasso Nuovo set up his firm in Buda in 1860 dedicating himself to flooring and carried out works in the Royal Palace and in other important buildings in the capital. He conducted his activity in many castles, churches and schools in other cities throughout Hungary, including the city of Debrecen. Leonardo Melocco from Lestans (hamlet of Sequals) in partnership with his brother Pietro founded the Fratelli Melocco company in 1904. This enterprise specialised in works with cement, and was involved not only in mosaic works, for example in the Parliament or in the viaducts of the electric railway, but also in hydraulic works, contributing to the making of turbines, bridges and sewers on the Danube and the Tisza River. Fortunato Di Leonardo and his brothers from Resia, were known, on the one hand, in the commercial field. Their company was dedicated to the wholesale import of Italian food products (tropical fruits, other dried and fresh fruits, vegetables and legumes). Apart from these entrepreneurs, archival sources also mention artisans who worked with Zala György, an artist of the Millennium Monument of Budapest: Domenico Collino from San Rocco (hamlet of Forgaria), Celso Midena from San Daniele del Friuli and Antonio Del Piero from Nimis (Zanini 1964, 60). The Crozzoli brothers from Tramonti di Sopra, on the other hand, participated in the construction of numerous buildings and bridges in Budapest (Grossutti 2018: 115–116). Although the exact location of their activity cannot be identified from the register of the emigrants of Artegna, Giovanni Angelo and Pietro Leonardo Facini also worked as bricklayers in Hungary.[2] Besides them, birth records from 1883 mention the name of a mosaicist, Antonio Di Bernardo, and his wife, Maria Dozzo Mora.[3]

The dimensions of the Friulian migratory movement are also well demonstrated by the presence of other Friulian entrepreneurs even outside the capital, such as the Maion brothers from Villamezzo (part of

2 *Archivio dell'Anagrafe Comunale di Artegna*, based on the research of Elisa Della Mea.

3 Birth register of their daughter, Luisa Oliva. The godparents were Piazzoni János, manufacturer of salami and Dozzi Terézia. *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-YS85-BHY?mode=g&cc=1743180. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

Paularo) who in 1894 established their grinder workshop in Nagykanizsa (Maion 27–29). The documents of that period also mention the name of Luigi Copetti from Resia, a grocer who lived in Debrecen in 1890,[4] while Valentino Zambon from Cavasso Nuovo was involved in works with cement in Sátoraljaújhely from 1899[5] (*A magyar ipar almanachja I.* 205). His sons, Bálint and Miklós continued the profession of their father: Miklós Zambon took part in the construction of the chocolate factory of Szerencs, then participated in some building works of the capital city after he moved his business to Pesterzsébet (*A magyar ipar almanachja, II.* 145).

Besides the above-mentioned activities, in the Hungarian archival sources salami factories either founded by the Friulians or that employed Friulian workers are recorded not only in Budapest, but in Debrecen, in Szeged and also in Győr. These establishments were registered among the 43 Friulian food companies operating in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the official statistics relating to the year 1906 (Ermacora n.d. 117).

The establishment of the first salami factories

Because of their competence in the field, Friulians easily found employment also in the meat industry. In the second half of the 19th century one of the more peculiar professions of the inhabitants of the Friuli Collinare and of the mountain districts (mainly in Tarcento, Gemona and Spilimbergo) was that of the *salamâr*. In the winter, 400-600 men, experts in the processing of (pork) meat-packing, emigrated searching for work in Austrian, Hungarian and Croatian factories for some months (Cosattini 1983, 66–67).

Their dispersal was connected to the activity of incumbent street vendors called *salamucci*,[6] of whom there were many — from Artegna, Magnano, Tarcento, Forgaria and Maniago (Zanini 1964, 277–278) — at the Viennese Prater who sold cheese and salamis, products of the aforementioned factories. Their goods enjoyed such a popularity that they soon appeared in Pest-Buda[7] as well, although their presence was still a feature of the Prater. Alongside the activity of a sausage maker (*botularius*) called Romboldi, the documents of an investigation in 1828 (Zanini 1964, 88) cited the list of *salamucci*, all from Friuli, operating in the Hungarian capital. Their presence can be traced up to the middle

4 The godparents of his son were Aloisio Beltrame, salesman and Maria Copetti. *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XZGN-GRS. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

5 *Hungary Civil Registration*, 1895-1980; https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9P61-9HP1?i=4&wc=92SD-VZ9%3A40678101%2C50177701%2C44735902&cc=1452460. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

6 The expression *salamucci* was used in various Hungarian literary works and in journalism as a denomination of Italian street vendors of salamis and cheeses.

