

BONARUM CULTORES ARTIUM

**Research Almanac
University of Miskolc – Faculty of Arts**

Edited by

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Foreword

Bonarum cultores artium – that is, scholars of the humanities. Of course, the title is inaccurate in the sense that a considerable number of the authors of the papers you can read on the following pages are not scholars of the humanities in the classical sense – but they are all instructors at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Miskolc. Similarly to other faculties of arts, besides being the home of scholars doing research in the fields of Hungarian linguistics and literature, history and philosophy, the Miskolc faculty also has experts involved in social sciences, philology and a wide range of pedagogical and psychological disciplines related to teacher training. The purpose of this collection, published as the special issue of the periodical *Szellem és Tudomány* ('Intellect and Science'), is to illustrate how wide this spectrum is. The Faculty of Arts in Miskolc celebrated the 25th anniversary of its establishment and the 20th anniversary of being declared a faculty in 2017. We are still considered to be one of the youngest but a quarter of a century is a considerable period, urging us to summarise but at the same time, make further plans for the future.

It is a declared objective of this researchers' almanac to introduce ourselves. By publishing the papers written by our instructors in the Hungarian and English languages, we should like to present what we are involved in, what kind of professional issues our colleagues have been concerned with in recent years. We should like to underline that we have taken our well-deserved place among the Hungarian faculties of arts. But it is also an objective of this almanac to show that we have been doing important professional work as one of the faculties of the university, which moved to Miskolc exactly 70 years ago. We are scholars of the humanities, educators, social scientists and experts of foreign languages, teaching and doing research in Miskolc and serving the region with our activities, and committed contributors to higher education and academic research in the disadvantaged region of Northeast Hungary. We are proud of this, and undertake to serve the cause of the rise of our place of living and university in the future, as well.

The representative papers of the almanac, at the same time serving specific professional purposes, have been made and are published in the framework of project No. EFOP-3.6.1-16-00011. We wish to contribute to the achievement of the objectives of the research project entitled 'A University Getting Younger and Renewed – Innovative Smart City', striving to achieve 'the embedding of the dominant higher education institution of the North Hungarian region, its close partnership with local actors, its serving as a knowledge base' and the intensification of its 'regional, national and international partnerships' during project implementation. Furthermore, the papers written by the widest

circle of our instructors well serve the 'efficient integration' of the institution in the academic and innovation processes of the region as well as the nurturing of new blood because it was not only our leading instructors but to the same extent, also our younger colleagues who undertook to play a role in implementation.

The authors have been asked to present the latest results of their current research in papers of approximately identical lengths, demonstrating what they have contributed to the professional performance of our institution in the specific field where they work. In addition, they have been asked to list some of their further publications on the topic at the end of their papers, thus helping to orientate the readers interested and colleagues, as well.

Our instructors have already published their research results in many national and international periodicals, collections of papers, conference proceedings and monographs and we also have periodicals of our own. However, no similarly large-scale and representative collection of papers has ever been compiled in our institution, so this is our first – but we hope not the last – publication of this kind.

Lectori salutem!

Miskolc, March 2020.

Mária Illésné Kovács
Dean of the Faculty of Arts
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CONTENTS

Illésné Kovács, Mária: Foreword	3
Bailey, Ted: Examples of Mimetic Desire in American Literature	9
Barna, László: Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works	17
Bodnár, Ildikó: Fifteen Years Representing 'Directly Useful Linguistics'	28
Bognár, László: Relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya in Chekhov's <i>Вишневый сад</i> . Text analysis	37
Bozsikné Vig, Marianna: Methods of Conflict Management in Pedagogical Practice	46
Csepeli, György: Natural and Artificial Intelligence	54
Csizmadia, Ervin: The Adaptation Process: The Perspectives of the MSZMP Leadership of Western Europe in the Late Kádár Regime.....	59
Csíki, Tamás: The Characteristics of the Societal and Spatial Structure of Hungarian Jewry in the Era of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy.....	67
Dobák, Judit: The Application of an Innovative Tool in Urban Anthropology	75
Dobos, Csilla: The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language.....	83
Dósa, Attila: What Novels Know about Time and Themselves: The Philosophy of Time and Self-Reflexive Narratives in Contemporary British Fiction	94
Egri, Tímea: Aggression in the school. Bullying among pupils with disabilities	103
Faragó, László: The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity of the Media Content.....	112
Farkas, Zsolt: The Lack of a "Grand Narrative": Postmodern and Hungarian Literature.....	129
Fazekas, Csaba: Outline of the Connections between the Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in 19th–20th c. Hungary	134
Fekete, Sándor: The Ethical Problem of Choice in Small and Large Communities	144
Gráf, Rózsa: The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability.....	150
Gréczi-Zsoldos, Enikő: Method of the Dialect History and the Historical Sociolinguistics in the Examination of the Historical Texts	161
Gyapay, László: Scepticism and Action in Ferenc Kölcsey's Way of Thinking.....	169

University of Miskolc Faculty of Arts – Researchers' Almanac

Gyukits, György: Coping with Bereavement in Music. (In Memory of Victor Hartman).....	176
Gyulai, Éva: Land and Policy: Dominions of Prince Francis II Rákóczi, 1694–1701	184
Havasi, Virág: Community Development and Civil Society.....	195
Hell, Judit: The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements in Everyday Interactions among Family Members.....	206
Illésné Kovács, Mária: Compensating for Language Disadvantage: A New Method and Textbook Series.....	219
Jaskóné Gácsi, Mária: Drama Pedagogy and Teacher Training	228
Kappanyos, András: Cultural Registers and the Reception of World Literature	234
Kapusi, Angéla: The Significant of Imre Henszlmann's Work in Dramatic Theory and Drama Criticism in the History of 19th Century Hungarian Literature.....	242
Karlowits-Juhász, Orchidea: The similes of charity service programs	251
Kasznár, Attila: China: A Global Power and its Security Issues.....	260
Kecskeméti, Gábor: The Elements of Hungarian Humanities Strategy: Participating in National Cultural Heritage as a Social Opportunity.....	268
Kecskés, Judit: The Connection between Historical and Present-Day Examples of Constructions Signifying Persons with <i>Alias</i>	275
Kemény, Gábor: Linguistic Characteristics of Literary Impressionism and the Impressionistic Character of Gyula Krúdy's Style.....	287
Kertész, Noémi: The Role of Children's Literature from the Period of Polish Romanticism in Nineteenth-Century Nation-Building	297
Knausz, Imre: Theses on Literacy.....	305
Komjáthy, Zsuzsanna: People with Reduced Mobility in the Western Transdanubian Labour Market.....	312
Kotics, József: The Types of Gypsy-Non-Gypsy Cohabitation. The Example of a Local Transsylvanian Community.....	320
Kovácsné Duró, Andrea: Monitoring Studies of the Values of the Youth.....	331
Kőríz, Imre: Leave Music out of it! An Experiment in the Reinvention of Hungarian Verse Translation.....	339
Kunt, Gergely: Social Imaginaries as Reflected in Adolescent Diaries during the WWII	349
Kürti, László: Invented Nation – Invented Tradition: Questions about Jászkun Revival and Identity.....	356
Lajos, Veronika: Good and Evil – Participation, Application and Practical Knowledge in Contemporary Sociocultural Anthropology	366
Lendvai L., Ferenc: The Realms of the Evil.....	375

Contents

Lévai, Ruth Karin: What Truth has Come to Mean since the Enlightenment	386
Magnuczné Godó, Ágnes: Innovative Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages to Dyslexic Learners	395
Makai, Péter: Proximitive Responsibility.....	404
Mátyás, Anikó: Washback Effect of Language Exams on Test Takers' Foreign Language Learning Motivation, Attitude and Self-Concept: A Pilot Study	412
Mihályi, Helga: Population and Others – Small Miskolc Demographics	417
Mokrainé Orosz, Angéla: Connection between performance management and knowledge management and its effect on competitiveness.....	428
Nagano, Robin Lee: A Window into Disciplinary Discourse: Titles of Research Articles.....	435
Nyíró, Miklós: The Medial World View of Hermeneutic Philosophy	444
Osváth, Andrea: Varying Generations with Various Communication	452
Pataki, Éva: Space, Affect and Identity: The Interconnectedness of the Urban Uncanny and the Self in Suhayl Saadi's <i>Psychoraag</i>	458
Pethő, József: New Aspects in the Stylistic Description of Krúdy's Fiction.....	465
Porkoláb, Tibor: The Evaluation of József Lévy's Career	473
R. Nagy, József: Applied visual anthropology	479
Sasvári, Anna: Online Adult Foreign Language Education	491
Simigné Fenyő, Sarolta: All the World is a „Stage”. The Role of the Stage-Model and the Stage-Metaphor in Translation	500
Simon, Zoltán: Remarks on the margin of researching Transsylvanian free churches, new religious movements. The issue of forming sects in the practice of anthropological research.....	508
Süttő, Szilárd: A Perennial Misunderstanding from Misunderstood Years: Was Lajos Helfenstein, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1382/83–1391) an „Adherent of Horvátis”?.....	517
Szabó-Tóth, Kinga: Municipality Assessment – with Local Guts	523
Szabóné Papp, Judit: Non-standard Grammatical Structures, Vocabulary Use and Native Tongue Interference in the Utterances of Competent Non-native Speakers in the VOICE Corpus	532
Szigeti, Jenő: Trends of piety in the free churches of Hungary in the 20th century	542
Sziszkoszné Halász, Dorottya: Social Change and Stability in the District of Encs in the Era of the World Wars.....	547
Takács, István: Non omnis moriar ... – or Reception of Janusz Korczak, Pál Ranschburg and József O. Vértés on the field of Radnóti's Razglednica	558

University of Miskolc Faculty of Arts – Researchers' Almanac

Tasi, Réka: Devotional Literature and Imagination in Early Modern Hungary.....	564
Tóth Árpád: Voluntary Societies and Social Transformation in Early- and Mid-19th century Hungary	571
Török, Zsuzsanna: A distinctive piece of work. Thoughts on Pierre Bourdieu`s Distinction	582
Tringli, István: The Feud in the Middle Ages.....	588
Vajda, Norbert: Dementia in Hungary: One of the Greatest Social Challenges of the 21 st century	596
Váraljai, Julia Clare: A Suitable Nest.....	607
Viskolcz, Noémi: The Fate of the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family in the 20th century	615
Vraukó, Tamás: Social and Literary Movements of Hispanic-Americans Since the 1960s	622

Examples of Mimetic Desire in American Literature

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If there is any lesson to be gleaned from *Moby Dick*, it is that no one theory or interpretative paradigm can explain everything. Herman Melville's notoriously ambiguous 1851 novel has remained open to any number of interpretations. Is it about a monomaniacal captain seeking revenge against a whale that took his leg? About the Captain Ahab's quest for the meaning of life, or his attempt to understand an unknowable God? All of these interpretations and more are possible, but the novel's end, with the survival of just one character, the narrator Ishmael, suggests that only those open to multiple meanings will be able to navigate their way through life.

It is this idea that I have kept coming back to over the course of my academic research in the past couple of decades. René Girard's theory of mimetic desire purports to have uncovered the mechanism that led humankind to develop all religions throughout history, and any theory that claims to be such an all-encompassing explanation for one of the most fundamental elements of human existence certainly has the potential to lead one down a monomaniacal dead end. One has to guard oneself against putting too much weight on a single theory, yet this theory has so much to offer and can potentially explain so much that it has been useful tool for me in analyzing various works of literature.

Girard's theory itself encompasses the fields of literature, anthropology, and psychology, and has been developed over the years in a number of books, including *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel* (1961), *Violence and the Sacred* (1972), *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World* (1978), and *The Scapegoat* (1982). According to Girard, the origin of all desire lies in mimicry: we may believe that our choices are our own and that we have objective criteria for selecting a particular brand of clothing or whatever, but in fact we desire it simply because someone else has already chosen it. In his analyses of various works of world literature, he noted that characters always modeled their own desires on those of a hero, or mediator as he called it. The great authors such as Cervantes or Flaubert, he believed, had seen this truth and reflected it in their works. What

is inevitably established is a triangle consisting of mediator, subject and object. The limited number of certain objects—a type of wine, one brand of automobile, a particular woman—may set competition between the two into motion; however, conflict can occur in almost any situation. The basis for this assertion is that the mediator may at first be flattered that the subject has taken him as a model worthy of imitation, but inevitably he sees that the subject really desires to replace him. Indeed, Girard believes that this lies behind the imitation: not knowing how else to lead our lives, we desire that which another has and thus threaten the mediator's position. Mimetic desire is thus a theory which accounts for phenomena such as fashion, sporting rivalries, or the very modern fascination with social media. It also inevitably leads to conflict.

It is at this stage that Girard takes mimetic desire a step further and identifies it as the mechanism for the creation of human communities and religion. If everything leads to conflict, then the human condition should be that of chaos and everyone for him or herself. The interesting aspect of mimetic desire, however, is that it covers both positive and negative desires, i.e., both the likes and dislikes of humans. Even hatred is something we copy from others, and when this spreads throughout a group, it eventually identifies and isolates one individual as the root cause of the conflict. This individual—the scapegoat—is then either killed or driven from the community, thus ending the conflict. The key ingredient for this is unanimity in identifying the scapegoat, for only then will the conflict end. When it does end and the group has finally been united in agreement, the community senses that the sacrifice of the individual has had a beneficial effect, and the common attitude is flipped into one of thankfulness toward the individual for creating this new-found peace. In essence, the victim has been deified. In so-called primitive societies, the process of sacrificing the victim is repeated in order for the community to once again enjoy the beneficial effects of the killing. Societies and religions are thus the product of an original act of murder, and violence is the foundation of all cultures.

Girard's ideas, of course, have been criticized on various grounds. How, for example, does one determine the original desire? Where did it come from? Can, in fact, one theory reasonably explain the entire world? Additionally, since much of what Girard theorizes about comes from myths, there is no way to go back in time and prove the assertions he makes, which is both a weak and a strong point for anyone using his theories. Yet *proving* the validity of his ideas has not been the subject of my literary research; rather I have been interested in *applying* these ideas that he puts forth.

I first encountered Girard's ideas while researching the use of religion in 19th century African American writings, and it was thus the religious aspect that attracted my interest. In attempting to define the nature of a unique African

Examples of Mimetic Desire in American Literature

American spirituality, I called on both Theophus Smith's concept of African Americans "conjuring culture" and Girard's ideas about mimetic or sacrificial crises. Smith also relies on Girard for developing his theory, but whereas Smith focuses on "stand[ing] Girard on his head" (208) to develop a repertoire of non-violent practices, my interest was in understanding how Girard's theories form a common link that surfaces in the four writings I was analyzing. In each of the novels—*Our Nig* (1859), *Iola Leroy* (1892), *Contending Forces* (1900), *The Bondwoman's Narrative* (2002)—one can discern portrayals of a mimetic or sacrificial crisis central to Girard's ideas about how religions function.

It is important first of all to understand that religion is the ideological underpinning of any social order. In Girard's terms, a community arises out of the conflicts which culminate in the original sacrifice of an innocent victim. The cultural order itself is then based on a series of social distinctions that are designed to apportion who gets what in terms of material goods or marriage partners, for example, and thus prevent mimetic desire for coming to a head. From time to time, however, this system will break down, leading to a mimetic crisis where the signs are first a loss of distinction and then an outbreak of rivalries that threatens to engulf the society in a cycle of reciprocal violence as each individual or group claims what it believes is its due. To restore order, yet another sacrificial victim is chosen.

In the two antebellum novels, signs of an impending mimetic crisis abound, including the prevalence of characters that mirror each other and the collapse of social distinctions that rest upon a characters' racial identity. In *Our Nig*, the family members all have an equivalent character with whom they are in an uneasily balanced relationship: mother and aunt, sons who are in competition with each other; in *The Bondwoman's Narrative*, twins and illegitimate children appear to threaten the carefully maintained semblance of an ordered life. Indeed, twins are a universal sign, according to Girard, of a mimetic crisis, a situation where competition between two siblings represents mimetic desire itself. The latter novel also abounds in examples of order being imposed through ostentatious displays of social differences and immaculately organized households.

Similarly, the two postbellum novels reveal both the threat of a mimetic crisis and the white practices undertaken to reenact the original sacrifice. In *Iola Leroy*, identities are confused as the author brings up the topic of blacks choosing (or not choosing) to pass as white, while whites are unable to identify other characters as black. In *Contending Forces*, the whipping of a black woman and the lynching of a black man are presented as stylized acts of violence that for all intents and purposes take on the form of a religious ritual. The differences in the era and the war that separates the two eras account for the

differences in presentation: mirrored images in the antebellum era reflect, in a sense, the impending crisis of the Civil War, while the ritualized violence of the antebellum era signals an attempt to reestablish the old social order, much as the real life Ku Klux Klan imposed its reign of terror in the Reconstruction Era and beyond.

But one characteristic unites all these 19th century novels: the appearance of the near-white mulatta. The function of this character works in a very Girardian fashion: it both embodies the sign of an impending mimetic crisis and points the typical way out of the crisis, through the sacrifice of an innocent but unanimously chosen victim. Frado in *Our Nig* touches off the conflict between numerous characters simply through her appearance in the household, and resolution is achieved through the beatings she receives and the tacit approval that all members appear to give to Mrs. Bellmont's cruelty, even if not everyone approves of it. The beatings are an explicit attempt to mark her as different than the other members of the household. Hannah in *The Bondswoman's Narrative* rejects most of the possibilities she has to pass as white and escape her bondage, an act similar to those in the postbellum novels, albeit here committed more out of racial solidarity than as a Christian acceptance of her fate.

The near-white mulatta, usually almost totally indistinguishable from a white person, thus combines the figure of Girard's twins in one person as a sign of mimetic conflict. The abuse suffered also works in a fashion similar to how Girard interprets Christianity—it is a revelation of the role of the scapegoat that Christ's Passion also performed. Jesus, he claims, was not simply one in a long line of sacrificial kings but the one who revealed the scapegoating mechanism to the world. This is exactly what the characters in these 19th century novels are doing as well, revealing the nature of African Americans as sacrificial victims. Looking through the lens of Girard's theory thus lets us put an African American understanding of religion, spirituality, and Christianity in a new light.

Girard contended early on that it was this insight into the scapegoating mechanism that made classic authors such as Cervantes and Stendhal great, yet an honest look at these four novels would not immediately commend them to the ranks of the "great" authors. In a stylistic and formal sense, the literary style of these novels is not great, with some degree of flat characters, too contrived plot coincidences and plot elements, and unrealistic dialogue in evidence in most of them. That they had this insight may have been due to their racial affiliation in 19th century American society; nonetheless, the literary style should not condemn them to second-rate status, for they do seem to have had these insights. What intrigues one more is whether the same Girardian aspects can be applied to other works of literature, great or otherwise. For this, I later turned

Examples of Mimetic Desire in American Literature

to one of the more interesting 20th century American writers, Shirley Jackson, to see whether Girard's ideas worked here too.

The first text by Jackson that I turned my sights to was an obvious choice, the classic short story "The Lottery" (1947). Surprisingly, almost no one had used Girard to examine her story of a small North American village that gathers once a year to select a random person and then stone him/her to death. At the time, this highly controversial short story attracted much attention, including from people who wanted to know the name of the village so they could go and watch. Critical interpretation, however, soon came up with different theories regarding the nature of this ceremony. Feminists tended to focus on the female victim who is selected and saw this as a sign of oppression, an interpretation backed up by the gender of the author and her work status as a housewife. Marxists saw the story as the portrayal of an economic system so constructed as to punish those who either show up late—as Tessie Hutchinson does—or do not work properly or efficiently. That the organizers of the event are all leading citizens and owners of important businesses serves to back up this claim.

Yet these interpretations also surprisingly overlook a key hook at the end of the story, the shock of seeing a mid-20th century community employ an ancient method of execution that harkens back to the Old Testament. Certainly, this dichotomy reinforces a reading of the short story as an attack on the blind following of tradition, but it also calls forth images of a brutal ancient religious ritual that continues to this day.

What the feminist and Marxist interpretations share is an understanding of the ritual as a means of social control—albeit serving slightly different interests—and the belief that the choice of scapegoat is not entirely coincidental. While the process of selecting a victim does certainly reflect social power relations—first, a family is selected with only the eldest male entitled to draw and with women assigned to the male households they marry into—that the victim chosen is the appropriate one to the specific purpose appears at odds with the fact that everyone in the village takes part and draws a slip of paper. Indeed, the mechanism of the lottery allows for the selection of an arbitrary victim whose innocence or guilt is totally unimportant to the process. What appears at first to be random violence both is and is not random. A victim is chosen arbitrarily, but this arbitrariness is, in fact, planned and necessary to prevent a greater future violence. The ritual itself and all its paraphernalia—the black box, the three-legged stool, the toneless chant—harken back to the original ceremony and allow the villagers to contain the unfettered violence that would break out if they did not carry out the lottery. The question of fairness, then, that Tessie so bitterly raises is not coincidental at all; for the lottery to be

efficacious everyone must take the same chance and must believe in the fairness of the selection process and its ultimately arbitrary outcome.

A Girardian reading of “The Lottery” thus allows one to overcome drawbacks in other interpretations of the story and their failure to account for the long description of the process of the lottery itself. Given the centrality of a human sacrifice to the plot, this particular short story lends itself well to such an analysis and an interpretation of the event as a reenactment of a community-founding ritual. A less obvious text for such an undertaking is Jackson’s second most popular writing, the novel *The Haunting of Hill House* (1959). Nonetheless, the signs of a mimetic crisis are again in evidence, though on a smaller communal scale.

With its Gothic trappings and mid-20th century publication, Hill House inevitably has been scrutinized through the lens of psychoanalysis, with much attention focused on the protagonist’s clearly repressed sexuality. Clearly, the architecture of the house can indicate the hidden nooks and crannies of the human mind, and the seeming fusion of Eleanor’s thoughts with those of voices she hears in the house foreshadow her gradually becoming mad and driving herself to suicide. Yet looking at the house from a different angle, the scene becomes one of a mimetic conflict.

Jackson emphasizes the irregular architecture of the house: it “had an unbelievably faulty design which left it chillingly wrong in all its dimensions” (40). Walls are too long, angles are slightly off from what they “should” be, and this discontinuity leaves all the visitors feeling slightly awkward. The immediate appearance of the house when the four guests arrive suggests a manor house with all the signs of a solid social hierarchy, yet none of this proves to be correct: the servants at the house are anything but obsequious, and no amount of talking and interacting allows them to establish such a social order. Indeed, the odd one out when they do attempt to establish some form of order is Eleanor.

Additionally, all signs are set to show the appearance of twins, Girard’s indicator of a mimetic crisis. Eleanor is 32 years old but portrayed as a totally naïve young woman with no experience in the world and no real ideas or desires of her own. The visit to Hill House is important to her in order to establish a separate self from her sister, who apparently dominates her, and her mother, whom she cared for until her recent death. Encountering another young woman, Theodora, at the house, she begins to imagine herself as moving in with the other woman, an idea quickly shot down by her counterpart. Jackson continually shows Eleanor desiring to be at one moment Theodora’s sister, at another her rival for the attentions of the young man who has joined them. This repeated use of the *doppelgänger* motif and Eleanor’s inability to maintain her

Examples of Mimetic Desire in American Literature

own identity as a separate person continue until she is expelled from the group and sent home, driving off from the house and straight into a tree.

A Girardian reading of Jackson's classic ghost story thus points us toward a new understanding of where the "horror" in the horror genre comes from. The eerie in the doppelgänger is not simply the recognition of the duality of one's personality and the ultimate instability of a unified self; it is that the double or twin makes us sense in that our desires are not truly our own but taken from elsewhere. In the breaking down of borders between ourselves and others, we intuitively grasp what our unconscious has been hiding from us—that there is much less to our own agency than we had thought. We are, in essence, prisoners of the processes of mimetic desire.

In conclusion, Girard's theory offers much in the way of potential new readings of texts, and it is a direction I plan on continuing in the future. But just as no text has one single interpretation, no one theory can describe all of human behavior.

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Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works*

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Keywords: translation theory, cultural translation studies, literary translation, equivalence, *tertium comparationis*

This article sums up briefly the methodological basis of my dissertation, which will be completed soon. It discusses the aspects of cultural translation studies dealing with literary translations, which are just taking shape in this country. The study points out that the success of translation analysis of belles-lettres using only the terminology of descriptive grammar is questionable. It connects this acknowledged fact of the discourse of today's translation theory with the issue of *tertium comparationis*. By this means, the study illustrates the fact that faithfulness as a particle can be misleading, besides, it also moralizes excessively. On its whole, the study searches after the possible and effective methods of the translation analysis of eminent texts with hermeneutical approaches.

1. It may be serviceable to approach the topic, which in a broader context proved to be the eternal resp. seemingly insoluble issue of translation studies, language philosophy or cognitive psychology, with the concepts of equivalence used in translation theory. In classical Latin, the word *aequivalere* existed with the meaning of 'has the same amount', 'has the same value', the participium imperfectum activi form derived from this is the equivalent, which so has the following meaning: 'having the same amount/ value', 'having/ reacting the same effect'.

The apposition meets here immediately with obstacles, for how could e. g. a German word in a German linguistic resp. cultural environment have the same meaning and impression that a Hungarian word in a Hungarian linguistic and cultural context has if not only the language as such but also the cultural

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embeddedness is different, not to mention Bloch's idiolects,¹ or the subjective viewpoint of the prevailing perceiver. The meaning and effect differ in the case as well if the final etymon of the words of the source and target language is the same, e. g. in the case of the English word *house*, the German *Haus* and the Hungarian word *ház*. The outlined problem is revealed by Snell-Hornby in detail when he states the fact that the concept of equivalence is not suitable for being the central category of translation studies. Moreover, in his opinion, it can be definitely damaging, for it suggests an atomistic view: it gives the false impression that there is a clear symmetry between languages and it diverts the attention from the real issues of translation.² We have to mention that beside Snell-Hornby, Paul Kußmaul, one of the promoters of Skopos theory has also polemized with the definitions of equivalence in the 1980s.³

1.1. The examples mentioned are mostly similar to the formal equivalence within the terminology using the aspects of descriptive linguistics, to be more precise – based on Nida's theory from 1964 –, they coincide with it: we can speak about a formal equivalence if the translation preserves the formal characteristics of source language to the greatest extent possible.⁴ Although the definition – which tries to avoid sharp wording – composes in connection with "formal equivalence" carefully (to the greatest extent possible), the problem of presenting equivalence as "equality" still appears from it. The careful manner of the previous interpretation of descriptive-like linguistic terminology also implies clearly that the strictly mathematical or logical definitions of equivalence and the equivalence definitions of translation studies do not stand in an analogous relation. Catford's definition from 1965 is not so cautious, here, the condition of the formal equivalence of a target language element is the fact that the target language lexical element or grammatical structure has to take the same kind of position in the target language system as the source language

¹ Bernard BLOCH, „A Set of Postulates for Phonemic Analysis”, *Language* 24 (1948) 3–46., 7.

² Mary SNELL-HORNBY, „Übersetzen, Sprache, Kultur”, in *Übersetzungswissenschaft – eine Neuorientierung*, hrsg. Mary SNELL-HORNBY, (Tübingen: Francke, 1986) 13–22. Vö. KLAUDY Kinga, *Fordítás I.: Bevezetés a fordítás elméletébe*, (Budapest: Scholastica, 1997) 103.

³ Paul KUßMAUL, *Verstehen und Übersetzen: Ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch*, (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2010,²) 63. Vö. Paul KUßMAUL, „Übersetzen als Entscheidungsprozess: Die Rolle der Fehleranalyse in der Übersetzungsdidaktik”, in *Übersetzungswissenschaft – eine Neuorientierung*, (Tübingen: Francke, 1986) 224.

⁴ KLAUDY, *Fordítás I...*, *op.cit.*, 194. „[f]ormális ekvivalenciáról akkor beszélhetünk, ha a fordítás a lehető legnagyobb mértékben megőrzi a forrásnyelv formai sajátosságait”

Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works

grammatical structure had in the source language system.⁵ Catford seems to define formal equivalency in an exact way as if the relation between the text of the source language and the text of the target language could be clearly described with a logical operation or a mathematical formula. As if their connection as a bivariate homogeneous relation was sterile, without any loss or surplus (has to take the same kind of position), and this is – as it can be seen from the formulation so far – not a standpoint to keep.

1.1.1. Up to this point – even if only implied – I worded following the basic scepticism of the *Linguistic Turn*, which evolved with regard to the notion that presents language as the transparent medium to the grasp of reality. I haven't defined concretely either, what is the genre of that text corpus about which I talked in connection with the contradictory being of equivalence definitions, and so it turned out that the definitions of translation theory in the case of non-literary texts (e. g. scientific, educational or specialized texts) are not functional but problematic. The trends of translation studies agree on the fact that the polyvalence of literary texts is bigger, therefore, their translation analysis is a special case.⁶ Without exceeding the equivalence definitions, it isn't really possible to get into the discourse of translation analysis: it has to be admitted that not languages but cultures have to be compared.

2. According to Gadamer, the truly *telling* one in literary texts is the word (*Wort*). These are the eminent,⁷ original texts and the texts taken in the actual sense, whose common feature is that their associative horizon is broader resp. their polysemy is also more characterful. According to Gadamer, it is not easy to grasp this self-presence of the word properly,⁸ and the word gains its whole self-presence exactly here, and only here, in the literary text. It is evident from Gadamer's wording that the literary text has an own status and that the

⁵ *Ibid.*, „[e]gy célnyelvi elem formális ekvivalenciájának feltétele, hogy a célnyelvi lexikai elem vagy grammatikai struktúra ugyanolyan helyet foglaljon el a célnyelv rendszerében[.] mint a forrásnyelvi grammatikai struktúra vagy lexikai egység foglalt el a forrásnyelv rendszerében”

⁶ See Itamar EVEN-ZOHAR, „A fordítás helye az irodalmi (több)rendszer elméletében”, ford. JANOVITS Enikő Mária in *Kettős megvilágítás: Fordításelméleti írások Szent Jeromostól a 20. század végéig*, szerk. JÓZAN Ildikó és JENEY Éva és HAJDU Péter, Pont fordította 4 (Budapest: Balassi, 2007) 218.

⁷ Cp. Hans Georg GADAMER, „Az »eminens« szöveg és igazsága”, ford. TALLÁR Ferenc, in Hans Georg GADAMER, *A szép aktualitása*, (Budapest: T-Twins, 1994) 188–202.; Hans Georg GADAMER, „A szó igazságáról”, ford. POGRÁDY Judit, in GADAMER, *A szép aktualitása, op.cit.*, 111–142.; Hans Georg GADAMER, „Szöveg és interpretáció”, ford. HÉVIZI Ottó, in *Szöveg és interpretáció*, szerk. BACSÓ Béla, (Budapest: Cserépfalvi, é. n.) 17–43.

⁸ GADAMER, *Szöveg és interpretáció, op.cit.*, 33. „[n]em könnyű helyesen megragadni a szónak ezt az önprezen[ciáját]”

meshes of sense relations are never wholly confined to relations which stand between the main meanings of words.⁹

2.1. Let's make a thought experiment, from which we can benefit on a theoretical level, since it illuminates the problem on an other kind of horizon: by means of the operation of reality – I think –, the paradox of equivalence definitions becomes solvable. Every equivalence definition of descriptive linguistics sees the variant of source language as a starting point and it measures the text variant formed in the target language as compared to this. However, the zero point can be changed by the hermeneutic approach of the problem, and the translation becomes more understandable, mainly the mechanism of literary translation. That's to say, the text variant of the source language and the text variant of the target language have a common point, an intersection if you like, which connects them. This is the "content beyond language", the *die Sache selbst*, the metalinguistic or metacommunicative message, Gadamer's self-presence, László Antal's "denotatum",¹⁰ the "third language",¹¹ the *tertium comparationis*,¹² the medial language,¹³ the cultural pattern,¹⁴ the "more comprehensive language" or – as I call it in what follows – the seed of thought. The reference point seen from this perspective seems to move: the place of the source language text as an interpretational starting point gets taken over by a higher, a more abstracted category. This category turns up as a zero point of thinking to the translator and can serve as a ground throughout the translation process, that is, the source language text and the target language text stand in a coordinative relation and they are always the representations of the seed of thought:

⁹ GADAMER, *Szöveg és interpretáció*, *op.cit.*, 34. „az irodalmi szöveg saját státusszal rendelkezik”; „értelemvonatkozások szövevénye soha nem merül ki teljesen azokban a relációkban, amelyek a szavak főjelentései között állnak fenn.”

¹⁰ In my opinion „denotátum” az László Antal means this seed of idea. ANTAL László, *A jelentés világa*, (Budapest: Magvető, 1978); László ANTAL, *Questions of Meaning*, (Mouton: The Hague, 1964); László ANTAL, *Content, Meaning, and Understanding*, (Mouton: The Hague, 1964). Definition of denotation in theoretic (logic, semantic and semiotic) approach see *Grundbegriffe der Literaturtheorie...*, *op.cit.*, 28.

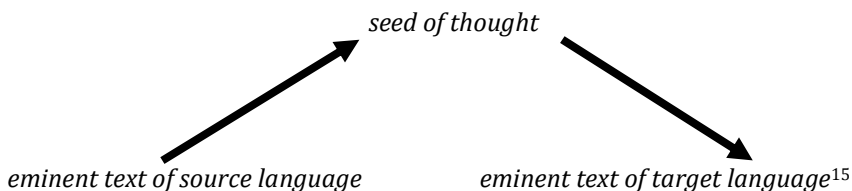
¹¹ See Sherry SIMON, „Cultural and Textual Hybridity”, *Across Languages and Cultures* 2(2001) 227–236.

¹² See Umberto ECO, *A tökéletes nyelv keresése*, ford. GÁL Judit, KELEMEN János, (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1998) 327.

¹³ See Jacques DERRIDA, „Bábel – térítő”, ford. FLAISZ Endre, in *Kettős megvilágítás...*, *op.cit.*, 268–309.

¹⁴ See KAPPANYOS András, *Bajszbögre, lefordítatlan: Műfordítás, adaptáció, kulturális transzfer*, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2015)

Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works



Umberto Eco thinks too that a sort of *tertium comparationis* is needed, by means of which we get from the expression of *language A* to the expression of *language B* by making a decision about the fact that both of them are the equivalence of an expression of a *metalanguage C*. If this *tertium* would exist, it would be the perfect language itself, but in case it doesn't exist, we just postulate it during the translation activity.¹⁶

It cannot be forgotten that the seed of thought reveals itself exactly through the source language text, so considering the translatory activity, it still serves as a starting point. That's where the expectation towards the literary translator – which is by now a commonplace – becomes clear, according to which the good mediator must be not only the professional one of the source and target language but also the professional one of both cultures as well. Its absurdity manifests itself in the fact that the higher entity of the word equivalences of the source and target language cannot be obviously expressed in an exact word. This entity – even if it is because of taking the differing reader's perception into consideration not an invariant, but it – is present, that's to say, the literary translator endeavours to make its presence possible. It is present even in the case where we make a comparison between the translated product and the product to be translated on the quality level of cultural transfer: if we study the mechanism, the principles of translation and the fact that the translator translates – in a Schleiermacherian sense – for the sake of the source language culture or the target language culture.¹⁷ For the seed of thought of this kind – even if it differs in its quality from the reproduction of source language – must appear in the reproduction of target language in the same way, and the translation of literary works, the literary translation appears to be just like this, where

¹⁵ The arrow directions of the figure illustrate the mechanism of translation.

¹⁶ ECO, *A tökéletes nyelv keresése*, *op.cit.*, 327. „*tertium comparationis*ra, melyen keresztül az A nyelv kifejezésétől a B nyelv kifejezéséhez jutunk, eldöntve, hogy mindkettő megfelelője egy C metanyelvi [sic!] kifejezésnek. Ha e *tertium* létezne, maga a tökéletes nyelv volna. Ha pedig nem létezik, akkor a fordítói munka során csak posztuláljuk”

¹⁷ Cp. Friedrich SCHLEIERMACHER, *A fordítás különféle módszereiről*, ford. DÖMÖTÖR Edit in *Kettős megvilágítás...*, *op.cit.*, 119–150.

the diversity of words (*Vielstelligkeit*)¹⁸ definitely makes the task of the literary translator more difficult.

However, it would be difficult to incorporate this previous theoretical conception in the study of the mechanism of translations, in this case, some psycholinguistic researches would be added to that, and even then, it's not sure that they would add a relevant benefit to the activity of literary translators. This is merely a theoretical idea, which sheds light upon the difficulties of “translating” between cultures from a so far – maybe – unknown viewpoint. The truly usable system of criteria was elaborated by the Hungarian András Kappanyos in his academic study. I think, the terminology of Hungarian literary translation, which we can call the terminology of cultural translation studies, is revealed here beside the relevant writings of Sándor Albert, Ildikó Józán, Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó, Anikó Sohár and Mihály Szegedy-Maszák in its most coherent functional state.

3. The previously outlined idea in translation theory doesn't come without a reflection: I want to highlight three plausible analogies among several approaches, while I am only referring to other ones of them.

3.1. The aim of Gideon Toury (the founder of the translation school in Tel Aviv) is to reveal the functional system behind the current translation decisions, which perhaps can never be arranged into rules. Toury searches for the explanation of translation decisions – fortunately – not in the differences of language systems but in the differences of cultures and literary canons and he tries to turn the attention of researchers to the target language. He calls the correspondence to the source language text adequacy, he calls the suitability to the requirements of the target language appropriacy, and if we allow for the target language recipients as well, the requirement of acceptability has to be introduced too.¹⁹ Thus, the definitions of equivalence as central categories of translation theory are gradually giving way to the category of the aforementioned *adequacy-appropriacy-acceptability* triplet.

In order to broaden our analytical aspects, we can of course bring in more result-centred measures to the terminology of cultural translation studies too, which go beyond the definitions so far that are in a lot of cases old-fashioned. We refer here – among others – to the essential work of György Rába in translation studies, where he calls the *Nyugat*-like literary translators (quite aptly)

¹⁸ GADAMER, *Szöveg és interpretáció*, *op.cit.*, 35.

¹⁹ KLAUDY, *Fordítás I...*, *op.cit.*, 103. Cp. Gideon TOURY, *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, (Tel-Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 1980)

Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works

the beautiful unfaithful ones.²⁰ András Kappanyos has the opinion too that it is worth changing the two categories (fidelity and beauty) to other measures, which we can call accuracy and experience. With the introduction of the aspect of accuracy, we can avoid the moralizing aspect on the semantic field of faithfulness, and using the measure of experiences, we can eliminate the prejudice hiding in the concept of beauty, which connects every artistic effect with the aesthetic beauty.²¹ According to Kappanyos, there is a third measure as well: the measure of suitability or well-formedness. This is the essential category, which is more important than the previous two ones in the process of the reception of art: this one deals with the basic question of what is viewed by the interpreting community of a given cultural context as a translation and what is not. That in which case we call a text a translation of another text is merely the issue of a spoken or just implicit cultural agreement.

3.2. To what extent can fidelity serve giving back the sense itself? According to Walter Benjamin, the faithful translation of words can hardly ever give back the sense of the original work.²² He noticed the problem which certain directions of linguistics tried to solve by eliminating the definitions of equivalence as far back as 1923.

With the following example, Benjamin seems to touch upon the same problem that I formulated at the beginning of the analyses in connection with the differing meanings of the words *ház-house-Haus* due to a different culture circle and a heterogeneous reception: “without distinguishing the intended object from the mode of intention, no firm grasp of this basic law of a philosophy of language can be achieved. The words Brot and pain »intend« the same object, but the modes of this intention are not the same. It is owing to these modes that the word Brot means something different to a German than the word pain to a Frenchman [...]”.²³ Moreover, Benjamin’s essay defines translation as a new experiment of revealing a “hidden meaning”, which can never be grasped in its

²⁰ See RÁBA György, *A szép hűtlenek (Babits, Kosztolányi, Tóth Árpád műfordításai)*, Irodalomtörténeti könyvtár 23, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969)

²¹ KAPPANYOS, *Bajuszbögre*, *op.cit.*, 113. „a szépség fogalmában rejlő előítéletet, amely minden művészeti hatást az esztétikai széppel köt össze”

²² Walter BENJAMIN, Walter BENJAMIN, „A műfordító feladata”, ford. TANDORI Dezső in *Kettős megvilágítás...*, *op.cit.*, 191. „[M]ennyiben szolgálhatja az értelem visszaadását épp a hűség? A szavak hű lefordítása szinte sosem adhatja vissza az eredeti mű értelmét”.

²³ *Ibid.* Cp. Walter BENJAMIN, „The Task of the Translator”, transl. Harry ZOHN, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence VENUTI, (London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2004) 18. „meg kell különböztetnünk az elgondolt dolog és az elgondolás módjának intencióját. A „Brot” és a „pain” szóban ugyanazt gondoljuk, ám az elgondolás módja máris különbözik. Az elgondolás módja teszi ugyanis, hogy németek és franciák számára mást-mást jelentenek ezek a szavak.”

own purity: “if, however, these languages continue to grow in this manner until the end of their time, it is translation which catches fire on the eternal life of the works and the perpetual renewal of language. Translation keeps putting the hallowed growth of languages to the test: How far removed is their hidden meaning from revelation [...]?”²⁴ I believe, this “hidden meaning” is a real synonym of the thing I’ve mostly called seed of thought so far, moreover, Benjamin comments on the seed hidden in languages,²⁵ and the revelation would be available on the never accessible, hypothetical, pure language which I call “third language” (*tertium comparationis*).

A not so articulately explained simile of Benjamin’s essay fits likewise in here: “[f]ragments of a vessel which are to be glued together must match one another in the smallest details, although they need not be like one another. In the same way a translation, instead of resembling the meaning of the original, must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original’s mode of signification, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel”.²⁶ The relation of the source language text and the target language text is here clearly related to the relation that I’ve aimed to introduce so far. However, the characteristic feature, which claims the source language and the target language or more target languages at once to be the complements of each other, appears as a surplus in this Benjaminist approach. The translations are created to complete each other and are not on a par with each other. In his Benjamin-critique, Paul de Man also comments upon the fact that the original one has the word *folgen* and not the word *gleichen*.²⁷ Thus, the structure is metonymic, the fragments of the vessel are in contact, but they do not accord with each other, therefore, the target language text and the source language text cannot stand in a relation of equivalence.

The “original is important to it only insofar as it has already relieved the translator and his translation of the effort of assembling and expressing what

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 188. „a fordítás az, ami a művek örök továbbélésén és a nyelvek végtelen újjáéledésén kigyúlva, elvégzi mindig a nyelvek szent sarjadásának próbáját: mennyire jár közel rejtett tartalmuk a kinyilatkoztatáshoz.”

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 192. „[a]hogy [...] egy edény cserepeinek ahhoz, hogy összeilleszthetők legyenek, a legparányibb peremvonalrészletükkel is illeszkedniük kell egymás vonalához, ám azonosnak lenniök korántsem szükséges, így kell a fordításnak, az eredeti mű értelméhez való mindenképpeni hasonulás helyett [...] olyképp alakulnia, hogy a kettő együtt, mint egyetlen edény töredéke, töredéke egyetlen nagyobb nyelvnek, jelenjék meg.”

²⁷ Paul DE MAN, „Walter Benjamin A műfordító feladata című írásáról”, ford. KIRÁLY Edit, in *Kettős megvilágítás...*, *op.cit.*, 263. „eredetiben folgen áll és nem gleichen.”

Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works

is to be conveyed. In the realm of translation, too, the words *En archei en ho logos* [»In the beginning was the word«] apply”.²⁸

I repeated this thought of Benjamin when I said that although the source language text serves – from the viewpoint of translation activity – as a starting point for the translator, it does that exactly for the illumination of a higher sense relation, which sense relation (seed of thought) I called the zero point of representations (source language text and target language text), implying the fact that this is a basis not only for the writer of the target language text and the translator but for the author of the source language text as well.

Benjamin ascribes a perhaps too messianic role to the translation when he says that “which seeks to represent, to produce itself in the evolving of languages, is that very nucleus of pure language. Though concealed and fragmentary, it is an active force in life as the symbolized thing itself, whereas it inhabits linguistic creations only in symbolized form. While that ultimate essence, pure language, in the various tongues is tied only to linguistic elements and their changes, in linguistic creations it is weighted with a heavy, alien meaning. To relieve it of this, to turn the symbolizing into the symbolized, to regain pure language [...] is the tremendous and only capacity of translation”.²⁹ Therefore, translation can in his opinion solve the problem of the “impurity” of source language text. “To release in his own language that pure language which is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his recreation of that work” – so names Benjamin the task of the literary translator indicated in the title of his essay as well.³⁰

However, we must remark that this is the task of the literary translator being out of reach for ever but coming continually nearer to him since the sense relations of target language elements are infected too. If they weren’t this, then I assume that the so called pure language (*reine Sprache*), the *tertium comparationis*, the “third language” would exist, while Benjamin assumes the followings: “[i]n this pure language – which no longer means or expresses anything but is, as expressionless and creative Word, that which is meant in all languages

²⁸ BENJAMIN, *A műfordító feladata...*, *op.cit.*, 192. „eredeti itt csak annyiban lényeges a számára, amennyiben fordítót és művét már fölmentette a közlendő dolog ügye, s rendezése alól. A fordítás területén is érvényes: *en arkhé én ho logosz*, kezdetben volt a Szó (das Wort).”

²⁹ *Ibid.* „ami a nyelvek alakulásában megmutatkozik, sőt, megteremtődni próbál, az a tiszta nyelv magva éppen. Míg azonban ez a mag, ha az életben rejtve és töredékesen is, de mégis jelenvalóan maga szimbolizált dolog, az alakzatokban csak szimbolizálóként lakik. Ama végső lényegiség, amely maga a tiszta nyelv, a nyelvekben csak a nyelvihez s változásaihoz kötődik, az alakzatokban a súlyos és idegen értelem terhét hordozza. Hogy ettől eloldozza, hogy a szimbolizálóból szimbolizáltat alakítson, hogy a tiszta nyelvet [...] visszanyerje: ez a fordítás hatalmas – és egyetlen – képessége”

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 193–194. „a tiszta nyelvet, amely az idegen nyelvbe száműzetett, a maga nyelvének közegében megváltsa, hogy a műben foglyul ejtettet az átköltés során megszabadítsa”

– all information, all sense, and all intention finally encounter a stratum in which they are destined to be extinguished. This very stratum furnishes a new and higher justification for free translation”.³¹ That’s to say, if we want to paraphrase it in a slightly extremist way, the study of translation fidelity by the analysis of literary translations, which were marked by the discourse of translation theory with various definitions of equivalence, is to be rejected: “[r]ather, for the sake of pure language, a free translation bases the test on its own language”.³²

3.3. The last approach comes from László Antal (one of the first Hungarian representatives of American structural linguistics), whose denotation definition is not to be interpreted according to the classic connotation-denotation-semiotic model of Hjelmslev since he does not rule out the non-linguistic aspects but rather acts just the opposite way. Antal also breaks with the popular belief that keeps itself persistently in the linguistics-centered translation terminology, according to which the shaping of equivalence makes its way from language to language, that’s to say, we collate words with words, structure with structure, sentence with sentence.³³ Antal distinguishes between three levels of depth: *signs of language “A” → meaning of language “A” → denotations (content beside language) → meaning of language “B” → signs of language “B”*.³⁴

4. It is apparent that Antal walks around the above-mentioned seed structure of thought and that he sees the solution in contents outside language, on the ground of sign-objects and denotations, on a third level of depth. Giving the denotation a central function, the definition draws up that translation is an operation, by means of which we describe a denotation described through the meanings of a certain language with the meanings of another language.³⁵

It is to be noted that at more times, I deliberately worded at the problematization of definitions of equivalence in an extremist way, however, my aim was not the complete rejection of the terminology of descriptive linguistics – as

³¹ *Ibid.*, 193. „[e]bben a tiszta nyelvben, amely már nem gondol el s nem fejez ki semmit, hanem mint kifejezés nélküli és teremtő Szó azonos azzal, amit mindegyik nyelv elgondol, ebben a nyelvben végre minden közlés, minden értelem és minden intenció olyan szintre emelkedik, ahol elenyészik. És éppen innét igazolódik a fordítás szabadsága, mely újabb s magasabb rendű jogra irányul”

³² *Ibid.* „a szabadság a tiszta nyelv kedvéért érvényesül a maga nyelvén”

³³ PAPP György, „A magyar fordítástudomány időszerű kérdései”, *Hungarológiai Közlemények*, 44(1980) 18. „az ekvivalencia kialakítása nyelvtől nyelvhez halad, azaz szót szóval, szerkezetet szerkezettel, mondatot mondattal vetünk össze”

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* „[a] fordítás mint művelet nem más, mint [amikor] egy bizonyos nyelv jelentésein keresztül leírt denotátumot egy másik nyelv jelentésein keresztül frunk le”

Interpretational Approaches to the Translation of Literary Works

its use in the course of literary translation analyses is also necessary on more levels – but the outline of this inescapable problem and the outline of an interpretation frame that relies on the aspects of cultural translation studies and supports the texts of translation analysis in this paper.

My major publications on the topic:

BARNA László, "»Werther álmai«: A Werther szerelme és halála és Az Egy álmai transztextuális olvasata, in *»Örök véget és örök kezdetet«: Tanulmányok Szabó Lőrincről*, szerk. KULCSÁR-SZABÓ Zoltán, L. VARGA Péter, PALKÓ Gábor (Budapest: Prae.hu, 2019) 280–291.

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Fifteen Years Representing ‘Directly Useful Linguistics’

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Introduction

I became lecturer at the University of Miskolc in September 1998, after almost 25 years’ of teaching in secondary schools and with two semesters’ teaching experience partly at Veszprém and partly at Gödöllő University. As since my secondary school years, I have mostly been interested in linguistics, this meant that one of my big dreams came true with this career change. For 15 years, I had the opportunity to teach at the Department of Applied Linguistics, – later: Department of Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies – of the University of Miskolc. That was where I retired from in December 2013.

About my career, I should like to say in a nutshell that I graduated from Eötvös Loránd University of Arts and Sciences as a teacher of Hungarian language and literature and Russian language and literature in 1975. Then, in 1979, I earned my degree in French language and literature at the same university. In addition to the three majors above, I completed my studies as a major of the German language at Budapest University of Economics between 1992 and 1995. In 1991, I earned my PhD degree in phonetics. Most of my early publications were either concerned with this field or with stylistics as the topic of my thesis for the ‘doctor of university’ degree, which I defended in 1982, was the stylistic approach to modern poetry, more closely, to Sándor Weöres’ poetic works. I wrote my first textbook in 1989. From the period when I worked as a secondary school teacher, the most significant time was the four school-years when I taught in the French bilingual academic grammar school in Pásztó, acquiring considerable experience concerning new methods and trends in language teaching.

In compliance with the editors’ request, instead of giving an overview of my whole career as a university lecturer, I am only going to focus on the subjects and classes that I felt to be most memorable ones, those providing a good opportunity for research work and making it possible to produce several

scholarly publications. At the same time, this was the linguistics research field where I could experience the ‘*directly useful linguistics*’ character of applied linguistics, as the discipline was named by Professor György Szépe, one of the founders or ‘fathers’ of Hungarian applied linguistics.

1. The beginnings of involvement with sign language at our university

My involvement with a sign language programme was due to my colleague, and later department head, Sarolta dr Simigné dr Fenyő, who considered it important to launch this programme for students of applied linguistics. As she wrote in one of her articles: ‘The Department of Applied Linguistics of the University of Miskolc launched the programme to educate *students majoring applied linguistics* in 2002. Within this framework, the course entitled *Sign language and sign language practice*, forming part of the training structure, appeared in the students’ timetable first in country. ...When the Bologna system was introduced, the department had the opportunity to elaborate a specialisation named *Sign language expert* attached to the BA programme in Hungarian language and literature.’¹

Sign language itself was taught by deaf persons, well-prepared for teaching it by SINOSZ (Hungarian Association of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing) but as related subjects (*Education and culture of deaf persons, Foundations of language policy, Neurological aspects of deafness, Language rights of deaf persons, Basics of interpreting in sign language*, etc.) had to be taught, as well, hearing teachers also joined the teaching staff. In the beginning, as a lecturer teaching other applied linguistics subjects at our department, I only observed our students’ using sign language as an outsider, and this was how I experienced what communication difficulties the deaf instructors had when they had to make arrangements in the office.

2. Getting involved in the training of students studying sign language

I got involved in the sign language programme in academic year 2007/2008. As the first step, making a big decision, I enrolled in a beginner course in sign language advertised by SINOSZ. During the following years, I passed the A1 (in 2008), the A2/1 (in 2009), the A2/2 (in 2010) and B1 (in 2010) level proficiency examinations in sign language, and then completed the intermediate level sign language course of Unheard Foundation, too. I had to make a big effort to get these certificates as it is not at all an easy task to acquire sign language.

¹ SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, „Jelnyelvi képzés a Miskolci Egyetemen az interkulturalitás jegyében”, in *Az inter-kulturalitás aspektusai*, szerk. SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta és CSETNEKI Sándorné BODNÁR Ildikó és KEGYESNÉ SZEKERES Erika, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2010) 154–160.

Of course, in the possession of this knowledge, I did not teach sign language as it continued to be the responsibility of the instructors provided by SINOSZ but the subjects related to sign language mentioned above, and due to the extension of our academic programmes, a number of new subjects, too, which were, however, all related to the topic area of the deaf community and sign language communication. I took a greater and greater interest in sign linguistics, which emerged from the 1960s mostly in the USA but in Hungary only from the end of the 1990s. For the students of the *Sign language expert specialisation*, I had the opportunity to teach the course *The grammar of sign language*, give lectures and seminars in *Applied phonetics* and talk about *Bilingual education* and *The psychological aspects of deafness*.

3. Sign language programmes for the hearing and linguistics courses for deaf graduates

And now, we are immediately in 2009, in the year when the *Act on sign language* (officially Act No. CXXV of 2009) was passed. Its creation was a turning-point in the life of the deaf community.

At that time, sign language had already been taught at our department for seven academic years. One of the important ideas in the Act on sign language is to start the sign language, or better to say, bilingual (= involving two languages: sign language and Hungarian) education of deaf children as soon as possible, which was planned to replace the former one-sided, oral education from September 2017. (Unfortunately, the introduction of bilingual education in the schools of the deaf has not started up to the present day because of the delay in preparatory research, among others, sign linguistics research.)

At our department, two further programmes, *Sign language mentor specialised further training* and *Linguistics and didactics of sign language specialised further training* were launched following the first programmes elaborated for students of applied linguistics and Hungarian literature and linguistics, and the first version of the MA programme was elaborated, which, however, was not introduced at our department. The curriculum of a course entitled *Sign language communication and improving accessibility – How to communicate with deaf people?* was also elaborated as a course that all the students of the university could enrol in and that had a large number of students in the semester concerned (from February 2014). Unfortunately, this initiative was discontinued, too.

From the beginning, traineeship spent with the deaf community was part of the training programme, which brought the worlds of the hearing and the deaf even closer to each other. The contact was further strengthened in the *sign language camps*, where several of our students applied each year. The students

also often reported cases when they helped deaf youngsters in the most varied scenes of life with the help of their sign language knowledge. About this topic, a longer article was published in HASEÉ (=Hard of hearing), the monthly periodical of the deaf and hard of hearing. As the participant of four sign language camps, I myself also kept improving my sign language knowledge, which I occasionally use even now.

In each course, the clarification of the huge number of misunderstandings concerning sign language and the deaf occupied a significant part. Our students gave reports on their research and awareness-raising work in the field in seminar papers and dissertations.

Sign language mentor programme: Those completing this specialised further training programme are able to apply the knowledge acquired in the specialised training, that is, they are able to keep contact and implement efficient communication between a person belonging to the deaf community and society (social institutions); give deaf people efficient assistance in solving different problems in their lives and get themselves accepted in deaf communities. They are able to offer their help and adapt to the etiquette of sign communication and social communication as well as to the rules of etiquette, and in the possession of proper psychological groundings are able to relate to the communication situation and its participants with self-knowledge, tolerance and empathy.

Some of the above requirements, cited from the line for Output requirements, were already fulfilled when students entered the programme. For example, we had a student who started to learn sign language for the sake of a deaf student attending her class while another student was motivated to complete the programme by a deaf person (sister) living in the family, or rather by the enormous difference she experienced about the life of the deaf in England after his sister had moved abroad. We had the current secretary of SINOSZ for Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county among our students, and he also worked as an instructor in the programme as he had a degree in law. There were even some students registering for the programme who had earlier graduated as majors of applied linguistics and therefore already had some knowledge about sign language.

Linguistics and didactics of sign language programme: Students who were hard of hearing and knew sign language as their mother tongue studied methodological subjects related to linguistics and the teaching of sign language. 'In the possession of the linguistic and didactic-methodological groundings acquired in this specialised further training programme, they became experts who were not only capable of teaching sign language but would be able to give assistance with the sign language BA/MA programme under elaboration. This was of great importance and was a stopgap because earlier, deaf people with

academic degrees could not get involved in training the teachers later educating deaf and hearing-impaired people or in the education of deaf children’– wrote Sarolta Simigné Fenyő.²

Here, there were students with degrees in teaching, engineering or law, who undertook further studies after the many difficulties of earning their first degrees in the hope that they would be able to help the members of the younger generation. In fact, the dissertation of one of these students was also published in book form and may be cited as a source in the future. Árpád Zoltán Kárpáti’s book has the title *Gondolatébresztő!* (‘Thought-provoking’) with the subtitle: *Egy apa jegyzetei a siket gyermekek oktatásáról* (‘A father’s notes about the education of deaf children’).

Returning to our *Sign language mentor* specialised further training programme, it was launched in September 2009. The other programme was our specialised further training programme entitled *Linguistics and didactics of sign language*, which was implemented between 2010 and 2012. In two consecutive academic years, the former had 8-8 *hearing graduate students* while the latter had altogether 10 *deaf graduate students* in one year. The latter students were selected in an entrance exam held together with SINOSZ in Budapest. It can only be hoped that these people do a lot right now and will do a lot in the near future, too, for the welfare of deaf youngsters. Both of these programmes advocated bilingual education.

4. The whole country watches Miskolc – sign language programmes, research projects and conferences at our university

Simultaneously with launching our *Sign language mentor* programme, we organised our first *sign language conference* at Miskolc University with the active participation and support of SINOSZ, which was followed by three further such conferences, held at the Faculty of Arts. In these conferences, both hearing and deaf people gave presentations with continuous interpreting to sign language and interpreting sign language to Hungarian. The conferences had the following titles:

- 1) In 2009: Sign language in everyday life and in scientific research – with 10 presentations;
- 2) In 2010: Visible and audible communication – characteristics of sign language and sounding language communication – with 14 presentations;

² SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, „Véget érne a jelnyelvi képzés a Miskolci Egyetemen?”, *Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Közlemények*, 9(2014) 1. sz. 51–59.

3) In 2011: Different aspects of linguistic mediation – sign language and sounding language communication, translation and interpreting – with 8 presentations;

4) In 2012: Perspectives of sign language and sounding language communication – with 11 presentations.

Conference presenters came from all over the country: from Budapest, Győr, Eger and Pécs, and even from abroad, from Slovakia. Three of our conferences were attended by Ádám Kósa, then national president of SINOSZ and a European Parliament representative. Gergely Tapolczai, member of Parliament both gave a presentation and recited several poems in sign language. He was one of those ten deaf students with a degree who attended our *Linguistics and didactics of sign language* programme. Another deaf student, painter and teacher of drawing in a school for the deaf, Tamás Vincze also recited poems. SINOSZ members in Miskolc were present among the audience in an almost full number. Miskolc Television broadcast reports about the event several times, interviewing organisers, contributors and interpreters.

The presentations set out several times that sign language is the main carrier of deaf identity. At the same time, due to the medical approach, sign language could not play a role in the education of deaf children for a long time. It was a slow process worldwide, too, that the anthropological approach to deafness, the recognition of sign language as a language and bilingual education relying also on sign language gained ground. An important regular accompanying event of the conferences was a theatre performance, which was mediated to the deaf audience by a sign language interpreter, thanks to Miskolc National Theatre. Of all this, a longer report can be read in the periodical *Modern Nyelvoktatás*.³

5. Research projects, presentations and articles related to sign language

While teaching different topics related to sign language, I had several important insights, some of which were published in articles and scholarly papers. It was not a coincidence that the history of the education of the deaf was connected to the history of phonetics research from the very beginning both as regards Hungarian linguistics and on the international level. Antal Simon was an outstanding figure in both the history of Hungarian special education (educating the deaf) and Hungarian phonetics. The internationally also significant Farkas Kempelen, the creator of the speaking machine, in his book entitled *Az emberi beszéd mechanizmusa* ('The mechanism of human speech'), published in 1791

³ BODNÁR Ildikó, „Gondolatok a jelnyelvről: Beszámoló egy konferenciasorozatról” *Modern Nyelvoktatás* 19(2013) 1–2. sz. 133–141.

(in the German language, so the book became widely known) devoted pages to his visit in the Paris institute for the deaf and the praise of sign language. E. W. Brücke was a significant representative of 19th century phonetics; the addressees of his synthesizing work published in 1876 (*Grundzüge der physiologie und systematik der sprachlaute für linguisten und taubstummenlehrer*) in the presentation of the physiology and system of speech sounds are linguists and teachers of the deaf and dumb. But today's phoneticians also investigate the problems of deafness in many publications. In the Research Institute for Linguistics, several hearing and deaf researchers investigate sign language now.

It can be summarised in several points *why sign language is a language*. To sum them up: the main characteristics of human language: that is, discreteness, compositionality and conventionality are also characteristic of sign language. It can be examined what is the *phoneme in sign language*. It is the smallest signed unit that has a meaning distinguishing function. Thus a phoneme may be e.g. the shape of the hand, the place, direction and speed of signing, or the accompanying facial expression. All these problems represented important parts in my own sign language research just like the trinity of icon-index-symbol, the order of signs or the problems of pro-forms. In a longer presentation, I compared sign language and isolating languages like Chinese, which I study right now, too, as an old-age pensioner (*Az ikon, az index és a szimbólum a kínai írás-jegyek és a siketek jelei körében* ('Icon, index and symbol among Chinese characters and the signs of the deaf')).

From among my publications published between 2009 and 2013, ten or twelve are more closely related to the topic area of sign language communication, the education and culture of the deaf, and the linguistic approach to sign language. Between 2009 and 2014, I also gave about ten presentations but they were not published in printed form in every case. One of these presentations was the one entitled *Versek jelnyelven, jelnyelv a költészetben* ('Poems in sign language, sign language in poetry'), which I delivered after two of our deaf students attending the specialised further training *Linguistics and didactics of sign language* recited poems in sign language, as has already been mentioned. In September 2011, I gave a presentation in the German language entitled *Unterricht der Gebärdensprache* at Košice Technical University,⁴ while at Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University, I gave a presentation about the terminology of sign language education and research in the French language *Langue de spécialité sur le domaine de la langue des signes*. These latter two presentations

⁴ Ildikó BODNÁR, „Unterricht der Gebärdensprache,“, in *FORLANG: Fremdsprachen im akademischen Bereich*, ed. Anton CIZMAR, (Košice: Technical University of Kosice, 2011) 22–30.

were given at international conferences and their texts were published in printed form in full.

Conclusion

This is not a really happy ending. And it is because today, there is no sign language education programme whatsoever offered at the University of Miskolc. It was officially proclaimed at the World Congress of the Deaf in Tokyo in 1991 that *sign language is the mother tongue of deaf people*. It is a pity that this sentence was not incorporated in the Hungarian Act on sign language, and as a result, we could not employ a deaf person as a native language assistant, who could have become a key contributor in all our further programmes. But if it was not feasible this way, probably, efforts could and should have been made for the good cause in another way, as well. Thus, sign language education at any level proved to be only an episode in the life of Miskolc University although it might as well have become a consciously undertaken and really noble activity opening up future perspectives of a really 21st century educational institution. ‘...Between 2002 and 2012, the conditions for the scholarly investigation of sign language and sign language culture were created at Miskolc University and it would be a pity to let them vanish... The teaching of sign language and the dissemination of knowledge related to sign language culture could be an important tool to transform society and bridge the gap between the deaf and the hearing’ – wrote Sarolta Simigné Fenyő in 2014.⁵ By now, it seems that after all, everything has been lost.

Translated by Judit Szabóné Papp

⁵ SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ, *Véget érne... op.cit.*

My major publications on the topic:

BODNÁR Ildikó, "Kísérletek a jelnyelv lejegyzésére,,", in *microCAD 2009, M szekció: XXIII. microCad International Scientific Conference Miskolc*, szerk. LEHOCZKY László, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem Innovációs és Technológia Transzfer Centrum, 2009) 155–160.

Ildikó BODNÁR, "Langue de spécialité sur le domaine de la langue des signes,,", in *Szaknyelvi kommunikáció nemzetközi szemszögből: Szaknyelvi kommunikáció 2009*, szerk. FREGAN Beatrix, (Budapest: Zrínyi Miklós Nemzetvédelmi Egyetem, 2009) 75–79.

BODNÁR Ildikó, "Encounter of the hearing persons and the deaf – A halló és a siket kultúra találkozásáról", in: *microCAD 2010, R szekció: XXIV. microCad International Scientific Conference Miskolc*, szerk. BIKFALVY Péter, Bölcsészettudomány. (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem, 2010) 1–9.

BODNÁR Ildikó, "A magyar mint idegen nyelvi tankönyvek felhasználásának egy lehetséges új területe – Hallássérültek magyar nyelvi oktatása", *Hungarológiai Évkönyv* 13(2012) 123–141.

BODNÁR Ildikó, "Kommunikáció a siket közösség és a halló társadalom között", in *Az interkulturális kommunikáció elmélete és gyakorlata*, szerk. GECSŐ Tamás – SÁRDI Csilla, (Székesfehérvár és Budapest: Kodolányi János Főiskola és Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2013) 32–37.

Relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya in Chekhov's *Вишневый сад*. Text analysis

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Keywords: Chekhov's *Вишневый сад*, rehabilitation of Firs, family relationships, deceptive communication, Lopakhin in Chekhov's letters

This publication is part of a longer work on paradoxes and hypotheses about family relationships in *The Cherry Orchard*. Our close reading of the comedy relies on the strict exegesis of the text, following the sola scriptura principle. The interpretations of Chekhov's play by theatrical productions are guided by pre-determined characters and situations. The realised performances divert attention from conflicting statements, inherent contradictions, inconsistencies, discrepancies of the drama. In consequence, they prevent from revealing new aspects, characters and situations. Clarification of family relationships redraws the characters, redrafts their goals, recasts the roles.

This analysis is based on the premise that even in Chekhov's plays there ain't no such thing as a free lunch. In the comedy, a huge estate changes hand. The land area of the property is in excess of 1000 hectares. It possesses river frontage and has rail connection with important cities. The change of ownership has a profound influence on all of the persons, on the financial situation (and chances of marriage) of Ranevskaya's marriageable daughters and on the livelihood of everyone who works there or otherwise connects to the place. That's why it is important to see what is the relationship between each person and the former and the new owners. Our approach is definitively pragmatic.

Who is Anya's father?

In Act I, Anya talks about Ranevskaya's deceased husband as father („отец”) and names Grisha as her own brother.¹ Later, Gayev calls Anya his own daughter, denies that she is his niece i. e. he himself is the uncle of the girl.² Although

¹ „брат”, А. П. ЧЕХОВ, „Вишневый сад”, in А. П. ЧЕХОВ, *Пьесы, 1895—1904*, (Полное собрание сочинений и писем – Сочинения, Т. 13) (Москва: Наука, 1986) 195–254. (hereinafter: ВС) 202.

² ВС: 212.: „(Целует Ане лицо, руки.) Дитя мое... (Сквозь слезы.) Ты не племянница, [...] ты для меня все. Верь мне”, see: Anton TCHEKHOFF, „The Cherry Orchard. A Comedy in Four Acts”, in *Plays by Anton Tchekhoff*, Second Series, transl. and intr. Julius WEST, (London: Duckworth, 1913) 211–277. (hereinafter: West.) 231.: „My child [...] you are not my niece, you're my angel, you're my all”.

Anya says she believes Gayev, she calls him uncle, so she does not confirm his assertion.³ It is a contradiction that Gayev is both brother to Anya's mother and father to Anya.

The conflict of the statements can be mitigated in several ways. The words „Дитя мое” can be understood as expression of familiarity, not of kinship.⁴ This can be confirmed by the fact that Gayev uses words related to family relationship as term of familiarity at other times too. In Act II, he calls Firs and in Act IV, the peasants „брат”.⁵

The choice of words „Дитя мое” can also be interpreted as Gayev offering to take care of Anya. With the expected change of ownership of the estate Anya's assets deteriorate because the estate belongs to her mother, Ranevskaya.⁶ So Gayev promises to make amends, that is to say, he assumes parental role.

What relationship are the persons to the Countess in Yaroslavl?

The restoration of Anya's financial situation is mentioned in Act III before it comes to light who has bought the estate. In Varya's narrative, the Countess is represented by Gayev at the auction. For the sake of Anya, the Countess wants to buy the property in her own name by taking on the debt. Varya doesn't know about financial barrier.⁷

In reply, Ranevskaya tells the same story in a very different way. The only thing the two narratives have in common is that the Countess wants to buy the property in her own name. According to Ranevskaya, the Countess gave a finite amount of money, fifteen thousand, from which Gayev must pay the debt and bid. She does not imply that this is for Anya's sake and does not mention Gayev as representative.⁸

Varya's narrative refers to the idea of Gayev who suggested they should visit the Countess in connection with the legacy and Anya's marriage.⁹

³ BC: 212.: „Я верю тебе, дядя”.

⁴ Anton ЧЕКHOV, *The Cherry Orchard. A Comedy in four Acts*, English version by Tom Stoppard, from a literal translation by Helen Rappaport, (New York: Grove Press, 2009)

⁵ BC: 221, 242.

⁶ See stage direction after the cast list, BC: 196.

⁷ BC: 232.: „Бабушка прислала ему [Gayev] доверенность, чтобы он купил на ее имя с переводом долга. Это она для Ани”.

⁸ BC: 232.: „Ярославская бабушка прислала пятнадцать тысяч, чтобы купить имение на ее имя, [...] а этих денег не хватило бы даже проценты заплатить”.

⁹ Act I, BC: 212.

Relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya

The Countess is a relative

Gayev consistently refers to her as „тетушка”, „тетка”,¹⁰ whereas Ranevskaya, Anya and Varya always as „бабушка” – Ranevskaya probably calls the Countess from Anya’s perspective by this word. Not only Gayev, but also Ranevskaya emphasizes that the Countess is Anya’s „бабушка”.¹¹

On which lineage is the Countess grandmother („бабушка”) of Anya? If she is her maternal grandmother, the Countess is the mother of Ranevskaya. But this contradicts the fact that Ranevskaya’s mother is dead in Act I, though the Countess is active in Act I and II. In Act I, Ranevskaya designates her mother as „deceased”,¹² and in Act III, she talks about her in past tense.¹³ Besides, if Gayev and Ranevskaya are siblings, it’s a contradiction that Ranevskaya’s mother is both Gayev’s aunt.

The possibility remains that the Countess is Anya’s paternal grandmother. This is confirmed by the fact that nowhere does Ranevskaya refer to her as mother. As mother-in-law, the Countess’ role is to be cross with her widowed daughter-in-law (Ranevskaya) for having remarried in a short time. Gayev originates the conflict between themselves and the Countess („нас она не любит”) from the new husband, the lawyer who is not noble.¹⁴ But the mere fact of a new marriage is reason enough for the confrontation if it reduces Anya’s share of the family fortune. The strange thing is that Gayev is both cousin of Anya’s father and brother of Anya’s mother. Consequently, Anya’s parents are cousins to each other.

The difficulty can be avoided or at least mitigated by attributing to the words „бабушка” and „тетушка” an informal connotation, without limiting their meaning to grandmother or aunt.

Who is Varya’s father?

According to *dramatis personae*, Varya is the foster child or stepdaughter of Ranevskaya,¹⁵ so Varya is the daughter of Ranevskaya’s deceased husband from his previous marriage. This is evidenced by the fact that Varya refers to the

¹⁰ Act I, BC: 212., Act II, BC: 219.

¹¹ Act I, BC: 213., Act IV, BC: 248.

¹² BC: 210., see also Act IV, BC: 253.

¹³ BC: 233.

¹⁴ „не дворянин”, BC: 212.

¹⁵ BC: 196.: „приемная дочь”.

Countess as „бабушка”,¹⁶ calls Anya „родная” (blood sister¹⁷) and Gayev „дядечка”.¹⁸

In Act I, Gayev and in Act II, Ranevskaya herself talk about her marriage. There are two husbands mentioned. Gayev refers to a lawyer who is not noble¹⁹ and Ranevskaya mentions a husband who threw his money about and was killed by alcohol and an other person as her new lover who she cohabited with in France until she had returned to the estate at the beginning of the plot.²⁰ Since the Countess got angry at Ranevskaya because of the lawyer, he could hardly be earlier than the alcoholic husband, so the „new lover” of Ranevskaya and the lawyer are one and the same.

In Act II, Grisha’s death is considered by Ranevskaya as retribution for falling in love with a new man.²¹ In Act I, Anya tells that Grisha drowned in the river a month after the father had died.²² That would imply that Ranevskaya who had newly become a widow became involved in a passionate love affair with the lawyer in less than one month. It is more likely, however, that Ranevskaya was already acquainted with him before her husband’s death, so she cheated on her husband. This is consistent with Gayev’s characterization that his sister is completely depraved.²³ If that is the case, of course, we can’t be sure whether Anya or Grisha share the Countess’ son as their father.

Who is the father of Lopakhin?

According to Lopakhin’s own accounts, his father and grandfather were serfs on the property of Ranevskaya’s parents.²⁴ In Act I., Lopakhin recalls his father being a shopkeeper in the neighbourhood when he was fifteen.²⁵ On several occasions, he talks about himself as peasant.²⁶

The picture is more nuanced by what Firs asserts that Ranevskaya and Lopakhin have the same father. Three people have a talk with each other: Ranevskaya, Firs and Lopakhin. Firs asks what has Ranevskaya said to him.²⁷ At

¹⁶ Act III, BC: 232.

¹⁷ Act I, BC: 214.

¹⁸ In each Act, BC: 209, 213, 214, 224, 232, 252.

¹⁹ BC: 212.

²⁰ BC: 220.

²¹ BC: 220.: „сошлась”.

²² BC: 202.

²³ BC: 212.: „она порочна. Это чувствуется в ее малейшем движении”.

²⁴ „крепостной”, „мужик”, „раб”, Act I, BC: 198, 204.; Act II, BC: 220.; Act III, BC: 240.

²⁵ Act I, BC: 197.

²⁶ „мужичок”, „мужик”, Act I, BC: 197, 198, Act IV, BC: 244.

²⁷ Namely he has been getting old, Act II, BC: 221: „Любовь Андреевна. Как ты постарел, Фирс! // Фирс. Чего изволите?”

Relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya

that point, Lopakhin joins the conversation and generalises Ranevskaya's statement.²⁸ And now Firs replicates both of them. Indeed, he is old, so old – ripostes he – that the father of Ranevskaya and Lopakhin had not even come into the world when he has been to be married.²⁹ After pausing for emphasis indicated with ellipsis points in the text, he is laughing as stated by Chekhov's stage direction. Firs enjoys the success of his pungent delayed punch line. He has killed two birds with one stone. There is nothing else to laugh about in what he says. According to this reading, the referents of „вашего” is both Lopakhin and Ranevskaya.

Ranevskaya shares the Baron as her father. In Act I, Firs refers to Ranevskaya as baroness several times,³⁰ furthermore, to the Baron as grandfather³¹ choosing the word „дедушка” from Anya's perspective, just as Ranevskaya used the word „бабушка”. If the Countess is paternal grandmother of Anya, the Baron can be no other than her maternal grandfather. So the „grandfather” is father of Ranevskaya.

What is the relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya? Hypothesis

There is no contradiction between the assertions made by Lopakhin and by Firs. The Baron may be the biological father of Lopakhin and the husband of Lopakhin's mother may be a peasant. It follows that Ranevskaya and Lopakhin are half-siblings (agnate e.i. consanguine siblings) – not by law, but by blood.

Against the hypothesis

It is possible to put an entirely different interpretation on the phrase „вашего папаши”. It can be understood as formal addressing. In this case, the referent of „вашего” is only Ranevskaya, as the intended receiver of Firs' previous question was also Ranevskaya.³² And so Firs' assertion can be cancelled.

However, just before Firs' sentence quoted above („вашего папаши” etc.), Lopakhin has cut in on the conversation and assisted Ranevskaya in criticizing Firs. Suddenly, two turned against one. A more realistic theatrical situation is provided by allowing Firs to retort to both of them at once.

²⁸ ВС: 221: „Говорят, ты постарел очень!”

²⁹ ВС: 221: „Меня женить собирались, а вашего папаши еще на свете не было... (Смеется.)”, see Stoppard: 37 and West: 241: „your father”.

³⁰ „барыня”, ВС: 202, 203.

³¹ Act III, ВС: 235: „Барин покойный, дедушка [...]”.

³² ВС: 221: „Чего изволите?”

Trustworthiness of Firs

The assertion of Firs is *a priori* invalid if we disqualify or discredit him like Gayev, Varya, Yasha. All the three of them are trying to convince Ranyevskaya not to pay attention to Firs, not to listen to him.

In Act I, Gayev argues that Firs is hard of hearing, Varya claims that Firs has difficulty with speech, and Yasha notes that Firs has grown old.³³ In Act III, Yasha says that Firs' mind is wandering.³⁴

In this context, the stage direction of Chekhov in Act I seems to suggest that Firs must be going senile, though it asserts simply that he tells himself something but „it is impossible to make out a word he is saying”.³⁵ The Russian verb „разобрать” (make out) doesn't necessarily imply that Firs doesn't know what he's talking about, or talks nonsense. It may be that he speaks in a low voice, without inflection, or his voice can not be heard above the background (environmental) noise.

Firs suffers oppression. Gayev has repeatedly instructed him to keep quiet.³⁶ In Act III, Yasha and in Act IV, Jephodov wish Firs dead.³⁷ That is strange, because Firs is Yasha's grandfather.³⁸

Firs is *persona non grata* because he remembers and reminds others, but the people around him want to forget.

In Act I, Ranevskaya wants to forget her own past³⁹ and Lopakhin is willing to forget about the suffering of his serf ancestors on the estate.⁴⁰

In Act II, Trofimov tries to convince Anya to put the past behind.⁴¹

In Act III, Lopakhin wishes everything would come to an end.⁴²

In Act IV, Yasha wants to disappear without trace.⁴³ It also irritates him to meet his mother.

The rhetoric of evasion, the misleading dialogues, the disguising conversations by which Trofimov characterizes not so much the country („У нас, в

³³ ВС: 204: „Гаев. Он плохо слышит”, ВС: 208: „Варя. Уж три года так бормочет. // Яша. Преклонный возраст”.

³⁴ ВС: 236f: „Яша (Любови Андреевне). [...] а тут еще Фирс этот ходит, бормочет разные неподходящие слова”.

³⁵ ВС: 199: „Фирс [...] что-то говорит сам с собой, но нельзя разобрать ни одного слова”.

³⁶ „Помолчи, Фирс”, ВС: 205, 222.

³⁷ ВС: 236, 246.

³⁸ Act III, ВС: 235f: „Яша. Что, дедушка? // Фирс. Нездоровится. [...] // Яша. Надоел ты, дед. (Зевает.) Хоть бы ты поскорее подох”, Stoppard: 57: „You're getting on my wick, granddad (yawns) Why don't you die and be done with it?”

³⁹ ВС: 210, see also, the methods of processing fruit are also forgotten, ВС: 206.

⁴⁰ ВС: 204: „я забыл все и люблю вас”.

⁴¹ ВС: 228: „надо сначала [...] покончить с ним”.

⁴² ВС: 241: „О, скорее бы все это прошло”.

⁴³ ВС: 247.: „Завтра [...] закатим, только нас и видели”.

Relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya

России”) but rather his company („у нас”), fit in with forgetting.⁴⁴ An interpreter of Chekhov’s play must also face the difficulties of this deceptive communication.

Firs has a good head on his shoulders

In Act I, Firs initiates a substantial confrontation with Lopakhin who declares that the value of the estate is given by its sheer size and its location, its crop yield is low, it can be difficult to store and sell the fruit. Firs denies that it has always been like this. He claims that in former times, production, processing and sale of cherries was a profitable business, the goods were transported to remote cities.⁴⁵ Perhaps there is another possibility than to cut down the trees and to parcel out the estate into allotments.

In Act III, his sarcastic gesture („усмешка”) and consideration (he’s the only one who can serve) show that Firs is fully aware of the situation when Ranevskaya sends him to have a rest in the middle of the ball.⁴⁶

For the hypothesis

In Act I, Lopakhin himself describes his feelings for Ranevskaya as brotherly love.⁴⁷ In reply, calling the cabinet her brother, Ranevskaya rejects Lopakhin’s initiative with theatrical gesture in the presence of the others.⁴⁸

If „родная” and „родной” are merely terms of endearment, Ranevskaya’s words can hardly be regarded as a riposte (feedback) to Lopakhin.⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that in Act IV, Ranevskaya says goodbye to the house as to close relative, as to grandfather.⁵⁰

Firs is perplexed by the lack of transparency of relations.⁵¹ However, his statement can hardly be regarded as a mere conclusion drawn from the liberation of serfs, but rather as the consequence of the Baron’s goings-on. This is the

⁴⁴ BC: 223: „все хорошие разговоры у нас для того только, чтобы отвести глаза себе и другим” – Gayev, Ranevskaya, Lopakhin, Varya, Anya are present, Firs is sleeping. See also Stoppard: 40: „It’s obvious that all the fine talk is just to distract attention, theirs and ours”.

⁴⁵ BC: 205.

⁴⁶ BC: 236.

⁴⁷ BC: 204: „и люблю вас, как родную... больше, чем родную”, see West: 222: „I [...] love you as if you belonged to my family... and even more”.

⁴⁸ BC: 204: „Шкафик мой родной... (Целует шкаф)”.

⁴⁹ Stoppard: 14: „ЛОПАХИН: [...] and I love you like my own flesh and blood [...] LJUBOV: [...] Here is my little book cupboard (kissing the book cupboard)”, see also West: 222.

⁵⁰ BC: 247: „Прощай, милый дом, старый дедушка”.

⁵¹ BC: 222: „а теперь все враздробь, не поймешь ничего”, West: 242: „but now everything’s all anyhow and you can’t understand anything”, Stoppard: 38: „but now it’s all higgledy-piggledy, you dont know where you are”.

last clause of the short train of thought which began with the discussion of his own old age.

His enigmatic phrase⁵² is less about intergroup relations than it is about interpersonal relationships, it does not fit in with the context of Trofimov's philosophical reasoning but rhymes rather with Trofimov's sentence addressed to Lopakhin: the fact that one's father was a peasant and the other's one was a pharmacist makes no inference.⁵³

Explanatory power of the hypothesis

The behavior of Lopakhin's legal father who beat him unmercifully is easily explicable if he was apprised of the conception of his son. It is conceivable that the father has obtained informations about it just before the scene recalled by Lopakhin from his own awkward age.⁵⁴ For a peasant, the father must have received the shop as a „solatium” in order for the illegitimate son of the Baron to be brought up under proper conditions.

The conception of Lopakhin – the sexual vulnerability of women dependent on the landlord, the sexual abuse suffered by them – are suitable to illustrate what Trofimov is talking about: Anya's ancestors have „living souls in their power”.⁵⁵ On the victims, the descendants are silent, we never hear Lopakhin mention his mother.

Why doesn't Lopakhin marry Ranevskaya? Lopakhin expresses his feelings for Ranevskaya in various ways. He is always courteous and chivalrous to her. He provides advice and money for her. He offers her his cooperation to prevent the auction. Magnanimously, he does not carry resentment towards Ranevskaya at the humiliation of his own peasant ancestors on the estate. He apologizes to her in tears for buying the cherry orchard. His love manifests itself in the gentle-sounding ultimatum which he gives Ranevskaya in Act IV: „I have a feeling that I won't propose to Varya without you”.⁵⁶ Why is Ranevskaya going to return to the parasitic lawyer in Paris⁵⁷ instead of choosing Lopakhin, a successful entrepreneur at the height of his career?⁵⁸ Because marriage between close kin is prohibited and they have the same father.

⁵² BC: 222: „Мужики при господах, господа при мужиках”, see West: 242: „The peasants kept their distance from the masters and the masters kept their distance from the peasants”.

⁵³ Act IV, BC: 244.

⁵⁴ Act I, BC: 197f, see also Act III, BC: 240.

⁵⁵ Act II, BC: 227: „ваш дед, прадед [...] были крепостники, владевшие живыми душами”, Stoppard: 44: „they owned living souls”.

⁵⁶ BC: 250.

⁵⁷ BC: 234.

⁵⁸ BC: 244.

Relationship between Lopakhin and Ranevskaya

In Act III, the coda of Lopakhin's monologue starts as a reproach to Ranevskaya, and suddenly transforms into an apology, the intended receiver of which is also Ranevskaya. Lopakhin desperately unhappy with the confusion of the life of them both.⁵⁹ After the estate being knocked down to Lopakhin, how else could the phrase „our troubled, dishevelled life” be understood than as a reference to blood relationship between himself and Ranevskaya.

Hypothesis and Chekhov's letters

In his letters, Chekhov considers the role of Lopakhin to be decisive for the whole piece.⁶⁰ The *dramatis personae* defines him as a merchant,⁶¹ the crucial event of the story is that Lopakhin buys the estate. However, Chekhov proposes that the role should be played primarily not as a trader.⁶² In addition, he gives Lopakhin features that are not of merchant type. Chekhov himself underlines the difference between Lopakhin's profession and personality.⁶³

According to the letters, Lopakhin is not a chawbacon, he does not bluster, but is gentle, decent, polite, cultured, intelligent, not guileful.⁶⁴ Chekhov's description corresponds to Trofimov's portrayal of Lopakhin when they say goodbye to each other.⁶⁵

The conflict can be resolved if we understand: in the story of the comedy, Lopakhin is not motivated by business interests, but by the intention to suit the requirement to be the brother of Ranevskaya. The description of the letters shows that he wants and is able to conform to his noble birth.

My major publication on the topic:

BOGNÁR László, *A Három nővér játszámája. Kísérlet a Csehov-dráma cselekményének föltárására*, (Budapest: Lestár, 2005)

⁵⁹ BC: 241: „О [...] скорее бы изменилась как-нибудь наша нескладная, несчастливая жизнь”.

⁶⁰ А. П. ЧЕХОВ, *Письма. Июль 1902 – декабрь 1903*, Полное собрание сочинений и писем – Письма, Т. 11, (Москва: Наука, 1982) (hereinafter: ПСС/П-11) letter no. 4221.; ПСС/П-11: 290, letter no. 4224, ПСС/П-11: 293.

⁶¹ BC: 196.

⁶² Letter no. 4221, ПСС/П-11: 290: „не надо, чтобы это непременно был купец”.

⁶³ Letter no. 4222, ПСС/П-11: 290: „Лопухин, правда, купец, но [...]”.

⁶⁴ Letters no. 4221., 4222., ПСС/П-11: 290f: „играть не крикуну”, „мягкий”, „порядочный человек во всех смыслах”, „держаться он должен вполне благопристойно, интеллигентно, не мелко, без фокусов”, „кулачка бы [Варя] не полюбила”.

⁶⁵ Act IV, BC: 244: „тебя тонкие, нежные пальцы, как у артиста, у тебя тонкая, нежная душа...”

Methods of Conflict Management in Pedagogical Practice

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Keywords: conflict management, pedagogical practice, efficient techniques, avoidance, mediation

“A conflict is defined as a lack of agreement, a contrast, a dispute or a tension between people or groups of people, which condition is based on assumed or real contrasts.”¹

1. Types of school conflicts

School conflicts can be grouped by their participants according to the Birloni-Sík scale:

a) Student to student conflicts. Forms:

- verbal aggression
- physical aggression
- exclusion
- harassment

b) Teacher to teacher conflicts. Forms:

- personal conflicts
- professional conflicts

c) Teacher to student conflicts. Forms:

- misbehavior during the lesson (being naughty)
- rows
- battery

¹ HERCZOG Mária és LOVAS Zsuzsa, *Mediáció, avagy a fájdalommentes konfliktuskezelés*, (Budapest: Múzsák Kiadó, 1999)

d) Teacher to parent conflict. Forms:

- mutual conflict of expectations
- the parent becomes subordinated to the teacher
- customer's attitude from the parent's part
- "pointing at each other"²

2. *Characteristics of school practice*

My experience has shown that through the tenders won by the state-owned schools, several teachers took part in conflict management training programs but not all the teaching staff was involved in these. It is not possible to deepen knowledge through the 30-hour training programs but these are suitable for shaping attitudes. Although the overall curriculum does not include the development of the competences required for conflict management, there are some schools where increasing the knowledge of the students in this respect is regarded as important and it is incorporated into everyday practice (e. g. EMK, i. e. Non-violent Communication courses at the Bak Primary School called Gőcsej Kapuja).

The situation is better in *alternative schools*, as living together in a narrower or wider community is an important site for social learning. Teachers give an example through conscious conflict management and they teach conflict management techniques to the pupils from as early as first grade. By reaching the upper classes, the pupils become able to manage conflicts, to perform self-reflection, as well as to conduct problem-free disputes.

3. *Efficient conflict management techniques in education*

- Mediation between the players of public education
- Peer mediation – the students trained for this purpose fulfill a mediator's role, through which the pupils get involved in administering their own affairs, they can interfere with the process at an early stage, and they may obtain experience in the democratic resolution of conflicts.
- "Face to face" method – the motivation for appropriate behavior is not realized through the rewarding and punishing behavior of the teacher but through the regulatory role of the community.³
- Nonviolent communication – it has four components: 1. the observation of the situation in question, 2. the feelings generated during the observation, 3. the needs related to the feelings, 4. request.

² BIRLONI Szilvia és SÍK Eszter, *Iskolai konfliktusok*, (Budapest: OFI Human Profess Kft., 2013)
Online: ofi.hu – November 2019.

³ BIRLONI-SÍK, *Iskolai konfliktusok*, op.cit.

– Supporting class observations – The solution of a teacher’s professional problem with the help of his colleague.⁴

4. The survey

Based on the relevant technical literature, I have developed the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: From among the conflict management strategies, teachers prefer win-win games, and besides self-assertion, they also strive for cooperation.

Hypothesis 2: In the case of conflicts, teachers do not use the dominance arising from their roles, and they do not only represent their own interests.

Hypothesis 3: Teachers confront the conflicts and they openly express their opinions in each case.

The Thomas-Kilmann model of conflict management

The past fifty years have seen the beginnings of several research programs on conflict management. The most well-known model of conflict management was developed by Kenneth L. Thomas and Ralph H. Kilmann in 1974. The questionnaire of the model contains as many as 30 pairs of statements, and the person who fills it out may choose from statements A or B. The respondents may get an insight into their own instinctively used conflict management strategies and also, into those that they do not, or hardly ever apply.

On the basis of the model, the five methods of conflict management in the dimensions of self-assertion and cooperation are as follows:

Level of self-assertion

High-medium-low

Competitive

Problem-solving

Compromising

Avoiding

Adapting

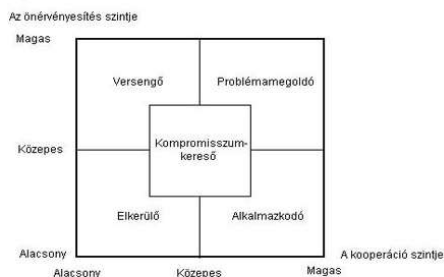
Level of cooperation

High-medium-low

⁴ BIRLONI-SÍK, *Iskolai konfliktusok*, op.cit.