7 Pest-Buda is the name of the Hungarian capital before the unification in 1873.

of the 20th century; they continued their activity until the 1940s in Vienna, but they were rare, likewise in Budapest.

Influenced by the selling expectations and based on their know-how in salami production, some street vendors founded workshops to make salami, such as the Fadini family from Tarcento, which – at the same time – also continued the activity of *salamucci* in Vienna. According to the sources, others with the same surname — probably relatives to each other — also did the same activity in the capital city: Fadini Giacomo from 1872 dealt with salami, and from 1882 he is indicated as an industrialist.[8] Fadini Rodolfo and Carlo were butchers,[9] (*Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék* 518) while Fadini Giovanni in 1878 was registered among the salami makers.[10]

Rinaldo Vidoni, in his essay entitled *Origini friulane di un'industria ungherese* [Friulian Origins of a Hungarian Industry], sketched briefly the history of the manufactures of salami in Hungary linking it to the foundation of the Friulian factories (Vidoni 1932, 132–133). He wrote about a merchant and his assistant, Giovanni Piazzoni, who in 1854 left for the Hungarian capital, where he began to roast chestnuts brought from Friuli, and then built a small workshop for the production of salami. With the growth of production in 1875, he opened a factory, then financed a similar enterprise near Budapest with one of his acquaintances, Giuseppe Meduna of Castelcucco[11] (province of Treviso); the factory remained in operation between 1877 and 1899.[12] According to Frangini's information, Giuseppe Dozzi also arrived in the capital at the invitation of his uncle, Piazzoni, in 1873 and then took over the factory in 1888.[13] A certain "barbe Nane" from Budoia is also mentioned (Teja 2018), who arrived there in that same period of time as a bricklayer, and then opened a factory to produce salami, where — among others — the Dozzi brothers of Frisanco worked also (Zanini 1964, 88). Because the name *Nane* derives from Giovanni while *barbe* means 'uncle' in Friulian, the similarity that can be seen may not be a coincidence. The two occupations were seasonal, so it cannot be excluded that they could have been carried out alternately. Therefore, Giovanni Piazzoni and "barbe Nane" could be the same person.

The Dozzi family built a prosperous business in the meat industry. According to data from *Központi Értesítő*, the official magazine of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Giuseppe Dozzo registered his company in 1891 in Budapest, and changed his surname in the same year to Dozzi.[14] In 1911, he was already working with 88

8 Budapest Főváros Levéltára (Budapest City Archives, from here indicated BFL) VII. 175. 1882. 611. t.

9 BFL VII. 105. 1872. 198. t.

10 BFL VII. 107. 1878. 95. t.

11 BFL IV. 1411. b. 106/1895.

12 BFL VII. 174. cs. 1876. 0192. t. and *Központi Értesítő*, 30 September 1877, 2 and 23 July 1899, 1.

13 Piazzoni died in 1888, at the age of 78. *Pesti Hírlap*, 3 April 1888, 7.

14 *Központi Értesítő*, 31 December 1891, 2215.

workers (54 Italians) and moved to Palotaújfalu, where the factory operated until World War II.[15] The brothers employed about 30 people from Frisanco including Angelo and Silvano Luisa-Cont, Antonio Dreon Del Bus, Ennio and Pietro Beltrame and Rodolfo Rosa Rizzotto (Grossutti 1995, 278). In the middle of the 20th century, we find Giuseppe Dozzi (son of the above-mentioned namesake) at the famous Pick factory in Szeged, where he was involved as one of the great salami masters and did much for the modernization of manufacturing. Davide Dozzi was the head of the production of another large factory, called *Herz Ármin Fiai* [Sons of Ármin Herz] for 40 years (Vidoni 1932, 132–33), and member of the Forgiarini company which was in Erzsébetfalva.[16] While Filippo founded a factory in Sinaia (Romania) where he created the famous *Sibiu salami* well known also today.

Other entrepreneurs of Budapest also had important factories in this sector. Pietro Del Medico of Tarcento arrived in Pest-Buda in the 1840s, and founded a factory there around 1850 which remained active until 1912 (Jekelfalussy 1892, 2426). Since the owner did not officially declare the company, no documentation is available. But when his son, who was born in Hungary, wanted to continue the business under the name *Del Medico Péter Fia* [Son of Pietro Del Medico] in 1881, he presented his birth certificate to the authorities indicating that his father worked as *salami confector* from 1860.[17] Vidoni also reported data that other people were involved in the processing of salami, including Pietro Guglielmini[18] and Luigi Molinari, both identified as Friulians. However, as can be seen from different contemporary sources, the first one (in the capital city at least since 1871) was a native of Verona. The only information about Luigi Molinari is that he owned a factory in Budapest since 1891.[19] In another document, the contract of sale of the György Suberka factory in Kőbánya (today the 10th district of Budapest) contained as a requirement the maintenance of the positions of some previous workers, including Italians: Micheluzzi Giovanni, Dal Negro and Orlando Osvaldo.[20] Some other families were also involved in salami production such as the Braida (De) Paul family of Udine and the Merluzzi family which probably also had Friulian origins. (Horváth) Braida was active between 1853 and 1866, while Merluzzi worked between 1865 and 1874.

Similar factories arose in other Hungarian cities where there was availability of raw materials. According to the sources, the first to deal with the manufacture of salami in Szeged was Giuseppe Orlando, who

15 *Központi Értesítő*, 1 June 1911, 1346.

16 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary, from here indicated MNL OL) K 70 1919. B. 10/32285.

17 BFL VII. 2. e. 267 (1882).

18 *Budapesti Közlöny*, 22 July 1871, 3799.

19 *Központi Értesítő*, 9 April 1891, 1.; BFL VII. 185. 1891. 2887 and BFL VII. 185. 1892. 1107.

20 The first name of Dal Negro is unidentified in the source or it is Osvaldo, and coincides with Orlando's. BFL VII. 175. 1895. 0496 t.

produced sausages as early as 1839[21] together with Leonardo Facini who was occupied in salami making from 1824. Although the exact date is not included in the official documentation, the registers show that Péter Facini also carried out this activity as an "Italian salami maker" at the birth of his son (Lajos Antal) in 1846.[22] Orlando's and Facini's artisan activities would not be followed by a larger salami factory related to Italians for about four decades. Although the Pick company dates its formation to 1869, the exact date of its establishment cannot be substantiated by an official document. Márk Pick received an industrial license to produce salami in 1886 only, but produced it in larger quantities only from the beginning of the 20th century, while he started the exclusive production of salami only after World War I[23] (Kirsch et al. 1986, 313).

At the end of the 19th century large Friulian businesses were located also in Szeged. The company of János Haris with the brothers Luigi and Leonardo Brollo (Marjanucz 1987, 348) from Gemona was established in 1887, and the company of *Brollo és Társai* [Brollo and Partners] in 1889. Between 1922 and 1927 a Del Medico salami factory was also active in the city, called *Del Medico Jób Antal és Lóránd Gyula Szalámigyára* [Salami factory of Antonio Del Medico Job and Gyula Lóránd] (Blazovich 2014, 93). Among the Friulian factories of Szeged, the most significant was Giovanni Forgiarini from Gemona who carried out such activities since 1899 together with his ice factory operating only in 1902.[24] Already in 1905, though, he sold his company to Francesco Tiani and partners: Alfonso Crovatto from Vienna, Francesco Valzacchi from Wiener Neustadt, Giuseppe Pittini (his father-in-law), Luigi Isola, Giovanni Battista Madile and Francesco Patat from Gemona.[25] The plant changed hands yet again in 1907 when the Pick family bought it and moved its production to this new location (Bálint 1974, 115). The very early re-sale may be related to the death of Tiani, whose Viennese business was bought from his widow exactly at this time by the Vidonis, a fact that is mentioned in their family correspondence.