Methods of Conflict Management in Pedagogical Practice

Thomas and Kilmann's conflict management model⁵



Thomas és Kilmann konfliktuskezelési modellje (Kulikné 2003, 597. o. alapján)

5. The findings and the assessment thereof

Everybody is able to apply all the five methods of conflict management but we use some out of these five methods more often, while some of them we only use sometimes. There are no right or wrong solutions. In addition to our upbringing and socialization, the situation, the conflict and our relationship with our partner also affect which method of solution we will use.

The questionnaire was filled out in 3 primary schools (Tiszaújváros, Mezőcsát, Girincs) by a total of 88 teachers. The survey is not representative but the following conclusions can be drawn from the data that we have obtained:

The findings of the completed questionnaires were recorded in a solution key by the participating teachers.

After aggregating the quantitative findings, we got the following results:

⁵ CSEMÁNÉ VÁRADI Erika és GILÁNYI Eszter, *Alternatív vitarendezés*, (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2011) Online: tankonyvtar.hu – November 2015.

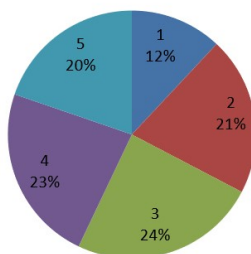
Conflict-solving strategies – Amount



1 – Competition, 2 – Problem-solving, 3 – Compromise, 4 – Avoidance, 5 – Adaptation

Amount by percentage

Összeg százalékos arányban



1 – Competition, 2 – Problem-solving, 3 – Compromise, 4 – Avoidance, 5 – Adaptation

It turns out from the graphs that based on these results, the highest proportion of the teachers filling out the questionnaires would opt for finding a compromise in a conflict situation. 1% less chose the method of avoidance. Problem-solving and adaptation were chosen by nearly the same proportion of respondents. Competition is the least typical behavior of teachers.

It is visible from the findings that the teachers who took part in the survey strive to find mutually acceptable solutions, such that partially satisfy some of the interests of the parties. If possible, they endeavor to apply the immediate

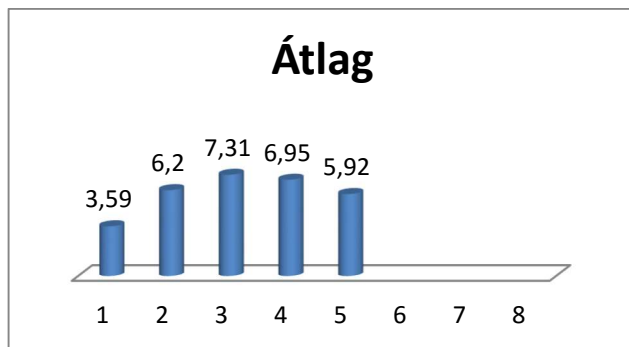
Methods of Conflict Management in Pedagogical Practice

methods of solutions. For them, both the matter and the partner are important. However, the problems may emerge again and they have to deal with them, as not all the aspects of the issues are tackled.

The use of the conflict management method of avoidance is surprisingly high in the case of teachers. In the course of using the method of avoidance, the person does not enforce either his or her own interests, or those of others. He or she thinks that it is better to keep out of the conflict, although this will not be solved like this. Those who choose these solutions often do so because they underestimate their capacities and they do not believe that their solutions would be worthy of others applying them as well. This is why they give them up before they even express them. In many cases, those who apply the method of avoidance are not interested in either the matter or the partner.

The latter method of solution is not such that should be followed by the students as an example. Since from among these five methods of solution, this is the second most popular one, it should be considered whether the teachers can stand up for their own interests, or they are the helpless sufferers of those conflict situations in which the teachers get involved due to their role as teachers.

Average / Average



1 - Competition, 2 - Problem-solving, 3 - Compromise, 4 - Avoidance, 5 - Adaptation

Problem-solving also comes up as a method of solution in the case of several teachers. The participant strives to cooperate with others, in order to realize the common maximum goals. The conflict is settled with mutual satisfaction.

Adaptation lags a little bit behind problem-solving. The party that adapts prefers to relinquish their own interests and contributes to the enforcement of the interests of the other party.

Competition as a method of solution is the method that is the least often used by the respondents. The enforcement of own interests against the partner is typical to an extent below the average.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above:

The teachers involved in the survey use the methods of solution of compromise, avoidance, problem-solving and adaptation to an average extent according to the findings, and they use the competitive solution method to an extent below average. The use of avoidance is unjustifiably high, the reason for which is hard to conclude from this survey, so further surveys will become necessary. As an identification model, the joint patterns of self-assertion and cooperation should come to the foreground.

The following responses can be given to these hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: From among the conflict management strategies, teachers prefer win-win games and they strive for cooperation besides self-assertion.

Based on the survey, the hypothesis was partly justified and teachers use the compromising and problem-solving conflict solution methods to an average extent.

Hypothesis 2: In the conflicts, teachers do not use the dominance arising from their roles and they do not only represent their own interests.

Based on the survey, the hypothesis was justified, as the participants of the survey would choose the competitive method of solution from among the conflict management strategies to the lowest extent, as compared to the average.

Hypothesis 3: The teachers confront the conflicts, and they openly express their opinions in each case.

This hypothesis was not justified, as the participants of the survey apply the avoidance strategy to a high extent. Is this the “condition of giving up”? Do teachers feel that the situation is hopeless, that there is no solution, this is why in many cases they do not take efforts? Further surveys are necessary to answer these questions.

Conclusions:

In mastering the conflict management methods, a child takes the identification models from the family, primarily from the parents. Then it is the examples seen from the teachers at kindergarten, then at school that are of critical importance. It is a question whether the children see good examples, and to what extent the associated communication patterns will help their conflict management when they grow up.

Methods of Conflict Management in Pedagogical Practice

Teachers bring their own models too. In teacher training, conflict management appears on the level of self-knowledge but there is no time to deepen this knowledge. It is not possible to master new methods of solution (e.g. mediation).

In most schools, the development of social competences in the curriculum is of a narrow scope, it is not targeted at the management of conflicts.

What we can also state, on the basis of our experience, is that in the majority of schools, the teachers do not deal with getting the students acquainted with conflict management techniques. The problem is made even worse by that the majority of teachers are not familiar with these techniques either.

With a view to the future, it would be important that the development of an increasingly wide range of social competences become part of the curriculum.

Based on all these, the following proposals may be made:

1. The continuous development of the conflict management skills of teachers should be striven for.
2. The development of the communication skills of teachers should be striven for.
3. In teacher training, more emphasis should be put on the mastering of the different forms of alternative dispute settlement, with special regard to mediation. Opportunities and time should be given to the elimination of bad strategies before the students go to the schools for completing their teaching practice.
4. The development of skills of empathy can best be done when the children are at kindergarten and in the lower grades of primary school. Children should be taught to express their feelings verbally and to understand the feelings of others.
5. More emphasis should be put on the development of communication towards children.
6. Those social competences which help conflict management should be continuously developed from as early as the first grade.
7. It would be necessary to have an expert who is trained to perform mediation in each school, and thus mediation could be incorporated in everyday practice.

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Natural and Artificial Intelligence

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Keywords: information, intelligence, algorithm, superintelligence, singularity, culture

Life is information transmitted from one living organism to another over time, thereby ensuring the survival of the population. The survival of living individual organisms is only possible if they are able to adapt to ever-changing conditions, during which environmental stimuli are sensed and evaluated and an adequate behavioral response appears. All this can be described as the operation of intelligence and, if failing, the living organism will soon die and the population will perish. Successfully adapting organisms create new populations through genetic changes forced by adaptation, and its members respond to each other and their environment in an increasingly complex way during the evolutionary process.¹

In the series of intelligent operations brought about in living organisms that have evolved through the great steps of evolution, human intelligence is the most complex. It is language that lifts Man to the top of evolution, who, “by virtue of his language, stands up to the totality of what is, which he questions and conceives as the being that is”. Thus the way opens towards the hidden, the uncertain, the questionable. The power of questioning lies in that it can open up what is important in all things. Asking forces one to direct his gaze to the unfathomable inalterability.²

Going beyond the possibilities of adaptation determined by natural intelligence, human intelligence can initiate humans into meaningful action between the coordinates of the whole world extended through time and space through language. The peculiarity of human intelligence is that it produces artificial actions mimicking its own actions that, in response to the stimuli of the environment, make it possible to attain goals determined by man. Ctesibios, who lived in ancient Alexandria, was the first to invent and create a water clock, which, by applying the principle of moving vessels, was able to regulate the level of the

¹ John Maynard SMITH and Eörs SZATHMÁRY, *The Origins of Life. From Birth of life to the origin of language*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

² Martin HEIDEGGER, “The Self-Assertion of the German University and the Rectorate 1933/34”, *Facts and Thoughts. Review of Metaphysics*, 38(1985) Nr. 3. 467–499., 472.

water within it by itself. With this invention, Ctesibios seized the principle of the functioning of a living organism that is capable of responding autonomously and adequately to changes in the environment from natural intelligence. His followers, as we shall see, have come very far along this path.

The scope of machine intelligence used as an assisting tool for human intelligence has significantly been increased by computers released in the mid-20th century. It was shocking when, on May 11, 1997, IBM's Deep Blue program beat Garri Kasparov, world champion, in chess. The winning machine was able to evaluate 200 million chess positions, its database contained 4,000 different openings and 700,000 games played by grandmasters. Deep Blue's next big success was winning the television contest Jeopardy! when the artificial intelligence program called Watson after former IBM president won \$1million. In 2018, the artificial intelligence program AlphaGo defeated the human champion in *go*, a much more difficult game than chess. In 2019, the software called Libratus proved to be better than humans in poker. Poker is more of a challenge for a machine than before, as poker players do not know what their opponents' cards are, and consequently, they have constant uncertainty. They can only win if they watch the others' games and constantly adapt to it while deceiving them by hiding their own chances.

21st-century artificial intelligence developments are no longer based on manual programming. Research is focused on the development of autonomous, evolving systems. Programming based on predefined criteria is being replaced by deep learning and reinforcement learning based on neural networks that mimic the biological functions of the nervous system.

There are numerous artificial intelligence applications connected to the Internet by now. The productive infrastructure of Industry 4.0 is capable of mass-producing products that even meet individual requirements without the need for human hands or human brains. Autonomous cars, smart homes, and smart devices of smart cities are all part of an ecosystem based on artificial intelligence applications. Data measured by body-worn devices and transmitted to the centre allow early detection of disease. Artificial intelligence programs based on central databases are essential for the accurate diagnosis of established diseases. In hospitals, patients are operated on and nursed by robots. With the knowledge of the human genome, genetic interventions can be used to screen out inherited diseases and existing diseases will be cured more effectively.

The work of law enforcement is facilitated by the use of crime maps and identification programs, otherwise not flawless, which allow for the detection of potential offenders. With the advent of natural language programs, artificial intelligence programs write most of the texts of daily news, weather reports,

ads and fake news that disrupt the functioning of democracy. Google Assistant and a digital assistant called Amazon Alex, talk to live people, order movie tickets and perform other engagements. Wars are initiated by humans but are fought by autonomous combat devices, robots, and drones. Artificial intelligence applications are taking on the role of people in more and more routine mental and physical jobs. Compared to the latter, the former has the advantages of never getting tired, lacking in feelings, and in that they are ready to work 24 hours a day. Most of the people who become redundant will remain jobless as they will not be capable of being retrained into IT specialists, programmers or AI developers.

The scope of Artificial Intelligence applications is multiplied by the network of the university of all existing, the internet of people and things, where every event leaves its mark on data.

Analyzing the ever-rising and growing body of data with Big Data methods offers unparalleled opportunities for the total control and influence over people. No one can hide in front of cameras in public space. Personal identification is made possible not only by the classification of facial features but also by classifying the individual characteristics of movement and sound. In China, the software is already in place that identifies people based on features of their individual movements such as posture, arm movement, and foot positioning. No one can fool the algorithm analyzing body movements by turning their backs on the camera or covering their faces.

The big question for the future is whether artificial intelligence created by natural human intelligence will be able to reproduce itself without human intervention when merged with human intelligence? In this case, there is a further evolutionary step that may result in the appearance of a super-living being that Nietzsche called superhuman. According to Kurzweil, after the emergence of self-replicating artificial intelligence, the singular point of development will come, when the competition between natural human intelligence and the artificial intelligence it creates is in favour of the latter. Kurzweil predicts the arrival of that singularity by 2045. A super-intelligence without biological barriers could fully replace human intelligence, its memory could be expanded infinitely, the efficiency and speed of its algorithms' would increase indefinitely and energy use would be reduced.³

Singularity may occur either sooner or later than 2045. The real question is, will the superhuman human intelligence, beyond the potential of natural and human intelligence today, be sufficient to find ways to adapt to the changes that threaten the human world in its existence? Human civilization as a whole is

³ Ray KURZWEIL, *The Singularity is Near*, (London: Penguin Group, 2006)

threatened by climate change, water and food shortages, outbreaks of world-wide epidemics, and, as a result, hundreds of millions are on their way to continents believed to be safer. The global crisis is exacerbated by local conflicts, guerrilla wars, religious and ethnic conflicts.

I fear that the explosion of intelligence will not adequately address the challenges of the global crisis. Man is far more than the bearer of the highest level of intelligence matured in evolution. Human life is fate, the message of which is no longer transmitted by genes but by culture-specific memes from generation to generation. The future is not in the hands of the superhuman, who will or will not come. Today's people need to awake to the fact that the global crisis is not the problem itself but only a symptom of the problem. Gus Speth, a lawyer and environmental activist living in the state of Vermont in North America, rightly says that humanity has been pushed into extreme danger by humanity itself. Selfishness, greed, apathy, short-term thinking, particularism cannot be overcome by any algorithm. There is a need for radical spiritual and cultural change, which, if failing to occur, the singularity will in vain be fulfilled. Human existence is far more than an intelligence problem. Intelligence, whether natural or artificial, adjusts only to the empirically graspable, algorithmic problems, but says nothing about what is good, what is bad, what the meaning of life is.

Artificial Intelligence has completed Kant's program, which called Man for „Dare to Know!" But the whole of human life also includes the Nietzsche program, which asks people to „Dare to live!"

Only people who have the courage to reassess values will be able to do so. The value of growth for growth's sake should be replaced by that of sustainable development. The value of the lives of those living now cannot be complete without the value of the lives of those born later. The empirical knowledge based on data can be replaced by the knowledge of imagination and possibility. Dream takes the domain of daytime living dominated by machines. Against total control, the resilient individual must have an inalienable right to privacy and to keep his or her secrets.

One can only remain in the world if he believes and trusts in a joint venture for a spiritual and cultural space in the material world.⁴ Artificial intelligence can help Man in this, but it cannot replace the stamina in the center of his being as a whole, by which Man sees beyond sight and can see and notice the truth. It is no longer the problem-solving convergent intelligence that leads to the truth, in its entirety, but intuition, the unconscious anticipation, the divergently branched artistic creativity.

⁴ HANKISS Elemér, *Az emberi kaland. Egy civilizáció-elmélet vázlatja*, Helikon Universitas, (Budapest: Helikon, 1997)

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The Adaptation Process: The Perspectives of the MSZMP Leadership of Western Europe in the Late Kádár Regime

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The issue of Western European adaptation appears frequently in Hungarian history. For the first time during the Reform Era, and during the age of Dualism for the second. The relationship of the political elite during these two periods is clear: they tried to adapt as much as possible from the liberal acquisitions of the developed West. During the period between the two world wars the situation changed however; it is no longer evident what exactly the term West means and even if there is some form of adherence it is not towards the Anglo-Saxon West or France but in the direction of Germany. The Kádár regime exhibited a unique dichotomy. In its first period (from 1956 to the mid 70s) the desire to dissociate from the West and the creation of some sort of an “autarch socialism” was rather strong, while during its second period (from the end of the 1970s) this changes and the assessment of the West goes through gradual changes.

In the following essay I analyze just one part of one period from the above mentioned four.¹ This period is the Kádár regime and the focus is on the last decade of it. In a book I wrote nearly twenty years ago I named this period a “discursive dictatorship”.² I refer with this to the fact that in the last ten years of the Kádár regime several elite groups existed and the party leadership was just one of these. There were other elite groups besides them. No matter how untouchable the power of MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party) seemed, within the discursive dictatorship these elite groups discoursed amongst each other, for example concerning the role of Western Europe as an

¹ I look at the question of western adaptation from a historical perspective in my 2017 book. See: CSIZMADIA Ervin, *A magyar politikai fejlődés logikája. Összehasonlítható-e a jelen a múlttal, és ha igen, hogyan?* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2017)

² CSIZMADIA Ervin, *Diskurzus és diktatúra. A magyar értelmiség vitái Nyugat-Európáról a késő Kádár-rendszerben*, (Budapest: Századvég, 2001)

example to follow.³ Looking at it today, it is almost shocking how rich the literature of the 80s was in opinions and articles about Western Europe. Due to the briefness of this essay I do not have the means to present the approach of each elite group, therefore I only reconstruct the perspective of Western Europe within the leadership of the MSZMP.

* * *

If we examine the issue from the end of the 1970s we can see that following the second oil crisis there was an official approach in the socialist countries according to which, following a few years of temporary “parity”, they once again felt that they had prevailed over capitalism, which was due to the fact that western countries were in a newer section of their adaptational reforms which were perhaps even more serious than that of the mid 70s. This situation was reflected in the militant messages of the Hungarian party leadership in the first half of the 80s. At the same time we cannot neglect that even the most militant positions did not make it impossible for the leaders of the party to declare their interest in upholding peaceful coexistence. We can say that in 1984–85 – proving that cooperation with western countries was not just a rhetorical issue – Socialist countries followed the western aspirations for stimulus. The 1985 resolution of the MSZMP Congress concerning the stimulus of the Hungarian economy, which according to the Hungarian literature was fundamentally wrong, could not be understood without knowledge of the end of the Western European recession and the stimulus packages that ended it. In my view the 1985 party resolution was an expression of the ever stronger western-oriented dependence of the Hungarian economy. This resolution however, despite being mistaken, means a transition to the last period before the change of regime that began in 1986.

Between autumn of 1986 and the elections of 1990 once again serious changes happened in MSZMP’s perception of the West. While before the 1977 period the socialist feeling of superiority was dominant, following 1977 the concept of parity between the socialist and capitalist world order dominated. Starting from 1986 the notion which was held by the other oppositional groups became accepted within the leadership of MSZMP as well according to which there is only one alternative for Hungary: effective adaptation to the western economic system. It is important to highlight that adapting to the globalizing world economy did not necessarily mean accepting the western institutional

³ I distinguished five elite groups: 1. The party leadership; 2. Party intelligentsia, 3. Elite economists ; 4. Foreign policy elite; 5. The oppositional elite (members of the opposition.)

The Perspectives of the MSZMP leadership of Western Europe

framework as well. In fact foreign and domestic policy was separate in the minds of the Hungarian political leadership. While rapid and effective adaptation became the main requirement in terms of foreign policy, concerning the domestic institutional reforms some sort of a specialized “Hungarian-way” and a socialist reform policy was dominant until the end of the 80s.

Why this happened in such a way, once again, can be explained with the nature of the political leadership, or more specifically with the generational aspect of it. The generational change within the political leadership only started at the very end of the Kádár regime. The slow changes starting from the end of the 70s only affected economic and public administration positions. While – mainly as a result of the new perspective of economic experts – the globalizing aspect of the world economy became more and more accepted in the upper ranks of the political leadership, the adaptation of western *democracy* had very few advocates.

The fact that the system became more pragmatic and less ideological aided the transformation of the political leadership’s perception of the West as well. The ideological uncertainty opened up the possibility for pragmatic political and economic action but for the exportation of Western political institutions they would have needed coherent ideological principles. As a result the notion of the institutional adaptation of democracy within the process of discourse of the 80s was carried out by other groups, for example the democratic opposition.

The pluralization of political life was also important from the point of view of the reforming of MSZMP’s perception of the West. While before 1980 MSZMP had a monopoly in the formation of public discourse, by the 80s the aforementioned elite groups also put forward their interpretations of the West. In this way a debate situation arose which – despite not being legally institutionalized – forced MSZMP to fight for its own position as well. As a result of this in the two years between the end of 1986 and 1988 MSZMP committed itself more clearly to the aspiration of western type integration than in the previous period between 1977 and 1986.

We can hold 1986 the year of change because in this year the agreement between the nations of the European Economic Community came about to extend the *economic* integration to a *political* one which eventually happened in 1992.⁴ At the end of the 80s the Hungarian political leadership turned to the World Bank and the IMF because it did not have faith that it could solve the

⁴ In 1976, not long after the accession of England and Denmark, the Hungarian leadership thought that the ECC was just an economic form of integration (not a political one) where the curbing of political sovereignty was unacceptable for the countries.

threat of bankruptcy within the frameworks of socialist integration. By 1986 however the perspectives of the socialist political integration which until then had been taboo became relative. By placing the idea of creating a unified Europe on the agenda the countries of Western Europe set Central Eastern European countries before a challenge to which, theoretically they could give two answers. The first was a politically unifying Soviet block, the chances of which however, owing to the basic differences in the state of development and modernization of the constituting countries was rather slim. The other was the latent disintegration of the Soviet block and the sovereign external economic policy of the members of the COMECON.

This later variant could be seen as characteristic, especially in the case of the Hungarian political leadership. Faced with the process that was taking place in Western Europe, namely that the individual countries gave up a part of their sovereignty in order to transform the ECC into a political integration; the COMECON nations, therefore Hungary as well, used the 1986 western challenge to deconstruct the framework of the Socialist integration and to create some form of a sovereign national policy. Mátyás Szűrös was the first to raise the priority of the *national* aspects over the international ones: “the subordination of the national interests to the common ones can only happen in an extraordinary situation.”⁵

The *Történelmi utunk (Our Historic Way)* special issue of the Társadalmi Szemle (Social Review) periodical puts the time when “besides the fix policy of loyalty to the Warsaw Pact, representation of the national interest in foreign policy became more distinct.”⁶ The *Gazdaság és gazdasági stratégia (Economy and economic strategy)* report (also from 1989) describes the COMECON as a mock-integration in which there is no possibility for real cooperation.⁷ Western integration was seen as the only realistic alternative for secure development in comparison to an organization that gave no possibility to act as a *community*.

At the end of 1986 the Hungarian leadership reached the point where it had to balance what was worth better worth it: mock-participation in a mock-integration coupled with permanent distance from the West or decomposing the role of Hungary within the socialist world order through prioritizing the national interests. According to my interpretation, the Hungarian leadership chose the latter. Between 1986 and 1988 the leaders of MSZMP abandoned the theories of failing capitalism and began to emphasize the capacity for renewal

⁵ Szűrös Mátyás, „A nemzeti és a nemzetközi kölcsönhatása a szocializmus magyarországi fejlődésében”, *Társadalmi Szemle*, 39(1984) 1. sz. 13–21., 18.

⁶ „Történelmi utunk”, *Társadalmi Szemle*, 44(1989) Különszám. 66.

⁷ *Ibid.* 69.

The Perspectives of the MSZMP leadership of Western Europe

and the developmental reserves of the west. They specifically recognized that this capacity for renewal is primarily in bringing about *integration*.⁸ It became evident that for Hungary it was only a matter of time for it to express its new intention for integration. This idea appeared indirectly in Mátyás Szűrös' essay, according to whom it was Hungary's *high priority task* for it to prepare for the qualitatively new situation arising with the creation of the common Western European internal market following 1992.⁹

The most important change of 1986-89 was therefore the disposal of all negative ideological connotations regarding the West. The higher ranking leaders of the MSZMP got to the point where they gave up the one sided Russian orientation and accepted the criteria of joining the West. Naturally, in order for it to arrive here there was a need to deconstruct the world order of Yalta by the world powers. The "historical act" of MSZMP was that while the socialist integration was constrained it continuously looked for closer ties with the capitalist global economy. In order to prove the proposition that the high ranking leaders of MSZMP went through a basic reevaluation of its own perception of the West I will talk hereinafter of the views of the party leadership concerning *propaganda*.

There are several MSZMP documents which on the one hand deal with the party's internal communication concerning Western Europe on the other hand those which deal with the propaganda aimed at foreign countries concerning the Hungarian position. It is clear from these documents that MSZMP thought not just general agitation and propaganda to be important but for its position to reach Western Europe and that the Hungarian public would be aware of the party leadership's views on the subject.

Naturally there are huge differences in content and phraseology between the agitational strategies of the earlier mentioned three periods. The documents of the first period from 1957-1977 saw the role of propaganda aimed at foreign countries in that it would "popularize the party's policy of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism".¹⁰ It is worth noting that there is a change in propaganda in the mid 70s: while previously propaganda meant informing foreign countries about the domestic relations, from 1976-77 great emphasis is placed on the more nuanced presentation of international relations. This is important because the Hungarian public could receive information about Western

⁸ BARABÁS János, „Ideológiai harc és propagandaverseny”, *Társadalmi Szemle*, 42(1987) 4. sz. 30-38.

⁹ SZÜRÖS Mátyás, „A nemzetközi helyzet és a magyar külpolitika”, *Társadalmi Szemle*, 43(1988) 7. 25-32., 32.

¹⁰ The Politburo's July 14, 1970 decision on the situation and development tasks of propaganda aimed at foreign countries.

European countries during the time of global economic transformation (1973-76) only as an area sealed off hermetically from Hungary. Though this propaganda rejected capitalism in the name of socialism's inherent superiority, however it shows that comparison of the two world orders is the adequate paradigm.¹¹

The international comparison and the finding of a new footing for Hungarian economic policy happens markedly in propaganda as well in the second period between 1976-86. In its 1979 resolution, the Committee for Agitation and Propaganda states that the foreign propaganda of the new Hungarian foreign economic strategy has become much better nevertheless the "foreign information on the economic strategy does not fully comply with the current requirements". Aside from the fact that the proposition promotes the use of western modes of propaganda domestically (in other words it wants to professionalize the country's propaganda) it also states that foreign countries must be informed precisely about the steps made to restore economic balance.¹²

Two tendencies can be seen from the official documents and the speeches of the party leaders in the first half of the 80s. One is that it is only advisable to look at the system of socialism together with the capitalist environment. The other is that the advantages of socialism can be shown better than before through comparison. It is in this light that the Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont (Center for Mass Communication) was commissioned by the Party to continuously examine the propaganda coming from other countries as well as their domestic reception.

The propaganda of this period assumed that there is no preordained scheme of interpretation for the reception of East-West relations; the official powers have to provide more nuanced information concerning the question of the struggle between the two world orders while on the other hand it has to train a new professional set of experts who are able to accomplish this task. This group that possesses a new perspective has to make the Hungarian public understand for example that it is not just the West's fault that East-West relations have deteriorated. Guy Lázár stated rightly that: "a fairly strong anti-America stance has come about among the groups following foreign policy which is primarily motivated by the fear of war. The fact that this is not necessarily positive is known by the leaders of Hungarian foreign policy as well."¹³

¹¹ The Politburo's decree on the propaganda tasks and agitation of the five year plan's economic policy.

¹² The January 20, 1979 resolution of the Committee for Agitation and Propaganda on economic policy information and propaganda aimed at foreign countries.

¹³ LÁZÁR Guy, „A külpolitikai tájékoztatás dilemmái és a közvélemény”, *Jel-Kép*, 6(1985) 1. sz. 45-49.

The Perspectives of the MSZMP leadership of Western Europe

The gradually more precise orientation had two functions: on the one hand, “revealing”, on the other, “presenting”. On the one hand, the nature of capitalism had to be presented through reasoning; on the other hand, the Hungarian public needed to be prepared for the fact that it had to cooperate with the West permanently. This task was very important social psychologically as the agitation policy of the previous decade was built on neutralization¹⁴. Its purpose was that members of society would accept the framework that was presented to them. The discursive dictatorship of the 80s however tried to re-found the West from the “bottom up” in the social sense. It would have been impossible to conduct the program of approaching Western Europe with the pre-1977 Hungarian society that was kept passive.

This program was realized by the leadership of MSZMP on the level of propaganda between 1986 and 1989: the greatest breakthrough in the propaganda of the time was that the party leadership saw itself as *part of* the Soviet block but defined itself as the trustee of the Western orientation. I will not repeat what has been previously expounded: by 1987–88 the protective shield of the COMECON and Warsaw Pact had ceased, this was behind the propaganda of the Western-orientation. It became clear that the future development of socialist countries could no longer just be imagined within the traditional framework of the Soviet empire.

* * *

In conclusion I would like to briefly touch upon the question of how the concept of Western Europe is differentiated in the documents of MSZMP. The elite groups mentioned already in the introduction often criticized the existing economic and political relations in the name of an idealized perception of the West. Did this Hungarian historical trend repeat itself or did the concept of the West become more fragmented? Based on the documents examined it seems that MSZMP changed significantly concerning its relation to the West during its 34-year long reign. Between 1957 and 1977 it basically does not differentiate between the countries of Western Europe. Western Europe is the region which they wish to surpass both politically and economically which therefore does not have traits that can be adapted or followed. Between 1977 and 1986 this approach is more differentiated: even if some politicians of the party speak of the “dark forces” of imperialism more and more politicians come into the forefront

¹⁴ SZABÓ MIKLÓS, „Magyar nemzettudat-problémák a huszadik század második felében”, SZABÓ Miklós: *Politikai kultúra Magyarországon, 1896–1986*, Medvetánc Könyvek, (Budapest: Atlantis Program, 1989) 225–252.

who sense the progressive nature of the West as well. The reactionary-progressive dichotomy lasts until MSZMP's leadership finally arrives at the acceptance of the theory and practice of western integration (from 1987). This is not about the adaptation of institutions of specific countries but about using the mechanisms between the countries as an example. With the EEC deciding to create the European Union in 1992 it set the task for MSZMP to decide whether it wants to be a promoting force of European unity or irrevocably a reactionary party. With the formation of MSZP (the Hungarian Socialist Party) in October 1989 MSZMP decided – at least for itself – this question.

Translated by Júlia Lakatos

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The Characteristics of the Societal and Spatial Structure of Hungarian Jewry in the Era of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy

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Keywords: Jewry, Regionality, Social structure, Enterprises, Mobility

It has been a long held view of our historical writing that the social structure of the Jewish population of any capitalist society is more bourgeois-oriented than that of the system it is incorporated into. Therefore, its modernizing role has also been considered more pronounced. This approach, based on Jews' uniformly ostracized status from traditional feudalistic structures, tends to investigate Jewish populations taken out of their regional financial and societal context. This, in turn, justifies the notion of the existence of certain group-specific characteristics that uniformly apply to close-knit Jewish communities. This approach, however, does not take into consideration the inner differentiation of Jewish society, the nature of social stratification varying from region to region (or settlement to settlement) and the various opportunities for mobility. Nor does it recognize the fact that the profession-related categories of statistics are hardly an accurate measure of a community's achievement of middle-class status. This deficiency must be remedied by taking local and regional surveys and applying a comparative methodology. This may be followed up by the investigation of individual life stories. This is the only viable research method that can either lead to a more nuanced picture of the Hungarian Jewish community or a refutation of previously held views of the features of Jews' migration, business ventures and their role in the development of a bourgeois society.¹

The economic and social roles of the Jewish population as well as their integration patterns showed a wide range of variety. The same can be said of the composition, entrepreneurial strategies and mobility options of the various

¹ My research has primarily focused on the economic and social history of Jewish communities inhabiting towns in North-Eastern and Eastern Hungary (Kassa [Košice], Miskolc, Nagyváradi [Oradea], Szatmárnémeti [Satu Mare] and Sátoraljaújhely) so the paper's data and findings are mainly concerned with those towns. Furthermore, the terms "civic person", "member of the middle class", or "member of the bourgeoisie" (cf. *polgár* in Hungarian) are used in a narrow sense to denote townsfolk of the entrepreneurial social strata.

Jewish social strata (the elite, the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie). This diversity, in the long term, was determined by several factors. On the one hand, it was influenced by when and how Jewish communities started to integrate with local society and where they originated from (closely associated with their patterns of folk movements and educational indicators as well as the respective roles of orthodoxy and neology). On the other hand, it was also impacted by the modernizing trends and economic conditions (e.g. trade relations and/or physical resources) in particular geographical regions as well as the social status of recipient communities.

The differentiation of the Jewish economic elite took place along the lines of various strategies of enterprise and amassing capital. The first, most traditional, group was that of leading merchants operating nationwide or in major towns that, having broken their links with farming, started to develop into thriving regional trading centers. During the decades of the Dual Monarchy, these actors had access to foreign markets. Their large-scale leases served the purpose of sale. Their amassed capital assets typically flowed into the banking sector and – partly via this same channel – into industrial ventures able to satisfy stable domestic market demand. Besides the capital, another typical example is Miskolc, where by the end of the era, over 40% of the top tax-paying positions (*virilis*) had become occupied by merchants, all but two of them of Jewish descent. Located at the intersection of several geographical regions, this town started to develop into a major commercial hub as of the early 19th century. Thanks to the strengthening economic ties with the Treasury Estate of Diósgyőr, the settlement of Jews had started even earlier. Both of these factors contributed to the fact that the assets of several major enterprises were passed down from father to son ensuring multi-generational continuity and the possibility of pursuing relatively flexible business plans.

The second tier of the Jewish economic elite was constituted by wealthy owners of major agribusinesses. This group started to materialize in the 1850s in the food-industry centers (mainly of the milling and distillery sectors) of farming regions. Typical examples are the towns of Temesvár (*Timișoara*), Arad, Békéscsaba and Nagyvárad (*Oradea*). This type of enterprise continued to be their major means of amassing capital, which determined the nature of their business ventures. In Nagyvárad, a major hub of milling and other food-related businesses as early as Reform Era, the biggest mills were typically founded by Jewish owners of distilleries. They also tended to launch various spin-offs (e.g. pig, cattle and dairy farms) and started to gain a foothold in more modern sectors by establishing industry-scale bakery businesses and flavored-spirit distilleries. Instead of forcing mergers or establishing subsidiaries – as it was typical in Miskolc – they focused on deepening the vertical dimension of

The Characteristics of the Societal Structure of Hungarian Jewry

the farming industry. The same purpose was served by their farming leases which made the production cycle as efficient as possible. At the same time, they ensured stability in case of any temporary shortfall in the output of certain production units.

A slightly different group was that of those agrarian entrepreneurs who raised their finances from trading in grain. These capital assets, in turn, were invested into land purchases or more typically long-term leases. They did not aim at deepening the vertical nature of their enterprises but at modernizing their production processes. This approach was passed down from father to son and often spread along more distant family lineages. The best locations to put this approach in practice were geographical areas with several large estates. To mention actual names from the Southern Transdanubia region, the Strasser and Schlesinger families or the Leopolds are good examples. (A scion of one of these families, the legendary Lajos Schlesinger left Nagykanizsa to become a coffee plantation owner in Guatemala at the end of the 19th century.) Sándor Leopold, “the first colonist,” on the other hand, leased the Ózsák-Pusztá Estate on the outskirts of Szekszárd. The area had been marshy scrubland in the 1870s, but was developed into an intensive model farm within a few decades. The example later became family tradition. Sándor Leopold’s older brother, Lajos Leopold, Sr., who finished law school, leased Szilfa Manor. His older son farmed the lands on the outskirts of Sárszentágota. The younger boy, Lajos Leopold, Jr. (also a law school graduate), had taken a study tour in Italy before he came back in 1902 to take over his father’s model farm. (All three estates belonged to the assets of Theresianum). Lajos Jr. continued his father’s modernization efforts. In addition to grain farming, he launched tobacco farming and viticulture. He imported cutting-edge farm machinery, tractors and harvesters from the U.S. (He also pursued academic interests as a sociologist. Even so, no smaller a literary figure than Endre Ady still considered him a “farmer” because it was not until 1920 that he moved to the capital city). Representatives of this category attached a lot of prestige to owning or the act of purchasing land. In this respect, there was no difference between top-tier or mid-level landowners regardless of their being of Jewish or Christian descent. Evidence of this might be found in the fact that in the decades of the economic crisis, Jewish entrepreneurs tended to liquidate their newest assets or discontinue their leases to be able to modernize farming practices on their own family estates.

Defining the Jewish middle class of the era of the Dual Monarchy is also problematic for several reasons. The various factors accounting for distinct categories (income, number of apprentices, education and lifestyle) may have manifested themselves differently in specific locations. They were also connected to the dynamics of mobility which, in turn, was influenced by other

factors, such as the time of settlement or segregation patterns in a given habitation. In Nagyvárád (where the Jewish parish was established as early as 1722), certain tradesmen and small traders who kept pace with urbanization and the demands of modernization (specifically the owners of a shoemaker's shop and a stationery business) may have been considered members of the middle class. However, merchants enjoyed a status with higher prestige even if they employed fewer apprentices. As soon as skilled tradesmen had launched a store, or vice versa, merchants had started some kind of manufacturing shop, and accordingly increased their income, they were promptly promoted to the upper middle class. As a concrete example, let me cite the career of Géza Hegedűs Sr. started a shoemakers' workshop in the Újváros District in the 1860s. Having toiled for two decades, he established his reputation as a renowned master craftsman and was ready to open a footwear store in the late '70s. At that point, he was employing five to six apprentices and assistants in his shops and received regular orders from the highest-ranked noble families of the county. In spite of this – but in perfect alignment with the peculiar unity of entrepreneurial work ethic and Jewish mentality – the owner kept working from dawn to closing time. He also did his own accounting and, perhaps in remembrance of the principle of "*communitas et fraternitas*" of medieval guilds, he "... rigorously observed and had others observe religious practices. He expected his Christian employees to visit their church services just as unconditionally as he demanded his children and Jewish apprentices to keep an accurate prayer schedule... As devout Jews were wont to do at home, family members had to have meals with their heads covered. Therefore, Christian apprentices and assistants were also required to sit around the table that way. After the patriarch of the family had said grace in Hebrew, Christians were to take off their hats for a few moments, to let first a Catholic then a Protestant apprentice to say their preprandial prayers."²

The diversification and mobility patterns of the middle class assumed a more limited nature in other geographical locations. In the old handicraft-industry centers of Northern Hungary (e.g. Kassa [Košice]), the influential and powerful civic population (descendants of former guild members) jealously protected their privileges and the municipal council also took a role as an economic actor. (The lumber trade was monopolized in the years of the Dual Monarchy; consumers' co-operatives were encouraged; the operations of market vendors were strictly controlled.) In addition, the town's industrial boom began to subside at the end of the century. All these factors made economic and social

² HEGEDŰS Géza, *Előjátékok egy önéletrajzhoz*, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1982) 79.

The Characteristics of the Societal Structure of Hungarian Jewry

integration as well as profession-related mobility problematic for Jews who had started to migrate to the region only in the 1850s. The establishment of multi-generation merchant families (like those in Miskolc or Nagyvárád) was further hindered by the fact that, influenced by century-old traditions, the industrial sector retained a higher level of prestige in the decades of the Dual Monarchy. As Simon Letzter, the Jewish treasurer of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Kassa, wrote in 1905, "...it is unfortunate that the overwhelming majority of our merchants do not prepare and train their children to succeed them in this career, given that the notion of the old trading house is unknown in this part of the country... our trading sector needs representatives who can continue and perfect their fathers' achievements."³

Different entrepreneurial opportunities and upward-mobility patterns were provided by market towns which acted as business centers for surrounding farms and villages. Agrarian entrepreneurs operating in settlements with wide outskirts perimeters in the area bordered by the Danube and Tisza Rivers, respectively, and succeeding their Jewish leather and wool merchant ancestors, leased lands (several hundred acres) and orchards, practiced animal husbandry and typically specialized in trading poultry and fruit on the side. These farmers may be considered part of the wealthy middle class as justifiably as those based in the region of Jászság, who started, in the 1860s, cheaply buying up plots and planting vineyards to end up as model farmers disseminating expertise in cultivating sandy soil. In the town of Jászberény, outstanding families included the Mandls, Mollers, Lippes, and Brünauers. At the end of the era of the Dual Monarchy, more than 10% of the town's Jewish parish members cultivated vineyards on a total area of some 750 acres valued at about 2 million *korona*. Jewish economic integration had had a longer history in the market towns of the Tokaj wine producing region. Records of the 1839–1840 census for Sátoraljaújhely show that "major" merchants trading in wine and wool (or felt fabric) and "major" leaseholders of inns, butcher's shops and lands boasted the highest incomes. Even in the decades of the Dual Monarchy (until the outbreak of the Great Phylloxera Blight, which caused the wine market to crash), it was these activities that provided certain families with opportunities to be elevated to the narrower entrepreneurial middle class.

Jewish entrepreneurs who purchased or leased lands but, due to unfavorable market conditions or insufficient capital assets, could not launch profitable farming or associated industrial/commercial ventures may still be categorized as members of the middle class. The lands they were in control of tended to shrink and they were forced to get involved in projects of dubious outcomes,

³ *A Kassai Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara 1905. évi közgyűlésének Jegyzőkönyve*, (Kassa: Werfer, 1905)

which often pushed them near the brink of bankruptcy. What follows is a breakdown, focusing on the nation's eastern and north-eastern counties, of the percentages of Jews once owning more than 140 acres but gradually becoming ineligible to keep their status of landed gentry: Bereg County 46%, Ung County 52%, Máramaros County 48%(?), Zemplén County 27%, Abaúj-Torna County 20%, Bihar County (a surprising) 13%. In Géza Hegedűs' autobiography, you can find the name of Izsó Spitzer, whose father was a landowner and leaseholder in Belényes of Bihar County. After completing his high-school finals to prove his qualification for dueling, he got into the business of purchasing and selling forests Europe-wide (from the Carpathians to the Rhein and from the North Sea to the Sea of Marmara).

The stratum of Jewish lower middle class, which is hard to identify, differentiated along the lines of various interdependent factors (professions, modernizing opportunities thereof, type of settlement, or the location within the settlement they occupied) to form a network of groups with rather loose cohesion.

The tier of the upper-lower middle class was occupied by tradesmen (mainly in the service and maintenance sectors) and owners of independent stores (specializing in textile, clothing, haberdashery and fashion) who managed to retain their stability during the years of the Dual Monarchy, but could not afford to expand their staff (of a meagre one or two apprentices). They did have the option of working as subcontractors, though. (Major Jewish textile or shoe merchants based, among other places, in the capital, Nagyvárad and Miskolc employed numerous tailors or shoemakers.) The ranks of this group were joined by tradesmen who became factory workers for shorter or longer whiles. (Founded in Nagyvárad by Farkas Moskovits, Hungária Shoe Factory, well-known throughout Europe, employed 150 mostly Jewish people at the turn of the century. The same number referring to Lipót Heimann's textile factory was over 80.) They did not lose their middle-class status, however, because for them the path to becoming independent again had not become completely blocked.

Retaining stable lower-middle-class livelihoods was also possible by other means. The volume of commodity production typically increased in major farming settlements. This was beneficial to Jewish traders who tended to pass down, from generation to generation, the oftentimes unfavorable "strategies" of small-scale entrepreneurs (selling on credit, barter for farm products, low profit margins, or loaning money). These exchanges, however, solidified their business relations with the local peasantry. Here is a sample of various regions, with representative towns, of which these practices were typical: Tolna County (Bátaszék, Bonyhád, Dombóvár); Northern Hungary (Szerencs, Sátoraljaújhely); Szabolcs County (the former market towns of Kisvárd, Nagykálló and

The Characteristics of the Societal Structure of Hungarian Jewry

Nyírbátor). The populations of these towns tended to buy from local Jewish shop owners who invested the proceeds in purchasing land and vineyards or small-scale leases. In other words, they set a course for farming with the ultimate goal of establishing family estates.

The ever expanding ranks of the lower-lower middle class were also fairly diverse. It included craftsmen, based in rapidly urbanizing settlements, whose trades were becoming obsolete. (In Miskolc, for example, the Jewish association of guilds, which had been established in 1836, still had tanners, candle-dippers, button-makers and pipe-makers among its members). They basically shared status with practitioners of “traditional” occupations. (In the decades of the Dual Monarchy, several licensed distillers were registered on the outskirts of Nagyvárád.) Members of this group of the lower middle class, however, typically struggled on a daily basis to make ends meet. Other elements in the same stratum were general or convenience store owners based on the outskirts and vendors usually licensed to do business only on market days. Yet another subcategory was that of rag-and-bone men and peddlers who normally lived on the road only to return home for the Sabbath. (They were called “sub-Jews” in contemporary Nagyvárád slang.) Owing to this lifestyle, their integration into recipient communities and upward social movement took place very slowly and controversially.

A different type of the lower-lower middle class was that of Jews embedded in communities of poor peasants, typically in the Great Plain (Alföld), Trans-Tisza and north-eastern regions. The livelihood of these village Jews was determined by small-scale (a couple of acres) operations, subsistence farming with no market access, or paid work for bigger agribusinesses. It is also true, though, that the group included general store owners, publicans as well as tradesmen and the various elements represented slightly different cultures and traditions. (Adolf Ágai, for instance, depicted “Calvinist Jews” or folks from the North-East following Yiddish traditions as proper Hungarian peasants as early as the 1860s.) The careers of dramatist Menyhért Lengyel and poet József Kiss are testament to the fact that any chance of moving upward from this predicament may have only happened after long years of precarious existence and took plenty of ambition and talent. (The former came from the land of scattered farms on the Hortobágy *puszta*. His grandfather farmed a few acres of land and his father was an itinerant farm manager. The father of the latter owned a village store.)

The main goal of the paper has been to briefly outline how Jewish populations integrated with local communities in the era of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy. It also serves to show how those populations’ stratification, social mobility and chances of upward movement were determined by local and

regional (that is, geographical) factors as well as economic conditions impacting the entirety of the era's Hungarian society.

Translated by András Veréb

My major publications on this topic:

CsÍKI Tamás, *Városi zsidóság Északkelet- és Kelet-Magyarországon. (A miskolci, a kassai, a nagyvárad, a szatmárnémeti és a sátoraljaújhelyi zsidóság gazdaság- és társadalomtörténetének összehasonlító vizsgálata, 1848–1944)*, (Budapest: Osiris, 1999)

CsÍKI Tamás, „Hagyományok és változások. A fővárosi zsidóság családfejlődésének néhány jellemzője a II. világháborúig” *Néprajzi Látóhatár*, 14(2005) 3–4. sz. 331–372.

CsÍKI Tamás, „A megtelepedés útján. A nagytárkányi zsidóság a 18–19. században”, in *Nagytárkány. Tanulmányok a község településtörténetéhez és néprajzához*, szerk. VIGA Gyula, (Komárom: Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2006) 179–197.

CsÍKI Tamás, „Foglalkozási és megélhetési módok”, in *Zsidók Kárpátalján. Történelem és örökség a dualizmus korától napjainkig*, szerk. BÁNYAI Viktória és FEDINEC Csilla és KOMORÓCZY Szonja Ráhel, (Budapest: Aposztróf, 2013) 27–37.

CsÍKI Tamás, „Önszerveződés és társadalmasodás. Zsidó egyesületek Kárpátalján a dualizmus korában”, in *Zsidók és keresztények az évszázadok sodrában. Interpretációk egy témára*, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2015) 138–150.

The Application of an Innovative Tool in Urban Anthropology

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In my writing I am going to talk about a longitudinal research conducted at a worker colony. The research started 20 years ago. Its goal was to map and understand the complex lifestyle of the inhabitants of an iron worker colony. I used mental mapping¹ to reveal the social changes over time.

The research was carried out in a rural Hungarian city. The housing estate in focus reflects the economic and social problems that followed the closure of heavy industry plants all over Europe: (permanent) unemployment; the lack of rehabilitation of brownfield sites and the need for it; the “slumization” of city districts; the internal tension developing in these communities and their generally negative reputation.²

The physical environment of the research site (the dwellings, the overall spatial structure, the location of old outbuildings, the streets, city squares) has not changed in the last two decades, which makes it ideal for a longitudinal research using mental mapping.

From 1868 to 1900, a housing estate for 9000 people were built in Diósgyőr. The Colony is situated among several fenced factory areas which are not open to the public. Its boundaries are permanent due to its geographical and built environment.

The first phase of the research started in 1998. During this stage I analyzed maps drawn by 25 informants. Some landmarks, the Catholic church, the cemetery and the Stream Szinva were pre-marked on the blank maps. The choice of the three landmarks was the result of a test before creating the map. There were

¹ For more information see László Letenyei's studies about mental maps in particular his work: LETENYEI László, *Településkutatás. A települési és térségi tervezés társadalomtudományos alapozása*, (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2004)

² R.NAGY József, „Falusi munkáskolóniák lakóinak morálfelfogása Északkelet-Magyarországon”, *Múltunk*, 52(2007) 2. sz. 66–82.; József R.NAGY, „The factory has no meaning for us any more...” in *Growth, Decline and Recovery. Heavy Industrial Regions in Transition*, (Budapest and Miskolc: Institute of History of Hungarian Academy of Sciences and University of Miskolc, 2008) 261–270.

no other reference points marked. The informants added their present or former houses as further reference points.

The inhabitants of the Colony were mostly manual workers with cultural roots in the iron industry or a related professional field. At the time of the research of 1998 most of the families I contacted were inactive; the majority of them were retired and only a few were unemployed. Only three of the families had members with a job and this proportion reflects the rate of active inhabitants in the entire Colony.

The analysis of the Vasgyár Colony was easier in 1998: there were still many elderly people living in the Colony who had been the members of the community for most of their lives, their active working years were related to the nearby ironworks or to one of the surrounding factories, so their way of life was determined by the Colony in general. They were happy to speak in detailed accounts about the history of the Colony and proved to provide fairly exact information about it. The informants were very motivated and enthusiastic to talk.

Apart from a few exceptions they needed a lot of encouragement and long, convincing explanations before they would start drawing on the maps. Most of the drawings were made with a blue ink pen, colours were only used occasionally. The informants were asked to evaluate the streets, areas, institutions they know and frequent on a 10-grade scale. They had no problem performing this task, they were more comfortable with it than with drawing the maps. After this grading task they were easier to start “filling up” the maps.

I asked my informants to tell me and show me the places which they like and use on a daily basis, but also which they usually avoid for some reason. The areas determined by the different informants mostly overlapped. As result of this it was possible to localize 5 districts and some other passive areas. My next question to them was to grade different areas of the Colony by sympathy on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the least appealing and 10 means the most appealing area.

The highest average grade, 6.24 was given to the central area of the Colony where the place of the Roman Catholic church was originally marked on the blank maps. This is also where the first and oldest entrance of the metallurgy factory is. The lowest grade was given to the area of the “numbered streets” where the houses built after 1907 stand. The most favorable areas host the old Chief Officers’ semidetached houses and the Roman Catholic vicarage is also located here. Retired skilled workers and ex-employees from the lower management lived in these houses at the time of the research. The buildings and the gardens were well maintained, the characteristic red brick style of the houses was preserved.

The Application of an Innovative Tool in Urban Anthropology

The houses in the “numbered streets” were rented to workers without children or to temporary workers. The negative qualities of “Hundred houses” stuck in the collective memory of the locals. The Colony with its closed structure used to have access to the city through the “numbered streets”; people of Miskolc tend to identify the whole Colony with this slum-like image and this causes discrepancies in the identity of the community.

The other low regarded area is district 5. The average of the points it received from the people I asked is 3.4. Although the district is populated by gypsy families it has not become a “gypsy slum”, it has not gained ill fame and is not as segregated as the previously mentioned “numbered streets”.

There are semidetached Officers’ houses and pairs of workers’ houses here. The district got 4.12 points in average even though it was often mentioned as a “*nice and clean area*”. When asking about the reason for the low grading the informants shared with me that unwanted visitors from the outskirts of the Colony often come here and disturb the people living here.

Ógyár Square, at the junction of the two *edges* was outlined as a central node on the maps. This square is a traffic hub and has a great deal of symbolic relevance too. There was the main entrance of the factory, several pubs and other commercial units operated here. The experience of the crowded square at the time of shift changes was remembered as the ever-desired bright past by all the informants.

The Colony is accessible by tram, by bus, on foot and by car. Most of the informants who use the public transport system marked the tram stop of line 2 as hot spot. Moving around the Colony mostly happens on foot due to the relatively short distances. Moving directions both in and out were marked on the maps in the area of the Colony to the south from the Szinva. At the same time, the informants only marked the outbound routes from the “numbered streets”. None of the maps show passages between the two areas (there is a walking bridge, which connect the areas on the right and left banks of the Szinva).

Only two informants marked the Vasgyár Cemetery as a frequented place by them. The community was further pushed towards the edge of its collapse by the fact that public places have closed down and community programs were discontinued. There is a nursing home working in the old director’s house but apart from that, there is no other community space in the Colony.

One of the most important results of the first phase of the research was to see the relationship between space and society revealed by the maps. The house closest to the main gate of the factory was the director’s house. The lower one was in the company hierarchy the farther his house was from the factory

gate. The hierarchy also determined the size and level of comfort of the houses.³ The best regarded districts were those in which the former leaders, engineers and foremen of the factory used to live, even though the population in those houses changed over time.

In the second phase of the research, in 2017 16 interviews and 16 maps were taken. For the sake of comparability, I gave the same blank maps, tasks and instructions to the informants as before. However, it was necessary to make minor corrections as some of the streets in the original map do not exist anymore and some houses are now replaced by various service providers. As it happened in the first phase, the informants were asked to evaluate the streets, areas, institutions and community spaces they know and frequent on a 10-grade scale.

The majority of the informants marked the Andrásy Road and the Stream Szinva (pre-drawn on the maps) as the *edges* of the Colony. There were no dominant inner boundaries drawn. Only when asking them about the different districts did any of the informants mentioned some inner boundaries which previously played a role in the grouping task. However, the informants did not define them as edges. When I asked them to draw the edges of the *districts* they previously graded, they drew them bigger than in the first research phase. The “numbered streets” appeared as a block with a negative reputation. Other negative areas were marked around the old entrance of the factory (Ógyár Square). The “numbered streets” received 1 or 2 points from the informants, so the average 2.25 points does not differ much from the earlier result (2.32 points).

Only some streets or parts of streets were identified as groups on the fringes. The inside part of the Colony appeared as one large block. While in the previous research phase this area was marked to have 3 districts, now it appeared as one coherent spot in the middle of the map. Even the informant who in the previous phase marked two different areas in the core of the colony talked about it as one. The buildings or the spaces have not changed in a physical sense in those streets over the years.

The cemetery was marked by six informants this time.

The informants rarely or only occasionally visit the local churches. Those who practice their religion go to other religious communities or churches outside the Colony even if the local churches of three different religions are active. Most of the information shared with me in relation to the church (4 mentions) was about the midnight mass of the Roman Catholic church, which is often visited by many locals even by some who do not generally practice their religion.

³ OLAJOS Csaba, *A Diósgyőr-vasgyári kolónia*, (Miskolc: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár, 1998) 39–50.

The Application of an Innovative Tool in Urban Anthropology

The strong masculine character of metallurgy was well represented in all phases of the research. From the gender aspect the use of space in the society, the public and private spaces in the Colony exhibit all the possible conditions of private-feminine and public-masculine roles. (Alexander 1977: 147) The same can be observed in case of the analysis of street names. Public sculptures or similar non-functional objects are rare here. The ones we can find are all related to industrial production which can be identified as a masculine concept of space forming.

In the interviews recorded in the first research phase it was often mentioned that women used to have their own public spaces in the Colony. They were mostly related to the household duties e.g. community bread making, courses organized for women, learning circles, the women's bath. The spaces which used to be considered as feminine spaces have disappeared or their feminine character is not dominant anymore. At the time of the first research phase the mentioned feminine spaces were marked on the mental maps e.g. the bath (3 mentions) or the community bread making (2 mentions) but they were considered to be part of the past, nobody talked about or drew such spaces existing in the present. By the second research phase there was no mention of these spaces at all.

The Colony belonged to the families. Single men all lived in the outskirts, while single women lived in one place, "Angyalvár" (The Angel Castle) as it was referred to in the colloquial language. "Angyalvár" is one of the oldest buildings in the Colony. "Angyalvár" only appeared in the drawings during the first phase. In the first research phase the building was mentioned four times, it appeared as a landmark and a reference point too. In the second phase no informant marked the building. It faded from the collective memory and was missed out of the maps too, although it is one of the most beautiful buildings in the colony.

The division of space based on gender dominance has gone through an ethnic transformation. The streets of the Colony "*were took over by gypsies*", said one of the informants, involuntarily referring to the element of dominance which appears in an aerial sense too. Until the company managed the houses there were no gypsies living in the Colony. The forced growth of the factory staff starting from the 1950s brought a great number of gypsy workers from the countryside who commuted to the factory for quite some years. The unskilled or "quick-trained" workforce was never excluded on ethnic base but there was a gap between the true-born Vasgyár people and any other "intruders".

Gypsy families started moving into the Colony in the 1980s. Former inhabitants started to move to other parts of the city and the empty houses in the Colony were then occupied by gypsy families in an increasing number. An element of fear appeared in every interview and it was mentioned in relation to

gypsies every time, despite the fact that crime rate shows no difference with that of in the entire city of Miskolc. The local government took some steps – with huge media coverage – to demolish the area. In the first step the houses at the beginning of the “numbered streets” (First, Second, Third and Fourth Streets) were demolished. Buildings for service providers were pulled up at a quick pace in their place. The second step that is the reorganization of the residential function of the area has been terminated so far. Erosion has started to speed up after this.

Summary

Using mental maps in my research helped to reveal new things while identifying the certain areas and characterizing them. The most surprising information was that the informants made a connection between the building of the Colony, the grading of the houses and the position of the owner in the company hierarchy.

Besides the local structure of space and the social layers, some other important horizontal aspects were brought to the surface by the maps. A hot spot in the Colony turning into a slum identified as the “numbered streets” area, the gender aspects of space analysis in the Colony and the relationship between fear and space.

The natural border, that is Szinva, also appears as a boundary in the social texture of the Colony and this is clearly reflected on the mental maps. From the interviews and observations it was obvious that the informants use the bridges/passages, however they did not mark these on the maps as important routes. People living in the right banks of the Szinva marked the area on the left banks as a homogenous bad spot in both research phases without any subdivisions. Only negative opinions were articulated about the “numbered streets” in both research phases. This general image was somewhat altered by the informants living there, however they gave the lowest points to their own streets in the Colony too.

Researchers working with mental maps rarely discuss the vertical characteristics of space. There is no obvious reference to the vertical dimensions of the space in the field documentation of the present research either. Only the church, the hospital and some industrial buildings are tall in the housing estate I chose to study. Taller buildings appeared as landmarks in the interviews and on the maps drawn. The most often mentioned buildings were: the Roman Catholic church, the hospital and the DAM office building. Environmental psychology researches have shown that the lower housing density, overseeable spaces, semi-public spaces, lower houses motivate community life and induce new social relationships. The architectural structure is considered as the physical

The Application of an Innovative Tool in Urban Anthropology

expression of the social texture/network.⁴ Relevant parts of the interviews also support this idea.

The maps drawn and the comments added reveal the steps the area is taking towards becoming a slum. In the first research phase, there were still some positive memories recalled and some pleasing remarks added. Although, expressions like “distinguished” and “noble” only appeared in nostalgic memoirs at that time, but they were apparent. In the *second* research phase the points went down and the element of fear was characteristically represented.⁵ This time, the overall run-down condition was strongly articulated with the opinion added, that the situation in the area cannot be mended. The positive memories recalled earlier were only present in fragments. A new element was the general approval of and the relief over the disappearance of one part of the Colony. The level of deprivation can be also measured by the fact that the informants were not interested in the future of the demolished area. They supported the idea of the demolishing not because they wanted something new there but because they wanted the bad to be eliminated.

From the methodological aspect this also means, that besides the existing values, the social hierarchy, positive/negative general opinions, edges, contact zones it is also worth asking questions about the future. If this can be completed with a longitudinal analysis for comparison, we can measure the intensity of the slumization process by mental mapping.

Translated by Levente Szilágyi

⁴ DÜLL Andrea, *Helyek, tárgyak, viselkedés. Környezetpszichológiai tanulmányok*, (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2009) Online: www.researchgate.net / Andrea Düll – February 2020. 91.

⁵ Hille KOSKELA and Rachel PAIN, „Revisiting Fear and Place. Women’s Fear of Attack and the Built Environment”, *Geoforum*, 31(2000), Nr. 2. 269–280., 278. Quoted: MOLNÁR András, “A maszkulin és heteroszexuális köztér termelése. Elméleti háttér a társadalmi tértermelésnek a bűncselekményektől való félelem kontextusában történő kutatásához”, *Tér és Társadalom*, 26(2012) 1. sz. 26–40., 33.

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The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

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Introduction

This paper gives a short account of a topic at the intersection of three research projects, and accordingly, it is related to three scientific fields. Intralingual translation is related to translation theory, legal language use to LSP research and legal linguistics while function verb constructions to descriptive linguistics. Intralingual translation plays a varied and far-reaching role in legal language use. This paper covers one aspect of it, namely, the transformations promoting the easier understanding and interpreting of the legal language through the example of function verb constructions.

1. Identical reality – different linguistic representation

It is due to a wonderful feature of human language that the entities of the world can be represented in different ways on the level of linguistic representation. Mathematician and psychologist László Mérő illustrates 'this kind of double vision',¹ when the same fact is expressed with different words, with an interesting example. The example is based on an airline advertisement offering trips to a remote country where visitors can see wonderful coral islands and magnificent Buddhist monasteries. As a careful and circumspect tourist, you look up the airline company's statistics and you find the following: *'If you took this trip every year, you would be involved in a catastrophe once in every thousand years.'*² Most people are ready to take the trip on the basis of cognitive schemas like 'this risk is well worth taking', 'a thousand years – that is a huge amount of time', and 'what have we got to do with this?'. But if these statistics are represented differently on the level of language, that is, they are translated differently from the language of numbers into words, the whole statement may also be formulated

¹ MÉRŐ László, *Az érzelmek logikája*, (Budapest: Tericum Kiadó, 2010) 233–234.

² *Ibid.* 233.

this way: *'In the last eleven years, there has been a flight to this destination every day, and there has been a catastrophe four times.'*³ Reading this, probably, fewer people will show an interest in coral islands and Buddhist monasteries although the statistics forming the base of the two sentences are the same, what is more, in the second case, there is one catastrophe for more than a thousand trips. The different language representations that communicate the same fact about the states of affairs in the world from a mathematical or logical aspect communicate something totally different from a pragmatic and psychological aspect.

The result of intralingual translation is similar to the above examples with the difference that in the case of intralingual translation, in addition to identity of reference, two further criteria also play a decisive role: one is the order of the production of texts and their dependence on one another while the other is the communication intention of the author, that is, the intralingual translator.

2. Some ideas about intralingual translation

In the opinion of American philosopher George Steiner, translation within our mother tongue is a self-evident, continuous process which we do unconsciously therefore we rarely notice its complicatedness and its role played in the survival of human civilisation.⁴ The author's ideas do not only apply to diachronic translation within the mother tongue, with the help of which we break down the obstacle of time and ensure the transmission of knowledge between generations but also to synchronic translation, due to which we break down the obstacles to communication in the present.

From among the similar features of interlingual and intralingual translation, the most important is that in both cases, the information is repeated and as a result of both processes, a dependent or secondary text is created. From the aspect of translation theory, both types may be regarded to be a special case of interpreting during which the original (in the case of interlingual translation: source language) text is transformed into a secondary (in the case of intralingual translation: target language) text. The essence of this process is that the relation between the original signs and reality is recreated with the help of signs that are different from the original ones: in the case of interlingual translation, with the help of the signs of the target language while in the case of intralingual translation, with different signs of the same language. If, for example, the term *rail rolling stock* is translated into everyday language with the word *train*, we have the same means of transport in mind in both cases. There exists

³ *Ibid.* 234.

⁴ George STEINER, *Bábel után. Nyelv és fordítás I*, (Budapest: Corvina, 2005) 27–29.

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

a similar equivalence relation between expressions such as *misappropriation* and *theft* on the one hand, and *offences against property* and *burglary* on the other.

In both types of translation, it is an important consideration to create equivalence between the original and secondary texts. Differently from interlingual translation, in the case of translating from a special language into everyday language, it is useful to take into consideration those types of equivalence – depending on the knowledge and world view of the recipient –, which make text interpretation easier, and ignore those which affect the professional level, terminological density, register, style, genre, form or length of the text. As an example, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* can be mentioned, which was also translated into child language following its official translation into Hungarian. It is worth noting that the text translated into child language also includes an explicit reference to the fact of reformulation and the reason for it: *The Convention was written for legal experts, and it is difficult even for adults to understand it. In this summary, only the most important elements are highlighted, and formulated in sentences that you can easily understand.*⁵ Contrasting the articles of the Convention with the three versions (A, B, C) of the text translated into child language depending on age group offers an excellent opportunity to study the characteristics of intralingual translation.⁶

Thus, the essence of intralingual translation is that a text is transformed into another text within the same language (textual translation) for another target group, and this way, interpretation is implemented with other signs of the same language (intralingual translation) in a different cognitive environment. In the case of interlingual translation, the purpose of the hermeneutical

⁵ 'Gyermekjogi egyezmény – gyereknyelven.' Online: gyerekesely.hu – December 2019

⁶ Original text: Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 12: 1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. 2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

English version of the text translated into child language: version A: In any matters affecting you, you have the right to express your opinion. The adults should listen to you, and should consider what you are saying. Version B [for children aged 8-12 years]: Any time when an adult makes a decision on a matter affecting you, you have the right to express your opinion, and adults should take it into consideration. Version C [for adolescents and teenagers aged 12-16 years]: Children have the right to say what their opinion is about what should happen when adults make decisions on matters affecting them, and also have the right of their opinion being taken into consideration. *Ibid.*

activities of the translator is to bridge the gap between languages and cultures.⁷ while with intralingual translation, the purpose is to bridge the gap in knowledge, groundings and world views for the sake of optimising understanding and processing efforts.

2. Global and local intralingual translation

Depending on the scope of intralingual translation, intralingual transformations may be global (general) or local intralingual translations. In the case of global intralingual translation, the process of translation affects the entire original text while local intralingual transformation only applies to a specific part, in a specific case, to one word, expression, sentence or paragraph in the text.⁸ The following text types are regarded to be typical intralingual translations: rewording of special legal texts for laypersons, explanations of legal statutes, translating contracts, indictments and judgements into everyday language, translating old legal texts into present-day language, translating laypersons' narratives into the legal language in police interrogations and court trials, etc.

Hungary's fourth independent Criminal Code in its modern history, the Criminal Code becoming effective in 2013 (Act No. C of 2012), is an excellent example of both global and local intralingual translation. There were lots of papers on the changes already in the phases of preparation and in the period following entry into force made for laypersons, which thus contain a lot of interesting cases of intralingual translation. For example, the previous effective Criminal Code regulated the criminal offence of driving in a drunken or numbed state as one state of affairs. The new Criminal Code gave up this solution. It regulates the criminal offences *driving vehicles in a drunken state* (Article 236 of the Criminal Code) and *driving vehicles in a numbed state* as separate states of affairs. The latter is set forth in Section 1, Article 237 of the Criminal Code: *Anyone who drives a rail or air vehicle, a mechanically driven floating facility or a mechanically driven vehicle on either a public road or a private road not closed from the public under the influence of any substance adversely affecting his/her ability to drive, with the exception of alcohol derived from the consumption of alcoholic drinks shall be sentenced to up to two years' imprisonment for this offence.* The author of the relevant article in HVG translated the text of the statute for laypersons in the following way: *It is a new feature that driving in a numbed state, that is, under the influence of drugs or strong medicines, will be an*

⁷ Hans-Georg GADAMER, *Igazság és módszer. Egy filozófiai hermeneutika vázlatja*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1984)

⁸ DOBOS Csilla, „A nyelven belüli fordítás különböző típusai”, *Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Közlemények* 8(2014) 2. sz. 61–75.

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

independent state of affairs in the new Criminal Code, for which the same punishment may be imposed as for driving in a drunken state. Those will not escape the procedure, either, who do not drive on a public road but only in a parking lot as pursuant to the act, the criminal offence may also be committed on a private road not closed from the public’⁹

In addition to the papers analysing the Criminal Code, we can come across the local intralingual translation of legal terms in the printed media day by day. The authors often indicate this within the text explicitly, with a metainformational operator¹⁰ (underlined words): *he committed an offence against property, or, to put it in a simpler way: burglary, he filed a petition, that is, applied to the court for compensation of the damage, there was abuse of a new psychoactive substance, that is, he sold a substance not included in the official list of drugs.*

2.2. Direction of intralingual translation

In intralingual translation, the direction of translation can be interpreted in two ways. One consideration is the use of simpler or more complicated words while the other can be explained with the help of categories along which intralingual transformation is performed: for example from special into everyday language (*I am like a proton. – I am in good mood.*), from everyday into special language (e.g. *shoplifter – a person committing an offence against property*), from literary into formal, official style (e.g. ‘*Repül a nehéz kő, ki tudja, hol áll meg? Ki tudja, hol áll meg s kit hogyan talál meg?*’ – lines from *Toldi* by János Arany, translated into English by myself: *The heavy stone is flung, who knows where it will stop, who knows who it will hit and how? – criminal offence of manslaughter committed with conscious carelessness*), or from child language into the legal language (*Csigabiga, gyere ki stb.* – Hungarian nursery rhyme translated into English by myself: *Snail, snail, come out... – All molluscs owning a house are urgently requested to leave their property because of the fire having broken out on the outer surface of such property and raging ever since.*) Between the two considerations, correlations can be noticed. For example, in case of a register shift particularly characteristic of the legal language, we proceed from a more complicated wording to a simpler, explanatory way of expression: *commit unlawful appropriation – take something from somebody else, steal something; commit misappropriation – somebody finds something and takes it with him/her.*

Since Mark Twain made his witty remark, it has been widely known that special languages are nothing else but plots against mankind, and in a lot of

⁹ „Füvezni tilos, de az ingyentorrent mehet”, hvg.hu, 1 July, 2013. Online: hvg.hu – December 2019

¹⁰ DOBOS Csilla, „A metainformációs elemek szerepe a nyelven belüli fordításbani”, *Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Közlemények*, 9(2015) 1. sz. 994–104.

cases, we really feel so when we are confronted with complicated legal texts in our everyday life. There are different solutions to simplify legal texts and minimize efforts of understanding. In her TED talk (*Talk nerdy to me*), communication instructor Melissa Marshall (2012) summarised the essential tasks to do in a mathematical equation. In her view, intelligibility can be achieved with the following algorithm.

$$(\text{general}) \text{ intelligibility} = \frac{\sum (\text{science} - (\text{jargon} + \text{bullet points})) \times \text{passion}}{\text{relevance}}$$

As we have seen it before, intralingual translation, which is not only characteristic of the field of law but also of several walks of life, among others, business, is also a kind of solution. As an example, I should like to mention Steve Jobs' legendary intralingual translation. In 2001, when iPod was first presented to the public, he had to explain to the audience that the new gadget had 5 GB storage space and regarding its dimensions, it was smaller than the former mp3 players. In fact, Jobs did nothing else but translated the special language definition into a simple language understandable for everyone: *5 GB storage space* → *as much as one thousand songs*; *facts and numbers in special language about dimensions* → *you can carry it in your pocket*. This was how the famous slogan was born: *iPod* → *one thousand songs in your pocket*.¹¹

3. Investigation of intralingual translation in the Miskolc Legal Corpus

Hungary's first large size and up to the present unique legal language corpus, the Miskolc Legal Corpus, which contains approximately 2.4 million text words and 150,000 sentences, was completed in 2018.¹² When the corpus was created, it was an important assumption for the research team consisting of legal experts, linguists and IT experts that the layered character of the legal language should be taken into account; similarly to other language phenomena, the legal language is also a prototype category, which means that it has layers which are typical of legal language use (e.g. the texts of legal statutes) and there are such that are on the periphery, and are often nearer to other types of special language or to everyday language (e.g. records of court trials), or in a given case to jargon (e.g. media coverage of legal topics for laypersons). Within the legal language, six layers were distinguished, and accordingly, the Miskolc Legal Corpus is made up of six parts, named as follows: (1) Code Law: the full text of five

¹¹ Carmine GALLO, *Storytelling. A történetmesélés ereje*, (Budapest: HVG Kiadó, 2016) 156.

¹² VINCZE Veronika, „A Miskolci Jogi Korpusz nyelvi jellemzői”, in *A törvény szavai*, szerk. SZABÓ Míklós és VINNAI Edina, (Miskolc: Bíbor Kiadó, 2018) 9–37.

Hungarian acts, (2) Other Legal Statutes: texts randomly selected from legal statutes, (3) Judgements: texts randomly selected from court judgements, (4) Explanatory Texts: basically two types of texts, on the one hand, ministerial justifications of legal statutes, and on the other hand, texts from university course-books, (5) Legal Forums: randomly selected texts from legal internet forums, (6) Transcripts: transcripts of sound recordings made at court trials and police interrogations. This last corpus part consists of texts representing the spoken legal language. With the help of the software *magyarlanc*, the whole corpus was submitted to morphological and syntactic analysis, and thus the Miskolc Legal Corpus has opened up totally new perspectives regarding both the translation theoretical and the legal language approach. The comparison of the first five corpus parts reveals the internal layered character of the legal language and the different language representations and translations within these layers while comparison with the last corpus part makes it possible to draw conclusions about correspondences and differences between the written and spoken legal language.

3.1. Function verb constructions in the Miskolc Legal Corpus

The statistical and corpus linguistics approach characteristic of the design of the Miskolc Legal Corpus makes it possible, on the one hand, to obtain quantifiable findings about the use and frequency of occurrence of function verb constructions, and on the other hand, to investigate the abovementioned constructions both in general and in the corpus parts, among others, from the aspect of intralingual translation.

Function verb constructions, especially characteristic of legal language use (e.g. *vádat emel* 'make an indictment', *kihallgatást foganatosít* 'conduct a trial', *befizetést eszközöl* 'make payment') are phrases consisting of two components in which morphosyntactic and semantic functions are polarised. The grammatical centres of the constructions are function verbs that can be classified as an independent part of speech and provide the phrase with verbal categories while they – to a varying extent – desemanticise, that is, their dictionary meanings are not determining in the semantic structure of the construction. The other element of the phrases is provided by nominals in an adverbial or accusative case, indicated with a suffix, which are at the same time the semantic centres of the phrases. One of the main characteristics of function verb constructions, most often mentioned in literature, can be attributed to these special features: the construction may be replaced by a verb derived from the nominal component conveying meaning, which is a typical case of local intralingual translations during the transformations from special into everyday language. It

is a universal phenomenon as proved by the following Hungarian, German, Russian, English, French and Chinese examples having the same meaning:

segítségét nyújtani – *segíteni*, *Hilfe leisten* – *helfen*, *оказывать помощь* – *помогать*, *to give help* – *to help*, *offrir de l'aide* – *aider*, 给予 帮助 (Jǐyǔ bāngzhù [gyjü bang csú]) – 帮助 (bāngzhù [bang csú]).

Why are these syntactic structures found fault with in publications giving guidance on language usage? The list of objections to them is quite long: they are sprawling, lengthy, redundant, flowery, artificial, empty, unnecessary, bad Hungarian, outlandish, formulaic, stilted, colourless, vicious and ugly, they cause ambiguity, misunderstanding and disturbance, etc., therefore their use should be avoided. In the Hungarian language, the most vicious verbs are *csinál* ('do'), ***eszközöl*** 'effectuate', *juttat* ('provide'), ***tesz*** ('put'), *bír* ('have'), ***foganatosít*** ('implement'), *helyez* ('place'), ***hoz*** ('bring'), *nyer* ('gain'), ***nyújt*** ('supply'), ***ad*** ('give'), ***emel*** ('raise'), ***folytat*** ('conduct'), ***gyakorol*** ('exercise'), *képez* ('form'), *rendelkezik* ('provide'), *talál* ('find'), ***szerez*** ('get'), *történik* ('happen') and *vesz* ('take'). Intending to defend function verb constructions, I selected ten function verbs from the above list (the ones printed in bold type), and examined the frequency of their occurrence and also looked at whether their use was justified in the relevant corpus parts. Due to the nominal character of the legal language, the frequency of occurrence of verbs is extremely low in the Miskolc Legal Corpus, verbs accounting for only 9% of all the tokens. There are no significant differences between the corpus parts, either, the only exception being represented by the corpus part named Legal Forums, where the rate of occurrence of verbs amounts to 16%.

If we accept the premise that it is easier to understand sentences containing verbs (other than function verbs), then from this aspect, the data lead to the conclusion that understanding the sentences of the corpus part Internet Legal Forums causes the smallest difficulty. Presumably, the corpus part named Judgements comes second (9%) because the narrative of material facts includes a relatively large number of verbs and its wording is not abstract: it describes specific cases with specific events and actors. Due to the dominance of the use of nominal expressions, interpreting the sentences of the corpus parts named Code Law, Other Legal Statutes, Textbooks and Justification requires much more understanding effort from recipients. Here, verbs account for only 5–7% of all the tokens.

On the basis of the investigation of the ten function verbs, it can be stated that within the category of verbs, there is a relatively high rate of function verbs: out of 5,000 verbal tokens, the relevant verb appears as a function verb in the sentence in 3,200 cases. In the Miskolc Legal Corpus, the verbs *tesz* (36%)

and *ad* (20%) appear most frequently, and the corpus parts Code Law (28%), Judgements (27%) and Explanatory Texts (22%) have the highest rate of function verbs. From the analysis, many other interesting data can be gained making the evaluation of function verb constructions more sophisticated. Such facts are, for example, the frequency of occurrence of the specific function verbs in the corpus parts: the function verb *gyakorol* appears most frequently in corpus part Code Law (60% of all of its occurrences) while most rarely in corpus part Other Legal Statutes (8%). The function verb *tesz* is most favoured in corpus part Judgements (36%).

3.2. Transformation of function verbs with intralingual translation

On the basis of their general definition in relevant literature, function verbs can usually be replaced, that is, they may be translated with a simple verb: *vádat emel – vádol* ('indict'), *döntést hoz – dönt* ('decide'), *ítéletet hoz – ítéel* ('make a judgement'), *intézkedést tesz – intézkedik* ('take a measure'), *kihallgatást foganatosít – kihallgat* ('interrogate'), etc. However, there are phrases where the equivalence of intralingual translation may be questioned (*meghallgatást foganatosít – meghallgat* ('conduct a hearing')) or cannot be performed (*házkutatást foganatosít – *házkutat* ('search home and property')). In such cases, using the widespread terminology of interlingual translation, we are concerned with lexical units without an equivalent.

Next, I summarise the different possibilities of transforming function verb constructions with intralingual translation in nine points. The examples are taken from the Miskolc Legal Corpus and are presented in an abbreviated form, without statutory environment.

- (1) The function verb construction can be transformed into a verb with intralingual translation without any damage to legal content or linguistic structure (e.g. *nem tesz róla említést – nem említ* ('omit mentioning')).
- (2) Due to the legal collocations typical of special language use, no intralingual translation is done although the function verb construction can be transformed into a verb with intralingual translation (e.g. *valótlan vallomást tesz – valótlant vall* ('make an untrue statement')).
- (3) The function verb construction can be translated by changing the morphology of the complement (*a jog különbséget tesz létre nem jött, semmis és megtámadható szerződés között – a jog megkülönböztet létre nem jött, semmis és megtámadható szerződést* ('law distinguishes contracts which are not concluded, are null and void, or which may be challenged')).
- (4) The function verb construction may be translated by changing complement structure (using an adverbial instead of a modifier) (e.g. *Sehol nem tesz ilyen*

nyilatkozatot. – Sehol nem nyilatkozik így. ('not make such a declaration anywhere')).

(5) The function verb construction may be transformed in several ways (e.g. *a vádlott a elkövetéskor több ízben tett ölési szándékára utaló kijelentéseket – a vádlott az elkövetéskor több ízben kijelentette ölési szándékát – a vádlott az elkövetéskor több ízben ölési szándékára utalt – a vádlott az elkövetéskor több ízben kijelentéseivel ölési szándékára utalt* ('when committing the criminal offence, the accused person made several statements indicating his intention to kill'), etc.

(6) The function verb construction cannot be translated because the function verb construction cannot take an object as an obligatory complement while the equivalent verb should take an object (e.g. *Nem büntethető pénzmosás miatt, aki a hatóságnál önként feljelentést tesz... – Nem büntethető pénzmosás miatt, aki a hatóságnál *önként feljelent ...* ('The person who voluntarily reports it to the police is not punishable for money laundering.')

(7) It is impossible to transform the function verb construction for semantic reasons because the relevant features of the semantic structure of the verb cannot be found in the semantic structure of the function verb construction (e.g. *II. r. vádlott a tárgyaláson és nyomozati szakban történt meghallgatása során élt vallomástét megtagadási jogával, panaszt nem tett a terhére rótt cselekmények begyanúsításával kapcsolatban. – II. r. vádlott a tárgyaláson és nyomozati szakban történt meghallgatása során élt vallomástét megtagadási jogával, *nem panaszkodott a terhére rótt cselekmények begyanúsításával kapcsolatban.* ('During his hearing at the trial and in the investigation phase, second defendant exercised his right to refuse to make a statement and lodged no complaint concerning the acts he was suspected of.))

(8) In the function verb constructions, the object is separated from the action, which makes it possible to add modifiers to it but in the majority of the cases, makes intralingual translation impossible (e.g. *perorvosi nyilatkozatot tesz. → *perorvosilag nyilatkozik* ('make a statement as a court medical expert'), *nemzetközi bűnüldözési intézkedéseket tesz → *nemzetközileg bűnüldözésileg intézkedik* ('make international law enforcement actions').

(9) The function verb construction cannot be transformed into a verb because the vocabulary of the language does not contain a proper verb (e.g. *(ház)kutatást foganasít – *házkutat* ('search home and property')).

Conclusion

The analysis of the intralingual translation possibilities of function verb constructions typical of the legal language can contribute to the investigation of the intelligibility of different language representations. Examples from the Miskolc

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

Legal Corpus support the conclusion that the intralingual translation of function verb constructions depends on the context, and within that, primarily on argument structure, style and vocabulary. There are a lot of sentences in the Miskolc Legal Corpus, where translation cannot be done due to the abovementioned factors, or other linguistic or legal circumstances. But if there is no damage to either legal content or linguistic structure, it is useful to translate function verb constructions with a verb only as this makes it easier to understand and interpret the text.

Translated by Judit Szabóné Papp

My major publications on the topic:

DOBOS Csilla, *Funkcióigés szerkezetek*, (Miskolc: Passzer 2000 Kiadó, 2009)

DOBOS Csilla, „Jogi szaknyelv és szakmai kommunikáció”, in *Szaknyelvi kommunikáció*, szerk. DOBOS Csilla, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2010) 257–284.

DOBOS Csilla, *Nyelv és jog*, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2014)

DOBOS Csilla, „Nyelven belüli fordítás és tisztességes jogi eljárás”, in *A jog nyelvi dimenziója*, (Miskolc: Bíbor Kiadó, 2015) 215–226.

DOBOS Csilla, „Állítmányi szerkezetek a magyar jogi nyelvben”, in *A törvény szavai*, szerk. SZABÓ Miklós és VINNAI Edina, (Miskolc: Bíbor Kiadó, 2018) 37–70.

What Novels Know about Time and Themselves: The Philosophy of Time and Self-Reflexive Narratives in Contemporary British Fiction

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Keywords: the Philosophy of Time, Narratology, Metafiction, Contemporary British Fiction, Ali Smith

Critics agree that all novels know something *of* time in that their structures are inherently determined by temporal experience, but they disagree on the point that all novels know something *about* time in that not all of them make temporal experience their explicit subjects of reflection. In *Time and Narrative*, Paul Ricoeur adopts A. A. Mendilow's distinction between "tales of time" and "tales about time" to create a typology of the ways in which narratives pay attention to time. He argues that though all fictional narratives fall into the former category inasmuch as characters are inescapably located in time and narrated events must also take place and be affected by some kind of temporality, only those that overtly foreground or discuss the problem of time can be seen as comfortably sitting in the latter box.¹ In other words: the existence of all narratives depends on temporality but not all narratives are concerned with time as their subject matters. Challenging Ricoeur, Mark Currie proposes that "all novels should be viewed as tales about time," whether or not they discuss the agency of time to characters and events, since the experience of temporal living is automatically inscribed in every narrative.² Temporal passage, he argues, is best understood when narrated in stories, while narrative utterances unfold in succession, through the tensed nature of story-telling; therefore, temporal existence is both a substructure of and is encompassed in narrative fiction.³ Moreover, whereas from Zeno to Derrida the primary engagement of analytical reasoning about time lies in the endeavour to dispel the dichotomies it keeps running into, fictional narratives, he claims, are capable of accommodating such disjunctions: through their capability of "espousing one view of time while

¹ Paul RICOEUR, *Time and Narrative*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) 101.

² Mark CURRIE, *About Time: Narrative, Fiction and the Philosophy of Time*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007) 4.

³ CURRIE, *About Time*, *op.cit.* 86.

The Philosophy of Time and Self-Reflexive Narratives

performing another,” they can engender a creative tension between temporal dichotomies, so that “aporias are the very fabric of the novel”.⁴

In Britain, Postmodernist writers from Julian Barnes and Peter Ackroyd to Ian McEwan and Ali Smith have shown a lively preoccupation with time-related concepts in fiction, both making temporality a subject of philosophical reflection and experimenting with it through narrative devices. Within its limited scope, this paper will make some remarks on the linkage of metafiction to the philosophy of time in the recent fiction of Ali Smith (born in Scotland and currently based in Cambridge) with special attention to her novel *Autumn*, nominated for the Booker Prize in 2017. Smith lays extraordinary stress on the agency of time to fiction in interviews and essays – “novels can’t not be about time”⁵ –, and her prodigious experimentation with fiction’s temporal awareness outperforms the achievement of most of her contemporaries who tackle the phenomenology of time in a like manner.

We accept it as given that time passes; that its passage can be felt in our bodies, measured by clocks and recorded in calendars; and that we can neither reverse its passing nor stop it from passing. Likewise, we agree that we do not know what it is or where it is; whether it has a beginning or an end; or whether it exists at all. Yet, numberless competing theories about the nature of time have seen the light in theoretical physics, philosophy and theology. They fall into the following broad categories: Realists such as Newton or Locke treat time as an absolute matrix of events which passes by regardless; Idealists such as Parmenides, St. Augustine, Kant or Derrida propose that time exists in the perceiving mind and hence it is applicable to neither the universe nor metaphysical beings; and Relationists like Aristotle, Leibniz and Einstein argue that time is neither real nor tied to the consciousness, and they operate instead with simultaneous and abstract time concepts which are meant to reflect change.⁶ Literary criticism conceptualises time as “a culturally determined framework of understanding” rather than an entity which exists independently of human understanding.⁷ Time is a subjective experience which, nevertheless, can be made available to others through language. Hence, the relevant question concerning the existence and nature of time in fiction is not whether Ali Smith’s narratives reflect Realist, Idealist or Relationist philosophies of time. Rather, my paper tackles these questions: (1) how do Smith’s narrative experiments promote a different

⁴ CURRIE, *About Time*, op.cit. 86.

⁵ Ali SMITH, „The Novel in the Age of Trump: The New Statesman Goldsmith Prize Lecture”, *The New Statesman*, 13 October 2017. 40–45., 42.

⁶ Adrian BARDON, *A Brief History of the Philosophy of Time*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 7.

⁷ Jago MORRISON, *Contemporary Fiction*, (London: Routledge, 2003) 32.

understanding of time compared to the areas of knowledge listed above; and (2) how is this different (or, according to some, unique) knowledge about time conceptualised in her fiction and made available through the use of narrative devices?

Smith's 2001 novel *Hotel World* (also a Booker nominee) is divided into six chapters, which get their titles from various tenses, aspects and modalities used in the English language, such as "past", "present historic", and "future conditional". On the one hand the titles register the notion that the narrated events are embedded in time, while the temporal congruity of the emplotment depends on subjective time perception, which may be at variance with strict chronological sequence. On the other hand this arrangement draws attention to a concept of time that takes shape in the text: that immanent temporal experience can be given a ubiquitous structure and made universally accessible through language.

The plot focuses on the tragic death of the young hotel employee Sara Wilby and the subsequent grief work in her family, and is woven out of the dramatic monologues spoken by the one dead and four living persons whose lives (and death) intersect. The novel has been read as a criticism of globalisation and as a queer-text. Probably, it is also a Todorovian whodunit, which is narrated in a fragmentary way and slices up linearity, logic and causality. The reader, like a detective, is invited to fill in the typographical and semantic cracks between utterances and the temporal gaps between events. Numerous intertextual references, word plays and telling names aid the reader's quest for meaning, e.g. Sara Wilby's name carries a homophonic allusion to temporal determinism as expressed in Doris Day's 1956 signature song: "Que sera, sera / Whatever will be, will be." Hermeneutic work is one with resistance to hiatuses: the reader in quest of signification becomes a mirror image of the protagonist, who meets her destiny in a hiatus. Sara falls to her death in the empty shaft of a dumbwaiter, and is stuck in what seems an intervening state between death and rebirth, called "bardo" in Buddhism. Caught temporarily in a suspended existence when consciousness is not connected to a physical body, her disembodied voice reflects on the growing hiatus between her past and present states of consciousness with a rapidly diminishing linguistic competence. To that extent, Smith's text also mirrors and provides variations on the titular phrase in Muriel Spark's *Memento Mori*, its primary intertext, but in a distorted way: "Remember you must live. Remember you most love. Remainder you mist leaf".⁸

⁸ Ali SMITH, *Hotel World*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2001) 237.

The Philosophy of Time and Self-Reflexive Narratives

Another of its principal intertexts is the episode in Charles Dickens's *Hard Times* where Stephen Blackpool falls into a mine shaft.⁹ However, while in Dickens the community comes to the rescue and trauma turns into a triumph which strengthens collective identity, in Smith no such aid arrives, news of the tragedy become obsolete in a day or two, and the shaft opening gets bricked up, so that not even a memento of Sara's demise will remain. More importantly, in Dickens's novel waiting time, called *Chronos* in theology, is fulfilled in *Kairos*, which theology defines as the appointed time for the Lord to act (*cf.* Mark 1:15). The time spent by Blackpool waiting for his rescue seems empty time, but it turns into meaningful time retrospectively, in the moment of his deliverance, as *Kairos* "transforms the past".¹⁰ However, in Smith's novel, no such temporal transformation occurs, and time remains waiting time: Sara's time is reduced to repetition without fulfilment. This may well be the reason that motivates the words of warning uttered by her ghost: do not expect the fulfilment of your time from another person or at another time, but find it yourself and find it in the present.

Smith's *Artful* is an original combination of fiction and the essay form.¹¹ Like *Hotel World*, it centres on grief work and confronts us with the dichotomy of transience and permanence. The protagonist is a ghost once more, but this time it is that of a writer-academic with unmistakable resemblances to Ali Smith. A year has passed since her (fictional) death when her grieving partner (of the same sex, as in real life) happens on her papers. It prompts her partner's meditations on the experience of the times she has spent with and then without her, and leafing through her documents gives her partner an opportunity to reflect on literary representations of time. The essay which, in actual fact, is the script of the Weidenfeld Lectures Smith had delivered at Oxford, is woven out of her partner's fictitious reflections on various temporal experiences: private and shared, directly felt and conveyed in art.

The title is metafictional in more than one sense. Primarily, it refers to Artful Dodger the young pickpocket in *Oliver Twist*, who embodies the paradox of time. Not only does he dodge policemen, but he also dodges time: he sidesteps anisotropy by anticipating change, such as when Oliver mistakes him for an elderly person. Chapter One, called "On time," contrasts a number of aspects of time on several planes: those of subject matter, metafictionality and reflective thought. The subject of her partner's contemplation, relayed in homodiegetic

⁹ Eric P. LEVY, *Detaining Time: Temporal Resistance from Shakespeare to McEwan*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) 6.

¹⁰ Frank KERMODE, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 48.

¹¹ Ali SMITH, *Artful*, (London: Penguin, 2013)

narration, is the literary consequence of the one-way flow of time. What was the future yesterday is the present today, and will be the past tomorrow. The lost beloved turns into memory and memory will melt away. Time's arrow shot us in the Achilles heel, as her partner puts it, and we are the victims of asymmetrical time. The irreversibility of time is not only a phenomenological experience, though. Entropy is a general law which everything complies with in the known universe: the cover of her once-new copy of Dickens's *Oliver Twist* has lost its colour and the binding has become loose. However, what but story-telling can defy anisotropy? Her partner determines to read the book once more before it falls apart. The metafictional plane is a reminder that the narrative (of Oliver's Victorian childhood) recorded in a temporal object (the book) is at once time-related and timeless: the story set in the past is unfolding through the temporality of reading as if it were taking place in the present, and will preserve its perpetual presentness tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Books are impermanent items but the stories put down in them are enduring; living tissues decay as years go by but characters in stories survive in a timeless present.

Anything can be done to time in narratives: if you like, it can be stopped or turned back. The narrative can even reverse its genesis: what is a draft and was to happen but never did in the story is, in fact, a finished product and took place in the past (the lectures had been delivered before the book's publication); as it happens, a story can mould anticipated events into things of the past (such as the death of its author). *Artful*, however, is not just a tale *of* time, which exploits fiction's temporal embeddedness in time, but it is also a tale *about* time, in the sense outlined by Ricoeur: in her detailed reflections on the phenomenology of time, the first-person narrator arrives at the conclusion that time and literature are inseparable.

An even more complex temporal view reveals itself in Smith's *Autumn* (2016), the first instalment of her quartet of novels called *Seasonal*. Smith's fiction, indeed, knows about plenty of other issues beside time; its multifarious wonders have prompted conflicting critical interpretations. Her academic interpretations shunt between opposites, such as those between Modernism and Postmodernism; social realism and the uncanny; queering and domesticity. As if to dispute statements about the "non-realism" of her experimental fiction,¹² the passionate attention she has paid recently to social issues seems almost Dickensian. *Autumn*, for instance, often dubbed her "Brexit-novel," was in the bookshops in less than four months after the referendum. Her political engagement escapes the attention of but few critics, yet this important but hard-to-

¹² Mary EAGLETON AND Emma PARKER, „Introduction“, in *The History of British Women's Writing: 1970–Present*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 8.

The Philosophy of Time and Self-Reflexive Narratives

theorise concern of her fiction tends to lie outside the focus of her critical readings. No exception is this paper, which chooses to analyse instead what her fiction knows about time and itself.

I argue that this novel is a particularly suitable source to discuss how her radical departure from the mimetic mode of story-telling brings about a multiply-layered temporal experience in her fiction. For that purpose, the rest of my paper will provide brief analyses of two episodes in the novel. I will use both of these to demonstrate that Smith's unique diegetic structures, combined with metafictional elements, provide her stories with a complex temporal knowledge, which has the capability to reconcile conflicting views of time. Firstly I will take a quick look at her fiction's self-knowledge, based on how she embeds Ovid's *Narcissus and Echo* in her narrative. Secondly I will analyse briefly the effects of the narratability of death on the relationship between narrative autognosis and anisotropic views of time.

In the first episode, the protagonist Elisabeth Demand reads a passage on Echo lamenting the death of Narcissus from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to her long-time friend Daniel, then at the unlikely ripe age of 101 lying in a hospital bed.¹³ The heterodiegetic narrator mentions Mary M. Innes's classic translation as Elisabeth's "new/old" book, because Innes's 1955 text was reissued in 2007 by Penguin. On the one hand, the passage of quantitative time (ageing) is as important a theme in the novel as metafiction (reflecting on how a story is told). On the other hand, demonstrating how fallacious our perceptions of the one-way forward movement of time are by contrasting "old" and "new" is a trope she revisits in nearly all her novels.

Ovid added the story of Echo to the Greek version, in which Tiresias, upon inquiry from Narcissus's parents, responds that he will live long unless he knows himself. In Ovid's extended version, Echo, suffering under Juno's punishment, is incapable of confessing her affection to Narcissus who, in penance for rejecting Echo's love, will later pine away admiring his own beauty. The myth in which Echo plays but a secondary role has been seen, foremost, as a teaching tale about Narcissus's self-love, though many other interpretations exist. For instance, Fiona Cox's gender-sensitive reading points out Echo's importance for women writers, and claims that Echo finds her voice "in order to speak out on behalf of those unable to speak for themselves".¹⁴ Not only does the plot in Ovid's version lay stress on the process of Echo's forfeiture of the privilege of sovereign opinion, but in one of her short stories Smith also highlights the loss

¹³ Ali SMITH, *Autumn: A Novel*, (London: Pantheon Books, 2016) 171–172.

¹⁴ Fiona COX, *Sybilline Sisters: Virgil's Presence in Contemporary Women's Writing*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 45.

(rather than gain) of Echo's power of speech and of her autonomous perspective: "She became fashionably skinny, then she became nothing but bones, then all that was left of her was a whiny, piny voice which floated bodilessly about, saying over and over exactly the same things that everybody else was saying".¹⁵

I suggest that there is a much more relevant correlation between the myth and metafiction than between the myth and either of the otherwise relevant themes put forward by Cox, even though narrating same-sex attraction as a challenge to heteronormativity is also given particularly strong emphasis in Smith's fiction. It is hard to overlook parallels between the survival of Echo's incorporeal voice after her body has dissolved in nature and the narratological concept of the unembodied narrative voice; or the similarity between Narcissus's death as the consummation of his autognosis and the hermeneutic activity of the reader of what Linda Hutcheon calls the Narcissistic postmodern novel, from that of consuming stories to that of "learning and constructing a new sign-system".¹⁶ Hutcheon finds a resemblance between Echo's echoing of other voices and the narrative voice in postmodern fiction inasmuch as the novelistic language is both autonomous from and dependent upon its aesthetic function: language in the novel is "referential as well as [...] a vehicle for connotations outside its willed control".¹⁷ I should add that Narcissus's gaining of self-knowledge through self-obsession is an equally penetrating metaphor of postmodern fiction. Though the novel "has always nurtured a self-love" since its inception, the self-conscious novel "became intrigued with its own reflection".¹⁸

The ontological relationship between time and death is easy to describe. Death is the moment when phenomenological time expires. However, the epistemological relationship between knowledge and time is much less straightforward and is immensely more difficult, if not impossible, to verify. Ever since Plato, the moment of death has been acknowledged as the moment of knowledge in both literature and philosophy. However, the moment of interest in the present context is not whether that claim can be verified; rather, the right question is if it is possible to narrate death, whether or not it is a moment of knowledge.

In the second episode of my choice, Daniel experiences what seems at first reading a state of self-awareness in afterlife. The internally focalised narration appears to allow a glance into what it feels like to be conscious of being dead. It

¹⁵ Ali SMITH, „True Short Story”, in *The First Person and Other Stories*, (London: Penguin, 2008) 3–17., 13.

¹⁶ Linda HUTCHEON, *Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox*, (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 1980) 14.

¹⁷ HUTCHEON, *Narcissistic Narrative*, *op.cit.* 10.

¹⁸ HUTCHEON, *Narcissistic Narrative*, *op.cit.* 11.

The Philosophy of Time and Self-Reflexive Narratives

turns out much later that Daniel is in what is termed an increased sleep period, a symptom of nearing death. Smith often wrestles with the tantalising problem of whether knowledge belongs to being or not-being and whether it is essence or quality. Narrative strategies associated with the afterlife have been subject to experimentation in fiction, where authors face two options: either abide by the uncanny or convert the unthinkable “into terms that can be conceptualised”.¹⁹ *Hotel World* treads the former path, and *Autumn* picks the latter. Moreover, Smith arrives at conflicting conclusions in these two novels. In the former, death is patently not a moment of autognosis. If it were, Sara Wilby’s ghost would have no reason not to leave. Instead, she haunts her friends and family, and her own cadaver even, while looking for clues and answers to find out things she eventually is unable to ascertain. The greatest enlightenment she attains is a clichéd warning to appreciate life while we are living, expressed in a syntax which grows more and more incoherent as she undergoes a process of forgetting and as her senses, her memory and her identity are effaced from existence—much as those of poor, chitty chatty Echo. In *Autumn*, Daniel’s situation is the opposite of Sara’s. While Sara (and Echo) experience death as gentle entropy, Daniel undergoes a process of reverse causality while he is recovering memories, self-perception and even bodily strength. Alice Bennett notes that we are inclined to imagine both life and fiction as being determined by causal relationships—which, by the way, is the gravest error in Plato’s opinion: we associate both with anticipatory logic, hoping that death will provide our lives with signification.²⁰ But what if we are denied that grace? This anxiety looms over most of the ghostly visits in Smith’s fiction. If there is frustration about time in her fiction it has less to do with time’s passage than her agnosticism concerning death as the moment of *Kairos*.

In sum: Smith assumes that there exists an immanent, inevitable and reciprocal link between temporality and fiction. Temporality is a default criterion of both the making and the understanding of narratives, while our temporal experience reveals itself in the most versatile and entertaining of forms in narratives. Her fiction contemplates and puts its own temporal embeddedness to the test with uncommon intensity and awareness, confirming the notion that stories are time capsules: they have the capacity to conserve the presentness of the moment of their writing, and they can at once reflect on and experiment with their being time capsules. Her story-telling slices up the one-way flow of time, and reshuffles the time-fragments with the help of grammatical, poetic,

¹⁹ Alice BENNETT, *Afterlife and Narrative in Contemporary Fiction*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 2.

²⁰ BENNETT, *Afterlife*, *op.cit.* 72–73.

rheterical and narrative devices. Her stories not only carefully consider the complex temporal relations between the time of events told in stories, the time of story-telling and the time of reading, but they also reflect on what unique story patterns can be spun out of our time-perception and to what extent the way we tell stories helps us understand the passage of time. All the while, her multiply-layered fiction unproblematically integrates heterogeneous philosophies of time in its search for analeptic self-knowledge.

My major publications on the topic:

Attila DÓSA, „Female Bildung as a Hermeneutic Quest: Muriel Spark’s *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*”, in *Growing Up a Woman: The Private/Public Divide in Narratives of Female Development*, ed. Milena KOSTIC and Sona SNIRCOVÁ, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) 11–52.

Attila DÓSA, „Narcissus’s Knowledge: Time, Knowledge and Metafiction in Ali Smith’s *Autumn*,” in *“All We are Is Eyes”: The Literary Art of Ali Smith*, ed. Ema JELÍNKOVÁ and Rachael SUMNER, (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2019) 13–27.

Aggression in the School. Bullying among Pupils with Disabilities

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1. Introduction

The various forms of insults and peer-group insults in the schools, which are often reported in the press, draw the attention of many people over the phenomenon of the bullying in the school. As a consequence, this topic became more and more relevant on the field of the scientific researches too, both in domestic and world-wide context. As the technology advanced, more and more video recordings and photos depicting acts of school-related violence became publicly available also in Hungary.

Thanks to all these, in the last twenty years the number of researches dealing with aggressiveness, including aggressiveness in the schools increased both in Hungary and abroad. This progress has also been fostered by the elaboration of the measuring methods. This is particularly important because, thus, while unfolding the characteristics, correlations, of the insults in the schools, the pedagogues, the special educators, the developer pedagogues, experts supporting pedagogical work can get a comprehensive view over level of the prevalence of the aggressiveness and on the pupils' attitudes towards the insults.

The issue of the insults within the peer-groups received significant attention in the last twenty years primarily in international researches. The same is true for the phenomena of bullying, within the aggressiveness in the school, which has been examined both in the case of pupils in primary and secondary schools. On the other hand, there are very few researches known both in Hungary abroad which would discover the aggressive behaviour among pupils with disabilities.

Discovering aggression and handling it in a holistic approach is necessary for the elaboration of complex short and-long term aggression-handling programmes which take into account the biological, psychological, social and cultural aspects which also correspond to the specific aspects of the pupils' various disabilities. The aim of these programmes is to prevent but at least to reduce

the prevalence of insults within the peer groups in beyond the pupils learning in majority educational institutions also for the pupils with disabilities.

Due to the neglecting of the researches focusing on aggression targeting pupils with disabilities the proper questionnaires, measuring methods have hardly been adapted for the Hungarian aspects. This would be necessary in identifying the school-related problems and in discovering and handling the cases of substance consumption which indicate future risks. The prevention and the pedagogical task in the school within the field of special education can not be carried out either without knowing and using the psycho-metrical methods with proper validity indicators.

2. Theoretical background

Several fields of science made attempts to create the definition of the aggressiveness as a form of behaviour. This concept can be examined from psychological, psychiatrically, biological, ethological, legal, sociological and pedagogical perspective, but there isn't a single, universally and internationally accepted definition. Several feel the lack of this.¹

The scientific bibliography uses the English term bullying to describe temporally extended, repeatedly occurring aggressiveness in the context of the. It is basically the act when one or more pupils insult and harasses long-lasting and repeatedly one or more other pupils with intentions to harm. The insult takes place among unequal power relations, with emphasis on the repetitive aspect.² The concept of aggressiveness has also broadened as a result of the advancing of the info-communicational technology. According to Hárدي the apace technological and IT advancing has multiplied the forms of manifestation of the aggressiveness and made it in many cases impersonal.³

Even if the examination of the phenomenon of bullying and harassment intensified in the last decade, we have significantly less knowledge about the phenomena of insult against pupils with disabilities.⁴ Hartley et al. investigated in their paper the victim roles of the pupils with special educational needs who

¹ Hans-Peter NOLTING, *Lernfall Aggression 1: Wie sie entsteht – Wie sie zu vermindern ist: Eine Einführung*, (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1997); Ajit SHAH, „Aggressive behaviour in the elderly”, *International Journal of Psychiatry in Clinical Practice*, 3(1999) No. 2. 85–103.

² Dan OLWEUS, „Az iskolai zaklatás”, *Educatio*, (8)1999. 4. sz. 717–739.

³ *Az agresszió világa*, szerk. HÁRDI István, (Budapest: Medicina Könyvkiadó, 2010)

⁴ Gale M. MORRISON and Michael J. FURLONG and Geoff SMITH, „Factors associated with the experience of school violence among general education, leadership class, opportunity class, and special day class pupils”, *Education and Treatment of Children*, 17(1994) No. 3. 356–369.; Irene WHITNEY and Dabie NABUZOKA and Peter K. SMITH, „Bullying in schools: Mainstream and special needs”, *Support for Learning*, 7(1992) No. 1. 3–7.

Aggression in the School. Bullying among Pupils with Disabilities

learn in integrated system in America.⁵ According to the paper, among the pupils with disabilities there is a higher proportion of individuals who don't feel safe among their schoolmates. The more frequent the bullying is, the higher is the level of stress the pupil is exposed to. The examination of the typology of the insults drew the attention over the fact, that the prevalence of verbal and contact bullying didn't show significant difference when checked between groups of pupils with or without disabilities, but in the case of pupils with disabilities, the threats and the physical insults are much more common than among their fellow pupils without disabilities.

The higher rate of intimidation and the more common manifestation of aggressiveness among pupils presenting emotional and behavioural disorders was proved by an empirical investigation in 2012.⁶ Useche et al. carried out a research in which they could prove relying on descriptive research results, that both the reactive and the proactive aggression is more common among pupils presenting emotional and behavioural disorders than among the members of the control group.⁷

The insufficient amount of research results in the case of the population with disabilities was mentioned by several authors during the 1990s,⁸ however the number of researches in this topic is still low compared to its importance. The most serious problems have been detected among the pupils in the 7th grade, more serious, than in the case of the pupils from the 5th and 6th grades and among the older pupils in the 9th grade. There wasn't found any significant gender related difference between the majority and special educational systems.

⁵ Michael T. HARTLEY and Sheri BAUMAN and Charisse NIXON and Stan DAVIS, „Comparative Study of Bullying Victimization Among Students in General and Special Education”, *Exceptional Children*, Vol. 81(2014) No. 2. 176–193.

⁶ Chad A. ROSE and Dorothy L. ESPELAGE, „Risk and Protective Factors Associated with the Bullying Involvement of Students with Emotional and Behavioral Disorders”, *Behavioral Disorders*, 37(2012) No. 3. 133–148.

⁷ Ana Carolina USECHE and Amanda L. SULLIVAN and Welmoet MERK and Bram Orobio DE CASTRO, „Relationships of Aggression Subtypes and Peer Status Among Aggressive Boys in General Education and Emotional/Behavioral Disorder (EBD) Classrooms”, *Exceptionality*, 22(2014) No. 1. 111–128.

⁸ Gale M. MORRISON and Michael J. FURLONG and Geoff SMITH, „Factors associated with the experience of school violence among general education, leadership class, opportunity class, and special day class pupils”, *Education and Treatment of Children*, 17(1994) No. 3. 356–369.; Irene WHITNEY and Dabie NABUZOKA and Peter K. SMITH, „Bullying in schools: Mainstream and special needs”, *Support for Learning*, 7(1992) No. 1. 3–7.

3. The methodology of the research

The description of the sample: The control group members (N=944) were pupils from the 9th form attending secondary schools. Among them there were pupils attending theoretical secondary or and vocational secondary education and industrial learners. Among the pupils with disabilities, the pupils in the 9th grade (N=503) the following disabilities were represented from the classical fields of special education: sensory disability (visually and hearing impaired), handicapped pupils, pupils presenting intellectual ability disorders, mentally challenged pupils, learning challenged pupils and pupils with behavioural disorders-these were the categories of pupils which became parts of the sample. The pupils with special educational needs all possessed written certificates about their status, issued by the territorial special authorities and commissions of experts. This was also a precondition of getting into the sample in their case.

Applied measuring tools: The set of questionnaires was elaborated in the beginning of the year 2009 by the members of the Addictology Research Institute. As for the chosen measuring tools it was an important aspect to select only validated measuring methods, which are internationally applied and acknowledged. We also edited a version of the set of questionnaires with easily understandable texts, for the mentally challenged pupils and for the ones in the case of whom the testbatteria complemented with pictograms was a more proper tool due to their difficulties in understanding texts. The members of the set of questionnaires: Rosenber Self-Evaluation Scale, Temperament and Character Questionnaire Junior version Looking for Newness Sub-scale, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) Scale, Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire Physical Aggression Subscale, Revised Olweus Bullying and Victimization Questionnaire, Abilities and Difficulties Questionnaire, European Adolescent Assessment Dialogue (EuroADAD), Aggression and Victimisation Scale, Positive Behaviour Scale, Fighting Parental Management Scale.

4. The summery of the main findings

The most extensive assumption of the research was that is presumable, that the type of disability and the gender influences forms of manifestation of the bullying, and the isolated and in interactions appearing results of these present a particular pattern in the various groups. Thus a profile corresponding to the type of disability related to the bullying and the insults can be drawn based on these.

Earlier empirical data suggested that among the pupils who are challenged in learning the occurrence of bullying and becoming its victims is higher than

Aggression in the School. Bullying among Pupils with Disabilities

in the case of the other groups of disabilities.⁹ In the case of these we expect measurable negative differences. The physical insults occur more often, than in the other groups of disabilities.

The frequency of the bullying occurrence was measured by the Olweus Questionnaire. The average score of the boys challenged in learning was 3.45 which was the highest value in group of special education. Among the girls the frequency of the bullying was higher only in the case of the pupils who were hearing impaired and who presented behavioural disorders. Despite this it can be claimed that the phenomenon of bullying among them is not rare either. The same Olweus Bullying/Victimization Questionnaire, but its average scores indicating victimization confirmed only partially the parts of our assumption, which were focuses on becoming victims. The boys showed the second lowest values behind the mentally challenged pupils, so in the case of all the other groups of special education the victimization is more common than in the current sub-sample. In the case of the girls a similar tendency could be observed, even if among them the mentally challenged girls and the ones with behavioural disorders presented lower values. So the rate of becoming a victim is higher in the groups with pupils who are handicapped or mentally challenged.

The negative difference presumed in the hypothesis can be observed through the average score of showing positive behaviour. In the case of all the sub-samples of special education, the lowest values were presented by the learning challenged boys (18,9000) and girls (24,7556) too. In the other groups the values were in the case of both genders over 28 and 37 average scores. If we take into account the results of the control group too, than the industrial learners, are the ones who present less positive behaviour towards the other than even the learning challenged pupils. As for the numeric values this means more than 15 average scores in the case of the boys and 20,6725 in the case of the girls.

This directly corresponds to the level of participation in the positive behaviour, as the boys' average score of 17 and the girls' score of 23 present the lowest value in the group of special education, compared to the average score among the boys (27) and girls (30). This was also the group in which we measured the least favourable values in terms of how much the parents support the idea of solving conflicts through violence. Even if we received more favourable results in the case of the girls, the boys' average score of 2,7333 was the lowest value in the entire sample.

⁹ Brahm NORWICH and Narcie KELLY, „Pupil's view's on inclusion: moderate learning difficulties and bullying in mainstream and special schools", *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(2004) No. 1. 46–65.

So it can be claimed, that the boys challenged in learning receive the least supportive parental support with incentive to assertive conflict handling. The rate of the aggressiveness is also raised by the fact that this population of boys has the highest average score in terms of concentration disorder, even exceeding the values of the boys and girls presenting behavioural disorders. We can see a high, 8.2 value also in the case of the girls, which is only with 0.7. average score higher than the girls' values with behavioural disorders. After these values it might be not surprising, that during the examination of impulsivity the highest scores impulsivity have been noticed among the learning challenged boys. We measured the rate of the physical harassment based on the Buss-Perry Aggression Questionnaire's Physical Aggression Subscale. This, in case of the examined group, showed high values both for the girls and boys, however not the highest ones, because the girls and boys presenting behavioural disorders are in front of them. We claim our hypothesis to be partially confirmed.

As for the pupils living with sensory disabilities the specialized literature is contradictory. There can be noticed a big difference between the earlier research results, some of which draw attention on the high rate of aggressiveness noticed among the vision and hearing impaired pupils, while other researches did not find any difference between the non-disabled pupils and sensory disabled pupils in terms of the victimization and harassment in school. According to Sullivan the hearing impaired pupils are twice as much likely to be terrorized, than their healthy fellows, especially in the case of the boys.¹⁰ It can be assumed in the case of both boys and girls that the likelihood of victimization is bigger due to the lack of information originating from their sensory disabilities.

Research findings proof, that the results of the sensory impaired pupils show similarities. The rate of victimization, examined with Olweus Bullying/Victimization Questionnaire in the case of girls is precisely identical, with a score of 2,4. This value marks the highest average score among all the groups with disabled pupils. Even if the values of 3.4 and 3.5 may seem to be high in the case of the boys, but we can see similar scores in the case of the handicapped pupils too, and also in the case of the pupils with behavioural disorders, where the average score of 4.0135 marks the rate level of victimization.

So our hypothesis can be partly confirmed. The rate of aggressiveness which is measurable with the Buss-Perry Questionnaire supports this, as the aggressiveness levels of the hearing and visually impaired pupils stays below the average scores of the pupils with learning challenges and of the ones presenting behavioural disorders. This is not the case among the girls, as in their case the higher rates of physical aggressiveness is characteristic only for the

¹⁰ Karen SULLIVAN, *Bullying: How to Spot it, how to spot it*, (London: Rodale, 2006)

Aggression in the School. Bullying among Pupils with Disabilities

girls with behavioural disorders. As a consequence, we claim our hypotheses to be only partially confirmed.

The mentally challenged pupils show significant disadvantages in terms of autonomy and socialization.¹¹ The more common occurrence of the aggressiveness can be assumed due to the weaker cognitive abilities and social competences, but their prosocial behaviour is presumably higher compared to the pupils of other groups of disabilities.

The physical aggressiveness is the least prevalent among the mentally challenged pupils, while in the case of the girls only the handicapped girls present lower values. The above mentioned measuring method examines the forms of aggressiveness which reach the physical harassment, but according to the results of the Aggression and Victimization Scale only the pupils with learning challenges and behavioural disorders are more aggressive than the mentally challenged pupils, while the girls present the most commonly occurring aggressive behaviour according to their self-reports.

The hypothesis focusing on the prosocial behaviour was confirmed, as the highest score could be measured among the mentally challenged boys, with the value of 6,58. The average score of the girls is 8.56, which is the highest among the examined groups of special education. In the case of the boys, the handicapped pupils present somewhat lower values, 0,12 is the measurable difference between the two groups.

As for the pupils presenting behavioural disorder, there is a psychological deficit in the development of the neurological, emotional and personal development, there is caused by the as a result of the biological-psychological and social harms. This can lead to emotional, behaviour and performance disorders and difficulties in integration, adaptation. Among them the rate of occurrence of the ADHD and impulsivity is presumably very high. Offensive behaviour and physical aggression is characteristic for both genders.

The scores of the Hyperkinetic Disorder Questionnaire reflecting the concentration disorder suggest that the pupils presenting behavioural disorders present the highest scores in the case of both genders, however the learning challenged pupils' average scores are in front of the boys. The SDQ Questionnaire's Hyperactivity subscale presents the same pattern in the case of both genders. The learning challenged boys' average score is higher than the score of the boys with behavioural disorders. The same is valid for the Junior Temperament and Character Questionnaire's subscale which measures impulsivity, as the learning challenged pupil's' average score of 4.03 is higher than the score

¹¹ LÁNYINÉ ENGELMAYER Ágnes és MARTON Klára, *Értelmi fogyatékosok szociális teljesítményeinek vizsgálata*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991)

of the boys presenting behavioural disorder, whose average score is 3.9. The girls present the highest values in the group of the special education. These data can make us think further, from the perspective of the special education and educational diagnostics, as the development and the re-considering of the differential-diagnostics and the development-diagnostics could be necessary from this perspective in the case of the two groups showing similar patterns and levels of severity. The common professional thinking about this diagnostical aspect proves to be necessary in the future. The further part of the hypothesis was proved by the results of the Olweus Questionnaire, which clearly indicate, that both the boys and the girls, the current group presents the highest scores, so the aggressive behaviour and the phenomenon of bullying is among them the most common. This hypothesis got confirmed.

5. Summary

One of the most relevant new element in this current research is the discovery of the psychopathological preconditions in the case of the manifestations of aggressive behaviour and the determination of its ties to aggressiveness on a sample of pupils with and without disabilities.

The aggression and the bullying are regularly investigated in the majority institutions, but not in the target group of special education. We can not rely on domestic data, and there are few research precedents on international scale as well. Thus we consider our research to have as its aim the discovery and unfolding, as its main purpose was the examination of an issue which is unfolded in Hungary. Our investigation was primarily carried out in institutions offering special education among pupils with special educational necessities. Our results can be interpreted in this context, but we should raise the question, what characteristics would an investigation show in terms of bullying among integrated circumstance. In the future it will be necessary to carry out such researches too. One of the main purposes of the special education is to help the disabled persons to become active members the society, by the means of the integration. This is why it is important to have a view on that, whether in domestic context the disability profiles in our sample match the profiles, necessities and problems of the disabled pupils learning in integrated environment.

I think, based on both this current empirical investigation and on the special literature that it is necessary elaborate aggression handling programmes which are based on holistic approach, which extend over the whole educational system and which correspond to the problem-profiles of both the typically developed pupils and the disabled students presenting non-typical development. Our purpose is to implement the above mentioned programmes, and to

Aggression in the School. Bullying among Pupils with Disabilities

continue the research and to extend it over other groups of disabilities, such as the pupils with speaking difficulties and pupils showing autism-spectrum disorder.

My major publications on the topic:

EGRI Tímea, „Agresszió az iskolában. Bullying a fogyatékos tanulók körében”, in *Tudományos próbapálya. „Interdiszciplináris és tudományfilozófia” PEME tanulmánykötet*, szerk. KONCZ István és NAGY Edit, (Budapest: Professzorok az Európai Magyarorszáért Egyesület, 2013) Online: peme.hu – December 2019. 489–495.

EGRI Tímea és KONCZ István, „Konfliktuskezelési tréning előkészítő és rendszerező program: A tréning felépítésének módszertani kérdései”, in *Sikerességek nagy kézikönyve*, (Budapest: Fitt Image; Minerva Kiadó, 2015) 1–16.

MATUSZKA Balázs és BÁCSKAI Erika és CZOBOR Pál és EGRI Tímea és GEREVICH József, „A dohányzás és az alkoholfogyasztás együttes előfordulásának összefüggései a figyelemhiányos hiperaktivitászavar tüneteivel kilencedik osztályos tanulók körében”, *Orvosi Hetilap*, 156(2015) 43. sz. 1750–1757.

EGRI Tímea, „Az agresszió megjelenési formái fogyatékos tanulók körében”, in *Gerevich70 – A terápiák társadalmától a teremtő vágyakig*, szerk. OCSOVI Dóra és ZSÉDEL Krisztina, (Budapest: Noran Libro Kiadó, 2018) 219–230.

EGRI Tímea és F. FÖLDI Rita és GEREVICH József, „A figyelemhiányos hiperaktivitászavar (ADHD) tüneteinek összefüggései az agresszivitással”, in *Felkészülés (együtt) a XXI. századi kihívásaira. Mentorált fiatalok és mentoraik írásai*, (Budapest: Professzorok az Európai Magyarorszáért Egyesület, 2018) 199–216.

The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity of the Media Content

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Post-truth, that is, the space of articulation transcending reality or to put it simply, the world beyond reality or the world after facts – was our most often used expression according to a survey carried out by the Oxford English Dictionary¹ some years ago.

Post-truth is primarily related to politics, politics is related to power and all of this has directly infiltrated the world of media. The media conveys the messages of politics to the society and individuals. In this sense, the world beyond reality has a role in reinterpretation of democracy and in works of art as well. By spectacularly reconstructing events that are far from one another in space and time, post-truth has become a tool of the global media (if we can talk about global media, however, in my opinion, we can), and this is not the acceptance, merely a statement.² No doubt that today screen has become the most often used medium. Just as storytelling (creating myths and ritual space) in the past took place in the family arena or in some community event, later, the scene became the mass media (in Habermasian terms), and now it is the screen that controls everything. On one hand, my goal with this study is to clarify the medium of media fantasy and show the conveying tools connected to the formal and street publicity.³ I would like to find an answer to the question why emotions and personal beliefs are the most influential in public opinion and how objective facts are eliminated from the interpretation of news. In other words,

¹ *Word of the Year 2016*, Oxford Dictionaries. Online: en.oxforddictionaries.com – December 2019.

² In her book, *Globalization and New Governance* Jody Jensen discusses this idea, however, I think it is the global media that can convey messages to regional and local societies by crossing civilisation barriers. Jody JENSEN, *Globalizáció és új kormányzás*, Mundus Novus, (Budapest: MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont, 2014)

³ FARAGÓ László, „Az új nyilvánosság ellenőrző szerepe a horizontálisan átjárható közterben”, *Reconnect – Electronic Journal of Social, Environmental and Cultural Studies, Region, Environment, Culture Research Group*, (3)2011, 4. sz. 40–50. Online: reconnect2009.files.wordpress.com – December 2019.

The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity of the Media Content

what can be *the objectivity of media fantasy*. The redrawn reality is characterized by the fact, that it affects the less conscious cyber citizens: in the factories of fake truths, people, in most cases, consciously make it a point that the post-truth should actually do contain some elements of truth. Therefore, post-truth and reality has some common points, but the two – overall – do not overlap each other and thus conceal one of the tools of influence which is the crudest and hardest to recognize. I will show some examples from the past and present how the process of post-truth influence and the theme system of fake truth work and how the propagation and consumption speed of these can be detected. I am also interested why communication that is far from reality evoke more intense emotional reactions, outrage and repulsion among the actors of the virtual connection matrix.

The Reverse meaning of the Mirror abstraction

All pieces of news are from fantasy and the abstraction of reality with no exception. The mapped reality is only an intentional reflection. (Not to mention the fact, that the mirror image is already a symmetrically averted image.) Seizing reality is subjective, even if the producer of the (media) message has only good intentions. However, we cannot conclude that the media content is organically the world after the facts. Still, we can assume that objectivity is like a parabola, that approaches the extreme values of infinity, but never reaches it. The wish of objectivity is so idealistic that we can think of Herakleitos saying we cannot step into the same river twice, meaning there are as many interpretations of the facts as we are in number. The number of fantasy elements is growing in direct ratio with the elapsed time and the displacements made in space. This is also true for the one who sees the series of events with his own eyes and touches the environment with his own hands, but also for the one who was able to record and attest some part of the event. It is even more difficult for those who must rely on a mediator due to their geographical distance, time or some disability. Constructed reality is therefore not a reflection in a mirror. It is like it...but it is not the original. Elemér Hankiss talks about media as the Sorcerer or the Thimble rigger.⁴ Still, there is no reason to doubt: *mediation facts are purposefully objective*. No need to argue either that the media message also contains a great amount of distorted information, part of which is twisted on purpose. Halfway between the two we can find infotainment, the hybrid of informing and entertaining, where media content is aimed to reach more and more people by building show elements into the plot. Notice, when informative

⁴ Elemér HANKISS, *The Toothpaste of Immortality: Self Construction in the Consumer Age*, (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)

infotainment presents objectivity, it can be more easily detected. (There are exceptions, of course, for example the Czech exam film about a fictional animal, called *Pacurofagus oxitoxicus*, which eats up oil. I will mention that later.)

Infotainment, then, is not reality after the facts, only creatively coloured and imaginative objectivity. At the other end of the fact axis we can find false news with more information which are made for distortion, hate speech or discredit. There have been more and more dozens of webpages specialized on false news on purpose. Fortunately, we can also find webpages where news falsification can be filtered based on different algorithms (International Fact-Checking Network).⁵

The media arena is turned inside out. Formal media is still present mainly as the articulatory surface of traditional publicity (Habermas)...or rather, it could be present if the authority was not trying to expropriate it every now and then. The latter statement is certainly prevalent globally and has always been returning for thousands of years. By taming the arenas of publicity with orders, it is criticism, the chance of checking that disappears from the process of news-making. I have mentioned how the control of formal media can be taken by the horizontally organized street publicity by showing a peculiar activity in documenting the events.

I am calling the new actors of media, who are organized based on a common narrative, street publicity. 'Besides informing, the events made public and created in this way strengthen social solidarity and have key roles in creating the value system' – as Dayan and Katz put it in their ritual communication theory.⁶ The 'networking' communication among the equal actors serve not only as an arena of conversations for the sake of conversing but also a cultural melting pot and a group organizer. However, do not forget how the eyewitness so actively documenting the event disregards how subjective his viewpoint is when deciding about capturing the details of reality. The media man checks the facts and this kind of editing process (can) lead to objectivity.

On the other hand, however, the actor of street publicity strives the most to satisfy the need of media fantasy and relational community. So, we may turn back to the point where objectivity is only a dedication to good intentions and most often the result can be a fantasized objectivity. The other extreme is the media slave who creates false news on demand based on objective reality but distorts it according to the interests of the authority. Another category is needed to be introduced: the group creating false news for fun who are not led

⁵ „Itt a nagy átverős lista: weboldalak, melyeknek soha ne higgyen el semmit”, *hvg.hu*, 19 January 2015. Online: hvg.hu – December 2019.

⁶ BAJOMI-LÁZÁR Péter, *Média és politika*, (Budapest: PrintXBudavár Zrt., 2010)

The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity of the Media Content

by political beliefs; they just want more and more people to follow their texts, pictures or videos.

Reflecting news with no camouflage of reality is an ideal, meaning the reverse interpretation of the mirror-abstraction – this concept is still closer to me. Conveying reality is a moral obligation. Therefore, the basis of reality is the news. There is no order without perfect morals or beauty, so there is no humanity without morals either, just as Márai interprets Seneca's teaching.⁷

Moral Panic and False Movie Content

It is not the task of the works of art to weigh truths on pharmacy scales. Truth, as I have mentioned before is parabola publicity at the most: an intention, wish or ideal. We do not expect movies, for example, to show the mirror-abstraction of reality. The work of art is more likely to convey a subjective point of view or an odd (subcultural) value system and norms: a chance for identification we like consuming. We also have difficulties in trying to understand reality: no understanding can be due to a mental laziness. According to Machiavelli some people do not want to understand reality, others cannot interpret the phenomenon because they have some gaps in their capacities. Francis Fukuyama says many people have 'no time or willingness' to think about things so they accept whatever is presented to them on screen as truth and reality.⁸ Taking a look at the lonely people, Eric Berne claims that they spend their time in two different ways; either with some activity or just fantasy.⁹

Therefore, whatever we like consuming is not necessarily reality itself, but our desires and so it is close to our gravity of fantasy, where fantasy is the creative interpretation of events. Clearly there have always been equivocators and equivocator-consumers, moreover, we can find non-truth or ultimately lie in all communication. In Sherif's scales of attitude, which starts from threat to safety, we can find the latitude of acceptance and latitude of rejection.¹⁰ If the media content is close to our own and fixed attitude, then the messages get to us. In the latitude of rejection, the boomerang effect applies. This way we can understand why so many do not want to note that Orson Welles' *The Attack by Mars* is only a radio play, a dramatized documentary drama on the radio and not

⁷ *Seneca leveleiből*, ford. Sárosi Gyula, Officina Könyvtár 57/58, (Budapest: Officina, 1943) Online: Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, mek.oszk.hu – December 2019.

⁸ Francis FUKUYAMA, *Bizalom. A társadalmi erények és a jólét megteremtése*, (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 2007) 61.

⁹ Eric BERNE, *Emberi játszmák*, (Budapest: Háttér Kiadó, 1984)

¹⁰ Muzaref SHERIF, *Social interaction process and products: selected essays*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967)

reality in spite of the fact that the radio speaker said it was a play at the beginning, the middle and at the end of the program as well.¹¹

Likewise, viewers also accepted Jan Svěrák's film, *Ropaci* as a scientific headliner.¹² The man, who is one of the most famous figure of the new-wave Czech film generation, won the award for the best young filmmaker of the American Film Academy. The news about the ropaci could have been plausible for so many as in the eighties there was a growing demand to find a way to neutralize natural disasters caused by oil. Information addiction¹³ can be satisfied with information. Among 'n' number of information – *ab ovo* – there is real communication, if one (the 'n') element is missing, fantasy has a role, the order of the pieces of information is important and among the pieces there is/can be false content. The latter two: the order and the non-truth are the most instructing.

Media – (the screen) is a tool of the collective rite: people get into direct contact with symbols, values easier and they have a special demand to be instructed and verified by them. The scenes of social conflicts have oriented to the screen nowadays. The screen only washes in the real space and the cyber relational network.

Incorporated Messages, Norms and Rumours without Checks and Balances

Reality is overweight by pressure so long as the creatively coloured cyber space is open for moving around freely. The point of fabulous objectivity says that 'the user is on the move until he finds' the most appealing, emotionally closest and the most exciting content. In an unforeseeable number of surfaces, the chance of search and find is also infinite, and *this is appealing*: another dose leading to addiction. However, this infinite number and extent of content implies that the value system conveyed by the text and the character is not the symbolic expression of the real society but fantasy. It would not be a problem, but as I studied students from primary school or even younger kids swiping the screen, I found that these generations cannot differentiate reality and reshaped truth. Similarly, the 'hidden messages of media',¹⁴ 'the artificially created world' becomes identical to the real world: the symbolic world supports their forming beliefs' about society and attitudes in connection with other people. Since the masses of content get into the mind of young adults (18–24 years old) through different virtual channels without reflection and elaboration making it especially

¹¹ *Attack by Mars*, CBS, 1938.

¹² VASSY Zoltán, „Olajfalók és paraolajfalók”, *Élet és tudomány*, (51)1996, 41. sz. 1293.

¹³ ANGELUSZ Róbert, *A láthatóság görbe tükrői*, (Budapest: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 2000)

¹⁴ George GERBNER, *A média rejtett üzenete*, (Budapest: Osiris, 2002)

The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity of the Media Content

dangerous. In addition, the process is unseen, so it is more about 'attacking and reaching' the subconscious.

The situation is similar in case of messages with latent lie content. These certainly do not address the youngest screen addicted generation, but the speed of their reception and the lower number of rejections shows the case that I have previously described. Post-truth, or the acceptance of the world after reality lies in the subconscious rejection of elaboration and the organic laziness of human thinking. It is much easier to nod at the thesis-like picture with text than checking its reality content and transparency. In case the message and the actors of the picture with text are closer to the recipient youngsters' fixed attitude and emotion and are found funny, exciting or modern, the viewers will watch the scenes three times, five times or ten times more.

The current increase in the number of available mediums have not created a defensive reflex, either. Instead of checking, people are looking for affirming aspects, so rumours can find their way as easily as before. The social conflicts presented during the media panic do not give new information but provide opportunities for identification through violation of norms (good and bad, chaos and order, safety and danger).

The Meaning of the World after the Facts

The subconsciously rejected elaboration and the organic laziness of the human mind show how messages with latent lie content, or the world after the facts is accepted. It is much easier to nod at the thesis-like picture with text than checking its reality content and transparency. Savvy thinking demands effort. The time factor of consideration takes bigger effort than matching them to fix messages. In case our brain contains similar contents in its 'storage drawers', then it is more likely to match them to these. Quasi relaxing and leaving worries behind, we have no need to study the text and check its reality content.

The methodology of rumour creating factories include doing everything for the sake of *minimalizing our alertness*. Our media fantasy – as it seems – is hardly restricted by objectivity in these cases.

Therefore, truth could be and must be interpreted by acting on the given situation. If there is a controlled atmosphere on the net, the image of evil becomes an integral part of public discourse together with fear. All half-truths in connection with the mood get into the media fantasy which can be objectified. Reality, then, must be formed in a creative way so that we just add a little fantasy to reality, exactly to the point when fear from foreigners and immigrants can be sustained. Festinger claimed that after disasters, fictitious rumours justify anxiety. It is another claim to prove that there is an ongoing demand for

rumours. If that is the case, then it is not by chance that we can so often find providers and acceptors of rumours in the cyber space as well.

The Spreading Speed of Rumours

Umberto Eco gave a summary of the value of information¹⁵ by noting that it is essential to study the effect and the structure of the message in the given situation from a historical, sociological and psychological point of view. Our personal interest in the news or the rumour greatly depends on the medium. Let's look at the community pages as mediating scenes because of their periodical, public and interactively conversational nature.¹⁶ In this case, we can see that the spreading speed of rumours is influenced greatly by the relational network. The trust index is high among those who are close to each other in the matrix and the public content can be shared within seconds. Further distribution is up to the creativity of the producer of the news or rumour – how well it is wrapped in a way where reality still shows, and the objectified fantasy does not cause any reception barriers. The more creative the producing cyber hero or citizen is the less rejection the content gets. The spreading speed depends on the public discourse as well: if there are similar abstractions present the actual one can drop. In case of rumours, the series of factual messages can 'extinguish' the rumour. You see, timing and the actual social environment is crucial.

Based on the above mentioned I believe that the spreading speed is higher in case of post-truth as there is less elaboration and checking in the way of the news. The spreading of pseudo-truth, however, can strike a snag if it gets out from the circle of trust or if it meets an algorithm that can filter the rumour and the suspicious environment. These validated engines check how much the content of the background of the piece of news is relevant. They even convert images to texts and compare them to the content – in each situation they tag the webpage saying how much relevancy they found.

It is probably not much for those who want to believe the rumour according to their conviction and actual settings. Believing the lie seems easier than finding out the truth. If we accept that other people tell us how to interpret reality than we are already in a trap and consumed by the Orwellian world. It is enough to chant: 'War is peace and ignorance is strength'. Do not forget the sentence above the entrance gate of the work camp in Auschwitz: 'Work will set you free'. Lie is a great temptation and that is how desires can appear.

¹⁵ Umberto Eco, *Nyitott mű. (Információ és pszichológia tranzakció)*, (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1998) 173–175.

¹⁶ FARAGÓ László, „Kultúráközvetítő közösségi terek”, *XIX. Apáczai-napok. Tudományos Konferencia. Tanulmánykötet. Gondolkodási struktúrák és kreativitás*, szerk. LŐRINCZ Ildikó, (Győr: Széchenyi István Egyetem Apáczai Csere János Kar, 2015) 497–503.

The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity of the Media Content

Protection against Messages beyond Reality

First, consider that communication and reception have more aspects. Schulz von Thun calls them ears, for us they are significant because of their role in interpreting reality.¹⁷ If the recipient notices the different intention as we also do that during Berne's transaction analysis, the chance of reception with no interpretation or without non-truth or distortion is smaller, thus non-truth does not find 'ears'.



The 5 sides of communication (according to Schultz van Thun)

I call the creators of truth beyond reality media slaves, as they are those who can only partly make use of the available scene of fantasy. Censorship limits their overly thematic frame, that expects all messages to reach the effects that serve the interests of the authority – as their timing and intensity prove it as well. On the contrary, the media storyteller expands the scene of fantasy in order to make the media message more consumer friendly. In the latter case, we do not talk about deception, character assassination or scaremongering as they are more typical motivations of making pseudo news. The motivation behind pseudo news can be taken as the defects of actual (local) publicity.¹⁸ We need to emphasize that even if I used to believe that news is fantasy and the abstraction of reality. Objectivity is only a good intention that can result in fictional objectivity in most cases. The difference between objective communication and the world of post-truth is the framework of fantasy. Messages containing lies, in other words, accepting the world after the facts are shown in the subconsciously rejected elaboration and the organic laziness of the human

¹⁷ Friedemann SCHULZ VON THUN, *A kommunikáció zavarai és feloldásuk*, (Budapest: Háttér Kiadó, 2012)

¹⁸ BAJOMI-LÁZÁR, *Média és politika*, op.cit.

mind. It is much easier to nod at the thesis-like picture with text than checking its reality content and transparency. Savvy thinking demands effort. The time of consideration is longer than matching it to fixed messages. So the spreading speed of post-truth messages is faster as there is less elaboration and checking in the way of the news. The spreading of pseudo-truth, however, can strike a snag if it gets out from the circle of trust or if it meets an algorithm that can filter the rumour and the suspicious environment. Besides algorithms, continuous suspicion can mean a barrier for the spreading of texts beyond reality. In conclusion, post-truth content is not spreading with the help of broadcasting or streaming mediums but in the virtual network. Also, the world of post-truth can be so influential because the solid message accumulates easier in the narrow framework of fantasy and so the acceptance and reception of the message is quicker and more convincing.

My major publications on the topic:

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The Lack of a “Grand Narrative”: Postmodern and Hungarian Literature

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The extraordinary career of the term “postmodern” was set in motion by French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard with *The Postmodern Condition* (henceforth PC) published in 1979. It is both noteworthy and typical how much the topics and considerations raised in this work diverge from what we later on saw as a movement or trend defining itself as postmodern. In the following I wish to highlight a few differences and links between the two.

The postmodern condition according to Lyotard

Lyotard formulated partly predictions, partly suggestions concerning the future of science and knowledge and its transfer. The fact that his work became so influential is above all due to the distinct historico-philosophical concept it outlines. It states that the age of modernity (spanning from the Enlightenment through the Industrial Revolution to the post-WW2 period) is over, a new era has begun, based on “post-industrial society”, a concept described and popularised by A. Touraine, I. Illich and D. Bell in the early 70s, claiming that the traditional structure of society and economy had profoundly changed because the majority of goods on the market is not made up of industrial hard products but services, knowledge and other soft products. The rigid class hierarchies characterising earlier societies are disappearing and the role of technology is ever increasing. The culture of this new post-industrial era would be the postmodern.

Lyotard, a member of the group called *Socialisme ou Barbarie* (1948–67), started his career as a traditional left-wing thinker, but later he started to have more and more doubts concerning its efficiency during the 60s and 70s. In PC he tries to demonstrate a new type of leftism, which breaks with the radical external critique of capitalism and tries to highlight the inconsistencies developed by the accepted discourses of the system instead. His central claim and fear is that both science and the institutions more and more require homology, the one universally used language, way of thinking and method, which in the

name of exactness and commensurability splits off complex, hard-to-formalise, creative, real knowledge from information. What's more, it's doubtful whether it is actually interested in the spreading and general accessibility of information in the first place. Big science eats little science. Science is no longer governed by the logic of research, but by the investors, commissions, and money. This requires the most exact calculations (which is usually an inadequate requirement in the field of humanities, but Lyotard here concentrates on the "paralogous" nature of certain fields of strict science). The spread of computers and digitalisation will only increase formalisation and homology. Lyotard considers system-theoretically well-informed, pragmatic and efficiency governed technocracy the caravan that moves on and all the discourses softer than that the dog that merely barks. "Be operational (that is, commensurable) or disappear", says Lyotard summing up one of the main imperatives of the postmodern age.

In PC Lyotard spells out very ambivalent and not really consistent claims (as he himself later admitted). E.g. he swears by the freedom of paralogy as opposed to the terror of homology, yet he doesn't look at a vast number of widespread paralogies, only dismisses them with a despising gesture referring to them as being less efficient. Thus for instance he attacks Jürgen Habermas' theory of "communicative rationality" saying that it strives to reach a consensus, which "does violence to the heterogeneity of language games". Lyotard, on the other hand, claims that the main goal is the "legitimation of dissensus". However, he's not interested in legitimated dissensuses either. What he is interested in is what he considers subversive achievements made by hard sciences (and analytic philosophy) that had achieved a high degree of homology.

This is what elevates to the status of stars of postmodern science people like Kurt Gödel, who proved in his famous paper in 1931 that the axiomatic foundations of mathematics can never be utterly complete and free of contradictions. Or take Benoît Mandelbrot and chaos theory, which states that the traditional approximative methods of mathematics are insufficient for the description of complex dynamic systems, where the slightest change in the input parameters results in dramatically different outcomes (the butterfly effect) and make exact predictions impossible. Lyotard is also glad to apply the arguments of Paul Feyerabend at any opportunity, as they criticize the strict science way the influential basic theses of scientists and philosophers (first of all Karl Popper), the definitive figures of strict sciences. He also relies heavily on the "language game" concept of Ludwig Wittgenstein, which he interprets as a strong variant of the thesis of relativism and incommensurability. As postmodern examples Lyotard gives prominence to those authors and theories, which are compatible with the system and are successful within it, but at the same time somehow destruct it.

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

PC's wild anarcho-leftist theses¹ were not interesting for the leftists who created a movement-founding piece of art and a fashion from PC, just like Lyotard himself was ignoring not only the left-wing but all the theories he didn't perceive as the mainstream of the future. More attractive for the activists and trend-surfers was to give up the traditional criticising from the outside, and have great reverence for "capitalism" shown and seen as having extraordinary abilities in problem solving and renewing itself. And this was the very start of decay for the traditional left-wing, which gained himself a good conscience through the Postmodernism for giving up its former principles. Terry Eagleton's description of post-structuralism in 1992 already was: "Post-structuralism is among other things a kind of theoretical hangover from the failed uprising of '68, a way of keeping the revolution warm at the level of language, blending the euphoric libertarianism of that moment with the stoical melancholia of its aftermath."

For the 80s and 90s postmodern had become a highly popular and broad (and also defined in many different ways) form of world viewing. It became influential and attracted worshippers mainly in arts and social sciences, but appeared in all the areas of public culture, and now we can see it as the last great cultural stream ("grand narrative"?) – and the scale and forms of its survival and becoming a part of "the" cultural history is an open issue.

The importance of the narrative

The immediate connection point was of course the most cited – and also cardinal according to Lyotard – definition of PC: postmodern is "incredulity toward metanarratives". "This incredulity is undoubtedly a product of progress in the sciences: but that progress in turn presupposes it. To the obsolescence of the metanarrative apparatus of legitimation corresponds, most notably, the crisis of metaphysical philosophy and of the university institution which in the past relied on it. The narrative function is losing its functors, its great hero, its great dangers, its great voyages, its great goal." Beyond these statements of the introduction, PC devotes multiple chapters to narrative, which it sees as the most primordial and still one of most effective form of conveying knowledge, and which by his opinion is despised by scientific discourses as "primitive", while it has a great advantage over them, as it requires no (self-)legitimation from all of the other discourses. This tolerance towards heterogeneity makes it a more intelligent discourse than those.

¹ Richard Rorty (1993): "Lyotard argues invalidly" that science "should aim at permanent revolution. [...] To say that 'science aims' at piling paralogy on paralogy is like saying that 'politics aims' at piling revolution on revolution."

Literary postmodern

Some representative authors

The works of Jorge Luís Borges, Vladimir Nabokov and Kurt Vonnegut are considered to be the great literary predecessors of postmodernity. Thomas Pynchon, Paul Auster, Tom Stoppard, Bret Easton Ellis, Danilo Kiš, Vladimir Sorokin, Italo Calvino, Umberto Eco etc.² are seen as representatives of actual postmodern. In Hungarian literature Tandori,³ Hajnóczy and Esterházy are mentioned among the great precursors.⁴ In the group of the authors who started their careers in the 80s, works of Lajos Parti Nagy, Endre Kukorelly, László Garaczi, László Darvasi, László Márton, Gábor Németh, István Kemény, János Térey, János Háty, Attila Hazai, Attila Bartis etc. are seen as characteristic representatives of Hungarian literary postmodern.

Some representative poetic and stylistic characteristics

Fragmentedness

Things can not (or must not) be organized into one, all-explaining and all-directing whole. The “grand narratives”, eschatologies, all-encompassing world history stories are not authentic anymore. Their role can be fulfilled by “little narratives”, which have no totalising / totalitarian pretensions.⁵ This otherwise historico-philosophic point of view is the most applicable in prose fiction. Postmodern writers don’t create big, closed stories (or if they do, their very storytelling will be tricky).⁶ A strong example of this is the “novel” of Gábor Németh, *From the Book of Nothing* (1992), in which we meet one by one the

² Usually Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Jean Baudrillard, Richard Rorty, Slavoj Žižek are usually referred to as theoreticians despite the fact that they all refused being labelled as “postmodern”.

³ Tandori faultily, for he is a distinctively neo-avant-guard author, as I explain in my 1994 study “The writer writes, the reader etc. Problems of neo-avantgarde and of omnidescription in Tandori’s oeuvre.”

⁴ Ernő Kulcsár-Szabó puts here Péter Nádas, too (*History of Hungarian Literature 1945-1991*), which is a faulty classification even based on his own criteria. It’s quite eye-catching, how inconsistent the classification system created by Kulcsár-Szabó is (whom Sándor Radnóti called “the postmodern gendarme”). Cf. Gábor Bezecsky: *Literary History at No-Man’s Land* (2008), Zsolt Farkas: “The Good One Wins” (2009).

⁵ Cf. “engineering” in Derrida, striving to build perfect systems in hope of perfect control – as the opposite of “bricolage”, which is ready to do with *ad hoc* tools. At Deleuze one side is “imperial”, centralized, hierarchical, neurotic – against the „nomadic”, which is less organized but more organic and more free. The centralised, hierarchical institution is the main agent of both the social oppression and the psychological suppression.

⁶ „Story” is what is told by the given work of art, and „narrative” is the way the story told. Cf. “fable” and “sujet” in formalist literary studies.

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

characteristic of traditional stories: easy-to-read, sensually displayed scenes and episodes, paragraphs containing inner and outer happenings – the only thing is that all those paragraphs belong to different narratives, and take place in diverse space-time points, involving different characters.

Intertextuality

The role and significance of intertextuality reflect quite well the somewhat “post-historical” self-interpretation of the postmodern, which can be strongly related to the reflective and perversely historicising eclecticism of the postmodern. The piercingly intertextual text cuts itself adrift from the authenticity cult of modern time eras and styles, which was taken to extremes by the avantgarde “-isms”. Postmodern – we are after structuralism – sees the subject itself as linguistically defined, and the cult of authenticity as naive: it shows mostly that all has been written and done. However, authentic and exciting works have been produced by different forms of intertextuality. The time-space and the plot of Tom Stoppard’s drama *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* “perfectly” match those of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, except that title characters are the main characters, while Hamlet remains a secondary character. Stoppard’s play cites all the scenes from Shakespeare’s work in which Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are on stage, but when the original piece follows other heroes, in Stoppard’s work still the two friends are followed and elaborated thoroughly, wittily, ingeniously, sensitively, and in a way that matches exactly Shakespeare’s work. It is tragic and makes you think,⁷ but is entertaining and light at the same time. A *fortunate mix of high literature and the popular*, which is a cause celebre of postmodern.

The works of Esterházy contain such a bounty of intertexts, marked and unmarked citations, guest texts and other cultural allusions that it can be seen as one of the most specific signatures of his diction. It’s not as if there wouldn’t be statements characteristic to Esterházy (they do exist, sometimes to the point of mannerism), but the guest texts are constitutive both on micro and macro levels. The same can be said on the works of Endre Kukorelly, e.g. *H.Ö.L.D.E.R.L.I.N.* (1998), which is a transcription of Hölderlin’s poems, or *One Thousand and 3* (2009), which revels in intertextual and even intermedial allusions (e.g. Mozart: *Don Giovanni*), not solely as single citations and references, but for example, *Anna Karenina* serves as structural principle of the work. Similarly, with his rhyming drama *Residential Area “Niebelung”* (2003) of János

⁷ Rosencrantz and Guildenstern can be seen as typical postmodern subjects, being in principle intelligent, autonomous, playful characters, who nevertheless drift onto the way of lackeying the corrupt power.

Térey relocates the librettos of Wagner's *Ring* into a contemporary Hungarian environment, while the short prose *fish alive* (1991) of Gábor Németh was written in the characteristic form of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*. An extreme case is Péter Esterházy's story *What a Glory to Die for the Country* (1986), which from the very first letter to the last one is identical to a short story of Danilo Kiš (the Hungarian translation of it). All the interpreters agree that it's not a plagiarism but a postmodern gag, so much so that the "original" idea is identified by them in Borges' short story *Pierre Ménard, Author of Don Quixote*. Its main character decides to rewrite *Don Quixote*, in which both a historicising and an actualising sensitivity are equally important. He puts decades of stout labour into it, completing just the first two chapters, and reaching a variant which is identical word for word with the original.

Register mixing

Another definitive touch of postmodern writers is a sensitivity to spoken language and its vivid representation, which is at least as significant as the conjuring up of written discourses. However, not all of these are from literature. Sentences leak in from the most different areas of life: from ads, textbooks, hit songs, various documents, subcultures and sociolects. Mercilessly putting beside each other and clashing the contrasting but equally characteristic elements of our more and more complex reality creates a kind of new realism, despite the dogmatic attacks of postmodern on semiotic and aesthetic representationalism, on referentialising, mimesis-based interpretations. Even the short novels of Hajnóczy already frequently use these documentaristic elements. Various but fictive documents form parts of Kemény István's novel *Art of the Enemy* (1989). In the tales of László Garaczi's volume *No Sleep!* (1992) "from the communist jargon right to the scientific dissertation, from the soft or harder versions of slang to literary trope, from poesy of song hits to the style of a plant guidebook the text consists of innumerable language games. Texts of Garaczi are peculiar but not by having their specific 'Garaczi style layer', which then would accommodate other ones [as with Esterházy or Kukorelly]. His work's fabric is woven exclusively from guest texts, and even more from 'guest styles'."⁸ The frequent switching between genres, moods, narrative points of view is very characteristic to it. Playful, humorous and light often goes hand in hand with serious and tragic. "Hey, little shaggy, where's your mom?" – asks the retro rock and roll hit with skittish irony through the mourning of the author of the novel *Auxiliaries of the Heart* (1985), which tells us the story of his own mother. Cf. the motto of *Little Hungarian Pornography*: "The situation is hopeless but not serious".

⁸ Zsolt Farkas: „Epistemology of *Nincs alvás!*” (1994).

Multi- and intermediality

Postmodern often resembles film (e.g. the short novels of Hajnóczy), collage (e.g. Esterházy's *Bevezetés* [1980–86] uses a lot photos, drawings, margin and foot notes, sometimes magazine-style fragmentation), is hipertextual (Esterházy's *Production Novel* [1979] contains several hundreds of inner links, virtually a whole sophisticated link system inside the text). Lajos Parti Nagy's very funny social realist operetta *Ibusár* (1996) or his kitschy and dilettante travesty of girl's novel *Angel of the Body* (1997) are constitutively intertextual and register mixing both on micro and macro level of text organization. (Successful theatre performances of *Ibusár* presented the cavalcade of low and popular Hungarian traditions in a multifaceted Gesamtkunst form.)

So postmodern works with a whole lot of *micro-realist and documentarist* tools. Art is sensual, and in literature it's realism which first of all represents sensuality. So the assumption that considers the need for realism to be "anachronistic" or attaches it solely to socialist culture politics is rather wrong. A lot of writers do small realism or microréalism, and the postmodern ones especially. Fragmentation doesn't mean the absence of lifelike situations, characters and dialogues. Postmodern authors are especially characterised by a sensitivity to great many forms of spoken and written language, which are their most important "guest texts".

Co-ordination rather than imposing a hierarchy

Epistemologically it is radically *relativistic and agnostic*. Though in principle it is localistic and relativistic, it is quite preoccupied by the complexity of culture becoming global after the communication explosion and the interrelation of different discourses (art, science, philosophy, religion, politics, technology, entertainment or advertising industry products, sub-cultures etc.).

Playfulness

One of the first shape-giving instances of chaotic matter is play⁹ (which itself is a rather manifold "concept"). It is partly a welfare luxury, partly a radical way of discursive experimenting. The very start of Garaczis's tale *Tranzit Mundi* (1992) says "Now I tell you so that you know, how it happened that, one: the Kiowa turned into neophyte Druze; two: the infamous Don Piruló into a sullen pacifist; and three: the three tarsiers of the reservation into three bushes of

⁹ Both Gadamer's hermeneutics and Derrida's deconstruction attribute rather special, culture creative and existentially decisive role to play, which got in focus of Wittgenstein's analytic interest not accidentally at all.

sweetscented bedstraw.” Then this seemingly slightly dadaistically chaotic story is told as if by an impeccably objective historian: “...Don Piruló had launched a people’s initiative in order to introduce Kiowa scalps instead of dollars as a general currency throughout America. However, the public prosecutor in a rescript described his idea as ‘narodnik romanticism’ and a ‘fuckup’, and called on Don Piruló to behave finally as a civilized man. [...] Meanwhile, Don Piruló addressed a letter to Karl May, in which in the name of ‘hiperactual conservatism’ he calls May his brother, and summons him to join the multi-front fight against the worldwide Kiowamuslim conspiracy...” Play can be the most serious when it comes to ideology criticism or discourse criticism as well.

Reflected and metafictional

Postmodern works are often well-informed theoretically and philosophically, sometimes overly so.¹⁰ An exemplary postmodern work moves a large body of erudition, being popular at the same time. It can be read and interpreted on multiple levels. Often emphasises its own createdness and poetical well-formedness. (Cf. Brecht’s alienation effect.) Fiction is often metaleptic (the narrated world all of a sudden meets the world of narration, they form a logical loop, e.g. in Cortázar’s *Continuity of Parks*). The primary possibilities of interpretation spring from the controversies, parallels and interferences of the story and its narration. *The decentring of subjectivity*, as it gets defined by more and more influences and systems – theoretically. Practically these are “little narratives” of individualism rejecting a global point of view.

Politically: *liberal*, and it became liberal out of oppositionism, so this means not the same in the West and East. Around 1980, at the starting period of the postmodern, Western regime criticism stood mostly to the left, while the Eastern one to the right of the local regime opposed by each of them. Generally, the level of capitalism-conformity of a postmodern author would depend on these impulses. The novels of Nabokov, Dick or Ellis are very deep criticisms of capitalism and modernism, which, however, is clear exclusively in narrato-poetical terms, since there is not the slightest hint to the author’s direct opinion. By principle, Hungarian postmodern is anti-ideological, but it tends to propagate the ideology of professionalism. “And it’s more soothing” – writes

¹⁰ At the start and the middle of the 90s postmodern “text literature” was already a definitive line of Hungarian literature, especially among the young – so much so that in 1995 younger and older, but in any case conservative critics suggested that already “there’s been too much of postmodern” and of “text literature”, so why not to write traditional works, god forbid “grand narratives”. Interestingly enough, this long debate involving a lot of actors got known in the recent past’s literature history as “The Quarrel of Criticism”. Western postmodern has been frequently characterised by and accused of being represented not less by critics and theorists than by penmen and artists.

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

Esterházy in *Little Hungarian Pornography* (1984) – “if the writer thinks in terms of subject and predicate rather than of people and nation.” According to this – as a writer and an artist – he is a confounded aesthetist (considering the aesthetic aspect to be the most important leading principle). Some authors (Esterházy, Kukorelly), however, besides that are ideologically anti-socialists, which is not a postmodern (and not generally artistic) property, and is not marginal either.

Esterházy's special significance and deep impact in the 80s was no less of a political nature as of aesthetic. The author didn't reflect this situation, but at the same time was systematically utilizing the (rightward) shifting of the contemporary practice of cultural policy characterised by the tripartite “support / tolerate / prohibit” system of categories. His *Production Novel* wouldn't have been published ten or five years earlier, for a great many reasons, for example because it incessantly pokes fun at censorship and censors, and of course his own self-censorship. However, the 80s marked a new era,¹¹ which will reach its prime with the 90s. Paradoxically, the most basic consequence of the elimination of censorship was literature's serious loss of significance. This had an equally profound impact on the reception history of Péter Esterházy's oeuvre as on that of Sándor Csoóri (the leader of those “thinking in terms of people and nation”) as staged by Sándor Radnóti („Ethnos and Demos”, 1992). They had been at their most coveted while they were forbidden fruit, but the “advent of freedom”, the regime change didn't justify its heroes: “just” as literary figures they turned out to be less interesting (as it was still the breach of political limits that attracted more attention).

The problem of ideology is, in fact, is examined in a lot more depth by narratives strictly excluding the immediate utterances of the author. E.g. Péter Hajnóczy's short stories and novels often feature as their main characters (more or less alterego-like) ordinary people, simple workmen stuck frustratingly on the lowest rung of the ladder of society, or even marginalised outcasts eking out an existence at the very edges of society on temporary jobs. This fact unavoidably induces a point of view critical of society and the political regime. But we get much more an unspoken, ironic and rock-solid critique of ideology

¹¹ The monthly journal *Mozgó Világ* (banned after years of publishing ever more oppositionist works) or the samizdat publishing house AB (banned immediately but working illegally) challenging the new „tolerated” / „prohibited” boundaries were only for the intellectuals prone to the dramatic; the agent that played much more important role in decomposing the socialist system was actually the extremely popular *Radio Cabaret* run by the state radio, the jokes of which was regularly pointed to the suggestion that socialism doesn't work. The 80s were totally different from the earlier period when the majority of Hungarians believed in and cooperated with the socialist system.

and lightly sketched but heavyweight ethical questions. In the story called *At the Dentist* the introspective monologue of the unkempt, anxiety-ridden main character with bad teeth who pays no social insurance reflects real drama, clashing with each other a variety of viewpoints from the most beautiful ideal principles of the socialist regime through the most worn platitudes of contemporary political opposition to self-critique and self-accusation. These can be resolved and absolved in just one way: if the dentist were understanding and compassionate. But the protagonist gets the opposite: the dentist is disdainful and condescending and pulls out his tooth with no sign of empathy or consideration. The story called *Commune* is even more severe. Here the main character is plotting at great length and with much anxiety how to pick up a woman, but then never gets down to it, but drops in to see one of his friends instead and explains to him with great self-confidence how simple it would be to realise their earlier plan concerning setting up a commune. Someone rings the doorbell, the friend leaves the room and the main character scans his bookshelf, and finally takes off a book and slips it into his bag. He tells the returning friend that he was about to leave, says hello and leaves. Another one of his stories, *The Stoker*, is an ingenious paraphrase of *Michael Kohlhaas* with the significant difference that while the main character of the original has his horses confiscated completely unfairly, in Hajnóczy's version the main character fights and fails in a rather ridiculous, insignificant cause, the withdrawal of the free protective milky drink provided for workers, while ravel more and more trying to prove his petty little truth. This ethical and psychological analysis enjoys higher respect not just in postmodern aesthetics than the ideologically loaded and serious critique of the political regime encountered in most works by Esterházy and in Endre Kukorelly's *Ruin* (2000, enlarged edition 2006). *A halál kilovagolt Perzsiából* (1979) is a good example of the self-analysis that serves individual and collective self-understanding much better than many a tour de force of biographically inspired prose, so prone to being apologetic.

Similarly, Gábor Németh's novel, *The Summer of a Dormouse* (2016), which is a typical face-to-face encounter of postmodern individualism with the depth and inescapability of today's global cultural, ethical and political problems, which is not direct¹² but relies more on the language of the narrative in its fragmented and microréalistic way. The novel is the account of a father to his son about his journeys across Europe, his experiences and thoughts. The handful of

¹² Even the fictitious narrator is split: "‘according to this’, a voice said in my head, ‘from now on, apparently, a father’s mission is not to teach his son the proper use of the fish knife, or the very important difference between the declination of -ik-verbs and -ikless verbs, or the dropped lob of a spinned backhand shot, but street fighting.’"

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

“small stories” recounted in great detail (“niggers” vs some Dutch vs the narrator in a tram stop in Amsterdam, Gypsies with thick golden chains around their necks vs the narrator at a resort at Lake Balaton, an Arab making trinkets out of the wiring of champagne bottle corks and selling them vs. the narrator at a square in Biarritz) have a recurrent pattern where the narrator, the intelligent and sensitive European *Kulturmensch* with an honest multiculturalism inevitably fails to harmonise the deeper cultural differences he encounters.

The slogans that remained empty

The critique of modernism

It was widespread throughout the 20th century (and already in Romanticism), but more typically in theoretical rather than literary postmodern. It claims that modernity is aggressively anthropocentric. It explores the laws of nature and society in order to control and dominate them. It considers both the natural and the social environment to be an unlimited resource. The industrial revolution and civilization brought about epic scale destruction in both nature and society, while meeting human needs at ever higher levels. (This is addressed more in theory and popular literature, e.g. in works by Vonnegut and Dick). Enlightenment itself is also brought under the fire of criticism. Habermas argued forcefully that the “project” of Enlightenment can’t come to an end, but is an ever renewing task.

Post-historic state

The distanced, historicising and reflected attitude to the traditions of modernity is rather obvious and follows quite logically from the “incredulity toward metanarratives”, that is all-encompassing world historic scenarios and interpretations. However, its fiction feature anything but a post-historic landscape. This was mainly represented by F. Fukuyama’s well-known and much-criticised *The End of History*, which claimed that with the end of the Cold War we reached “the end-point of mankind’s ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.” This cheap optimism, also found in cultural postmodern, is grossly denied by the fact that it was the postmodern that marked (though not brought about) the ubiquity of dystopian, post-apocalyptic visions of the future in literary and film narratives.

Some critical remarks

The “incredulity toward metanarratives”, as Rorty puts it, “scratches where it doesn’t itch”. It’s philosophically unwise, scientifically unjustifiable and literary nonsense. Pushing it dogmatically hinders the contemplation of great

correlations, which, however, would be an urgent must at this stage of the ever quickening and ever globalising cultural and technological evolution.

Looking back from this vantage point, the postmodern interpretation of historic and political trends was wrong. There was indeed a global shift at around 1980, but it meant that earlier it had been social democratic values that were dominant in both the West and the East,¹³ while afterwards it's corporatistic monopol-capitalism that's been dominant in most places,¹⁴ rather than "liberal democracy". The Cold War was won by the socialism of the West and even today it's only social democratic countries that are functioning well economically as well as in other respects. The system that puts particular interests above the interests of the whole might indeed be the end of history in that it threatens the very existence of human life.

The present and future of postmodern

Postmodern has been a lot less talked about in the past 20 years both in the East and the West than in the previous 20 years, during its heyday and the height of its popularity. Has it passed its sell-by date, has it burst, is it gone? The hype certainly has. Those who considered postmodern to be one of the (modernist) isms (rather than a state, a condition that is becoming ever more significant rather than fading into the background, like Lyotard opined) are nowadays talking about post-postmodern and other movements.¹⁵ – In a certain sense the era of the Enlightenment or Romanticism is over, but in another sense it's not. We would make no sense whatsoever of the world around us at the moment, were these all-encompassing cultural movements not very much alive, open, unfinished stories, "grand narratives" even today. Similar things can be said about the postmodern as well: it was too comprehensive, too significant in cultural history for us to be able to interpret our recent past and present without it. It can be a bridge between the past and the new millennium that has brought about unfathomably deep-running changes compared to all earlier cultures: people have become internet terminals spending 2-12 hours a day tapping at their laptops or smartphones and this time is almost exclusively taken from

¹³ All should have a minimum of welfare, a home, a job, schooling, healthcare, free time, savings, a TV and a car, the underprivileged should be supported, inequalities decreased, capitalism kept at bay, decisions democratised.

¹⁴ The intertwining of the judiciary, the executive and the legislative sphere has created hitherto unseen levels of income and wealth inequalities in the US, the regime changes of Eastern Europe has brought about an age of oligarchs again, there's neither free market race, no equality of opportunities.

¹⁵ While it's striking that the literary trends that follow postmodern refer not so much to new movements and -isms developing specific ways of creation and poetic techniques but certain topics (identity, ethnicity, etc.) or genres (fantasy) becoming trendy.

The Role of Intralingual Translation in the Legal Language

traditional activities, which have formed the basis of all our culture so far. Of all these it's literature and narrative is what has lost the least of its significance in shaping human culture.

(Translated by Júlia Károlyi)

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Outline of the Connections between the Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in 19th–20th c. Hungary¹

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Kulcsszavak: Christianity, Christian Churches, Anti-Semitism, Church-State relations, Church policy

Preliminaries

In the Christian Hungarian kingdom, there lived Israelites right from its foundation in the Middle Ages. From the 10th to the 16th centuries, the approach of the Roman Catholic Church to Jews was exactly equivalent to the trends observable in the other states of Europe. Although sporadically it happened that in certain periods, Jews were expelled from some towns but it was much more typical that primarily out of financial considerations, the Hungarian kings tolerated the presence of Jewish merchants in their kingdom. In the Middle Ages, (mainly through the intervention of the Pope) the Catholic Church tried to pressurise the king into diminishing the influence of the Jews manifested primarily in excluding them from the possibility of filling official positions and in ordering them to wear distinctive clothing, etc. However, in contrast to other regions of Europe, there were no really serious anti-Jewish pogroms in Hungary.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Hungarian state ceased to be a political unit as in consequence of the Turkish invasion, the country was torn into three parts. This meant that after the Turks were driven out of the country at the beginning of the 18th century, and the unified Kingdom of Hungary was restored, it was characterised much more than any other European state by a heterogeneity of religions. Although under the rule of the Habsburgs, the country was basically Catholic with the Catholic Church enjoying numerous privileges, there lived here a large number of Protestants (Calvinists and Lutherans) and, especially in the areas inhabited by the ethnic minorities, a great many (orthodox) Greek Catholics, as well. Among the former, there were a lot of noblemen, too. In this way, by the 18th century, an extremely stratified social structure had come into being from a religious aspect. From the viewpoint of the state,

¹ The main text of this paper was a presentation in a conference: 'Antisemitism in Hungary and Poland: Genealogies, Transitions, Practices, Impact' (University of London, 26 May 2010.)

The Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in Hungary

this involved the possibility of religious conflicts as well as that of religious tolerance.

18th century

At the end of the 17th century, it was in the interest of the Habsburgs, committed to the cause of Counter-Reformation, to slowly force the Jews living in the country to leave it and prevent their further influx, as it was laid down in the plan of the 'new establishment', elaborated by Lipót Kollonich, Archbishop of Esztergom. It was not only for religious reasons that the Catholic Church insisted on the ousting of the Jews but also because it wanted to increase the rate of the German ethnic minority in the newly unified country. However, in the period of the wars of liberation against the Turks, the Court badly needed suppliers (Jewish merchants) for the army.

In the first half of the 18th century, the Hungarian Catholic Church wanted to achieve the objectives that had been achieved with weapons in the age of Counter-Reformation, i.e. the ousting from public life of both Protestants and Jews, with political methods. The Hungarian Catholic state conception, created by the Jesuits, was summarised in the ideology of 'Regnum Marianum', the essence of which was the idea that Hungary was a country dedicated to the Virgin Mary and, therefore, non-Catholics were not an integral part of it. This ideology was primarily directed against the Protestants and the Jews. Under the rule of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), this ideology was still prevalent as it can be seen, for example, from the fact that it was in this period that Jews were obliged to pay 'tolerance tax'. Another incentive for this was that at this time, more and more East European Jews moved to and settled in the country.

In all this, the enlightened absolutism, the Josephinian regime of Emperor Joseph II (1780-1791) brought fundamental changes. Starting from the principles of the unity of the Habsburg Empire and usefulness for the state, the emperor wanted to curtail the privileges of the Catholic Church and, at the same time, show tolerance towards his non-Catholic subjects. The measures detrimental to the Catholic Church (for example, the dissolution of religious orders and hindering bishops' keeping contact with Rome) were parallel with the provision of Protestants' rights (1781, decree on tolerance) and the easement of the settling down and life conditions of Jews (1783, decree on Jews). Although at the death of the emperor, the Josephinian regime fell apart, the session of the Hungarian Parliament, called in 1790, codified these rights in legal statutes in spite of the protest of the Catholic Church. This way, at the end of the 18th century, the defence of the feudal privileges of the Catholic Church was linked to the rejection of both freedom of religion and equal status of religions.

1790-1849

The period of the 1830s and 1840s is called Reform Age in Hungarian historiography in consideration of the fact that the Liberal opposition, appearing at this time, wanted to transform the existing social and political system through legislation in the feudal Parliament. Hungarian liberalism was based on the ideas of the enlightenment but had several special features, too. (For example, it was primarily noblemen who fought for the emancipation of serfs and the general and proportionate sharing of taxation, etc.) It is important that the Hungarian Liberals of the period were not divided by religious differences: there were both Catholic and Protestant noblemen among those who identified themselves with the principles of the separation of church and state and freedom of religion so the programme of bourgeois development did not appear as a conflict between religious groups but as a conflict between the Liberal opposition and the imperial Conservatism represented by the Viennese court and, in the first place, by Chancellor Metternich.

The Hungarian Liberals (including Lajos Kossuth, Ferenc Deák and József Eötvös) argued for the passing of such laws which would guarantee both freedom of religion for the individual and the equality of religions. It followed from this programme of equality that they supported the extension of civil rights to the Jewish community, as well. On the other hand, the Catholic Church (particularly, the episcopate) was interested in the maintenance of the feudal system primarily in consideration of its numerous political privileges. This way, the Conservatives, intending to keep up status quo, entered into alliance with the Catholic Church, with an important shared principle being the rejection of the fight for the emancipation of the Jews. Following heated debates, the Parliament, holding its session in 1839 and 1840, passed an act on the Jews, giving permission for their free movement and settlement and their pursuit of commercial activities and handicraft trade, etc. The prominent Liberal representatives (for example, József Eötvös) argued that ‘every man was born with the right to live freely’ therefore it was unacceptable to suppress any ethnic or religious minorities as this had led to the stigmatisation of the Jews as a ‘guilty nation’. In contrast to this, the Catholic episcopate took the standpoint that the granting of civil rights to the Jews was against the interests of Christianity and beyond the religious differences, treated the Jews as an immoral group, alien to the Hungarian nation.

Therefore, it is important to note that the anti-Semitism of the Catholic Church in the first half of the 19th century did not primarily rely on the anti-Judeistic views of the Middle Ages. Jews were no more basically stigmatised and rejected as ‘the murderers of Christ’ although such beliefs definitely survived among the rural population. It was rather the case that the emancipation of the

The Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in Hungary

Jews questioned the basic principles of the feudal establishment which the Catholic Church was an integral part of. By necessity, the bourgeois transformation of society involved, among others, the implementation of civil rights of freedom (freedom of religion, equality before the law) on the one hand, and the elimination of the privileges of the Catholic Church on the other. Therefore, the demand for the emancipation of the Jews and the support of their integration into society were naturally incorporated into the political programme of the Liberal opposition while the Catholic Church could increasingly rely in the defence of its interests on the Viennese court and the Conservative Hungarian noblemen attached to it. It is likewise important to mention that in the 1840s, both the Calvinist and Lutheran Churches were suspicious of the Liberal opposition so the rejection of the idea of emancipation was typical among them, as well.

Although during the parliamentary session in 1843-44, no act was passed on the Jews' right of vote, it became more and more evident that a real bourgeois transformation of society could not be imagined without granting political rights to Jews. Parallel with this process, the Magyarization, that is, a change in lifestyle manifested in use of language, way of dressing and a looser adherence to religious rules, of the Jews having settled in the country sped up. In spite of this, Catholic and Conservative circles remained suspicious of the issue of emancipation. The Catholic Church considered the steps taken by the Liberals towards freedom of religion anticlericalism, and the idea identifying the Jewish community with 'alien' Liberalism and the suggestion that there was an underlying worldwide conspiracy against the Catholic Church behind their bills arose as early as this time. For example, in 1847, they indignantly protested against the curtailment of the privileges of the Catholic Church especially because the Liberals wanted to grant rights to the 'children of Israel, alien in blood, language and religion'. [translation by myself]

In spring 1848, there were revolutionary changes and a constitutional turning-point aimed at the elimination of the 'old system' in Hungary, which in the autumn of the same year, led to a war of self-defence (war of liberty) against the Viennese court. The Catholic Church accepted the abolition of the church tithe, the new act on the practice of worship, etc unwillingly and with adverse feelings. The Liberals made an attempt to elaborate the act guaranteeing the rights of the Jews but had to give it up because of the expectable social resistance and the interests of the war of liberty. (At this time, there were sporadic anti-Jewish outbreaks in towns but with little religious aspect.) In his notes on the session of Parliament, one of the Catholic prelates (Mihály Rimely, arch-abbot of Pannonhalma monastery) qualified the idea of making Christians and Jews equal as being an initiative contrary to 'common sense'. During the revolution and war of liberty, the views shared by some Catholic priests may

have been corroborated that bourgeois transformation is ‘something Jewish’ as the governing Liberals consistently supported the principles of the equality of religious communities and the separation of the state and the Catholic Church. (At the same time, the war of liberty was primarily a national cause, where religious considerations were pushed to the background, with a lot of Catholic priests supporting the Hungarian side. It is revealing, however, that from the beginning of 1849, the prelacy kept out of it. The Jews supported the fight of the Hungarians, and it was due to this, too, that in July 1849, just a few days before military defeat, the Hungarian Parliament passed a progressive act on emancipation.)

1849-1918

In consequence of the compromise with the Viennese court in 1867, the process of bourgeois development sped up in Hungary. For the Jewish community, this period was an age of integration into society. After 1867, the legal statutes guaranteeing this process were passed, and significant Jewish groups appeared in the spheres of economy and culture. This way, the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was rather an age of success for them while the old classes dominant before 1848 (the lower nobility, the landed gentry and the Catholic clergy) increasingly felt to be losing with the ‘new times’.

These conditions gave rise to the first significant appearance of political anti-Semitism at the end of the 1870s and at the beginning of the 1880s. The peak of all this was the Tiszaeszlár trial for murder for religious causes in 1883. This revival of the superstitious anti-Jewish sentiments of the Middle Ages in itself indicated that religion-based anti-Semitism (anti-Judaism) was a living tradition among the lower social classes. For the purposes of this paper, the most important element is that the supporters of anti-Semitism becoming active in connection with the trial (and founding an independent political party later) did not only come from the social groups jealous of the Jewish community – but they considerably relied on the lower Catholic clergy, too. The latter gave considerable support to the radical anticapitalist and antiliberal movement among the ideologists and leading personalities of which there were representatives of the church, too. For example, Ignác Zimándy, Catholic priest and later Member of Parliament, was among the authors of an ‘anti-Semitic catechism’ written in 1884. He saw anti-Semitism as ‘the self-defensive struggle of Christianity against Jewish power’ and presented it as the common task of Christian society.

All this gained large dimensions in the 1890s, when the Hungarian Parliament completed the Liberal legislation of the former years. The acts on mandatory civil marriage, the maintenance of registries by the state and free worship

The Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in Hungary

were supplemented with the Act of 1895 on the declaration of the Israelite religion to be one of the accepted religious faiths. In this, the Jews were not only granted the full range of equal civil rights individually but the Israelite denomination was also made equal with the historical Christian churches. According to the opinion of the Catholic episcopate, with this act 'Hungary ceased to be a Christian state', and contributed to it that the first party of political Catholicism, called *Néppárt* was founded in the rejection of other acts on church policy. In the Catholic viewpoint, legislation was hostile to their church and at the same time, favoured the Jews. This idea deepened both the Catholic criticism of liberalism and their anti-Jewish sentiments. At the turn of the century, several articles were published and speeches made proving that the attitude of the Catholic Church was primarily motivated by an ideology of anti-modernism, manifesting itself in anticapitalism and anti-Semitism. In his famous article written in 1893, Ottokár Prohászka, the influential bishop of later times, already elaborated the idea in detail that there was the moral Christian society on one side and opposing it, the immoral Jews, the embodiment of everything that is bad, and interpreted public life as conflict between these two sides. As early as then, Prohászka's fundamental principle was that the assimilation of the Jews was unsuccessful because Hungarians were by nature a Christian nation which could not and should not assimilate these 'aliens' who were slowly destroying the vitality of the Christian society through secret channels. At the same time, Prohászka maintained the opportunity of Jews' becoming Christians and thought that after their conversion to Christianity, the Jews could be integrated – thus he basically emphasized the fundamental identity of nation and religion.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Catholic Church gave its – at least tacit – support to the anti-Semitic student movements cropping up then and culminating in physical insults against Jewish students at some universities.

The losses of World War I deepened anti-Jewish sentiments in society considerably, in which process church propaganda also had its share.

1918-1945

The Hungarian history of the period between the two world wars started with a democratic bourgeois revolution followed by Communist totalitarian rule, and then, after the defeat of the latter, Miklós Horthy was elected governor of the country. The defeat in World War I, the loss of the territories of 'Greater Hungary' and the loss of the status of being a major power in the region increasingly led to a search for 'who were to blame' in public opinion. Several politicians providing the ideology of the Horthy period (including Ottokár Prohászka, mentioned above) thought that the tragedy of the country was due to Liberal legislation and tolerance towards the Jews, who were seen as incapable of

assimilation and hostile to the Hungarian nation. (The latter idea was confirmed by the fact that a significant number of the leaders of the Communist regime in 1919 were of Jewish descent.)

Several debates are going on concerning the character of the Horthy regime between the two world wars. Probably, the best definition is to call it an 'authoritarian regime' as there was restricted multi-party parliamentarism and the governing party could not be replaced, etc. The regime was from the beginning penetrated by the 'Christian national' ideology developed at the beginning of the 1920s. Rejecting former Liberal legislative practice, the essence of this ideology was the identification of the historical Christian churches with the Hungarian nation saying that only what was represented by these churches could be good for the nation so in this era, the state and the church were again interwoven. It is an important feature that with respect to the relation to power, the former difference between Protestants and Catholics disappeared. The Roman Catholic Church became the largest denomination in Hungary but Calvinists and Lutherans shared its views about the operation of the state and government, too. The eucharistic world congress held in Budapest in 1938 was not only a large scale religious event but also a demonstration of the cooperation between state and church.

From the very beginning, anti-Semitism formed an integral part of 'Christian national' ideology. At this time, too, its motives were political, so we are no more concerned with religious but not yet with racial anti-Jewish ideas. It was found that Jewish people had 'too much influence' in public life and in certain professions so the objective was set to 're-occupy' these. Anti-Semitism was interpreted as the 'self-defence of the Hungarian nation' against Jewish capitalists and Jewish influence penetrating immoral and harmful political movements. Several church publications were written about the Jews' 'plans to acquire world power'. In 1920, the Hungarian Parliament was among the first in Europe to pass an anti-Jewish act ('*numerus clausus*'), in which a prominent role was played by the Catholic Church and particularly, by Ottokár Prohászka, who argued that assimilation was unsuccessful because the Jews took an unfair advantage of the trust of the Hungarian nation and therefore, their rights – just like those of any other immigrants – must be curtailed. He indicated that the solution to the Jewish problem lay in the expellation of the Jews from public life, which was by no means identical with the later Nazi programme of physical destruction as Prohászka found the Jews becoming Christians to be the most suitable solution and, if the Jews themselves did not want to use this option, he even approved of Zionism.

Between 1920 and 1944, the Horthy regime was completely penetrated by anti-Semitism. Due to the interweaving of the Christian churches and the state,

The Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in Hungary

these churches became representatives of this moderate anti-Jewish ideology based on moral and religious considerations, and played a significant role in turning the whole of the society and public opinion into this direction. From the beginning of the 1930s, in contrast to the situation in Germany, extreme right radicalism indicated Christianity as the source of its ideology so in this respect, there was no difference between the Horthy administration and Hungarian National Socialists (Fascists). At the time of the advance of the extreme right, the Hungarian churches firmly rejected both German racial ideology and the pagan, occult formalities of Nazism at both high and low levels of the clergy. At the same time, they regarded Bolshevism as the arch-enemy considering the extreme right the 'lesser evil'. (This exactly corresponded to the viewpoint of the Papal State.) Furthermore, the rejection of racial Nazism did not mean the rejection of anti-Semitism. In 1938, a bishop formulated it like this: 'as long as the Hungarian ultras worship Christ, go to church, confess and make sacrifice, and remain believers, we have no objections to them and will not fight against them.' [translation by myself]

In 1938 and 1939, the Hungarian Parliament passed two acts on Jews considerably curtailing their rights. In the Upper House, the prelates of the Christian churches supported these acts, and characteristically, it was not the church elite but lay Christian writers, scholars and artists who protested against them in public. From among the later anti-Jewish bills, there were some that the prelates rejected, for example, the third act of 1941 on the Jews, but they basically did this to protect christened Jews.

In addition, it is important that the airing of anti-Jewish views became much more widespread among the lower clergy (in both Catholic and Protestant circles), which created favourable conditions for the setting up of extreme right organisations in the provinces. If you read contemporary church publications, you can see that they mainly dealt with the solution to the 'Jewish problem' with a prejudiced, exclusive attitude so it can be safely inferred that whatever was published in local congregational publications was preached from the pulpit, too. At the same time, the Christian churches viewed the occupation of the country by the Germans in March 1944 with suspicion and rejection. The Horthy administration, however, remained in power for several months, which made it possible to move more than 400,000 Jews to ghettos first and then facilitated their deportation. Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran prelates initiated protests against this several times but mainly because there were also christened Jews among those deported. A typical example of the 'double-faced discourse' applied by Christian churches was the encyclical letter of the Catholic episcopacy circulated at the beginning of July 1944 (after the deportation of Jews from the provinces). (In addition, the circulation of the letter

was stopped by the government.) In it, the horrors of the war and poverty were condemned in a general way, underlining the social commitment of the Catholic Church, and it was declared, also in general, that no-one might be deprived of their innate rights and freedom. It was emphasized several times that the primary aim was to say something in the defence of christened Jews with the whole of the Jewish community being specifically mentioned in only a few places, and even then, giving way to the anti-Semitic commonplaces characteristic of public opinion in the era. ('We do not doubt that some members of the Jewish community have exerted a harmfully disintegrating influence on Hungarian economic, social and moral life. It is also a fact that the rest of the community have not stood up against them in this respect. We do not doubt that the Jewish problem should be solved in a lawful and just manner etc.' [translation by myself]). Even those who could read this letter at all could hardly interpret it as a sharp rejection of deportations and as a call for resistance against them. Naturally, all this does not diminish the merits of those clergymen who played an active part in the hiding and rescuing of Jewish people, especially in the period of extreme right dictatorship seizing power in October 1944.

After 1945

The issue of the relation of Christian churches and anti-Semitism did not appear in public opinion after 1945 as the totalitarian regime emerging from 1949 suppressed any related public discourse and generally oppressed and harrassed every kind of church. At the time of the change of political system in 1989, extreme right movements reappeared in public life. In October 1989, the leaders of the Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran churches and other Christian denominations made a joint declaration, in which they firmly set the following principles concerning democracy: 'Those who would like to apply the practice of intolerance, hatred or even anti-Semitism, having such tragic historical reminiscences, in politics, religion or towards ethnic minorities will be firmly rejected by the Hungarian churches, denominations and religious communities alike.' [translation by myself] Despite this, it has become increasingly common to hear or read anti-Semitic views from clergymen undertaking a public role since the 1990s.