The presence of Italian workers in Szeged is also traceable. The salami factory of János Torossy, a grocer from Pest, employed an "Italian expert" in 1853, and in 1864 a local newspaper, *Szegedi Híradó* reports that: "to avoid any mistake, our ingenious butchers have already acquired the most skilful Italians to lead the sausage production this year".[26]

21 *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XK19-L5W. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

22 *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9396-CBWS-T?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AX295-QLR. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

23 MNL CsML XI. 35. A szegedi Pick Szalámigyár iratai (1893–1949).

24 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Csongrád Megyei Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary Csongrád County Archives, from here indicated MNL CsML) IV. B. 1407. b.

25 *Szeged és vidéke*, 4 December 1904, 313.

26 *Szegedi Híradó*, 30 January 1864, 34.

Moreover, the statistics of 1910 record 17 Italians who had their own chapel in the Pick salami factory (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1913, 1010–1011).

In addition to the factory of Szeged, Forgiarini's plant in Győr began operating in 1867, however, the company was not officially registered until 1892. The sources name Forgiarini Ferenc, Cedaro Amadio Antonio and Vidoni Tobia, all residents of Győr, as members of the management.[27] Other factories were also established in the city. In 1903, Károly Halbritter bought a salami factory in the city centre (from the majority Austrian ownership of Redlich and his partner) which exported 90% of its products to Austria, and founded a company called the *Győri Magyar Szalámigyár* [Hungarian Salami Factory of Győr]. The plant produced under the cartel agreement with Herz in Budapest until 1912, and employed 65 workers from Udine (Havas 2004, 78 and 191–192). Udine in this case probably refers to the province of Udine, although it was not possible to determine the origin of the workers more precisely.

Friulians in Debrecen

In the second half of the 19th century two relevant companies of Debrecen managed by Friulian families, the Boschetti and the Vidoni, gained importance in the meat industry. The presence of Italians in the city is not well documented, censuses only being available since 1850 when only 2 Italians were registered in Debrecen (Dányi 1993, 64–65). The censuses of 1870 and 1881, on the one hand, do not register Italians as a separate group, but as part of the "other nations" category. On the other hand, some questionnaires stored in the archives contain useful information about the Boschetti family business, and the industrial statistics account for the Italian presence in more detail. The statistics of 1891 report a salami factory with 30 employees, while the censuses of the same year already show 16 Italian men and 3 women in the city (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1893 I, 56). Cosattini's information of 60 workers in 1904 seems to be confirmed by the statistics of 1910 that account for 58 Italians in Debrecen (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1913 II, 1044–1045). 51 Italians worked there in 1913, but 61 men and 16 women were registered in the town (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1913 II, 70, IV 128–129, V 118), so most of the Italian presence was linked to industrial activities.

Salami production was launched in Debrecen by Boschetti. The Boschetti workshop, founded in 1830 in Vienna (Zanini 1964: 29) is not mentioned in the family's memoires, but those contain some information on the circumstances of the arrival and the activities carried out in Debrecen. Maria, Andrea, Domenico, Giuseppe and Paolo Boschetti

27 BFL VII. 217. 1905. 0205 t.; BFL VII. 186. 1905. 0629 and 0630 t., *Központi Értesítő*, 1 March, 1892, 333.

arrived in the city around 1850 from Collalto (hamlet of Tarcento) together with Maria's second husband, Paolo Ceschia. Since the family became impoverished due to a dispute over the construction of a railway section that crossed their land,[28] they were forced to seek a new life abroad. They chose Debrecen, where a strong tradition in the preparation of meat already existed and which was famous for its livestock farming, especially of the Hungarian pig breed known as *mangalica*. The Boschetti family tried to prosper with various activities such as trading in grain and the breeding of silkworms. Moreover, they had a brick producing factory, a stone quarry and an artisan workshop for the manufacture of salami.

According to archival sources, Andrea Boschetti was involved in silkworm farming (Szűcs 1992, 244) and brick making (Szendiné 1994, 225) and was also an agricultural trader.[29] His kiln with 25 workers produced 250,000 bricks a year, although the manufacture was suspended in the winter months (Debrecen története 242). Giuseppe Boschetti had a stone quarry[30] and a factory for the production of salami that in 1880 produced 4,000 quintals of commodities with 20 workers (Mózes 1991, 136–156). Since the manufacture of salami took place only during the winter, the (Friulian) workers of the brick factory could join in the production process of this factory, having therefore a job for the whole year.