Translated by Judit Szabóné Papp

The Christian Churches and the Anti-Semitism in Hungary

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The Ethical Problem of Choice in Small and Large Communities

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Hereunder, I try to show, what roles an individual's choice plays in the traditional notion of social contract, that is, how certain thinkers approach and explain the fact, that the co-operant individuals choose the rules of their private alliances by free-will, and then, they undertake them voluntarily.

But first of all, I would like to see into the concept of "social theory", searching for its general meanings. In the beginning, we can define society, as Rawls did. According to him, it is a more or less self-sustaining unity, in which the individuals, in their relations towards each other, consider certain behavioural rules obligatory and consequently obey them. The main question, however, arrives from the direction of the legitimacy of the all-time power: what makes it possible, that the members of a society quite often act out of accordance their supposed or real interests, and obey the rules supervised by the power, id est what preludes or preconditions do social order have?

One of the possible answers for this question is the concept of social contract: for the advantages of the institutional operation of the community, the individuals, keeping the concept of equality in their minds, lay down the realization of their free will, and eventually abdicate the entireness of their freedom. Thus, the social contract as such, has two parts. One of them is the initial state, which is often regarded, as natural state as well; this is the nascent situation of choice, which derives form this early phase. The other one is the group of those potential rules and principals, from which the contracting partners choose the most suitable ones for the working of their community and for the definition of their place in it. We can see, that choice is a decisive element of both parts. But there is a difference between these two kinds of choice. In the first case, natural state and contracted state are the options which they have to choose from, and in the second one – beyond the choice of the contract alternative – they have to opt between the possible rules of the contract.

As their approach to the problem is concerned, the theories of social order and social contract can be divided into two groups: namely conflict orientated,

The Ethical Problem of Choice in Small and Large Communities

and consensual theories. The conflict orientated theory is based on the notion, that for the antagonism of the interests, there are certain necessary, inevitable clashes between the individuals and the groups of the society. For that reason, the only assurance for the maintenance of social order can be achieved, if one of the parties – or perhaps a third party, an outsider – put the others under control.

On the other hand, consensus orientated theories claim, that the key of social order is not else, but the agreement in certain values and goals by the members of society. It means an abiding and immovable system of norms, which is absolutely hole proof from the point of the different interests. It is a common interest for all the individuals to act according to a “general will”, hence there is no need to apply any kind of force.

What does the problem of choice mean? Some theories of social contract assume, that the individuals of society form the rules of peaceful coexistence collectively, consequently, they can choose from the possible rules. But what are the factors, that motivate this choice, and what can guarantee, that this choice is the best possible one of all, provided, that this is considered to be a basic requirement? Furthermore, what kind of extra problems does it state, if the ethical dimension gets a crucial part in the creation of the judicial regulation, which is essential for the working of an ideal state?

In connection with the problem of the possibility of rational foundation of judicial norms, Karl-Otto Apel draws attention to the probability, that for example the mafia might also follow the expectable rational process of consensus creation, in a case for example, where the co-operative antipodes’ main purpose is to fulfil a successful drug transaction, without any disturbances. *Id est*, fighting with others is not always the best way to enforce our interests – as for example Hobbes and Rousseau also claim that – co-operation is often a much more advantageous way to do it. A further objection can be the clearly rational consensus making as Kant explains it, since according to Apel a person who think rationally, never – not even at the time of making the contract – can count on the fact, that his antipode follows “the categorical imperative”, and for instance the person will not tell lies to a potential murderer about the victim the criminal just searches for. Thus, from the ethical point of view, the norm-consensus reached by the people involved, is not a satisfactory model, so it is not a sufficient condition for the operation of the rightful state. From all of these, we can conclude, that the ethical fundament of a society cannot be explained in the way, most social contract theory suggests, that is, with the help of rational choice, when all persons’ interests can be taken into consideration, in the highest degree.

An unvendable elaboration of the question of choice is given by J. M. Buchanan, who studies the modifications of individuals' choice between different ethical rules depending on the ethical choice made by persons around the individual, with special emphasis on the size of the community. Scilicet, an important question of the theory of social contract is the character and the number of the contractants, not to mention the question of the impact made by the surrounding people, which occasionally – as Hobbes also claims that – might cause force as well. Buchanan's theses provide useful standing-points in this respect too.

According to Buchanan, an individual – and this is a special feature of his behaviour – can choose from two characteristically different ways. One of them is a rule, which is called moral law by the classical ethics. The core of it is, that alike the Kantian model, it approaches all human activities towards the general, so it claims, that the maxim of any activity – through the actor's will – could become a general law. The other way would be the principal of privacy, which in all possible situation, surrounded by the actual circumstances, would be the most advantageous for the given individual. The two roads not necessarily lead to different directions, that is, in a given case, the pursuance of both principals might make the individual act in the same way – as it was noted by Apel as well – so the choice we discuss now, in fact is not the choice between *moral* and *amoral*, but a choice between the previously stated ethical rules.

As the possible orderliness of the world is concerned, Buchanan assumes, that there is an order, which is acceptable for most people. In this respect, the order here, means the relationship between the choice of the individual and the choice of other members of the society. According to this order, it is the bottom, for each person, to where he places the worst possible world, where everybody follows the privacy principal except for the person in question. In this world the person who sticks confirmedly to moral law will be exploited, deceived and trodden down by the others. We can imagine this constellation on the contrary as well. Let us assume, that there is the best possible world, where each individual acts according to the general moral law, except for our man, who, in this way, can delude and exploit his fellow-beings. Between these two conceivable extremes, Buchanan distinguishes four more possible worlds by the help of a simple mathematical formula, and he also ranges them according to the above mentioned principles. Although it is not written too much about, social compact theories usually make it possible for the contractant person to set this order for himself, and if he is allowed to make decisions individually, he can draw the lesson and employ it in the process of decision making.

At the same time, Buchanan assumes, that the basic aim of each individual is to enjoy as high degree of freedom as possible and to expose himself to the

The Ethical Problem of Choice in Small and Large Communities

less potential danger in his life. Everybody wants to achieve the best world for him, which could be done only at the expense of the others. But, as the individuals realize, that if all people lived at the highest degree of freedom and acted according to his private principals, they could live in a world, which is just slightly better than the worst possible one, consequently their safety would reduce to the minimum. Nevertheless, all people can do whatever they want, thus they are inclined to compromise, which means that they partly give up their privacy principals.

Buchanan claims, that the rate of giving up privacy principals is mainly influenced by the number of the collective actors. The two factors are in inverse proportion: the bigger the number is, the less they are inclined to give up their privacy principals. The question is: what can be the reason of that.

The principal says, that people most likely put their private principals to the forefront, if they think, that their deeds have no- or little impact on the general moral law, and this is most typical in case of a large number of them. In a small community, for example in a family, one person or the other has real impact on the norms formed in the community. If all members of a family have to sit around the table each Sunday at noon, and there is no excuse for staying away, then, in this family presence is a moral law, which nobody dares to offend, because it would raise the anger of the family members. Still, if someone should be absent, and this person misses to appear on the following week, and a week after too, than, an other member of this family could stay away, offending the norm much less than the first one, who influenced the norm with his action, namely he let it loosen. Of course, the first violator has to take account of the possibility, that his action might respond to the situation, for example he will not be laid a knife and fork, even if he later, decently appears at the lunch table. Accordingly, we can realize here, that with the above mentioned "violation of the law" he gains freedom, but at the same time, he loses part of his security as well. In case of a larger number of people, this proportion is more advantageous for the individual. In a community of ten million people for instance, following his privacy principal, which means to disobey the duty of paying taxes, causes much more good, than harm for him by decreasing the level of the community's and consequently his financial security, for this reason, he will be ready to disregard the rules.

Nevertheless, Buchanan has a serious argument for defending social order: the violator does not act with a clean conscience. He cannot be totally satisfied, because, despite he knows, that his deeds effectively do not change the state of the community, he would encounter the possibility that everybody might have the same way of thinking – as Buchanan refers to it – denying the Kantian categorical imperative, and in this way, a world comes into being, in

which each man rejects moral law as a principal, and attempts to exploit the others. Buchanan calls this phenomenon “the dilemma of large number of people”. Each person lets his own action principal be loosening, just at the same level as he assumes this from the others, but that level should be certain, because his feeling of security requires it. Everybody tries to evade the burden of moral law, which restricts personal freedom. As a “passenger without a ticket”, everybody tries to be present at the distribution of community goods, in a way that he does not intend to give his due to the community, but he expects to have what all the other members – or his particular group of people – are given. (The typical sponge thinks, that he does not have to pay taxes, but he expects to use the roads built from the money of taxpayers.) I have to mention – as Buchanan also adds – that, the person, who refuses moral law is not aware of the fact, that he does harm to the other members of the society, and not to the state, which he considers to be far away from him. He does not know, that society consists of the other people, and of him of course, and it is not a far away, abstract concept.

Furthermore, I also have to remark, that being a sponge is characteristic in large groups, and that is the feature of social theory itself. The cause of it is, that in a small community, in a family for example the violator of the moral law will realize automatically, how he affects – by his action – the other members, and consequently the stability of the family. He understands, that in case of not giving his salary for example into the collective pay-box, then the others will have less money, they will live in worse conditions, and that perceivable change reflects back on him immediately. On the other hand, in a large community, if the violator of law does not pay up his contribution to the society, the collective wealth of the people remains practically the same, or at least this default does much less harm, than the quasi loss of the paid in money. This way, in the above mentioned community the concept of justice becomes quite relative, excluding the automatic predominance of ethical dimension.

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The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability

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1. Introduction, problem statement

For a long time prematurity has been considered a serious risk factor for the outcome of development, especially in speech and language. However, there are a number of other factors that lead to risks, for example the social environment, SES, maternal education, peri- and postnatal medical and neurological complications, strokes, sepsis, meningitis and PDA. The type and the severity of the complications influence the developmental output in different ways. Among preterm infants one of the most common medical complications is BPD, which presents a biological risk.¹

In our country 8–10 percent of live births are preterm births. This statistic is considered to be high in Western countries, as in Western and Northern Europe this proportion accounts for 4%. The problem continues to be endemic in Hungary. (www.koraszulottlap.hu).

In 2010 nearly 15 million children were born before the 37th week of gestation, which means every 9th child. The number of premature births is increasing worldwide. According to data published by the WHO this was 8.6 % in Hungary in 2010, which increased on average by 0.5 % per year between 1990 and 2010. In Hungary every 10th child is born prematurely.

Modern preterm intensive care, the standards of which Hungary reached in the 1970's, has significantly reduced the risk of brain damage. In premature infants' departments, the equipment, the levels of professional experience and expertise and the application of the latest techniques have raised the quality of care to a higher level. The development of neonatal intensive care has radically changed the life expectancy of low-birth-weight preterm infants. There has been a significant improvement in the incidence of perinatal morbidity and mortality due to the following factors: improving prenatal care, more humane

¹ KATONA Ferenc, „Az öntudat újraébredése”. *A humán idegrendszer ontogenesise*, (Budapest: Medicina Könyvkiadó, 2001)

The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability

delivery procedures, adequate cardiopulmonary resuscitation, adequate transportation, up-to-date monitoring of the physiological parameters, the routine use of surfactant therapy, modern ventilation modes, the introduction of new types of the premature paediatric surgical and cardiac surgical techniques, adequate post-operative care and suitable enteral and parenteral feeding as well as the so-called „minimal handling” principle applied in the care of premature infants. The high level of intensive care results mostly in quality survival.²

2. The theoretical framework of the research

In the life of preterm children, their development is subject to biological risk, which naturally fills the parents with fear and concern for the further development and future of the child. However, perinatal biological data does not clearly predict the quality of long-term development. In addition to the gestational age, low birth weight is also an important determining factor in respect to future development. The subsequent development of preterm infants and assumptions about their school performance can only be drawn roughly, if we categorize the group properly. The population of preterm children is very heterogeneous. It is not only their birth weight (280 – 2,500 g) that has a significant effect, but also the length of the gestation period and the quality of intra-uterine growth.³

Regarding their mental development and the evolution of their intelligence we find highly controversial data in the professional literature. There are studies that have reported varying degrees of damaged intellects in preterm children, compared to groups of term born children, while other research has shown no significant difference between the two populations.⁴ The shorter gestation period definitely defines their future development and affects their school-performance and their intelligence. Preterm birth carries an increased risk in terms of subsequent development. Risk-factors (biological or environmental effects) increase the chance that development would occur in different ways. However, the risk factors may have different effects, so we must reckon with numerous modifying circumstances, and therefore it is more appropriate to perform the tests at several different ages.⁵

² *Ibid.*

³ BEKE Anna és FEHÉRNÉ SZEKSZÁRDI Mária és CSIKY Erzsébet és KUCSERÁNÉ GRÁF Rózsa és NÉMETH Tünde és SZABÓ Gyné, „Az igen kis súlyú újszülöttek életkilátásai”, *Ideggyógyászati Szemle*; 50(1997) 11–12. sz. 376–384.

⁴ KALMÁR Magda, *Az intelligencia alakulásának előrejelezhetősége és váratlan fordulatai. Rizikómentesen született, valamint koraszülött gyerekek követésének tanulságai*, (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2007)

⁵ Betty N. GORDON and Kenneth G. JENS, „A conceptual model for tracking high-risk infants and making early service decisions”, *Journal of Behavioral and Developmental Pediatrics*, 9(1988) Nr. 5. 279–286.

The majority of studies dealing with premature children refer to their lower cognitive abilities.⁶ About the differences in the age distribution and about catching up opportunities we do not have much information available. Preterm infants are usually measured by a lower intelligence quotient⁷ and they show lower level visual-motor skills and executive functioning,⁸ as well as a high incidence of learning disabilities.⁹ The lower IQ may be associated with low-level information processing processes manifested from an early age. The performance of the memory is the function of the hippocampus, which is extremely sensitive to hypoxic-ischemic brain injuries. This injury often appears with preterm infants, due to which the hippocampus may be smaller, and this may result in poorer memory performance. The difference in processing speed between detected and non-detected white matter injury may be related, resulting in a reduction of the mass of the white matter, which forms the structural basis of the flow of information. Prematurity can also be perceived as a pervasive cognitive disorder, involving cognitive skills deficit and resulting in a lower IQ.¹⁰

Even in case of seemingly unproblematic development very low birth weight preterm children may be at an increased risk regarding the development of executive function deficits, which are mainly manifested in the area of inhibition, working memory, cognitive flexibility and change.¹¹

How long we have to calculate the effect of premature birth is an unclear question. Some longitudinal studies have reported that while in childhood preterm infants experienced a significant disadvantage, at the age of 19 this is significantly reduced, and the level of academic performance was not significantly

⁶ Hudson Gerry TAYLOR and Nancy K. KLEIN and Maureen HACK, „School-age consequences of birth weight less than 750 g: A review and update”, *Developmental Neuropsychology*, 17(2000) Nr. 3. 289–321.

⁷ Glen P. AYLWARD, „Cognitive and neuropsychological outcomes: More than IQ scores”, *Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities. Research Reviews*, 8(2002) Nr. 4. 234–240.; KALMÁR, *Az intelligencia alakulásának előrejelezhetősége, op.cit.*; Susan A. ROSE and Judith F. FELDMAN and Jeffery J. JANKOWSKI and Ronan VAN ROSEM, „A cognitive cascade in infancy: Pathways from prematurity to later mental development”, *Intelligence*, 36(2008) Nr. 4. 367–378.

⁸ Susan A. ROSE and Judith F. FELDMAN and Jeffery J. JANKOWSKI and Ronan VAN ROSEM, „Basic information processing abilities at 11 years account for deficit in IQ”, *Intelligence* 39(2011) Nr. 4. 198–209.

⁹ Sarol SAIGAL and Lorrain A. HOULT and David A. STREINER and Barbara L. STOSKOPF and Peter L. ROSENBAUM, „School difficulties in adolescence in a regional cohort of children who were extremely low birth weight”, *Pediatrics*, 105(2000) Nr. 2. 325–331.

¹⁰ ROSE et al., *Basic information processing, op.cit.*

¹¹ Tzu Lo NI and Chao Ching HUANG and Nai Wen GUO, „Executive function deficit in preschool children born very low birth weight with normal early development”, *Early Human Development*, 87(2011) Nr. 2. 137–141.

The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability

different from the control group. This reflects the convergence of the premature infants.¹²

However, other research studies have indicated that for preterm infants disadvantages are observable for a long time, and they may possibly increase with the increase in age.¹³ Some studies concerning the time of entering school have observed development gaps or lags which have not been calculated on the basis of previous investigations.¹⁴

The age-development output relationship can be applicable with the help of the “moving-risk” model of Gordon and Jens.¹⁵ The disappearance of a problem at a certain age does not mean that the injury, which is not independent from the state that had occurred, does not occur again later. These conditions replace each other constantly. In the case of resilience (with appropriate adaptation, despite the adverse environment) we cannot be sure that in the future the state will be similar.¹⁶

An increasing number of longitudinal follow-up research studies have addressed the issue of low-birth-weight preterm children with learning difficulties who have problems with the acquisition of the material to be learned.¹⁷ It is most likely that they will have learning disabilities, the curriculum will be more difficult for them and school performance is frequently lower compared to their term born peers. The education system is responsible for providing this ever growing number of children with appropriate education. The survival rate of low-birth-weight preterm infants is gradually increasing worldwide, but the number of conditions associated with the loss of performance is stagnating. In early childhood there is mainly a cognitive and a visual-motor deficit as well as a lack of language development, besides which behavioural and learning problems also appear. Among preterm boys reading and counting deficits appear more frequently than among those born full term.¹⁸

¹² Eva TIDERMAN, „Longitudinal follow-up of children born preterm: Cognitive development at age 19”, *Early Human Development*, 58(2000) Nr. 2. 81–90.

¹³ AYLWARD, *Cognitive and neuropsychological outcomes*, op.cit.; KALMÁR, *Az intelligencia alakulásának előrejelezhetősége*, op.cit.; SAIGAL et. al., *School difficulties in adolescence*, op.cit.

¹⁴ Sarale E. COHEN and Leila BECKWITH and Arthur H. PARMELEE and Marian SIGMAN and Robert ASARNOW and Michael P. ESPINOSA, „Prediction of low and normal school achievement in early adolescents born preterm”, *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 16(1996) Nr. 1. 46–70.

¹⁵ GORDON and JENS, *A conceptual model for tracking*, op.cit.

¹⁶ Michael L. RUTTER, „Resilience, competence, and coping”, *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 31(2007) Nr. 3. 205–209.

¹⁷ Naomi BRESLAU and Elisabeth O. JOHNSON and Victoria C. LUCIA, „Academic achievement of low birthweight children at age 11: the role of cognitive abilities at school entry”, *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 29(2001) Nr. 4. 273–279.

¹⁸ BRESLAU et al., *Academic achievement*, op.cit.

3. The objectives of the research

In my research I seek to examine the empirical findings that several international research teams have outlaid, namely that preterm children have more difficulty in school education than term born children. The majority of preterm children have some degree of disability, such as movement, cognitive, behavioural or emotional control or integration disorders, the exact origins of which are still not totally known. My aim is to examine whether the preterm children in my sample underperform in reading and spelling in primary school. A number of questions arise. Do they lag behind significantly in these areas in comparison to term born children? Is their underperformance comparable to dyslexic children? Are there any differences in the early development of very low birth weight premature children that may be related to later school success and problems in academic achievement? Does a neonatal disorder (BPD) additionally associated with premature birth, which makes it difficult to adapt to extra-uterine life, have a negative impact on early development? May this form the basis for the performance deficits that appear among school-age children? As a preventative measure, is it absolutely necessary to perform early intervention for very low-risk and very low birth-weight preterm infants with negative neurological status? I have tried to approach these issues from two different directions, one being an analysis of early development, while the other analyses and compares the intelligence structure, reading and writing performance and non-verbal working memory of school-age children who were born preterm. I have analysed the development indicators of the following two groups of preterm infants: 1. low-risk preterm children born with a very low birth weight of below 1500 g, and a negative neurological status; and 2. preterm children with BPD born weighing less than 1500 grams, with a negative neurological status. In the second part of the research the intelligence structure, reading and spelling performance of low-risk school-age children who had a very low birth-weight of less than 1500 g and who have a negative neurological status was compared to term born dyslexic children (Test II.)

I have been looking for an answer as to how poor academic performance, which is often mentioned in professional literature and the difficulties of acquiring the curriculum, can depend on the factors analysed in the study.

4. Research questions and hypothesis

4.1. I have assumed that in the light of development standards the development of premature children in infancy will be slower. It is feasible that BPD renders the risk of development more severe. The question arises as to whether the

The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability

degree of delay changes over time, and if the child's gender affects the pace of development.

4.2. It is likely that the following impacts of preterm birth are still detectable in school age:

- The intellectual development of premature infants is hampered compared to their term born peers.
- The intelligence profile of premature children is distinct, in that they might have a disadvantage primarily in visual information processing, as well as in the field of language development.
- Premature children tend to underperform in terms of reading and writing.

A further question arises regarding the extent to which the reading and writing performance, as well as the cognitive profile of preterm children is comparable to those of dyslexic children.

4.3. I would also like to find answers to questions about the kind of cognitive factors that may underlie reading and writing performance.

5. The design and methods of the research

I have tried to approach the research questions from two different directions, first, from the early psychomotor development and second, the intelligence structure, reading and writing performance, as well as the non-verbal working memory of school-age preterm children. In study 1 studied the infant developmental indicators of two preterm groups: 1. Low risk very low birth weight (VLBW) preterm infants (weighing under 1,500 g) with negative neurological status, 2. Very low birth weight (VLBW) preterm infants (weighing under 1,500 g) with bronchopulmonary dysplasia (BPD) and negative neurological status. In study 2 I compared the intelligence structure, reading and spelling performance of school age children with very low birth weight and negative neurological status with those of term born dyslexic children. I was looking for the factors that affect poor academic achievement and difficulty with the curriculum often referred to in the literature.

Study 1: The infants were tested using the Brunet-Lézine psychomotor developmental scale. The developmental scale measures children's abilities in four areas: gross motor skills (PQ), fine motor coordination (CQ), language (LQ) and sociability (SQ).

Study 2: In the selection of children for the samples the following criteria were used: no uncorrected visual problems, at least one parent speaking only Hungarian from birth, the child only attending Hungarian schools and not being

absent from school for over 3 months, not having epilepsy, not being disadvantaged and finally the mother having at least 8 years' primary school.

In all three test groups ADHD was a criterion for exclusion. To assess this the parental version of the Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL) questionnaire was used.¹⁹ Children scoring over 70 points on the attention scale were not selected for the sample.

A further criterion was a score of over 85 on the verbal comprehension index (VCI) and the perceptual reasoning index (PRI) of the WISC-IV intelligence test.

For the assessment of reading and writing performance the reading screening programme of the Hungarian version of the computerized test (3 DM-H) of the 3 DM (Dyslexia, Differential Diagnosis, Maastricht) was applied. Those children whose word and non-word reading accuracy and/or fluency is more than 1.5 standard deviations below average (Z score: below 32) are classed as having dyslexia. Children with average word and non-word reading performance (Z score 48-60), and average attention scores on the CBCL questionnaire were placed in the good readers' group. The original version of the test was developed by Leo Blumert and Anniek Vaessen. The copyright for Hungarian version is held by Denes Toth, Valéria Csépe, Anniek Vaessen and Leo Blumert for 3 DM-H, the cognitive analysis of spelling and reading. Adaptation of the test is currently being developed. The test procedure was used with the permission of Professor Valeria Csépe.

The assessment of intelligence was carried out using the WISC-IV intelligence test.

WISC-IV provides five overall group scores. This version also gives a Full Scale IQ (FSIQ) that reflects overall cognitive abilities. In addition it provides four additional aggregated indicators that show performance in distinct fields of cognitive operation. These are the Verbal Comprehension Index (VCI), the Perceptual Reasoning Index (PRI), the Working Memory Index (WMI) and the Processing Speed Index (PSI). The WISC-IV intelligence test made the analysis of intelligence structure in the various test groups possible.

To measure the level of non-verbal working memory the Rey Complex Figure Test was applied, whereby the accuracy and time of copying, as well as the accuracy and time of evocation were considered in the analyses. The test explores the efficiency of learning and remembering and involves the processes of perception and elaboration. The task consists of two parts: a copying exercise

¹⁹ RÓZSA Sándor és GÁDOROS Júlia és Kő Natasa, „A Gyermekviselkedési Kérdőív diagnosztikai megbízhatósága és a több információforráson alapuló jellemzések sajátosságai”, *Psychiatria Hungarica*, 14(1999) 4. sz. 375–392.

The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability

and a memory evocation. The figure is complex and unfamiliar, and it should be seen as a whole, but a thorough analysis of the elements is also essential for good performance. The copying task is based on a perceptual arrangement of graphomotor reproduction, which is very different from the situation of the memory evocation.²⁰

Statistical analyses: The statistical analyses were made using statistical programme 3.01.²¹ The R language is a programming language that is especially suited to perform statistical analyses and provide graphical displays of easily understandable forms.

An analysis of infant development indicators was made with general linear models. The general linear model includes regression as a special case. The model contains explanatory and dependent variables, and it is assumed that the dependent variable is a linear function of the explanatory variables, which is accompanied by a normally distributed error.²²

The multivariate analysis was based on correlation analyses (Spearman's Rank Correlation). Then decision trees (CART method²³) were applied, which is a recursive method for building classification and regression trees to predict continuous, categorical, or survival data (target variable). This was for the purpose of interpreting the context. Random forests were also used. Random forests [3] is a recursive method of classification, which is especially suitable for the so-called small n big p problems, that is, when the sample is small, but there are many variables.²⁴ It is a set of classification and regression trees (decision trees), which is built on a random subset of data, so that at all cut-off points we choose from a random subset of the variables. In this way, the method of random forests is able to examine the role of each of the variables better, as in more simple models that test all the variables at the same time the more influential variables can eliminate the influential ones. In addition, it has been shown that the set of decision trees can provide better predictions than individual trees. Finally, in the exploration of the dominant factors for reading and writing performance, we applied a mixed linear model, which allows for consideration of

²⁰ KÓNYA Anikó és VERSEGI Anna és Teresinha REY, „A Rey-tesztek hazai tapasztalatai”, *Magyar Pszichológia Szemle*, 55(2000) 4. sz. 545–557.

²¹ William N. VENABLES and Brian D. RIPLEY, *Modern applied statistics with S*. (New York: Springer, 2002⁴) Online: bagualu.net – December 2019.

²² REICZIGEL János és HARNOS Andrea és SOLYMOSI Norbert, *Biostatisztika nem statisztikusoknak*, Pars könyvek, (Nagykovácsi: Pars kft., 2010)

²³ Carolin STROBL and Torsten HOTHORN and Achim ZEILEIS, „Party on! A new, conditional variable-importance measure for random forests available in party package”, *The R Journal*, 1/2(2009) 14–17.

²⁴ Brian S. EVERITT and Torsten HOTHORN, *A Handbook of Statistical Analyses Using R*, (London: Chapman & Hall/CRC, 2010)

the correlation of the sample elements, in this case, learning at the same school. Similarly to the general linear model, it is also assumed that the dependent variable is a linear function of the explanatory variables, to which a normally distributed error is also added.

6. Results and discussion

6.1. The early development indicators of the preterm infants without BPD turned out to be more favourable than expected: the Developmental quotient (DQ) measured by the Brunet-Lézine scale fell within the average DQ zone in both age groups. BPD significantly worsens the chances of the development of preterm infants, and besides the aggregated index (FQ) this is evident in each strand (PQ, CQ, LQ, SQ). The comparison of the results of the two age groups did not confirm the „catching-up trend” in the literature,²⁵ but instead opposite reactions to the “moving risk”²⁶ were found: all indicators for the children above 1 year are lower than those of the younger ones (which appears as the significant main effect of the age variable in the statistical test). The disadvantage increasing with age affected the BPD boys most dramatically. The particular threats of preterm boys are also mentioned in the literature.²⁷

6.2. The examination of the school-aged preterm infants confirmed our assumptions as the WISC-IV Full Scale IQ of preterm infants is significantly lower than that of the term born control group. However, the average IQ (103.2) does not indicate a problem in itself, since it is above 100. This result clearly corresponds with the pattern emerging in recent literature on the performance of preterm infants, which indicates that as a group measured according to the intelligence test criteria falls into the normal zone so it appears to resemble the well-fitted non-risk control group, but the disadvantage of the preterm infants still manifests itself.²⁸ The background of the seemingly contradictory results is

²⁵ Judy UNGERER and Marian SIGMAN, „Developmental lags in preterm infants from one to three years of age”, *Child Development*, 54(1983) Nr. 5. 1217–1228.; TIDERMAN, *Longitudinal follow-up of children*, *op.cit.*

²⁶ GORDON and JENS, *A conceptual model for tracking*, *op.cit.*

²⁷ Glen P. AYLWARD and S.I. PFEIFFER and A. WRIGHT and S.J. VERHULST, “Outcomes studies of low birth weight infants published in the last decade. A metaanalyses” *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 115(1989) Nr. 4. 515–520.

²⁸ Päivi KORHONEN and Anne Maria KOIVISTO and Sara IKONEN and Pekka LAIPPALA and Outi TAMMELA, „Very low birth weight, broncopulmonary dysplasia and health in early childhood”, *Acta Paediatrica*, 88(1999) Nr. 12. 1385–1591.; Lynn T. SINGER and Toyoko S. YAMASHITA and Lawrence LILIEN and Marc COLLIN and Jill BAYLEY, „A longitudinal study of developmental outcome of infants with bronchopulmonary dysplasia and very low birth weight”, *Pediatrics*, 100(1997) Nr. 6. 987–993.; Barbara A. LEWIS and Lynn T. SINGER and Sarah FULTON and Ann SALVATOR and Elisabeth J. SHORT and

The Prematurity as a Risk Factor of the Learning Disability

probably multiform. On the one hand, the composition of the groups in the course of the research is not sure to be the same as the sample of test standardization, while on the other hand, the average performance of the population during the time elapsing since standardization could have also increased.²⁹

The hypothesis concerning the different cognitive profiles of preterm infants has also been supported. From the indices calculated on the basis of the results of WISC-IV the Perceptual reasoning Index and the Verbal comprehension Index indicated the disadvantage of preterm infants, as did the copying accuracy indicator of Rey Complex Figure Test. As expected, both visual information processing and language development are sensitive to preterm birth.³⁰

6.3. Contrary to what had been expected, the reading and writing performance of the preterm infants was not different from that of the control group. The fact that the cognitive disadvantage of preterm infants does not affect working memory supports these positive results. It should be emphasised that the preterm group was drawn from a low risk population, while the research results underlying the hypothesis came mostly from studies on preterm infants at severe risk.

Preterm infants perform better in all indicators of reading and writing as compared to dyslexic children, their advantage being significant in the processing speed from the WISC-IV indicators.

Nancy K. KLEIN and Jill BALEY, „Speech and language outcomes of children with bronchopulmonary dysplasia”, *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 35(2002) Nr. 5. 393–406.; KALMÁR, *Az intelligencia alakulásának előrejelezhetősége*, op.cit.; Lourdes Mary DANIEL and Sok Bee LIM and Lewis CLARKE, „Eight year outcome of very-low-birthweight infants born in KK hospital”, *Annals Academy of Medicine Singapore*, 32(2003) 354–361.; Elisabeth J. SHORT and Nancy K. KLEIN and Barbara A. LEWIS and Sarah FULTON and Sheri EISENGART and Carolyn KERCSMAR and Jill BALEY and Lynn T. SINGER, „Cognitive and academic consequences of bronchopulmonary dysplasia and very low birth weight: 8-year-old outcomes”, *Pediatrics*, 112(2001) Nr. 5. 359.; Gehan ROBERTS and David C. BELLINGER and Marie C. MCCORMICK, „A cumulative risk factor model for early identification of academic difficulties in premature and low birth weight infants”, *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 11(2007) Nr. 2. 161–172.

²⁹ The Flynn-effect: KALMÁR, *Az intelligencia alakulásának előrejelezhetősége*, op.cit.

³⁰ BRESLAU et al., *Academic achievement of low birthweight*, op.cit.; ROSE et al., *Basic information processing*, op.cit.

My major publications on the topic:

BEKE Anna és KUCSERÁNÉ GRÁF Rózsa, „Tanulási nehézségek és magatartászavarok koraszülötteknél 8 éves korban”, *Gyermekgyógyászat*, 50(1999) 6. sz. 553–565.

GRÁF Rózsa és BOROSS Gábor és HARNOS Andrea, „A bronchopulmonális ddysplasiás koraszülöttek fejlődési sajátosságai”, *Gyermekgyógyászati Továbbképző Szemle*, 18(2013) 2. sz. 25–29.

GRÁF Rózsa és KALMÁR Magda és HARNOS Andrea és BOROSS Gábor és NAGY Anett, „Koraszülöttek olvasás, helyesírás teljesítménye a kognitív tényezők függvényében” (Under press.)

GRÁF Rózsa és KALMÁR Magda és BOROSS Gábor és NAGY Anett, „Broncopulmonális displasya hatása koraszülött gyermekek pszichomotoros fejlődésére” (Under press.)

Method of the Dialect History and the Historical Sociolinguistics in the Examination of the Historical Texts

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Keywords: linguistics, history of language, dialect history, historical sociolinguistics, reconstruction

The database for the socio-historical linguistics will include patterns of variation in speech and writing in contemporary societies, and written texts of all kinds from earlier periods, including reports by historians and grammarians. The methodological question is how to extract the social informations from the sources. Sociohistorical linguistics therefore has certain concerns in common with the traditional philological method of textual interpretation. What needed a way of combining the rich philological tradition with the recent work on quantitative methods, discourse analysis, literacy as well as with historical phonology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics.¹ What is recoverable depends on the richness of the textual corpus, which represents the major source of evidence before the period when tape recordings become available. There is a great need for re-examining the textual tradition to the location of the texts in their socio-historical context, i. e. where they fit into the registers available at the time.

Historical dialectology might be defined as the study of diachronic, diatopic and social variation in the historical records of languages. Insofar as it is historical it deals with time: the varieties spoken at particular points in history and the transitions between these points. Insofar as it is a study of dialects, it deals with variation across geographical and social space, broadly understood. The granularity with which we may observe the variants themselves, as well as their distribution across these key dimensions, is constrained by the quality, quantity and dispersion of the data itself. The English term: *dialect* means not just the geographical variations of language, but also the social variations and the standard of language, too.

¹ SÁROSI Zsófia, „Történeti szociolingvisztika – nyelvtörténet más megközelítésben”, *Magyar Nyelv*, 99(2003) 4. sz. 434–447., 435–436.

Mihály Hajdú isolates the terminology: *historical dialect research* and *dialect history*.² The historical dialect research examines a single sub-area through the Hungarian dialect as a whole.³ The method of the dialect history examines the history of a well-defined dialect region.⁴ My examination is the history of the language of the 17th century in Nógrád county based on that methodology.⁵

In 1957, the first volume of studies was published in Hungarian language science, which seeks to systematicise the history of the Hungarian dialects. Loránd Benkő's summary of his work have been a guide to Hungarian dialect history research for decades.⁶ The methodological difficulty of the reconstruction of the history of dialects is the head-to-hand problem. Often, the dictater of the text and the notation of the text are not same. We try to infer the former verbatim from the written texts: how spoke the people once. The possibility of reconstruction within a sociolinguistic theory depends on the recovery of past events, as all form of historical enquiry do. In other words, we attempt to reconstruct information that is not directly available or has been lost; in doing so, we are in a sense 'creating history'. The primary evidence for the past is the same, whether the historical linguist regards himself as sociolinguist or not; namely, the texts which survive. The special problem for the sociolinguist, however, is that of interpreting, or taking into account context in a systematic way. We can examine first some of the more purely particle problems in dealing with historical data. The fundamental methodological fact that historical linguists have to face is that they have no control over their data. His view is that the job of the historical linguist is to make the best of bad data – 'bad' in the sense that it may be corrupted or many times removed from the actual productions of native speakers. It may happen that the copyist is not a native speaker of the variety or the language of the text he is copying. In this case, the text could not be taken as representative of the written language of any speaker or community. There are obvious connections between spoken and written language.

The examining of the language use in 17th century based on archival resources from 1600–1699 in Nógrád county of Hungary. I wonder whether the former speech can be reconstructed from the written texts and what language layers of the former language use can be unstitched from the archival sources.

² HAJDÚ Mihály, „Adatok a XVII. század ő-zéséhez”, *Magyar Nyelv* 83(1987) 443–447.

³ E.g. BÁRCZI Géza, *Régi magyar nyelvjárások*, Különlennyomat a Magyar Népkutatás kézikönyvéből, (Budapest: Néptudományi Intézet, 1947); PAPP László, *Nyelvjárástörténet és nyelvi statisztika*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963)

⁴ E.g. ABAFFY Erzsébet, *Sopron megye nyelve a XVI. században*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965)

⁵ GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő, *Nógrád vármegye nyelve a XVII. században*, Adatok, források és tanulmányok a Nógrád Megyei Levéltárból 52, (Salgótarján: Nógrád Megyei Levéltár, 2007)

⁶ BENKŐ Loránd, *Magyar nyelvjárás történet*, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1957)

Method of the Dialect History and the Historical Sociolinguistics

This study required the methodological complexity outlined above. Its disciplinary pillars: the dialect history, the historical sociolinguistics, the language geography and the paleography.

The localization is usually an advantage in the linguistic research. If the language relic contains the location of the note, it is highly likely appears the local dialect. However, in some cases, localization is misleading, e. g. when we want to conclude to the mother tongue or dialect of the writer because the birthplace of the document is not always the same as the letter's native language or dialect. It is uncertain because the linguistic dominance of the „head“ (who dictates the text) may be presents in the language of the document. On the other side, the scribes and the students and the writers who can writes in the earlier centuries (the „deáks“) after their studies may not have stayed at their birthplace, but they moved to a new workplace, often to another dialect region. The apparatus and the person who gives them a job may be affected the language status of the texts. We find that the writers of the texts sometimes incorporate allogeneic language elements into the written language of a dialect area. The „deáks“, the scribes were the most educated persons in the contemporary society. They are the ones who can read and write, especially their job was to write letters and the documents in the court. Therefore in this social class starts the aspiration for the linguistic unification. So the texts written by the educated scribes often was not in dialect form. Often the writers of the official documents orient to a written language norm avoiding the dialects. The gradation of this depends on the literacy, erudition even the social modality of the text writers. But because in this century the spoken language was the dialect form penetrate through the written texts. Can not be all documents to be seen as the sources of the dialect history.

The dialect forms of the present or recent past can be help the regional delimitation of the consequence which can be filtered from the material of the former archival documents. An important element of the methodology is the so-called ascending method. Its main point is the comparison of the spoken and written texts in the same region: to compare the currently talking dialect with a reconstructed dialect and to make a comparison between standard and the language versions. It is difficult to determine which are the dialectal language forms in the history of a language. It is also the question: which area or part of the language community can be linked this forms, this language versions; when start the changes and how long they maintain their potency. László Papp underlines that the synchronous state of a linguistic period in its geographical diversity can be reconstructed after a thorough detection, moreover it may be

possible to explore the history of the dialect of a region based on the representative studies.⁷

The knowledge of the historical-social context in power is a part of a complex historical study. The researchers of the language can't miss the knowledge of the contemporary society, economic and settlement history, the method of the language geography, to follow the migrations, to explore the historical background, to construe the relationship between the landscape and the people living in it. Loránd Benkő notes in his paper that the life of the dialects is a complicated process, not easy to squeeze into the methodological schemes.⁸ In the research of the language use of Nógrád county in the 17th century alongside the complex methodological framework has an important role the method of the language geography, too. This method has connection with the disciplines examining the socio-cultural background as well as the horizontal examination of the language.

Heinrich Löffler defines the language as a social formation. He emphasizes in his paper that the mutually compatible ingredients and active ingredients in a culture landscape are the language, the society and the geography.⁹ The linguistic space and linguistic boundaries in the researches of Maurer and Wrede are given not only linguistic-geographically but also sociological meaning. From the history researches of the German and French language (particularly in the works of G. Wenker and J. Gilliéron) as well as from the works of the representatives of the Italian neolinguistics (the language geographic by M. Bartoli and G. I. Ascoli) takes derive to the linguistic sociology research trend. Goossens promotes the link between linguistic geography and sociolinguistics as a new method. Among the interpretive methods there are the extra- and the intralingual investigation. The intralingual investigation does not provide sufficient data for the researchers of the language changes. But the extralingual investigation examines the external factors of the language. This method takes into account the social factors in the linguistic-social environment.

Suzanne Romaine in her papers from the 1980th years summarizes the way of the linguistic reconstruction, the goals and the method of the

⁷ Papp László, *XVI. század végi nyelvújításaink tanulmányozása*, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 19. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959)

⁸ BENKŐ Loránd, „Új módszerbeli lehetőségek a magyar nyelvjárástörténeti vizsgálatokban”, *Magyar Nyelv*, 57(1961) 4. sz. 401–413., 406.

⁹ Heinrich LÖFFLER, „Sprache und Gesellschaft in der Geschichte der vorstrukturalistischen Sprachwissenschaft”, in *Sociolinguistics/Sociolinguistik*, hrsg. Ulrich AMMON and Norbert DITTMAR and Klaus G. MATTHEIER, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter Verlag, 1988) 379–389., 387.

Method of the Dialect History and the Historical Sociolinguistics

sociolinguistics.¹⁰ She describes: „sociolinguistics must look to relations of production in society in order to understand the relationship between language and society, then sociolinguistics must be a historical discipline”.¹¹ In her opinion ‘doing socio-historical linguistics’ i. e. using the methodology to investigate prior stages of language to shed light on the process of change...”¹² Sociolinguistics should itself be an integrative mode of description. The subject matter of linguistics should not be confined to the study of the conceptual function of language, but should also include its social function or communicative use.

My analysis of the records from the 17th century combine the qualitative and the quantitative methods. The results from the data resume statistical tables. During the examination I do phoneme and morpheme statistics, so come to be data base of the language from the early period. I analyzed the article of Hungarian language ‘a, az’ based on the documents from the 17th century. After the statistical exam manifested a progress in this subsystem of the language. I examined by number 1070 articles. In the first half of the century exclusive is the variant ‘az’ in front of vowel and consonant, too. The article type of today’s Hungarian language appeared in the second half of the 17th century. The use is in emerging yet in this century (from the all articles only 12% such version).

In the Klaus Mattheier’s paper find we the description of the socio-communicative process: „...durch soziokommunikative Steuerung und durch intentionale Steuerung bedingten Sprachveränderungshandlungen... Diese beide Prozesstypen sind in besonders enger Weise eingebunden in die Strukturen und Veränderungen der Sprachgemeinschaften.”¹³ [...through socio-communicative control and through intenzional control is a connection with the language changes. This both process types show particularly a tightly bound with the structures and the changes of the language community.] This is the theory of innovation: that unites the socio-communicative process with the intentional intervention. This two process types result the changes of the language. The actuation, transition and embedding of change are central questions within the study of language change and they have been treated as the three central problems. The actuation problem is concerned with an explanation of what it is that actually triggers language change. The question is: how do changes begin? The transition problem is concerned with the factors that are responsible for the

¹⁰ Suzanne ROMAINE, *Socio-historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Suzanne ROMAINE, „Historical Sociolinguistics: Problems and Methodology”, in *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik*, hrsg. Ulrich AMMON and Norbert DITTMAR and Klaus G. MATTHEIER, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter Verlag, 1988) 1452–1469.

¹¹ ROMAINE, *Historical Sociolinguistics*, op.cit., 1453.

¹² ROMAINE, *Historical Sociolinguistics*, op.cit., 1453.

¹³ Klaus J. MATTHEIER, „Das Verhältnis von sozialem und sprachlichem Wandel”, 1430–1452., 1445.

spread of linguistic change within a speech community. The question is: how does change spread within a speech community? The 3rd problem is the embedding problem: this is concerned with the localization of change with respect to the linguistic and social settings in which this change is taking place. The question is: how is the change embedded in the surrounding linguistic and social system?

My linguistic investigation based on the several documents: writings of court cases, confessions, testimonies, juristical documents, writings written by lawyer, property letters, real estate documents, debentures, official and private letters, statements of adoption, testaments, border disputes etc.

I would like to present some language occurrence to illustrate the method of investigation. I'm trying to highlight that what opportunity has a researcher of the historical linguistics to conclude to the speech from the written texts of the earlier period of language. For the researcher there are few possibilities for the reconstruction of the pronunciation and the vocalization. The orthography in the earlier centuries is inconsecutive. But the manuscript of the writers in the 17th century applied the precept of the vocalization, so the spelling can help for the researcher to reconstruct the language forms in the onetime speech. In this period of the orthography seem particular diacritical marks over the scripts what refer to the speech, for example over the 'a' and 'e': signs 'á', 'é'. The mark 'á' can refer to the labialization, the sign 'é' to the more closed vowel. Some scribes thought important to make a difference between opened and closed vowel and between the labial and the illabial vowels.

The data for the closed ě:

1653. a debenture from the city Szécsény: *méghe neuzet* 'named', *méghe irt* 'written';

1670. a lawsuit from the city Kékkő–Kékkőalja: *vétt volna* 'would have bought', *Nemzetés* 'noble';

1685. a protocol from the city of Gács: *féllül* 'over'.¹⁴

The data for the illabial á:

1616. a quittance from the city Fülek: *Buzakát* 'wheat';

¹⁴ The place of the sources: National Archive of Hungary (hereinafter: MNL) Archive of Nógrád County (hereinafter: NML) Balassagyarmat, XIV. 3. D. 11. d.; MNL NML Salgótarján, IV. 1. o/bb Inquisitiones. fasc. 1. Nr. 7.; MNL NML IV. 1. a/4. Protocollum Comitatus Neogradiensis 1683–1689. 1685. február 21. 69–71. p.

Method of the Dialect History and the Historical Sociolinguistics

1648. a debenture from the city Szécsény: *áz Nadásj* ‘(house) from Nádas’, *áz* ‘the’, *ßábád* ‘free’, *málmaial* ‘with his mills’, *akárnák* ‘they would like’, *alkálmátlánb* ‘more unsuitable’;

1669. a border dispute from the village Ipolyszele: *Attyávál* ‘with his father’, *áltál* ‘by’, *hátár* ‘border’;

1692. paper of duty from the city Balassagyarmat: *Bálássa Gyarmáth*.¹⁵

The both specially phoneme (the closed ‘*ě*’ and the illabial ‘*á*’) used by the speakers of the dialect region ‘Palóc’ in the north of Hungary. The examined documents come from this region (Nógrád county is the part of the Palóc region). We can deduce from this that the „hands” or the „heads” of these texts spoke the Palóc dialect.

It is typical of the morphology of this dialect version: the suffix ‘-val, -vel’ (‘with’) linked to the base as unassimilated.¹⁶ This language occurrence appears in the texts from the 17th century in this dialect area:

1633–1634. a border dispute from the village Parlagos: *Gyürky István Uramval Eskütvel* ‘with juryman lord István Gyürky’;

1663. declaration of a loan from the city Gyarmat: *Felesegemvel* ‘with my wife’;

1672. Dobrocs-Vámosfalva, határvita: *az mostoha Anyamval* ‘with my step-mother’.

The confesses and the privat letters are the best sources to reconstruct the earlier spoken language. The writers of the confesses noted faithful the heard speech in the court, so in the written texts appear language form from the spoken language, for example the profanities, the swears. The privat letters often written by noble characterized with little educate, so in this letter’s texts can be found dialectal forms.

The earlier reality can be reconstruct just by the remained documents, consequently the earlier reality is defective. The knowledge about a language of the earlier periods is insufficient, too. The researchers try to replace the characteristics and to draw the structure of a language with the appropriate method.

¹⁵ MNL NML IV. 1. b. Fülek, 21 April 1616.; MNL NML XIII. 1. 1648/1. Szécsény, 9 June 1648. MNL NML IV. 1. o/bb Inquisitiones. fasc. 1. Nr. 5.

¹⁶ Ld. KÁLMÁN Béla, *Nyelvjárásaink*, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1966); IMRE Samu, *A mai magyar nyelvjárások rendszere*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971); *Magyar dialektológia*, szerk. KISS Jenő, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001)

My most important publications on this topic:

GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő, *Nógrád vármegye nyelve a XVII. században*, Adatok, források és tanulmányok a Nógrád Megyei Levéltárból 52, (Salgótarján: Nógrád Megyei Levéltár, 2007)

GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő, „Történeti dialektológiai vizsgálatok XVII. századi palóc nyelvemlékekben”, in *V. Dialektológiai Szimpozion*, szerk. GUTTMANN Miklós és MOLNÁR Zoltán, A Berzsenyi Dániel Tanárképző Főiskola Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszékének Kiadványai 8. (Szombathely: Berzsenyi Dániel Tanárképző Főiskola Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszéke, 2007) 86–90.

GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő, „A történeti szociolingvisztikáról”, in *Elmélet és empíria a szociolingvisztikában: Válogatás a 17. Élnyelvi Konferencia – Szeged, 2012. augusztus 30.–szeptember 1. – előadásaiból*, szerk. KONTRA Miklós és NÉMETH Miklós és SINKOVICS Balázs, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2013) 173–187.

GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő, „17. századi szövegek vizsgálatának interdiszciplináris lehetőségei”, in *Tér, idő, társadalom és kultúra metszéspontjai a magyar nyelvben: A 7. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus két szimpóziumának előadásai*, szerk. FAZAKAS Emese és JUHÁSZ Dezső és T. SZABÓ Csilla és TERBE Erika és ZSEMLYEI Borbála, (Budapest és Kolozsvár: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem és Babeş-Bolyai Tudományegyetem, 2014) 36–44.

GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő, „17. századi határviták nyelvjárástörténeti és történeti szociolingvisztikai vizsgálata”, in *A nyelvtörténeti kutatások újabb eredményei 10.*, szerk. FORGÁCS Tamás és NÉMETH Miklós és SINKOVICS Balázs, (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszék, 2019) 133–140.

Scepticism and Action in Ferenc Kölcsey's Way of Thinking

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Keywords: Ferenc Kölcsey, history of literary criticism, epistemology, scepticism, certainty

Ferenc Kölcsey (1790–1838) is generally considered to be a confident poet, critic and statesman. Not without reason. There are such programmatic words imprinted in the collective memory of Hungarian society as the closing distich of *Huszt*, a poem written in 1831: “Ponder anew why the time is *now*, compare it well to the future, / toil, be effective, increase – Thus will your land be re-born!”¹ In 1817, the critic published definite judgements, consciously confronting the public opinion, on Dániel Berzsenyi and especially on Mihály Csokonai Vitéz. Later, the Member of Parliament entering the stage of national politics in 1832 quickly became a prominent leader of the opposition and, in spite of the leverage of power, he not only supported the Dietal Youth but also took part uncompromisingly in the legal defence of Miklós Wesselényi, who had been charged with serious accusations. Motivated by the responsibility for public affairs, he did not regret his time spent with the promising young talents as it appears from his letter to Pál Szemere from 1834: “This people needs urgent assistance to be informed of its own interest. Being convinced of it, I gather the most prominent members of the youth around me and draw the curtain open in front of the present and future state of the nation so that their attention should focus on the right point.”² Beside the fact that the lines cited present the figure of a determined and purposeful man, it has to be emphasized that Kölcsey, who was philosophically highly cultured, worked out his judgements and programme taking epistemological scepticism very seriously in all his life.

¹ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, „Huszt”, transl. Watson KIRKCONNEL and Adam MAKKAJ, in *In Quest of the ‘Miracle Stag’: The Poetry of Hungary: An Anthology of Hungarian Poetry in English Translation from the 13th Century to the Present [...]*, ed. Adam MAKKAJ, (Chicago and Budapest: Atlantis-Centaur, M. Szivárvány, Corvina, 1996) 202.

² Ferenc Kölcsey to Pál Szemere, Pozsony, 7 September 1834 in Ferenc KÖLCSEY, *Levelezés: IV. 1834–1836*, ed. G. Zoltán SZABÓ, Kölcsey Ferenc Minden Munkái, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2015) 153. When not otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

In his autobiographical letter from 1833, remembering of the intellectual orientation of his student's years, he says: "In 1808, I started to study philosophy, which impressed me. The next year, when I studied law, I spent a lot of time studying the history of philosophy." Even a couple of decades later, he highlights the influence of Pierre Bayle's magistral work, the *Dictionnaire philosophique et critique* saying that it "exerted manifold influence" on him. "Scepticism and depth and much taste are among the characteristics of the great man."³ The fact that he mentions first scepticism among the things that caught his attention is in harmony with the lines he put down in 1810, pointing out that sceptical way of thinking is an essential element of genuine philosophy: "As long as people were unable to doubt, they were unable to ratiocinate. Why did the philosophy of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Persians etc. remain in their cradles? Why did not they exceed beyond useless scrutiny on astrology, magic and things like these, which does not illuminate but rather obscures reason. Greek philosophy, which started not with the Orphic system but with Thales, brought about σκεψις immediately." In order to justify his statement, he lists the Greek philosophers who were under the influence of scepticism and refers to the famous metaphor of Democritus: "truth is hidden at the bottom of a well". To support his argument, he poses the rhetorical question if, in a period without scepticism, "human mind reasoned in a sufficiently sober way to comply with its divine origin." On the function of scepticism in different philosophical systems, he concludes that, before Cartesianism, thinkers "applied their scepticism to life" and deduced that "it was impossible to know anything for sure, whereas Dès Cartes came to certainty by his σκεψις."⁴ To support his conclusion on Descartes, Kölcsey quotes the key sentence of Cartesian epistemology from *The Principles of Philosophy*. The idea is that, by the help of scepticism, we could get rid of those of our judgements whose validity can be challenged: "in order to seek truth, it is necessary once in the course of our life, to doubt, as far as possible, of all things."⁵ In line with this train of thought, the scrutiny of our statements makes it possible to come to judgements of considerable certainty. The twenty-year-old man was apparently willing to accept this approach, according

³ Ferenc Kölcsey to Pál Szemere, Pozsony, 20 March 1833 in Ferenc KÖLCSEY, *Levelezés: III. 1833–1834*, ed. G. Zoltán SZABÓ, Kölcsey Ferenc Minden Munkái, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2011) 196–197.

⁴ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, "Des Cartes' Philosophica Principiainak extractusa" in Ferenc KÖLCSEY. *Kiadatlan írásai 1809–1811: (Kölcsey és Kállai Ferenc műhelyének kézírataiból)*, eds. György BÁNHÉGYI, József SZAUDER, Józsefné SZAUDER, A Magyar Irodalomtörténetírás Forrásai 8, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968) (hereinafter: KÖLCSEY, *Kiadatlan*), 212–213.

⁵ René DESCARTES, "Principles of Philosophy" (1644) trans. John VEITCH in *The History and Philosophy of Science: A Reader*, eds. Daniel J. MCKAUGHAM and Holly VANDEWALL, (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018) 364.

to which scepticism was an epistemological *means* to work out a well-organised worldview in contrast with pre-Cartesian philosophers, who thought of scepticism as the *basis* of their worldview and ethics. At the time, for Kölcsey, who was actually rather critical, it did not seem problematic how to confine the spirit of sceptical scrutiny within the boundary of philosophical enquiry. He accepted the methodical proposal of Descartes: “we are to avail ourselves of this general doubt only while engaged in the contemplation of truth”. The argument goes that in the case of everyday life, owing to the urging need of making decisions, there is little or no chance of using this procedure.⁶

He knew the emblematic maxim, attributed to Democritus, which occurs in a couple of important texts by Kölcsey written in different periods of his life, from a variety of sources. As his notes of his youth show, he was acquainted with the best-known antique cases. In his *Second Book of Notes*, he refers to Cicero's *Academica*, in which it is said of Socrates, Democritus, Anaxagoras and Empedocles that they “utterly denied all possibility of cognition or perception or knowledge, and maintained that the senses are limited, the mind feeble, the span of life short, and that truth (in Democritus's phrase) is sunk in an abyss, opinion and custom are all-prevailing, no place is left for truth, all things successively are wrapped in darkness.”⁷ There is also the reference to Cicero's *Lucullus* (the second book of *Academica*), in which, on the problem of cognoscibility of the world, sceptics answer their counterpart as follows: “blame nature for having hidden truth quite away, in an abyss, as Democritus says.”⁸ All these quotes justify Kölcsey's conclusion, that the ancient sceptics, unlike Descartes, did not regard scepticism as a means to search for the truth. This idea is also supported by the highly admired Pierre Bayle, from whose much-read book he copied out the lines referring to the problem in question. “It is Democritus also who has furnished the Sceptics with all they have said against the testimony of the senses; for besides that he used to say truth was hidden at the bottom of a well, he maintained there was nothing real but atoms and vacuum, and that all the rest consisted only in opinion.”⁹ The metaphor of the truth being hidden in the depth represents, in a visual way, the inaccessibility of the relevant ele-

⁶ KÖLCSEY, *Kiadatlan*, 395, 213. Cf.

⁷ [Marcus Tullius] CICERO, “De natura deorum, *Academica*”, with an English translation by Harris RACKHAM, The Loeb Classic Library, Cicero 19 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, William Heinemann Ltd., 1967) 453.

⁸ [Marcus Tullius] CICERO, “De natura deorum, *Academica*”, with an English translation by Harris RACKHAM, Cambridge, The Loeb Classic Library, Cicero 19 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, William Heinemann Ltd., 1967) 509.

⁹ [Pierre] BAYLE, *A General Dictionary: Historical and Critical*, vols. 1–10, (London: printed by James BETTENHAM, 1734–1741) vol. 4, 570.

ments, as the exact perception of an object lying in the darkness beneath the surface of the water at the bottom of a well is impossible and bringing it to the surface is not only dangerous but is also of uncertain outcome. The maxim of Democritus is presented in exactly that sense in Kölcsey's unfinished essay of 1823, which later became to be known under the title of *Taste*. The argument is based on the evident experience that, owing to their strong dependence on location, age, person, erudition, life-situation etc., aesthetic judgements differ significantly. In order to decide reassuringly between different aesthetic judgements, it would be required that "certain general laws be set", which "unlike civil laws, whose authority depends on certain circumstances, exist in and by themselves just like the eternal rules of nature". The problem outlined this way is concluded by Democritus's metaphor of the well: "Where does reality lie? It lies at the bottom of the well! This is what Democritus teaches. And what miserable situation it will be if, in this case, like in many others, the clouds of doubt cover our souls."¹⁰ The thirty-three year old man's remark attached to the maxim manifests that he no longer had the epistemological optimism, by the help of which he had formerly been ready to believe, with no particular reservations, that doubt can be confined to the search for the truth, as he refers to his own personal experience, namely that the threat of scepticism is present in numerous fields of life. At the same time there seems to be a kind of reluctance concerning the acceptance of the authority of the sceptical approach in the field of aesthetics. He makes no argument to justify his reluctance, but starts a line of reasoning (not to be discussed here and now), which obviously aims at the universal formulation of beauty. The main cause why this piece of writing was never finished can perhaps be found in the fact that Kölcsey failed to get close to the result that could seem acceptable to him. He appears not to have been able to avert the possible danger of scepticism, neither on theoretical nor on practical level, in the field of aesthetics. Nonetheless, it does not mean that the presupposition or the belief that the possibility of setting "general laws" has to be given up in case of judgements related to beauty. In another of his unfinished essay written in 1816 and published in 1829 under the title of *Notes on Criticism and Poetry*, on the problem discussed in *Taste*, he comes to the following conclusion: in order to "protect ourselves from intentional Pyrrhonism, we will not question the possibility of such general laws."¹¹ In his treatise *Greek Philosophy* from around 1823, he defines Pyrrhonism in the following way: "as there is

¹⁰ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, "Ízlés", in Ferenc KÖLCSEY, *Irodalmi kritikák és esztétikai írások: I. 1808–1823*, ed. László GYAPAY, Kölcsey Ferenc Minden Munkái, (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2003) (hereinafter: KÖLCSEY, *Irodalmi*) 106–107.

¹¹ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, "Jegyzetek a' Kritikáról és Poesisiről", in KÖLCSEY, *Irodalmi*, 32.

nothing, whose truthfulness or untruthfulness could not be reasoned for or against with equal arguments, no assertion or denial can ever be agreed on with full certainty [emphasis added].”¹² The wording in *Notes on Criticism and Poetry*, which does not essentially differ from the one in *Taste*, rejects the type of scepticism that is extended to outside the scope of philosophical scrutiny without any specific argumentation suggesting the absurdity of such an approach. These unfinished pieces, including *Poetry and Criticism* written in 1815, seem to have been motivated by a contradiction specific to Kölcsey's worldview, namely that there is an inconsistency between the belief in the possibility of general laws and the experience that there is neither theoretical nor practical way to exclude any field of life from the scope of scepticism.

More than ten years later, in his *Parainesis* written in the mid-thirties, Democritus's maxim of the well reappears in the context of the incomprehensibility of the world: “Many mothers regard their children with unspeakable love; and driven by this love, they still do irreparable harm to them. Knowing genuine benefit is as rare a characteristic as knowing any other reality; and if Democritus was right to say that, from the viewpoint of philosophical scrutiny, reality was at the bottom of the well, we would be not less right if we applied his maxim to the everyday deeds and ways of thinking of ordinary people.”¹³ From the point of view of our approach, it is telling that the maxim, most probably recalled from memory, deferring from its ancient sources, is worded in *Parainesis* as if Democritus had limited the scope of scepticism to philosophical comprehension and only the speaker of the text would extend it to different fields of life. This non-negligible modification reveals that Kölcsey, probably in an unconscious manner, rephrased the maxim of the ancient philosopher in the way that it reflects his own problem i.e. what exactly the domain of interpretation of scepticism was. The unrestrictable nature of scepticism is presented in a context in which there is no assessment of or explication on the truthfulness of the condition (“if Democritus was right to say”) on which the unrestrictable nature of scepticism depends. Consequently, from the point of view the argumentation, the function of this rhetorical operation is not to work out definite conclusion on the limits or limitlessness of the domain of interpretation of scepticism but, taking the broader context (“Many mothers”) into consideration, rather the emphasis of the fact that in case of any search for “reality”, we face serious problems to avert the relevance of doubt. At the same time, the speaker does not

¹² Ferenc KÖLCSEY, “Görög filozófia”, in Ferenc KÖLCSEY, *Összes művei*, vols. 1–3, eds. Józsefné SZAU-
DER, József SZAU-
DER, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1960) vol. 1, 1000.

¹³ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, “Parainesis”, in Ferenc KÖLCSEY, *Erkölcsei beszédek és írások*, ed. Csaba ONDER, Kölcsey Ferenc Minden Munkái (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2008) (hereinafter: KÖLCSEY, *Erkölcsei*) 63.

regard it impossible to know “reality” but only considers it rare, the underlying presupposition of which is probably the fact that the questioning of the existence of “reality” does not follow from the metaphor of the well. The speaker does not address the problem whether, in the rare cases of grasping “reality”, the truthfulness of the knowledge is justifiable and if yes, in what way. Since the genre of the writing is parainesis, a genre of confessional type, the elaboration of an epistemological problem would not be appropriate at all. Anyhow, the part of the text in question meets the expectation to voice the speaker’s opinion on the problem. From an epistemological perspective, this view is close to the ones expressed in his unfinished essays (*Notes on Criticism and Poetry, Taste*) with the significant difference that one of the strong motivations behind writing the earlier pieces was the intention to articulate “general laws”, whereas the author of *Parainesis* does not seem to have been inspired by an endeavour of this kind. In his earlier years, the idea of universal and eternal laws as well as idea of “reality” functioned both as presuppositions and as assumptions to be verified, in the thirties they were just presuppositions, which did not associate with the need and intention of producing unchallengeable arguments to prove them.

All these suggest that Kölcsey seems to have learned how to coexist with epistemological scepticism. *Mohács*, an essay written around 1833–34, provides a good example of how he managed to do that. According to the fictitious framework of the text, the speaker, who is having reflections on the 300th anniversary of the historic battle fought and lost in Mohács, is considering what consequences it has on nationhood whether or not the 29th of August is hallowed by public sentiment. Experiencing the negligence of the public, the speaker starts an imaginary internal debate between the dreamer (i.e. the poet), who hopes elevated solemnity will characterize the day, and the “cold scrutinizer”, who impersonates the careless everyday people. He identifies himself with the poet and, from an epistemological point of view, defines his playing field as follows: “Everyone can see the world through their own glasses; and who could decide who has better glasses. Is it the scrutinizer or the dreamer? No matter how it might turn out, the dreamer did not consider his to be any worse.”¹⁴ In the given context, the metaphor of glasses suggests that when we sense the world none of us can avoid a certain refraction, which can cause distortion as well as needed correction to the eye but there is no way to justify which case that is. Based on the correlation that there are just as many people as there are epistemological positions, the speaker takes it as a natural condition that neither of the two highlighted viewpoints is justifiable. From this position, he does

¹⁴ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, “Mohács”, in KÖLCSEY, *Erkölcsei*, 34.

not develop sceptical ethics but he works out an argument that there is indeed justification for reasoning for one's ideas from an epistemological position, which is theoretically *no worse* than any other is. This is how he assumes himself the right to speak. In his essays, Kölcsey takes great care of making the epistemological position of his statements clear. A good example for this is the first paragraph of his review on Csokonai's oeuvre, where he voices that even if some of his judgements may seem provocative to his audience, "there will be no reason for him to feel ashamed, provided his statements are not in contradiction with the rules of more refined taste".¹⁵ As far as epistemological awareness is concerned, it is beside the point that, in his review, he does not elaborate on these laws. Considering his oeuvre, it is clearly recognisable that in many of his essays, he points out in different ways that reality lies at the bottom of the well, consequently his statements have not the epistemological status of certainty but that of a hypothesis. Well-underpinned theories can provide no infallibility, but they do offer a reliable basis for decisive action.

My major publications on the topic:

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KÖLCSEY Ferenc, *Irodalmi kritikák és esztétikai írások: I: 1808–1823*, sajtó alá rend. GYAPAY László, Kölcsey Ferenc Minden Munkái, (Budapest: Universitas Kiadó, 2003)

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¹⁵ Ferenc KÖLCSEY, "Csokonai Vitéz Mihály' munkájának kritikai megítéltetések", in KÖLCSEY, *Irodalmi*, 39.

Coping with Bereavement in Music. (In Memory of Victor Hartman)

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What is Mussorgsky's music piece „Pictures at an Exhibition” about? About the pictures at an exhibition, the obvious answer would be. In my view, however, there is a lot more than that involved. The primary frame of interpretation, of course, is the topic given in the title of the composition. This programme music is, in fact, a musical reflexion on a real exhibition, and Mussorgsky even supplied the titles of the pictures, as well as their subject matters.

However, the audience knows little about the artist who made these pictures: about Victor Hartmann, a good friend of Mussorgsky – painter, stage-designer and architect,¹ and this friendship provides the key to broaden the frame of the composition's interpretation.

Mussorgsky was profoundly fond of Hartmann, so it was a painful shock for him when the painter suddenly died in 1873. As he wrote in a letter: „I don't know if Hartman finished the construction work. This senseless death keeps taking its toll, irrespective of the fact whether we need its damned visits.”²

He does not only blame death, but himself as well: „I remember when Vitja travelled to Saint Petersburg the last time, we accompanied him... just opposite St. Anne' Church, Vitja leaned against the wall and got pale... I asked him (calmly): What's the matter? – I am short of breath, he said... As I was also familiar with artists' nervousness and heart problems myself... (with the same calmness) I told Vitja again: Just have a little rest, dear friend, and then let's go on. Well, we were talking in this light manner about something that, in the end, robbed us forever of the person we loved... How foolish we are! If this conversation comes into my mind now, my heart sinks at the thought that I felt uneasy then for being worried... and I failed to help this man, such a man... how shameful!”³

Mussorgsky's self-reproach was intense because he considered Hartmann an exceptionally gifted artist and, when he died, he did not only lose a friend,

¹ I wrote Hartmann's name with double 'n' in this study, however, it is spelled by one 'n' in the volume of Mussorgsky's selected letters published in 1970. For authenticity, I kept that spelling in the quoted parts.

² *Muszorgszkij válogatott levelei*, ford. SZŐKE Zoltán, (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1970) 106.

³ *Muszorgszkij válogatott levelei*, op.cit. 107.

but his death also broke the career of a promising artist who had been destined to lay the foundation of modern architecture which also integrated the Russian traditions into itself. „I remember our last conversation (how could I forget it!) ... he entertained me with his idea of a Russian-style architecture. This style, although adapted to the demands of our time, is still Russian style or, as he liked to phrase it: a „sophisticated” Russian style... If we recall the precious memory about the houses built a-la Makarov, the chapel of the Summer Garden, the flight of stairs that „bowed to the ground” at the Vienna World Trade Exhibition – and it did bow to the ground, actually, in front of the whole world (the Russian slave woman did not deny her true self there, either) –, and then we add to it the bare frame of the folk theatre in Moscow (not to mention its sophisticated details and its independence but simply its bare frame), one’s heart sinks at the thought how much Hartman could have contributed to art, had he not died so early!”⁴

Mussorgsky cannot find consolation for himself after Hartmann’s death: „The wise console us foolish people by saying that although he is no longer with us, his works of art still live and will continue to live... but how many artists are granted the blessed fate of not being forgotten? This kind of reasoning (together with the horse-raddish-stimulated tears) is only the product of man’s self-love. To hell with your wisdom! If his life was not futile but that of a creative man, it is disgraceful to take pleasure in finding consolation and relief accepting that his creative work has ended. No, there cannot be peace or consolation – this would be immoral.”⁵

A year passes and, in 1874, an exhibition is organised from Hartmann’s paintings.⁶ Mussorgsky is still troubled with doubts: Hartmann will be forgotten, because what has been left behind after his death? Watercolours, some stage designs, building designs and building models. It is then that he starts composing „Pictures at an Exhibition”.

It is interesting that at the first sight there seems to be no connecting idea between the pictures portrayed in the composition. Let us see: the composer first takes the picture of the gnome, then the old castle, then comes the picture of children quarrelling in the Tuileries Gardens, then the musical portray of the hay-cart (bydlo), followed by the ballet of unhatched chicks, then the arguing Jews, the market place in Limoges, the catacombs, the hut of Baba Yaga standing on fowl’s legs and, finally, the great gate of Kiev.

⁴ *Muszorgszkij válogatott levelei, op.cit.* 105.

⁵ *Muszorgszkij válogatott levelei, op.cit.* 108.

⁶ Emilia L. FRID, *Mogyeszt Petrovics Muszorgszkij életének és művészetének rövid története*, ford. VAS Zoltán, (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1966)

It is highly unlikely that, following such a serious emotional crisis, the paintings were selected and arranged in the composition randomly! Had Mussorgsky been an impressionist composer, this theory might perhaps have ground, saying that he tried to depict the atmosphere of the exhibition in music. Therefore, if we dismiss the hypothesis that Mussorgsky selected the ten paintings randomly for his composition, out of a collection of several hundred works of art, we must find the underlying principle behind his choice of the particular order in which the pictures follow one another in the composition...

We should start from the assumption that the musical representation of the given pictures evokes memories and feelings related to the lost friend, since the mere sight of the chosen paintings is unlikely to induce such deep emotions. This assumption is supported by the fact that if it was merely about the pictures at an exhibition, the musical composition should follow the pattern of promenade (walk) – picture – walk, because in that case the walk would lead us from one picture to the next one. However, this is not the case: the promenade sometimes is omitted, and the pictures come one after the other. At another point the promenade motive is integrated into the music describing the given painting.⁷ Last but not least, Mussorgsky himself talked about his inner struggle at the time he was composing the music: „My mind is kept busy with Hartman, just like it used to be with Boris – sounds and thoughts whirl in me, and I am ruminating and brooding over them, and can hardly put anything on paper...”⁸

And it is probably not by chance that he gives his composition the sub-title: In Memory of Victor Hartman.⁹

The topic of death has inspired several composers – we should only think of the *Dance Macabre* by Liszt and Saint Saens, or Schubert's *Death and the Maiden*. Actually, Mussorgsky also deals with this topic in some of his other compositions: for example, in *Songs and Dances of Death*, or in his operas (*Boris Godunov*, *Hovanscina*). It is a common element in the above pieces that the portrayal of death was inspired by some work of literature or fine arts, or by some musical motif.

„Pictures at an Exhibition” differs from the above ones in that it was composed on the basis of the artist's own experience, which is the reason why it reflects the process of grieving so perfectly. Mussorgsky gives such a faithful description of the emotional process he was going through that it can be interpreted by means of the theory of grief used in psychology.

⁷ PÁNDI Marianne, *Hangversenykalauz, IV. Zongoraművek*, (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1980)

⁸ *Muszorgszkij válogatott levelei, op.cit.* 126.

⁹ Modeszt MUSZORGSKIJ, *Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések*, összeáll. és ford. BOJTI János és PAPP Márta, (Budapest: Kávé Kiadó, 1997) 600.

Telling the plain truth is, in fact, the most important principle for him: „...in the way as Mussorgsky does it sometimes, in leitmotive-like exclamations which, at the same time, summarize his musical-aesthetic credo very simply: „I want the truth!“ ... Mussorgsky’s music is not attractive to the „normal“ ears of his time, but it is profoundly true, to the point of embarrassment. Its compelling power challenges the conventional standards of playing music in the „beautiful“ way which was believed to fall in line with the western style,... But what does this truth mean for Mussorgsky? First of all, the reality or truthfulness of the portrayed characters and situations, that is, the re-exploration of their authenticity. How do human beings behave in their own world, what is one’s world like? How does the individual speak and behave in interactions and in situations? Reclaiming the truth means, first of all, dialogues integrated in the situations (in his letters, he often discusses the concept of the dialogue-opera), in which the voice, tone, motif, melody pattern and the collision of the musical characters create the situation for the truth of the music and word.”¹⁰

As it will be seen in the following, this focus on dialogues has great importance in „Pictures at an Exhibition“ as well. The anatomy of grief is described by several psychological models sharing basically similar considerations. Essentially, they all distinguish various stages of grief. It is important to stress that „the reaction given to loss is determined by a number of factors: the nature of relationship with the deceased, the way the person died, the age of the bereaved, their sex, personality, previous life events (depression, in particular), their actual mental condition. As a result, grief is always different with each individual.”¹¹

Thus, it is not reasonable to stick firmly to the phases of grief because, despite their similarities, the psychological models describing the process also differ from one another: for example, in the number of the phases and their interpretations. What is more, „the complex process of grief cannot be easily divided into clearly distinctive stages.”¹² However, these phases are still useful as they can serve as a guideline in interpreting the composition.

Keeping the above in mind, at first I thought of the simplest model of three phases to be chosen for the analysis of the composition. Then I considered the option of the four-phased model,¹³ mainly because it describes the mental process of grieving through the dreams of the bereaved. This model seemed to be

¹⁰ BALASSA Péter, „Modeszt Muszorgszkij szenvedése és nagysága. Levelek – dokumentumok – emlékezések”, *Muzsika*, 41(1998) 4. sz.

¹¹ *Gyász*, szerk. PILLING János, A pszichiátria aktuális kérdései, (Budapest: Medicina, 2003) 28.

¹² *Ibid.* 28.

¹³ Verena KAST, *A gyász: Egy lelki folyamat stádiumai és esélyei*, ford. MÉREI Vera, (Budapest: T-Twins, 1995)

more suitable for the analysis of a musical piece composed in an agitated mental state, and that was one of the main reasons why I finally decided on using it. (The difference between the two models is that the four-phased model divides the second phase of the three-phased model into two parts. Consequently (in my view, at least), there is no basic contradiction between the two models – only the interpretation of the second phase is more differentiated with Kast.)

The division of the Kast-model is the following: the first phase is described as consternation, shock and denial; the second one as a period of overwhelming emotions and suffering; the next phase is characterised by searching, finding and letting go and, finally, the last phase establishes a new relationship with ourselves and with the external world, which is also called the re-organization of our lives.

And now, let us take a closer look at the mental process of grief as reflected in music.

First we should say a few words about the promenade (or walk). The promenade is the composer's self-reflection on the emotions induced by the musical picture he has composed: „... the connecting parts /on the theme of the promenade/ are beautiful... my own physiognomy can be seen in the connecting parts.”¹⁴

In other words, Hartmann's pictures constitute the starting point, on which base Mussorgsky composes the musical pictures, and arranges them in accordance with the mental process of grieving. Moreover, by inserting the promenades, he interprets his own mental process and, in fact, this dialogue leads him to the solution of the problems he is experiencing during grieving.

We should not forget about another aspect of the composition: namely, it was not by chance that Mussorgsky wrote the instruction „in Russian style” to the promenade (first walk) in the score.¹⁵ The controversial relationship between the western and Russian cultures can also be observed in the composition, as a true mark of the aesthetic views he shared with Hartmann: „he entertained me with his idea of a Russian-style architecture. This style, although adapted to the demands of our time, is still a Russian style or, as he liked to phrase it: a „sophisticated” Russian style...” The fundamental role of this „sophisticated Russian style” will appear in the last phase of grief.

Let us have now a closer look at the musical pictures.

The first picture is the gnome, which causes consternation – this is, in fact, the first phase in the process of grieving. The effect of shock induced by the picture can be felt in the promenade that follows.

¹⁴ *Muszorgszkij válogatott levelei, op.cit. 107.*

¹⁵ *MUSZORGSKIJ, Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések, op.cit. 600.*

The next two pictures still belong to the first phase, and the common feature in them – by using the terminology of Kast – is impassivity, however, „this impassivity is far from being the result of dried out emotions: on the contrary, it is caused by an emotional shock. The bereaved is numbed by the very intensity of emotions: it is the accompanying phenomenon of the denial to accept the loss.”

The troubadour melody of the old castle¹⁶ reveals that Mussorgsky truly loved his lost friend, Hartmann, but „he conjures up Italy under the Russian sky. This sky is projected over the Italian castle, by the melodiousness of the highest part coloured by eastern motifs. This obvious and intentional mixing of intonations creates a distance from the passionate emotions of the troubadour”,¹⁷ resulting in a feeling of stupor. These pictures are again followed by a walk – that is, by self-reflexion.

The last picture of the first phase is of children quarelling after play in the Tuilleries Gardens,¹⁸ expressing the composer’s anger in a toned-down form – as it is about creating a musical picture of bickering kids – and, by doing so, it expresses denial about the loss.

„It is hard to admit that we are helpless when death is concerned. When we rage, when, in many cases, we make extremely great efforts to find the guilty party, we delude ourselves that we are not hopeless.”¹⁹

Thus, accepting the anger which manifests itself in the musical picture is problematic, due to the feeling of helplessness: „No, and no, again, there cannot be peace or consolation.” Therefore, there is no promenade after this part, but it is immediately followed by an outburst of immense pain so far suppressed – this is the second phase of grief –, with the musical picture of the hay-cart (bydlo). Mussorgsky is sobbing desperately. The hay-cart is followed by promenade – it can be so because the feeling of pain and crying are already acceptable emotions for the bereaved.

The new shock induced by the hay-cart is followed by a bizarre musical picture full of anxiety: the dance of the unhatched chicks.²⁰ It must be noted that Mussorgsky gave a completely new interpretation to Hartmann’s picture. The original picture was, in fact, a drawing used for stage scenery, in which a man in an egg-shell costume can be seen. Here, the composer’s self-reproach is surfacing: „...one’s heart sinks at the thought how much Hartman could have contributed to art, had he not died so early! ... and I failed to help this man, such a

¹⁶ PÁNDI, *Hangversenykalauz*, op.cit.

¹⁷ PÁNDI, *Hangversenykalauz*, op.cit. 274.

¹⁸ MUSZORGSKIJ, *Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések*, op.cit. 600.

¹⁹ KAST, *A gyász*, op.cit. 68.

²⁰ MUSZORGSKIJ, *Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések*, op.cit. 600.

man!" That is why he gives the title 'dance of the unhatched chicks' to the piece: it is a kind of dance macabre, of those who will not fulfil their destiny because they die much too early – already in the egg-shell. This, again, is not followed by a promenade, because, similarly to the picture of children quarreling in the Tuilleries Gardens, it reflects an unsettled state of mind.

The next musical picture is interesting from an additional aspect: it was composed by using two of Hartmann's pictures: it is the dialogue of the two Jews: the rich and the poor one. It is an angry and helpless accusation, the non-acceptance and denial of sudden death: „this senseless death keeps taking its toll, irrespective of the fact whether we need its damned visits.". However, there is no escape – in the end it must be accepted: death is irreversible. This musical picture is followed by the first promenade – signifying the fact that there is a marked dividing line here – Hartmann's death has been acknowledged!

The next phase of grieving is searching, finding and letting go: „this makes the inner dialogues possible.”²¹

Mussorgsky is looking for Hartmann in the bustle of the market place at Limoges, which is interrupted by the grim picture of the catacombs. There is no promenade between the two pictures, because this time the two pictures jointly describe a process: Hartmann appears in the painting, among the heaps of human skeletons! This is one of the most significant steps in the process of accepting death. „Con mortis in lingua mortua.", Mussorgsky writes in pencil on the margin: with the dead, in the language of the dead,²² and that is the point where, in the language of music, acceptance becomes complete.

Still, there is another emotional burden for Mussorgsky: Hartmann will be forgotten, and he is responsible for this because, due to his sudden death, Hartmann's architectural work remained in the form of designs only. Mussorgsky maintains a dialogue with the ghost of Hartmann: „the enigmatic music of the scene is actually the rerun of the familiar melody of the Promenade, under eerie, prolonged octave-tremolos.”²³

„The creative spirit of the dead Hartman is leading, calling us to the skulls, and the skulls are slowly shining up.”²⁴ Mussorgsky writes on the score, which recalls Hamlet's meeting with the ghost: „Rest, rest, perturbed spirit...” „The time is out of joint: – O curséd spite, That ever I was born to put it right!"

The musical picture of The Hut on Fowl's Legs (Baba Yaga),²⁵ is the point where starts the magic, in which Mussorgsky builds up the Great Gate of Kiev

²¹ KAST, *A gyász*, *op.cit.* 75.

²² MUSZORGSKIJ, *Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések*, *op.cit.* 600.

²³ PÁNDI, *Hangversenykalauz*, *op.cit.* 275.

²⁴ MUSZORGSKIJ, *Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések*, *op.cit.* 600.

²⁵ MUSZORGSKIJ, *Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések*, *op.cit.* 600.

as a masterpiece of the new Russian architecture, not from stones, however, but from musical notes. And this has taken us to the last phase of grief, in which we create a new relationship with ourselves and with the external world. „Its precondition is that the deceased must be transformed into an „inner figure... everything that earlier existed in the relationship itself, now enriches the scope of the bereaved’s own potentials.”²⁶

The bells of the Great Gate of Kiev bid a final farewell to the deceased who, by now, has become immortal through the musical portrayal of his pictures – and thus Mussorgsky could also free himself from his tormenting self-reproach.

Translated by Katalin Ruhmann

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²⁶ KAST, *A gyász*, op.cit. 77.

Land and Policy: Dominions of Prince Francis II Rákóczi, 1694–1701

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Prince Francis II Rákóczi (1678–1735) was primary heir of the House of Rákóczi, as the son of Francis I Rákóczi (1645–1646), elected but never ruling Prince of Transylvania, who had returned to loyalty for the Habsburgs (due to not insignificant financial sacrifice). During his student years, spent in a Jesuit milieu in Neuhaus (Jindřichův Hradec, Bohemia) and Prague, young Prince Rákóczi learnt a lot of things from his tutors that an aristocrat had to know in contemporary Europe, however, this knowledge did not include estate management. Although his foreign tutors strengthened his awareness of his role and duties as a landowner, aristocrat and prince, they primarily regarded him and his (elder) sister, Julianna Barbara Rákóczi (1674–1717)¹ as the grandchildren of Sophia Báthory (Báthori) (1629–1680), always remaining deeply loyal to the Viennese court, which thus did not question their rights of ownership manifested in the Rákóczi estate. But in his adolescent age, young Rákóczi was far away from any specific land issues as he lived at a physical distance from his estates of immense size and wealth, which were managed from the imperial court, by the Royal Chamber, under the direction of estate manager Ferenc Klobusiczky.²

In spring 1694, Rákóczi travelled to the Kingdom of Hungary together with his brother-in-law, Count Ferdinand Gobert Asprenont-Lynden of Reckheim (1643–1708) to inspect and take over his estates: he celebrated his 18th birthday in his castle in Szerencs,³ and his appointment as Lord-Lieutenant of county Sáros (Šariš) in his castle in Nagysáros (now: Veľký Šariš, Slovakia) on 28 March and 3 June, 1694, respectively. At the same time, Rákóczi started to set up his

¹ More on Princess Julianna Barbara Rákóczi: GYULAI Éva, „Pallas Reckheimben – Theodoor Amand Caenen Rákóczi Juliannához szóló üdvözlő verse (Maastricht, 1706)”, in *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek. Tanulmányok Veszprémy László tiszteletére*, szerk. KINCSES Katalin Mária (Budapest: HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2018) 169–189.

² More on Franciscus Klobusiczky and his father Andreas Klobusiczky: GYULAI Éva, „Provizorok és karrieriek a 17. századi Északkelet-Magyarországon”, in *Nagyváthy és a magyar uradalmak*, szerk. SZIRÁCSIK Éva (Budapest: Unicus Műhely, 2017) 17–34.

³ The latest on the dominions of Szerencs and Zboró/Zborov: GYULAI Éva, „Rákóczi-örökség Zemplénben és Sárosban: Szerencs és Zboró”, in *Rákócziak öröksége*, szerk. TAMÁS Edit (Sárospatak: MNM Rákóczi Múzeuma, 2018). 171–180.

own court as an aristocrat so he married his chosen fiancée, Marchioness (Landgravine) Charlotte Amalie of Hessen-Wanfried (1679–1722) of ducal rank in Cologne, on 26 September, 1694 as a real Hungarian aristocrat landowner and politician. At the very end of 1694, he visited Sárospatak together with his wife, where until 1706, he remained a generous patron of the Jesuits, who also performed parish jobs there.⁴

The 'Rákóczi orphans', as good brother and sister, seemed to agree on how to divide the huge estate between themselves in the beginning; in 1698, for example, they divided the dominion of Ecsed in the way that they halved Ecsed castle, which was in ruins, the market town of Ecsed and the estate of Kis-Ecsed while the villages got into the possession of either the one or the other landowner as a whole.⁵ But they could not avoid the 'curse' of the nobility, the legal dispute over estates, which finally ended in September 1699 with an agreement. So the Rákóczi-estates handed down on the cadet branch – Munkács (Mukachevo, the Ukraine), extended with the Szentmiklós and Dobrony (Chynadiyovo, Dobrony, the Ukraine) estates as well as Sárospatak, Regéc and Tokaj – remained completely in Francis Rákóczi's possession just like Helmec (Kráľovský Chlmec, Slovakia) while Ecsed and Felsővadász were divided up between the Rákóczi orphans in half. They jointly owned Makovica, Nagysáros (Makovica, Veľký Šariš, Slovakia), Debrő in county Heves and Szerencs in county Zemplén with their aunt, Countess Erzsébet Erdődy-Rákóczi (1650–1707), so both of the Rákóczi siblings got a quarter of these estates. The estates in Serke–Csetnek–Derencsény (Širkovce–Štítnik–Drienčany, Slovakia) and in Lednic (Lednica, Slovakia) in county Trencsén (Trenčín) remained undivided. The small dominion of Borsi (now: Borša, Slovakia), separated from the old Sárospatak estate and inherited from the Lorántffy family, which Rákóczi gave up together with his birthplace, i. e. the Borsi castle and its villages in favour of his sister had a special fate.⁶ Although in the Rákóczi estate in Makovica, the prince kept the villages he had inherited, the Francis Rákóczi's share in the market town and castle Zboró (now: Zborov, Slovakia) also got into Julianna Barbara Rákóczi's ownership thanks to her brother.⁷

⁴ For the relationship between Rákóczi and the Jesuits of Sárospatak, cf.: GYULAI Éva, „Rákóczi és a sárospataki jezsuiták”, in *II. Rákóczi Ferenc, az államférfi. Tanulmányok a sárospataki országgyűlés 300. évfordulójára*, szerk. TAMÁS Edit (Sárospatak: MNM Rákóczi Múzeuma, 2008) 294–345.

⁵ National Archive of Hungary (hereinafter: MNL) National Archive (hereinafter: OL) E 156. (Urbaria et conscriptiones, hereinafter: UeC) 13/22

⁶ WELLMANN Imre, „A Rákóczi-birtokok sorsa”, in *Rákóczi emlékkönyv halálának étszázéves fordulójára* 1–2, szerk. LUKINICH Imre (Budapest: Franklin, 1935) 91–122., 106.

⁷ THALY Kálmán, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc fejedelem ifjúsága 1676–1701. Történeti tanulmány*. (Pozsony: Stampfel Károly, 1881) 277–283.; WELLMANN, *A Rákóczi birtokok*, op.cit. 106–107.

It is difficult to supervise such an enormous estate as a landowner even for a person who has been educated to be a landowner since his/her childhood. Rákóczi, however, was prevented by destiny and large-scale politics from growing up to be a landowner as he got far away not only from his estates but also from his family, famous for their estate management, so there was no place where and no person from whom he could have learned estate management although the female members of the House of Rákóczi-Báthory were famous for their efficient estate management. However, seeing the severe decline of the castles populated with the soldiers of the Holy Roman Emperor, the market towns in Hegyalja (Submontanum), for which winter billeting meant a heavy burden, and that of their other possessions, Count and Countess Aspremont and 18-year-old Francis II Rákóczi started managing their estates while and after inspecting them with a real landowner attitude. But from 1701, Prince Rákóczi was again separated from his estates and when he returned, the first issue on his agenda was no longer the management of his private estates but the promotion of the common good as he was the leader of the war of independence and the new state.

An aristocrat's way of life required an enormous amount of cash, which Rákóczi, just like the Aspremonts, having settled in Vienna, was only able to obtain by selling or hypothecating his estates. The first estate that Rákóczi gave away, still as an unmarried man, after his first journey to Hungary, was the estate complex belonging to the castle of Lednic or Lednice (Lednica), situated in county Trencsén (Trenčín). Although Lednice was far away from the core family estates in Upper Hungary, and its revenues (profitability) could not come up to those of the huge castle dominions of the size of a country, from today's perspective, it is hard to understand that its new owners (at that time, at least) did not appreciate the closeness of the Lednic estate to Pressburg (Bratislava) and Vienna. Of course, the disposal of the estate meant hypothecation, common in that period, which involved the desire for and hope of redeeming it. The hypothecation of the Lednic estate was completed in 1694, when it was taken by Count István Zichy (II) (1647–1700), vice general in Raab (Győr) until 1680, Lord Lieutenant of county Szabolcs, guardian of the Crown and son of master of the treasury István Zichy (†1693)⁸ first for 42,000 Florins for 4 years. Upon the handover-takeover of the estate, a detailed inventory was taken about both movable and immovable assets, which also includes General István Zichy's promissory note, written by himself.⁹ In the following 4 years, however, Lednic

⁸ ZICHY István, „Adatok egy XVII. századi katolikus főúri család történetéhez. Öregebbik Zichy István gróf (1616–1693)”, *Regnum – Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv* 5(1942–1943) 736–764., 763.

⁹ MNL OL UeC 101/43 és 85/14 (5 Sept. 1694)

had a new landowner, László Mattyasovszky, Bishop of Nyitra (Nitra) and Chancellor (†1703), who took the estate from the Rákóczi siblings in 1700 for 4 years and later handed it down in his family.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, in 1702, during Rákóczi's emigration, Puhó, Donány and Hrabovka (Púchov, Dohňany, Hrabovka, Slovakia) were taken over by Puhó nobleman György (Juraj) Moszticzky, the Rákóczi's court judge, as a hypothec in exchange for 1,000 Florins.¹¹

Lednice was not only situated far from the estates in Eastern Hungary but was also solitary as an estate. In the conglomerate of the Rákóczi estates, several of them were situated near each other and supported each other, which occasionally resulted in the bigger ones absorbing the smaller ones – this way, Szerencs absorbed Felsővadász or dominion of Munkács (Mukachevo) the ones in Dobrony and Szentmiklós – or in being put under joint management for some time. This method was especially preferred by the Royal Chamber after 1688 – that was how the tiny dominion of Borsi (Borša, Slovakia) of the Rákóczi, situated in the vicinity of Sárospatak, absorbed the nearby Upor (Úpor, Slovakia) estate.¹²

Although in county Sáros (Šariš), Nagysáros (Veľký Šariš) and Makovica avoided merging, the closeness of the two estates was an advantage from the perspective of administration as well as from that of the everyday life and even the representation of the Rákóczi. Therefore, the two nearby castle dominions and halls of residence were shared by the heirs of the princely and Judge Royal branches of the Rákóczi family with Nagysáros becoming Rákóczi's possession while Zboró (Zborov, Slovakia) that of his sister and their aunt, Erzsébet Rákóczi. In fact, in 1699, Rákóczi waived his ownership rights to Zboró, the centre of the Makovica estate and its castle in favour of his sister while kept the villages inherited by him in the estate.¹³ The estates in county Sáros had a special place in the land policy and aristocratic representation of the Rákóczi family so no wonder that most of them remained in the ownership of the Rákóczi heirs while several Rákóczi estates, even if not in full, soon had to share the fate of Lednice. Similarly, in 1697, Rákóczi 'got rid of' a full estate when he sold his Helmec estate, situated in Zemplén county. This small dominion did not play an essential role in the Rákóczi's land policy in spite of the fact that it was situated in county Zemplén, in the network of his other ancestral estates; and it is also true that this estate had not been acquired by Sigismund Rákóczi but by Susanne Lorántffy, when she bought the estate of medieval origin, Királyhelme

¹⁰ MNL OL UeC 18/10

¹¹ WELLMANN, *A Rákóczi birtokok*, *op.cit.* 104.

¹² MNL UeC 36/25

¹³ WELLMANN, *A Rákóczi birtokok*, *op.cit.* 106.

(Kráľovský Chlmec, Slovakia) of the Lelesz convent together with its castle and villages from the Premonstratensians for 25,000 Florins. Helmec was less ancestral in the Rákóczi estate, and in addition to an enhanced demand for cash, it may also have played a part in its selling that it was an old church estate so in 1697, Rákóczi returned it to the Premonstratensian provostry in Lelesz (now: Leles, Slovakia), which was recovered for the Order by Austrian Franz von Schöllingen, abbot of Pernegg together with its estates in 1697.¹⁴

The massive disposal of the inherited Rákóczi estates in the 1690s reveals that in contrast to his ancestors, in the case of Rákóczi, who had just 'got into' landownership, we are not always concerned with conscious, far-sighted, strategic-type land policy because a person who just sells (or hypothecates) but never purchases cannot really have a solid land policy. The idea even occurred to young Rákóczi that he would exchange his estates in Hungary for one in Austria or Germany but the Viennese court did not support his decision indicating that they would not be able to find an estate matching the Rákóczi estate in exchange.¹⁵ This did not mean that either Rákóczi or his sister would have been negligent landowners but only that they did not and could not continue their predecessors' careful and thorough land policy aimed at the developing and enlarging of the estate, they did not live or hardly stayed on their estates, where Rákóczi could not even set up a real hall of residence,¹⁶ but the future and operation of their estates were very important for them.

Prince Francis II Rákóczi also took out loans on his smaller estates. In 1695, he asked nobleman Lajos Sztankay, of county Sáros, for 2,483 Florins on his vineyard named Borkút in Tállya and on the village of Petrova (now: Petrová, Slovakia) in Sáros county while in 1696, another nobleman from Sáros county, András Keczer lent him 2,000 Florins, for which he hypothecated the village named Kurova (Kurov), situated in his Makovica estate. From István Szirmay, he borrowed 10,900 Forints for the village of Sajókeresztúr in Borsod county, and then he hypothecated his whole share in the Makovica estate for a loan of 31,000 Florins. In 1697, he hypothecated Vámosújfalu to vineyard inspector István Janthó for 4,000 Florins, after giving over his share in Szentmiklós to Janthó's younger brother, János, sheriff in Zemplén county, and first,

¹⁴ OLÁH Tamás, „A Bodrogek köz hadi krónikája, 1670–1711”, *Széphalom* 21(2011) 289–312., 304–305.

¹⁵ MÁRKI Sándor, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc I–III.* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1907–1910) II. 294.

¹⁶ On the residences of Rákóczi cf.: GYULAI Éva, „Rákóczi rezidenciái”, in *Rákóczi és Kassa: nemzetközi konferencia II. Rákóczi Ferenc és bujdosótársai hamvainak 110 éves hazahozatala alkalmából: Kassa, 2016 október 26–29*, szerk. HALÁSZ Magdolna és PALENCÁR-CSÁJI Ildikó, (*Sárospatak: Kassai Polgári Klub*, 2016) 130–139.

estate manager in Regéc, then in Sárospatak, and later in Munkács, for 16,000 Florins. János Jánthó got the whole Borsi estate as hypothec for 20,000 Forints for 6 years in 1703. Nagymajtény (now: Moftinu Mare, Romania) was hypothecated by Rákóczi to Sándor Károlyi for 8,000 Florins in 1698 while in 1700, half of the village Dubina in the Makovica estate and the brewery and pub in Kurima became János Ulics' hypothec in exchange for 2,000 Florins. Then in 1701, Rákóczi hypothecated some villages in the Makovica estate to Zsigmond Keller, tradesman in Bártfa, for 2,000 Florins. He hypothecated the undivided estate in Pocsaj in Bihar county to tricesimator Sándor Bossányi for 33,000 Florins. In 1694, Rákóczi hypothecated his shares in villages Velezd, Vadna, Kaza, Kazinc and Ivánka in Borsod county, belonging to the Serke estate, to István Koós, of Borsod county, to whom Francis I Rákóczi Ferenc had also hypothecated them. In the 1690s, Francis and Julianna also took out enormous loans jointly on their estates: thus 4,000 Florins from István Szirmay on half of the Szada estate, and 2,000 Florins from András Dőry on Sajószentpéter.¹⁷ Estates could be occupied without the owner's consent for the debt. That was how two villages in the Makovica estate were taken from Rákóczi by the Viennese Ursuline nuns around 1701 for a debt of Rhenish guilders.¹⁸ The enormous loan taken out by Sophia Báthory from the Jesuits was also an earlier liability. After returning home, Rákóczi paid back an instalment of it every year but it seems that he failed to fulfil his obligation to continue the construction of the Jesuit church in Kassa (Košice) as he had hardly been arrested in his Sáros castle in spring 1701 when the Jesuit rector in Kassa had the Felsővadász estate seized on 8 August, 1701 because Rákóczi had not built the spires of the church established by his grandmother.¹⁹ In fact, the nearby Alsóvadász, belonging to the Szerencs estate, and the estate part in Selyeb (Abaúj county) was hypothecated to chamber vice director Jakab Meskó sr., who paid Rákóczi an amount of 6,857 Florins on 8 October, 1700.²⁰ Only a part of the Csetnek (Štítňik, Slovakia) estate was inherited by the children of Francis I Rákóczi, and perhaps the joint dominion accounts for it that the considerable estate in Gömör, Torna (Gemer, Turna) and partly in Borsod counties was soon hypothecated to Pál Gyürky and his wife for 15,000 Florins on the occasion of Rákóczi's inauguration as Lord Lieutenant of

¹⁷ WELLMANN, *A Rákóczi-birtokok*, *op.cit.* 104.

¹⁸ MNL OL UeC 66/40

¹⁹ Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities – *Institute for Art History*, *The Collection of Archival Extracts*, A-I-16 Acta Jesuitica No. 386

²⁰ THALY Kálmán, „Munkácsi leltárak s udvartartási iratok (1680–1701)”, *Történelmi Tár* 1(1900)/3, 321–384., 368.

county of Sáros/Šariš on 3 June, 1694. The villages in Borsod county of the Csetnek portio were also hypothecated to András Dóry (†1708) in 1694.²¹

Although the Rákóczi ancestors, particularly Sigismund Rákóczi (†1608) and his sons: George I Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania (†1648)²² and Judge Royal Pál Rákóczi (†1636), as well as the Lorántffys were among the best at enlarging their estates in the Turkish period, the family had been forced earlier, too, to dispose of its estates. Thus in 1674, half of the market town Mád and the village of Ond in Hegyalja (Submontanum) were hypothecated to Archbishop of Esztergom, György Szelepcsényi in exchange for his loan given to Sophia Báthory (†1680) and her son, Prince Francis I Rákóczi (†1676).²³ However, large-scale hypothecation was not a characteristic of the land policy of the Rákóczi ancestors.

The most significant transaction of the young landowner, returning to his homeland with his wife, was the hypothecation of the huge Ecsed estate. After Sophia Báthory's death, the Ecsed castle rapidly deteriorated and became uninhabitable. At the same time, the Habsburg administration deployed soldiers here just like in Sárospatak. The Ecsed estate was deteriorating rapidly so no wonder that its new owners did not attempt to manage it. The Rákóczi heirs decided jointly on the future of the Báthory estate: in 1698, the wife of General Aspremont, Julianna Barbara Rákóczi hypothecated it to Count György Bánffy, of Losonc, for 50,000 Florins while her brother did so for 53,000 Florins for 10 years in the beginning. Rákóczi asked for altogether 53,000 Florins for his share.²⁴ The Ecsed castle estate was situated relatively near the private estates of Count György Bánffy of Losonc (1661–1708), Governor of Transylvania (1692–1708), situated in Kolozs, Belső-Szolnok and Kraszna (Cluj, Solnocul Interior, Crasna, Romania) counties and with its farming, characteristic of plains, it could well supplement the Bánffy estates situated in Transylvania and in the Partium. It is interesting that the new steward of Ecsed, János Pápai (†1740) had formerly served aulic Governor Bánffy, but then became Rákóczi's renowned diplomat, who already worked at the prince's chancellery in summer 1703. Pápai, having peregrinated in Odera-Frankfurt, got into Rákóczi's camp and captivity as the governor's estate manager in Ecsed but immediately

²¹ MNL OL UeC 66/40.; MNL OL UeC 66/61a pp. 18–26. (16 Dec. 1719); MNL OL UeC pp. 182–196. (1722); MNL OL UeC 67/13a pp. 12–17. (21 Dec. 1725)

²² On Princes Georges I and II. Rákóczi of Transylvania cf.: *Erdélyi Királyi Könyvek III. 20–29. 1635–1650. I. és II. Rákóczi György oklevelei*, szerk. GYULAI Éva, Arcanum CD-ROM (Budapest: Miskolci Egyetem BTK és Arcanum Adatbázis, 2004)

²³ GYULAI, *Prímás és provizor*, op.cit. 44.

²⁴ ÉBLE Gábor, *Az ecsedi uradalom és Nyiregyháza. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmány* (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1898) 8–9.; MNL OL UeC 66/40

offered his services to Rákóczi and his uprising. But at the time of Rákóczi's war of independence, the hypothecation of the Ecsed estate was discontinued as in January, 1704, Rákóczi confiscated his own estate with regard to the fact that its holder was a pro-Habsburg aristocrat and government official.²⁵ It was only then that Rákóczi noticed what an important strategic role the Ecsed estate could have in military strategy in the war of independence as it could become an important fortress due to the Ecsed moorland.²⁶ What is more, by building a channel, it could also be connected with the castle in Munkács therefore Rákóczi appointed a French military engineer to rebuild the Ecsed castle in a modern way.²⁷ If Rákóczi had prepared to become a statesman from the beginning, as a strategist, he would have given priority to the long-term development of his estates earlier, and probably, he would not have disposed of Ecsed in 1694.

It is no coincidence that the central area of Rákóczi's war of independence and the confederation remained Northeastern Hungary from beginning to end as this was the region where Rákóczi's estates were also situated. It gives food for thought that the venues of Rákóczi's national assemblies: Ónod (1707) and Sárospatak (1708) were the Rákóczi's ancestral estate centres. There remained a note written between 1707 and 1709 which contains Prince Rákóczi's management directions that he sent from his camps to his estate managers – Márton Krucsay, György Ottlik, Péter Semsei, András Petes, Ferenc Malonyai, György Marczibányi and György Szluha. On several occasions, these orders concerned transportations between the Rákóczi estates. The note also contains a deed in which Rákóczi cleared the name of István Raszlaviczai, who was court judge in the Nagysáros and Makovica estates in 1697 and 1698, from the accusations related to his former financial statements.²⁸

However, between 1694 and 1701, Rákóczi was only an extravagant aristocrat and not a prince building a state and a military leader therefore the sale and the more frequent hypothecation of his estates and the increase of the amount of pledge (*auctio*) meant a permanent source of cash for him (and his sister).²⁹ Disposing of his estates was so typical of Rákóczi's management that after his arrest in 1701, the experts of the Royal Chamber made a long survey of the Rákóczi estates held by strangers.

²⁵ MNL OL UeC 64/17 pp. 414–492.

²⁶ „I went to Ecsed, my family's inherited castle, which was destroyed by the Germans before the war, but I thought about rebuilding as a stronghold.” (12 Dec. 1705) – RÁKÓCZI Ferenc II, *Vallomások; Emlékiratok*, szerk. HOPP Lajos (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1979) 323.

²⁷ KÖPECZI Béla és R. VÁRKONYI Ágnes, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc*, (Budapest: Gondolat, 1976) 178.

²⁸ MNL OL UeC 27/9

²⁹ THALY, *Munkácsi leltárak*, *op.cit.* 367–369.

University of Miskolc Faculty of Arts – Research Almanac

*Estates disposed of by Ferenc Rákóczi (and his sister) [1693–1700]
A Chamber survey³⁰*

Possession, dominion	Date of disposal	The new possessor	Value (Florins)
Ecsed (dominion)	29-10-1700	Count György Losonczi Bánffy	50 000
<i>Lednic/Lednica (dominion)*</i>	04-07-1694	István Zichy	42 000
<i>Csetnek/Štitník (portio)*</i>	03-06-1694	Pál Gyürky	15 000
Nagysáros (fourth part)	03-01-1701	The Viennese Ursulines	6800
Szentmiklós	05-03-1700	Marchioness Charlotte Amalie of Hessen-Wanfried (inscription)	10 000
Market town Sajószentpéter + Kisfalud	18-06-1694	András Dóry András	2400 (auctio)
<i>Velezd, Vadna, Kazinc, Kaza, Ivánka, Harnóc (Dominion of Csetnek/Štitník)*</i>	1694 30-09-1699	András Dóry earlier: István Kós	1000 1800 (auctio)
Mansion of Széplak/Krasna	27-06-1698	Mihály Váradi	1000 (auctio)
Királydaróc/Craidorolț (Kraszna/Crasna county) serf plots	03-12-1694	inscription	200
<i>Pokorágy, Cserecsen, Szelce*</i>	29-11-1695	Ádám Vay	2000
<i>Perkec, Ábrány, Déda, Széplak, Baromlak, Genyéte, Usztató, Csány, Magyar, Csaholy (Bihar/Bihor, Közép-Szolnok/Middle-Solnok)*</i>	27-12-1700	Count György Bánffy for 10 years	3000
<i>Sajókeresztúr, Besenyő, Kecsény, Felső-Zsolca*</i>		István Szirmay	7300
Dominion of Munkács/Mukachevo			
Sztrabicsó/Sztrabichovo		The Paulines of Sátorajújhely	5000
Beregújfalú/Berehújfalú		the Stabel Master	2000
Lucska/Veliky Luchky	15-12-1695	János Buzani (inscription)	250
Munkács/Mukachevo (a house)	1694	Andreas Hösch royal annonarius (libertatio)	100
Munkács/Mukachevo (a house)		Anton Edel	H. 400
Munkács/Mukachevo (a plot)		The sculteti of Rákos/Rakosh	H. 100
Munkács/Mukachevo (a plot)	27-01-1701	Márton Koza (exemptio)	H. 204
Dominion of Sárospatak			
Telkibánya	17-10-1699 10-05-1700	Sándor Vas	Rh. 6000

³⁰ MNL OL UeC 66/40 (at the beginning of 1701)

Dominions of Prince Francis II Rákóczi, 1694–1701

Tolcsva és Erdőbénye		István Szirmay	60 000
<i>Sárospatak-Castle (a house)</i> ³¹	01-03-1694	János Badinyi (inscriptio)	Rh. 1000
Telkibánya (a house)	16-02-1700	Andreas Koza (libertatio)	100
Berzék (+ a mill)	11-11-1699	Ferenc Malonyai (hypothec)	Rh. 1500
Bercel, Gáva, Paszap		György Kőrössi (hypothec)	H. 3000
Szabolcs pusztá (portio)		János Kéri	H. 500
Tokaj (vineyard: Nagyszőlő)		Baron István Szirmay (hypothec)	H. 22 000
Tokaj (2 vineyards)	26-12-1699	Jakab Meskó (libertatio)	Rh. 300
Tarcal (a house)	27-12-1699	Gergely Komjáthi (libertatio)	Rh. 300
Tarcal (a house)		György Törös (libertatio)	arany 100
Dominion of Regéc			
Hernádújfalú pusztá	09-11-1699	Pál Szepešy	Rh. 600
Tállya (vineyard: Görbe-szőlő)		Sándor Keczer (libertálás)	340?
Tállya (vineyard: Palota-szőlő)	1698	Jakab Kray (zálog 4 évre)	H. 4000
Tállya (vineyard: Kodu-Nyíres)	23-02-1695	György Gönczi	H. 100
Szántó (a plot)		András Csoto	H. 100
Dominion of Szerencs			
Zombor (vineyard: Disznókő-szőlő)		István and Imre Kálmánczai	H. 4000
Dominion of Makovica			400 (auctio)
Komaróc/Komárovce	31-03-1699	Büdeskúti [Sámuel] (hypotec)	400 auctio
Alsó- és Felső-Mirossó/Nižný-Vyšný Mirošov		The Viennese Ursulines	Rh. 4618
Bártfajúfalú/Bardejovská Nová Ves, Belovezsa/Beloveža	24-06-1699	[Samuel] Eisdorffer (inscriptio)	H. [8085]
Bicsaró/Becherov, Meszticka/Mestečka		Baron Imre Gombos	H. 4000

**together with Julianna Barbara Rákóczi*

Source: MNL OL UeC 66/40

H. = Hungarian Florin

Rh. = Rheingulden

Certain items, however, were missing from the list of the Royal Chamber. On 8 October, 1700, Rákóczi hypothecated Alsóvadász and the Selyeb estate part (Abaúj/Abov county) to royal chamber vice director Jakab Meskó sr., for an amount of 6,857 Florins. Also in 1700, he hypothecated Edelény to Baron Franz Johann L'Huillier (1668–1728), general of the imperial army, for 5,000

³¹ *Adalékok Zemplénvármegye történetéhez*, 1(1896) 1. sz. 55–57.

Florins.³² After Rákóczi's war of independence, Meskó and L'Huillier received donations from the King of Hungary for the Rákóczi estates which had earlier been hypothecated to them and for others, too, that is, some of the estates confiscated after 1711 of the part of the Rákóczi estate due to Prince Francis II Rákóczi had already got into the possession of the future aulic owners, it is true that only temporarily, as hypothec.

According to the Royal Chamber's survey, between 1693 and 1700, Prince Rákóczi obtained 191,129 Rhenish guilders and 40 denarii in cash. In the same way as business connections turned into a political commitment in Rákóczi's war of independence, the land policy of the ruler becoming a prince from a private landowner and responsible for the economic administration of a whole confederation changed, too. His estates were again seized by the Royal Chamber in 1701 but after the start of the war of independence (1703), he did not only have to free his own private estates from the confiscation of the Habsburg administration but as the sovereign of the confederation, he also had to confiscate state estates in the occupied regions of the Kingdom of Hungary.

Translated by Judit Szabóné Papp

My major publications on this topic:

GYULAI Éva, „Egy borsodi nemes Rákóczi oldalán – Aszalay Ferenc (1674–1729) udvari szekretárius életútja”, in *A Rákóczi-szabadságharc és Közép-Európa. Tanulmányok a szabadságharc kezdetének 300. évfordulójára*, I–II, szerk. TAMÁS Edit, A Sárospataki Rákóczi Múzeum Füzetei 46, (Sárospatak: Rákóczi Múzeum, 2003) II, 7–79.

GYULAI Éva, „Család – vármegye – egyház. Aszalay Ferenc karrierje és életstratégiája a Rákóczi-szabadságharc után”, *Századok*, 146(2012) 4. sz. 937–960.

Éva GYULAI, „Rezidencie rodu Rákócziovcov”, in *Rákóczi 110 rokov v Košiciach. Medzinárodná konferencia pri príležitosti 110. výročia prevezenia pozostatkov Františka II. Rákócziho a jeho druhov do Košíc*, 26. – 29. októbra 2016, Košice, red. Ildikó PALENČÁROVÁ, (Košice: Kassai Polgári Klub, 2016) 92–101.

GYULAI Éva, „Rákóczi uradalmi és birtokpolitikája, 1688–1701”, in *Gazdálkodás az uradalmakban*, szerk. SZIRÁCSIK Éva, Dominium V. A Magyar Uradalomtörténeti Társaság Évkönyve, (Budapest: Unicus Műhely, 2020) (Under press.)

GYULAI Éva, „Zboró (Zborov) és a Rákóczi család”, in *Rákóczi-émlékkönyv*, szerk. BOLDAI András, (Budapest: V4 Együttműködés Kulturális és Közéleti Egyesület, 2020) (Under press.)

³² *Libri Regii – Király Könyvek 1527–1918*, DVD-ROM, szerk. VISSI Zsuzsanna et. al. (Budapest: Arcanum-MOL, 2006) № 35.231

Community Development and Civil Society

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Introduction

Over the last decade I have been tracking the life of several civil organisations, I have joined their activities, participated in their programmes and made interviews with their leaders. The majority of these were organisations established by Gypsy people in BAZ (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén) county and the rest were innovative civil organisations countrywide. Being a resident of Miskolc I have laid a special emphasis on the civil society in Miskolc during my research. A part of the associations, foundations and social cooperatives under scrutiny were born as a result of community development activities – some are involved in community developments themselves. In some other cases the members and volunteers of the civil organisations end up becoming a community while doing their activities. In this study we are going to review the concepts of civil society, community and community development, their relationship to one another and their role and place in modern societies. Besides I will present the analytical data concerning the topic followed by a summary of my field experience.

What is civil society?

From the time of Aristotle till the end of the 18th century the concept of civil society embraced every activity of the community and public life outside family life – including the institutions even the state.¹ Since modernity every social phenomenon between family and state has been considered as part of the civil society² or according to another approach everything that does not belong to the market or state.³ Merging these two latter concepts our interpretation is

¹ HANKISS Elemér, *Diagnózisok 2*, (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1986)

² John KEANE, *Democracy and Civil Society: On the Predicaments of European Socialism, the Prospects for Democracy, and the Controlling of Social and Political Power*, (London and New York: Verso, 1988)

³ DARUKA Magdolna, „Nonprofit szervezetek jellemzői és döntési mechanizmusa”, in *Kultúra-gazdaságtani tanulmányok*, szerk. DAUBNER Katalin és HORVÁTH Sándor és PETRÓ Katalin, (Budapest: Aula Kiadó, 2000) 76–89.

that civil society refers to that part of the society which falls outside the spheres of family, market and state though relating to these in many different ways.

NGOs are usually the subject of research in collecting statistical data, however they are not identical to the civil society although they bear resemblance. The NGO sector is the institutionalised form or part of the civil society. The organisations of this sector are characterised by the prohibition of profit distribution, autonomy in their operations, separation from the state in the organisations (although they can have public functions and can receive orders from the government.), institutionalisation and being separate legal entities.⁴ Salamon-Anheiner further adds self governance, volunteering, empowerment, serving the public good and general interest and not political or religious aims.⁵

So civil society is a wider concept. Nevertheless there is a well noticeable tendency of the institutionalisation of the non formal circles of the civil society, their becoming part of the non-profit sector simply because it allows them to get access to financial resources and to conclude contracts etc. However, in this process of institutionalisation the nature of the given community will inevitable change, often they cease to exist as a community.

The role of civil society and community development in modernity, their relationship to one another, the nature of communities

Several authors have discussed the negative phenomena of modernity: the extension of the role and sphere of state and market, the subsystems of law and economy, the shrinking and colonisation of life world (lebenswelt), the shrinking of the space and functions of families, the weakening and disappearance of communities, fragmentation. Attempts to respond to these challenges have continuously been born both at individual and social levels.

The notions and actors of community development are also part of this attempt. Community development – as its name suggests – has the aim to develop communities and also uses it as a means. A means for what? A means to improve the quality of life, to ensure a more fulfilling human life and to integrate the marginalised groups to the society. Historically speaking the community development as a profession stems from the settlement movement. It was not so much about community development but rather about taking care of the poor and transmitting the culture. Later the fight against social exclusion and deprivation remained an emphatic area among community developers, which

⁴ KUTI Éva, *Hívjuk talán nonprofitnak... A jótekonyság, a civil kezdeményezések és az állami keretből kiszoruló jóléti szolgáltatások szektorra szerveződése*, (Budapest: Nonprofit Kutatócsoport, 1998)

⁵ Lester M. SALAMON and Helmut K. ANHEIER, *Szektor születik II. Összefoglaló egy nemzetközi nonprofit kutatás második szakaszáról*, (Budapest: Civitalis Egyesület, 1999) Online: Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, mek.oszk.hu

is perfectly reflected by the definition of Community Development Challenge Report (CDCR): „Community development is a series of values and practices, which have a special role in overcoming poverty and disadvantaged background. It strengthens the society at the grassroot level and deepens democracy.”⁶

Community development activities take very different forms in different countries or among different actors in the same country. In some cases it is confined to the local area, in some others it concentrates on special groups like women, young people or immigrants or maybe on functional organisational units like cooperatives or the healthcare system.

These communities or at least a part of them are not communities in the traditional sense of the word or in other words they are not traditional communities. The question emerges: what are the traditional communities like?

Tönnies describes community relations as something real and organic, of personal nature, which includes trust and agreement. Community relations are understanding and agreement, common and mutual feelings and sensations, which develop based on the common blood, place or spirit i.e. manifest in the form of of kinship, neighbourship and friendship.⁷

The community forms described by Tönnies do not exist in their pure form (or at least are very rare) instead they have been blended and interwoven. Relationships between neighbours have been strengthened with kinship and have become real communities through the common spirit and culture.

In traditional societies communities used to work as a power to organise societies,⁸ in modern societies, however, their existence is not self-evident and with their absence people are deprived of the resources necessary for their happiness.

The purpose of community development is to create a community from people, who might as well be a community as they belong to the same neighbourhood or culture or they are relatives (to refer to the categories of Tönnies) but still they have not grown into a community through organic development.

Another but very ambitious aim of community developers is to support the marginalized, disadvantaged and in a sense deprived groups to do something to improve their own situation. In many (and fortunate) cases these groups are already communities so the aim is not to make them a community

⁶ „Community Development Challenge Report”, 2009. 13 February, online: www.cdf.org.uk – December 2019.

⁷ Ferdinand TÖNNIES, *Közösség és társadalom*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1983)

⁸ SZEPESY Péter, „Közösségfejlesztés. Egy módszerelmélettörténeti és tudománytörténeti megközelítése”, in *Szellem és Tudomány*, 9(2018) 1. sz. 5–28.

but to achieve a more successful and more efficient operation measured even by the criterion of the mainstream society.

The definition of communities by Warren can be applied during the community development activities. This definition is quite close to the classic traditions although it lays the emphasis on the functions of communities. Having (self)-analysed the communities/groups along the principles of Warren we can see markedly the necessary directions of actions to be taken. According to Warren if a community does exist besides the same geographical location, which provides the physical and psychical security, it has to meet the following five criteria:

1. socialisation, through which the community instils certain values to its members
2. the function of economic prosperity: the community provides its members with opportunities to make their living;
3. social participation satisfying the demand for social life;
4. social control demanding the compliance with the community values;
5. mutual support, which helps the community members fulfill the tasks which are either too big or too urgent for an individual to handle them.⁹

I deem these functions incomplete and I would add a sixth one following Dékány, which is the positive emotional relations among the members.¹⁰

A community in the traditional sense of the word typically has shortcomings in the economic prosperity out of the five functions mentioned by Warren. This is the area to be developed. At the same time this is the only function fulfilled in the lives of the members of mainstream society groups. The question emerges: can people who are drifted together as living in the same neighbourhood, working in the same workplace or just being in the same situations in life be formed into a community? This is not absolutely impossible but highly unlikely. It is conditional on mutual sympathy and similar culture. In many cases they do not come to existence as a result of community development processes, however, it does not mean that these processes would be fruitless at either an individual or society levels. The personality, skills, relationships and their ability to enforce their rights may develop and the potentially created civil organisation may become a scene for valuable and useful activities.

⁹ Rolande Leslie WARREN, *The Community in America*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978)

¹⁰ DÉKÁNY István, *A mai társadalom: Bevezetés a társadalomtudományokba*, (Budapest: Pantheon Kiadó, 1943)

The circles of civil society can also develop into a community organically without conscious efforts but it does not come to pass automatically. What is more, when the entities of the civil society which have become communities establish an organisation, they become part of the non-profit sector and they are in the danger of ceasing to be a community. They are burdened with external expectations and formal roles. Sometimes the open and growing membership makes the relations of the hard core community more complicated or it can loosen them. There can be movements in multiple directions and it is also a possible scenario that the members or a part of the non-profit organisation become a community without any prior intentions to do so.

To conclude this chapter we are going to list the impacts exercised by the civil society and its institutions.

- Civil society provides protection and support to individuals.¹¹
- Civil society goes against fragmentation,¹² it creates community bonds, strengthens the social cohesion and creates social capital.
- Civil society is a means through which individuals can reach their goals in their everyday lives and can avoid being dependent on the state.¹³ The members of a civil society have a growing sense of responsibility to solve problems on their own instead of waiting for the government.
- Civil society organisations can unite the citizens in common issues and they can influence public affairs not only through their activities but through their mere existence. Civil organisations represent the self-protecting, self organising ability of the society, the local alternative,¹⁴ and exercise control over the abuse of the respective power.¹⁵
- Civil society organisations react to such community needs that neither the government nor its institutions can or want to fulfill.¹⁶ Their professionalism can contribute to the implementation of different state and local government tasks.¹⁷

¹¹ Krishan KUMAR, „Civil társadalom, egy fogalom újrafelfedezése”, *Mozgó Világ*, 18(1992) 7. sz. 4–16.

¹² KUMAR, *Civil társadalom*, op.cit.

¹³ KUMAR, *Civil társadalom*, op.cit.

¹⁴ JAGASICS Béla, *A nonprofit szféra elmélete*, (Zalaegerszeg: Landorhegy Alapítvány Nonprofit Szolgáltató Központ, 2001)

¹⁵ Robert M. JENKINS, „A nonprofit szféra és a politikai rendszer kapcsolata Magyarországon”, in *Egymás jobb megértése felé. Tanulmányok az állam, az önkormányzatok és a nonprofit szervezetek viszonyáról Magyarországon*, szerk. BALOGH Eszter és BULLAIN Nilda és SIMON Ildikó, (Budapest: A Civil Társadalom Fejlődéséért Alapítvány, 1997)

¹⁶ JAGASICS Béla, *A nonprofit szféra elmélete*, op.cit.

¹⁷ JENKINS, *A nonprofit szféra*, op.cit.

By fostering pluralism and diversity civil society organisations promote the democratic functioning of the society.

- Civil society is an integrational force: it creates relations between individuals and connects the group interests to bigger community and public interests.¹⁸ It facilitates the participation of individuals in the community institutions.

- Civil society provides and teaches behavioural norms.

- Civil society is a good ground for social innovations.

- Activities in the civil society give individuals the opportunity of new experiences and relations, they increase self-confidence, give a sense of achievement and a sense of usefulness.

- Since 2012 it has become a political aim for the European Union to support civil societies not only because they provide aids at different levels but also because they are actors of governance.¹⁹

Facts and figures about civil societies

Over the last couple of decades civil societies have been mushrooming all over the world. There are multiple factors behind this global associational revolution. It has become more and more obvious that states are not able to solve the social, development and environmental problems on their own. The communicational revolution has also contributed to the development of civil societies as well as the growing educated middle class, whose members would like to express their opinion and influence the world around them.²⁰

The power of the non-profit sector can be measured by the number of active organisations, the real value of incomes and the number of employees. According to the results of the John Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project carried out in Western Europe and the developing countries in 1995 the non-profit sector employed 6.9% of the employees – and it referred to the paid employees. This number was significantly smaller – 2.2% – in Central Europe in the same year²¹ and even smaller in Hungary: 1,3%. What is behind this gap?

During the socialist era there were some kind of non-profit activities in Central-Eastern Europe mainly in the areas of culture, sport and free time activities although they existed in a strictly limited and controlled form. Another characteristic was the presence of artificial mass organisations like youth, professional and trade unions. As a matter of fact the density of these organisations

¹⁸ JENKINS, *A nonprofit szféra, op.cit.*

¹⁹ *Report on EU engagement with civil society*, (2017) Online: European Commission, ec.europa.eu – December 2019.

²⁰ SALAMON–ANHEIER, *Szektor születik, op.cit.*

²¹ SALAMON–ANHEIER, *Szektor születik, op.cit.*

surpassed the one in Western Europe²² although these were rather pseudo organisations.²³ In Hungary the civil society organisations established in the late 80s took part in the preparation of the change of regime and in the creation of the new institutions. Some of them even grew to become a political party.²⁴

During and after the change of regime the free and democratic civil sector was born and started to develop in all the ex-socialist countries. In the countries that became a member of the EU the accession gave a new impetus to these organisations as there were ample funds available to them.

Up to 2011 the number of civil society organisations, their income and employees had been growing steadily although following the crisis in 2008 this was a moderate growth. In 2012 their number and employees started to decrease²⁵ since the new Act on Civil Societies in 2011 brought about a purification process (e.g. a failure to submit the obligatory annual financial report entailed a court proceeding to eliminate and delete these organisations).²⁶

In 2017 in Hungary the non-profit sector accounted for 4% of the total employment and the proportion of its income compared to the GDP was close to 5%.²⁷ This latter figure is quite similar to the general average measured by the civil research in 1995, which was 4,6%.²⁸

The basic financial resources of civil society organisations come mainly from the state and from private donations as well as from their own activities which generate income.

With the help of the first chart we will have a look at the difference between the income structure of the Hungarian non-profit sector and the western trends. In 1995 the revenue ratio of both the Hungarian and American non-profit sector was quite similar. In the 12 EU states the dominant source of funding was the state (EU) at that time. Since then in Hungary the proportion of state support has increased and the share of own activities has decreased. This boils

²² Jan KUBIK, „Between the State and »Network of cousins«: The Role of Civil Society and Noncivil Associations in the Democratization of Poland”, in *Civil Society before Democracy. Lessons from Nineteenth Century Europe*, ed. Nancy BERMEO and Philip NORD and Alberto BANTI, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000) 181–207.

²³ Zdenka MANSFELDOVA and Slawomir NALECZ and Eckhard PRILLER and Anette ZIMMER, „Civil Society in transition: Civic engagement and Nonprofit Organisations in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989”, in *Future of Civil Society*, ed. Anette ZIMMER et al., (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2004) 99–119.

²⁴ IZMINDI Richárd, „Civil társadalom a kormány- és pártprogramokban”, in *Civil társadalom: elmélet és gyakorlat*, ed. SZABÓ Máté, (Budapest: Rejtjel Kiadó, 2005)

²⁵ „A nonprofit szektor legfontosabb jellemzői, 2016”, in *Statisztikai Tükör*, 2018. január 10.

²⁶ KUTI Éva, *Civil Európa, civil Magyarország*, (Budapest: Európa Ház, 2008)

²⁷ „A nonprofit szektor legfontosabb jellemzői, 2017”, in *Statisztikai Tükör*, 2019. január 15.

²⁸ SALAMON-ANHEIER, *Szektor születik, op.cit.*

down to the EU accession; the structure of incomes shows a certain convergence to the EU patterns. A specific Hungarian characteristic is the high proportion of the private donations. It does not, however refer to the higher level of philanthropy but can be explained by taxation rules. On the one hand 1% of the personal income tax can be offered to a non-profit civil society organisation, on the other hand companies can also offer a percentage of the corporate tax to a sport organisation from the spectator or team sport (previously from the performing arts, too). The size of the sport support was HUF 66 billion in 2017.²⁹ So these private donations are not distributed equally in the sector but concentrate on certain types of organisations.

1. chart: the revenue ratio of the non-profit sector in Hungary, the US and the 12 EU countries³⁰

	<i>Classic Hungarian civil society organisations 2016</i>	<i>The Hungarian non-profit sector in 1995</i>	<i>EU 12 1995</i>	<i>USA 2015</i>
State support	38%	27%	50%	32,5%
Private support	26%	18%	7%	13,3%
Income from the core/economic activity	26 (income from core activity)+ 8 (income from economic activities)= 34%	55%	43%	47,5 (fees)+ 4,9 (investment)= 52,4%
Other incomes	2%	-	-	1,8%

To complete the information we must add that 80% of the classic civil society organisations had less than HUF 5 million income in Hungary in 2017 (while 58% of the non-profit companies had more than HUF 5 million income).

In 2017 most organisations in Hungary operated in the field of culture, sport and recreation as opposed to the EU, where education, healthcare and social care were the principal scope of activities for civil organisations. The distribution of costs shows a different picture: organisations dedicated to territorial

²⁹ *A nonprofit szektor jellemzői, 2016, op.cit.*

³⁰ Source: my own creation based on the following sources: SALAMON-ANHEIER, *Szektor születik, op.cit.*; MANSFELDOVA et. al, *Civil Society in transition, op.cit.*; Carol CARRIE, „Nonprofit Income Streams: An Introduction”, *Nonprofit Account Academy*, 9 July 2018. Online: nonprofitaccountingacademy.com – December 2019.

development received most of the support followed by the spheres of sport and culture.³¹

Field experience on the world of associations and communities

In Hungary the non-profit sector encompasses the classic civil society organisations (like associations, foundations and alliances), advocacy groups as well as non-profit companies (like social cooperatives and non-profit Ltds). One third of the 61 thousand organisations are non-profit foundations and two thirds of them are non-profit business organisations. From the perspective of our topic the 53 thousand associations are of paramount importance as a foundation is an asset dedicated to a purpose while the association is the union of individuals to achieve a common and permanent purpose set forth in a statute. It is a legal entity with a registered membership.

The members of an association come together typically to achieve a certain goal or goals, however with the opening of new funds enterprises disguised as civil society organisation started to spring up (extract from an interview) to get access to EU funds. Fortunately a part of them do socially useful activities, as well.

The Gypsy civil society organisations are also in a particular situation because many of them were founded to be able to turn to donor organisations countrywise and get access to funds. It was particularly important in the period right after the change of regime when the new and shocking economic situation did not offer any other solutions for masses of Gypsy people to be integrated. Afterwards many Gypsy organisations could come to life thanks to application projects.

There are relatively few organisations created explicitly for community development purposes. However, many organisations deal with community development activities (or at least something which was labelled community development during the implementation of application projects)

In Hungary community development was started as an activity related to andragogists in different civic centres. The Association of Community Developers was established in 1989 and its statute says that „it helps and supports the work of community developers.” Since its foundation in 2004 *Köztámháló* (a common programme of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Hungarian Cultural Institute) programme has aimed to create a community developing network. Several outstanding representatives of the community development organisations that are still active were formed in the framework of this. In the meantime community development have found its way through to the higher

³¹ *A nonprofit szektor jellemzői, 2016, op.cit.; A nonprofit szektor jellemzői, 2017, op.cit.*

education training courses of certain professions like social work and its role in the general wellbeing has already been recognised.

Generally speaking people deal with civil society activities in their free time as a hobby but in many cases this can become the main job for the members of the associations or at least for part of them. The working structures in this sphere can be very interesting: there are professional organisations which work like a real company while others have a flexible almost indescribable structures, too. One of my interviewees put it in this way: „I usually say that an association is theoretically democratic but practically chaotic.” Another possible type of associations is one that on paper functions democratically but in reality they are like a „one man show”.

In case of the Gypsy organisations non-compliance was a very frequent problem, which originated from the non competence of the members. By now these types of organisations have been rooted out as a result of the ever stricter rules concerning the sector. A part of the functioning Gypsy civil society organisations has become a professional institution and they act as a driving force in the Gypsy integration.

The dominant financial resources for the majority of the associations were the application funds. However, applications tend to be problematic. On the one hand there is a lot of red tape, their implementation is aggravated by a lot of unnecessary activities. On the other hand the whole logic is cumbersome: only the project periods can be financed. Transition periods can be really difficult in certain activities (e.g. for so-called study halls – tanodák – that deal with helping disadvantaged children to catch up and nurturing their talents). A further problem stems from the system of granting the applications because this system is politicized and infested with corruption. Finally the future of EU funding is quite uncertain: will there be enough funding for civil purposes? Recently there has been a tendency of shrinking resources.

So among their future plans the majority of the organisations examined mention the increase of the share of their own income and the decrease of the dependence on application money. Currently their activities include attempts to produce their own income. Only some organisations try to apply directly for international or EU funds.

Over the recent years the possibilities for the civil society in Hungary seems to have been shrinking. Due to the centralisation and re-nationalisation of the public services the number of contracts concluded between local governments and civil organisations has dropped similarly to the size of the activities these organisations do. The number of civil mayors who won the municipals

elections has also decreased³² with the exception of the municipal elections this year, but the analysis of that from that point of view has not been realised so far. The capacity for advocacy – both at an individual and community level – has been declining and the scope of active citizenship has been diminishing. These trends are quite contrary to the global and European tendencies and they go against the need of modern societies as well as the common good.

Summary

In the study we have reviewed the opportunities of civil society and community development, its current situation and its national evolution. We can conclude that a viable non-profit sector has been born in Hungary, however, its future is rather uncertain. Community development has also found its place in many different segments of the society; this is a well sounding word, which is used willingly although real community development rarely takes place in the background. The non-profit sector – especially the community development organisations – have been actively engaged in the social integration of the Romani people (including the organisations established by Gypsy people themselves). Individual civil organisations or the whole sector are unable to solve structural problems alone, nevertheless they can (could) contribute to handling the problems and challenges of our society.

My major publications on this topic:

Virág HAVASI, „Community Development Initiatives in Peripheral Rural Territories of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County”, in *Roma Population on the Peripheries of the Visegrad Countries- Spacial Trends and Social Challenges*, ed. János PÉNZES and Zsolt RADICS, (Debrecen: Didakt Kft., 2012) 188–205.

Virág HAVASI, „Cooperation, participation and Interest Representation of the Roma in Miskolc”, in *Roma Population on the Peripheries of the Visegrad Countries- Spacial Trends and Social Challenges*, ed. János PÉNZES and Zsolt RADICS, (Debrecen: Didakt Kft., 2012) 107–120.

HAVASI Virág, „Kezdeményezések Miskolcon a cigányok munkaerő piaci integrációjának elősegítésére”, *Munkaügyi Szemle*, 57(2013) 1. sz. 69–81.

HAVASI Virág, „A közösségfejlesztés módszertani gazdagságáról és alkalmazási területeiről”, in *Szellem és Tudomány*, 9(2018) 1. sz. 29–62.

HAVASI Virág, „Még mindig szilánkos. Miskolc és a cigányság lakhatási ügyei az elmúlt harminc évben”, *Romológia*, 6(2018) 1. sz. 61–91.

³² SEBESTÉNY István, *Az önkormányzatok és a nonprofit szervezetek kapcsolata, 2012*, (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2015)

The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements in Everyday Interactions among Family Members

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Keywords: the historical changes of the form and function of the family: patriarchal and bourgeois family models, intergenerational relations in the family, research of old age – social gerontology, communication according to gender and generation

„Anyám szájából édes volt az étel, apám szájából szép volt az igaz.” (‘Food came sweet from my mother’s mouth, truth came beautiful from my father’s.’) (Attila József)

Under the aegis of the Special Committee for Social Theory of the Miskolc Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a new research team was established and started to work in summer 2017 under the name of the Working Committee of Gerontology in Social Sciences and Humanities. In accordance with the principle of modern multidisciplinary approaches, among its members, primarily the representatives of the disciplines indicated in the name but also the renowned Hungarian scientists of medical gerontology can be found. The discipline studying the phenomena of aging and old age is concerned with the patterns of the physiological processes of aging characteristic of race and individual as well as the old person, and his/her biological, psychological, social, sociological, philosophical, ethical and linguistic etc. characteristics and determining factors. The enhanced international and national interest in these questions is motivated by the complex problems of aging, characteristic of the societies of the western world, and the search for any viable response alternatives.

This research project is integrated into other research fields of university lecturers at the University of Miskolc, e.g. topics in family sociology and communication science. In addition to these, I myself am concerned with the issue of the relations between the generations (war of generations vs. solidarity between generations, inequalities between generations vs. intergenerational righteousness, ageism, that is, the socioethical questions of prejudice and discriminational practices towards the elderly); as well as the traditional and

The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements

current forms of gender roles (in public and private life. e.g. feminine ethics of thinking vs. masculine ethics of righteousness, the feminisation of poverty, etc.).

This paper is the so far unpublished, abridged version of my presentation given at the scientific conference of the Working Committee in Gerontology entitled *Year of Families 2018 – Communication between generations as the pillar of family cohesion*.

It was two years ago, on 19 December, 2017 that Zoltán Balogh, Minister of Human Capacities announced that 2018 would be the year of families. He said that since 2010, the government had been paying enhanced attention to family policy, and had doubled the support for the field in the previous 7 years, spending almost 5% (twice as much as in the most developed countries) of the total national income on the implementation of different social policy measures: to help newly weds start a family and establish a home, to ease the burdens of large families and to make it easier for mothers to return to the world of work after having a baby; the objective had been set to increase the amount of child care allowance for mothers with a degree, to increase funding for IVF programmes, to extend maternal support and the 'baby bond' programme to babies born abroad as Hungarian citizens, to work out favourable loan facilities for young women with student debts, to make it free of charge to pass further language proficiency examinations and acquire driving skills, etc.

In 2018, the government started national consultation concerning the protection and support of families with children and the extension of the means of family support, mainly different funds. These are measures to be welcomed even if according to the opinion of several experts, they only affect a relatively thin layer and not those in the greatest need, while family allowance or the nursing fees for family members living in old people's homes have not been raised for a very long time.

The Hungarian government has made it clear that its planned measures aim at addressing the aggravating *demographic problems* (from internal resources). And indeed: fewer and fewer children are born and at the same time, with the generally longer life expectancy, there is an ever greater number of citizens belonging to the elderly generations. (Between 2011 and 2016, so in altogether 5 years only, the number of children decreased by 26,000 while those above 65 years of age increased by 144,000. Thus, nowadays, the number of old people exceeds the number of children by 400,000. Those living alone account for one third of the population.)

Although the scarcity or adjustment of funding is an essential issue with regard to prospering, many people do not think that everything is all right with the families. Neither does the government. It is not at all new to talk about the crisis of families, for example, to show a direct causal relationship between the

occurrence of demographic problems and the loss of basis and disorientation of the institution of the (traditional) family.

To put it colloquially, the topic of the family provides a lot to handle, it is the target of investigation for innumerable disciplines, and the publications about it could fill libraries (in historical science, sociology, legal science, cultural anthropology, ethnography, psychology, educational sciences, theological sciences, demography, political sciences, philosophy-ethics, linguistics and literary science, sexology, gender studies, etc.).

Here and now, I only find it important to outline a few questions more closely, namely: is the family really in crisis, which type of family is/was in crisis, what is the case concerning the approach of Hungarians to the family, and if necessary, what can and should we do to protect it?

I take the risk to say that the family is eternal. It has been present all through the history of mankind, in the periods of savagery, barbarism and the emergence and development of civilisation, as well. In each period, it adopted different *sizes and forms*, and the image of this human way of coexistence was determined by different intellectual, spiritual and cultural contents (ideologies). The family is the smallest unit of society, it functions as an intermediary between the individual and the large society, and social and economic changes and expectations have always formed its structure, functions, value system and ideological direction. It is a well-known fact that our western-type civilisation has ancient Hellenistic and Jewish/Christian roots and relies on the spirit of the enlightenment. These also provide the basis for western-type family models. During the development of civilisation, patriarchal families relying on the father's power and authority came into being with the subordination of women (the mother), children and domestic servants. The family included all the people living in the household. Management, that is, the production of subsistence goods and consumption were common, and the joint family property was represented by the father. The family was embodied in unequal relations of sub- and superordination. The *first* substantial change of historic proportions was brought about by social and economic modernisation in the age of the industrial revolutions in the west (the first and second industrial revolution from 1780 to 1850, and then the technological revolution from about 1870 up to the end of the 1960s). These resulted in the emergence of the *modern, bourgeois* family replacing the traditional, patriarchal, father-centred one, *in the beginning with the inequalities of the traditional family*, and later, with the continuous development of its civil character. The main feature of this type is that the joint family property or estate ceases to exist, the production of goods (industrial plants) gets detached from the home, the man is the breadwinner and remains the head of the family for a long time, and has the right of decisionmaking, power and

The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements

authority, he is the one who does creative, *productive* work considered to be valuable while the responsibility of the woman or the wife is to manage the issues of the home and the family (as the Germans put it: Kinder, Küche, Kirche) so she only has a *reproductive*, propagating function. (Naturally, another family model was typical among the poor, where women had to work, too, which fact was a symptom of having lost social status in the more well-to-do social layers). This bourgeois family model is also the family ideal of today's extreme conservative political movements and establishments often displaying authoritarian characteristics, as well, but was likewise preferred, what is more, forced upon people by both right and left wing totalitarian regimes in the 20th century. Thus, this bourgeois family model is itself a *crisis product*, having come into being as a result of the break-up of the traditional, patriarchal family. Its *real* civil character gradually developed in the 19th century (e.g. women themselves also became legal entities, could freely take up jobs without their husbands' consent and became free in choosing their partners, as well, etc.)

The *second*, earthquake-like transformation (crisis) of the family was the questioning, shattering and finally denial of the bourgeois family model and the search for and experimenting with *alternative* patterns of coexistence, connected with the overall denial of bourgeois society and capitalism. This brought along the postmodern patterns of coexistence of 'post-industrial society'. (Here, major factors in the 1960s were the spread of the political views of the new left wing, the appearance of the Great Generation, the appearance of alternative cultures /subcultures, ways and styles of living and forms of coexistence, among others, along with the development of the second wave of feminism, which substantially transformed *private life*: instead of marriage and an official document, there is coexistence or even parallel relationships, the sexual emancipation of women: the right to initiation and orgasm, and the right of disposal with one's own body in partnerships, the right to abortion; denial of authorities in civil homes and at universities; the transformation and exchange of traditionally separated gender roles, formerly treated as utter opposites – boyish girls and feminine young men in both outward appearance, on the level of fashion and in the world of emotions – rejecting bourgeois family morals having proved to be perfidious and demanding the right to divorce, so in one word, equality in both the private and the public sphere.) '*Simultaneous diversity*' is the characteristic of the period with regard to forms of coexistence. Partnerships versus the obligations of marriage, recognised by the church or state, one-parent families, mosaic families, new partnerships of widows, widowers and divorced people, and later, the institution of being single (one-person households), and on the other hand, the paradoxical struggle for the recognition of the right of homosexual people to get married... These are all based on the extension of the high level

freedom of choice, decision and action and *autonomy* of the postmodern *individual*. By now, forms of coexistence, earlier considered to be deviant, have become a normality.

In some cases, the state can only handle this diversity with difficulty (so to speak, for the sake of some kind of preservation of continuity), and in other cases, it is too far from it to tolerate such a high level of freedom of citizens, and wishes to steer them towards an older family model along a programme (choice of value) regarded to be (Christian) conservative, namely towards an early bourgeois family model, still displaying deeply traditional elements.

As regards the abovementioned demographic problem, as Sándor Révész points out in his essay written in connection with Somlai's monograph, in the more highly developed European countries (in the Scandinavian countries or in France), experience and statistical data show that the demographic situation is best in present-day Europe in those places where the transformation of the family has occurred to the greatest extent and with the least resistance, and where the most diverse family forms have become accepted. 'There are the largest number of divorces in the Scandinavian countries, the rate of those living together without getting married is also the largest here, it is here that youngsters move out from their parents' home the earliest but it is also here that the largest number of babies are born. It is in the Scandinavian countries that the largest number of mothers with young children work, and in the last century, the largest number of child care institutions have been built and started to operate in these countries. It is also the northern countries that have got the farthest from the traditionally unequal distribution of household jobs, and the women's disadvantage is the smallest here in this respect, and 60 days of parental leave is explicitly allocated to fathers.'¹ So, there is no *one* right way to the prosperity of those living together.

Families are in a somewhat different situation in Hungary. We define ourselves as an East Central European country, where social, economic and cultural processes have unfolded considerably differently from the west in the past centuries. In lack of developed capitalism, and consequently, in lack of a bourgeoisie driving and personifying modernisation, on the weak basis of underdeveloped civil organisations and institutions, citizens basically had and still have trust in family and neighbour relationships and friendships (family and extended family relations, cronyism, insiders with preferential treatment, etc.) Sociologists call these *strong ties*, which are accompanied with a kind of confinement and

¹ RÉVÉSZ Sándor, „Szabadság, szerelem – avagy hagyomány”, *Mozgó Világ*, 39(2013) 4. sz. 97–103. Reviewed book: SOMLAI Péter, *Család 2.0. Együttélési formák a polgári családtól a jelenkorig*, (Budapest: Napvilág, 2013.)

The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements

enhanced isolation from new ideas and phenomena, or ignorance for those living in such relationships. People with *weak ties* do not seek shelter in their closest environment, to the contrary: they are open-minded, have a large number of acquaintances, they are members of associations and clubs, they build a rich network of relationships, have a lot of information and are more receptive to new phenomena and formations. In Hungary, family ties are not weakened to the extent as can be seen in, for example, several western-type societies (e.g. in the US, where there is a high level of social and geographical mobility).

In general, Hungarians are *family-centred* people but between 1990 and 1999, the rate of marriages (marriage-based families) continuously decreased, and the rate of births out of wedlock has shown a growing tendency since the 1990s up to the present day (here, we are concerned with coexistence forms where a child is brought up by one parent from the beginning or in a partnership relation; in the period mentioned, their rate is 22–28%). In the meantime, researchers experience the *spread* of partnership relations. between 1991 and 2016, that is, during 25 years, their number quadrupled, and this affects more than 1 million people. The popularity of the traditional, marriage-based form of family is also high: 80% of the population prefers it but they are also *tolerant* of other forms of living. They do not regard marriage as an outdated institution, and only 20% give preference to other ways of coexistence (living alone or in partnership). It is mainly the younger generations who reject the form of marriage held to be for eternity, and find it permissible to simultaneously have external affairs, too.

In our country, family relations mainly provide support and become important in difficult personal life situations or in critical social periods (some examples: the unemployment affecting a large number of people at the time of the change of the regime, starting joint family enterprises, efforts to accumulate income – see the emergence of the *nouveau riche* –, world economic crisis, natural disasters, accidents versus nursing, taking care of old people, helping youngsters starting their careers, bringing up children who have become orphans, etc.). The same is the case with the social groups with multiple disadvantages, e.g. with Roma people. Societies and the conditions of families in East Central Europe are characterised rather by uncertainties than by clear and wide perspectives (e.g. Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian etc. emigration).

The *asymmetric* view and distribution of gender roles, typical of the early bourgeois family model, is characteristic of quite wide social layers. A significant part of *family resources* is provided by women (taking care of the children, doing housework, learning with the children, nursing old and/or sick family members, keeping contact with relatives...).

With the changes of the society, the family always faces new challenges: such is, for example, the acceleration of time: everything changes too rapidly, we have no time to follow processes, we do not have time for anything or for one another. On the average, Hungarian families spend 6-7 minutes per day talking with the children. In Hungary, it is typical that there is an increase in the physical and personal distances due to taking up jobs abroad, often families fall apart, there is an excessive use of electronic gadgets (see e.g. spending too much time on Facebook as a reason for getting divorced), and because of these, family relations and conversations are pushed to the background... Along with technological progress, the vocabulary of the language changes constantly and rapidly – it is almost a global phenomenon: the different generations living in the same period almost do not understand each other's language...

Besides or in spite of all this, the family is valuable. It is one of our most important values that we have to protect, defend and preserve, work on it, keep it and take it on, and if necessary, renew it in new situations by acquiring new roles.

The family has to serve both the good of its members and the common good at the same time. The prosperity of the family is in the interest of both the smaller and larger community. This follows from its indispensable and essential functions. Traditionally, the family is the scene of the biological reproduction of both our individual lives and that of the society. We beget and bring up children. The family is also the main scene of socialisation. Basically, everything is determined here: who are we – what is our identity, where are our roots, and do we have roots at all, who are we going to become? Gender roles are learnt and acquired here (what does it mean to be a mother/ father or man/woman?), and basically it is in the family that the vitality, viability and fate of the society is determined. It is no coincidence that for a long time, family sociologists, for example, have been investigating family and private relations (deviations, aggressivities, inability to integrate, mental injuries, various manifestations of immorality, selfishness, indifference, lack of solidarity, circumvention of or non-compliance with rules etc.) It is an essential interest and at the same time, responsibility of the society, or rather the state, to support the institution of the family as much as it is possible. *It is not the legal regulation of the form of coexistence or the philosophical character of the family that is the responsibility of the secular state* but the creation of the conditions, means and chances indispensable for the prosperity of the families, with which at the same time, the common good can be promoted, as well.

The socialisation of the individual (his/her becoming a social creature) is determined in the family: first of all, this process includes the acquisition of the

The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements

language, the mother tongue. Communication is our most basic device for social engagement.

It is in the family that our ability to attach to our future partners is formed as a result of a successful relationship with our mother in early childhood. It is also the family's responsibility to take care of our physical and mental health (this traditionally belongs to the mother's roles, see the tasks of eating healthy or nursing, and on the whole, female caring).

It is in the family that our ability to acquire habits and fulfil future social requirements: the acquisition, practising and following norms and virtues is developed. It is in the family that we open the moral dimension of our lives for the first time. In a lucky case, it is in the family that we get intellectual and emotional education. Such is the ability to give and accept love, to overcome negative moral emotions (hatred, anger, envy) in us and to develop sympathy for our fellow men...²

The family provides safety and shelter against the cold outside world. Here, we hope for and expect understanding, help and unconditional acceptance and the healing of our psychological traumas, predictability and stability, mutual goodwill and sacrifice. The family should provide us with the paramount experience of belonging together or belonging somewhere at all.

Jewish-Christian religion and culture assign a prominent role to the family (see the stories and holidays in the Holy Writ – the day of the Holy Family – as well as hundreds of works of art e.g. *Sagrada Familia*, Barcelona). We are reminded of this, among many other things, by the ritual of having dinner together at the family table on Christmas Eve. Among the Ten Commandments, the 4th commandment, which regulates one of the relations among humans, and is carved on the second stone tablet, instructs us to respect our parents. According to the message, after God, parents are our closest personal relations. We should be grateful to them for our life, for their efforts and for our upbringing. The story of the prodigal son is a parable, that is, it is not just one concrete story but a teaching which is deeply rooted in the lives of us all and can be given a specific – personal – meaning all the time: the father's house, the home embodies everything (the values, lifestyle habits, ways of thinking and action worked out through generations and passed on, the protection, safety, love, forgiving, identity and community) that the family can provide for the child as it provided them for the younger son rebelling against the order of the family.

We need not necessarily be religious to be touched by this story.

² André COMTE-SPONVILLE, *Kis könyv nagy érényekről*, ford. SALY Noémi, Osiris könyvtár: Filozófia, (Budapest: Osiris kiadó, 1998)

Similarly, the other requirements and prohibitions in the Ten Commandments require compliance with such essential moral norms which have been the basic requirements of the reproduction of our everyday life for thousands of years, independently from our world view.

Above all, our device to make contact with our fellow men, and similarly, with our family members is *speech* but we also communicate with non-verbal signs (e.g. with the parts of our bodies: the hand stroking lovingly, a kind embrace, an encouraging look, a nice smile, upright or sagging posture, frowning, eyebrows drawn together, scratching the crown of the head, turning the back on somebody, pouting, etc.) We simply cannot avoid communicating with others! *The Other Man and the communication with him/her are vital for us because we are inherently social creatures.* To paraphrase Erich Fromm's well-known statement: this is the only way for us to break out of the confines of our personal lives, from our seclusion and build a bridge towards the other man...³

The family is one of our most intimate spheres and the scene of the closest forms of human contact. Minimally, we express our respect if we talk with a family member, say something to him/her and do not ignore the person's existence. It is the sign of love that it is important for us what he/she feels and desires. It is the most reliable way of conflict management if we talk about our problems instead of sweeping them under the carpet. It is like psychotherapy for the other person if we can listen to him/her with attention. It is an element strengthening togetherness if we know about each other's comings and goings, if we discuss the issues of the world and talk about everything just for the pleasure of it because it is good that we are together at such times.

Honest relationships require an honest way of talking. When you speak honestly, when you tell the truth, you must do it tactfully. You should not punish a child for telling the truth, either. This may result in establishing trust. You should not give away the secrets of your family members. You should not interrogate or tease the child but pay attention to what he/she talks about on the way home from the kindergarten. You strengthen the child's trust and self-confidence if you do not keep saying: 'oh but...'. Between parent and child, debate and argumentation are free but nobody is allowed to be disrespectful. At times, the child may be right, as well... you should be able to admit when you have made a mistake or you are wrong. If it is difficult to say so, you may create and use agreed signs to express this.

We do not only speak to give information or express emotions, ideas, desires, etc. It is a characteristic of female communication that sometimes, women conduct a conversation only to keep continuous contact with the partner. On

³ Erich FROMM, *A szeretet művészete*, (Budapest: Háttér, 2008)

such occasions. they talk about everything, even jumping from topic to topic.... What is important for them is that the other person, the man, the husband, whom they can relate to is there. Due to the survival of *the traditional distribution of gender roles*, even nowadays, we do not so much expect the woman, the mother to say wise things but to display different forms of emotional intelligence, pay attention, understand, care for us lovingly, feed us in both the physical and spiritual sense and fulfil our ancient desire to attach to somebody. According to the same traditional view of gender roles, it is the father's responsibility in education to have an impact on our intellect, show the deep and substantial connections between things of the world and transfer formative moral and aesthetic content... I think this is what the following words refer to in Attila József's self-interpreting poem, seeking for identity, which I have chosen as a motto: „Anyám szájából édes volt az étel, apám szájából szép volt az igaz.” (‘Food came sweet from my mother’s mouth, truth came beautiful from my father’s.’)

The family exists in many variations. There are both well and badly functioning families. What I have just outlined is the present-day *ideal* of the family, first of all or mostly (only) providing emotional ties. We know that ideals do not always match reality. But there should be a sample, a standard to show which direction to go.

Just like during the former history of the family, present-day families are also mostly nuclear families, i. e. they involve the co-existence of not more than two generations. *Grandparents or old parents* are the representatives of their own nuclear families again. The physical distances that may extend during the time or the exercising of their abilities at a lower level (impaired mental capacities, weaker sight or hearing, problems with moving) *do not destroy in them the most essential human desire, the physical-personal and spiritual-intellectual need for another person.*

It is almost a commonplace to say that today's man has a cold approach to the elderly. In contrast to past millennia, old age has almost lost its value by now. It is not fashionable, what is more, in several respects, it is an a priori disadvantage to be elderly, and it is almost obligatory to hide and cover up the external and internal signs and symptoms of old age. Decades ago, Simone de Beauvoir pointed out that modern societies have a bad conscience concerning the old: they hide them from the public, and their problems are uniformly hushed up...⁴

⁴ Simone de BEAUVOIR, *A második nem*, (Budapest: Gondolat, 1969); Simone de BEAUVOIR, *Az öregség*, (Budapest: Európa, 1972)

The head of the Catholic church, Pope Francis often speaks about the ‘culture of scrapping’, dominating our age: anything/anybody which/who no longer makes profit or creates new material or intellectual goods is thrown in the ‘rubbish bin’ as superfluous, *deprived of his/her human dignity*. His Holiness lists the elderly, the sick, the disabled, the handicapped, and more recently, also youngsters unable to find a job among them. According to the utilitarian viewpoint, they are totally superfluous... Their fate is exclusion, marginalisation, humiliation, a feeling of shame, poverty, hopelessness, abandonment and getting lonely.⁵

There are a large number of *elderly people* who are lonely although they live in a family. For them, as for every human being, loneliness is the heaviest, most unbearable burden. There is no time or attention for them, there is no more patience. *The family hardly communicate with them or do not communicate with them at all*. Family members say that after all, they are hard of hearing, slow on the uptake and with the decline of mental capacities, they pronounce words with difficulty so their mumbling is hardly intelligible... As a matter of fact, there is no common conversation topic, either, there is no common vocabulary (youngsters use a special slang as the technological-infocommunication development involves the creation of new words) and there are no common past and present experiences. Youngsters live in the present or in the future, the elderly live in the past... And who ever is interested in past events, recalled all the time? When there are guests, the family feel ashamed to seat the elderly at the big dining-table. Grandma/grandpa eats ‘in such an ugly way’... The soup drips from the spoon, food goes down the wrong way, the glass is tipped over and the tablecloth on the beautifully laid table gets wet. So they are made to have their meals separately, at the kitchen table, laid for them only. In the end, family members exclude them from everything although the future old age of youngsters is already encoded in them, the youngsters, according to one of Buddha’s stories... In the elderly and their fate, we can see ourselves, the shadows or beauty and meaning of our years to come.⁶

Elderly people who are unable to look after themselves because of physical and/or mental impairment are often placed in *old people’s homes*. Physical distance does not necessarily mean separation. Those for whom the family is a real resource rebuild or keep up personal ties day by day. In such a case, there are regular visits by relatives and regular conversations, when the old family

⁵ Giacomo GALEAZZI és Andrea TORNIELLI, *Ferenc pápa. Ez a gazdaság öl*, ford. TÖRÖK Csaba, (Budapest: Jezsuita Kiadó, 2015)

⁶ TEPERICSNÉ JÁMBOR Klára, *Hatékony kommunikáció demenciával élő személyekkel*, (H.n., é.n.) Inter-professionális Demencia Alapprogram, online: inda.info.hu – December 2019.

The Role of Linguistic and Metacommunicational Elements

stories are retold and recalled. For multigeneration families, such communication exercises have a real mutual physical and mental preserving force.

Finally, let us see an international example of best practice, spreading slowly but steadily. In autumn 2018, there was a report in Hungarian press with positive content on the topic of 'Intergenerational living'. The broad summary of the story is the following: in Deventer, the Netherlands (a town with about 100,000 inhabitants), there is an old people's home where university and college students who undertake to do community and caritative work there can have accommodation free of charge. This way, students can spare the average (but otherwise very expensive) 400 – 500 EUR per month cost of living in lodgings and in exchange, they undertake to spend 30 hours per month with the elderly: *they regularly talk with them, do shopping for smaller things for them, teach to use the internet to those interested, discuss topical news with them, occasionally watch TV together with them, or accompany them to the cinema or to the doctor's surgery, or go for a walk with them. In most of the cases, it is enough if they simply listen to them.*⁷

Since this model called Intergenerational living, has been in operation, elderly people have been calmer and more balanced, there have been fewer problems with them, they have been easier to handle, and it is not rare, either, that real friendships have been formed between the members of pairs often separated by 60–70 years of age. The fact that young people live there, just next door or in the next corridor, is reassuring for old people, giving them the feeling of stability and predictability. They do not simply feel the students to be visitors but *family members, which has a beneficial effect not only on their psyche but also on their physical condition*. In the last six years, the example of the Deventer experiment, started in 2012, has been adopted by several old people's homes in the Netherlands, and also in France and the US.

Old people whose capacities are impaired or who are demented are not merely 'objects' needing nursing. *Their social needs are retained*: their feelings, ideas to share and their need for love. They need a smile, an encouraging look or a kind touch of the hand as much as oxygen. Often, they communicate without words only...

Keeping contact with them and communicating with them patiently and openly should be the expression of our love, humanity, respect, appreciation and gratitude.

Translated by Judit Szabóné Papp

⁷ Deventer model: „Mehrgenerationen-WG: Miteinander statt allein“, *Pflegia Blog*, 9 August 2018. Online: pflegia.de – December 2019.

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Compensating for Language Disadvantage: A New Method and Textbook Series

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Keywords: immigrant student, language disadvantage, public education, development of Hungarian language competence, subject-related vocabulary, NyIT – language integration content: a new method, “Együttthaladó” StepTogether Textbook and Toolkit package

1. Problems and objectives

Starting from the turn of the century, there has been a noticeable rise in the number of people settling in Hungary who came from countries outside the European Union, from third countries. Some intended to settle permanently or stay for a considerable amount of time; they found jobs and of course they sent their children to school. Due to this, an increasing number of students are appearing in Hungarian primary and secondary schools who do not speak Hungarian at all, or who speak it at less than a native-speaker (L1) level. According to the regulations of the Hungarian school system, these children are placed in classes that suit their age, regardless of their ability to speak Hungarian. They take part in integrated education with L1 Hungarian speakers, which means that they are also expected to learn what is proscribed in the National Core Curriculum for that class, despite the fact that most of them encounter major difficulties in terms of the language and content. The National Core Curriculum, the Framework Curriculum, and the textbooks prepared based on these are clearly designed for children whose native language is Hungarian and who have built up a particular body of knowledge. That is why presentation of the content is at L1 level, in a style and with use of language tailored to the given level of development. Immigrant students from outside the European Union struggle with a language disadvantage and we should not assume that they have an L1-level of Hungarian.

The group of students facing a language disadvantage is heterogeneous in terms of language, society, and culture. They are from a variety of countries, many are not familiar with the Latin alphabet, and they have varying cultural and religious backgrounds. They have different native languages, which often differ from each other in type (inflectional, isolating, etc.), varying degrees of knowledge of Hungarian, and their levels of subject knowledge also vary. One

thing they generally have in common is a very limited vocabulary in Hungarian. The textbooks and workbooks for primary and secondary school students designed as tools for effective and successful teaching and learning are not suitable for use with these learners. No tools that would promote effective education are available either to the children struggling with a language disadvantage or to their teachers. A further problem is the difficulty that teachers have communicating with these students and with evaluating their performance in subjects. Assessment tools are also designed for L1 speakers and are not suitable for immigrant students. These would measure not the student's command of the subject knowledge, rather their lack of command of the Hungarian language (general language use and subject-related vocabulary).

Another problem for teachers is communicating with the parents of these children. Due to their lack of proficiency in Hungarian, the parents are unable to help their children with their studies and cannot take part in the communication channels between the schools and parents. Therefore, these parents are less able to provide effective support for their children than those parents without a language disadvantage.

This set of problems that has appeared in primary and secondary schools and affects students, teachers, and parents, is the reason behind the main aim of the StepTogether program (Hungarian name: *Együttthaladó*): to develop the Hungarian language competence of students with a language disadvantage, with special attention to subject-specific vocabulary, thus allowing them to progress in their studies alongside their Hungarian classmates. The members of the Institute of Hungarian Language and Literature who specialize in linguistics formed a working group to create and carry out the StepTogether program; I have been active in the program for years. We set out the following objectives for development of materials to help in the compensation of the language disadvantage: (1) supplemental materials for teaching Hungarian that can be used in primary and secondary education, are compatible with the National Core Curriculum, and that develop the students' Hungarian language skills while learning other subjects, (2) supplemental teaching methodology materials to assist the teacher with teaching, assessing, and testing students, (3) teaching tools for more effective involvement of parents in communication with the school.

2. Methodological background

To meet these goals, a method was needed that was suitable for developing language and content knowledge at the same time. These are the only type of supplemental materials that would be applicable in the integrated classroom, since this is how the immigrant students can improve their Hungarian language skills

in class while carrying out tasks along with their Hungarian classmates. Experience has shown that the number of hours of Hungarian as a Foreign Language (HFL) classes arranged for children with a language disadvantage is too low to allow students to also acquire subject-specific vocabulary.

Many countries in the American continent and in Europe are facing similar problems as a result of immigration. Therefore, the first step for the StepTogether project participants was to become familiar with methodologies used for dealing with integrating language-disadvantaged students in the classroom. There is an educational form with two focus points for simultaneous development of language and subject content, called Content-Based Instruction (CBI) in the US and Canada, and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in Europe. The term CLIL appeared in Europe for the first time in 1994. The point of the method is that while a subject is being taught in the language to be acquired, the processes of acquiring subject-specific knowledge and learning the language are carried out simultaneously. Thus, the method focuses on both language and content. CLIL teaching materials and syllabi may emphasize one focus more than the other.¹ An important characteristic of the syllabus based on the CLIL method is its flexibility: it can be adjusted to meet the needs of the learner's age, language proficiency, and any special features of the school or its sociocultural surroundings.

In the StepTogether program we placed the emphasis on the language, which is the native language for the majority of the class but a foreign language for immigrant learners. Content-area knowledge is secondary, with the information about the subject being the tool for developing language skills. The language development content is based on topic areas connected with the National Core Curriculum (Hungarian grammar, Hungarian literature, mathematics, environment, natural science, biology, and history).² The approach that we formed based on the CLIL method was called *Nyelv Integráció Tartalom* (NyIT), meaning "language integration content".³ The name refers to a feature that is different than previous approaches: we consider integration to be an area that can be further developed, just like language and content, and thus NyIT is

¹ Do COYLE and Philip HOOD and David MARSH, *CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); *Tartalomalapú nyelvtanítás (CLIL / EMILE) az európai iskolákban*, (Brüsszel: Eurydice, 2006) Online: Publications Office of the European Union: op.europa.eu/ EU Publications – December 2019.

² Government decree Nr. 110/2012. (VI. 4.) on the Publication, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum: *Magyar Közlöny*, (2012) 66. sz. 10635–10847. Online: www.magyarkozlony.hu – December 2019.

³ See the StepTogether website: *Együttthaladó – Migráns gyerekek az iskolában* (2013) Online: egyutthalado.uni-miskolc.hu – December 2019.

actually a teaching method with three focus points. The language of the supplemental material is Hungarian, an L2 for the immigrant children but L1 for the majority of those in the class. The interpretation of integration is multilayered: it means the linking of content and language, as in CLIL, but it also means that the supplemental book produced as part of the program is designed for use in an integrated classroom environment of L1 and L2 Hungarian speakers. The third meaning of integration is to aid integration into society, which is something that those who proposed the program consider extremely important. This is why tasks are included in the materials that help the learners with fitting in: with integration into small groups, the class, their neighborhoods, Hungary, and the broader region of the European Union. The subject content is based on the National Core Curriculum and the Framework Curriculum approved by the ministry in charge of education.

3. The StepTogether project and its results

The first project began in 2010 in the Institute for Hungarian Language and Literature of the University of Miskolc, and eight projects have been carried out since then, allowing the projects to grow into a program. Supplementary texts and teaching materials were designed for all areas based on identifying the problems faced during education. The project's material developers considered the challenges of educating immigrant learners as a complex, integrated problem, leading to the creation of a complex series of teaching aids that can be of use to all of those involved.

Before compiling the supplementary textbooks, we drew up a list of the language phenomena based on the language levels of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). The grammatical-syntactical matrix contains the grammatical categories, connecting their phonological, morphophonological, morphological and syntactic language levels with semantic features, by CEFR level. This acts as a guideline to defining grammatical levels for materials development, but also helps teachers in the classroom, acting as a means to assess the level of immigrant learners' grammatical knowledge. The introduction of various language features touches on matters of form (phonetics and vowel harmony, for instance), offers examples of different language functions, and classifies grammatical functions from levels A1 to B2.

The lexical matrix classifies lexical items based on their grammatical complexity, content, and language acquisition stage. The vocabulary of each subject is broken down by year in school and topic area for each of the language levels A1-B2 (plus 'other'). When listing words, attention was also given to word formation, the complexity of its meaning, the degree of abstractness, and register, as well as to its grammatical-syntactical features. Naturally, we also judged how

important the word was to acquiring the core knowledge of that topic. Based on this judgment, words assigned to level A1 were the essential and simple words consisting of one lexical unit and that could be used with the grammatical and syntactic structures appearing for A1 level tasks. These terms generally are relevant to everyday vocabulary (examples: *water, poem, number, future, money, machine*). Words at A2 level are required for a more thorough understanding of the topic. They may be simple words, compound words, or words with suffixes and can be used with A1-A2 grammatical structures (examples: *tradition, poetry, tropical rainforest climate*). Many words can be found on this level that can be formed by adding a suffix to an A1-level word or by joining two of them. This is a level that includes words that are part of our everyday vocabulary but that can also appear in different senses as specialized vocabulary (*nail, sign, side*).

Words assigned to B1 level are necessary to thoroughly acquire the knowledge of the topic area. These often represent abstract, hard to understand concepts (*rhythm of thought, conflict, trend of style, spore*). Items on this level are often compound words, multi-word compounds with affixes, and are present in grammatical and syntactic structures from levels A1, A2 and B1 (such as *direct square proportion, rising action, incircle of a triangle*). The lexical elements at B1 level are not typically part of the everyday vocabulary. Lexical elements that have complex meaning, compound or multi-word compound structures, or are used in grammatical and syntactic structures which do not belong in A1, A2, or B1 levels (such as *symbol, historical ballad, irreversible transformation, secondary meaning of a sentence*) are all categorized as “Miscellaneous”. B2 level comprises lexemes or syntagms that represent differentiated knowledge related to the main phenomena in the topic area. In terms of their structure, lexemes can be multi-suffixed, multi-compound words that occur in grammatical, syntactic structures (*labor market communication, career aptitude*) which usually belong to the B2 language level.

By creating the matrix we also wanted to assist teachers, therefore we specially marked items that are related to everyday vocabulary, to allow for easier practice of them in the supplemental material and in class. This is marked by a subscript. The classification of common vocabulary into general and specific conceptual groups is indicated according to a uniform description of European languages.⁴ The subscript after the word refers to the corresponding conceptual group (e.g. *history*_{7.8.2} = intellectual and artistic activities). If only one part of a compound subject-specific term in the matrix occurs in everyday

⁴ ARADI András és ERDŐS József és STURCZ Zoltán, *Küszöbszint: magyar mint idegen nyelv*, (Budapest: BME Műegyetemi Távoktatási Központ, 2000)

vocabulary, then the item from the elementary vocabulary will appear before the number of the conceptual group (e.g. *median side*^{7.4.8}). A superscript is used if a word appears with multiple meanings and its subject related meaning is entered in a footnote (e. g. *tongue*¹: a muscular, mobile organ in the mouth; *tongue*²: a person's way of expressing their ideas and feelings by producing words and speech sounds in social interaction). When giving the definition, we relied on the Hungarian dictionary. The users of the lexical matrix are, on the one hand, teachers, who are recommended to use it primarily as a way to measure the subject knowledge of students at different levels of language proficiency (children at A2 level should be asked words from A1 to A2 levels). On the other hand, the authors of the supplemental textbooks use it in their own work, relying on the classification of words when assessing the level of exercises.

Supplemental material used alongside the textbooks help practice terminology structured in the lexical matrix. The exercises based on the curriculum are adapted to the A1–B2 levels. Various levels were clearly marked for the children as well: the emblematic figure of the program is Frizzy the puli (a Hungarian dog breed) and the number of doggy bones indicates the difficulty of the tasks. This solution enables self-directed learning and a sense of accomplishment, as students are given tasks appropriate to their language skills.

A1-level tasks require the least amount of writing to allow for a sense of accomplishment even for those who find using Latin letters cumbersome. Typical task types at this level are picture–word matching, letter gap filling, word snakes, and chronological order of sentences. We used grammatical-syntactic phenomena related to A1 level (phonetic alignment, accusative case, plural form, present tense verb conjugation) in order to practice the A1 level vocabulary.

At the A2 level the volume of writing increases: words, word structures have to be filled in, conjunctions have to be made, and paradigmatic members have to be created. At this level, short texts related to the lesson also appear. The tasks are, of course, consistent with the grammar phenomena associated with the A2 level.

At the B1 level more complex grammatical knowledge (past tense, conditional) will allow learners to solve a large body of written tasks. Typical tasks are sentence creation with the use of specific words and directed essay writing. The tasks are based on the B1-level grammatical and lexical matrix.

At the B2 level students are expected to solve tasks at text level. At B1 and B2 levels similar types of tasks appear, but the words to be practiced are more complex both formally and conceptually, and the word structures include different cases and fixed multi-word phrases.

In the supplemental textbooks we use the opportunities provided by the content for practicing grammatical phenomena; therefore, they do not follow the language teaching methodology of traditional language books or the building of grammatical elements on one another. While topics are being worked through, tasks from A1, A2, B1 and B2 levels appear every time, facilitating the integration of immigrant students into education. As these children can enter the classroom at any time of the year, it is important that they be able to join in the teaching-learning process at different stages of the education process.

In addition to integrating language and content, an essential element of the NyIT method is to facilitate social integration. The tasks of the supplemental textbooks are also to assist in the various stages of integration. For the child, integration is primarily about integration into the classroom. Obviously, integrating a child from a different culture and language into a tightly knit community is a difficult task, even with a supportive pedagogical background. In the supplemental materials the process of integration is facilitated by direct and indirect interpersonal (cooperative) tasks.

Integration into the community is also important in the broader sense. Through these assignments European and Hungarian values are conveyed and information about the European Union and Hungary is provided. This interpretation of integration is in line with the priority development goal of the National Core Curriculum, which we should convey to the immigrant children. In addition to providing direct information, we also selected illustrations for the supplemental textbook from the Hungarian and European cultures: the photographs show plants grown in Hungary, animals native to Hungary and Europe, and Hungarian and European landscapes. Their work is accompanied by Frizzy the Hungarian puli.

Integration is promoted particularly well by the group assignments, which require the joint work of children of different languages and possibly of different ages, but undoubtedly of different levels of Hungarian language proficiency. Each member of the group should be involved in the execution of the assignment; the organization of the group and the assignment of the sub-tasks can be carried out under the guidance of the teacher or by the children themselves. Group work can be used during classes, or the teacher can schedule deadlines for later assessment (up to a week or two). These types of tasks are based on the pedagogical principle of peer learning.

Worksheets have also been prepared for the StepTogether textbooks, which are suitable for measuring progress in the subjects, as well as for measuring the effectiveness of the Hungarian language competence development. The Hungarian language competencies of each student participating in the program were measured before and after the use of the supplemental textbooks.

Word cards have been made to enhance communication between the school, the parents and the students, as a supplementary tool for playful language learning. Cards are primarily used to expand vocabulary. Each card has an image on one side and a word or phrase corresponding to the image on the other. A sentence below the word helps the interpretation and usage of the given word or expression. Of the 200 cards, 174 relate to different topics of school life. Icons indicate the relationship between words and topics. Important elements of school-student-parent communication are indicated: the documents that the child should have (*address card, student ID*), words related to extra-curricular activities (extracurricular activity, school ceremony). Other icons indicate the terminology associated with each subject. Frizzy's footprint marks the vocabulary of environmental studies (*lowlands, hills*), dominoes mark the terms used in mathematics (*multiplication, division*), an open book marks literature (*rhythm, verse*), and a pen marks hard-to-learn elements of Hungarian grammar and spelling. Fourteen sentence cards are used to improve sentence formation, which can be used with word cards to form various sentences. Task cards and instructions have been made for the game, so that their application can really add to the thrill of playing and competing. The game was a great success both in the classroom and in the extracurricular application. During the differentiated classes the children were especially happy to play with the cards with the subject terminology on them. The colorful, exciting, non-standard educational tool motivated students to learn and expand their vocabulary.

The methodological guideline provides support mainly for educators: it supplies legal information on immigrants and assistance with the use of supplemental textbooks, outlines their methodological content, summarizes the options and know-how of their use, and summarizes the experience gained during pilot education. More than forty types of educational materials have been produced during the program, including a Career Guidance Book for high school students, and materials for teaching Hungarian as a Second Language in electronic form.

4. Conclusion

The StepTogether Textbook and Toolkit package has been tested and used in the teaching-learning process mainly by public educational institutions with immigrant learners in integrated classrooms. However, in recent years, schools with non-immigrant pupils facing language disadvantages have been keen to use the textbook package, as the materials provide a validated method for developing mother tongue/Hungarian language competences. In these schools, the lack of appropriate language competences – their language disadvantage –

is the main barrier to the students' successful academic achievement. The schools shared their experiences regarding all of the tested tools, and the final form of the materials was based on feedback from these hands-on trials. Surveys on competences have been conducted in each student group using the tools; the results support the effectiveness of language competence development. In recognition of the program's methodological innovation, it was awarded the European Language Prize in 2011.

Translated by Annamária Sasvári and Robin Lee Nagano

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Drama Pedagogy and Teacher Training

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Keywords: drama pedagogy, child-centered, play, art, self-knowledge, teaching

In drama pedagogy, the insights of several sciences and arts interact with one another: art pedagogy, psychology, pedagogy, puppetry, acting, literature, music. Unfortunately, the approach of drama pedagogy is gaining less and less ground in today's educational practice. Those, however, who adopt it know that emotional-intellectual learning can be greatly facilitated by this method. The tool system of drama pedagogy helps the work of several educators, psychologists and trainers. It is well-known that we can talk about dramatic play activities in the usual sense from kindergarten age onwards. The common activities of children, led by the referee, promote self-knowledge, knowledge of each other and of the world, and serve personality formation. Every play is dramatic in its character, based on imitation of life situations and behaviour patterns.

In drama pedagogy, the insights of several sciences and arts interact with one another: art pedagogy, psychology, pedagogy, puppetry, acting, literature, music. Unfortunately, the approach of drama pedagogy is gaining less and less ground in today's educational practice. Those, however, who adopt it know that emotional-intellectual learning can be greatly facilitated by this method. The tool system of drama pedagogy helps the work of several educators, psychologists and trainers. It is well-known that we can talk about dramatic play activities in the usual sense from kindergarten age onwards. The common activities of children, led by the referee, promote self-knowledge, knowledge of each other and of the world, and serve personality formation. Every play is dramatic in its character, based on imitation of life situations and behaviour patterns. As Gavin Bolton puts it: from a pedagogical point of view, drama is a game that builds an imaginary world, involves the actors in it, makes them face real-life problems and conveys them thereby real knowledge and real experiences. The power of drama lies in the fact that it seems to be real action. It is thinking embedded in action, and its goal is creating meaning by mediating between two contexts.

I would like to emphasize how drama can be integrated into teacher training in order to establish a solid base for teacher trainees. Those who do not know much about drama ask the questions whether or not all teachers should

learn about drama pedagogy and its tools. To agree with Katalin Gabnai, I would say yes. All teachers should learn about drama pedagogy, however, „not because everyone should apply it in their teaching, but at least to decide in time whether or not to be a teacher at all. And who they want to teach.” Gabnai emphasizes that while learning about the different tools of drama pedagogy competent trainees are capable to learn and later to teach the subject in a much shorter period of time, and by this „to raise interest regarding the values that they consider important.” Further, their self-knowledge becomes richer; understand their personal power and learn how to manage their energy to convey knowledge.¹

Among teachers learner centred approach is a common topic, however, one aspect of this approach is often neglected that is the prior knowledge of language, experience and value system of the learner. Therefore, it is important to note the following: drama pedagogical approach requires that the new impulses should be attached to the existing experience of playing. As in the context of pedagogy drama is not about teaching theatrical skills „but it concentrates on influencing the experience in an imagined context. Within imagined situations experience is a medium that is suitable for kids to try out ideas, thoughts, values, roles and use language creatively in action. So drama focuses rather on children gaining experience than being in a performing role.”² According to Neelands’s drama approach and our drama pedagogical concept it is relevant for me what summarizes the art pedagogy. With „the tools of drama and theatre while working actively together it is not the final product, but the path towards it and the time that we spend together is of great value.”³ Agreeing deeply with Peter Slade, I believe that drama concentrates on the individual, on the special personality, that is why it is important because it is difficult to evolve skills to fit today’s norms in this highly performance oriented world, the new values, as there is hardly any guide and the repertoire of teachers if poor.

1. Psychological culture and self-knowledge

Nowadays the degree of psychological culture our today’s society and people is poor. The way conflicts and high level of pressure is dealt with is inadequate. Psychological culture is incomplete that stiffen communities, rules have no alternatives, and punish any differences.

¹ „Hódolni kell a padlízsnak. A találkozás tanítása”, Gabnai Katalinnal beszélget Prezsmer Boglárka, *Játéktér*, 2013. tavasz. Online: jatekter.ro – October 2019.

² Jonathan NEELANDS, *Dráma a tanulás szolgálatában*, (Budapest: Magyar Drámapedagógiai Társaság, 1994) 13.

³ DEMETER LÁZÁR Katalin, *Játsszótárs (Drámajátékok és kreativitás a fejlesztőpedagógiában 5-10 éveseknek)*, (Budapest: Geobook Hungary Kiadó, 2008) 15.

One sign of psychological culture is when people deliberately empathize so as to bridge the differences. Several research findings show – it is also conceived in everyday life –, that the level of empathy is low in today's world, and the negative consequences can be seen in interpersonal relationships. People keep distance from one another and possess low level of empathy. Relationships lack compassion and this fact can be seen in their private life; at work places and in other communities. Today's human should improve their skills for empathy. Parents ought to accept their children's personality so that a generation could form that already develops a high level of empathy. Compassion presumes interpersonal relationship skills that can be detected in all age groups.

What tools are there for teachers to develop empathy in children that would mean the bases for being psychologically cultured? The development of self-knowledge, paying attention and listening to others, understanding each other, improving personality is possible with the methods of drama pedagogy. The tools are suitable to cultivate the seeds of psychological culture in children. Drama pedagogy is important, its central element is playfulness. Children can best progress by playing games. Everything that a children learn about the world, everything that they uncover about themselves they do it through playing. So playing is chosen voluntarily, accompanied by positive feelings that contains its aim and diversely form the personality, and further, gaining experience and acquiring knowledge is through the act of playing. This is cognition, the path of development.⁴

2. Teaching meeting

Teaching through drama is kind of a developmental process that stimulate the growth of personality. It means learning together, making decisions in groups and constant evaluation together.⁵ Drama pedagogy makes children participants, develops their interaction skills, and last but not least enables children to accept themselves. So we need to approach the child somehow, however, to develop this kind of knowledge teacher training should focus on “activating the trainee”, and not to overload with materials. Wake up the desire to learn new situations; if possible get them to experience the important aspect that we find valuable, whatever they face it needs to make them think! This experimental learning in teacher training helps trainees to see what to teach when it comes to animals, an Ibsen drama or Shakespeare, so regarding that particular topic what to teach or what to understand.

⁴ JASKÓNE GÁCSI Mária, „A gyakorlati képzés szemléleti hátterének és kereteinek meghatározása: a pedagógus-idea”, *Sárospataki Pedagógiai Füzetek*, (2015) Különszám, 11–32.

⁵ TOLNAI Mária, *Dráma és nevelés*, (Budapest: Korona Kiadó, 1994) 13–14.

It is well known that the aim of drama pedagogy is for the participants to discover in action their inner and outer world, to place themselves in it, to be influenced by and influence their environment. It is understandable how significant playing is through which the child is an active participant in life situations. We cannot agree more with Mérei either, who find the usefulness of drama pedagogy in dealing with pressure and tension in a more social way and that it offers security. Student face sudden situations in drama. Therefore, students gain knowledge of "situation-behaviour self-knowledge".⁶ Playing becomes the most efficient tool in pedagogy if we consider seriously the fact that most of a child's life should contain it. We have to understand that at pre-school age playing is not an alternative option, but the only option that a child can do, and it would be rejoicing if at schools this playful experimental learning would fill more of students' and teachers' time.