This rotation of assignments was confirmed by Valentino Revelant, who, according to the census of 1870, was a butcher, but was registered in another source as a kilnsman.[31] According to information from the family, the Boschettis opened a grocery store in the city centre with four assistants, giving the cashier work to Teresa and Luisa Ceschia. There they sold products prepared by their own baker (probably Angelo Fantini), bottled wine imported from Italy, cheeses and citrus fruits.[32]

According to the census of 1870,[33] many people lived with the Boschetti family, so the surveys contain valuable information about the activity of the inhabitants of Andrea Boschetti's house. The form's record not only mentions the name of the persons, but also the profession, year of birth, and place.

28 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti).

29 *Központi Értesítő*, 14 September 1876, 592.

30 *Központi Értesítő*, 17 February, 1895, 259.

31 The birth register of her daughter, Giuliana (born in Debrecen) mentioned his occupation. His wife was Erzsébet Borcsino, the godparents were Andrea Boschetti and Sára Marinka *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895*, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XZGD-GMK. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

32 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti).

33 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary Hajdú-Bihar County Archives, from here indicated MNL HBML) IV. B 1109/l 102.

	Name	Occupation	Year of birth and place of origin	Present name of the place of origin
1.	Boschetti Andrea	salami maker	1816, Collalto	Tarcento
2.	Boschetti Andrea	assistant salami maker	1851, Debrecen	Debrecen
3.	Boschetti Domenico	master brickmaker	1830, Collalto	Tarcento
4.	Boschetti Paolo	blacksmith	1835, Collalto	
5.	Ceschia Pietro	assistant salami maker	1835, Magnano	Magnano in Riviera
6.	Ceschia Giovanni	salesman	1852, Magnano	
7.	Ricci Paolo	salesman	1851, Magnano	
8.	Anzil Luigi	merchant student	1853, Collalto	Tarcento
9.	Marini Pietro	assistant salami maker	1835, Collalto	
10.	Danielis Giuseppe	assistant salami maker	1850, Collalto	
11.	Revelant Valentino	assistant salami maker	1840, Magnano	Magnano in Riviera
12.	Palmino Lorenzo	brickmaker's assistant	1848, Brazzacco	Moruzzo
13.	Facchini Giuseppe	brickmaker's assistant	1848, Brazzacco	
14.	Sabbadini Giovanni	brickmaker's assistant	1849, Brazzacco	
15.	Lavia Fernando	brickmaker's assistant	1848, Brazzacco	
16.	Driussi Pietro	brickmaker's assistant	1854, Brazzacco	
17.	Driussi Cesare	brickmaker's assistant	1849, Brazzacco	
18.	Driussi Valentino	brickmaker's assistant	1838, Brazzacco	
19.	Fantini Angelo	baker	1820, Cividale	Cividale del Friuli

Giuseppe Boschetti lived in another house with his wife and daughters where he had a workshop for the production of salami and also ran an inn with a Friulian employee.[34]

34 MNL HBML IV. B 1109/l 89.

	Name	Occupation	Age and birthplace	Place of origin (present name)
1.	Boschetti Giuseppe	master salami maker	35, Collalto	Tarcento
2.	Székely Amalia	housewife	30, Debrecen	Debrecen
3.	Boschetti Amalia		8, Debrecen	
4.	Boschetti Etelka		4, Debrecen	
5.	Boschetti Irma		6, Debrecen	
7.	Dreussi Valentino	waiter domestic	15, San Daniele	San Daniele del Friuli

In the conduct of family business, Giovanni Ceschia should have succeeded Andrea Boschetti by virtue of his entrepreneurial skills and by the trust he had gained among their workers. But due to his early death, the company passed into the hands of his son, also named Andrea, who left the business and moved to Máramarossziget (today Sighetu Marmației in Romania) with his wife, Teréz Kolda (Teréz was from the Kaderász family, also of Italian origins, whose members founded the first patisserie in Debrecen). There they dealt with real estate investments[35] (Kálnási 2005, 248).