Drama pedagogy helps certain topics become real experience in children's life, to experience life situations and actions and to express their thoughts. While applying drama pedagogy the participants to see that it requires a different kind of teacher; it requires a democratic way of leadership, so the traditional teacher role is modified fundamentally. The teacher is more an active participant in the process than a controller of the events – often serves the participants' ideas. The teacher makes students do their own thinking, to formulate their own feelings. This was archaic knowledge is formed; the children as active participants experience the different life situations. Not the role, but the experience of fate is important. By spontaneous reactions they open their inner and outer world and during their action we learn about their individual aspiration. To achieve this it is essential create a stress free and playful atmosphere, full of trustfulness. Neelands highlights that „a child is not passive receiver, but as an active meaning giver, a creator, an interpreter who has prior knowledge and learning experience. This early learning is not by the objective theoretical learning of the world, but more like by sensing and physically experiencing it.”⁷ Several aspects of drama (tales, poems, songs, traditions) can be built into education that may strengthen the identity and to help learn about and understand other cultures (similarities and differences).

To conclude we can state that the complexity of drama pedagogy means it activates the total personality and in its centre there is the holistic humanistic approach. The fundamental elements of learning include problem solving and constructive management of conflicts. Through improvisations the

⁶ MÉREI Ferenc, „A pszichológiai dramatizálás. Szociodráma, pszichodráma, szerepgyakorlatok”, in *A pszichodráma csoport*, szerk. VIKÁR András és SÁFRÁN Zsófia (Budapest: Animula, 1999) 19–37.

⁷ NEELANDS, *Dráma a tanulás szolgálatában*, op.cit. 12.

interpersonal communication is freer and more relaxed, and that contributes to the improvement of communication skills. Drama games and drama pedagogy is a method to shape personality and complex skills that a teacher only applies if himself or herself had experienced it before, WHAT exactly it is LIKE.

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Cultural Registers and the Reception of World Literature

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The concept of *Weltliteratur*, as introduced by Goethe, is undeniably outdated by now – the last nail in its coffin was probably driven in by postcolonial studies. This does not change the fact that cultural patterns borrowed from *more central* literatures (those of “world literary rank”) have played a fundamental role in the development of Hungarian literature throughout its history. Hungarian literature has not produced as many original inventions of international significance as, for example, modern Hungarian music has. Even its most particular patterns are largely based on imported ideas and forms: in the case of national classicism or national romanticism, the adjective refers to some sort of *transappropriation*, rather than self-produced invention. If we were to purge everything from Hungarian literature that was created by transappropriating imported patterns, the remainder would be very meagre, and the inventory of losses would begin with the most highly esteemed pieces of lingua monumentum, *Funeral Speech* [Halotti beszéd] and *Old Hungarian Lament of Mary* [Ómagyar Mária-siralom]. Cultural reception was and remained an essential source of Hungarian literature throughout its history.

All acts of cultural reception are translation-like operations, although a foreign cultural pattern can become inspiring even if it does not get translated in the actual sense (i.e. a written Hungarian version is prepared and published): it can be effective through a Hungarian writer’s reading the work in the original, or even reading only reviews and interpretations of it, or learning about its existence only from coffeshop rumours. In any case, if a foreign cultural pattern begins to affect Hungarian culture even in such indirect ways, its presence will eventually appear in public conversations and criticism, and thus the need for translation will arise.

The success and nature of the adaptation of a foreign cultural pattern (which can be a specific work of art, an author’s oeuvre, a genre, a style, a movement, a type of plot or hero, etc.) is fundamentally defined by how it is viewed, what rank and what cultural register is attributed to it in the receiving culture

Cultural Registers and the Reception of World Literature

at the moment of the encounter. A specific hermeneutic circle is triggered here, where prejudice (Vorurteil) decides many things. A cultural pattern has its chance to establish itself and make its influence only in the register in which its entry into the receiving culture has taken place (although later on it may move away from here). In fact, many debates on translations are rooted in disagreements concerning the receiving register.

The selection of the receiving register may be strongly influenced by the current canonical position of the cultural pattern in the sending (source) culture, provided that this is somewhat known to the receiving (target) culture and the translator/publisher is willing to take it into account. Another work of an already well-known author (or possibly a group or a somewhat exotic genre, etc.) tends to be directed into the already tried-and-tested register, which can be a useful procedure in terms of finding the proper channels of consumption and, ultimately, rentability. However, canonical positions also change in source cultures, and peripheral oeuvres can achieve a central position in no time, as star authors may fall into oblivion (see, for example, the reception of Baudelaire and Béranger in French culture). On the other hand, the (usually asymmetrical) mutual relationship between sending and receiving cultures can change sharply, as in the case of a political conflict that may induce aversions towards a particular sending culture, reducing the demand for cultural patterns coming from there.

In Hungarian as a receiving culture, the works of antiquity, as well as the Bible, stand well above such changes. In their case, the sending culture carries *a priori* metaphysical characteristics: the trail of cultural descent and inheritance is incomprehensible for the average reader; even specialists are bound to face difficulties and rely on bridging hypotheses. In common knowledge, antiquity seems to be some kind of a virtual country, the life and real distance of which cannot be reconstructed from any other source than the textual memories themselves. The works of antiquity usually enter the receiving culture in the highest register, since their value is guaranteed by their mere ancientness, and their translators are usually high-prestige scholars themselves. In the process of cultural modernization, the unquestionable classics of world literature, like the authors of the status of Dante or Shakespeare, get equally high *a priori* status.

The contemporary works in living languages stand at the other end of the scale: those texts which have not yet established a canonical position in the sending culture. In their case, the decision to initiate the reception process (i.e. commissioning a translation, or in more recent times purchasing the copyright) cannot be based on the hierarchy of the world literary canon sanctioned by decades or centuries, but only by the considerations of the publishing business, or

possibly some cultural policy. These considerations, of course, take into account the early reception of the original work: reviews, sales figures, fees, translations into other languages, the success of those, etc. The translation and publication of a literary work that does not yet have a canonical position is a hazardous business, and its attractiveness is that a potential success may bring great profit. However, from an ethical point of view, the risk is low, since preliminary standards cannot be operated for the translation of an unknown work, we do not have standards to measure a first entry into the receiving culture. Therefore, in these cases, publishers often optimise for the financial risk (they use low-prestige, low-cost translators, skip some of the editing phases, etc.). If later on the prestige of the work rises, some translation ethics issues may arise, but the publisher has already cashed in on the financial success. The situation is further complicated by copyright law, as a publisher may get exclusive options on a contemporary author, thus alternative translations can be prevented.

Book marketing strategies also strongly predetermine the applicable translation strategies. Using a lower register provides more freedom, as in this case it is not necessary to comply with the requirements of a pre-existing canonical system. When translators make use of the opportunities brought about by this freedom, their solutions usually gravitate towards localizing-domesticating strategies, which in extreme cases can go as far as abandoning the original author's name. When Ferenc Kazinczy published his Hungarian version of *Adolfs Gesammelte Briefe*, a contemporary Werther-imitation by Albrecht Christoph Kayser, he did it under the title *The Collected Letters of Bácsmegyey*¹ [assumed name of a fictional Hungarian nobleman]. Although the introduction makes it clear that this is a translation, the name of the original author is omitted. It is obvious that the usage of this strategy would not occur to Kazinczy in the case of his translation of Sallustius' works: here the centre of the textual identity and the means of attracting the readers' attention was not the promise of a sentimental tale of tragic romance, but the well-known name of a classical author.²

Kazinczy was not yet using the word *műfordítás* [literally 'art translation' or 'artistic translation'], as it was most probably introduced by Ferenc Toldy in 1843.³ The meaning of the word has changed since then, however. In his 1971 essay, György Somlyó notes with undisguised disapproval that „more and more of the decent craftsmen of novel translation demand the 'rank' and name

¹ KAZINCZY Ferenc, *Bácsmegyeynek össze-szedett Leveli: Költött történet*, (Kassa: Ellinger János József, 1789)

² C. C. SALLUSTIUS, *Épen maradt minden munkái*, ford. KAZINCZY Ferenc, (Buda: Magyar Kir. Egyetem, 1836)

³ TOLDY Ferenc, „A műfordítás elveiről”, *A Kisfaludy-Társaság évkönyve*, 6(1843–1845) 49–66.

műfordító which has been used for a long time to discriminate and exclude them.”⁴ However, he continues, the true and legitimate holders of the „rank” are increasingly shifting to the term „versfordító” [poetry-translator] in order to maintain the distinction. But today the term *műfordító* (as opposed to simply *fordító*) does not separate poetry translators from prose translators, but literary translators from *applied* translators (of technical, legal, scientific, e.g. non-aesthetic texts). The latter distinction became more important than the former, and the terminology followed this change. Somlyó is therefore right in recognizing the trend, but he is probably inaccurate in his assumption concerning the *origin* of it. The standard Hungarian dictionary of etymology, *TESz*, does not include a separate entry for *műfordító*, but from the analogies we can conclude that the word was introduced at some point in the first half of the 19th century, and, like in many other trades, the prefix *mű-* was used to distinguish a particularly sophisticated and creative, high-prestige version of that trade, that is even open towards the sphere of autonomous art. Of course, the distinction between art translators and „common” translators could also refer to the difference between their competences, but its main point concerned the distribution of functions. According to the original idea (as far as it can be reconstructed) the art translator made Hungarian versions of high prestige international classics, while popular but ephemeral works that would satisfy mass demands were the job of the „common” translators. According to the 19th-century distinction, the art translator (*műfordító*) serves the timeless, abstract interests of Hungarian culture, while common translators do practical craftsmen’s work, satisfying the current needs of the audience. The former activity is motivated by vocation, the latter by livelihood.

This division of the functions became both necessary and obvious at the time when a mass demand for literature arose; and when bourgeois press and publishing structure established itself to satisfy this. Due to sociological factors the demand was especially high for urban themes that would display the moral and practical challenges of urban living, but in the 19th century these expectations could not be met by the domestic production. Thus, foreign „realist” novels, usually based on conflicts of social mobility (descent or ascent), were placed on the Hungarian market relatively soon. Dickens and Zola, for example, were published almost simultaneously with the originals: *Oliver Twist*, after the 1839 original, was published in two editions at once in 1843, while *Nana* appeared in 1881, just a year after the original, characteristically by a pseudonymous translator. It is clear that the thematic elements of violence and misery, as well as demi-mondaine erotica, have made these works particularly attractive

⁴ SOMLYÓ György, „Két szó között”, *Filológiai Közlöny* 17(1971) 3–4. sz. 460–481., 460.

pieces of literary ‘forbidden fruit’, while also confirming their position in the low register. *Nana* is a particularly typical case of mistaken choice of register, since a significant number of its early readers (and not only in Hungarian) read it as pornography (a type of ‘misregistration’ that also afflicted *Ulysses* half a century later). It seems that there was some sort of conditional reflex on the book market, which associated the low register with the previously unknown foreign author’s name, but also with the excitement of exoticism and frivolity. It is probably a remnant of this reflex that Hungarian pulp fiction authors still like to use English or French aliases (Leslie L. Lawrence, Vavyan Fable). The inverse of this tendency is that the names of some foreign youth authors were Hungarianized even in the early 20th century, diverting their reception towards the higher registers, reassuring parents and teachers that they were morally compatible with patriotic education (Verne Gyula, May Károly).

Dickens and Zola, of course, could only appear to be penny dreadful authors for a short while: it took only a few years to get a perspective that showed their proper stature in the literary canon. When the classical status of these authors was consolidated, the poorness of their early translations became apparent, and linguistically and culturally more discerning new translations were made. However, cultural transfers in low registers also had an impact on the higher registers of domestic culture: genuine Hungarian experimentation with the naturalist writing style did not have to wait until Zola became „presentable” in all respects.

Children’s books provide particularly interesting examples of this uncertainty around the choice of registers. Many creations of the genre become obsolete rapidly, and the rare classics emerge slowly. Moreover, the classic children’s book poses a strange choice to the translator: consider it a classic and translate it according to the rules of the higher registers with a foreignizing strategy, or rather try to create an enjoyable children’s book that requires a domesticating strategy? *Alice in Wonderland*, for example, was first published in 1927 in the translation of Margit Altay, heavily mutilated, without any indication of the author’s name. In 1929, a correct, slightly colourless translation of Andor Juhász followed, and in 1936 one of the most prestigious translators of the era, Dezső Kosztolányi, created his version with an unprecedentedly radical domesticating strategy – a version that was later removed from Hungarian cultural memory by the 1958 revision of Tibor Szobotka.⁵ However, the international prestige of the work continued to rise, and after the change of regime in 1989–90, two more translations were made. *Winnie the Pooh*, although it exists

⁵ KAPPANYOS András, „Műfordítás mint extrém sport: Évike Tündérorszáiban”, *Studia Litteraria*, 57(2018) 1–2. sz. 111–130.

only in one version, is actually an even more interesting example. Karinthy's popular translation was attacked by Miklós Molnár in 1992 with surprising vehemence, calling it a literary crime, and he returned later to this opinion several times.⁶ The attack was based on Benjamin Hoff's 1982 book *The Tao of Pooh*: Molnár accuses Karinthy's text for erasing the Taoist philosophical and life-management message which Hoff thought he saw in the original. Karinthy certainly had no idea of this message (and it is also doubtful whether Milne had), and in his translation he targeted the relatively low register of a funny children's book, fulfilling this standard to lasting public satisfaction. In an unconscious but tell-tale sign of this choice of register, Karinthy, in a promotional article, calls the author „my excellent colleague, the young but well-known and popular Milne”⁷ – shamelessly patronizing someone five years older than him.

There is no doubt that Karinthy's translation does not offer everything the original does: its internal motif system and external allusion system are less rich and organized; the universe it builds is less consistent – but this can be said basically about every translation. On the other hand, many of the treasures that have been denied of Hungarian culture can be replaced by retranslations: *Winnie the Pooh* may also get a more serious, more philosophical version one day (copyright restrictions expire in a few years). This has already been done with works of much higher status, the most recent example being Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Its classic translator, Mihály Babits, chose the highest possible register, as he saw it as the most important literary work in the Christian world, surpassed only the Bible itself. Its recent re-translator, Ádám Nádasdy, thought differently: for him, Dante's opus was a comprehensive encyclopaedia of medieval life and thinking, in which no cognitive information should be lost for the sake of poetic beauty. The two solutions do not exclude each other at all: those who like Nádasdy's work do not necessarily have to look for arguments against Babits.

One of the (actually valid) arguments against Babits' version is that Dante's language and versification are simple, light, demotic, while that of Babits' is sophisticated, obscure, aristocratic.⁸ Nádasdy addresses the problem but does not solve it, as his unrhymed iambs (blank verse) are not demotic either, while hardly anything evokes the rich musicality of the original. A very similar problem has been addressed in a slightly similar way by Gedeon Mészöly's 1945 translation of *The Odyssey*, published in 1959, that led to a

⁶ MOLNÁR Miklós, „Miért nem »Micimackó«? Egy irodalmi bűntény jegyzőkönyve”, *Kortárs* 36(1992) 5. sz. 1–12.

⁷ KARINTHY Frigyes, „Micimackó megérkezett”, *Pesti Napló*, 1935. december 1., 38.

⁸ NÁDASDY Ádám, „A rímelés veszélyei”, *Élet és Irodalom*, 2015. június 12., 13.

heroic failure.⁹ Mészöly tried to restore or maintain the folkish nature of the original work, using coupled alexandrines, the basic form of the Hungarian folk epic. However, this is not a general „ancient” form in Hungarian poetry, but it belongs specifically to the 19th century. For the average reader its cultural context is not linked to the time of a spontaneous emergence of the form that can be reconstructed from subsequent collections (e.g. the folk ballad of Kerekes Izsák), but specifically to its codification in complete epic works by Petőfi and Arany in the mid 19th century (*Toldi, János Vitéz*). It is dissonant to see a 2,800-year-old (thus timeless) cultural pattern in a specifically 150-year-old language, and even going further back one or two centuries would not improve the situation. The register chosen by Gedeon Mészöly is too specific: the true ancientness of antiquity cannot be captured by the means of vivid cultural memory, because its scale extends far beyond the scope of cultural memory. „Folk” is an aesthetic category whose verbal forms, precisely because of their oral nature, change rapidly, so that Homer in rhyming couplets will not sound eternal, but unpleasantly outdated. If we are realistic, we must admit that „Homer of the working people”, as Mészöly imagined it,¹⁰ cannot exist, since the working people do not tend to read Homer of their own initiative. Mészöly wanted to place his translation in the 18th century tradition of folk books, but the register of that tradition has been occupied by the penny dreadful, then Hollywood, and shortly afterwards, by television series. Anyone who is able and willing to read such a long, complex and old story will happily make their way through the hexameters; the seductive force of the rhyming alexandrine is not enough to conquer all the other difficulties. Kayser’s *Adolf* maybe worth restyling as *Bácsmegyey*, but Sallustius – and Homer – refuses to be redirected to that register.

⁹ *Ulisszes, azaz Homérosz Odisszeája magyarul*, ford. MÉSZÖLY Gedeon, (Budapest: Terra, 1959)

¹⁰ MÉSZÖLY Gedeon, „Az Odisszea magyarra fordításának módszere”, *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: sectio philologica*, 1956, 6–49.

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The Significant of Imre Henszlmann's Work in Dramatic Theory and Drama Criticism in the History of 19th Century Hungarian Literature*

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Kulcsszavak: Imre Henszlmann, drama theory, drama criticism, Shakespeare, 19th century Hungarian literature, characteristic

In the field of Hungarian Cultural Sciences and Art History, Imre Henszlmann has been known as an art historian and the founding father of art conservation in Hungary. The reason for this identification was his appointment to professor at the Department of Art History and Classical Archaeology in 1872, which signalled the institutionalization of the discipline of Art History in Hungary. Henszlmann's oeuvre is multifaceted: in his early career he obtained a medical degree, then turned toward art history, and later toward literary history and drama criticism. He called attention to the importance of conserving art relics and monuments in Hungary, carried out research to find Hungarian art treasures, and regularly published his theoretical studies, critiques and creative writings in contemporary periodicals. Despite his diverse activities his name is canonized almost exclusively in the context of the discipline of Art History. Art historians remember Henszlmann as an art conservator, architect and art historian, while his work in literary theory and drama criticism is hardly ever discussed. His oeuvre, however, can be divided into two parts: his work as a literary scholar and drama critic is just as significant as his well-researched and – analysed endeavours in art history, including art theory, art education, art conservation and architecture.

In this paper I would like to summarize the main points of my doctoral dissertation. The aim of my paper is to discuss and analyse Imre Henszlmann's work as a literary scholar and drama critic, as well as to put my findings in the context of the history of literature in Henszlmann's age. Through processing and presenting various texts by Henszlmann and his contemporaries, my

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The Significant of Imre Henszlmann's Work in Dramatic Theory

doctoral dissertation shall explore where the art critic's work may be placed among contemporary efforts of creating a Hungarian national culture. A further objective is to determine Henszlmann's significance as a drama critic in the contemporary processes of the history of literature and of culture in Hungary. Finally, going beyond the drama critic's era, I shall map his reception: analysing what literary historians call the debate of *fin de siècle* tragedy I shall examine what succeeding generations borrowed – either by implication or by direct means – from Henszlmann's principles and norms as a literary scholar and drama critic, and whether these borrowings had a direct or indirect impact and formative power on the development of literature and culture in Hungary.

All these aims serve to add more details and shades to the discourse that not only foregrounds Henszlmann's work as an art historian but determines his significance exclusively in this context. Furthermore, I wish to direct attention to this role of Henszlmann – which I believe is unjustly forgotten but highly significant in literary history – by limiting my research to his work as a literary scholar and critic, as well as to the importance and mapping of this work.

1. Research methods

My research is restricted to the period between 1841 and 1846, since it was at that time that Henszlmann wrote and published about literature and drama theory most actively. The period examined is framed by two extensive theoretical works of his, the first one being *Párhuzam az ókori és újkor[i] művészeti nézetek és nevelések közt, különös tekintettel a művészeti fejlődésre Magyarországon*¹ [Parallels Between Views and Education in Ancient and Modern Art, with Especial Regard to the Development of Art in Hungary], published in 1841, at the beginning of his career, and presenting the theoretical bases learnt from Daniel Josef Böhm, as well as Henszlmann's own growing ambitions. It was in this study that Henszlmann posited the basis of the criteria of his system of concepts: the triad of “*characteristic-vital-expedient*” and he made a proposal concerning the establishment of art education in Hungary, elaborating its structure and program. The end of the period is marked by his 1846 study, *A' hellen tragoedia tekintettel a' keresztyén drámára*,² [Hellenistic Tragedy With Regards to Christian Drama,] which signals the matured and summarised theoretical and practical knowledge he gained and created about literature, drama and, in relation to these, fine arts. In *Hellenistic Tragedy* Henszlmann presented a new

¹ HENSZLMANN Imre, „Párhuzam az ó és újkor művészeti nézetek és nevelések közt különös tekintettel a művészeti fejlődésre Magyarországon”, (1841) in *Válogatott képzőművészeti írások*, szerk. TÍMÁR Árpád, (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatóintézet, 1990) 7–146.

² HENSZLMANN Imre, „A' hellen tragoedia tekintettel a' keresztyén drámára”, in *Kisfaludy Társaság Évkönyve* 5, (Buda: Magyar Királyi Egyetem, 1846) 128–428.

view and method. He discussed Hellenistic dramatic plays, comparing them with “Christian drama” or, more specifically, to Shakespeare’s tragedies. The aim of this comparison was to reconsider and rewrite the contemporary view that appreciated ancient Greek drama exclusively. My dissertation aims to present and interpret both *Hellenistic Tragedy* and *Parallel* from the aspect of art theory, the history of aesthetics and cultural studies. One of the reasons for this aim is that *Hellenistic Tragedy* – this almost three-hundred-page-long monumental study in literary theory – does not have a modern edition, nor has it been thoroughly analysed to this day.

Besides these two texts I shall also discuss shorter pieces: articles by Henszlmann and his contemporaries published in 19th-century periodicals, such as *Athenaeum*, *Életképek* [Scenes from Life], *Magyar Szépirodalmi Szemle* [A Review of Hungarian Literature] and *Regélő Pesti Divatlap* [Pest Fashion Magazine], which demonstrate the development of Henszlmann’s drama theory and its reception in the period in question. In order to map the drama critic’s theory and attitude, I shall interpret the articles he wrote about Shakespeare’s plays their performance in Hungary and published in *Pest Fashion Magazine* between 1842 and 1844,³ as well as his shorter articles about drama theory.⁴ My chosen corpus has not yet been collected, processed or positioned in the context of either Hungarian literary history or Henszlmann’s role in the literary world of the period. Therefore, I shall analyse and discuss these texts both individually and compared to one another, and then in relation to the Hungarian and international history of literature and culture of Henszlmann’s age.

2. “He was the first to advocate the slogans of modern criticism in Hungary”—*The significant of Imre Henszlmann’s Work*

Imre Henszlmann’s legacy in drama theory and literary criticism is a little-explored chapter in the history of Hungarian literature and literary criticism; thus, my dissertation primarily aims to fill this hiatus. My research does not consider whether Henszlmann’s system of norms and expression of critical

³ HENSZLMANN Imre, „Julius Caesar biralata”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 1(1842) 18–19. sz. 140–141, 146–150.; HENSZLMANN Imre, „Shakespeare’ Othellója, a’ nemzeti színház’ közönsége, és az Athenaeum’ színi kritikája”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 1(1842) 93. sz. 1067–1070.; HENSZLMANN Imre, „Figyelmeztetés Shakespeare’ harmadik Richardjára”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 2(1843) 21–23. sz. 643–652, 683–690, 715–722.

⁴ HENSZLMANN Imre, „Az újabb francia szinköltészet és annak káros befolyása a’ miénkre”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 1(1842) 35–410. sz. 274–276, 282–285, 291–293, 298, 299, 280. (Az utolsó rész lapszámozása nyomdai hibára utal.); HENSZLMANN Imre, „Drámai jellemek”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 1(1842) 10. sz. 76–80.; HENSZLMANN Imre, „Miért tetszik a’ francia dráma?”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 1(1842) 31. sz. 242–243.; HENSZLMANN Imre, „A dráma alapelvei”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 2(1843) 3–6. sz. 75–82, 110–116, 140–144, 172–180.

The Significant of Imre Henszlmann's Work in Dramatic Theory

opinion is still relevant in our modern-day perception of (the history of) literature. Instead, it focuses on the problematics of how these norms and expressions operated in Henszlmann's age and whether their impact may be detected in the literary world of posterity. My dissertation records those works of the drama critic which lend themselves to the exploration and definition of the norms Henszlmann set, summarises them in accordance with "what he inherited from his predecessors and what we may inherit from him – that is, how he developed what fell to his share"⁵ – and evaluates the way these norms were used, touching upon their operation and impact in the period in question.

"The most vital twofold task [of criticism] is normative evaluation and the evaluative formation of norms,"⁶ which means that research in the history of criticism is fundamentally *the exploration of norms*. My research is based on this notion: on the one hand, I collect, organise, discuss and briefly evaluate Henszlmann's studies in the theory of criticism and his critical reviews with the aim of comprehensiveness and according to my own set of criteria. On the other hand, I keep another crucial aspect of the history of criticism in mind: the examination of how these norms of criticism were established, related and employed.⁷

To my knowledge, Henszlmann's merit is unprecedented in Hungary: his development and rigorously consistent use of a system of norms in art criticism which is not only objective but rules out any chance of subjectivity is of unparalleled significance. According to Péter Dávidházi, Bajza and his colleagues "borrowed their principles from Lessing and Schlegel and were driven 'more by learned starting points than deliberate and well-considered ones', making decisions in debated issues by automatically relying on the use of quotations." The need for the development of independent norms in criticism was formulated by János Erdélyi in the early 1860s.⁸

Apparently Henszlmann created his independent system of notions ("*characteristic-vital-expedient*") as early as in 1841 with the publication of *Parallel*, which he posited as the norm for the critical evaluation of works of literary works and artefacts, and he called upon critics of the era to account for the use of borrowed norms. In response to Pulszky's criticism of *Parallel* Henszlmann asserted it was "not enough any more to simply feel something

⁵ DÁVIDHÁZI Péter, *Hunytt mesterünk: Arany János kritikusi öröksége*, (Budapest: Argumentum, 1992) 10.

⁶ DÁVIDHÁZI, *Hunytt mesterünk*, *op.cit.* 45. For the terms used by Dávidházi and the contents of these two notions in more detail see: *Ibid.* 34–40.

⁷ KAPUSI Angéla, „Henszlmann Imre fogalomrendszere és annak helye a hazai irodalomkritikai diskurzusban”, *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis Sectio Philosophica*, 24(2019) 1. sz. 111–128.

⁸ DÁVIDHÁZI, *Hunytt mesterünk*, *op.cit.*, 43.

about art – we need also to know and be aware, and it is crucial to consider why that certain piece of art is to our liking, why we find it good or excellent, because if we are content with declaring it beautiful and ideal and claiming that it shows Nature at its noblest, then we are stating something vague, and that marks the dusk of consciousness and of criticism, as if talking about colours when blind.”⁹

Concomitant with formulating this view, Henszlmann made a revolutionary move when he excluded the aesthetic category of *beautiful* from his system of norms,¹⁰ thereby foregrounding the vital aspect of objectivity. In *Parallel* and *Hellenic Tragedy* Henszlmann was gradually developing his system of norms that enabled normative evaluation. Both theoretical works may be considered documents of the development of evaluating norms from an important period in the Hungarian history of literature and culture from the 1840s, contesting the practice of Bajza and *Athenaeum* that characterised criticism at that time. The fundamental method of Henszlmann’s formation of norms, carried out in both studies, were constant comparison: the comparative analysis of processes in literature and fine arts, as well as of various works, cultures and eras. Description and comparison, continuous evaluation, resulting in the formation of the critical norms that function as the basis of normative evaluation, are the characteristic features of Henszlmann’s criticism in theory and practice.

The main foundation of Henszlmann’s system of norms is the criterion of the *characteristic*, both in literature and fine arts, for the sake of developing Hungary’s own national arts, literature and culture. The norms professed in *Parallel* called for the formation of unique works of art, that is, the production of art through uniquely national stylistic characteristics (*characteristic*) and the replication of animate Nature (*vital*), as well as the criterion of functional appropriateness (*expedient*). In his dramatic theory, Henszlmann studied the norm of the *characteristic* most thoroughly: polemising with Bajza, Henszlmann was the first to proclaim the priority of elaborate characterisation in drama in the early 1840s, thereby abandoning the Aristotelian tradition of plot-centredness, and denoting artistic-aesthetic experience and its impact on tastes and preferences as the main tasks of tragedy. The system of rules set up by Henszlmann are linked to the Aristotelian notion of mimesis by the thesis that any work of art is an imitation of Nature, rather than the product of a free creative mind. On the other hand, the specific criterion of *expedient*, set at the very

⁹ HENSZLMANN Imre, „Észrevételek Pulszky Ferencz urnak »Párhuzam az ó és újkori művészeti nézetek és nevelés« című munkámnak folyó f. é. Athenaeum’ 15-ik számában megjelent bírálata”, *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, 1(1842) 64. sz. 601–604., 602.

¹⁰ “Henszlmann contrasted ‘beautiful’ with ‘characteristic’ and ‘vital,’ and set ‘individual’ and ‘national’ against ‘ideal.” GYULAI Pál, „Henszlmann Imre”, in GYULAI Pál, *Emlékbeszédek*, 2, (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1914) 415.

The Significant of Imre Henszlmann's Work in Dramatic Theory

centre of Henszlmann's system of norms, pervading his way of thinking and asserted in every relation with regards to the author and the subject matter of a work, as well as the method of portrayal, appears to be the antecedent of the Romantic cult of individuality. In this respect Henszlmann seemingly followed the lead of German aesthetes and critics – A. W. Schlegel, Lessing – especially, Joseph Daniel Böhm. Henszlmann complemented the *characteristic* with the criterion of the *national characteristic*, and thus he joined the program of building national culture prevalent in the period. Henszlmann consciously strove to be part of the program and to influence it.

3. The reception of Henszlmann's theories in the Hungarian literary studies

And what fate was awaiting Henszlmann's system of evaluative norms? The contemporaries that were determinative of the Hungarian literary and cultural world of the period did give references to some of his works and views, but he had to endure criticism and mockery even in his lifetime. For a long time after his death, his work in literary and drama theory was barely acknowledged in discourse on literary history, and a deeper understanding and appreciation of his merits came much later. Finding out the reason for this phenomenon may only be attempted by bearing several aspects in mind.

Henszlmann's encyclopaedic knowledge and way of looking at things may have collided with his ambition as a critic to build a nation: his foreign sources and the system based on this foundation elicited aversion and, at times, an inferiority complex in his contemporaries. As Bajza wrote about Henszlmann in *Athenaeum*, "Mr Henszlmann himself must have learnt in Germany a hatred for the French, only because the Germans hate them"¹¹ and "it seems that Mr Henszlmann spent so much time living in Germany that he internalized a hatred for the French; there is not one drop of blood in his veins that is not filled with loathing for the French."¹²

The revolution and the war of independence halted every cultural process, while the numb period between the failure of the revolution and the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 was characterised by an atmosphere of anguish and fear. Péter Dávidházi summarises the operation and situation of critical norms and the perception of literature in the era the following way: "[W]e must bring order to the ways things are by limitations, whatever they may be, because by their very nature they have an alarming inclination to break loose

¹¹ BAJZA József, „Shakespeare, francia színművek s az Athenaeum: Válaszul Henszlmann Imre úrnak”, 1, *Athenaeum*, 6(1842) II, 74. sz. 585–590., 587.

¹² BAJZA József, „Shakespeare, francia színművek s az Athenaeum: Válaszul Henszlmann Imre úrnak”, 2, *Athenaeum*, 6(1842) II, 75. sz. 593–599., 598.

and, when left to themselves, they become chaotic and get out of control – even the disciplining force of what we understand to be a faulty measure, relatively valid and applied temporarily, is better than that.”¹³ This means that everything generated fear, especially the prospect of this process getting out of control, which could have been made highly possible by arts and literature. Romanticism is the art of individuality, the cult of the genius, and it was identified with a slackening of the structure of artistic creation and an enhancement the imagery of language – that is, it makes way for everything that is “out of control.” All this was rigorously rejected, since “even the worst government is better than anarchy,” claimed Pál Gyulai in 1861 – even the worst critique is better if it has principles and is temperate than any other critique that lacks principles and is illogical in its measures.¹⁴ The problem was that Henszlmann’s *characteristic* and the criterion of artistic-poetic characterisation in drama theory, as well as his cult of Shakespeare tended right towards Romanticism. Consequently, the system of norms set by the drama critic was not acceptable or deployable after the revolution. The tasks undertaken by literature took a different direction; there was a need to answer different questions concerning literary and critical thought. In the 1840s what mattered was the dramatic effect drama had on the audience, while after 1848 the most crucial task was to determine the nature of tragedy and the tragic aspect of drama. The processes that started to evolve in Hungarian literature after 1867 considerably transcended Henszlmann’s theses.

Finally, there is a biographical fact – perceivable as both a cause and an effect – that after the Revolution, in the 1950s, Henszlmann went abroad on a study trip, spent a few years in London and was building his career as an architect there, that is, he left the Hungarian literary world. He returned to Hungary in the 1860s, due to the building of the palace hosting the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. After his return, he again joined in Hungarian public life but he did not continue his literary activities, opting for working as an architect, art historian and the forefather of art conservation in Hungary instead.

It must be noted, though, that Henszlmann summarised his revolutionary norms in a perfectly orderly system with confines and limits. Mimesis, the notion of imitating Nature, does not transcend Classicism, which means that it does not really borrow the Romanticist thesis of creative imagination. Nevertheless, Henszlmann did utilize and incorporate in his system several expectations and norms of (especially German) Romanticism, such as the portrayal of

¹³ DÁVIDHÁZI, *Hunyt mesterünk*, op.cit., 76., 77–84.

¹⁴ GYULAI Pál, *Kritikai dolgozatok 1854 – 1861*, (Budapest: MTA, 1908) 385, quoted in: DÁVIDHÁZI, *Hunyt mesterünk*, op.cit. 76.

The Significant of Imre Henszlmann's Work in Dramatic Theory

the individual, the characteristic and the peculiar, a turning back not to antiquity but to the past in general, and the specific preference of Gothic art (fine arts) and Shakespeare's art (drama). Henszlmann was the first to collect Hungarian folk tales and compare them to those of other cultures,¹⁵ which meant that instead of the ancient he marked Hungarian mythological themes as the subject matter of art, and he initiated the incorporation of the texts of folk tales and legends in Hungarian national works – this is also a Romanticist feature.

4. Summary

Henszlmann's significance in the history of Hungarian criticism does not lie in the quality and classification of his norms or the system built of them, but primarily in the gesture itself: in employing *the evaluative formation of norms and normative evaluation*. In her monograph about János Erdélyi, Ilona T. Erdélyi makes the following observation with regards to *A Review of Hungarian Literature* and Erdélyi's principles as a critic: "using the 'principle of the individual,' the notion of the *characteristic*, [János Erdélyi] popularised a new poetic ideal which – as opposed to the exaggeration employed by the *ideal* – pointed in the direction of the concrete, that is, the portrayal of reality."¹⁶ This also indicates that by consistently developing and rigorously using his critical norms, Henszlmann – apparently – was one of the first critics to have an impact on the normative evaluation applied by Erdélyi and his contemporaries. "Henszlmann was the first to advocate the slogans of modern criticism in Hungary, and he did it with success, as our poetry had already started to turn away from the rigid ideals of Classicism. János Erdélyi applied Henszlmann's notions in their cohesive system in Hungarian literature,"¹⁷ claimed Pál Gyulai in his commemorative address, drawing on which it may be stated that Henszlmann's method of criticism became paradigmatic:¹⁸ János Erdélyi's study about Berzsenyi¹⁹ and

¹⁵ GYULAI, *Henszlmann Imre*, *op.cit.*, 415.

¹⁶ T. ERDÉLYI Ilona: *Erdélyi János (1814–1868)*, Pozsony, Kalligram, 2015, 197.

¹⁷ GYULAI, *Henszlmann Imre*, *op.cit.*, 415.

¹⁸ János Korompay H. discusses this issue in his study summarising the critiques written about Petőfi's oeuvre and concludes that the system of norms created by Henszlmann paved the way for the reception of Petőfi's works. KOROMPAY H. János, „Petőfi fogadtatásának kritikátörténeti értelmezése (1843–1849)”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 96(1992) 1. sz. 1–23.

¹⁹ "Thus the new aesthetics took a step back and, instead of explaining the beautiful, it expounded the tools and methods that could most certainly facilitate the production of the beautiful, such as the *characteristic* and the *unique*." ERDÉLYI János, *Irodalmi tanulmányok és pályaképek*, sajtó alá rend. és jegyz. T. ERDÉLYI Ilona, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991) 147.

Vörösmarty,²⁰ as well as his critical review and normative evaluation of János Arany's *Zrínyi és Tasso* [Zrínyi and Tasso] and *Bulcsú Károly költeményei* [Károly Bulcsú's Poems]²¹ could not have come to life without Henszlmann's revolutionary work.

Translated by Éva Pataki

My major publications on the topic:

KAPUSI Angéla, „A karakterisztikustól a jellemzetesig. Henszlmann Imre művészetelméletéről”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 118(2014) 4. sz. 540–546.

KAPUSI Angéla, „A korszak szava – Henszlmann Imre a művészeti nevelés gyakorlatáról”, *Magyar Pedagógia*, 114(2014) 3. sz. 133–148.

KAPUSI Angéla, „Rorát megelőzve?: Henszlmann Imre Shakespeare-kritikái és a magyarországi Shakespeare-recepció a 19. század közepén”, *Valóság*, 59(2016) 8. sz. 45–51.

KAPUSI Angéla, „»nem elég többé, valamit csak éreznünk a' művészetben, hanem egyszersmind tudnunk is kell«: Henszlmann Imre drámaelmélete és -kritikája”, in *A szövegtől a szcenikáig: Tanulmányok a dráma- és színháztörténet köréből*, szerk. CZIBULA Katalin és DEMETER Júlia és PINTÉR Márta Zsuzsanna, Régi Magyar Színház 6, (Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2016) 620–635.

KAPUSI Angéla, „Henszlmann Imre fogalomrendszere és annak helye a hazai irodalomkritikai diskurzusbán”, *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis Sectio Philosophica*, 24(2019) 1. sz. 111–128.

²⁰ “What is it then that makes drama a genre so close to real life? The answer is: the fact that we must create man in drama just as he is created in real life: individually, that is, *with character*.” ERDÉLYI, *Irodalmi tanulmányok*, op.cit. 99.

²¹ *Arany János válogatott művei, III, Prózai művek*, (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1975) 644–662.

The Similes of Charity Service Programs

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Keywords: charity service program, school service learning program, service learning, Jesuit education, qualitative research

In the years of 2013 and 2014 I conducted a mixed-method empirical research, which was mainly based on participatory observation, with the aim of examining several aspects of the charity service program at the Gyula Fényi Jesuit High School in Miskolc. The research focused on exploring the cultural embeddedness, the operating mechanisms of the program as well as the attitudes and motivations of the participants and resulted in a complex, descriptive case study.¹

At the Gyula Fényi Jesuit Grammar School in Miskolc, since the academic year of 2002/2003, each student has been taking part in a service program with a social focus for several months. The main purpose of the charity program, Pedro Arrupe, is to make students „people for others” who, as adults, participate in the promotion of social justice with the necessary openness, active and critical attitude, and tolerance.²

In 2014 (in addition to my case study), I conducted an online research project with Balazs Velkey, the charity program coordinator, during which, among other things, I had the opportunity to ask students to share similes they associate with the program. „The charity service program is like ...” was completed by 209 of the 290 respondents, 78 left the answer blank, and 3 had an invalid answer.

The process of analyzing and interpreting the similes were basically subjective, intuitive, since I did not ask for explanations in the questionnaire; and I even included in the instructions for the students not to think a lot about their answers. My goal was not to interpret and categorize all similes, but to help draw a general picture of the students’ perceptions, attitudes, emotions, beliefs,

¹ KARLOWITS-JUHÁSZ Orchidea, *A jezsuiták szeretetszolgálat az iskolai közösségi szolgálat kontextusában*, Doktori (PhD) értekezés, (Budapest: ELTE PPK Neveléstudományi Doktori Iskola, 2015)

² The compulsory school community service, introduced in Hungary from the 2012/2013 school year, (required for graduation from 2016) partially reorganized the content and technical aspects of the charity service program. I will not discuss this issue in this study.

and desires about love service. The collected similes were classified within four aspects:³

- 1) according to its sign: positive, rather positive, neutral; negative, rather negative;
- 2) according to structure and level of detailedness: one word; multi-word, not detailed; multi-word detailed;
- 3) according to the direction of the effect: towards the helper; towards the helped person (s); reciprocal;
- 4) according to their semantic range.

The classification according to the signs is shown in Table 1. A total of 201 positive, rather positive or neutral, and 8 negative or more negative responses were received. Where I was uncertain about the classification, I examined the respondent's attitude toward charity program based on the other questions in the questionnaire and then deduced the sign of simile. For example, the „charity service is like a surprise packet” simile was placed in a more positive category, as the respondent student's attitude towards charity was positive overall, as he volunteered for 4 school years instead of 1, and worked as a volunteer even after graduating from high school, and he also and supports the introduction of compulsory school community service. Likewise, the „charity service program is like other duties” was put into the rather negative category because the student concerned evaluated the charity service program consistently in a negative way, was reluctant to volunteer later on, and did not agree with the introduction of compulsory school community service.

1. Classification of similes according to their sign

Sign	Occurrence	Examples: The charity service program is like...
Positive, rather positive, neutral	201	self-fulfillment; a second family; the warmth of the sun; a caressing hand; the most useful duty.
Negative, rather negative	8	kissing a dead person; a house without a roof; a pain in the neck.
Altogether	209	

The similes were classified also by their structure and level of detailedness. In Table 2 I would mostly like to point out that the more complex, multi-word

³ The classification was based on: VAMOS Ágnes, *Metafora a pedagógiában*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó Kör – ELTE BTK Neveléstudományi Intézet, 2003) 11.

The Similes of Charity Service Programs

responses contribute significantly to a more objective interpretation of the similes and also to a more relevant definition of the range of semantic fields.

2. Classification of similes according to their structure and levels of detailedness

Detailed-ness(structure)	Occurrence	Examples: The charity service program is like...
One-word	50	the bird; the rain; vitamin; luck; the game; a paper; a try; a road; a pie; a plant; a room.
Multi-word expression	96	a slice of life; a heart-warming experience; an informal obligation; when many little ants are busy.
Multi-word, detailed	63	gardening, you work with patience and attention, later you realize how much this means to you; a school where very important lessons can be learned about social sensitivity
Altogether	209	

Arranging the similes into sets based on their effects show us the balance between the dual goals of this charity service program (see Table 3). Namely, we see that the effects from the helpers (“there”) or towards the helpers (“back”) are almost evenly distributed. The former refers to the „charity” of this program, and the latter to the development of the ability and personality due to this program. Balázs Velkey describes this dual goal system as follows: “The primary goal of our school program is to develop the ability and personality of our students through community service. We want to give young people opportunities and some help to become “people for others”. During the program, our students will experience the joy of giving and acceptance, they will get to know themselves better, open up to the world and take on social responsibility. They should be constantly growing in their social sensitivity and commitment.”⁴ In one of the interviews I made, he says: “Students first feel that they are helping others, but many realize during the program what they get from the program themselves, and what are the values that are strengthened in them.”⁵

⁴ VELKEY Balázs, „Személyiségfejlesztés az iskolai közösségi szolgálatban”, *Fókusz*, 15(2013) 1. sz. 13–28., 16.

⁵ Interview with Balázs Velkey (16th January 2013)

3. Classification of similes according to the direction of their effect

The direction of the effect	Occurrence	Examples: The charity service program is like...
Towards the helped one(s)	63	responsibility; self-sacrifice; a gift we can give to others; opening previously closed doors for others; to give clothes to the man with no clothes; a selfless gesture; love via serving; to turn to others with devotion; to give one piece of yourself to another person; to live for others.
Towards the helper	67	self-fulfillment; an adventure from which we return with more; a self-development training; learning a special language, you can only become a better person and your personality will become more colorful; a useful experience that would have been a pity to miss.
Reciprocal	12	giving to others while you also get from them; love (giving and waiting for feedback); walking dogs, it is a joy for both parties.
Not identifiable or not typical	67	All similes that cannot be clearly classified in the above categories.
Altogether	209	

In addition to the classification procedures presented so far, the similes have been categorized by their semantic ranges too (see Table 4). A total of 28 semantic ranges were assigned to which 188 of the 209 similes could be classified, and 21 were included in the „Unique Response Set”. There are 43 similes that appear in two, and 1 simile that appear in three ranges of meanings at the same time, for example: “Love service is like a sapling. You plant it, take care of it, and when it grows, it gratifies you with its fruit” (meaning ranges: Gardening, Mutual give-and-take); „Love service is like changeable weather” (meaning ranges: Natural phenomenon, An unpredictable thing).

The Similes of Charity Service Programs

4. Classification of similes according to their semantic ranges

Semantic ranges		Occurance		A few examples: The charity service program is like...
		Positive*	Negative*	
1.	Selfless giving	33	-	giving myself to those in need.
2.	Development, learning	20	-	a self-development training.
3.	Quitting the usual	16	-	getting to know other lives.
4.	Religious life	14	-	the work of Jesus.
5.	Personal relationships	13	-	extending a family.
6.	Basic need	12	-	salt, we need it!
7.	Mutual give-and-take	12	-	a smile. If you give it to someone, you get it back.
8.	But the end is good	11	-	running. Sometimes it's hard to convince yourself, but you'll never regret it.
9.	Life itself	11	-	real life.
10.	Completion	10	-	completing a gap.
11.	A natural phenomenon	8	-	sunshine.
12.	Challenge, mission, profession	7	-	a big challenge.
13.	Self-knowledge	7	-	looking into the mirror and seeing yourself.
14.	Spare time activity	6	-	a hobby.
15.	An unpredictable thing	5	1	roulette. You don't know how it will end.
16.	Positive experience	5	-	a heartwarming experience.
17.	Flower, plant	5	-	a beautiful flower.
18.	Gardening	5	-	gardening.
19.	Fruit	4	-	a thirst quenching fruit.
20.	Road, journey, trip	4	-	a trip.
21.	Miracle	4	-	all the small things. If you do it regularly, it can do wonders.
22.	Duty	2	1	an informal duty.
23.	Developing patience	3	-	the stairs of patience.
24.	Love	3	-	the practical expression of love.
25.	Towards a better world	3	-	paving the road for a better world.
26.	Opportunity	2	-	a good opportunity.
27.	Book	2	-	a good book.
28.	Work	1	1	a fruitful job.
+1	Individual answers	12	6	my grandmother.

* Positive = positive, rather positive, neutral; negative = negative, rather negative.

Below I will present those semantic ranges that contain the most elements, with some explanations, and also illustrated by further examples.

The semantic range of *Selfless giving* consists of the widest range of similes used for Love service.⁶ The similes here cover categories such as giving („giving clothes to a man who has no clothes”), giving („giving a gift”), giving from ourselves („giving one piece of yourself to another person”), living for others („the practical manifestation of living for others”), sacrifice („self-sacrifice”), helping others („helping many fallen people”), selfless acts („an unselfish gesture”). I would like to draw attention here to the motive of living for others in the selfless giving semantic range, which clearly refers to the idea of a „people for others” formulated by Pedro Arrupe and also in the Mission Statement of the Jesuit grammar school.⁷

Of the 20 similes of the *Development, learning* semantic range, 8 are based on the school’s analogy, such as: “Love service is like a school where you can learn very important lessons about social sensitivity” or “...like Hungarian or history lessons. It should be a maturity requirement.” The rest of the answers are not directly related to school, but refer to some kind of development of knowledge, competence or attitude, such as: „The love service is like bringing our abilities to life and then using them” or „The love service is like learning how to be humble.”

In the third position we can find the semantic range of *Quitting the usual*. Here, love service appears both as an encounter with the real world („the beginning of the journey to real life”) and as an encounter with an unknown world („to know other life situations”). In some similes of this semantic range, there is also the act of changing perspectives: „Love service is like stepping out of my normal life for a moment and seeing the environment and myself from a different perspective.”

Due to the religious context of the service program, the *Religious life* semantic range also ranks high. Half of the similes in this range mention God or Jesus (or refer to them) („to help Jesus”; „to meet God”; „to learn to carry the cross with joy and love”). Of course, we should include all the similes that evoke Pedro Arrupe’s idea of „living for others,” within this semantic range, but the simile „charity service is like mustard seed” as it refers to the parable of the power of Christ’s teaching, should also be mentioned here.⁸ Also the idea of

⁶ The word “selfless” here is used in order to distinguish these similes from the elements of the Mutual give-and-take set.

⁷ Pedro ARRUPE, *Men for Others*, (Washington, DC: Jesuit Secondary Education Association, 1974); A Fényi Gyula Jezsuita Gimnázium és Kollégium pedagógiai programja, (Miskolc: Fényi Gyula Jezsuita Gimnázium, 2014) 5.

⁸ “The kingdom of heaven is like a mustard seed, which a man took and planted in his field. Though it is the smallest of all seeds, yet when it grows, it is the largest of garden plants and becomes a tree, so that the birds come and perch in its branches.” (Matthew 13,31–32)

„Love service is like swimming against the tide” (or „swimming against the tide in a team”) should be included here. It recites the words of the Jesuit Provincial John Adam (1927–2010): „What the [trout] symbol warns is that you have to be able to swim against the tide, against the power pulling you down from within and against the bad tide from the outside world.”⁹

Among the similes within the semantic range of *Personal relationships* the similes of the family are emphasized („finding and discovering a new family”) as well as similes expressing the idea of getting to know new people, sometimes with different life situations („an opportunity to spend time with completely different people”). „Love service is like a combination of two hands” compresses the elements of this semantic range into a beautiful symbolic image.

I used the expression: *Basic needs* for the semantic range which included those conventionally positive similes like water, bread, or salt. The bread is derived from the phrase „you need it is like a piece of bread” occurred 7 times („Love service is like a mouthful of bread. Many people need it”), the water 3 times („a drop of water for the hungry”), and the salt simile known from the Hungarian folk tale 2 times („salt, it is needed!”).

The *Mutual give-and-take* semantic range is identical to the reciprocal similes shown above, which were classified according to direction of action. The examples in Table 3 can be further expanded here, such as „Love service is like gardening, you work with patience and attention, you later realize how much it meant to you” or „Love service is like a sapling. You plant it, take care of it, and when it grows up, it will thank you for taking care of it.”

The semantic range of *But the end is good* gives the compilation of those similes in which the respondent describes charity as something difficult (laborious) and / or negative, but with a positive ending. The following two similes illustrate the semantic range: “Love service is like skiing for a beginner. At first you definitely will fall, you don’t like it, it is painful, especially if it is obligatory, but in most cases, later it becomes a person’s passion” and „Love service is like a dish of sorrel, first many dislike it, but when doing it, they find it useful and a lot more meaningful.”

Similes in the semantic range of *Life itself* cover two areas of meaning. In one, charity appears as a part of real life („a slice of life”) and in another as a better life („the road leading to a better world”).

In the semantic range of *Completion* those similes were included that refer to the completion of a gap, or to help, such as „a thirst-quenching fruit”, „a

⁹ *Miskolci pizstránglevelek, P. Ádám János SJ lelki örökségéből*, szerk. TÓTHNÉ BÁNHEGYI Andrea, Ignáci Pedagógiai Műhely V, (Miskolc: Jezsuita Kiadó, 2011) 13.

crutch”, „opening previously closed doors for others” or „a drop of hope for those in need.”

Of the categories with fewer than ten elements, I would like to highlight just three. For me, one of the most beautiful and expressive metaphorical descriptions of charity service is „filtering the needy through myself”. I also consider the “Love service like the Jesu” simile, where Jesu refers to Gyula Fényi Jesuit High School, and indicates that, in the respondent’s perception (in the context of the other responses to the questionnaire), charity service is fully consistent with the values represented by the institution and its practice. And the simile „charity service is like a flame that is passed on” which is analogous with the Olympic flame, refers to the relay nature of charity service, as each year new students are added to the program and their senior school-mates pass the program on together with their experiences, thus continuing and maintaining the tradition of charity service.

In conclusion, we can state that for a significant number of students, charity service appears primarily as a selfless act of giving, or as an act of learning, a developmental process, and also that charity service learning is able to move the helpers out of the environment they are familiar with, and thus they face a reality which was unknown for them before. Through the similes presented and analyzed above, there is a positive image of the students’ perception, attitude, and emotional relationship towards love service, in which the dual aim of the program (and also the *service learning* type activities¹⁰) are manifested: skills and personality development and social responsibility.

Translated by Ingrid Alexovics

¹⁰ The term *service learning* is meant to be a pedagogical support activity that is intentionally designed to benefit the serving and receiving party equally, and to ensure an equal focus on the service performed and the learning process. Andrew FURCO, „Service-learning: A balanced approach to experiential education”, in *Expanding Boundaries: Serving and Learning*, ed. Barbara TAYLOR, (Washington DC: Corporation for National Service, 1996) 2–6., 5.

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China: A Global Power and its Security Issues

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Introduction

Becoming the People's Republic of China, a global power and its role as a great power has come true with different features possibly in many aspects than it could be considered usual in the case of the previous great powers in the history. It is highly possible even if we consider valid that „we could have never supposed that the characteristics of being a great power would be different in the case of China than in the case of other countries acquiring this status.”¹ The roots can be found nowhere else than in the way of thinking based upon the philosophy and religious considerations' system of the Confucianism. This way of thinking exercises influence, not only on the Chinese interior and foreign policy but it is also capable to influence the political courses at its base through its specific opportunities. A huge number of events in the Chinese history can prove the classic political philosophy built upon the Confucianism can drive the foreign political intentions of the Asiatic country just to the opposite direction of the Western expectations. The accelerating processes of the globalization in the last decades of the 20th century have opened new opportunities for the foreign political activities driven by the Chinese philosophy.

China and the life of a great power

The base what consists the peculiarities of the Chinese interior and foreign policy is the way of thinking based upon the archaic philosophical tendencies. This is the fundament of the classic constructive trend, formulated by the most outstanding Chinese politician of the 20th century Deng Xiaoping as follows: „China must be a calm observer in the international field, where its main priority must be the preservation its own positions, hiding its capabilities, avoiding sensation and the leading role until the country's time arrived.”² Following the

¹ HÁDA Béla, „Útban egy nemzeti álom felé? – Kína 2015. évi katonai stratégiája”, *Nemzet és Biztonság*, 8(2015) 3. sz. 125–133., 133.

² MATURA Tamás, „A Kínai Kommunista Párt 19. kongresszusa és egy új korszak hajnala”, *Stratégiai Védelmi Kutatóközpont. Elemzések*, 6(2017) 29. sz. 1–8., 4.

recommendations of the great politician and expert the People's Republic of China has implemented a really „great jump” during the past almost three decades.

There are more and more signs that the actual leaders of Beijing are going to change Deng's cautious methods wanting to impose China's interests more explicitly in order to play not only the role of a great power in the region but also in the global affairs. This vision is evidenced by the thoughts of Xi Jinping, the President of the People's Republic of China, saying that China has become a great power so the country has to undertake this role. This new trend obviously does not mean that Beijing will abandon its diplomatic activity built on Confucian philosophic traditions and consisting of serials of multiple small steps. At the same time, it is clear and can also be prognosticated for the future as well that new strategic points will appear in China's behavior in the international affairs.

Xi's new direction makes actual a long serial of social, economic, cultural and political questions. Although the majority of researches points out the economic aspects, we should not forget that the problem is more complex. The new international situation raise new questions because „it is a subject of frequent discussions that how the power of the rapidly growing China could be integrated into the global structure of powers. It becomes more and more clear that China is the most important challenger of the American hegemony.”³

China as a great power

In the case of China, the historical traditions pre-determinate the status of a great power since in the historiography China can be mostly described as an empire. Today it is already a fact that more and more evidences indicate the unusual practice of power building of the People's Republic of China. Although Beijing's policy may seem something new for the Western analyzers, we can say it is not new at all; this is a millennial Chinese method the international community must learn again once the People's Republic of China has become a center of power reforming the global security policy.

The philosophical system guiding the contemporary China's domestic and international policy has been defined by the outstanding researcher dealing with religion, Hans Küng as philosophical-religious system. This system has emerged from the syncretism of Confucianism, Taoism and Chinese Buddhism.

The central element of the philosophic system is the family-focused mentality and the global network model generated by this mentality lead to unpredictable and unmanageable for the Western policy measures on behalf of the

³ Roland DANNREUTHER, *Nemzetközi biztonság*, (Budapest: Antal József Tudásközpont, 2016) 50.

power. The consequence is that the global repositioning of China may provoke a number of international security risks among which some may alter the functioning of different political systems.

The widening of the area of Chinese economic influence in every case has been accompanied by communities of Chinese migrants having a peculiar mentality. These communities create bases for a new great power and efficiently can contribute to the process of building the Chinese „empire”. The Chinese communities have a unified religious and philosophic system of values influencing their activities, behavior, their relations between themselves and the relations with the motherland based on a network model. This global network provides a significant background for Beijing’s intentions of being great power.

The fact that the People’s Republic of China and the Chinese people are practically everywhere in the World may generate numerous conflicts even if we consider true that the Chinese migrants can integrate into the society of the given – practically whichever – country with less conflicts. Seemingly, Samuel P. Huntington supports this position who thinks the Chinese nationality „is considered in the majority of the South-East Asian countries as the economically dominant minority. Nevertheless, they have successfully integrated into the Buddhist society of Thailand and the Catholic Philippines and there are very seldom violent anti-Chinese tokens on behalf of the majority groups.”⁴

When analyzing the peculiarities of the world-wide Chinese economic headway we’ll face that the Asian country has adopted for its headway a really peculiar, absolutely unique way. At the same time in the background of the expansion there is the wish to satisfy the same basic demands – raw materials, new markets – as in the case of any other country.

It is not a risk to state that the further expansion of the People’s Republic of China in the international space will happen by all means. The changes in the opportunities exploiting raw materials has changed the capabilities of the capabilities of the great powers thus the competitiveness of the Western societies is under question. The People’s Republic of China today is the number one economic partner of the majority of countries it has relations.

Since the People’s Republic of China more and more meets the basic scientific requirements to a great power, it is not unrealistic to say that this country has already achieved the goals set by Deng Xioping. “The goal of the constructive work for the socialist modernization is to catch up economically the developed capitalist countries, creating a higher level of a more realistic democracy

⁴ Samuel P. HUNTINGTON, *A civilizációk összecsapása és a világrend átalakulása*, ford. PUSZTA Dóra et al. (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 2014) 451.

than the capitalist countries have and to form more and better specialist than these countries have.”⁵

According to the actual correlation of forces the United States of America is the only factor of power which is able to form an opposition to the expansion of China holding more and more the high-tech production of the World in its hands. The actual status quo envisages a new bipolar system where the expansion of the People's Republic of China is expected against the loss of positions of the United States.

There are many new moments for the people in all the countries of the World in this new forming system. The characteristics of these moments will be determined by the fact that the People's Republic of China building a new Chinese-type socialism, during the expansion of its global positions acts implementing Confucian ideology applying capitalist criteria.

At the same time, the states of the existing global system in the majority cases are just observing the Chinese headway shocking the previous frames of the international relations and creating new security dimensions and possible security risks as well. The more spectacular moment of this new security environment – no doubts – is the widening of the Chinese economic positions worldwide. This expansion is always accompanied by the creation of migrants' communities or colonies consisting the base of further widening the Chinese influence. The parallel processes – becoming the People's Republic of China a great power and the appearance of the new colonies in the world mean new security challenges even for Beijing.

We can state the background of becoming the People's Republic of China a great power is given by the Confucian mentality and by the network of the immigrants' communities guided by this mentality. Nevertheless, these immigrants' colonies mean numerous security risks for the hosting countries and for Beijing as well. The fact that beyond the borders a huge number of Chinese citizens live creates a dangerous situation because Beijing is exposed and could be blackmailed or could be forced to take undesired steps by supposed attacks against these groups.

The appearance of terrorism concerning China as a great power

The experience of contemporary security policy shows that the primary security challenges for the great powers are not the classic threats any more but the asymmetric warfare, the terrorism which is „basically political phenomenon

⁵ TENG Xiaoping, *A párt- és az államvezetés rendszerének reformjáról*, (Peking: Népi Kiadó, 1983) 110.

behind what there are structural and psychologic factors.”⁶ What István Gál wrote confirm the thought mentioned earlier that becoming China a great power in a political space, makes the People’s Republic of China a new target of the global terrorism. Parallel to the strengthening terrorist activity against China and the Chinese nationals, Beijing’s attitude and actions against terrorism will also change since „many measures related to the pursuit within the counter-terrorism strongly depend on the scale of terrorist threat of the given society.”⁷ Subsequently, the counter-terrorist measures taken by the People’s Republic of China in the future will less and less concentrated on the national territory of the country and will acquire more international character.

At this point it worth to consider how could be the specific features of the terrorist threat against the People’s Republic of China as a great power. What kind of challenges the country must face in the immediate future? The challenges can be sorted in four groups:

- a) internal (national) terrorism, inside the country;
- b) terrorism from abroad;
- c) terrorist attacks against economic and commercial interests;
- d) terrorist attacks against colonies.

a) The internal terrorism in the People’s Republic of China has a tradition of long decades and can be linked primarily to the Uygur national minority. The Uygur separatist movements make significant influence mostly on the security situation of the Uygur Autonomy Territory, Xinjiang, and the Western territories of China. The separatist aggrupation considered the most important one, formed by the end of the 20th century known as Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) or East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM). This group is responsible for the majority of attacks perpetrated in China.⁸ This radical Islamic organization intends to create a giant Islamic country from China to Turkey, therefore maintains close relations with the communities of similar ideology in the countries of the region and the Islamic State as well. The fact that the ETIM has become an active member of the global terrorist network forecasts the growth of the attacks in the People’s Republic of China perpetrated by internal forces.

⁶ GÁL István László, Új biztonságpolitikai kihívás a XXI. században: a terrorizmus finanszírozása, *Szakmai Szemle*, 8(2012) 1. sz. 5–15., 5.

⁷ TÁLAS Péter, „A terrorveszélyhelyzet-diskurzus margójára”, *Nemzet és Biztonság*, 9(2016) 1. sz. 40–47.

⁸ Beina XU, and Holly FLETCHER and Jayshree BAJORIA, *The East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)*, (2014) Online: Council on Foreign Relations, cfr.org – 2018. január.

b) As a great power the People's Republic of China has to face in the future that international terrorist communities of foreign origin will appear more and more frequently. These groups consider Beijing enemy a priori and their primary target is the Chinese state. These terrorist groups, which „carrying out their actions cross one or more borders”⁹ can find numerous opportunities to enter China's territory and perpetrate attacks there. One of the main opportunity for infiltration is that international terrorist organizations as the Islamic State having affiliated organizations from all over the world, after they lost their operational theatre, may acquire an incompact operating structure based often on cells.

c) The growing international role of the People's Republic of China makes China a target of the terrorist communities thus the number of attacks against objects of Chinese interests as industrial plants, mines, workshops, and also groups of foreign tourists visiting China, would grow. this wide range of possible targets has become usual during the terrorist attacks of the last decades. The terrorist threat of the Western citizens on the operational theatres of the terrorist organizations threatening their home countries is imminent. Western citizens working in such areas or just visiting those sites have become victims of terrorist attacks. it is expected that Chinese nationals from the great power China may also be exposed to such danger.

d) It has already been explained above that although the Chinese colonies worldwide bring significant benefit for Beijing building their own status of a great power in the multifaceted process of peaceful development, these colonies are also exposed to significant danger in different fields. One of the most imminent danger is the terrorism; the Chinese colonies in different countries of the world could become its direct targets. The protection of theses colonies against terrorism is more than difficult than in the cases of other great powers haven't had the same magnitude earlier. Therefore, there is no approved scenario or method to combat it.

It is clear that due to its status as a great power the People's Republic of China and its surrounding complex area may be exposed to terrorist threat in the future from different directions and in different forms. Dealing with these issues may require significant efforts and resources.

⁹ Marie-Helen MARAS, *A terrorizmus elmélete és gyakorlata*. (Budapest: Antall József Tudásközpont, 2016) 68.

Conclusions

Many people often ask once the globalization transforms the whole world, why China should be exempted? It is for sure that the processes which without doubt helped the People's Republic of China to take a leading role in the world, will influence the Chinese society as well. Nevertheless, we should not forget the words of Lin Yutang referring to the Chinese: "the more we change the more we remain whom we had been".¹⁰ This idea also means that although the Chinese become an active role-player of the international security processes they will participate in these processes on their way taking small, careful and meticulously prepared steps. During the recognition of the challenges they will have enough time prepare successful and global measures from the position of a great power, once "the preparation, training and instruction are determining factors because this is one of the ways of a successful warfare saving human lives."¹¹

The economic expansion of the People's Republic of China all over the world, the general, global headway goes along with the appearance of communities of Chinese immigrants having a specific, Chinese religious and philosophical conscience. The Chinese immigrants consist the base for of the Chinese great-power policy once these communities give a chance to make the hosting countries' economy dependent of China. These national groups give also an opportunity for the peaceful process of conquest called cultural osmosis, by Henry Kissinger.¹²

It is foreseen that the global and local terrorist organizations' activity against the People's Republic of China as a consequence of its global expansion and to its becoming a great power, will increase. Of course, Beijing, responding to the growing terrorist activity, will be forced to more decisive measures countering terrorism than earlier. There is a self-generating factor: the stronger steps on behalf of the law-enforcement and military forces will provoke more and more radical actions on behalf of the terrorist groups and their activists. After neutralizing one by one the terrorist organizations more bloodthirsty terrorist communities can emerge planting new challenges for the leaders in Beijing. After a short analysis of the facts above we can easily come to the conclusion that the People's Republic of China will be an outstanding protagonist of the international struggle against terrorism in the future.

¹⁰ Yutang LIN, *Mi kínaiak*, (Budapest: Révai Kiadás, 1943) 354.

¹¹ PADÁNYI József, „Egy kínai hadtudós gondolatai (Szun-Ce: A hadviselés törvényei)”, in *Állam és katona*, szerk. GÓCZE István, (Budapest: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 2017) 7–16., 14.

¹² Henry KISSINGER, *Kínáról*, (Budapest: Antall József Tudásközpont, 2014) 550.

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The Elements of Hungarian Humanities Strategy: Participating in National Cultural Heritage as a Social Opportunity

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Keywords: scientific policy, cultural disadvantage, national identity, transmission of culture, national classics

Technical education without humanities culture?

The policy concepts of the Hungarian government in terms of science, education, economy, and employment have long considered career guidance towards technical professions one of the key issues of Hungarian public and higher education. Motivations behind the concept include the idea that industrialization can be an opening for Hungary, the fact that vigorous industrialization is needed, as well as settling foreign capital in industrial enterprises. This task cannot be accomplished without a technical intelligentsia of high quality. Developing the natural science, technology, and engineering subjects taught in secondary education points in this direction, as does the prioritizing of dual training and dual vocational training. Developing dual training programs is also strongly preferred in higher education and supports the same concept.

Without questioning the importance and fundamental role of engineering sciences and technical education, if we examine and analyze the problem with the pragmatism of technical intellectuals, it quickly becomes clear that excessively and disproportionately privileging engineering and technical qualifications entails just as many dangers as it does benefits.

Previous attempts to describe the education and culture of the Hungarian population have shown that ambitions to orient students towards a career in engineering, prioritizing engineering knowledge, and increasing the number of people with technical qualifications in this environment is an illusion at best until much deeper social phenomena are addressed and the conditions are created where such career guidance can happen. Research in sociology and statistical facts describe a significant proportion of the Hungarian population as disadvantaged, beset by social segregation, and characterized by unfavorable processes of population movement. Beyond poor health, limited access to the modern tools of the social infrastructure, a poor quality of life, and a lack of

opportunity on the labor market that is passed on from one generation to the next, their disadvantage can also be identified in many components of cultural competency, which are partly the causes and partly the consequences of the above. For significant layers and groups of the society, a lack of education, lack of training in professions that provide real work opportunities, and a complete lack of foreign language knowledge make people extremely vulnerable. A significant proportion has fallen behind so much that they are unable to enter development programs of lifelong learning and retraining. In other words, during their previous schooling they did not acquire either the intellectual core competencies or the ability, attitude, habit, and technology of learning itself.

Setting the goal of orienting students towards a career in engineering, the official preference of engineering knowledge and the large-scale increase of the number of people obtaining technical qualifications is an illusion until these more basic problems are resolved.

Basic lack of competence is a complex issue, and so there is no single, all-encompassing miracle cure for it, either. Components of a lack of competence include functional illiteracy (i.e. the inability to understand a text, to analyze and adapt its content), or in some cases even illiteracy in a stricter sense (lack of basic reading and writing skills), lack of competence in basic arithmetic operations, a lack of knowledge of the physics, chemistry, and biology necessary for everyday life in the immediate neighborhood of one's residence and for working in a modern workplace, limited ability to reflect on the logical nature of cause, effect, and consequence, lack of reflection on the importance of social connections, institutions, preferences, and values, lack of knowledge of situations and alternatives of politics and social policy relevant for the society, a lack of the ability to articulate one's own ambitions and interests among various parameters, etc. This set of problems can obviously only be resolved through multidisciplinary commitment. It is clear that to manage this difficult situation it is not only not the case that technical sciences should be preferred but that the problems perceived and thematized by them as well as the solutions offered are of barely perceptible importance compared to the opportunities provided by the consistent application of the professional norms and procedures of social science and the humanities, and the condition description, diagnosis, and therapy only discoverable through the latter ones. This illustrates it well how opposing and pitting branches and fields of science against each other only requires short-sighted, single-focus thinking, while a professional approach to the connections among different processes can acknowledge that the key to discovering, naming, and resolving the problems can only be done through the collaboration of disciplines with the most wide-ranging scientific perspectives and approaches.

National cultural heritage as a collective opportunity

We have concluded that for a large proportion of the Hungarian population becoming technical intellectuals with a secondary or higher education degree is simply impossible without resolving the much deeper issues of competency rooted elsewhere, the resolution of which falls under the competence of social sciences and the humanities. It is worth considering briefly what our conclusion would be if we hypothetically gave up our position and assumed that orientation towards technical professions was indeed possible without a problem, meeting the state's intentions. Let us assume that only the intention and efficient implementation is missing for interest to emerge among the population for natural science and technical professions, otherwise all conditions are met so that after a few years following a career choice decision (in practice the length of the training) a well-trained technical intelligentsia who are able to seamlessly join the industrialization trends of social benefit can start implementing a high-quality technical culture. Let's face it, if we give up on the value added to their training and development by the humanities, without implanting the social identities necessary for social interaction, we can only lose on this. Technical and natural sciences are fundamentally universal in nature, thus they are mostly freely convertible on the international labor market. Those who have such qualifications can freely look for and will likely find a job anywhere in the world. Brain drain is particularly strong in their case, manifested in higher salaries, working conditions reflecting stronger recognition, and a far better quality of life in their free time in many respects. (This is in stark contrast with humanities intellectuals, even the most professional layers of whom are strongly connected to the country and even the region, who can primarily make use of their studies in Hungarian history, literature, and linguistics in Hungary; therefore, a large proportion of those with a qualification in the humanities are tied to their homeland by their degree – of course only if they aspire to a job relevant to their qualification.) If a technical intelligentsia is created by completely eliminating the educational elements linking them to the national cultural heritage, without interiorizing the elements of the general education and wellbeing that belongs to the national identity, as well as its traditions of articulation and the set of topoi that are available for self-expression, why would they be dedicated to the programs that develop the economy and society of the Hungarian national community? How could they be considered people motivated to maximize the social benefits available through them? Their rootlessness will make them individual beneficiaries of globalized routes of ambition; at the same time, it will deprive the social community that had trained them not only of the chance of profit but even the chance of breaking even, and it will

push the community into a loss of potential, put it at a competitive disadvantage on the market, and make it the victim of global processes.

To bring an example for social processes capable of avoiding such harm from the Central European region: the well-known technical and economic development of the Czech Republic goes back centuries, and it is exceptional in the East-Central European region. This has presumably played a considerable role in establishing the highly consolidated, stable social position of the country today (also compared to the rest of the region), demonstrating the social importance of engineering and technical knowledge and education. At the same time, it is also a historical fact that the Czech people were able to protect their ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity in spite of three hundred years (1620–1918) of attempts trying to melt them into the Habsburg empire (which were a lot stronger than those made in Hungary), even though they lacked national sovereignty, and the use of a foreign language was forced onto them. That this was possible for such a long period of time not only in terms of individual life strategies but also on a historical scale, in spite of such pressure, is a good example for the great power a shared culture and historical tradition can have to have held this community, defining itself as one nation, together. This historical example demonstrates the significance of the efforts of all those Czech “humanities intellectuals”: the priests, writers, poets, teachers, historians, and linguists who are primarily to thank for all of this, who safeguarded Czech culture, language, and historical tradition as a value, practiced it in all the registers between high and popular culture, developed it, passed it on, and spread it.¹

Through the information revolution, the world is relentlessly heading towards globalization at a constantly increasing pace, which means both the increasing geographical mobility of the population, the consistent relativization of inherited values, and in the long run, the loosening of ties to a given country and nation, sometimes completely splitting from it.² Meanwhile, many countries are still consistently trying to counterbalance this process in their educational policy and cultural strategy, or are at least trying to slow it down. To mention a Western European country, where even the term denoting globalization differs from the term used all around the world, and they use the national language equivalent *mondialisation*: for several decades, France has operated a

¹ Martin J. WEIN, „»Chosen Peoples, Holy Tongues«: Religion, Language, Nationalism and Politics in Bohemia and Moravia in the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries”, *Past and Present* 202 (2009): 37–81.

² An analysis of these processes in terms of literary history: SZEGEDY-MASZÁK Mihály, „Előszó”, in *A magyar irodalom története: A kezdetektől 1800-ig*, szerk. JANKOVITS László és ORLOVSKY Géza, munkatársak JENEY Éva és JÓZAN Ildikó, *A magyar irodalom története* 1, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2007) 11–17.

program popularizing language and culture with complete consistency, based on a thoroughly developed, well-structured strategy, both in the home country and its former colonies, and even in all the countries that show any interest or receptivity towards the French culture and language. This highly complex program is organized and implemented with the help of several modern telecommunication devices and gives continuous access to everything between a basic level aiding language learning and high culture. It is a real, appealing alternative to the mass media impulses that come from many directions, and in many cases it can exert an even stronger influence on its target audience. Technical-technological development is a clear priority for the economic policy of France, and it is of fundamental importance to its role as a leading major power. At the same time, for the time being the conscious safeguarding and even spreading of its linguistic and cultural heritage by efficiently using mass media techniques and the constant emphasis on its importance, in spite of all the current problems in politics, seems to be successful in maintaining strong ties to the homeland and its history and tradition.

This kind of thinking also used to be known in the history of Hungarian cultural policy; it was even a defining characteristic of one of its heydays. Even the moment can be identified when this grand-scale realization was implanted into the thinking of the key person of this cultural policy. Kuno Klebelsberg himself recalled how during his studies in Berlin during the mid-1890s, he was reading out a seminar paper in economics on the economic crisis, and his professor “made the objection to my paper that I was looking for the causes of the difficulties of Hungarian agriculture only in terms of economics, and I did not talk about how high the level of education was among the masses of Hungarian workers”.³ One of the two leitmotifs defining the entire thinking of the student was formed based on this admonition, that of an ambition to raise general intellectual levels and attain a high level of moral and intellectual culture, beside providing special support for training the elite.

Literature as an opportunity for cultural identity

The social norms and patterns held by a society are mainly made up of pre-formed macrostructures. The life of a society is deeply imbued in following the traditions that are awaiting use as elements of the available articulation resources. School education makes many standard collections of such resources

³ „A legnagyobb álmú magyar kultuszminiszter”, gróf Klebelsberg Kuno, vál., szerk. UJVÁRY Gábor, Magyar örökség 3 (Budapest: Kairosz Kiadó, 2013) 53. For its interpretation: UJVÁRY Gábor, Tudományszervezés – történetkutatás – forráskritika: Klebelsberg Kuno és a Bécsi Magyar Történelmi Intézet. *Historia est magistra vitae? Tanultunk a történelemből?* (Győr: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Győri Levéltára, 1996) 24–25.

The Elements of Hungarian Humanities Strategy

available, both in the areas of verbal expression, literature, art, or music, and in several other forms of articulation. The most important of these, with a sweeping impact on the life of a society, is the selection of those larger structures in which the norms, preconceptions, and judgments of a given community, and the elements of the knowledge resources concerning the world, society, and each other are arranged structurally. In the texts of the classics of Hungarian national literature a set of theses, preconceptions, and judgments await interiorization which has been teaching successive generations of the Hungarian population for many decades to think in terms of communal norms, to make communal value judgments, represent communal ideas, and make decisions on keeping or breaking the norms available to the community.

The form of fiction and literary fiction have always embodied communal knowledge, experiences, memories, historical knowledge, and the self-reflection and identity of an entire community. The knowledge of the literary past of a given nation, an intimate relationship with the representative texts of a national literature makes it possible for the members of the community to interiorize these norms; it also provides space for them to build an emotional, affective relationship to these communal ideals. Thus, they go beyond theoretical, factual, and lexical knowledge and make it possible to establish a personal, internal orientation and emotional attitude to them.

Participation in literary and communal ideals plays a role in forming norms, and the members of the community constantly strengthen, practice, refine, or adapt the resources they have thus acquired according to their individual or communal needs. In contrast, the same space will be a non-transparent, incomprehensible, unknown large grey area unregulated by competencies for those who did not have the opportunity to participate in literary experiences. Everyday spoken language activates several presuppositions from the elements of this communal knowledge, many expressions, aphorisms, sayings, or proverbial insights become popular, part of the communal knowledge reserve because prior shared socialization, education, and the interiorization of this cultural heritage makes it possible to experience states, action-based situations, and circumstances undergoing reflection described in literary works, and to trace everyday life, real situations, phenomena, and interactions back to the same group of experiences, to enrich opportunities of articulation from this set of experiences. Narrative, epic, and action-based literary works are pieces that demonstrate situations, intentions, circumstances, and choices between communal and individual norms. They are logical choices on which to base our decisions concerning the perspectives available in our life, to reflect on our getting into situations deemed parallel and analogous through the complex reference system related to them. Lyric poetry is equally suitable for creating communal

experiences, the literature serving to voice personal poetry, self-revelation, and the voices of the soul and personal feelings. It presents an opportunity for the individual integration of personal patterns which result in an organic and meaningful whole that embodies reason, regardless of historical period, social circumstances, and situation. The fictitious world of a lyric work of art also demonstrates what personal preferences, individual ambitions and insights, and patterns seeking solutions stemming from the unique values of a personality can be assembled from the set of norms, ideological elements, the communal patterns of expected/reasonable action, thinking, insight, and experience available to a given community.

Society can efficiently integrate those individuals, draw them into a communal form of existence, make them equal partners in communal interaction who have similar mental and emotional (emotional, affective, and impulsive) experiences, which they can use to make similar insights and considerations in their decisions, either consciously or unwittingly. Literature is the medium that provides keys, codes, names, and forms of approach for the widest possible range of phenomena occurring in the world, history, and society. The community of tradition of national literature is a communal ideal, a tradition, a reserve of competencies that provide the traditional set of opportunities and forms of entering a community. The given community cannot waive this knowledge or integrate new members without it, and without this knowledge, one cannot signal the intention that they wish to lead their life according to the norms of the community, with a real desire for integration.

The humanities research, maintain, and apply this cultural, linguistic, literary, and historical tradition, which unites and upholds. This is why according to all sensible considerations, governmental programs aiming for technical specialization should begin by strongly foregrounding the humanities and social sciences. This needs to be done not only because this is the only way these concepts can become profitable but also because without it these goals are unattainable. The countries where the government does not recognize the role of cultural tradition because it is overwhelmed by the present-day challenges can easily end up winning the battle but losing the war.

My most important publications on this topic:

KECSKEMÉTI Gábor. „A régiség irodalomtörténetének vizsgálati elveiről”. *Alföld*, 63(2012) 3. sz. 60–67.

Gábor KECSKEMÉTI, „Electronic Textual Criticism: A Challenge to the Editor and to the Publisher”, in *New Publication Cultures in the Humanities: Exploring the Paradigm Shift*, ed. Péter DÁVIDHÁZI, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014) 91–98.

KECSKEMÉTI Gábor. „Az MTA BTK Irodalomtudományi Intézetében elkészítendő magyar irodalomtörténet megalapozása”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 118(2014) 6. sz. 747–783.

KECSKEMÉTI Gábor. „A régiséget értelmező irodalomtörténeti gyakorlat reflektált és reflektálatlan szemléleti alapjairól”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 119(2015) 4. sz. 577–584.

KECSKEMÉTI Gábor. „A humán tudományok alapkérdései”. *Magyar Tudomány*, 180(2019) 3. sz. 355–362.

The Connection between Historical and Present-Day Examples of Constructions Signifying Persons with *Alias*

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1. Introduction

Latest monographs exploring personal name giving¹ in the Old Hungarian Period pay special attention to transitional types of names given before the development of surnames, and particularly to name structures among constructions signifying persons² which were connected with *filius* and *dictus*, created with the structural pattern of preposition *de*, or marked with the Latin formula *de genere* plus generic name. At the same time, structures connected with *alias* were riding on the coat-tails – to use a slang term deliberately here –, receiving little attention. Although the latter structure dates back to the Old Hungarian Period, as opposed to the other constructions, it has not fallen into disuse in the Hungarian language with the eclipse of Latin, as noted earlier by the author of this paper.³ Later examples, that is, the constructions connected with 19th- and 20th-century *alias* in the student traditions of Selmec were discussed by Zsuzsanna Boros.⁴ These student traditions live on at the successor institutions of

¹ N. FODOR János, *Személynevek rendszere a kései ómagyar korban. A Felső-Tisza-vidék személyneveinek nyelvi elemzése (1401–1526)*, Magyar Névtani Értekezések 2, (Budapest: ELTE BTK Magyar Nyelvtörténeti, Szociolingvisztikai, Dialektológiai Tanszék, 2010); TÓTH Valéria, *Személynévadás és személynévhasználat az ómagyar korban*, (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2016); SLÍZ Mariann, *Személynévizsgálatok a középkori Magyarországról*, (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2017)

² Drawing on a definition by Valéria Tóth (TÓTH, *Személynévadás és személynévhasználat*, op.cit. 12.), constructions signifying persons denote Latin structures used for signifying persons in which personal names (names of persons and clans) and place names are found as well.

³ KECSKÉS Judit, „Újabb adalékok az alias-szal kapcsolatos nevekhez”, in *Köszöntő kötet B. Gergely Piroska tiszteletére*, szerk. GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő és KOVÁCS Mária, (Miskolc: Bíbor Kiadó, 2002) 88–90.

⁴ BOROS Zsuzsanna, *A Miskolci egyetemisták diákneve, az úgynevezett alias nevek*, Magyar Névtani Dolgozatok 192, (Budapest: ELTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi Intézet Névkuató Munkaközössége, 2004)

the Academy of Selmec today, and having become part of Hungary's intellectual and cultural heritage protected by UNESCO,⁵ they retain the use of this structural pattern even in the 21st century. Its current examples (*B. Cs. alias Mérték; Sz. R. alias Odismilyen avagy a gyorsan változó állandó; P. S. alias Szolidan mosolygó poéta avagy a boromtól még a Batman is kifeküdne*), new functions and stylistic characteristic are the main focus of a paper recently given by the author with the title "A nyelvi humor a miskolci *alias* neveken."⁶

The present article forms part of a longer study, which sheds light on the fact that although the chronological continuity of constructions signifying persons created with *alias* has been detectable in the use of names since the 14th century, due to divergence in terminology and differences in research aspects, research on periods in the history of language and previous horizontal examinations according to types of names could not lead to the construction of a vertical image of the structure, changing dynamically both in language use and name systems.

At the same time, the article pays tribute to linguist and researcher of Onomastics Piroska B. Gergely (1932–2019), who launched the teaching of Onomastics at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Miskolc in 1991. As a prominent figure of Hungarian Historical Anthroponomastics doing research on by-names, B. Gergely made a huge impact on authors of the monographs mentioned above with her systems approach of names and by emphasizing the role of "analogy" in relationships within name systems. As an instructor and consultant, B. Gergely facilitated research by Zsuzsanna Boros and the author of this article.

Furthermore, the article salutes to the traditionalist student societies at the University of Miskolc and other universities, which hand down the tradition of giving school bynames, and in this way also name structures connected with *alias* to present generations. The author of this article also used to be a member of the traditionalist student society of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Miskolc, so her main motivation for writing this article was not merely research

⁵ In 2014, at the initiative of traditionalist student societies at the University of Miskolc and the University of West Hungary, the spirit of the student traditions of the Mining and Forestry Academy of Selmec still kept alive today entered the Hungarian national list of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage upon recommendation by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Committee of the Hungarian National Commission for UNESCO.

⁶ "Linguistic Humour in Alias Names in Miskolc", The paper was delivered at the 6th Hungarian Interdisciplinary Humour Conference (Eszterházy Károly University, Eger, Hungary, 3-4 October 2019.).

interest in Onomastics, but also her responsibility to preserve and promote the student traditions of Selmec as a “veteran.”⁷

2. Alias name or a construction signifying persons: a brief discussion of differences in terminology

From the Old Hungarian Period to our present day, examples of constructions signifying persons with *alias* have appeared in Hungarian theoretical literature of Onomastics with various terms and with different interpretations. Loránd Benkő's works, which has provided a theoretical base for many current researchers of the topic, featured the term “**alias**” name: “<<Alias>> names thus reflect the situation in which a person has three names”⁸; “in 17th- and 18th-century written records in Latin the so-called <<alias>> names reflect their times: 1642: *Ladislaus Halasz alias Veres*, 1656: *Georgius Tot alias Pasztor*, etc.”⁹ The quotations indicate that in Benkő's interpretation the word *alias* in the Latin formula was not separate from the name elements it connected but appeared as part of the name structure, a unit of three name elements. Attila Szabó T. provided a similar interpretation but used a different term in his study exploring the onomastic aspects of 17th- and 18th-century runaway serves. He interpreted one of his sources the following way: “In his letter, in connection with the role of **alias-names** in serves changing their names, Kemény clearly points out the prevalence of name change among serves.”¹⁰ While Szabó T. approached this construction signifying persons from the aspect of social factors impeding the consolidation of name systems, Katalin Fehértói differentiated between 14th–16th century and 17th–18th-century “*alias* names” on the basis of (linguistic) functional aspects, and apparently used the term **alias names** in her articles,¹¹ drawing on Benkő. At the same time, her writings reflected an approach which considered the Latin term *alias* merely a linking word between names. (I. “I focus on 14th- to 16th-century personal names created with the adverbial *alias* (*alio nomine*),” “name elements connected with the phrase *alio nomine* are

⁷ Veterans are students christened according to the traditions of Selmec who graduated from the university but are entitled to use their alias name for the rest of their lives, even after the end of their student status. Cp. BOROS, *A Miskolci egyetemisták diákneve, op.cit.* 6.

⁸ BENKŐ Loránd, *A régi magyar személynévadás*, (Budapest: Néptudományi Intézet, 1949) 23.

⁹ BENKŐ Loránd, *A magyar nyelv története*, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1989⁶) 382.

¹⁰ SZABÓ T. Attila, „A XVII–XVIII. századi erdélyi jobbágyszökök névtörténeti vonatkozásainak ismeretéhez”, in *Anyanyelvünk életéből. Válogatott tanulmányok, cikkek, szerk. ANDRÁS János*, (Bukarest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1970) 274. (My emphasis.)

¹¹ FEHÉRTÓI Katalin, *A XIV. századi magyar megkülönböztető nevek*, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 68, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969); FEHÉRTÓI Katalin, „A családnév kialakulása előtti átmeneti névformák”, *Névtani Értesítő*, 7(1982), 44–47.

the same as names with *dictus*¹²). It was the first researcher, Mihály Hajdú, who consistently regarded the structure as one in which ***alias*, *aliter* or, in other words, was merely an “intervening word”** in Hungarian, connecting alternatively used names/name elements.¹³ Although the author’s article – “*Újabb adalékok az alias-szal kapcsolt nevekhez*” [New Data in the Use of Names Connected with Alias] – was published in 2002, prior to Hajdú’s monograph cited above, it is to be discussed after Hajdú’s work, as the article is in part based on Hajdú’s research on personal names in the Middle Hungarian Period, existing only in the form of manuscripts in the 1990s. The title of the author’s article indicates that in constructions created with the Latin formula, *alias* is not considered part of the name but a word linking names. Nevertheless, the author calls attention to the fact that there is no uniform definition to be used for *alias* as appearing in various periods of the history of language, since “in lack of a definition, I shall not use the term *alias*, but **forms of names connected with *alias***.”¹⁴ The authors listed earlier examined examples created with the Latin structural pattern from a functional-semantic aspect, and it was Zsuzsanna Boros’s article cited above which first used a different approach. Her article, an extension of her National Scientific Students’ Associations Conference (OTDK) paper, analysed 19th- and 20th-century student names on a cognitive basis as well. Boros – herself a member of the traditionalist student society at the University of Miskolc – approached the phenomenon from the aspect of the name user and employed the term ***alias name***: “I refer to university student names as *alias names*, as the same term is used by the name-giving community, the students of the university.”¹⁵ Boros then emphasized that she applied the term *alias name* with a different meaning than the one traditionally used in the Onomastics.

Newer monographs published in the past decade recognized that the multi-layer name typologies of earlier theoretical literature, applying a number of different approaches in their analysis (functional, semantic, structural, psycho-onomastic, socio-onomastic, onomatostilistical, etc.) often struggled with terminological problems and a comingling of approaches, so they searched for new approaches to be used uniformly to demonstrate the systematic relations between and changes of different types of names. These monographs opted for a cognitive-pragmatical approach as their base, and most of them built on the personal name typology developed by István Hoffmann in 2008.¹⁶ The shift in approaches brought along a change in terminology as well. Drawing on

¹² FEHÉRTÓI, *A családnev...*, *op.cit.*, 44.

¹³ HAJDÚ Mihály, *Általános és magyar névtan*, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003) 738., 756.

¹⁴ KECSKÉS, *Újabb adalékok*, *op.cit.*, 88.

¹⁵ BOROS, *A Miskolci egyetemisták diákneve*, *op.cit.*, 3. (My emphasis.)

¹⁶ HOFFMANN István, „A személynévrendszerek leírásához”, *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 46(2008), 5–20.

international theoretical literature, Valéria Tóth was to offer a uniform definition for various Latin constructions employed for signifying persons in the early Old Hungarian period. When interpreting the term introduced – *constructions signifying persons* –, Tóth called attention to the importance of differentiating between the Latin structure and the Hungarian name form within with regards to the use of terms as well, since constructions signifying persons included personal names, place names and generic names, but the entire construction could not be referred to as a name *per se* (Cf. footnote 2). Tóth examined types of constructions signifying persons according to *structural patterns*, within which forms created with *alias* were not defined as an individual term but treated as a variant of structures created with *dictus*.¹⁷ The reason for this treatment may lie in the fact that Tóth did not consider Fehértói's claim of the functional distribution of constructions with *dictus* and with *alias* justifiable. Nonetheless, there is one fact worth considering in Fehértói's discussion of the structural pattern with *alias*: while the role of *dictus* and *alias* was synonymous in the Old Hungarian Period, *dictus* fell into disuse with the eclipse of Latin, whereas the structural pattern with *alias* is still productive in our present day.

3. Differences in approach in the interpretation of constructions signifying persons created with alias

Constructions created with the words *alias*, *aliter*, meaning 'in other words,' and *alio nomine* meaning 'with another name,' are known in Hungarian research on the history of language as transitional types of names used prior to the development of surnames, and, after the period when surnames emerged, as a structure connecting a third name element to a person's Christian name and surname. Katalin Fehértói considered 17th- and 18th-century name structures to be distinctive names, and "bynames used after the hereditary second name element (surname)."¹⁸ In contrast, Mihály Hajdú emphasized that these names "indicated the state of name change and were thus used alternatively."¹⁹ Hajdú examined such names according to their origin and motivation for naming, and pointed out that their rate in each group had dropped by the 18th century. In 2002, drawing on Hajdú's view, the author of the present article employed the functional approach to the *alias* and claimed that in the 19th century *alias* transferred to the group of name elements that could still change. For instance, in the case of the use of names by groups living in cultural and linguistic conflict situations *alias* connected (Christian) names used alternatively by two

¹⁷ TÓTH, *Személynévadás és személynévhasználat*, *op.cit.*, 82.

¹⁸ FEHÉRTÓI, *A családnév...*, *op.cit.*, 45.

¹⁹ HAJDÚ, *Általános és magyar névtan*, *op.cit.*, 757.

or more communities (e.g. 1888: *Czeisler Golde alias Kati*; 1890: *Feit Efraim alias Ferenc*). However, as the system of names gradually solidified and became controlled from the 19th century on, due to the decreasing prevalence of written records in Latin, the use of structural patterns with *alias* also grew scarcer, and it could only be maintained by communities within which Latin and Latinity had a community-building effect.

According to traditional name typology, the names created with *alias* in the 19th-century student societies of Selmec may be classified into the category of *bynames* and, within that, the subcategory of *school bynames*. As opposed to this classification, Boros foregrounded the aspect of the social group creating and using these names, and identified them, according to the conceptual system of socio-onomastics, as *slang names*. The aspects of her analysis (motivation for name-giving, morphological structure, semantic attributes) characterised 19th- and 20th-century names at several levels at the same time, and although her work clearly aimed at concerting these aspects as identical, it failed to do so. The goal of examining the motivation for name-giving – the main aspect of analysis used for the 20th-century data – with regards to this rich historical material was not achieved.

Continuing Boros's work, in 2019 the author of the present article started collecting names with the help of the Students' Council and the *Valéta* (senior student) Committee of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Miskolc in order to explore 21st-century name structures created with *vulgo* and *alias*. While processing the data, recognizing the problems with previous analyses, the author broke away from the aspects used by Boros and, similarly to more recent monographs on personal names, built on Hoffmann's cognitive-pragmatical typology to be able to join together and demonstrate, with a system of identical aspects, historical and present-day names connected with the *alias* structural pattern. The author's choice of the aspect applied was also determined by what N. Fodor (2012-ben) and then Tóth pointed out earlier: according to Hoffmann's typology, there are three descriptive types of personal names which, albeit used hundreds of years apart, were created in the same way and may thus be investigated with the same method. These are transitional types of surnames from the 14th and 15th century, 17th- and 18th-century bynames created after the development of surnames and present-day bynames.²⁰ Yet, N. Fodor focused on parallels in analysis between natural types of names, and not on the existence of a structural pattern to be found in all three categories, while Tóth provided merely a brief reference to the connection between motivated name-giving in

²⁰ N. FODOR János, „A természetes személynévadásról”, *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 50(2012), 43–44.; TÓTH, *Személynévadás és személynévhasználat, op.cit.*, 45., 118.

the Old Hungarian Period and present-day bynames, due to time limits of her research. This means that the structure created with *alias* is exceptional also because the three types of descriptive personal names can thus be connected via one structural pattern. As a result of length limit, the present article cannot provide a comprehensive set of examples of personal names created with the *alias* structural pattern but offers a preliminary study, focusing on one part of the collection of 21st-century name structures created with *alias* at the University of Miskolc, based on the pragmatic point of view of the cognitive-pragmatic typology.

4. A new typological analysis of 21st-century names created with *alias* at the University of Miskolc

The questionnaire designed to explore the corpus investigated was filled out by 95 persons. 86 of the respondents (students and university instructors) were given a byname according to the Selmec traditions at some faculty of the University of Miskolc between 2000 and 2017. The questionnaire included the surname and Christian name of the byname-bearer, the year when their byname was given, their *vulgo*,²¹ their name connected with *alias*, the motivation (short story) of name-giving, as well as the *vulgo* and *alias* name of the name-givers, the so-called *firmas*²² (godfathers and godmothers). The result of the collection was a total of 355 personal names, but the present analysis focuses only on 86 persons' surname and Christian name, as well as their names connected with the *alias* structure (that is, *vulgos* and the names connected to *firmas* were left out).

On the basis of the pragmatical factors of name-giving, Hoffmann's typology differentiated between primary types of names: the so-called *chosen names* or *list names*, *automatic names* or *transferred names*, and *created names*.²³ In the case of *chosen* or *list names*, the emphasis was placed on the conscious choice of a name among all the circumstances of name-giving, on how the name-giving was connected to certain persons (parents, priests, chieftains, etc.), and also on which relatively closed list the name was chosen from. The 93 *Christian names* of the 86 respondents belong to this category. Another type of name is assigned to a person on the basis of communal requirements of name-giving; that is why Hoffmann referred to this type as *automatic name*: here the process of name-

²¹ According to Selmec traditions, that is, from the aspect of the name-bearer, *vulgo* is a school byname born by a students in the first and second year of his or her studies (cp. BOROS, *A Miskolci egyetemisták diákneve*, op.cit. 6., 8.); in new terminology it is a construction signifying persons with the term *vulgo*.

²² A *firma* is a students in the third or higher year of his or her studies.

²³ HOFFMANN, *A személynévrendszerek leírásához*, op.cit. 10.

giving does not involve any individual motivations for naming but is traditionally transferred from one name-bearer to another, hence the term *transferred name*. 86 surnames of the collection belong to this category. As opposed to transferred names, *created names* display the linguistic creativity of the name-givers, free from the constraints of any formal rules. Names created with the structural pattern with *alias belong to this category*. The linguistic creativity of the *firmas* is demonstrated by the use of various linguistic tools, for instance lexical blends (e.g. japán + punk [pánk] > *JaPánk* ‘Nippunk’*; pech [pek] + lady > *PEKlady* ‘Lady Misfortuna’*; tirpák 1. ‘Slovak-peaking minority of Hungary’, 2. ‘jerk’ + punk > *TirPUNK* ‘Jerpunk’*), oxymorons (e.g. *A legszelídebb Ultra* ‘The meekest Ultra’*; *Forróvérű Jéghercegnő* ‘Hot Blooded Ice Princess’*; *Remegő Daloló* ‘Tremolo Trill’*), enumeration (e.g. *Refi, Loki, Rocky*), immutation (e.g. *Furikázunk és védünk* ‘Protect and Swerve’*) and interrogation, which is a question form almost incompatible with the linguistic form of the proper name (e.g. *Gyere Jólesz!!! Avagy ha Isten velünk, ki ellenünk?* ‘Come’TisGonnaBeFine or If God with Us Who against Us?’*). *Created names* also differ from the former two categories in terms of relying on the entire vocabulary of the language in the creation of a name. Moreover, according to the data gathered, they may also exceed the vocabulary of the language officially used (e.g. English: *Fullmoon; Dance Hero*; Latin: *Alumna Fidelis*; Latin: *Aurea Mediocritas*; Italian: *Principessa Sorridente*), blend lexemes of different languages (e.g. *Én vagyok a Dancing Kvííín, avagy www.kuuussssch.com* ‘I’m the Dancing Kvííín, avagy www.kuuussssch.com’) or, at times, place a scale without meaning in the role of a proper name (e.g. *Dessz Szperó*, which is similar to the proper nouns *Desperado* and *Jack Sparrow* in its phonetic form, but may not be regarded as a lexical blend as it is divided into two lexemes, following the structural pattern of Hungarian names made up of *surname + Christian name*). The linguistic creativity of the name-giver occasionally pushes the boundaries of the proper name competence of the name-users, in terms of some name being sentence-like (e.g. *Az égig érő legoember avagy optimizmusból ötös* ‘Sky-high Lego-Man or A+ for Optimism’*) and others rather lengthy (e.g. *Humuszban gazdag sivatagi talaj, avagy a Tátrában is a Firmám ujján taposok* ‘Desert Soil Rich in Humus or I tread on the Fingers of My Firma even in the Tatras’*). Thus, when analysing 21st-century names, it is important to stress the role of the structural pattern with *alias*, which retains its interpretability as a name outside the situation when the name is used. With regards to motivated personal names in the Old Hungarian Period, Tóth pointed out that in the case of *created names*, “not only the relationship of the name and its bearer but often the name itself is also created by the act of

name-giving.”²⁴ This is especially true for 21st-century names at the University of Miskolc; what is more, the traditional ceremony of name-giving has not changed considerably since the 19th century. A students wishing to join the traditionalist student societies needs to ask two *firmas* to become his or her god-parents by giving them alcoholic drinks until they agree to accept the role. Drinking not only raises one’s spirits but also facilitates getting to know the applicant’s attributes, which shall later serve as a motivation for the name-giving. The applicant will become a *balek* when participating in a training held by the society, learns about the system of the Selmec traditions and passes an exam of serious and humorous tasks. After a successful exam, the *balek* is given his or her name at a *szakestély* [student evening] by the following formula: *Balek, I am christening you in the name of Bacchus, Ceres and all the other pagan gods. From now on your name shall be (e.g. B. Cs. alias Mérték ‘Level/Measure’).*

Instead of a summary, below is a list of the names ceremonially given between 2001 and 2017:

No.	Sur-name + Christian name	created name connected with <i>alias</i>	No.	Sur-name + Christian name	created name connected with <i>alias</i>
1.	B. Cs.	<i>Mérték</i>	44.	D. A.	<i>Mindig állva, dalolva</i>
2.	V. V.	<i>Miss Tatabánya</i>	45.	M. P.	<i>Mekk Mester</i>
3.	P. J.	<i>Benzintyúk</i>	46.	C. G.	<i>Táncosláb-Nótáskedv</i>
4.	K. S.	<i>A miskolci Jan Slota avagy Anyámat tequilával csábítom</i>	47.	S. Z.	<i>Fatalerror</i>
5.	N. Sz.	<i>PEKlady, a plátói sörszerető</i>	48.	M. M.	<i>Gyere Jólesz!!! Avagy ha Isten velünk, ki ellenünk?</i>
6.	T. M.	<i>Panzer General</i>	49.	M. L.	<i>Kócos kis romantika</i>
7.	Gy. G.	<i>bALEK ki egyensúlyt hoz az erőbe</i>	50.	B. F.	<i>Diplomás villanyszerelő</i>
8.	C. D.	<i>Szeszkeszdelő Jópalóc</i>	51.	M. E. N.	<i>TirPUNK Hableány</i>
9.	D. D.	<i>Liliputi hobbitörténész, avagy a legédesebb szomolyai cseresznye</i>	52.	N. T.	<i>Minime a Klónozott Playboy</i>
10.	K. Gy.	<i>Alkoholista népvészér</i>	53.	H. N.	<i>Egyszer megmozdulok én</i>
11.	S. G.	<i>Csendkirálynő</i>	54.	T. R.	<i>Konyhatündér avagy fússatok bolondok!</i>

²⁴ TÓTH, *Személynévadás és személynévhasználat*, op.cit.. 45. * Names translated by András Kappanyos.

Constructions Signifying Persons with *Alias*

12.	B. K.	<i>A legszelídebb Ultra</i>	55.	Z. D.	<i>Bojler avagy nyafogni azt tudsz</i>
13.	A. Cs.	<i>Egy Igazi Lovag</i>	56.	B-K. B.	<i>Ikrek gyümölcse avagy Tündéri életérzés</i>
14.	B. V.	<i>Barlangi Antibarbie</i>	57.	B. A.	<i>A Szégyentelen</i>
15.	M. B.	<i>Született Feleség</i>	58.	Cs. E.	<i>Odaadó Pimaszság</i>
16.	T. Zs.	<i>Bizonyítok bármi áron</i>	59.	K. T.	<i>Ide nekem az oroszlánt is!</i>
17.	C. Á.	<i>Ha én egyszer kinyitom a számat...</i>	60.	B. A.	<i>Én már csináltam mindent, mindenhol, mindenkivel</i>
18.	B. D.	<i>Csupaszív Nótászó</i>	61.	D. Á.	<i>Duli avagy megcsinálom ha berugok is</i>
19.	B. B.	<i>Életművész</i>	62.	N. É.	<i>Én vagyok a Dancing Kvíín, avagy www.kuuussssch.com</i>
20.	B. E. K.	<i>Refi, Loki, Rocky</i>	63.	Sz. V.	<i>Csak semmi pánik</i>
21.	Sz. R.	<i>Odismilyen avagy a gyorsan változó állandó</i>	64.	G. B.	<i>Maximalista Bulikirálynő</i>
22.	K. P.	<i>Dance Hero</i>	65.	S. D.	<i>Excsajok szelleme</i>
23.	Z. E.	<i>Mit meg nem adnék most egy jó vulgoért</i>	66.	K. L. M.	<i>A KFT én vagyok</i>
24.	K. B.	<i>Okos vagyok, szép és gonosz</i>	67.	F. N.	<i>A Mongol Telivér</i>
25.	S. Á.	<i>Furikázunk és védünk</i>	68.	B. K.	<i>Normálisan unalmas az élet</i>
26.	V. K.	<i>Forróvérű Jéghercegnő</i>	69.	P. O.	<i>Humuszban gazdag sivatagi talaj, avagy a Tátrában is a Firmám ujján taposok</i>
27.	V. V.	<i>WooClint Eastwood</i>	70.	Sz. Ö. P.	<i>Aurea Mediocritas</i>
28.	K. S.	<i>Sanyika! Mennyé aludni?!</i>	71.	V. R.	<i>Terézanya, avagy Egyszer megjavulok én...</i>
29.	T. B.	<i>Fangorn leánya</i>	72.	H. M.	<i>Mindenható</i>
30.	Sz. K.	<i>Principessa Sorridente</i>	73.	L. Zs.	<i>A teherbíró</i>
31.	O. Cs. G.	<i>JaPánk</i>	74.	S. O.	<i>Fullmoon</i>
32.	T. G.	<i>Néma Határozottság.</i>	75.	S. A. S.	<i>Sasszem</i>
33.	F. Cs.	<i>Retorikát a Kossuth-ösztől tanultam</i>	76.	Sz. B.	<i>Legyőzhetetlen</i>
34.	K. E. L.	<i>A Bányabölcsész</i>	77.	Sz. F.	<i>Juharlevél</i>
35.	Sz. R.	<i>Fecsegő Tipegő</i>	78.	C. N.	<i>Dessz Szperó</i>
36.	P. D.	<i>Alumna fidelis</i>	79.	K. Á.	<i>A Siker Kovácsa</i>
37.	K. F.	<i>A cserfes borimádó</i>	80.	K. Á.	<i>Nyelvújító ezermester</i>
38.	G. Zs.	<i>Édes élvezetek avagy a nem várt L'Oréal</i>	81.	B. G.	<i>Zsugabubus</i>
39.	T. N.	<i>Gondold meg és ígyál</i>	82.	F. Zs.	<i>A texasi tüskés gyilkos, avagy bang-bang-bang</i>
40.	F. V.	<i>Játszok és mesélek</i>	83.	Sz. F.	<i>Gyilkos</i>
41.	N. I.	<i>Aranyhangú KisDobos</i>	84.	W. Cs.	<i>Mindent lazán bezsákolok</i>
42.	M. T.	<i>Az égig érő legoember avagy optimizmusból ötös</i>	85.	M. Cs.	<i>Remegő Daloló</i>
43.	B. L.	<i>Csillámhangú</i>	86.	V. E.	<i>Csendes Ravasz Rókalány</i>

Translated by Éva Pataki

My major publications on this topic:

KECSKÉS Judit, „Újabb adalékok az alias-szal kapcsolt nevekhez”, in *Köszöntő kötet B. Gergely Piroska tiszteletére*, szerk. GRÉCZI-ZSOLDOS Enikő és KOVÁCS Mária, (Miskolc: Bfbor Kiadó, 2002) 88–90.

KECSKÉS Judit, „A nyelvi humor a 21. századi miskolci »vulgók«ban és »alias« nevekben”, in *A VI. Magyar Interdiszciplináris Humorkonferencia előadásai*, (EKE, Eger, 2019. október 3–4.) (Under press.)

Linguistic Characteristics of Literary Impressionism and the Impressionistic Character of Gyula Krúdy's Style*

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The claim that Krúdy's style is impressionistic in character is virtually contemporaneous with the literature on his oeuvre. In an anthology published four years after the writer's death and presenting the history of Hungarian fiction by way of specimen texts and commentaries, László Baránszky-Jób discussed Krúdy's work in the chapter on impressionism.¹

A year later, the first book on Krúdy, László Perkátai's doctoral dissertation was published.² In that slim volume, not sufficiently appreciated ever since, the author – who was to become a victim of the holocaust a few years later – characterised Krúdy's style, or more exactly, its period following the first Szindbád short stories, as “the most perfect incarnation of Hungarian impressionist prose”.³ Impressionism, he added, was characterised by the superabundance of lyrical and mood-related elements, its major tools being extreme picturesqueness and musicality.⁴ In relation to Krúdy's use of adjectives, the author states that “impressionistic style riots in the free play of the senses. Its main ambition is to seize and relay the whole sensual world as much as possible. Hence, both auditive and visual components are overrepresented in it”.⁵ In the view of this pioneering study, practically the first

* This paper is an abridged version of the author's book: KEMÉNY Gábor, *Krúdy körül. Stilisztikai tanulmányok és elemzések a 20. századi magyar irodalomról*, Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához 187, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2016). Most examples have been left out for reasons of length.

¹ BARÁNSZKY-JÓB László, *A magyar széppróza története szemelvényekben*, (Budapest: Kir. Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, é.n. [1937.]) 281–282.

² PERKÁTAI László, „Krúdy Gyula”, in *Perkátai László összegyűjtött írásai 2. Tanulmányok, cikkek, kritikák*, közl. LENGYEL András, (Szeged: Bába Kiadó, 2002) 7–79. (First edition: 1938.)

³ PERKÁTAI, *Krúdy Gyula*, *op.cit.* 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ PERKÁTAI, *Krúdy Gyula*, *op.cit.* 60.

Krúdy monograph ever, we can call Krúdy a poet of attributes, similes, and images.⁶

The third author who situated Krúdy among the impressionists was István Pelyvás-Ferencsik whose doctoral dissertation entitled “Impressionism in Hungarian literature and Gyula Krúdy” was published in 1942 in Debrecen.⁷

Two eminent representatives of Hungarian stylistics, Gyula Herczeg and Zoltán Szabó, took sides on the issue by discussing⁸ or mentioning⁹ Krúdy in the chapter on impressionism within their respective monographs. In what follows, I will rely on their research results in surveying the issue, adding my own reservations at the appropriate points.

Gyula Herczeg listed five major characteristics of impressionism in works of fiction.¹⁰

1. Nominal style:

The kind of style in which nominals assume a dominant role at the expense of verbs is called impressionism. Alongside the dominant nominals, linking items (case suffixes, postpositions) occur to a lesser degree, or may even be absent.

Herczeg lists and exemplifies the following types of impressionist sentences exhibiting a nominal style:

- verbless sentences, i.e. ones having a nominal predicate;
- defective sentences lacking a predicative construction altogether: their subject is accompanied by some adverbial;
- unarticulated sentences consisting of a single word each, nouns lacking even an adverbial complement; usually several such unarticulated sentences come in a row;
- such accumulation may go as far as the nouns losing all their independence and referring back, as appositions, to the “head noun” situated at the beginning of the sequence;
- an inorganic sequence of nouns linked to a head noun: suffixes that would make the grammatical relationships unambiguous are missing, hence the nouns “are quasi floating in the sentence”;¹¹ the apposition and its head noun may be torn apart;

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ PELYVÁS-FERENCZIK István, *A magyar irodalmi impresszionizmus és Krúdy Gyula*, (Debrecen: [A] Református Kollégium Tanárképző Int.[ézete], 1942)

⁸ HERCZEG Gyula, *A modern magyar próza stílusformái*, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1975) 87–104.

⁹ SZABÓ Zoltán, *A magyar szépirodai stílus történetének fő irányai*, (Budapest: Corvina, 1998) 185–187.

¹⁰ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, *op.cit.* 66–114.

¹¹ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, *op.cit.* 76.

Linguistic Characteristics of Gyula Krúdy's Style

- appositions referring to a nominal or pronominal subject that is not present in the sentence but may be implicitly understood;
- abstract nouns in a possessive form (constructions contracted from similes).

2. Sentence structure:

Herczeg points out as a preliminary remark that the sentence construction habits of Hungarian impressionism can be best studied in Krúdy's works.¹² In his view, Krúdy has a bias to accumulation as he tries to pile up the most sensual impressions possible, he sees and presents the world in an impressionist manner. That is, he makes abstract thoughts tangible by small but characteristic details and puts reality together from those tiny mosaic pieces, hence seizing it primarily in a visual manner. This procedure has a parallel in the visual arts: pointillism, a style that represents reality by little spots of paint, by accumulating details. "An impressionist writer approaches human personality through his eyes, the organ of seeing".¹³

With respect to Krúdy's similes, Herczeg states that the simile's subject (the item that is characterized by the simile) is often a word referring to nature or the outward appearance of a person; by contrast, "he often neglects a person's internal world. [...] A visual and auditive approach, accessing the world via one's eyes and ears, predominates with him to the expense of an intellectual approach".¹⁴ In my view, the key is rather that Krúdy characterizes persons from the outside, by their looks. It is a commonplace to question Krúdy's intellectuality, yet the truth is that his approach is not speculative but empirical, not deductive but inductive; in other words: his "intellectual approach" is realized through the visual (or sensory) channel.

In accordance with the foregoing, in Krúdy's sentences **coordination** dominates at the expense of subordination: Krúdy dislikes and usually does not employ the way of sentence building that places subordinate clauses around a single real superordinate clause and that subordinate clauses of diverse levels are linked together on the basis of requirements of content. Rather, he ensures structural unity by a prose rhythm based on repetitions.

It is already in an early paper, in 1951, that Herczeg comes to the conclusion that "Krúdy's style, involving coordination often without using conjunctions, that is, paratactically, is closely associated in this respect with the set of phenomena of a European stream of style known as 'impressionism'".¹⁵

¹² HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, op.cit. 87.

¹³ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, op.cit. 108.

¹⁴ HERCZEG Gyula, „Krúdy hasonlatai”, *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 83(1959) 1. sz. 41–58., 56.

¹⁵ HERCZEG Gyula, „Mondatszerkezetek Krúdy stílusában”, *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 75(1951) 5. sz. 324–332, 6. sz. 420–425., 332.

Later, in his work surveying stylistic forms of modern Hungarian prose, Herczeg says that the fundamental feature of Krúdy's sentences is that however long they are, however endlessly exuberant they appear to be, they consist of short clauses accompanied by very few subordinate clauses, if any: it hardly ever happens that a primary clause has a secondary or ternary subordinate clause. The clauses are typically parts of a huge enumeration, logically independent of one another.

3. *Word order:*

Impressionist word order is noun-centered: adverbials and subjects are foregrounded in a way that subjects are located sentence finally, while adverbials occur sentence initially. An impressionist sentence has two structural poles: it is built on adverbials and nouns. Putting the subject after a number of complements to the end of the sentence serves a consciously delaying purpose. The initial adverbial(s) and the final subject(s) are clearly semantically related.

Word order and accumulation, these two characteristics of impressionist writing, are interrelated. The writer wants to tell us everything he accessed via the sense of seeing: the place, the looks of a person, the way she is dressed, etc. He wants to tell us about all those details as soon as possible and in the most detailed manner. The beginning and the end of the sentence are taken by the most important parts, the adverbial and the subject, respectively, and the predicate itself is relatively backgrounded. The backgrounding of the verb is a consequence of bipolar sentence construction: being bipolar, the sentence "does not tolerate the presence of a third peak, hence the predicate is semantically and characteristically colorless".¹⁶

4. *Free indirect speech:*

Herczeg discusses this as another impressionist feature.¹⁷ However, his examples are not convincing: at the places he refers to, I do not see any shift of perspective. Later on, Herczeg associates free indirect speech with realism.¹⁸ In this view, free indirect speech becomes universally employed in naturalist or realist prose.¹⁹ And indeed: it is markedly present in the lineage Kálmán Mikszáth – Zsigmond Móricz – Ferenc Móra – László Németh – Magda Szabó. Hence, it can by no means be seen as an impressionist feature: its presence cannot be taken to be evidence that the given style is impressionistic. In fact, it

¹⁶ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, op.cit. 109.

¹⁷ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, op.cit. 92–99.

¹⁸ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, op.cit. 13–53.

¹⁹ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza*, op.cit. 48.

is neither a stylistic feature of impressionism nor that of realism: it is a narrative technique that can be coupled with almost any stylistic trend.²⁰ For instance, the fact that Dezső Kosztolányi usually avoids using it²¹ does not make him either more of an impressionist or more of a realist. It has, incidentally, also been pointed out that Kosztolányi's prose writings exhibit a number of such instances.²²

5. *Pars pro toto*:

It is especially frequent in impressionist style that the subject is replaced by a metonymic or synecdochic expression of the "part for the whole" type (using the name of an object or of a part of the body to stand for that of a living person). The same replacement can also be taken to be an instance of personification. Already Miklós Radnóti pointed out in his doctoral dissertation discussing Margit Kaffka's artistic progress that "visual elements dominate with Margit Kaffka so much that pictorial representation is often akin to cinematographic techniques. The principle of *pars pro toto* of movies shows up here".²³

Zoltán Szabó's synthesis of the history of Hungarian style sees the main characteristics of impressionism in the fact that the impressionist mode of communication is based on some act of remembering, on the evocation of a memory.²⁴ The mood-related content of the memory evoked is not usually expressed in abstract words but by sensual impressions. Thus, a relation of correspondence is created between mood-related content and the relevant sensual impression. That correspondence or association, however, is rather subjective.

Szabó highlights four main linguistic tools of the stylistic rendition of the cult of the senses:²⁵

- synesthesia, mixing of the senses; this occurs elsewhere, too, but is conspicuously frequent with the impressionists;
- high frequency of attributes, accumulation of attributes, garlands of attributes. Impressionism is "a style of attributes";

²⁰ KEMÉNY Gábor, „Szöveg és jelentés: Ceruzajegyzetek egy újszerű könyv margójára”, *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 106(1982) 4. sz. 465–476., 472–473.

²¹ HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza, op.cit.* 25–28.; MURVAI Olga, *Szöveg és jelentés: A szabad függő beszéd szövegnyelvészeti vizsgálata*, (Bukarest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1980) 36., 131.

²² TOLCSVAI NAGY Gábor, „Alany, szubjektum”, *Irodalomtörténet*, 92(2011) 2. sz. 177–203., 197.

²³ Cited by: HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza, op.cit.* 112.

²⁴ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépírói stílus, op.cit.* 185.

²⁵ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépírói stílus, op.cit.* 185–187.

- conspicuous frequency of color names. Radnóti wrote about Kaffka's style that it was "an orgiastic parade of colors";²⁶
- longer descriptions "consisting of a series of evoked images of mood. Their source is the **memory** of some sight, [...] some sensual experience, usually **the picture of a landscape or an environment**".²⁷

The memory evoked is taken by the impressionist writer to be an unarticulated image, a **unit of total imagery**.

The major linguistic means of creating that total imagery are the following in Szabó's view:²⁸

- enumeration, accumulation, representing the multiplicity of details making up the total imagery;
- nominal constructions, nominal style (the dominance of nouns and adjectives at the expense of verbs);
- synesthesia, but not the kind where senses are mixed but where a unity of aspect is created or indicated, e.g. *white silence* (Endre Ady);
- attribute shift, enallage, e.g. *the green life of a pine-forest* (Lőrinc Szabó).

The primary tool of impressionist style is the word. What follows from this is "free and easy sequences of sentences, and plenty of coordination coming from enumeration and detailing".²⁹ Rather than *free and easy*, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that a loose, coordinative way of stacking clauses is one of the sources of the musicality of impressionist style, the temper-creating effect of prose rhythm.

By way of a summary, we can say that Krúdy's literary art undoubtedly exhibits impressionist features, and in certain periods or in specific writings these even dominate.

However, there are also significant considerations that keep us from characterizing Krúdy's style simply as impressionist without any reservation, as done in part of the literature.

First of all, here is the overall uncertainty of the place of impressionism within stylistic history. Zoltán Szabó discriminates two stages of impressionism: the first extends from 1890 to 1900, and the second from 1900 to roughly 1912.³⁰ The author of that synthesis claims that "in the 1910s, the strength of

²⁶ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus*, op.cit. 186.

²⁷ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus*, op.cit. 186. (My emphasis.)

²⁸ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus*, op.cit. 187–189.

²⁹ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus*, op.cit. 189.

³⁰ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus*, op.cit. 190.

Linguistic Characteristics of Gyula Krúdy's Style

Hungarian impressionism diminished”.³¹ By contrast, Gyula Herczeg opines that “the meridian of impressionism” occurs exactly then: in 1915–16.³² The opposing views of these two excellent researchers of the Hungarian history of style indicates the controversial nature of the category of impressionism.

In addition, the stylistic trend of impressionism is difficult to tell apart from another definitive trend of the period: art nouveau.

The literature emphasizes the following major features of art nouveau:³³

- coordinative sentence construction: the dominance of coordinate clauses over subordinate ones;
- accumulation at all levels of text construction (sounds, syntactic constructions, clauses, sentences, paragraphs);
- richness of linguistic images (especially those concerning the human and the natural sphere);
- large number of attributes, especially those of color and material;
- irony and self-irony in style.

As can be seen, impressionist style has almost exactly the same features³⁴ as does art nouveau: the first, second and fourth items from the above five are essentially identical across the two trends.

A new criterion for telling impressionism and art nouveau apart could be the respective dominance of static images vs. dynamic images.³⁵ The example presented by Olga Murvai (the double portrait of the heroine of Krúdy's short story *Szindbád őszi útja* [Sindbad's autumn course]) convinces the reader of the workability of the distinction of static vs. dynamic image. One of the heroine's portraits, the “external” one, follows the logic of the eye, while the other, “internal” one, follows that of associations. The former is a static image (art nouveau), while the latter is a dynamic one (impressionist). The fact that art nouveau was originally and primarily a style of (interior) architecture and applied arts (for instance, there is no art nouveau music), while impressionism is “the art of the

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² HERCZEG, *A modern magyar próza, op.cit.* 70.

³³ KISPÉTER András, „Az irodalmi és a nyelvi szecesszió néhány kérdése”, in *Tanulmányok a századforduló stílustörekvéseiről*, szerk. FÁBIÁN Pál és SZATHMÁRI István, (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1989) 36–48.; BENCZE Lóránt, „A szecesszió nyelvi stílusjegyei”, in *Uo.*, 238–244.; SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus, op.cit.* 172–182; KEMÉNY Gábor, *Bevezetés a nyelvi kép stilisztikájába*, Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához XIV, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2002) 172.

³⁴ SZABÓ, *A magyar szépirói stílus, op.cit.* 184–186.

³⁵ MURVAI Olga, „Szecesszió – álló kép vagy mozgó kép?”, in *„Arany-alapra arannyal”. Tanulmányok a magyar irodalmi szecesszió stílusáról*, szerk. SZABÓ Zoltán, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2002) 148–167., 164.

moment” (hence impressionist painting and impressionist music, but no impressionist architecture that we know of), appears to corroborate Murvai’s distinction and the method of analysis based on it. Whether or not this distinction will be applicable in practice (in the analysis of other authors or other texts) remains to be seen. The research conducted by Olga Murvai who died young awaits continuation.

My opinion, formed decades ago and not changed ever since, is that Krúdy’s style and his world view (both of which amount to the same thing in his case) cannot be satisfactorily described in the conceptual framework of impressionism.

Let us review a few important features of impressionism in general and of Krúdy’s impressionism in particular from the point of view of whether such criteria sufficiently describe Krúdy’s style and whether they make it possible to locate it within the range of impressionism as a stylistic trend. As we will see, the application of these criteria to Krúdy does not always lead to a satisfactory result.

Starting from the richness of linguistic images, it is beyond reasonable doubt that, reading Krúdy, we are immediately faced with the relatively high number of linguistic images (similes, metaphors, etc.) and with their extraordinary contents. However, it is far from being evident that the textual function of that imagery in Krúdy’s work is identical with what is normally taken to be the typical function of impressionist image creation. In that respect, I had cautious reservations in the conclusion of my first book on the subject: “richness of imagery in Krúdy’s work does not merely serve picturesqueness or an impressionistically sensitive capture of sights. It is simultaneously a means of getting away from reality, the transformation of reality into murk, wraith, or ‘subjective reality’. [...] Krúdy’s images are not plastic and tangible presentations of the piece of reality **represented** but rather hidden messages about the writer’s inscape or subjective mental constitution, the **exterioration** of his frame of mind”.³⁶

Later on, I returned to the closely interrelated issues of the function of Krúdy’s images and the writer’s location within the history of style: “No matter how many images we find in Krúdy’s prose, this in itself does not make him an impressionist if those images serve the representation of mood rather than expressivity, abduction rather than approximation”.³⁷ Krúdy’s similes are often “redundant” or “abstract” ones, not comparing something less familiar to

³⁶ KEMÉNY Gábor, *Krúdy képkötése*, Nyelvtudományi értekezések 86, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974) 100. (Emphasis as in the original.)

³⁷ KEMÉNY Gábor, „Krúdy és a stílusa”, *Irodalomtörténet*, 13(1981) 2. sz. 440–457., 451–452.

something more familiar, nor something abstract to something concrete, but rather they compare what is familiar to what is unfamiliar and what is concrete to what is abstract. The predicate of the simile is often metaphorical both with respect to what is compared and what it is compared to, e.g. "Winter stamped its feet like eternity" (*Pesti nőrabló* [The ravisher of Budapest]). Furthermore, some of his similes are completely unmotivated (and perhaps unmotivatable) and can therefore be called "metaphorical" or "identificatory". "Such images are **not** the means of pinning sights down with an impressionistic sensitivity and picturesqueness. The elimination of similarity from a simile signals the advent of a new stylistic attitude: **surrealism**".³⁸

Let us now turn to accumulation, another stylistic device that is highly characteristic of both Krúdy and impressionism. Accumulation, indeed, is one of the most conspicuous features of Krúdy's style.³⁹ Since, however, the function of Krúdy's use of accumulation differs from the function of accumulation within impressionist style, the presence of accumulation as a linguistic device in Krúdy's texts does not entail the classification of the writer as one of the impressionists. "In this textual world, accumulation serves abduction or alienation from reality." "The landscape as it disintegrates as a consequence of the use of accumulation becomes a vision and a projection of mental processes: what seemed to be impressionism turns out to be **surrealism**".⁴⁰ Similar views can be found in other authors' work, too. Ede Szabó in an essay mentions "sternly dithyrambic, often surrealistic pouring of metaphors" as a feature of the third, deepest, most hidden, "demonic" stratum of the oeuvre.⁴¹ Imre Bori spots the traces of a "surrealistic" view of the world especially in the Vienna novels (*Vak Béla* [Bela the Blind], *Nagy kópé* [Sly dog], *Őszi versenyek* [Autumn races]).⁴² Zoltán Molnár finds "surrealistic images" in Krúdy's short story *A helyettes halott* [The surrogate dead man].⁴³

In sum: the high frequency of linguistic images and the writer's partiality to accumulation do not make Krúdy's style impressionist. The reason is that these linguistic devices do not have the same function in his case as they do in typically impressionist authors (like Árpád Tóth or like Margit Kaffka in her prose works). Consequently, I maintain my earlier view that "the use of

³⁸ *Ibid.* (Emphasis as in the original.)

³⁹ Cf. PETHŐ József, *A halmozás alakzata: A halmozás fogalmának, típusainak és funkcióinak vizsgálata* (Krúdy Gyula Szindbád ifjúsága című kötete alapján). (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004)

⁴⁰ KEMÉNY, Krúdy és a stílusa, *op.cit.* 454. (Emphasis as in the original.)

⁴¹ SZABÓ Ede, „Ábrándok és démonok: Krúdy Gyuláról”, *Új Írás*, 18(1978) 10. sz. 65–70.

⁴² BORI Imre, *Krúdy Gyula*, (Újvidék: Forum, 1978) 183–184.

⁴³ MOLNÁR Zoltán, „Szürrealisztikus képek Krúdyknak »A helyettes halott« című novellájában”, *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 100(1976) 3. sz. 296–305.

‘pointillist’ accumulation, the picturesque way of seeing things and loosely coordinative sentence construction as typical stylistic traits are indeed present in Krúdy’s work but their function points beyond impressionism – toward a *par excellence* twentieth-century kind of modernity”.⁴⁴

Translated by Tímea Jovanovics

My major publications on this topic:

KEMÉNY Gábor, *Krúdy képalkotása*, Nyelvtudományi értekezések 86, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974)

KEMÉNY Gábor, *Szindbád nyomában. Krúdy Gyula a kortársak között*, Linguistica Series A. Studia et Dissertationes 7, (Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet, 1991)

KEMÉNY Gábor, *Képekbe menekülő élet. Krúdy Gyula képalkotásáról és a nyelvi kép stilisztikájáról*, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1993)

KEMÉNY Gábor, *Bevezetés a nyelvi kép stilisztikájába*, Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához XIV, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2002)

KEMÉNY Gábor, *Krúdy körül. Stilisztikai tanulmányok és elemzések a 20. századi magyar irodalomról*, Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához 187, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2016)

⁴⁴ KEMÉNY, *Krúdy és a stílusa*, op.cit. 457.

The Role of Children's Literature from the Period of Polish Romanticism in Nineteenth-Century Nation-Building

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In what follows I present my research on the role of Polish children's literature in nineteenth-century nation-building, starting by outlining the topic, then discussing the selection of sources and defining analytical points, and concluding with the main results. Already at the time of searching for a doctoral topic, my attention was drawn by recent research related to Central and Eastern European movements, academic works inspired by western texts on nation and social memory, and especially by publications on Polish Romanticism.

I got interested in the less known fields of Polish Romantic literature, mainly because I wanted to find out what kind of tools and channels made it possible to maintain Polish national cultural integrity throughout the nineteenth century, a crucial period in terms of modern European national development. I aimed to follow through the nation-building practices of the Partitioned Poland with the help of Polish literary texts, and sought sources that could take closer to understanding this matter. Eventually, my doctoral dissertation was focused on children's literature in Polish Romanticism, as it is a very exciting textual corpus regarding the formation of national consciousness. I decided to do research on early Polish children's literature, as I viewed it as a relatively rich, well-defined, and somewhat processed material from a bibliographical and literary-historical point of view, the study of which could also be attempted by scholars not living in Poland. As Polish children's literature was created by authors belonging to the period's intellectual elite, and the first critical reviews from the same circle attested to its merit, it seemed worthwhile to dust off and study this forgotten, often magniloquent and didactic group of texts.

The scholarship granted by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and mostly, the guidance of Jerzy Jedlicki helped me interpret the sources, and study the examined period's theoretical trends and the history of

Polish intelligentsia. From the 1960s, monographs discussing the periods in the history of Polish children's literature started to appear in Poland, written by the field's accomplished researchers. These monographs contain collections of texts as well, but the series follows the viewpoints and considerations of literary history, it investigates the development of children's literature in light of high literary tendencies. As such, I was the first to undertake an in-depth analysis of children's literature in the context of nation-building. "*A lengyelség iskolája*" [The School of Polishness] was originally written as a doctoral thesis in the Doctoral School of History in Eötvös Loránd University under the supervision of Vera Bácskai in 2001.

In the past decade, many sources have gone through the process of digitalisation, a new generation has started doing research on Romanticism, while I have also encountered the same period during my work as a lecturer, with special emphasis on Central and Eastern European cultures. Endre Bojtár's works, along with the Central European University's programs in comparative literature further advanced my research. All the above reinforced me to keep the dissertation's main claims and elaborate on the text taking into account my newly gained experience. My thesis was partly reworked and the results of more recent investigations were added to it, which resulted in the publication of my monograph in 2018¹ under the same title as my dissertation, but in a new form. It was extended with illustrations when published to disclose Hungarian scientific results as the first book in the Wacław Felczak Foundation's "Felczak-books" series, which was created with the aim to preserve, exhibit and propagate the Polish-Hungarian friendship's cultural heritage.

Already while collecting sources, it was clear to me that examples are essential to show how the national movement formed and maintained the succeeding generations' national consciousness against foreign oppression with subtle, everyday impulses. The group of texts created by Mickiewicz's, Puskin's and Vörösmarty's contemporaries was a tool of national education in a country occupied and divided by the Russians, the Austrians and the Prussians: it counterbalanced the lack of a unified school system. Polish children's literature conveys national ideals, patriotic behavioural patterns, images of polishness and Poland itself, which shows upon analysis the way this new branch of literature connected into the formation of Polish national consciousness.

The examined period's range was decided as follows: I marked the appearance of the so-called "original" Polish children's literature as the starting point (the second decade of the nineteenth century), and the crushing of the 1863–

¹ KERTÉSZ Noémi, „*A lengyelség iskolája*”. *A lengyel romantika gyermekirodalma*, Felczak-könyvek, (Göd: Rézsong Kiadó, 2018)

The Role of Children's Literature in Nineteenth-Century Poland

64 uprising against Russia as the endpoint. Multiple arguments could be made for these choices. The formation of Polish children's literature is dated from around this period, this is the time when the genre gains its own characteristics, its general profile, its group of authors and readership. It is not only the uprising that was crushed, but Polish political aspirations with it, as a consequence of repressions, operating conditions for culture and literature were completely modified. Under the new circumstances, ideals conveyed by literature were radically changed, and with the loss of interest in Romanticism, a new age started in children's literature too.

At the beginning, the boundaries between the new groups of readers were rather flexible, some works spread among various groups independent of their intended audience and the author's will. In the case of many nineteenth-century texts, it is questionable whether they were written for children or adolescents, not to mention whether they also address adult readers. If we accept that children's literature and child readers could form a dichotomy with adult literature and adult readers, respectively, we might gain a better understanding of this issue. For there exists (hopefully) more than one group of readers in the examined period, who are viewed by the authors and the public not as adults, but as people who need education and schooling: besides children, mostly women and peasants fill this position under the tutelage of the intellectual elite. The texts targeting them had a choice of topic, morale and simplistic style befitting for the standard of the "immature and unqualified". The appearance of these new groups of readers could be related to the development of publishing and distribution, and the gradual decrease of illiteracy. New members of the book market varied in terms of reading skills, education, financial status, but their number was substantial and still growing, enlarging the circle of people who could be influenced this way – a potential that the Polish intelligentsia recognised. They were consciously trying to involve and spur a large portion of society into motion for the national cause after the Partitions, allocating a major role to printed texts, to literature.

Among the nobility (even among those who lived like peasants without any land), the ability and demand to read was natural, although it did not always go beyond reading the Bible, the prayer book and the "silva rerum" containing records on family history. All social layers living in a city were relatively easy to reach, illiteracy was present to a smaller degree, citizens participated in some sort of education and they had more opportunities to buy or rent books. Villagers, however, were mostly illiterate (the abolishment of illiteracy showed some results only in territories under Prussian control), books and press products were still too expensive for the vast majority of peasantry. Yet, stories

reached more people through traditional public recitals than one would conclude based on the number of readers.

I have considered multiple aspects when selecting and categorising the group of examined sources. If the work's title, dedication, illustrations or the text itself references children or the youth, it is indeed very likely aimed at children, but a thorough examination of the volume, along with a review of secondary sources, could dispel any potential doubt. Thus, it is generally obvious what qualifies surely as children's literature. Still, many texts have proved to become reading material for children without passing any of the above criteria: several pieces of fine literature originally meant for adults, besides texts targeting the people and women. Although interesting it may have seemed to strive for a complete overview and select a comprehensive range of texts that formed Polish children's national consciousness in the nineteenth century, the amount of readings to be analysed far exceeds the capability of a foreign researcher even in respect of a single generation, nevertheless, I touched upon the reception history of five "fundamental readings".

Taking all the above into consideration, I have reviewed works which were undoubtedly written for children, out of the texts that were meant for the people I have scrutinised those that brought novelty in some aspect and are documented to have (also) spread among child readers from their publication date already (predominantly history books about Poland written for the people fall into this category), from the group of literature targeting women I have selected those that could have been read by girls as well, and from fine literature I have examined texts published in children's journals and (also) anthologies; textbooks are only included if they have been confirmed to spread outside school. I have not dealt with the translations and adaptations of foreign works, pulp fiction also popular among children or dime novels in which the principles of patriotic education fail to outweigh the intention to entertain readers. An umbrella term in use for the examined sources is "original Polish children's literature", which expresses that these works were written in Polish, convey Polish patterns, are meant for and spread among children, and meet certain literary criteria.

After the review of the historical background and previous research carried out on the topic,² I describe the circle present at the birth of children's

² Most important researches on the era: Izabela KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Twórczość dla dzieci i młodzieży Klementyny z Tańskich Hoffmanowej*, (Opole: Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1964); Izabela KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Literatura dla dzieci i młodzieży do roku 1864*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1973); Izabela KANIOWSKA-LEWAŃSKA, *Stanisław Jachowicz: Życie, twórczość i działalność*, (Opole: Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1970)

The Role of Children's Literature in Nineteenth-Century Poland

literature, the more significant authors and their works, the reception history of five books tied to this group,³ and the genre's genesis linked to Warsaw. Two of the five authors, Stanisław Jachowicz and Klementyna Hoffmanowa spent their whole lives with the education of children and working on children's literature. They are viewed as the genre's Polish establishers.⁴ Their first books stand as the basis of consciously built *oeuvres*, their careers outline the progression of children's literature in the genre's first decades. The other three authors, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Izabela Czartoryska and Joachim Lelewel were active on a much wider scale, but (also) turning to children, all three of them endeavoured to make the nation's past known and loved. Each of their works saw several reprints in just a few years and many others for decades, contributing to the education of multiple generations in the course of the nineteenth century. Their reception history also enables us to get an insight into the birth of scientific discourse on children's literature.

The analysis of the material was realised in four thematic units. I pursued the cult of national history, the establishment of mother tongue education, the forming of the national landscape's concept, and the authors' remarks on the nation and members of other nations.

The establishers of Polish children's literature intended to give historical learning the biggest role for both theoretical and practical considerations. Aside from the effects of historicism, this originated from the inevitable need to get around censorship. Works leading through national history are exceptionally important for the formation of the Polish approach to the past. Historical stories about Poland counterpoised not only the school system's bias in historical education, but brought attention to the role of history, the need to become familiar with it and draw its lessons. Besides much liked historical poems, anecdotes and narratives, young adult historical novels started to appear. Stories taking place in the past expanded the readers' historical knowledge, but also strengthened the emotional attachment to the past by recalling the mood of certain periods, and through the characters' deeds they showed how to be a good Polish person.

The transformation in the choice and representation of historical heroes can be observed in children's literature as well. Kings, generals and statesmen

³ 1. Julian Ursyn NIEMCEWICZ, *Śpiewy historyczne: z muzyką i rycinami*, (Warszawa: Drukarnia nr 646 przy Nowolipiu, 1816); 2. Izabela CZARTORYSKA, *Pielgrzym w Dobromilu*, (Warszawa: Zawadzki i Węcki, 1819); 3. Klementyna HOFFMANOWA, *Pamiętka po dobrej matce*, (Warszawa: Drukarnia nr 646 przy Nowolipiu, 1819); 4. Stanisław JACHOWICZ, *Bajki i powieści*, (Płock: K. Kulig, 1824.); 5. Joachim LELEWEL, *Dzieje Polski potoczny sposób opowiedziane*, (Warszawa: J. Węcki, 1829)

⁴ Justyna CHŁAP-NOWAKOWA, „Stanisław Jachowicz. Drogowskazy dla polskich dzieci”, *WPiS*, 79(2017) Nr. 5. 64–65., 64.

were joined by poets, scholars, chroniclers, and texts about the childhood of great people started to spread. The democratisation of the heroic ideal illustrates the change in national consciousness: heroes from the lower classes are featured more often, and there is an increasing interest in the people, in the masses that shape history.

Polish authors turning towards young readers stood up chiefly against foreign children's literature; just for the sheer fact, creating original works written in Polish and characteristic of Polish thought bore historical significance in itself. Authors and their critics alike paid special attention to use easy-to-follow linguistic patterns without foreign expressions or phrases in their works meant for children, and preferred concepts suitable for their target audience. Depending on the time and location, however, the tools children's literature used in defence of the Polish language varied, as well as the phenomena it was fighting against. Publications for children did not only embrace the idea to love one's mother tongue, or convey linguistic patterns to follow, but also contributed to the perfect acquisition of written and spoken Polish with practical advice. By the end of the examined period, a phase finished in the fight for using Polish language. In no small part, it was due to children's literature that in erudite circles there was ever more emphasis laid on the correct use of spoken Polish among children, who were also encouraged to view Polish as their mother tongue. The increasing supply of Polish children's reading could, to an extent, mitigate the detrimental effects of the growing, aggressive Russian and German influence in education.

As the result of the Partitions, people in Poland attributed high importance to travelogues describing the national landscape, since the portrayal of the land that had once belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian State expressed the act of turning against the Partitions. It suggests that a land exists (even if embedded in another state), which is inseparable from the Polish nation, and every tiny part of it symbolises the whole that was cut up into many pieces and will be miraculously moulded together one day. In addition, censorship could hardly stop the spreading of such ideas, because even though the words "Poland" and "Polish" were banned in public, the maps of the "imaginary homeland" were soaked in emotion and stored in collective memory, and a few geographical references (e.g. "Vistula", "Tatra", "Baltic") were enough to recall them. The emotionally loaded accounts of travellers' experience written for the youth speak of well-chosen routes and the purposeful selection of details and information on the visited locations. Later on, more and more poems find a way into guidebooks on local history with the increasing popularity of Romantic landscape poetry. If one could not speak about the Polish state's geographical unity before the Partitions, travelogues and landscape poems published independently of each

The Role of Children's Literature in Nineteenth-Century Poland

other ultimately laid out a picture of Poland, like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, advancing and preserving the image of a Polish homeland united in a geographical and cultural sense.

Children's literature had a part in shaping Polish national consciousness but also reflected its changes. The notion of identifying the nation with its nobility was replaced by the national idea of a community inclusive of all social layers due to their shared history, language, religion and culture. When the re-born Polish state's territorial stretches are concerned, historical arguments prove to be stronger than ethnical ones: the country can be imagined only within the old boundaries.

Due to the restraints of censorship, Polish self-image and images of the enemy show up in children's literature embedded in the past, bygone characters exemplify the nation's greatness and advocate serving the country. The issues of Jachowicz's *Daily Magazine for Children*⁵ on the uprising, published uncensored, are rare exceptions. From our point of view, they are valuable because they provide definitions for the concepts of nation, country and patriotism along with the motives of the uprising, and they do so by discerning the differences between genders and various age groups. In addition, they reflect the very change that takes place in discussions regarding the nation's future.

Authors who turned towards children were seen as busy members of the trade at the time already, though in many cases their pens were led by the same pathetic sense of mission as those of their peers aspiring to honours. If one recalls what Kazimierz Brodziński, poet and programmatic theoretician of the Romantic school said about the sources of poetry, which he viewed as the nation's true mirror: "the poet is impassioned by his love of the ancestors, the desire for a better future, the knowledge of the nation's interests, character and conventions",⁶ one must realise that authors of nineteenth-century Polish children's literature were inflamed by the same spark, and their works and activity played an important role in the formation of Polish national consciousness.

Translated by József Szabolcs Fagyál

⁵ *Daily Magazine for Children* (*Dziennik dla Dzieci*) was the author's one-man-enterprise, published as a daily paper in 1830, without being censored in its last month.

⁶ Kazimierz BRODZIŃSKI, „Literatura polska”, in *Pisma III, Proza*, (Poznań: Gebethner i Wolff, 1872) 95–117., 104.

My major publications on the topic:

KERTÉSZ Noémi, „Kis lengyelek olvasmányai a 19. század első harmadában (A lengyel gyermekirodalom megszületése)”, in *Polono-Hungarica: nyelvészet – irodalom – történelem – kultúrtörténet* – 7, szerk. Janusz BAŃCZEROWSKI és VÁRNAI Dorota és BENKOVICS Zita, Polono-Hungarica 7, (Budapest: ELTE BTK Lengyel Filológiai Tanszék, 1995) 202–207.

KERTÉSZ Noémi, „Történelmi tudat és hőskultusz a lengyel függetlenség elvesztése után”, in *A mesterség iskolája. Tanulmányok Bácskai Vera 70. születésnapjára*, szerk. BÓDY Zsombor és MÁTAY Mónika és TÓTH Árpád, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2000) 13–32.

KERTÉSZ Noémi, „A nemzeti tudatformálás etnikai sztereotípiái a 19. századi lengyel gyermekirodalomban”, in *Szomszédok világai. Kép, önkép, és a másokról alkotott kép*, szerk. KLEMENT Judit és MISKOLCZY Ambrus és VÁRI András, (Budapest: KSH Könyvtár és Levéltár, 2006) 184–201.

KERTÉSZ Noémi, „*A lengyelség iskolája*”. *A lengyel romantika gyermekirodalma*, Felczak-könyvek, (Göd: Rézbong Kiadó, 2018)

Theses on Literacy

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Keywords: pedagogy, literacy, curriculum, competence, democracy, social integration

In this writing, I will make an attempt to briefly summarize my views on literacy. The following theses are based on the essays I wrote between 2010 and 2018, which I have compiled in a book with the title *Literacy and Democracy*.¹

1. In this text I define literacy as the knowledge we have inherited from previous generations, something that is to last for a relatively long time.² This is related to its canonical nature: works of literacy gain their authority from the fact they have not been destined for oblivion and therefore exist as *points of reference*. Thus, the cultural canon is open: those intellectual products that are passed on to the next generation are included in this canon. Canonization does not depend on any abstract idea of quality, but on this permanence. The concept of literacy is closely related to tradition: literacy, as a matter of fact, is a tradition that has been acquired by a person. When I say that literacy consists of works of art, I do not limit literacy to the arts. In fact, different domains of literacy are all made up of “pieces of tradition”, of works. Literacy in its classical meaning was based on books, as, to be literate (*litteratus* or *litteratus*), for a very long time, meant one is capable of reading: an educated man is literate.

2. The concept of a literate (educated) man is the product of modernity. In the Middle Ages, books were not available for the public and hardly anyone could read. Nevertheless, the printing of books created the possibility, whereas the Renaissance humanistic concept of man the urge for people to distinguish themselves from the crowd as educated men through being well-read. The canon of literacy at that time consisted primarily of the corpus of antique texts and the Scripture, and this concept remained in effect until the 18th century. Yet, nationalism brought on a fundamental change in this area: the formerly existing, mostly homogeneous European canon was broken up into national cultures; its contents consisted of national history, national literature and national

¹ KNAUSZ Imre, *Műveltség és demokrácia: Kísérletek a pedagógia bírálatára 2010–2018*, Taní-tani Könyvek 2 (Budapest: Demokratikus Ifjúságért Alapítvány, 2018)

² Hannah ARENDT, “The Crisis in Culture: Its Social and Its Political Significance”, in *Between Past and Future: Six Exercises in Political Thought*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1961) 202.

languages that could be, by then, described by grammatical tools. Non-literary areas such as music and fine arts also appeared in the cultural canon. At the end of the 19th century, but mainly in the 20th century it was supplemented by the technological and scientific literacy, and the concept of literacy that was consolidated this way became the foundation of today's school curricula.

3. In modernity until about the last third of the 20th century literacy was regarded as a means of *character education*. Acquiring the tradition seemed suitable to establish a solid set of values. In fact, this is the background to what David Riesman calls an inner-directed man: literacy equips one with an „internal gyroscope” that helps you navigate under whimsically changing conditions.³ It is from this function of literacy that Herbart's concept of “educative instruction” derives, according to which instruction could basically provide the framework for moral development.⁴

4. From the second third of the 20th century, however, the character-building function of education is increasingly regarded by the public as an outdated expectation. The ideal of a man who is always faithful to his principles (I intentionally used a sexist phrase here) is gradually replaced by the concept of a skillful person who takes care of others, who is able and also willing to adapt to others – thus undoubtedly defenseless against current trends. With regard to this phenomenon Riesman spoke about “*other-directed*” personalities. On the other hand, the tradition that gave foundation to the character also wears out. The importance of libraries diminishes, even though these institutions used to be the primary homes of tradition in modernity. The narratives of tradition are replaced by databases in which the data leaves its original context of the narrative and floats about freely in the virtual space. In this situation, however, the meaning of literacy and thus, indirectly, the function of schools is questioned. The (idealistic) concept of literacy that as the foundation of character is probably irrevocably a thing of the past. Henceforth, however, I argue that in the 21st century traditional literacy is more essential than ever. However, this requires rethinking the function of literacy.

5. Can literacy be *interpretive*? In other words: can it be used to help us interpret the world we live in in a more effective way? The „graphical user interface” that we use to communicate with our environment (buttons, labels, icons, rules) strongly suggests that we do not need to understand the world in order to live our everyday life. What happens under the hood is none of our

³ David RIESMAN, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989)

⁴ FINÁCZY Ernő, *Neveléstudományok a XIX. században*, (Budapest: MTA, 1934) Online: Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, mek.oszk.hu – November 2019. 76.

business but that of the professionals'. However, this is only true as long as systems work as designed. When there is a problem, you have to look for solutions, and there is hardly any denial that there are many problems that cannot be solved by professionals alone. There's a problem with our body, there is a problem with society and, above all, a problem with the "*whole*", with the world drifting towards an environmental catastrophe. In this context, literacy provides tools primarily for *causal thinking*: it teaches you to think about the hidden laws of the world.

6. Can literacy be *dialogical*? Can it be used for citizens to understand each other and make decisions that are mutually satisfactory for all of them? Previously, *national* literacy was thought of as something that most of all provides common narratives, and that these common narratives express the unity of a nation. Today, however, in the context of radical pluralism, it would be an anachronism to strive for this. Rather, we need to be prepared for the coexistence of different cultures. However, tolerance is not just a question of attitude, but above all a question of cognition: people today have to be familiar with the narratives of other cultures that they live together with. In Hungary, this is not only of interest regarding national-liberal, gypsy-non-gypsy, poor-rich, folk-urban etc. dimensions,⁵ but more and more in the context of an expected mass immigration.

7. Can literacy be *critical*? In other words, can it make you realize that the world we live in can be different? The historical and literary narratives are about past worlds, worlds parallel to ours, and possible future worlds: alternatives. In my opinion, there is a great need for the subversive power inherent in this idea. This alone makes it possible for us not to become prisoners of everyday life, slaves of lifestyle patterns strongly suggested by contemporary mass culture.

8. It cannot be overlooked that these three expectations – that there is a need for interpretive, dialogical and critical literacy – are closely linked to the future of *democracy*. Without the interpretive potential of literacy, citizens can be manipulated. Without the dialogical potential of literacy, there will be no discourses needed for democratic decision-making – or they will be misunderstood, and finally, without the critical potential of literacy, citizens will feel aversion toward all changes. However, this also means that in a democracy we presuppose the *democratization of literacy*. If our future depends on the will of the ignorant masses, we can expect the worst, but this recognition does not

⁵ MÁTRAI Zsuzsa, „Új korszak küszöbén: a túlélés pedagógiája”, *Iskolakultúra*, 19(2009) 3-4. sz. 122–128.

have to disappoint us in democracy: at least in principle, it is also worth counting on „educated people” as an alternative.

9. From the last third of the 19th century the establishment of *mass education*, then the gradual increase of the age limit in compulsory education in the 20th century, and also the expansion of secondary education which was partly independent from the aforementioned increase – children and young people go to school for at least 10 years, but mostly 12 years in all developed countries – seem to establish a good foundation for the program to democratize literacy. Practically every schoolchild meets the curriculum that conveys traditional literacy. But without any particular proof, we are quite aware that this does not mean that everyone acquires this literacy, more precisely, only a narrow segment of students – those with high socioeconomic status – will continue to acquire true literacy in school, and the knowledge gained by others will „remain within the walls of the school.” Modern mass education – to varying degrees from country to country – is reproducing ignorance.

10. A counter-intuitive thesis: Education does not convey traditional literacy because it is not competence-based. What does this mean? I refer to competence as a practical proficiency in a given field, in other words it means you have an expertise in a certain field. Each competence consists of three components. The first component consists of knowledge and automatic skills, that is those elements of knowledge that can be drilled separately, without context. Schools typically convey and expect this type of knowledge, so in this case we can call this kind of knowledge a (school-)bookish knowledge since the other two components are missing. The second component can be described as a certain kind of situational awareness: not only do I usually know when to do things, but I can also identify situations I have already experienced: now it is appropriate to apply a particular knowledge element. This can only be done in real-life situations, by gaining experience. Finally, the third component is a sense of commitment: not only am I able to do a certain thing, but this ability is important to me, I am interested in that field.⁶ Note that not only driving or first aid can be described as a competence like this, but also the expertise in history or physics. However, in these areas, school-bookish knowledge typically develops into a competence only outside the school – for those who later work in either field. The others forget everything and have no chance of putting their knowledge into practice in a fundamentally different communication process.

11. I argue that the main direct obstacle to acquiring literacy in school is the uniformity of the curriculum and its breadth-based nature. By *uniform*

⁶ KNAUSZ Imre, „A kompetencia szerkezete és a kompetenciaalapú oktatás”, *Iskolakultúra* 19(2009) 7–8. sz. 71–83.

curriculum, I mean that in the curricula it is centrally determined what subjects should be taught in a given grade of school and what kind of curriculum should teachers cover during their teaching process. The Hungarian framework curricula also specify the amount of time to be devoted to each topic. In addition, since the 1978 curriculum, the genre-specific features of these documents – tabular, database-like curricula – have moved the control of educational content towards precise standards. The standardized curriculum does not pay attention to the fact that students differ in the sense of their capability regarding what they can acquire and to what extent. The material should be “handed over” regardless of whether or not the children understand it or are interested in it. Ignorance is reproduced.

12. By *breadth-based* curriculum, I mean that it is supposed to contain everything we think (the government thinks) is part of traditional literacy. The belief behind this idea is that the adult members of society will only know things that has been learnt in school. However, due to this curricula are overcrowded. We do not have time for those two things that really counts in developing competences and conveying literacy/education: to raise *interest* and to *apply* the knowledge *in practice*. These two things are obviously linked. An interest in a material can be raised by the very fact that the learner experiences in practice: this fable is about him/her, it is connected to his or her life and thus it can of some use. However, this requires that the teacher is freed from the constraints of continuous progress. In fact, the breadth-based nature of a curriculum also makes the curiosity of the learner fatal: if the learner asks questions, you cannot progress with the material.

13. Such education is *exclusive* in nature. It is seemingly democratic, because it teaches the same things for everyone, but in fact, it excludes from education, and thus also from the nation those who lack the motivation and learning abilities coming from their family background. This mechanism primarily affects the poorest – and particularly the Gypsies among them. Education, which should be the most important channel for advancement from extreme poverty, with its current system, with its insensitivity towards the students’ own cultures, deprives young people of the hope of success in the field of education.

14. Although the *gap* between the school and the child is most pronounced for the poor, it must be remembered that this gap is becoming more and more common and is in fact the normal state of education. The mass culture in which young people live, the structures of everyday life do not require literacy. These structures can be more and more described as a world that has no past and no social memory, a world in which tradition is dysfunctional. Tradition could only gain a function if a meaning-based education, which also has an in-depth nature,

could teach young people how to look beyond their daily lives and to wake up to their true situation.

15. *In-depth* teaching is a necessary but certainly not a sufficient condition for a meaningful and interest-oriented reform of education. By in-depth teaching I mean that the topics are not to prepare the grounds for the next one, but they can carry their own message. They allow students to ask questions and to learn independently, thus it is never possible to foresee exactly what elements of knowledge will be processed. Its basic purpose is to raise interest and motivation. It does not seek to teach the system of science, but rather its method. Of course, in-depth teaching means that some truly important elements of the canon of cultural literacy are not taught.

16. Below, I will outline the main counterarguments to in-depth teaching. *Students are disadvantaged because they do not learn important things that are necessary for life.* In connection with this, it is worth remembering what the difference is between technical knowledge and what Aristotle called *phronésis*.⁷ If we are to achieve a well-defined goal, we can exactly describe what knowledge we need to achieve it, no element can be left out of this. Most professional knowledge is like this. However, there are other activities in our lives: actions (praxis). These are the acts of communication that result from living among people and constantly having to agree with other people. Such actions are characteristic of private life, education and public life. The characteristic of these actions is that we do not foresee their end, so we do not foresee what kind of knowledge (practical wisdom) we will need to achieve a result.⁸ I argue that education is an important (though may be not an exclusive) component of this practical wisdom. The more we know, the more effective we will be, but no one on Earth can say in advance what knowledge we will need. Thus, all general education curricula are somewhat arbitrary. The lists of the centralized curriculum reflect political intentions rather than the interests of the students.

17. If the syllabus differs in schools, it causes all sorts of *practical problems*. One example of this is that this would, in principle, narrow down the permeability of the school system. In my opinion, this is not a strong argument; as in practice schools rely very little on the knowledge students obtained elsewhere. The competences acquired by the learner are more important than whether he/she covered certain curriculum elements in a thematic sense during his/her prior studies. A more serious problem is that the selective school system is not

⁷ ARISTOTLE, *Nicomachean Ethics*, transl. Roger CRISP (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 1139b-1140a.

⁸ Hannah ARENDT, *The Human Condition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1998); KNAUSZ Imre, „Kétféle tudás: Újabb adalékok a kompetenciafogalom differenciáltabb értelmezéséhez”, in KNAUSZ, *Műveltség és demokrácia, op.cit.* 340–351.

only a temple for conveying knowledge but also a field of competition, and this competition is fair only if everyone learns more or less the same things. It should be emphasized here that a competency-based exam system does not necessarily have to be built on the same syllabus, as long as the competences examined are clear and the rules are public. There are several examination methods that do not require the uniformity of topics, yet the results are comparable. Of these, I would like to highlight the project-type final exams that exist even today (but only for some subjects), where the candidates themselves determine what they want to achieve and mobilize the knowledge needed for that particular task.⁹

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I recommend the above theses for the attention of the drafters of a prospective democratic public-education policy.

Translated by Ingrid Alexovics

My major publications on the topic:

KNAUSZ Imre, „A kompetencia szerkezete és a kompetenciaalapú oktatás”, *Iskolakultúra* 19(2009) 7–8. sz. 71–83.

KNAUSZ Imre, *A múlt kútjának tükre: A történelemtanítás céljairól*, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2015)

KNAUSZ Imre, *Műveltség és demokrácia: Kísérletek a pedagógia bírálatára 2010–2018*, Taní-tani Könyvek 2 (Budapest: Demokratikus Ifjúságért Alapítvány, 2018)

KNAUSZ Imre, „A nyílt végű kérdés: Mit üzen a komplex instrukciós program a közoktatásnak?”, *Taní-tani*, 2 February 2019. Online: tani-tani.info – December 2019.

⁹ KNAUSZ Imre, „Műveltség, tanterv, vizsga”, in KNAUSZ, *Műveltség és demokrácia*, op.cit.. 361–371.

People with Reduced Mobility in the Western Transdanubian Labour Market¹

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Keywords: statistics on disabled workers, under-representation of the target group in employment, employers – difficulties in employing / intending to work, proposal system for employment promotion

1. Introductory thoughts

My scholarly interest in the employment situation of people with reduced mobility is slowly going back a decade. My interest in the topic arose from my family interest, and as a result, over the years, it has become one of the main directions of my research work. In addition to being personally involved, I also consider the topic important, because the census data of the last twenty years or so, with a decline in the number of people with disabilities, the steady increase in the number of people with reduced mobility and draw attention to their extremely unfavourable employment situation. The topic is not negligible, because by 2050 not only the population will be significant – Eurostat 2018–2100 „Population Prediction”² according to data 8% – decrease but also as the population ages, which is a phenomenon at European level.³ The increase in the age of the worker must be taken into account, which may be required by all people of working age, including rethinking the employment of people with reduced mobility, to make the current economy work.

The legislature has made a number of legislative changes in recent years, brought, in to promote greater employment of people with disabilities, however, there is still no significant change in their occupational status.

¹ Excerpt from my doctoral dissertation on the labour market integration of persons with reduced mobility in adolescence and adulthood: KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, *Ifjú- és felnőtt korban mozgáskorlátozottá vált személyek munkaerő-piaci integrációjáról*, PhD thesis, (Budapest: ELTE PPK Neveléstudományi Doktori Iskola, 2017)

² Central Statistics Office of Hungary, Population Predictions (2018–2100) Online: ksh.hu – November 2019.

³ GÁBOS András és KOPASZ Marianna, „Demográfiai folyamatok”, in *TÁRKI-unicredit Európai Társadalmi Jelentés*, szerk. TÓTH István György, (Budapest: Társki Alapítvány, 2008) Online: www.tarsadalomkutatas.hu – November 2019.

My primary goal in researching this topic was, to look into the human factors in Western Transdanubia's employer practices with favourable economic and employment performance, which, on the one hand, constitute barriers on the employers' side, and make it more difficult for young people and adults to employ / retrain disabled people with disabilities, on the other hand, an examination of the employee's intention to work, exploring these difficulties has been the guiding principle of my research work. My choice was for Western Transdanubia with favourable economic indicators, because I assumed that, and that the employment opportunities in the open labour market are more favourable with favourable economic indicators, and are more likely to find work in areas that are otherwise excluded from production, with less frequent economic indicators, people with disabilities who want to work.

I also thought it necessary to go deeper into the subject, because, to the best of my knowledge, domestic literature⁴ has not dealt with the direct examination of the employment situation of people with reduced mobility up to the present time. Over the past decade, researchers in general, the employment difficulties of people with visual, hearing and intellectual disabilities were studied, similarly in foreign mainly German and English research,⁵ paying less attention to examining the employment situation of people with reduced mobility statistics, which is on the increase abroad.

2. The research experience gained by the employer

One of the main questions in my research was whether there was an employer need – the willingness of large companies in the western region to have an open labour market, for the employment of people with reduced mobility? The results proved that the private sector did not demand the work of people with reduced mobility, especially those in severe need of equipment, even in Western Transdanubia under good economic conditions. The reason for this is that large companies are rational players in the labour market, thus considering not only the level of employment but also its cost-effectiveness. Employers do not seem to be worth it, employing people with severe disabilities in jobs that could

⁴ KRÉMER Balázs, *A megváltozott munkaképességű emberek és a nyílt munkaerőpiac. Kutatási zárótanulmány*, (Budapest: Revita Alapítvány, 2008) 23.

⁵ Susanne A. DREAS und Jens SCHULTZ, *Analyse zur Erwerbsituation von Menschen mit Behinderung in Hamburg. Behörde für Arbeit, Soziales, Familie und Integration*, (Hamburg: Koordinierungsstelle Weiterbildung und Beschäftigung e.V., 2015) Online: kwb.de – November 2019.; Ralph FEVRE and Deborah FOSTER and Melanie JONES and Victoria WASS, *Closing Disability Gaps at Work, Deficits in Evidence and Variations in Experience*, (Cardiff: Cardiff University, 2016) Online: orca.cf.ac.uk – November 2019.

be filled by healthy workers.⁶ Thanks to a legal loophole, they are replacing their employment obligations by employing workers with disabilities, primarily those with health problems, who have not been forced to make physical and work environment accessible, thus investing heavily.⁷ Nor do the existing state aids, in my view, encourage large companies to employ more. The rehabilitation quota introduced as a negative incentive did not exert any significant pressure to increase the employment intention of large companies until January 2017. 1 to, because the annual net sales for all large companies involved in research and research were significantly higher than the penalty paid as a rehabilitation contribution.⁸ Large companies saw the obligation to contribute to rehabilitation as a form of tax, which they must pay in the event of failure to meet the legal employment level. In my experience, most companies tend to plan the type of tax in their budget, – even though it occasionally touched the corporate „budget” – not to take on the perceived or real risks and extra tasks of employing disabled people, in this case disabled persons.⁹ As far as the impact of the drastic increase of the rehabilitation contribution in 2017 on employment is concerned, to my knowledge there is no recent research data, therefore, it is not known how the employment practices of multinationals have changed or changed.

Employers in the open labour market are reluctant to employ people with reduced mobility, because, as rational economic actors in society, the primary purpose of employment is to make a profit, therefore, they employ only people whose employment does not impose any additional financial, moral burden on the company. It is a common experience that companies have averse and

⁶ KRÉMER Balázs, *A megváltozott munkaképességű emberek, op.cit.*, Recalls: KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, *Ifjú- és felnőtt korban, op.cit.*

⁷ KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „Paradigmaváltás a mozgáskorlátozott emberek foglalkoztatásának társadalmi megítélésben Nyugat-Dunántúlon”, in *XX. Apáczai-napok. Tudományos Konferencia. Tanulmánykötet. „Semper reformare”*, szerk. LŐRINCZ Ildikó, CD-ROM, (Győr: Széchenyi István Egyetem Apáczai Csere János Kar, 2017)

⁸ KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „Társadalmi-gazdasági változások hatása a fogyatékos személyek munkavállalási helyzetére, a rendszerváltást követően”, in *XV. Apáczai Napok. Nemzetközi Tudományos Konferencia. A társadalmi-gazdasági változások hatásának tükröződése a XXI. századi gyógypedagógiában*, szerk. LŐRINCZ Ildikó, (Sopron: Nyugat-Magyarországi Egyetem Apáczai Csere János Kar, 2012) Online: www.ak.nyme.hu – June 2016. 29. p.; KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „Fogyatékos személyek foglalkoztatását segítő hazai és nemzetközi törvények koherenciája”, in *Gyógypedagógiai Szemle*, 44(2016) 3. sz. 233–242., 240.; SZELLŐ János, *A rehabilitációs kvóta és hozzájárulás hatása a munkáltatók befogadói magatartására Magyarországon*, Kutatási záró tanulmány, (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2013) Online: feek.pte.hu – November 2019.)

⁹ CSEH Judit, *A megváltozott munkaképességű személyek nyílt munkaerő-piaci foglalkoztatásának munkáltatói aspektusai*, PhD thesis, (Pécs: PTE KTK Regionális Politika és Gazdaságtan Doktori Iskola, 2015)

People with Reduced Mobility in the Labour Market

unspoken aversion to „visible“ disability. In fact, people with disabilities are not considered to be fully-fledged workers. Their employment is often perceived as a constraint and a necessary evil due to legal regulations, since there is no economic / financial gain in their application, and in addition, employers often have to deal with special needs in relation to their work and start time, and all this is compounded by the frequent alcohol problem during their use. Employment of people with disabilities 'humps on society', even for subsidiaries of large foreign-owned companies in Western Transdanubia, although due to the mentality of parent companies, CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility) activities should be dominant in their employment practices. It is a common experience that CSR in large local companies is focused on retaining employees who become incapacitated due to illness or accident, primarily to work for the company – however, this procedure is not common to all companies' employment practices. It is much more common for large companies to abandon workers who become disabled.

Jobs for people with reduced mobility in the open labour market are mainly due to companies' short-term financial interest in specific situations, they are also mostly awarded at the time of winning the application money or at the end of the application period.

Low employment rates in the open labour market, according to research experience, not just employers' attitudes. People with reduced mobility do not seek to become employees either.

People with reduced mobility in adulthood do not seek employment in the open labour market even if they have the opportunity, because in most cases they do not have the qualifications that would make them fit for work in the competitive sphere. The fact that health status is highly dependent on social status also plays a role.

Open labour market employment is further complicated by the fact that the majority of people with disabilities rarely seek self-employment, although the employment situation in the region is very favourable. This is partly due to barriers from the family and society. On the one hand, the overworked, overly fearful family environment, which attempts to compensate for the trauma suffered by discouraging the injured family member from working, and rather the intact family member undertakes more work in order to make a living. On the other hand, the lack of accessibility, which often implies the appearance of accessibility for a company, because in fact stair lifts are virtually unused everywhere. The long-standing problem at regional level, the lack of low-floor buses, which often results in inability to access workplaces by public transport or difficulties for people with reduced mobility.

People with reduced mobility are often prevented from working by a negative self-image due to lack of self-confidence, which, over time, leads to self-denial, to a complete loss of hope – to complete social isolation, as a result, even the possibility of working may not exclude a person with reduced mobility as an adult from the limited intent of the worker as a result of apathy.

3. Research experience gained on the employee side

Research results have shown that there is a parallel between employers' limited willingness to work and those of people with reduced mobility. People with reduced mobility also have limited access to employment in the open labour market. People with reduced mobility who want to work, do not necessarily target large companies in the private sector, aim for employment, in addition to being a potential employer in terms of hiring, they are a potential work space for them, with inclusive employer behavior. One reason for this is that people with reduced mobility who want to work can only enter the labour market due to their physical condition, which, regardless of their qualifications, allows them to perform mostly manual or administrative, alternative or possibly light physical work, even for an indefinite period. Most of them are unable to work several hours at a time, despite the permissive statutory provision, even though they were allowed by the legislature to work without a time limit, they need rest, in addition to having to use the restroom more often than healthy workers, which is not tolerated by all employers.

Another reason is that these people believe that they are not forced into subordinate work by working in an „affiliate community” with accredited organizations. People with severe disabilities who have previously been excluded from the labour market may not be willing or able to take on the challenges of the open labour market due to their physical and mental condition. The „fraternity community” is a very strong community forging – a cohesive force that also directs the intent of workers with reduced mobility towards the need to work in the „fraternity community.” In the case of accredited employers, callable government subsidies are linked to the number of employees, and whereas non-productive businesses, and thus no 'productivity cap', are created to increase the number of employees, therefore, they can only employ workers with disabilities within pre-defined grant frameworks without increasing the number of employees. Low state subsidies are a major obstacle to maintaining accredited employers, given that they are not even worthy of employing people with disabilities under the existing financial conditions.

4. Employer – employee barriers to open labour market employment

Successful employment is weakened, in particular, by the lack of interest on the part of the labour market, which can be attributed to both employers and employees, and is mainly explained by a lack of policy measures that do not. No full, economically rational and lasting matching of supply and demand in the labour market.¹⁰

From employer page:

The current subsidy system for the employment of people with disabilities does not make large companies in the open labour market sufficiently motivated, either financially or morally, to employ people with disabilities. Increasing the *negative employment incentive* – rehabilitation contribution until January 1, 2017 was not a clear motivating factor for employment.

The concepts of the current legal framework for employment are also uncertain. From the point of view of employment, the relevant law classifies disabled people as persons with disabilities in their broad, inaccurate definition of disabled people. As a result, the incidence of employing other categories of disabled workers in the open labour market is extremely high, weakening the employability of people with severe disabilities, including people with reduced mobility.

From the employee side:

Major obstacle to successful employment is the lack of complex occupational rehabilitation, which, based on the individual's remaining abilities, could make physically and mentally disabled people willing to work for open labour market employment.

Employee side will not increase their intention to work, Act LXXXIII. 42 / C. § (1) (d)) amendment of the law, considering that, in addition to their existing benefits, they can earn a higher, sometimes higher, income, subject to a statutory salary cap, if they are employed by an accredited employer than the guaranteed minimum wage in an insecure open labour market.

As a summary of my research, the reason for the low open labour market employment of persons with reduced mobility in the young and adult age is rooted in the mutual prejudice and disparity between employers and employees in the West Transdanubian region. It was visible on both the employer and employee side of the research, which was not solved by the favourable economic conditions

¹⁰ KOMÁDI Mónika és KURUCZ Győző és SZABÓ Gyula és PÁL Zsolt, *A megváltozott munkaképességű munkavállalók foglalkoztatásának támogatása négy EU-s tagállamban. Tanulmány*, (Debrecen: Re-vita Alapítvány, 2008) 6.

and employee situation, a serious obstacle to the successful integration of people with reduced mobility into the open labour market today.

5. Importance of research

The issue of the open labour market position of people with reduced mobility and the effectiveness of policy measures to support the employment of the target group, the effectiveness of legislative changes and the monitoring of changes in their employment situation, as well as the employment interest / counter interest of the employer and employee side surrounding the study of the subject, to the best of my knowledge, neither domestic nor foreign research has dealt with in recent years. My pilot research in the West Transdanubian region undertook an exploratory study of the problem, trusting that the results obtained will be refined on a broader representative sample, the results of which will respond to the real needs of people with reduced mobility, – not formulated by the majority society – your work – care needs.

The research succeeded in putting together an „Employment Proposals System” that summarizes the suggestions that can further facilitate the employment of those affected on the labour market, based on the employment / employee difficulties of the employer and the employee.

6. Suggestion system for the employment of people with disabilities

(6.1.) Open labour market employment could be better served by the establishment of a differentiated incentive scheme for employers, where the level of support or rehabilitation contribution would depend on the employer ‘s willingness to comply with his or her employment obligations by employing a disabled or ill person.

(6.2.) In order to promote employment, it would be advisable to create a „quota fund” which, without restrictions and accompanied by appropriate government aid, could help to achieve the training /retraining, social, economic and environmental conditions necessary for the employment of disabled workers in the open labour market.

(6.3.) The amount paid by employers to the general government for the purpose of the rehabilitation contribution is a form of taxation which, in its present form, does not serve to improve the employment situation of the population concerned. It would be advisable to divert it away from other types of tax, purposefully devoted to what has led to the creation of a form of tax, so to support the rehabilitation of workers with disabilities.

(6.4.) Successful employment in the open labour market requires a uniform legal definition of 'disabled person'. The current employment system does not support the employment of people with disabilities, given that the concept of 'disabled person' is broad and encompasses several homogeneous groups – people with disabilities (Szabó, 2012). In order to achieve successful open labour market employment, a more differentiated employment and support system based on a clear set of concepts would be needed.

(6.5.) The relevant responsible government should, by setting a good example of employment, employ more people with disabilities in the public sector, after appropriate training / retraining.

(6.6.) The relevant responsible government should provide a guarantee for the employment of people living in the margins of society. The Fundamental Law should be complemented by the intention to employ disabled people in non-segregated workplaces. At the same time, the responsible state should ensure that people with disabilities have the opportunity to choose freely between employment in the open labour market and sheltered employment, based on the 'nothing about us without us' principle. In the case of a majority claim, jobs should be created and maintained with a state guarantee.

My major publications on this topic:

KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „A kvótarendszer hatása megváltozott munkaképességű, mozgáskorlátozott emberek integrált foglalkoztatására – Fókuszban: Nyugat-Dunántúl tíz legnagyobb vállalata”, *Gyógypedagógiai Szemle*, 44(2016) 2. sz. 109–121.

KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „Fogyatékos személyek foglalkoztatását segítő hazai és nemzetközi törvények koherenciája”, *Gyógypedagógiai Szemle*, 44(2016) 3. sz. 233–242.

KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, *Ifjú- és felnőtt korban mozgáskorlátozottá vált személyek munkaerő-piaci integrációjáról*, PhD thesis, (Budapest: ELTE PPK Neveléstudományi Doktori Iskola, 2017)

KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „Paradigmaváltás a mozgáskorlátozott emberek foglalkoztatásának társadalmi megítélésben Nyugat-Dunántúlon”, in *XX. Apáczai-napok. Tudományos Konferencia. Tanulmánykötet. Gondolkodási struktúrák és kreativitás*, szerk. LŐRINCZ Ildikó, CD-ROM, (Győr: Széchenyi István Egyetem Apáczai Csere János Kar, 2017)

KOMJÁTHY Zsuzsanna, „Van-e út négy keréken a munka világába?”, in *Tanulmánykötet a Magyar Gyógypedagógusok Egyesülete 46. konferenciáján elhangzott előadásokból*, szerk. GEREKEN Ferencné és CSERTI-SZAUER Csilla, (Budapest: Magyar Gyógypedagógusok Egyesülete és az ELTE – Bárczi Gusztáv Gyógypedagógiai Kara, 2018) 248–256.

The Types of Gypsy – Non-Gypsy Cohabitation. The Example of a Local Transsylvanian Community

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Introduction

The examination of the cohabitation of gypsies with other ethnic groups is considered a highlighted area of anthropological and sociological research. Nevertheless there are only a few approaches trying to standardize these cohabitation situations. Is there a different pattern of the cohabitation of gypsies and the majority society? If yes, what kind of dimensions allow us to catch it? Examining the gypsy-Hungarian connections in some Transsylvanian settlements Zoltán A. Bíró and Sándor Oláh classify the gypsies' relations to the majority into 3 types: 1. *"full separation"* – In this case a group of rich gypsies is sufficiently separated from the majority in social and cultural terms. The reason for their separation is that they do not have to rely on the resources of the Hungarian majority and their economic strategy is fully independent. 2. *"separation with conflicts"* refers to poor gypsy communities, which need using the local resources. They choose separation as an answer to the negative strategies (stigmas, stereotypes) of the majority Hungarian community. In this case the economic connections between the two parties are rare. If they exist, they operate in an asymmetrical form. 3. *"embedded model"* refers to the situation when the relationship between gypsies and Hungarians has different areas. In this case the patron-client connection is characteristic which means working regularly for Hungarian families. The gypsies live among the Hungarians, their segregation is over. Their way of life is becoming similar to the one of the members of the majority society. Sometimes there are marriages between the two groups.¹ In the categories made by Bíró and Oláh the participation in the economic division of labour and the place in the integration process meet each other. There are

¹ BÍRÓ A. Zoltán és OLÁH Sándor, „Helykeresők. Roma népesség székelyföldi településeken”, in *Helykeresők? Roma lakosság a Székelyföldön*, szerk. BODÓ Julianna, (Csíkszereda: KAM – Regionális és Antropológiai Kutatások Központja, 2002) 13–48., 46.

The Types of Gypsy – Non-Gypsy Cohabitation

only a few gypsy communities in the Carpathian basin which can pick up a living outside the local community and are not dependent on the local resources.

After examining the cohabitation relations in three local communities Gábor Biczó concludes that these border-land settlements are all rated deprivational periphery on the basis of the same geographical features and other general indicators. Although they are described by the same macro-processes (the increase of the gypsy population, migration, ageing, impoverishment etc.), from the anthropological perspective they contain various and non-standardized stages where it is impossible to apply general theses. According to Biczó if we want to reveal the social relations of the communities living together we can do it only if we take the specific variables of the local area into consideration on the basis of systematic anthropological field work. In this way the future results can serve as a base for an authentic agenda which helps integration move forward.² I fully agree with Biczó's statement and I think that research can contribute on revealing and understanding cohabitation practice by field work involving local social-historic context. However, it does not mean that the examination of cohabitation practice cannot be specified. To be exact, I do not believe in a prefabricated typology. Instead, I emphasize the importance of the systematic listing of the determining factors of cohabitation practices and the patterns of their connections.

The determining factors of the cohabitation situations

Hereinafter I am trying to systematize the factors influencing cohabitation and to reveal their connections. The factors affecting local cohabitation are the following:

1. From the perspective of local cohabitation *the number of the ethnic communities living together* is very important. If there are two communities, we call it a bipolar cohabitation situation. If there are three communities, it is called a multi-ethnic cohabitation situation. The cohabitation pattern of the two types is completely different. In the Carpathian basin both the bipolar and the multi-ethnic cohabitation are very common.

2. A crucial factor of the cohabitation relation is *the number of people belonging to the ethnic communities, the majority-minority rate*. It can be specified by statistical methods depending on the rate of the given community in the local

² Biczó Gábor, „Alkalmazott társadalomtudományi kutatások és a roma kisebbségi közösségek integrációja – kortárs kihívások”, in *Peremhelyzetben*, szerk. BOCSI Veronika, (Debrecen: Didakt Kft, 2015) 11–30., 14.

cohabitation situation. 1. insignificant minority (under 10 %) 2. minority (10–25 %) 3. significant minority (25–49 %) 4. majority (50–75%) 5. vast majority (above 75 %).

3. Regarding the cohabitation patterns *the origin of the partial community* which can be *autochthon (native)* or *allochthon (settled in)* is a determining factor. In the first case cohabitation has existed for a long time and in the second case it is shorter. The relations of the two groups are entirely different. Allochthon groups can be connected with migration processes and due to the migration the population of one of the groups living together is increasing or decreasing.³

4. If allochthon communities live together, *the recruitment of the partial community settled in is also important* because the cohabitation pattern is crucially different if the recruitment is from rural or urban areas.⁴

5. We have to examine that in the majority-minority relation *which ethnic community share the local area: the one belonging to the state ethnicity or the minorities*.

6. *The social structure of the partial communities living together* plays an important role in their connections. It can be divided into two types. 1. The cohabitating communities have a partial society with a full structure. 2. The gypsy community has a society with a full structure, but the society of the non-gypsy community is eroded (ageing population with low economic and social status). The social structure of the partial communities influences the characteristics of the connections. In the second type the economic-social, the ritual and the cultural connections are becoming narrow.

7. *The inner distribution of the gypsy community* is highlighted in the gypsy-Hungarian cohabitation practice. It is basically linked with the economic status which depends on the state of the integration process.

8. *The ethnic identity of the local gypsy community* effects cohabitation. 1. undertakes gypsy identity 2. hides gypsy identity 3. does not undertake gypsy identity.⁵

³ Biczó Gábor, „Szempontok az etnikai együttélés egyensúlyi helyzeteinek elméletéhez”, *Kultúra és Közösség*, 3(2012) 3–4. sz. 23–36., 23.

⁴ Biczó, *Szempontok az etnikai együttélés...*, *op.cit.* 23.

⁵ FEISCHMIDT Margit, „Kényszerek és illeszkedések. Gazdasági és szimbolikus stratégiák aprófalvakban élő romák életében”, *Szociológiai Szemle*, 22(2012) 2. sz. 54–84., 81.

9. *The differences in subsistence strategies* influence the nature and the quality of the connections to a great extent. Basically there are three types: 1. equal 2. different 3. partly overlapped.

10. *The existence or the lack of spatial separation* is a fundamental factor in cohabitation practice. Between full segregation and spatial integration there is a third type, mixed settlement.

11. *Research divides the connections between partial communities into three types:*⁶ 1. economic (basically the patron-client relationship or the lack of it) 2. man-made (brother-in-laws) 3. ritual connection or the lack of it (common congregation). Their frequency and intensity effect on the local modalities of the meetings.

12. The gypsy-Hungarian cohabitation is based on opposition and means an assymetric connection, *the approach of the gypsy community to the local discrimination practice* is crucial. 1. They accept it and build it into their self-image. 2. They try to reduce it. One of the possible reducing strategies is to join different segregations. In this case not only the believers, but also the local community become more recipient towards the gypsies.

13. Both historic and recent examples show that *the relationship between the local elite and the gypsies* determine the patterns of cohabitation and their chances for integration. If the local elite is supportive there are less conflicts. In case of repulsive attitude there are more conflicts during cohabitation.

14. *The prejudice of the majority society and the stereotypes about gypsies* are crucial for the characteristics of the connections. Where there are less or no stereotypes at all, the cohabitation strategies are less formal.⁷

15. *The question of the maintenance or the demolition of the ethnic boundaries* is a determining part in the examination of the cohabitation situations. Mixed

⁶ SZABÓ Á. Töhötöm, „Határképzés – egy multietnikus falu térszerkezete”, in *Népi kultúra, társadalom Háromszéken*, szerk. DIMÉNY Attila és SZABÓ Á. Töhötöm, Kriza Könyvek 17, (Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, 2002) 120–129.