In addition to the already mentioned family members, the sources reveal another Boschetti, who was interested in the production of bricks and tiles. Several advertisements mention Krisztián Boschetti ("Death notices"), husband of Lujza Ceschia (daughter of Maria Boschetti), who also had interests in Kaba (1892) and Püspökladány (1894–1895). According to the family legend, after entrusting his factory to his foreman, Krisztián Boschetti returned home to Friuli with his family, where they spent 11 years. After that, they went back to Hungary and sold the factory, then they bought a smaller plant in Püspökladány. The story is also confirmed by advertisements posted in the press during that period.[36]

But the true fame of the Friulian entrepreneurs is due to the Vidoni family. The three 'brothers' arrived in Debrecen from Sornico (hamlet of Artegna) in the first half of the 1880s. The precedents of their arrival date back to 1800 when Giovanni Vidoni's grandfather carried out the occupation inherited from his father, that is, the production and sale of cheeses in the Hungarian plain. Following his father's example, Giovanni went to Hungary and Bavaria to work as a brickmaker, then in the winter, he devoted himself to the sale of roasted chestnuts. Like his uncles, who had already been in Vienna for 30 years, he also worked at the Prater with other Friulians. There they sold the products of the Boschetti factory of Debrecen and then decided to start a similar business purchasing the equipment of Boschetti, who in the meantime had

35 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti); *Központi Értesítő*, 11 November 1876, 1.

36 *Debreczen-Nagyváradi Értesítő*, 27 November 1892, 2. and 28 April 1895, 5.

retired from business (Zanini 1964, 281–282). According to the memoirs, the women of the Boschetti family who remained in Debrecen worked for the Vidonis, washing the workers' aprons, in order to earn at least a small amount of income after the closure of their factory and after having dispersed the family assets.[37]

The Vidoni brothers founded their company in Gemona del Friuli with the partners Giovanni Fabbro of Artegna and Osvaldo Moro of Treppo Carnico, ex-worker of the Andretta salami factory in Ljubljana, both already residing in Debrecen in 1886.[38] They began manufacturing in a small workshop then bought the land between Magos *utca* [street] (from 1929 Monti ezredes *utca* [street])[39] and Domb *utca* [street], where they built their new factory. Thanks to the success of their goods in 1926, they founded a new factory in Himberg, under the direction of the family members residing in Vienna (Zanini 1964, 283).

We only have some hints about the networking and the recruiting strategies of the Friulian entrepreneurs. They brought most of their workforce from Friuli, therefore we can suppose they had good connections in order to find the workers suited for the job. The sources examined for this research mention the fact that the Vidonis gathered the experts through recruitment organised by the Contessi family of Gemona. Renato Contessi, like his father and grandfather, visited the families every autumn to find the most suitable people to work in the Hungarian, Viennese and Eastern European factories. One of the uncles (Antonio Giuseppe or Michele) worked in the Debrecen factory and his father, Tarcisio, was employed in the Vidoni company. The ledger kept in Artegna is also a very precious source because it contains information related to the family's activities and workers.[40] Since it contains notes related to the Debrecen factory, more than 30 Friulians had been identified who came from Artegna, Buia, Gemona, Majano, Tricesimo and Udine. In more than 20 cases, their profession or job was also reported.

	Name	**Occupation**	**Period**	**Place of origin**
1.	Boezio Francesco and his brother Angelo	salami maker	(1902–22)	(Borgo) Zucco Borgo Zuch
2.	Colaone Giovanni and his brother	salami maker Debreczen	(1907–20)	di Mont(e)

37 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti).

38 Archivio di Stato di Udine (State Archives of Udine from here indicated ASU) Atti dei notai, Parte moderna, Pontotti Pietro, Busta 676. and 700., fasc. 1090. and MNL HBML VII. 4/d. 96 d.

39 Colonel Alessandro Monti's Italian legion was aligned in Debrecen and fought alongside the Hungarian forces in 1848–49 independence war. To his homage the Vidoni salami factory's street was renamed *Monti ezredes utca* in 1929. MNL HBML IV. B. 1405/b.

40 Data obtained from the documentation of the family property, and published with the permission of Barbara Vidoni.

	Name	Occupation	Period	Place of origin
3.	De Monte Marcello (Brother-in law of Giovanni Battista Vidoni, foreman between 1919 and 1940)	salami workmanship	(1907–13)	Artegna
4.	Goi Giovanni	worker and domestic in Debreczen	(1906–13)	Sornico
5.	Goi Giuseppe	salami maker	(1913–14)	Sornico
6.	Jacuzzi Maria		(1902)	Artegna
7.	Menis Giovanni	salami maker	(1905–14)	
8.	Menis Pietro and his brother Co(g)gio	salami maker	(1905–14)	
9.	Valza(c)chi Giuseppe and Eugenia (his daughter)		(1902–17) (1914–19)	Sornicco
10.	Giacomini Luigi[41]	worker Debrecen	(1907)	Buja
11.	*Fratelli* Alessi (brothers)	salami makers Debreczen	(1907–8)	Colosemano (sic!)
12.	Piemonte Giovanni	salami maker	(1915–17)	Buja
13.	Blasotti Pietro	salami maker	(1913–14)	Campo
14.	Copetti Emilio Angelo	worker	(1905–12)	Gemona
15.	Copetti Francesco	salami maker	(1912–15)	
16.	Cucchiero Luigi	salami maker	(1911–14)	Gemona Campo
17.	Gubiani Leonardo	worker in Debreczen	(1907)	Gemona
18.	Lepore Giovanni Moschion	salami maker	(1913–14)	Goud
19.	Marchetti Lorenzo	salami maker	(1913–23)	Gemona Campo
20.	Toffano Ferdinando	salami maker; in Debreczin	(1905–14)	Gemona
21.	Bertoldi Francesco Bertoldi Francesco	salami maker	(1913–14) (1907–13)	Beivars (Chiavris Udine) Felettano
22.	Tosolini Antonio	salami maker Debreczen	(1906–22)	Felettano
23.	Mattioni Giuseppe	salami maker in Debreczen	(1914)	?
24.	Calligaro Tomaso	salami maker Debreczen	(1907)	–

41 This occupation is traditional in the Giacomini family; they are still running a butcher's shop in Tarcento where two photos of the workers of the Vidoni factory of Debrecen can be seen.

In other cases, in the absence of registration of the activity, the type of relation shall be based only on the financial statements:

	Name	Time period	Place of origin
1.	Adami Sebastiano	(1893–1911)	Artegna
2.	De Monte Giovanni Battista	(1908–21)	
3.	Foschia Luigi	(1912–14)	Sornico
4.	Fratelli Giacomo e Isidoro Goi-Dreulin	(1902–20)	
5.	Picco Giuseppe	(1907–25)	Artegna
6.	Comoretti Domenico	(1903–22)	Buja
7.	Sava Arturo	(1906–10)	
8.	Lepore Antonio Barbin	(1898–1914)	Borgo – Gemona
9.	Madile Giuseppe	(1904–13)	Maniaglia
10.	Madile Ottavio Margarit	(1916–23)	
11.	Sangoi Leonardo	(1895)	Ospedaletto
12.	Plos Giacomo	(1909–20)	Treviacco (sic!) Majano

Apart from the ledger there are also other sources containing data of the factory workers. Thanks to these, the list of employees can be completed with the names of Adami Ilario-Leopoldo, Giovanni Battista Sava (from Buja) and Guglielmo Ca(n)doni, butcher, present in the last years of the Debrecen factory. It is also worth mentioning Giacomo Copetti, who worked in the Himberg factory.[42] Thanks to local research, we know the name of Antonio Forgiarini, who worked all his life for the Vidonis, and of his son, Antonio jr., who was also an employee of the salami factory (Gubiani n.d. 48).

Conclusions

The sources containing information on Friulian seasonal workers are multifarious and they offer an overview of their activity and of the Friulian emigration towards Hungary in general. The mass migration of the time and the immigrants continuously arriving in large numbers until the outbreak of World War I were significant especially in some sectors, such as construction and meat processing. The aforementioned firms and entrepreneurs from the meat industry played an important part in the diffusion of a new product in Hungary: the salami. It should be emphasised that apart from Budapest and Szeged, Debrecen also played an important role in this field, given that, alongside Pick and Herz, the Vidoni company was one of largest salami factories in Hungary at the time.

42 ASU Partito Nazionale Fascista, B. 7. fasc. 44.

It clearly emerges that entrepreneur families have played an important role in initiating and keeping the Friulian migration process towards Hungary employing Friulian workers. The activities of the Friulian factories are considerable not only from the point of view of the industrial history, but also for a better understanding of the migratory processes. Finally, the collected data help to broaden the horizon of historical knowledge on Italian-Hungarian relations and help to reconstruct a part of Debrecen's history.

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