⁷ BICZÓ, *Alkalmazott társadalomtudományi kutatások, op.cit.* 14.

marriages between ethnic communities represent the fading or the disappearance of the ethnic boundaries.⁸

Gypsies as the keepers of Saxon culture

The examined settlement Uila / Weilau / Uila is located 21 km from Reghin in the county of Mures. In the village there are very diverse forms of cohabitation of ethnic groups from the end of the 18th century. In the settlement populated by the Saxons in the 14th century, the Gypsies appeared at the end of the 18th century.⁹ For a long time the bipolar coexistence between the two ethnic groups was the norm. However, in the 20th century, the ethnic composition of the settlement changes significantly. This leads to the transformation of the former bipolar coexistence into a multiethnic one through the emergence of the Romanian and Hungarian population. This is based on a fundamental change in the socio-political system. On the one hand, the change of empire, through which the former Hungarian authority was replaced by the Romanian in 1920, and on the other hand by the collective expulsion of German minorities following the Second World War, and then the clearance of the remaining Saxons during the socialist period. The villages left empty by the Saxons moved mainly to the Orthodox Romanians of the old Kingdom and Vlach Romanies. Families of different religions, cultures and values were settled in Saxon houses, who did not know and considered valid the interethnic relations and cohabitation patterns that had formed in Transylvania over centuries. As a result, the after life of the once-flourishing Saxon settlements is characterized by a „shocking destruction”. In this context, the Gypsies appear as the destroyer of the Saxon cultural heritage in the early 1990s in the public opinion in Romania. The most striking forms of this were the vast destruction of the Saxon’s cultural heritage, the complete disappearance of economic and cultural life, and the destruction of the natural environment. After the change of regime, prejudices against the Roma have increased strongly in Romania. These very often resulted in anti-Gypsy pogrom in the 90s. In the midst of such public opinion, the overtaking of the evangelical church of the resettled Saxons in 1990 by the Gypsies in Uila receive great media coverage and their aspiration is to continue their cultural traditions along with the Saxon religion. ZDF Television, in its documentary about the Transylvanian situation of the Saxon cultural heritage, both records the process of destruction and presents Transylvania’s largest evangelical community,

⁸ KOVÁCS Éva és VIDRA Zsuzsa és VIRÁG Tünde, „Az etnicitás reprezentációi és mindennapi gyakorlati”, in *Kint és bent. Lokalitás és etnicitás a peremvidékeken*, szerk. KOVÁCS Éva és VIDRA Zsuzsa és VIRÁG Tünde (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2012) 78–111.

⁹ István KEUL, „Neubauern und lex-Saxonum. Evangelisch-lutherische Roma in einer ostmitteleuropäischen Region”, *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft*, 10(2002) Nr. 2. 195–223., 201.

The Types of Gypsy – Non-Gypsy Cohabitation

all of whom are Gypsies. The academic sphere, which has never shown interest in the Gypsies in Uila, was also intrigued by the unusual phenomenon at first sight. Researchers typically living in Western Europe began to study local conditions. After a long archiving and on-site investigation, István Keul prepares a comprehensive study of the Gypsy community in Uila's role in the Evangelical Church. Remarkable is the study by the authorship of Marushiakova–Popov,¹⁰ who interpret the Uilan processes in connection with Brubaker's ethnicity concept. Doing like this, they investigate the formation of what they call Roma micro-communities in the Eastern European region. In their comprehension, Roma groups are not static social and cultural formations, but also historical phenomena, which can be interpreted as two tendencies: the process of consolidation and segmentation, under the influence of different components. In the case of the Gypsies in Uila, the fact that they follow the religion of the Saxons according to their own perception, plays a pivotal role in the development of the micro-community. This distinguishes them from all the other Roma groups. The following of the Saxon religion could only have become a basic identification component among the local Gypsies after 1990, when the settlement was left without Saxons and the Lutheran church was given over to them. It became a decisive moment, because there were other Lutheran Gypsies living in the surrounding settlements, but after they converted to the Orthodox religion after 1945, they could not possess the Saxon church from 1990, so the Saxon religion could have become a determining factor to them. From 1991 the Uilan Gypsies became full members of the Evangelical Church, of which they made up the vast majority of. Today, 170 ward members are made up exclusively of Gypsies. They are the largest non-urban congregation of the Transylvanian Lutherans.¹¹

The chart below shows the previously detailed factors determining the local cohabitation situation on the basis of the cohabitation in Vajola between 1945–1990.

¹⁰ Elena MARUSHIAKOVA, and Vesselin POPOV, „Segmentation vs Consolidation: The Example of Four Gypsy Groups in CIS”, *Romani Studies*, Series 5, 14(2004) Nr. 2. 145–191.; Elena MARUSHIAKOVA, and Vesselin POPOV, „The Birth of a Group. Two Roma Micro-Groups in Bukovina and Transylvania”, *Transylvanian Review*, 26(2017) Nr. 3. 109–124., 118.

¹¹ „Evangelische Kirchengemeinde A.B. WEILAU”, *Biserica Evanghelică C.A. din România*, Online: evang.ro – December 2019.

factors influencing co-habitation patterns	communities living together	Saxon	Vlach gypsy	Hungarian	Romanian
ethnic rate	insignificant minority				
	minority				
	significant minority	+	+	+	+
	majority				
	vast majority				
use of space	segregated		+		
	non-segregated				
	mixed settlement	+		+	+
types of relations	patron-client relationship	+	+	-	-
	man-made relationship	+	+	-	-
	ritual relationship	+	+	-	-
social structure	full	+	+	+	+
	eroded				
types of gypsy identities	undertaken		+		
	hidden				
	is not undertaken				
origin of the population	autochton	+	+		
	allochton			+	+
number of communities living together	bipolar				
	multi-ethnic	+	+	+	+
belonging to a congregation	common			+	+
	different from the other local ethnicity	+	+		
attitude of the local elite	supportive	+	+	+	+
	repulsive				
rate of integration	traditional				
	integrated	+	+	+	+
types of ethnic connections	with conflicts				
	without conflicts, trying to reach the balance of the ethnic relations	+	+	+	+
	not entirely without conflicts, but balanced				
types of economic connection	intensive				
	non-intensive	+	+	+	+
	no discrimination	+	+	+	+
	accept, build in the self-image				

The Types of Gypsy – Non-Gypsy Cohabitation

relation to discrimination	try to build in				
demolition of stereotypes	highly stereotyped				
	is not stereotyped	+	+	+	+
the recruitment from the allochton population	migration from rural areas			+	+
	migration from urban areas				
communities living together	belong to the state ethnicity				+
	belongs to the minority ethnicity	+	+	+	
the social structure of the communities living together	partial societies with a full structure	+	+	+	+
	the gypsy community has a full social structure, the non-gypsy communities have an eroded social structure				
subsistence strategies	common				
	different				
	partly overlapped	+	+	+	+
mixed marriages	characteristic				
	is not characteristic	+	+	+	+
	slightly characteristic				
	characteristic to a large extent				

The chart shows the multiethnic cohabitation situation after 1945 in Vajola, where Romanians, Hungarians, Gypsies and Saxons live together. While mixed settlement is characteristic for the Romanians, the Hungarians and the Saxons, the local Gypsies have a segregated residential area next to Bátos in the edge of the village. The Gypsy and the Saxon partial communities are autochtn (native), while the members of Romanian and the Hungarian ethnic groups have allochton (immigrant) origin. Both immigrant ethnic groups came to Vajola from a rural environment. The Hungarian ethnicity is Catholic, the Romanians are Orthodox, the Saxons and the Gypsies are Lutheran. As the Saxons and the Gypsies follow the same religion and use the same church, they have a strong ritual relationship. However, the Gypsies do not pay contributions, that is why they do not have an equal status in church. As a consequence of the previous patron-client relationship between 1945 and 1990 it is still common that a Gypsy child has Saxon godparents. It is not characteristic for the Romanians and the Hungarians. Each partial community in the settlement has a full social structure, an erroded structure is not typical. The cultural bounderies between the groups

are rigid. Everybody lives according to their own norms and ethnic traditions. These lines can be hardly crossed, almost there are not any mixed marriages. Basically the living strategies of the different ethnic groups do not diverge from each other in the socialist system, they overlap to a great extent. The economic connection between the ethnic groups are not intensive, because they are regulated locally by the economy of the state. The ethnic relations are free of conflicts aiming at balance. The image of the Gypsies is not stereotyped, stigmatizing and discrimination by the other ethnicities are not characteristic. When we compare the situation before 1945 and after 1990, we can find crucial differences. Let me introduce the ethnic and religious situation of Vajola in its historic progress and the characteristics of the ethnic relations.

In the settlement populated by the Saxons in the 14th century, the Gypsies appeared at the end of the 18th century.¹² For a long time the bipolar coexistence between the two ethnic groups was the norm.

In the local society, the Saxon ethnicity is decisive, in which case the identity of the Gypsies is formed in a Saxon-Gypsy relationship. At this time the Gypsy population, even if in a patron-client relationship, is part of the peasant culture. The usual stereotypical image about them does not develop, because they are working, reliable and clean. They have a peasant lifestyle: the poor peasantry lifestyle. They live in a patriarchal relationship with the Saxons, at whom they work as servants or day-laborers. They also maintain and operate a smaller peasant farm. A shortage of labor comes up in Saxon peasant farms. As a result, Uila's local Gypsy population performs agricultural work as their livelihood depends on this, and not merely complementary activities either.¹³ The services of Gypsy musicians play an important role in Uila, but they are fundamentally linked to the agricultural activities of the Saxons in the work processes. This gypsy community, as a result of coexistence with the Saxons, is also ahead of the rest of the peasantry, a clear evidence of this is the lower number of children in the early 20th century, and the early abandonment of traditional clothing.

In this period of time, since the Romanian language is neither important for the Saxons nor for the Gypsies, so it could not become an intermediary language; therefore naturally, the Gypsies learn the Saxon language and follow their religious traditions.¹⁴ Gypsy children go to school with Saxons. And from this time on, as a result of the close coexistence, a very strong Saxon cultural influence affects the Gypsy culture. This is also reinforced by the artificial

¹² KEUL, *Neubauern und lex-Saxonum*, op.cit. 201.

¹³ MARUSHIAKOVA-POPOV, *Segmentation vs Consolidation*, op.cit. 118.

¹⁴ KEUL, *Neubauern und lex-Saxonum*, op.cit. 206.

The Types of Gypsy – Non-Gypsy Cohabitation

relations between Saxons and Gypsies. Gypsy parents often ask their Saxon owners to become their children's godparents. This relationship does not work on a parity basis, but it is the basis of the close asymmetric coexistence of the two ethnicities. However, apart from a single exception, a mixed marriage is not made between the two ethnicities, and the Gypsies' houses on the edge of the village were separate from the Saxon's. The two ethnicities lived together, but the cultural boundaries were completely separated. Spatial segregation had existed since the Gypsies moved to the village, and does not change until the end of the 20th century. Saxons constituted the majority of the village population, dominating the economic, ecclesiastical and cultural life.

In the post-regime period, with the final emigration of the Saxons, the Gypsies, Romanians and Hungarians are present in the settlement with almost the same number. The role of the Saxons' religion, language and cultural traditions is becoming more important among the Gypsies in Uila.

Gypsies of Uila who preserve their ethnic identity continue to exalt the Saxon religion in the village as a special legacy of more than 200 years of coexistence with the Saxons. The situation in Uila is truly unique and special. In the former Saxon church, ethnically Gypsy believers of the Lutheran religion can continue to keep the old Saxon traditions during worship in the Romanian language.

Finally take a short look at the ethnic relations after 1990 and the factors influencing them. There are two determining factors in this period. On one hand the social-economic-political frames changed fundamentally after the collapse of the Communist regime. The consequences most influencing the local community are the restitution of the private property, the pluralism of the political system and the change of the previous status of the church as a victim. On the other hand the emigration of the Saxon after the regime change had a significant effect on the society. The exit of the Saxon from the local community had crucial consequences concerning the Gypsies.

Translated by Zsuzsanna Békésiné Bodnár

My major publications on the topic:

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Monitoring Studies of the Values of the Youth

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1. Introduction, theoretical framework

Mapping the views of the youth is relevant in every era and is essential from different points of view to understand this generation's life circumstances and way of thinking. Nowadays, primarily the overall youth research of secondary students and adolescences is set to carry through this aim every four years. Among the studied fields, the revelation of the determining values of this generation's behaviour and preferences is especially essential.¹ Nowadays as a result of the depreciation of traditional values and the consequence of diverse ways and walks of life the value-choices of any individual have significantly expanded. The number of influential factors have increased, their importance have changed. The influence of the family, peer groups, the school or workplace has been exceeded by the media in many cases.

The examination of young people's value dimension and attitude has become more and more stressed since the '90s in Hungary.² As in this period the social, cultural, economical, political and institutional framework significantly altered, and we could observe the individualization, the pluralization and differentiation of lifestyle, the overshadowing of traditions.³ According to a number of authors an image of a society bearing fragmented values has evolved up till now. However, young people have to make their decisions concerning their own future in this uncertainty promoting, network world.

¹ *Negyedszázad. Magyar ifjúság 2012*, szerk. NAGY Ádám és SZÉKELY Levente, (Budapest: Iuvenis Ifjúságsszakmai Műhely – ISZT Alapítvány – Excenter Kutatóközpont – Új Ifjúsági Szemle Alapítvány, 2016), Online: – November 2019.; *Pszichológia pedagógusoknak*, szerk. N. KOLLÁR Katalin és SZABÓ Éva, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2004) Online: tankonyvtar.hu – November 2019.; FAZEKAS Anna és DOBÓ István, „Őn és tükörkép: identitás, értékek”, in NAGY–SZÉKELY, *Negyedszázad, op.cit.* 308–338.

² BAUER Béla, „Az ifjúság viszonya az értékek világához”, in *Ifjúság 2000. Tanulmányok, I*, szerk. SZABÓ Andrea és BAUER Béla és LAKI László, (Budapest: Nemzeti Ifjúságkutató Intézet, 2002) Online: ncs-szi.hu – November 2019. 195–208.; FAZEKAS–DOBÓ, *Őn és tükörkép, op.cit.*

³ Ulrich BECK, *Risikogesellschaft*, (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1986) Idézi: KAPITÁNY Balázs. A rizikó-társadalom másfél évtizede, *Szociológiai Szemle*, 12(2002) 1. sz. 123–133.

The outcome of recent research shows that Hungarian values – according to their position on the Inglehart axis – is secularized, worldly-rational, characterized by close thinking; although a higher rate of open thinking can be observed at younger ages.⁴ What more, in case of younger individuals' future plans the importance of human relations exceed the role of materialistic possessions, and the post-materialistic values – regarding importance – overtake materialistic values.⁵ This generation – compared to its predecessors – makes a more multicoloured, more independent, more separated, more heterogeneous social group. Altogether with these, they must face the diversity of upcoming patterns, their unsure effects, and as a consequence the ambivalent nature of individual decisions rise.⁶ In spite of the gradualism of changes, the tendencies outlined above can be well reflected in the periodically recurring outcome of the researches concerning – inter alia – revealing the relationship between the value orientational processes at schools and the values of the youth.⁷

In my view the investigation of the subject outlined above, from the point of view of practical pedagogy is justified at schools as well. Members of the Z generation growing up in our days, differ from the preceding generations in many ways; they need a whole different educational-training medium, institutional surroundings, learning methods and devices, thus it's instructive anyway to map the influential values of their socialization and personal formation, which can mean a starting point to plan the changes.

It's a feature of the Z generation, making today's secondary student age group, that the new habit- and culture-creator digital world, the info-communicational technology plays an outstanding part in their socialization. This generation is made up of young people who are bound to the net, who spend

⁴ KELLER Tamás, „Magyarországi értéktérkép: normakövetés, egyéni teljesítmény, szolidaritás és öngondoskodás elfogadottsága a magyar társadalomban”, *Szociológiai Szemle*, 20(2010) 2. sz. 42–70.

⁵ *Család és karrier. Egyetemi hallgatók jövőtervei. Országos kutatás. Gyorsjelentés*, szerk. ENGLER Ágnes, (Budapest: EMMI Család- és Ifjúságügyért Felelős Államtitkárság és Három Királyfi, Három Királylány Mozgalom, 2017) – November 2019.

⁶ FAZEKAS-DOBÓ, *Őn és tükörkép*, op.cit.; GÁBOR Kálmán, „Az ifjúságkutatás irányai a kilencvenes évek-ben”, *Educatio*, 4(1995) 2. sz. 191–207.

⁷ NAGY-SZÉKELY, *Negyedszázad*, op.cit.; *Magyar ifjúság 2012. Tanulmánykötet*, szerk. SZÉKELY Levente, (Budapest: Magyar Közlöny- Lap- és Könyvkiadó, 2013) Online: Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, mek.oszk.hu; *Magyar fiatalok a Kárpát-medencében. Magyar Ifjúság Kutatás 2016. Tanulmánykötet*, szerk. SZÉKELY Levente, (Budapest: Kutatópont Kft. és Enigma 2001 Kft., 2018) Online: kutatópont.hu – November 2019.; *Magyar Ifjúság Kutatás 2016. Az ifjúságkutatás első eredményei. Ezek a mai magyar fiatalok!*, szerk. SZÉKELY Levente és SZABÓ Andrea, (Budapest: Új Nemzedék Központ, 2017) Online: ujnemzedek.hu – November 2019.; GÁBOR Kálmán, „Ifjúsági értékorientációs folyamatok”, in *Érték – iskola – család*, szerk. BOROS László és RÉT Rózsa és GELLÉRINÉ LÁZÁR Mária, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993) 127–154.

considerable part of their lives in the online world, socialize on social networking sites in a large measure, develop their relationships in this field, and many of them feel confident here. But in the real world they are often lonely and isolated. Their learning habits have also gone through significant changes. For them the world wide web is the primary database, the checkpoint, not their teachers. Choosing, analysing and synthesising the relevant information, the separation of real and unreal information is not always unproblematic. By means of this age group the notion of reading has also gained a new meaning. They prefer shorter texts, they process information more glibly, their reading comprehension skill is often under the level. They are intelligent, but their emotional intelligence is not advanced enough. Their attention-sharing skills are outstanding, their multitasking skills are great, they are capable of doing different tasks at the same for a long time, although they can not keep their attention concentrated for a long time. At the same time they are continuously urged to act, they can adapt to changes in a very short time. Being motivated, making own decisions is extremely important for them. Practical way of thinking and an advanced sense of criticism characterize them. But the fact that they prefer more independent forms of learning, they need enriched surroundings, fast flow of information and immediate feedback means big problems for the teachers when delivering the curriculum. They have big problems with timing, they often postpone their tasks. due to the overnight net surfing they are deconcentrated and tired at school the next morning.⁸

The above listed specifics generally characterizing the Z generation require reorganization of the system of activities at schools, and along with this the execution of facilitating, helping, supporting repertoire of teachers. All these include the more prioritized personal development and community building, of which foundation can also be supported by the richer methodical knowledge. For making a situation analysis diagnoses monitoring measures and follow-up actions, summarising assessment a number of methods is known of which transaction is simple, even can be carried out within a home room class, the outcome can be easily fed back, can be capitalized adequately to pedagogical aims and intentions.

⁸ Marc PRENSKY, „Digitális bennszülöttek, digitális bevándorlók”, ford. KOVÁCS Emese, *NCB University Press*, 9(2001) Nr. 5. Online: goliat.eik.bme.hu – November 2019.; TARI Annamária, *Z generáció*, (Budapest: Tericum Könyvkiadó, 2011); KLENOVITSNÉ ZÓKA Tünde, *Digitális nemzedék, megváltozott pedagógus-kompetenciák*, (2012) Online: prezi.com – November 2019.; PÁL Eszter és TÖRÖCSIK Mária, *Irodalmi áttekintés a Z generációról*, (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2013) Online: ktk.pte.hu – November 2019.; PAIS Ella Regina, *Y és Z generáció mint a jövő munkavállalói*, (2013) Online: kormanyhivatal.hu – November 2019.

2. Recognition of technical college students' value dimension by a value preference-questionnaire

Within the frames of my empirical research from the quarry of methods, I chose an instrument (giving the chance to recognize the value contents) which – on relatively big patterns –, but can be applied in one single class only. The adapted version of Júlia Szekszárdi's value preference-questionnaire⁹ is applicable for revealing both the students' value dimensions and their attitudes hidden in the background. The monitoring instrument can be classified into eleven categories and five value groups. It formulated fifty-five desired values:

Value groups connected to personal development:

1. Talents, abilities
2. Educational career

Value group concerning relationships

3. Peer group, friends
4. Love
5. Family

Value group reflecting the need for freedom

6. The opportunity of free decision
7. The chance of unlocking biological boundaries

Value group attached to the future

8. Service of society, humankind
9. Fame, fortune

Value group attached to consumption

10. Unlimited financial resources
11. Entertainment

During the individual written test all the figures had to be rated on a 1-5 scale (according to the standard of importance), where 1 was the less important and 5 is the most preferred rate. The students had the chance to complete the list with a wish not included. I inserted two more questions into the original questionnaire as students along with a justification, had to earmark those two

⁹ SZEKSZÁRDI Júlia. „Példa az értékvizsgálatra”, in *Nevelési vizsgálatok a pedagógiai gyakorlatban*, (Veszprém: Veszprémi Egyetemi Kiadó, 2001) 54–57.

Monitoring Studies of the Values of the Youth

wishes to which they related with the most positive and most negative attitudes.

The venue of the applied research was a Miskolc secondary school, where the circle of attendants was made up of the whole 9th college year with four classes of the 2013/14 academic year (N=107) and the students of the 12th college year of the 2016/17 academic year (N=94).

The importance of the research mainly was the fact that with the help of the comparative examination the results became comparable, the change and constancy of value contents was trackable. Furthermore, in spite of the diversity of the applied instruments and the differences arising from the size and character of the pattern, in many aspects the outcome was very similar to those of the great patterned youth researches. This way there was the possibility to draw the same conclusions.

Based on the aggregated results of the empirical research, we can state that in both examined period with regard to the preference of the value groups, the same ranking evolved, although, until 12th year – based on the average scores – all the groups lost from their importance.

1. Secondary students' value preference by value groups

Ranking	Value Groups	Average Scores	
		2013/14	2016/17
1.	Personal development	406,4	352,0
2.	Relationships	402,2	339,6
3.	Need for freedom	374,6	336,9
4.	Consumptional	348,0	295,1
5.	Future	341,2	272,6

The rates belonging to the same value group are not following each other, this was strengthening the stronger and weaker bonding, so with regard to importance the assessment of many values was the same, but it is also imaginary that the given answers were not consequent in many cases. (Figure 2) Anyway, the individual unfolding and from the-micro-environmental factors only relationships and the role of the family are prime for the students. At the same time, it is not true for their school careers, which could found their predominance in life, because they neglected this factor even in their 9th year, and as a school leaver they set even less store by it. Presumably the school type also played an important role in this, because for students learning here, a good job means the perspective, not further education. at the same time in their lives love and family has a distinctive role; alike university students, for whom this

value was a highlighted significance.¹⁰ When judging this latter one we must take into consideration the fact of the number of commuting students. In smaller settlements family ties are stronger and two-thirds of the pattern are provincial. It is a bit surprising that in both examined periods students showed weaker bonding towards their peer group. This fact definitely poses the question: How could online friendships, priority of relationships and the high rate of commuting students influence this outcome? Being service of society at the bottom of the ranking is not only a characteristic of secondary students, but also of university students, who turn towards themselves and their families and depart from others.¹¹ Refusal of fame and fortune –being whether real or unreal values behind it – is also on a high rate. Arts and sciences are also far from the interests of technical college students, and this feature has not changed through the years.

2. Students value preferences by categories

Ranking	Categories 13/14	Aggregate score	Categories 16/17	Aggregate score
1.	Love	2222	Talents, abilities	1976
2.	Talents, abilities	2193	Love	1838
3.	Family	2028	Free decision	1801
4.	Free decision	1972	Family	1742
5.	School career	1871	Financial possessions	1607
6.	Service of society	1851	Biological boundaries	1568
7.	Financial possessions	1847	School career	1544
8.	Peer group, friends	1783	Service of society	1539
9.	Biological boundaries	1774	Peer group, friends	1515
10.	Free time, entertainment	1633	Free time, entertainment	1344
11.	Fame, Fortune	1561	Fame, fortune	1187

Referring to specific wishes, in accordance with the above shown groups and categories, among 9th year students only the relationship group (love and family) rates were dominant; while with school leavers, besides relationship values, personal development wishes were favoured. This change reflected the appearance of the Z generation characteristics well, their ability of flexible adaption to different real-life situations, and the recognition of the importance of foreign language skills at the labour market. The order of the most rejected values has somewhat altered, although, it stay the same from the point of view,

¹⁰ SZÉKELY-SZABÓ, *Magyar Ifjúság Kutatás 2016, op.cit.*

¹¹ ENGLER, *Család és karrier, op.cit.*

that within the 'future' group it included the rates of service of society and humankind. The negative relationship with arts and sciences of students with technological attitude has gained reinforcement again. In an analogue way with other researches, young people's low level political activity has also been shown.¹² Regard high level refusal of gambling services and unlimited internet use a positive development, although, in this latter case the widespread use of ICT devices also contributed to the de-emphasising of internet surfing. It was typical of both patterns, that drawing up individual wishes strengthened the 'personal development' and 'relationships' value groups', and the 12th year students' justified positive and negative value choice was bound to the basically preferred and refused groups. Comparing the value choice of 9th and 12th year students, we can see that in spite of the shifting emphasis, the 'personal' and relationships groups were preferred, whereas the 'consumption' group and the 'service of society' category were the most refused.

3. Summary, the dedication of the method

With the help of the presented instruments I obtained clear picture of the current judging of value contents in an anonym way on each college year. We can get even more information if we make a questionnaire with names, every answer explained, within a specific class. This way it is possible to reveal the reasons and attitudes determining students' value choices, to recognize their hidden personality features. To identify the similarities and differences between students in a class. is also possible. This way teachers can get information to help develop their students' personality and form the community in the class. At the same time students can also face the important and less important values for them and their classmates' value preferences. Based on these, in a home room class or as an after school activity, they can talk about, discuss the multi-coloured world of values, the preferences, motivation, the porticoes causes.

Translated by Gergely Kresák

¹² SZÉKELY-SZABÓ, *Magyar Ifjúság Kutatás 2016, op.cit.*; KELLER, *Magyarországi értéktérkép, op.cit.*

My major publications on this topic:

KOVÁCSNÉ DURÓ Andrea, „Egy értékpreferencia-vizsgálat tanulságai”, in *The Publications of the MultiScience – XXIX. microCAD International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference*, (Miskolc: University of Miskolc, 2015) Online: uni-miskolc.hu/~microcad – November 2019. 1–8.

KOVÁCSNÉ DURÓ Andrea, „Álmok és vágyak egy neveltségi vizsgálat tükrében”, in *A pedagógusképzés XXI. századi perspektívái*, szerk. PÉNTEK Imre és SZÁLLASSY Noémi és ZSOLDOS MARCHIS Juliánna, (Kölozsvár: BBTE Pedagógia és Alakalmazott Didatika Intézete és DOCEO Egyesület, 2016) 13–20.

KOVÁCSNÉ DURÓ Andrea, „A középiskolás tanulók értékdimenzióinak és attitűdjeinek megismerése”, in *Pedagógiai mozaik*, szerk. SZÓKE-MILINTE Enikő, (Budapest: PPKE BTK, 2019) 99–112.

Leave Music out of it! An Experiment in the Reinvention of Hungarian Verse Translation

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Keywords: 20th century Hungarian literature, canon, translation, *Nyugat*, politics, meter

Surprising as it may seem, when it comes to questions of form, politics and verse translation are uniquely and inextricably linked. The practice of verse translation in Hungary was shaped in the 20th century by the tenets of the literary journal *Nyugat* (West). The first generation of young *Nyugat* writers were profoundly influenced by French symbolism and, with respect to verse translation, they aspired to live up to Verlaine's demand "*De la musique avant toute chose*". This requirement of faithfulness to form has remained unquestioned right up to the present day. Here is the first stanza of the translation of Edgar Allan Poe's poem *The Raven*, which was completed in 1923 by Árpád Tóth (1886–1928), a representative of the first generation of contributors to *Nyugat*: „Egyszer egy bús éjféltájon, míg borongtam zsongva, fájon / S furcsa könyvek altatgattak, holt mesékből vén bazár, / Lankadt főm már le-ledobbant, mikor ím valami koppant, / Künn az ajtón mintha roppant halkan roppanna a zár, / »Vendég lesz az”, így tünődtem, „azért roppan künn a zár, / Az lesz, más ki lenne már?«, Szabolcs Várady kindly informed me, that some decades ago, in a conference held in Atlanta, Georgia (USA), after having listen to it, the audience easily recognised the original of the poem.

In the second half of the last century, the state – while monopolizing resources, including cultural life, in the name of the class struggle – by means of the editorial board of the Európa Publishing House, which played a central role in the publication of world literature, permitted the preservation of the principles of literary translation embodied by *Nyugat*. From our point of view, the forty years of Communist-oriented cultural policy resulted in three decisive factors: the need for a radical restructuring of the literary canon; the goal of popular education; and the availability of practically endless resources devoted to book publishing. The last of these refers to both financial and human resources, since, for a period of ten years, those writers and poets who were unable to accommodate themselves to writing in the Stalinist spirit (“after 1948, the poets and writers of *Újhold* [a literary quarterly] were under prohibition, and the

anathema began to expire only in the last fifties, early sixties¹), rather than producing their own works instead devoted themselves to literary translation and children's literature, which meant that standards in these two genres were significantly raised. The small number of publishing houses, which were exclusively owned by the state, thus published large numbers of books, in huge print runs, and at a low cost. And although *Nyugat* ceased publication in 1941, and the cultural monopoly exercised by the Európa Publishing House disappeared in 1990 along with the Communist regime, these institutions, along with their staff and followers, enjoyed such enormous prestige that the form-oriented principles of literary translation shaped by *Nyugat* in the course of 100 years have only been seriously challenged in the last few decades.

Translation has always played an important role in Hungarian literature. The first extant Hungarian poem, the 13th-century Old Hungarian Lamentations of Mary (*Ómagyar Mária-síralom*), is an adaptation of a Latin verse. Since that time, Hungarian translations of foreign works of literature have been regarded as poetry in their own right. Significantly, when Mihály Babits (1883–1941), one of the defining members of the first generation of *Nyugat* writers and one of the most important Hungarian poets of the first half of the 20th century, was asked to name the most beautiful example of Hungarian poetry, his answer was "*Ode to the West Wind* – in Árpád Tóth's translation."²

Hungarian is an agglutinative language, which creates almost boundless possibilities in terms of rhyme. Of course, when it comes to execution, this makes it rather like doing a back flip on the beam: either it comes automatically, or it's completely impossible. In Apollinaire's poem *Le Pont Mirabeau*, the word *Seine* is followed by four rhyming words (*souviennne, peine, semaines, re-viennent*). In Hungarian, however, there are very few meaningful words that rhyme with *Szajna* (Seine). While there have been many attempts to translate the poem, none of them have been particularly successful.

But to go back a step: the last quarter of the 18th century marks a watershed between old and new Hungarian literature: the number of literary translators also rose dramatically at that time. This period saw the birth of the modern Hungarian literary language: its vocabulary was revitalised with newly coined words, and translations contributed to its vigour. Why else would translations of Latin authors have been produced in a country in which, until 1836, the official language was Latin rather than Hungarian? Of course, at that time

¹ ERDŐDY Edit: „»Hároméves irodalom«,„ in *A magyar irodalom története. 1920-tól napjainkig*, szerk. SZEGEDY-MASZÁK Mihály és VERES András, (Budapest: Gondolat, 2007) 438.

² RÁBA György, „A modern magyar műfordítás”, in *A magyar irodalom története, VI*, főszerk. SÓTÉR István, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966) 858.

An Experiment in the Reinvention of Verse Translation

the only people interested in the works of Horace were those who were able to read him in the original. Thus the motivation for translations was initially, to some extent, *l'art pour l'art*, just as today literary works might be translated into Esperanto or Latin, merely to demonstrate the robustness and capability of the language. (And of course just for the fun of it...)

One of the characteristics of Hungarian is the significant difference between long and short vowel sounds. In Italian, for example, differences in stress sometimes play a role in creating differences in meaning: *canóne* (big dog), *cánone* (axiom, law, service charge). In Hungarian, however, the stress always falls at the beginning of a word, so does not affect the word's meaning. Where there is a difference in meaning, it is conveyed by the length of the vowel sound: *bor* (wine) and *bór* (boron), or *olajtó* (oil slick) and *ólajtó* (hutch door). The same principle applies in Greek and Latin, which makes Hungarian the perfect language for translating classical metric verse. Go into any shop in Hungary, and at the cash desk you will see a notice informing those who require a personal VAT invoice that they need to request one in advance: "Áfás számla igényét, kérjük, előre jelezze". The sentence is a perfect hexameter.

If it's this easy, you might be forgiven for thinking that ancient works of literature written in classical verse form would always have been translated into Hungarian using the original meter. But that's not the case. By the second half of the 19th century, national romanticism and folk-influenced verse forms had become almost equally dominant, and, other than these, poetry was at most written in some kind of blank iambics. At the same time, classical verse forms went out of fashion. Thus, in the second half of the 19th century, Ancient Greek and Latin poetry were translated into rhyming verse.³ (Hexameters, for example, were translated into rhyming lines, like some kind of Hungarian alexandrine, in which each line was made up of twelve syllables divided by a caesura.)

Literary translators of this school thus rendered not only the *words* of their source text into Hungarian, but even the verse form itself.⁴ Today, such an approach appears hopelessly old-fashioned and amusing, although in the second half of the 19th century it was as modern as gas lighting. Significantly, even the renowned German classical philologist Ulrich von Willamowitz-Möller argued in favour of the translation of form. He claimed, for example, that it would be inappropriate to translate French classical drama into German alexandrines, since, although French and German alexandrines are similar in structure, they are significantly different contextually. (See also the debate of Babits and the

³ SZILÁGYI János György, „Catullus noster”, *Antik Tanulmányok*, 25(1988) 2. sz. 236–242.

⁴ POLGÁR Anikó, *Catullus noster, Catullus-olvasatok a 20. századi magyar költészetben*, (Pozsony: Kalligram Kiadó, 2003) 48–84.

young Károly Kerényi, especially the former's note to his paper "Translating Dante" – *Dante fordítása*.)⁵

In any case, by the beginning of the 20th century, ancient verse forms had become so unfashionable in Hungary that one of the most famous literary translators of the day, Antal Radó (1862–1944), posed the following question in his 1909 book "The Art of Translation" (*A fordítás művészete*): "Would any poet writing today really choose the Alcaic stanza in an effort to move their readers?" And, with equal gusto, he provided an answer to his own question: "Of course not!"⁶

However, Radó was unaware of one important poem: that same year saw the publication of Mihály Babits's first volume, which I mentioned earlier, "Leaves from Iris's Wreath" (*Levelek Írisz korszorújából*), in which the opening poem, *In Horatium*, was indeed written in Alcaic stanzas. Babits was one of Hungary's most important poets, and from 1929 until his death in 1940, he was editor in chief of *Nyugat*. Interestingly, what can be regarded as a revolutionary literary innovation was, in fact, nothing other than a virtuoso poet resurrecting an ancient verse form after a gap of around 70 years.

Many of the important poets who belonged to the first generation of *Nyugat* writers were also among the most important translators of literature. Their aim was to render the rhyme, meter and verse form of their source text as accurately as possible, sometimes even at the expense of accuracy in terms of content.

One of the greatest achievements in Hungarian literary translation is Mihály Babits's translation of the *Divina Commedia*. Exploiting the unique properties of the Hungarian language, he renders the hendecasyllabic lines, which are based on word stress, using a verse form based on syllable length – that is, in place of the stressed iambus he uses the metric iambus, while reproducing Dante's *terzina* using the original rhyme scheme. The translation, produced between 1913 and 1923, is now 100 years old and remained unchallenged until very recently, its place in the canon being apparently unassailable.

In any case, the world of Hungarian literary translation seems exceptionally conservative. On one occasion, when I was discussing Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* during an Italian-themed presentation, I asked a friend of mine how you say "Let me play the lion too" in Italian. She didn't know. Or rather, her reply was that there are many different and equally acceptable translations of the line. In Hungarian, however, the version of this line – among

⁵ BABITS Mihály, *Esszék, tanulmányok*, 1, kiad. BELIA György, Babits Mihály művei (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1978) 811–814.

⁶ RADÓ Antal, *A fordítás művészete*, (Budapest: Franklin-társulat, 1909) 95.

An Experiment in the Reinvention of Verse Translation

many others – that appears in the translation by János Arany, who is widely regarded as the greatest poet of the 19th century, has become a part of the Hungarian language, as “Ide nekem az oroszlánt is!”

Babits’s translation of the *Divine Comedy* is equally canonical. In the last 100 years, however, various new translations have emerged, including one in prose, although, tellingly, the latter, otherwise very good translation, was done not by a literary figure but by a doctor of theology and remains almost entirely unknown.⁷

The following example was given by Ádám Nádasdy, modern translator of *Divine Comedy*, in a radio show. “Apri la bocca”: these words are to be found in Paradise, canto 27, line 64: It’s a very simple sentence: an Italian dentist might use the exact same words today to ask a regular patient to open their mouth. Babits, however, translated the sentence as follows: “ajkat tárva szólalj” (“utter with lips unsealed”). Each of the three words in this sentence is refined – in fact, even if you replace the words with everyday synonyms (“speak with an open mouth”, the sentence still sounds extremely mannered. When Nádasdy (1947) produced a new translation of the *Divine Comedy*⁸ 100 years after Babits, his rendering of the same source text was “nyisd ki a szád” (“open your mouth”).

Babits and his contemporaries thus adhered to the specific demands of fidelity to form and content, while regarding the style and syntactical structure of a text as less determinative.⁹ In practice, this is how poetry continues to be translated right up to the present day, and nothing has changed in the last 100 years: the greatest possible faithfulness to form, with the greatest possible accuracy in terms of content. The rules of verse translation have apparently been laid down once and for all, and the task of translators in any era is to follow those rules even more faithfully than their predecessors.

Until very recently, and perhaps even today, poets who are at the same time translators of literature have formed a majority in the world of Hungarian literature. As I mentioned earlier, Hungarian verse translations are, in themselves, works of poetry. What is more interesting is the fact that, while literature and poetry have undergone various revolutionary changes in the last 100 years, such that the poetry being written today is entirely different from that written a century ago, the principles and practices of literary translation have remained virtually unchanged.

⁷ DANTE Alighieri, *Isteni színjáték*, ford. SZABADI Sándor, (Budapest, Püski Kiadó, 2004)

⁸ DANTE Alighieri, *Isteni színjáték*, ford. NÁDASDY Ádám, (Budapest, Magvető Kiadó, 2016)

⁹ RÁBA György, *A szép hűtlenek (Babits, Kosztolányi, Tóth Árpád műfordításai)*, Irodalomtörténeti könyvtár 23, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969)

It is telling that the enormously popular translations of Villon, published in 1937 by György Faludy (1910–2006), cannot be regarded as faithful in terms of either content or form. The popularity of the translations is doubtless owing to the fact that they perfectly capture the ambience of the age: they speak in the voice of the hit films and chansons of the 1930s. Faludy's work remains popular today (among readers), although in the intervening years it has become entirely outmoded (in terms of translation), while other translations that were published in the same era, which were faithful in terms of both form and content, have apparently stood the test of time.

It can thus be argued that the principles of literary translation followed by the first generation of *Nyugat* writers were further developed organically by the second and third *Nyugat* generations in the years leading up to the Second World War, and that it was these principles that ultimately prevailed on the highly competitive literary market (where the competition was certainly not democratic, but aristocratic, or rather meritocratic).

Oddly enough, the Communist takeover in 1948 preserved this state of affairs for more than 40 years. Certain members of the second and third *Nyugat* generations nevertheless continued to play an important role in literary life in the one-party-state. (By way of an aside: at the end of the first decade of the 20th century a handful of writings were published in the journal by György Lukács [1885–1971], before he became a communist.)

For forty years, during the period known as the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the two biggest publishing houses in the second half of the 20th century (the Szépirodalmi Publishing House) was directed by Endre Illés (1902–1986), who belonged to the second *Nyugat* generation. A total of 142 of his prose writings and critical reviews were published in the journal, and, according to one recollection, even in the Communist era, he used to eat peaches with a knife and fork.¹⁰ Even before the war, Illés had been the director of a major publishing house, and, after its nationalisation, he continued to have a managerial role in various capacities right up until his death in 1986.

One of the most outstanding members of the third *Nyugat* generation, István Vas (1910–1991), a follower of Babits, was one of the managing editors at the Európa Publishing House, which, after 1956, focused on the publication of world literature. László Lator (1927), who likewise had close ties with the *Nyugat* poets, was also a managing editor. Another important figure in the publishing house was Szabolcs Várady (1943), himself a follower of Vas during his youth.

¹⁰ KÖSZEG Ferenc, „Versailles”, *Magyar Narancs*, 20(2008) 13. sz. 52.

An Experiment in the Reinvention of Verse Translation

In summary, the second and third *Nyugat* generations further elaborated the practice of progressive literary translation that had been shaped by the first generation of *Nyugat* writers 100 years earlier, which, from its monopolistic position, was then canonised. This took place mainly in the period of consolidation that followed the 1956 revolution, although it had already begun earlier. By way of reminder: during the Stalinist period in Hungary, between 1948 and 1957, those great writers who refused to subjugate themselves to the Communist state were able to express themselves openly exclusively in the genres of literary translation and children's literature. In an effort to unite Hungary following the defeat of the 1956 revolution, János Kádár, secretary general of the party, famously declared that "Those who are not against us are with us", after which the left-wing *Nyugat* writers, and the members of the next generation, gradually (with few exceptions) found their places within the framework of centralised literary politics – largely because there was basically no place whatsoever outside it. (There were extremely few openly oppositional, dissident writers, like György Petri [1943–2000] in the 1970s and 1980s.)

Although the Communist era came to an end almost thirty years ago, two of the old, state-owned publishing companies continue to play a determining role today, while their former editors, who upheld the *Nyugat* principles of literary translation, retired only around ten years ago. Their influence remains inescapable, and the only reason this is not more noticeable is that, in today's market conditions, few publishing companies are currently willing to take on the publication of verse translations.

The principles of verse translation, shaped 100 years ago and merely perfected ever since, have only begun to be questioned in recent years. Significantly, the initiative has come from the world of theatre, where Ádám Nádasdy, who, besides being a poet, is also professor of English phonetics, has stirred up quite a storm with his numerous translations of Shakespeare. Looked at from the perspective of communication, theatre demands a contemporary text that is understandable on first hearing, whereas the classic, 100-year-old translations are simply incomprehensible in many places.¹¹

Nádasdy's emergence as a revolutionary has been gradual: his Shakespeare translations are in keeping with the old principles – that is, still in a spirit of faithfulness to content and form – although at the same time the vocabulary has been strikingly modernised. However, this still cannot be regarded as a repudiation of the earlier principles: after all, if Shakespeare typically used the everyday language of his own age, a faithful translation is one that likewise

¹¹ MINIER Márta, „Tényleg, mint egy jó parodista. Beszélgetés Nádasdy Ádámmal a műfordításról”, *Holmi*, 13(2001) 1. sz. 31–41., 36.

reflects everyday speech. But Nádasdy has recently introduced a third aspect as well: that of faithfulness to grammar and syntax. This is something that can be achieved only at the expense of faithfulness to form. When a translator endeavours to render a given content within the framework of a given form, it generally demands a significant transformation in terms of a third aspect – that of grammatical structure and word order. For Nádasdy, faithfulness to content is all important, which is precisely why he translated the *Divine Comedy* in non-rhyming, iambic blank verse – thereby provoking keen debate.¹²

It is worth noting that the 72-year-old Nádasdy, who, in terms of the subject matter of his love poetry, is one of Hungary's few gay poets, does not belong to any particular school of poetry. When I asked him who he first showed his work to when he began writing poetry, he named one of his friends, a critic, and a colleague in the Department of English, also a poet, but one who belongs rather to the Anglo-Saxon lyrical tradition and who has no strong, personal ties to Hungarian tradition.

Nádasdy has also translated Keats' *Ode on a Grecian Urn* into non-rhyming iambics: to my mind, the resulting work sounds in Hungarian rather like a cross between Shakespeare and Horace. His most provocative work is his translation of Verlaine's *Chanson d'automne*, which he renders into prose, entirely abandoning both rhyme and rhythm.¹³

Nádasdy can thus be seen as something of a first swallow, although it remains to be seen whether he will make a summer... Recently other, younger, poets have likewise experimented with prose translations of poetry, although this is apparently not the result of careful deliberation, but a matter of sheer necessity. In the last ten to fifteen years, what has happened is that formal restrictions have become unfashionable (not for the first time in the history of Hungarian poetry), and certain poets do not even know the rules of rhyme and meter. This is all the more apparent if, despite this, they nevertheless attempt to translate using hexameters or alexandrines, for example. Readers of such translations might well have the feeling that they are trying to dance in shackles. (This metaphor was used by Dezső Kosztolányi [1885–1936] with reference to the translation of poetry in general.)

To close, I will read Árpád Tóth's 1917 translation of *Chanson d'automne*, followed by the version translated into free verse by Nádasdy in 2018.

¹² SÁRKÖZY Péter, „Az új »magyar Dante«. Nádasdy Ádám Isteni Színjáték-fordítása”, *Magyar Napló*, 29(2017) 4. sz 17–24.

¹³ NÁDASDY Ádám, „Az ősz hegedűi (Verlaine *Őszi dala* és magyar fordításai)”, *Jelenkor*, 61(2018) 3. sz. 273–281.

An Experiment in the Reinvention of Verse Translation

Ősz húrja zsong,
Jajong, busong
A tájon,
S ont monoton
Bút konokon
És fájón.

S én csüggeteg,
Halvány beteg,
Míg éjjél
Kong, csak sirok,
S elém a sok
Tűnt kéj kél.

Óh, múlni már,
Ősz! hullni már
Eresszél!
Mint holt avart,
Mit felkavart
A rossz szél...

* * *

Az ősz hegedűinek
hosszú sóhajai
egyhangúan, bágyadtan
sebzik a szívemet.

Amikor üt az óra,
elfúlva és sápadtan
emlékszem a régi napokra,
és sírok;

aztán megyek, ahogy
elfúj a rossz szél,
mely hord ide-oda,
mint száraz levelet.

Nádasdy's experiment can hardly be called successful: I felt obliged to tell him that, while his translation may have something to do with autumn, it has very

little to do with song. Nevertheless, whatever the result, it seems that finally, after 100 years, a first serious challenge has been made to traditional classical Hungarian verse translation.

My major publications on the topic:

Régi magyar műfordítások. Válogatás 1900-ig, szerk. KŐRIZS Imre, (Budapest: Unikornis Kiadó, 2001)

KŐRIZS Imre, „Kortársunk-e Martialis?”, *Holmi*, 14(2002) 6. sz. 817–824.

KŐRIZS Imre, „Átvitt értelem”, *Ókor*, 3(2004) 2. sz. 90–92.

KŐRIZS Imre, „Isteni játék”, *Műút*, 61(2016) 5. (59.) sz. 72–75.

KŐRIZS Imre, „A nyugalom megzavarása”, in *Holmi Antológia 1989–2014*, szerk. RADNÓTI Sándor, (Budapest: Libri Kiadó, 2017) 402–416.

Social Imaginaries as Reflected in Adolescent Diaries during the WWII

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Keywords: diaries, holocaust, Hungary, antisemitism

My research gives an overview of social imaginaries as existing in individual world views between 1938 and 1956. With an interdisciplinary approach, it investigates how this period was viewed by those who lived in it, and what factors and impacts affected the image they formed about their age. It also strives to find an answer to the question how these actors imagined the community they lived in, how they positioned themselves in it, what aroused in them the feeling of familiarity, strangeness or aversion, and to what extent this affected their behaviour and everyday decisions. My research gives the analysis of diary entries made from the year of the passing of the first act on Jews and the suppression of the 1956 revolution.

The characteristic individual structuring and system of relations of the social imaginaries acquired make up the world view, with the help of which the individual interprets the surrounding world. This world view also includes self-definitions, the knowledge about events occurring in the world as well as the mental 'map' generated about it. This latter, narrower set of imaginaries concerning the social environment is considered to be view of society in my research. This also incorporates the stereotypes, prejudice and indicators through which the individual perceives another person as distinguishable from him/herself and his/her group. The most important objective of the research is to reveal these views of society.

The adolescent age group is especially suitable for the investigation of the views of society because in their case, the family and school socialisation environment in which the process of the conveyance and acquisition of imaginaries took place while it would be much more troublesome to reconstruct this in the case of adults. The comparative analysis of diaries is hopeful to give results in the investigation of social imaginaries because in them, the authors also expressed such ideas that cannot be revealed in similar depth with the help of other sources. It is an additional advantage that their viewpoint is not retrospective. For the investigation of social imaginaries, adolescents' diaries completely neglected in Hungarian special publications so far offered themselves as

sources. Wherever it was possible, the analysis of the diaries was supplemented by that of other contemporary sources like the short stories, plays, poems and letters written by their authors. The research relies on fifteen diaries as source material. Of these, six are manuscripts in private ownership. Two of them are preserved in public collections while seven have already been published. When their authors started writing them, they were between the age of nine and eighteen. In the cases where the entries spanned several decades, the analysis was not stopped at the end of the adolescent age as in this way, the change or stability of views of society could better be grasped.

Christian and Jewish Hungarian adolescents had a basically different view of the society they lived in, which points beyond the religious affiliations forming part of their identity. In this period, adolescents of Christian Hungarian identity considered Jews a different (that is, not Hungarian) race while young people defining themselves as Hungarian Jews defined themselves as Hungarians who were Jews by religion. There is no absolutely consistent picture in the case of families and children defining themselves as Jews. Among them, there were people who considered the Jewish community a genealogical group and they regarded themselves members of it but for them, this did not generally involve that they would not ‘naturally’ consider themselves Hungarians. Depending on their identities, young people with Jewish Hungarian and Christian Hungarian self-definitions attributed a basically different meaning to the word ‘Jew’.

The self-definition of adolescents who were Hungarian Jews by religion was completely lacking from the imaginaries formed about society by their Christian Hungarian peers. This is clearly revealed by the wording of their diaries, too, as there are no such expressions as ‘Hungarian Jew’ in them at all. They only used the much more simplifying label ‘Jew’. Diarist adolescents belonged to the middle class or the petty bourgeois. They viewed themselves as the members of a ‘gentlemanlike upper class’, associated with positive notions. In their views of society, their belonging to this social stratum was affected by neither their property status nor the possession or lack of material goods. For the diarists, the expression ‘gentlemanlike upper class’ had no completely consistent meaning. In the view of society of adolescents with a Hungarian Jewish identity, labelling as ‘gentlemanlike upper class’ was related to assumed or real anti-Semitism.

Approval of and the cult of irredentism were not dependent on the different self-definitions as every diarist identified him/herself with this as all of them felt addressed by these as Hungarians. In the families where there were no such narratives about the flight of the generations of parents or grandparents, these were replaced by school excursions organised to the disannexed

Social Imaginaries as Reflected in Adolescent Diaries

territories. During World War II, loyalty to the political establishment was again not parallel with the different identities. Miklós Horthy was equally popular among students of different religious affiliations. Even the students deemed to be Jews by law trusted him hoping that their discrimination was only temporary and the governor would protect them from its escalation. Thus, they separated anti-Semitism from his person. There was only one family where his person was rejected as he was linked to the persecution of Jews going on right from the period of White Terror. The positive or negative view of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and the political ideology giving rise to it did not run parallel with the different self-definitions, either. Different self-definitions involved different views of society. Adolescents of different identities had different imaginaries about the society they lived in, about its groups and power relations. These imaginaries were characterised by a high level of stability as their acquisition and imprinting was mostly part of family socialisation.

Adolescents mainly acquired the prejudice forming part of their views of society in the course of family socialisation. This handed down behavioural norms, views of society and value systems across political systems, independently from declassing. School communities also played an important role in the acquisition of prejudice as the different conversations and games also imprinted these imaginaries on students' minds even if they were not acquired or they were not emphasized in the home.

According to these sources, the small communities or groups within the classes were not affected by the changes having an impact on the whole of education. There were hardly any changes in the views of society prevailing in the family as a socialisation environment as these were handed down from generation to generation independently from the dividing lines of political periods or the lifespan of regimes.

Family memory had a decisive role in handing down knowledge concerning the past, not so much with respect to the facts insignificant from the aspect of social imaginaries but rather in the formation of an emotional approach to them. The stories related in the course of everyday communication and having positive or negative content usually included the evaluation of particular events, politicians or regimes, as well. Family memory played a primary role in the evaluation of recent historical events determining the life of the generation of parents and grandparents.

These stories included narratives about the losses and grievances of the family, which were also handed down from generation to generation. The family as a remembrance community was not affected by the approach of official historiography, adapting to current ideology, or the radically changing opinion about certain persons or events.

Adolescents defining themselves as Christian Hungarians imagined the group of people labelled by them as Jews as a dominant group dangerous for Hungarians and suppressing them. The major element of the bipolar view of society existing in the minds of these diarists was the opposition between Hungarians and Jews. In the period investigated, Jews were considered by them to be permanently suppressing Hungarians with different means. Consequently, diarists with a Christian Hungarian self-definition uniformly accepted the discriminative measures modifying the property and power relations that they thought to be unequal and unfavourable for them until the German occupation. Most of them even accepted these until the coming into power of the Hungarian fascists. Practically, they never protested against them and they never questioned their legality in their diaries because the stereotypical interpretation of their experiences supported the appropriateness of these measures. They thought of them as the restoration of the social order considered to be ideal and acquired during socialisation by them.

The losses of the holocaust and the experience of persecution did not undermine the Hungarian self-definition of the overwhelming majority of the diarists with a Hungarian Jewish identity. In most of the cases, the idea of becoming a Zionist did not even arise.

Zionism was not only unacceptable for the older generation of parents and grandparents but also for the majority of adolescents. This was because they saw it as giving up their Hungarian identity, and they also rejected it because in contrast to their own self-definition, Zionism regarded Jews not as a religious community but as a race.

The basic structure of the imaginaries relying on the opposition between Hungarians and Jews and characterised by bipolar views of society showed no change. In this, only a minimum alteration was brought about by the end of the world war. Diarists with Christian Hungarian self-definition envisioned the social distribution of power before the passing of the acts on Jews and after the world war in the way that the Jews (whom they did not consider to be Hungarians) would suppress them. After the war, the only change in this idea was that Jews were imagined to be communists and supporters of the Soviet-type political establishment. This was especially valid for the Rákosi era and Stalinism. In contrast, the period of Imre Nagy as Prime Minister was specifically considered to be 'Hungarian'.

Independently from his/her self-definition, each adolescent found his/her way in society with the help of different indicators. They mostly perceived strangeness and categorised it as different visually. In this, a decisive role was played by different anthropological features, to which sometimes even political

Social Imaginaries as Reflected in Adolescent Diaries

affiliations were attached. Youngsters with a Christian Hungarian self-definition, not falling under the scope of the acts on Jews, basically identified

those categorised by them as Jews with two indicators: norm-violating behaviour and different anthropological features. Prevailing imaginaries showed no change in the period investigated. It is clear from the remarks made by Jewish and Christian youngsters about their friends and acquaintances that categorising them as different did not prevent them from keeping up relationships of different intensity with those they viewed as different from themselves. Only those broke up relationships with people they perceived as different from them who did not only view them as strangers or different from themselves but also as their complete opposites.

There is a difference in the intensity of prejudice concerning individuals and the whole community. The diarists with a Christian Hungarian self-definition, falling outside the scope of the acts on Jews, did not associate their negative notions related to the whole community in their view of society beyond categorisation with their own friends and acquaintances known to be Jews. The relationship established with people considered to be different affected views of society in different ways depending on whether the diarists experienced it as positive or negative.

According to adolescents with a Christian Hungarian self-definition, the order of society was overturned several times in the period investigated, for the first time after the fascist takeover and for the second time, during the Soviet occupation. In relation to the imaginaries of society of those who were not persecuted, the fascist regime, and especially the terror raging in the capital were particularly important.

Adolescents had a highly hierarchical and differentiated view of society, within which they positioned themselves in the upper middle part, in any case strongly detaching themselves from the lower (non-gentlemanlike) social strata which they viewed with heavy prejudice. Almost all the adolescents interpreted the fascist regime as the takeover of the latter. Consequently, they regarded fascists to be endangering their own assumed or real social status, financial safety or even lives. On the other hand, almost all of them were loyal to the governor, and all of them approved of his attempt to pull out of the war.

The most radical change in views of society was caused by fascist terror although this change was only temporary and superficial. In the entries made in this 3 or 4 months' period, a detachment from prejudice and its momentary leaving behind can be observed. Basically, adolescents' reactions were the same to fascist terror, uniformly taking the side of those persecuted despite the fact that their entries before and after this period were characterised by precisely

the opposite idea. Beyond the aforesaid, this sudden change may also be led back to other factors.

On the one hand, youngsters in Budapest directly experienced the acts of fascists or heard about them from completely authentic sources. Thus, for them, cruelty was an undeniable fact. Many of them thought that after the Jews, fascists would apply the same treatment to Christians, too. Their self-image as Christians also played an important role as it was incompatible with the tolerance of fascist bloodshed. Sympathy with those persecuted primarily originated from fear and from the fact that the diarists also considered themselves to be potential victims. Entries made at this time are completely free from any prejudice. Although in the period investigated, prejudice and several stereotypes were associated with people considered to be Jews, this did not mean that the diarists would have identified themselves with the objectives and means of Szálasi's fascist followers.

The diaries show a different perception of time from common narratives. Sovietisation is presented in them as a much quicker and shorter process than it is indicated by the historical division of the period according to events. Diarists – or at least, the diarists studied – experienced the 1945 – 1948 period as a transition to a much smaller extent: as early as in the final year of the war, Christian adolescents regarded the establishment of the country to be a communist authoritarian regime.

Opinion about the reliability of the radio and the press depended on the political value system of the family, acquired by the youngsters in the home. Family interpretations or experience of particular events had a basic impact on when the diarists considered a particular political regime and its official news service to be non-legitimate. First, they contrasted the broadcasts of the official mass media with the news obtained from mostly illegal channels. In the second place, they usually tried to decipher inland news using inverse interpretation, giving a completely opposite meaning to what they were reading in the newspapers or heard on the radio. Thirdly, they contrasted the content of the news disseminated by the restricted, heavily censored and controlled mass media with their personal experience. The contrastive analysis of adolescents' diaries clearly shows that neither the world war nor the end of it, neither the takeover of the communists nor that of the fascists caused any profound changes in the view of society forming part of their world view. Thus, in this sense, we cannot speak about a new period after 1945: the major element was clearly continuity as independently from the momentary changes in institutionalised education, the inhabitants of the country – or at least, the adolescent diarists investigated – had the same vision of society as before. These views were left intact by the political changes. While the statements and ideas that could be openly

expressed during the war were pushed back to the private sphere, they survived unaltered in the minds of individuals, being handed down from generation to generation as a part of family socialisation up to the present day.

My major publications on the topic:

KUNT Gergely, „A nyilasterror hatása egy kamaszlány előítéleteire”, in *Társadalom a háborúban: Folytonosság és változás Magyarországon 1944/1945*, szerk. BÓDY Zsombor és HORVÁTH Sándor, (Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2015) 35–53.

KUNT Gergely, „»Nem vagyok politikus, csak egy buta csitri« – a kitelepítés kamaszszemmel”, in *Állami erőszak és kollektivizálás a kommunista diktatúrában*, szerk. HORVÁTH Sándor és Ö. KOVÁCS József, (Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2015) 205–222.

Gergely KUNT, „A Female Adolescent Bystander’s Diary and the Jewish Hungarian Holocaust”, *Comparative Literature and Culture*, 17(2015) Nr. 3. 1–8.

KUNT Gergely, „A nemesség mítosza a családi emlékezetben és a személyes identitás összefüggései egy házicseléd naplójában”, in *Nemesi és polgári szerepek, reprezentáció és interpretáció*, szerk. BALOGH Judit és PAP József, (Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2016) 179–193.

Kamasztükrök: A hosszú negyvenes évek társadalmi képzetei fiatalok naplóiban, szerk. KUNT Gergely, (Budapest: Korall Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület, 2017)

Invented Nation – Invented Tradition: Questions about Jászkun Revival and Identity

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Keywords: postsocialism, identity, regionalism, Jászkunság

There is a plethora of studies concerning identities and cultural differences of nationalities and ethnic groups in East-Central Europe. There is a general agreement about the autonomy of minority identity as it relates to a group's 'we-consciousness' but a basic question remains unanswered concerning nationality history and tradition: do they automatically and integrally create ethnic, religious or regional identities? Or, alternately, what roles do states and local governments play in rekindling and supporting ethnic or ethnic identity maintenance? My preliminary thesis is that in the past two hundred years in East-Central Europe, especially Hungary, states and governments played unquestionable roles in creating, supporting or, alternately, undermining collective identities. Local identity formation, not only in terms of policies and judicial matters but areas of local civil and societal concerns, has been more often than not monitored from above. In order to reveal the specificities and working of this process, I intend to analyze the formation of a new collective regional Jászkun identity. A center of attention in the past two decades, scholars have called attention to this special phenomenon that can – for the lack of a better term – be couched in terms of regional Jászkun identity revival or Jászkun renaissance for short.¹

Belonging to a national or minority community (the two terms are often used interchangeably) in Hungary has been codified in 2011; accordingly anyone who belongs to a nationality must possess „Hungarian residency,” „declare a nationality identity,” and „expresses this belonging in a specific mode and form.” Importantly, expression of political ethnonational/minority identity is possible solely on a single minority voter registration, even though the law recognizes someone's „double or multiple attachments”.² Interestingly, while in 1990 there were eight recognized ethnic-minority groups residing in Hungary,

¹ *A Jászkunság identitása. Válogatott tanulmányok a kun és a jász öntudat alakváltozásairól*, szerk. BARTHA Júlia, (Kisújszállás: Kisújszállás Város, 2015); BÁNKINÉ MOLNÁR Erzsébet, „A kun és a jászkun identitás a Kiskunságban”, in *A Jászkunság identitása. Válogatott tanulmányok a kun és a jász öntudat alakváltozásairól*, szerk. BARTHA Júlia, (Kisújszállás: Kisújszállás Város, 2015) 101–152.

² Law 2011. CLXXIX. on the rights of nationalities, 1. para., III. Chap. 11. par. 3.

Questions about Jászkun Revival and Identity

today there are thirteen such communities (Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Roma/Gipsy, Romanian, Rusyn, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian and Ukrainian). The Jewish communities in Hungary, as well known, do not declare either a minority or ethnic status, even though cultural, historical, religious and linguistic specificities are well known.

Since 1990, a renewed sense of Hungarianness has been at the center of postcommunist national identity creation. Amalgamating historical elements of Hungarian tribal past, origin of which are located in Asia and Central Asia, and a folkloristic gaze toward 19th century peasant art and traditions.³ Here I analyze ways in which the Jászkun regional identity has been rekindled in the towns of Jászság, Kiskunság and Nagyunság. At present, this reinvented Jászkun identity is one of the most visible signs of Hungarian identity; public monuments, coat of arms and community symbols amply illustrate this point. Significant events are the summit of Jászkun people, and the symbolic election of the leaders (captains, as they are called historically) of the three districts. Furthermore, on 4 February 2014 the Hungarian Parliament passed a resolution identifying 6th of May – original date of signing the Redemption Diploma by Maria Theresa in 1745 – commemorative historical day of the Jászkun settlements.

The identity reconstruction of the Jászkuns, previously referred to as „historical minorities”, can be dated to 1995 when settlements celebrated the bicentennial of the Redemption Diploma. Elites of Kiskun and Nagykun regions – in particular the settlements of Kiskunhalas, Kiskunfélegyháza, Kunszentmiklós, Karcag –, took the first steps toward re-establishing their historic identity. In the Jászság region, this process was connected to the 1990 postcommunist rearrangement of the administrative county system when Szolnok County was renamed Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, a term that existed during 1877-1950. This precipitated the resurgence of a new Jász identity among the county’s elites, most specifically that of Jászberény.⁴ True, the medieval privileges of the Jász and Kun populations, and their regional feudal semi-autonomy within the Hungarian Kingdom, have provided ample historic foundation to rejuvenate this new identity. Another possibility concerns the prehistoric Jász (Alan, Osset) and Kun (Kipchak, Turkic) languages, both preserved sparingly in medieval fragments. Medieval Jász and Kun languages, however, ceased to exist by the 14th century, a reason why the Jászkun renaissance and identity-making

³ László KÜRTI, *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001); László KÜRTI, „Nomadism and nostalgia in Hungary”, in *Memories on the move*, ed. Monika PALMBERGER and Jelena TOSIC, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 217–246.

⁴ PETERDI Vera, „Kun származástudat a 20. században”, in *Magyarok Kelet és Nyugat között: a nemzetudat változó jelképei*, szerk. HOFER Tamás, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1996) 209–219.

has become a contentious phenomenon. The loss of the medieval Jász and Kun nomads' language is a sign of assimilation; yet shifting to Hungarian language attests to their willingness to full integration into the Hungarian majority. Text, such as the Kun Pater Noster (Kun Miatyánk) and the „Kun List” (naming families in the town of Kunszentmiklós) were both conscious efforts by community elites in the 18th century to fashion a distinct medieval origin. In the 20th century, physical anthropological studies 'proved' Central Asian or Ossetian origin of the Jász people. For instance, Gyula Henkely measured the Jász family members in the community of Lajosmizse arguing for their dominant (“typical”) mongoloid and/or turanid morphological characteristics.⁵ His sample included those residents whose ancestral names appear in the 1745 Jászberény list of families (Liber Fundi). This kind of highly random selection, however, did not take into consideration Ottoman population displacement and the north-south mass migration during the Habsburg period following it. For example, in a fine-tuned research Gyula Kocsis argues how the medieval population of the Jászság during the 17-18th centuries “was most likely completely replaced by northern newcomers”.⁶ What is obvious from this is that equally dubious conclusions negate other similar physical anthropological research among the residents of the Kunság region.

In general it can be attested that in this renaissance today residents of both the Jász and the two Kun regions proudly claim their different Asiatic heritage. In fact, and this somewhat oxymoronic, by arguing for their medieval distinct histories proponents of the Jászkun identity strongly believe that they are “proper” Hungarian (something akin to the Székelys' own self-assured Hungarians). Another value-laden expression is their loyalty to the Habsburgs even though Vienna and the Hungarian aristocracy were quiet antagonistic to the fight for Jászkun autonomy throughout the centuries; in 1876 their regional autonomous status was annulled. Since the 19th century residents of the Jászkun settlements have been described as stubborn, haughty, and self-centered by the outsiders.⁷ This was noted by Ferenc Erdei when he described the differences between the protestant Kun and their catholic Jász neighbors: “Migrants are mostly Roman Catholic, they are excellent horticulturalists, with plenty children, and live a rather austere lives. They are not arrogant as the Kuns, they are

⁵ HENKELY Gyula, „Adatok a lajosmizsei jászok embertani antropológiájához”, *Cumania*, 2(1974) 377–410., 389.

⁶ KOCIS Gyula, *A Jászság társadalma, népessége, gazdálkodása a XVI–XVII. században*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2005) 154.

⁷ SZILÁGYI Miklós, „A nagykun öntudat”, *Regio*, 7(1996) 1. sz. 44–63., 45.

Questions about Jászkun Revival and Identity

for modernization, youthful and exude dynamism”.⁸ The Jász migrants in the Kiskunság refer to the Kuns as “country bumpkins” (“tahónak”, „pota”).

These kinds of stereotypes are mirror-images, to degrade each other equally.⁹ What has been a rather strange phenomenon is that this sort of Jászkun conspicuous self-identity managed to signal to their Hungarian neighbors how to claim a “pure” Hungarian (Magyar) identity. Nearby residents I have interviewed, in Kerekegyháza or Kunadacs, both new towns on the periphery of the northern Kiskunság region, questioned this conspicuous different identity emanating from their neighbors in Szabadszállás and Kunszentmiklós. By arguing about the disappearance of the medieval Kun and Jász populations, a Kerekegyháza resident, whose ethnic label is “Slovak”, expressed: “Why are they Kun, the original Kuns died out long time ago, they can be found only in their graves”. In another town, Pusztavacs, informants did not accept the different identity of their Lajosmizse neighbors, even though their appearance exuded wealth and prosperity. “Maybe they say they are of Jász lineage, but only because they have had land. What about the landlord Geréby, he wasn’t Jász”, expressed one man referring to Gyula Geréby and his ancestors whose original name was Gremesperger in the 19th century.

Wealthy Jász settlers from the Jászság region migrating to the Kiskunság region to claim their land there during the long 19th century adhered to Roman Catholicism, a religion that in their mind was and continues to be the “old” and “true” Hungarian religion. This can be seen in those settlements that were predominantly populated by Jász migrants such as Ladánybene and Lajosmizse.¹⁰ Even though latter were contemptuous of the former, this had to do with abundance of arable land in Lajosmizse, their similar Jászság and Roman Catholic background created an alliance between them against the Protestant Kiskun neighbors. Population of both towns kept a certain distance from residents in Pusztavacs, Kunbaracs and Peszéradacs because of their previously low esteemed serf status in contrast to the privileged Jászkun free peasants. These different historic social statuses created a symbolic vacuum between these neighbors.

Interestingly, elites of the Jászkun identity movement firmly believe that the resurgence of their newly created Jászkunness is not antithetical to Hungarianness even though there are obvious symbolic conflicts among the two. Possessing one identity in addition to the other is anchored to certain official

⁸ ERDEI Ferenc, *Futóhomok*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1957) 155.

⁹ On mirror-image see: Donald L. HOROWITZ, *Ethnic groups in conflict*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) 166–171.

¹⁰ KÜRTI László, *Ladánybenei évszázadok*, (Ladánybene: Községi Önkormányzat, 2018²)

recognition as well as economic benefits. Settlements compete for regional, local and international recognition through for example the prestigious title “Hungaricum”; one such state title was accorded to the town Karcag for its special mutton-stew (birkapörkölt). There are many regional dishes identified as such (for example the Transylvanian rolled-cakes, kürtőskalács, or the fish-soup of Baja), but the official recognition nevertheless elevates one community’s heritage above the others. This elevation to national fame has as its base a cultural essentialist view of heritage. Similarly, to UNESCO recognition and titles (World Heritage Site, tangible and intangible heritage) selecting few elements as characteristic to an entire region or group is an obvious problem as it creates artificial hierarchies of values. In many instances, this leads to feverish invention of new customs, symbols and dress as local communities demonstrate their newfound heritage.¹¹ As is often the case, celebrating Hungarianness parallels regional and local feasts that end in touristic exoticism.

The conspicuous Jász kun revival today is anchored to symbolical representations of an invented tradition. As there are no more Jász kun districts, towns elect their “captains”; it often happens some of these “captains” are not from the Jász kun settlements (though the Captains Protocol of 2011 does not specify who can be elected to this position). Strangely but in light of the above not unexpectedly this new identity movement has created the exotic Asiatic ‘other’ reinforcing Hungarian historical distinction and separateness from the rest of Europe. Just as the Hungarian mythological past is recreated through new tribalism (Kurultáj, Ősök Napja), Jász kun heritage is being renewed by political international relations with distant Osset and Kazakh communities, even governments. The myriad of invented customs (World Summit of Jász kun People, the Jász Horn, the Kun and Kazakh interstate relations) amply reveal the emphasis of cultural otherness institutionalized and legitimized by many thousands of spectators annually. Thus, local governments and politicians are drawn more and more into this process by functioning as producers and patrons of these events.

Hungarian and Jász kun identity formations are parallel developments but not necessary equally so. More often than not, those settlements that cannot boast a Jász kun identity and past, could only rely on a renewed sense of Hungarianness. This is even visible in certain multi-ethnic communities such as Kerekegyháza and Peszéradacs (today Kunpeszér and Kunadacs). Both were incorporated townships about 150 years ago; in the case of former Slovak

¹¹ László KÜRTI, „The politics of festivals: fantasies and feasts in Hungary”, in *Every day's a festival*, ed. Susanne KÜCHLER and László KÜRTI and Hisham ELKADI, (Oxford: Sean Kingston, 2011) 53–82., 77.

Questions about Jászkun Revival and Identity

migrant families were demanding a priest who was fluent in the Slovak language! My experience in that town proves this: although the Slovak heritage is fading even among the elderly, their identity has become predominantly Hungarian. Non-Magyar ethnic belonging among citizens of the Kiskunság region I interviewed only exist in the minds of a few, and cultural difference only expressed in term of religious adherence and cultural symbols. Even among descendants of Jászkun families the once proudly claimed wealthy Redemption status (the so-called “redemptus” family) are fading as time goes by; on the contrary Roman Catholicism and the migration from the Jászság remain the most important values. An added feature is the traditionally held stereotypes: only the Roman Catholics can be true Jász. Naturally, this is untenable as 18-19th century records reveal that not only the protestants but a small number of Greeks and Jews were also part of the Jászkun interethnic milieu. The latter group only settled in large numbers in the northern part of Kiskunság in Lajosmizse and Jászkarajenő (154 and 135 individuals at the turn of the 19-20th centuries) respectively, somewhat in less number in the neighboring Szabadszállás. However, in the Jászkun movement neither Jews nor Gypsies are considered even though both fulfilled important societal roles in the making and development of these 19th century towns.

It is certain that this new Jászkun revival has more to do with a booming sense of regionalism than with pure ethnicity per se. In the Kiskunság region, new town such as Kunadacs or Kunpeszér cannot rely on medieval Kun heritage, only symbolically. Both were grazing lands belonging to the Habsburg aristocratic family (Prince Eugen of Savoy), and only incorporated as a township in 1873. After WWII, they split and became Kunadacs and Kunpeszér respectively. In an interesting turn of events, surrounding areas were incorporated in to the National Park of Kiskunság as nature reserves (the Hodály-pine forest, Peszéradacs-grassland, Szalag-forest). With this inclusion into a protected nature reserve, both Kunpeszér and Kunadacs received legitimacy in being in the Kiskunság region and only in this relation can we understand the decision of Kunadacs town council to erect a wooden statue and an artificial “Kun-mound” in 2009 to celebrate its “medieval” past.

These settlements are without Redemption history but with turbulent interethnic past and a mixture of religious history. Consequently, Kunadacs, Kunbaracs, Kunpeszér, or even Pusztavacs and Tatárszentgyörgy boast either a ‘purely’ Hungarian or a mixture of interethnic heritage. At the same time, Slovak, Polish, Galician and other ethnic past is largely muted. Nearby Kiskunlacháza, Kunszentmiklós and Szabadszállás profess strong Kun while Ladánybene, Lajosmizse, Karajenő and Kocsér manifest an equally tenacious Jász heritage. Willingly supporting their efforts are cultural workers both

qualified academics as well as avid amateur historians. In Lajosmizse, the Jász identity resurfaced in the first years of 2000s as new civic associations proffer programs and maintenance of ancestral Jász heritage (Jász Archers, Jász Embroidery Association). Astonishingly, its neighbor, Ladánybene, also populated by migrants from the Jászság (Jászládány), such an activity has been attached to the Knight of Bene (Bene vitéz), skeletal remains from the period of Conquest found accidentally in the early 19th century. The cult of Knight Bene started since 2006, with erecting a memorial on the site of the medieval Bene village. This was followed by a naming ceremony of the local educational institution, The Knight of Bene Elementary School. The dynamic that drives this identity industry has a divisive and highly problematical aspect: political and financial attention and support are turned away from any other identity movements; most leaders in the Jászkun movement I have been able to talk to do not consider similar revivals as contribution to national reawakening as significant, or meaningful.

If any conclusion can be made from this brief analysis of the complex web of postsocialist national imagery is the image of national mythmaking as it encroaches into our everyday lives. Since the collapse of the communist state, new institutions, symbols and invented traditions have served national unity in order to fashion a non-communist Hungary. With the disappearance of traditional peasant culture – elements of which have provided for populist and folkloristic revivals (for example the *táncház*-movement) –, a new heritage industry serves both producers and consumers in their quest to express what it means to be Hungarian – with an importance difference. From above as well as below, state, church and local government supports are inevitable constituents that continually feed on each other with the assistance of eager local elites. Privileged communities within the three regions of the Jászkunság with adequate resources and intellectual know-how provide prime examples to others to simulate and follow. László Szabó recognizes the revival in his Jászság region, as “the widening of this pattern provides values to others”.¹² The pattern is there to be sure but so is the crux of the problem: how much previous values are lost in this transformation and how much the newly invented rituals and symbols disguise historic realities. In other words: we do know that culture changes in complex ways continually altering social institutions and social relations together with intragenerational values and cooperation. By creating “pure” Hungarian and Jászkun identities – similarly to a remaking of Transylvanian Hungarian or

¹² SZABÓ László, „A jász öntudat alakváltozatai”, in *A Jászkunság identitása. Válogatott tanulmányok a kun és a jász öntudat alakváltozásairól*, szerk. BARTHA Júlia, (Kisújszállás: Kisújszállás Város, 2015) 8–77., 68.

Questions about Jász kun Revival and Identity

other minority identities in neighboring states – a politicized cultural mechanism, a new dynamic and intense societal process, characterize 21st century Hungary. However, this newly found identity and myths of belonging contribute to not only a renewed sense of community cohesion, it also essentializes and disnyfies it making it more homogeneous and commercial.¹³

My major publications on the topic:

László KÜRTI, „Neoshamanism, National Identity and the Holy Crown of Hungary”, *Journal of Religion in Europe*, 8(2015) Nr. 2. 235–260.

László KÜRTI, „Nomadism and nostalgia in Hungary”, in *Memories on the move*, ed. Monika PALMBERGER and Jelena TOSIC, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 217–246.

László KÜRTI, „The plow and the horse: Political turmoil in a working-class district of Budapest”, in *Palgrave Handbook on Urban Ethnography*, ed. Italo PARDO and Giuliana B. PRATO, (Cham: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018) 221–240.

László KÜRTI, „Trust and Legitimacy in Hungary”, *Urbanities: Journal of Urban Ethnography*, 9(2019) Nr. 2. 119–132.

László KÜRTI, „Dance populism: The potato principle and the new Hungarian dance craze”, in *Cycles of hatred and rage*, ed. Katherine C. DONAHUE and Patricia R. HECK, (Cham: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2019) 169–194.

¹³ Alan BRYMAN, „The Disneyization of society”, *The Sociological Review*, 47(1999) Nr. 1. 25–47.

Pictures

Seal of Lajosmizse



Seal of Kunadacs



Questions about Jászkun Revival and Identity

Statue of King Kun László, Kiskunlacháza (2000)



Good and Evil – Participation, Application and Practical Knowledge in Contemporary Sociocultural Anthropology

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Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st century, a renewed interest has emerged about researching the problematics of „everyday life”, as social praxes has been drawn towards the focus of investigation.¹ This kind of shift has exposed in their own right the diverse sociocultural challenges contemporary societies are facing, such as overconsumption, unemployment and labor shortages, trans-continental migration and integration, or the ecological crisis affecting the whole planet. Recognizing the high complexity of contemporary problems and their interrelation with global processes has led many scientific, and artistic, initiatives to abandon traditional scientific practices and base its activities on new frameworks. It is accompanied by the following keywords: social responsibility and the involvement of stakeholders (social participation) in decision-making processes affecting the local world (academic, applied or action research), the practical value of scientific research and professional knowledge, sustainable development, social and scientific criticism, and guided social change (intervention, operation, action). These initiatives create social scenes that bring new actors to the traditionally entrenched space of research, interpretation, reflection and action.

The present paper aims to highlight the practical value and applicability of sociocultural anthropological knowledge, and to formulate ideas in the context of scientific research, power, participation and usability, based primarily on research literature and personal research experience.

¹ SZIJÁRTÓ Zsolt, „A mindennapi élet újrafogalmazása: a média- és kultúrakutatás új területei”, in *Újratöltve. Médiakutatás és mindennapi élet*, szerk. BÓDI Jenő és MAKSA Gyula és SZIJÁRTÓ Zsolt, (Budapest és Pécs: Gondolat Kiadó – PTE Kommunikáció- és Médiatudományi Tanszék, 2016) 9–24., 9, 21–22.

Applied anthropology

Definitions and areas of application

Undoubtedly, the problem of the practical use of social science knowledge, its application and its intervention is not only an intensely polemical matter, but also of bias deeply rooted in Western modernity. The same applies both in Western Europe, and in Hungary as well, although in Britain social anthropologists have already been employed for example to make the colonial administration in Africa more efficient, while in the United States they have been employed, *inter alia*, in the public administration of North American indigenous reservations.

In the English-speaking countries, the issue of application can be traced back practically to the beginning of the development of sociocultural anthropology, that is, to the 1860s and 1880s. The meaning of the concept of applied anthropology and the practical problems at the core have changed from time to time (this process has not stopped even today), which is associated with value saturation as a relatively constant characteristics.

Despite the early British tradition of application, the first independent professional institution of applied anthropology, the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA), was established in the United States in 1941. Its founders were anthropologists, recognized in academic science, such as Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Georg Murdoch, or William Foote Whyte.

One of the first definitions describes applied anthropology “as a role, not as an occupation” where the anthropologist takes part “in programs that have as primary goals changes in human behavior believed to ameliorate contemporary social, economic, and technological problems, rather than the development of social and culture theory.”² Nowadays, applied anthropology is rather a research-based knowledge area with a complex methodology that provides practical results, which can not only facilitate change in the local cultural system,³ but also support the maintenance of stability.⁴

Thus, contemporary applied anthropology promotes transformation, preservation of the transformed state, or its reorganization, depending on which serves best the interests of the local community, and which strategy endangers the integrity of the local life the least, based on the common knowledge of the researcher and the participating locals. Deciding on the type of action, “intervention” (change, retention or reorganization) is often problematic and therefore requires a very careful procedure by the researcher: the creation of a

² George M. FOSTER, *Applied Anthropology*, (Boston: Little, 1969) 45, 54.

³ Eve CHAMBERS, *Applied Anthropology. A Practical Guide*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1985) 8.

⁴ John VAN WILLIGEN, *Applied Anthropology. An Introduction*, (London: Connecticut, 2002) 10.

communication space, which, ideally, allows the locals to freely express their opinion, to reflect, to articulate their desires, ideas, criticism and objection into words.

The products of applied research are knowledge that can be used in practice as well as in theoretical research. The first of these is *information, empirical data* collected locally by scientific methods, which can be used well both in theorizing and in applied projects. The following is *policy or policy proposal*, a coherent action plan to address a particular sociocultural problem. The third is *action, direct intervention*, that is, the various actions taken by anthropologists to respond adequately to contemporary challenges perceived as problematic in local society, not at the legislative or state level, but at the micro level.⁵

Today, there are three major, overlapping aspects of applied anthropological research: 1. Commitment and responsibility for contemporary social realities, which requires problem-oriented interdisciplinary research to effectively address complex sociocultural issues; 2. A shift towards the application of participative and collaborative methods, and 3. a stronger presence in policy formulation and content. Due to global processes, such a practice of applying anthropology is formulating, at least in the USA, which seems to resolve the distinction between theory and practice, and is building on the synergies between anthropology and the related disciplines.⁶

Anthropologists are employed in various fields around the world. According to Alexander Ervin, the classic areas of applied anthropology are the following: 1. Social and economic questions (sustainable and culturally sound economic development), 2. The environment and industry exploiting natural resources, 3. technological innovation, 4. health care, 5. education, 6. social policy (welfare, unemployment, poverty, housing issues, refugee issues, immigration), 7. indigenous peoples, 8. communication and 9. preserving cultural values.⁷ In these fields, anthropologists can play a variety of practical roles, including policy experts, evaluators, impact and needs assessors, cultural brokers, designers and research analysts, advocates, expert witnesses and community advocates, administrators, or change agents.⁸

⁵ VAN WILLIGEN, *Applied Anthropology*, op.cit. 15.; KÖTICS József, „Egy innovatív fejlesztési projekt konfliktuspotenciáljának alkalmazott antropológiai vizsgálata – Csernely esete”, *Anyagmérnöki Tudományok*, 38(2013) 1. sz. 155–164., 156.

⁶ Marietta L. BABA and Carole HILL, „What’s in the Name ‘Applied Anthropology’? An Encounter with Global Practice”, in *The Globalization of Anthropology*, ed. Carole HILL and Marietta L. BABA, NAPA Bulletin 25, (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 2006) 176–207., 196–200.

⁷ Alexander ERVIN, *Applied Anthropology: Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000) 46–48.

⁸ VAN WILLIGEN, *Applied Anthropology*, op.cit. 3.

The increased interest in applied anthropology in Hungary can be observed from the beginning and the middle of the 2000s, when applied anthropology became part of the university education in Hungary (e.g. ME KVAT, MA applied anthropology and from 2020 an applied anthropology-oriented BA education) and NGOs have launched training courses and introduced scholarships (see e.g. Artemisszió Foundation).

The diversity of the concept of participation and cooperation

Contemporary applied anthropology has shifted towards participatory and collaborative approaches since the 1990s, and in the early 21st century, social participation and justice have been widely discussed not only in science and in the arts, but also in social publicity. Nowadays, there is a growing number of scientific initiatives that attach particular importance to stakeholder involvement and participation in issues that concern them, whether it be research or decisions affecting local life.

There are many forms of categorization of civic participation in the literature. Among other things, we can distinguish between: 1. types of participation in terms of participants;⁹ 2. one can name the degrees of participation based on the level of participation;¹⁰ 3. there are also differences in modes of participation: this is a question of getting involved, involving and being involved (political and epistemic participation)¹¹ and 4. the issue of participation policy.

In terms of participants, we are talking about *public participation* if anyone and everyone can participate; it is *representative participation* when representatives of the groups concerned are involved in the decision-making process. The *community-based participation process* refers to cases in which members of a given community (organized on a geographical basis, or based on interests or values) become participants themselves.

Depending on the degree (nature and depth) of participation, the grades may range from „sham” involvement to the desired participation in community

⁹ Andr  a FINGER-STICH and Finger MATTHIAS, *State versus Participation: Natural Resources Management in Europe*, (Brighton: International Institute for Environment and Development, Institute for Development Studies, 2003)

¹⁰ There are many different types of differentiation regarding the depth, level and degree of social participation. See e.g. REISINGER Adrienn, „A t  rsadalmi r  szv  tel a helyi fejleszt  si politik  ban Magyarors  z  n – f  kuszb  n a civil/nonprofit szervezetek,” *Civil Szemle*, 9(2012) 1. (30.) sz. 23–44., 24–26.; F  LDI Zsuzsa, „A t  rsadalmi r  szv  tel szerepe a v  rosfejleszt  s gyakorlat  ban. Eur  pai   s hazai tapasztalatok,” *T  r   s T  rsadalom*, 23(2009) 3. sz. 27–43., 34–40.

¹¹ John HERON, *Co-Operative Inquiry. Research into the Human Condition*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996)

democracy¹² – for example, at one of the lowest level is passive participation, while the highest are interactive participation or self-mobilization.¹³ Similarly, there are eight phases in Arstein's citizen participation ladder, from manipulation to citizen control.¹⁴

A further aspect of participation is discussed by the father of co-operative inquiry, John Heron (1996), who differentiates between political and epistemic participation. Political participation is in fact the issue of stakeholder involvement in joint thinking and decision-making processes, while epistemic participation refers to the participation and involvement of researchers and stakeholders as learners in the research process.

The British sociologist, Sarah White distinguishes four types of participation (nominal, instrumental, representative and transformative) within the framework of participation policy, according to the forms of participation, the perspectives and interests of the various actors, and the functions. In case of *nominal* participation, the stakeholders' participation in the development project legitimizes the practice of development, without any regard to that being a 'window dressing' activity without any real effects. *Instrumental* participation uses the involvement of locals as a means to increase efficiency to achieve a specific goal, such as harnessing the knowledge and skills of those involved in the project, who therefore expect a reimbursement. *Representative* participation involves locals in development projects in order to enable them to voice their opinions in decision-making processes, that being a crucial condition of the program's sustainability. Participants intend to influence the project, to express their own interests. In case of *transformative* participation, participation is the same as *empowerment*, due to the fact that locals do participate in wording their preferences, in shaping of choices of actions, and the various processes of decision-making. And eventually the process itself will make participants aware of their own situation and of the contexts.¹⁵

Participatory approaches assist the uncovering of social differences, diverging views and conflicting perspectives on the spot.¹⁶ However, involving

¹² RADÁCSI László, „Részvétel és fenntartható fejlődés”, in *Fenntartható fejlődés Magyarországon. Jövőképek és forgatókönyvek*, szerk. BULLA Miklós és TAMÁS Pál, (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2006) 256–274., 256.

¹³ For more, see: RADÁCSI László, „Együttműködés a tervezésben, döntéshozatalban és a megvalósításban”, *Parola*, 16(2005) 3–4. sz. 1–22., 1–2.

¹⁴ Sherry R. ARNSTEIN, „A Ladder of Citizen Participation”, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(1969) Nr. 4. 216–224.

¹⁵ Sarah WHITE, „Depoliticising Development: The Uses and Abuses of Participation”, *Development in Practice*, 6(1996) Nr. 1. 6–15., 7–9.

¹⁶ David ROS and Yvonne CRAIG, „Participation Begins at Home”, *Gender & Development*, 5(1997) Nr. 3. 35–44., 42.

stakeholders into the process of knowledge production necessary to problem-solving is far from being unproblematic. On the one hand, the way and sociocultural context of knowledge production determines which information comes to light and which remains in the background. On the other hand, it is not easy to determine that in a given situation what kind of hidden meanings may lie behind a local knowledge containing a certain type of information (values, facts, etc.). Especially so, when considering that knowledge behind everyday practices is not of a linguistic nature.¹⁷ So, there are experiences and forms of knowledge which cannot be talked about, but because they are embedded into practices, one can learn about them through observation.

It is widely known in social sciences that most of our concepts are social constructions with their meaning varying from time-to-time, and that knowledge is temporary and never exclusive. Participatory methods and action-oriented researches all agree that out of the variety of competing knowledge-forms, it is not possible to determine a priori, which one would be best suited to address the issues identified as problems by the local society: scientific or local knowledge. Debates, conversations and workshops are providing the opportunity for stakeholders of multi-coloured common and professional knowledge-forms to learn about the same issue from various points of views. In the participatory paradigm, the close interconnectedness, mutual correspondence of the four types of knowledge (experience based, presentational, propositional and practical) creates the completeness of the knowledge system, and the condition of the research validity is the concert between the four types of knowledge.¹⁸

At the beginning of the 21st century, knowledge production is not only the task of professionals, exclusively, but through participation, anyone can become the recorder and interpreter of the data of their realities.¹⁹ Underlying science-critical considerations emphasize that understanding social reality through scientific research methods leads to partial results, and important components of everyday reality remain hidden from the systematic researcher. That is why perception and approaches different from scientific become

¹⁷ David MOSSE, „Authority, Gender and Knowledge. Theoretical Reflections on Participatory Rural Appraisal”, *Economic & Political Weekly*, 30(1995) Nr. 11. 569–571, 573–578., 477.

¹⁸ For the four types of knowledge forming the completeness of the knowledge system in detail, see GELEI András, „A szervezeti tanulás interpretatív megközelítése. A »reflektív akciótanulás« irányzata”, in *Változás és vezetés*, ed. BAKACSI Gyula és BALATON Károly és DOBÁK Miklós, (Budapest: Aula, 2005) 109–135.; CSILLAG Sára, „A kooperatív akciókutatás elmélete és gyakorlata”, *Prosperitas*, 3(2016) 2. sz. 36–62., 41–42.

¹⁹ See the field of *citizien science*.

significant, as a complex system of mundane knowledge created unnoticed by “laic”, during their everyday lives.

Due to the wide variety of opportunities provided by new media, integrating everyday practices of knowledge production into the data-collecting system of science is rather easily done, as people often record and interpret data on their own lives as an integral part of their daily routine (eg. Facebook timeline), thus producing and consuming contents at the same time.

The term local knowledge means the following in sociocultural anthropology: on the one hand, local knowledge pool is interpreted as dynamically changing, the content of which includes understanding the complexity of local life, the way to get around within the local social system and conventional codes, and the particular explanation of how things work. With the transformation of the locals’ needs, local knowledge is constantly changing, as such changes keep testing its being correct and valid. On the other hand, anthropology treats local knowledge as something (possibly) valid both for the past and for the future, thus an important part of long-term planning. Yet, the heterogenic nature of local knowledge systems should not be disregarded, nor the fact that they are full of suppressed, uninformed or little conscious prejudices.

Academic science and participatory perspectives

So how can participatory, action-oriented, applied approaches contribute to the world of academic science? What is the significance of locals shaping the research process, including the research questions or representations that professionals make about them? What scientific insights can stakeholders have when it comes to participating in decision-making processes in their own lives when local people become recognized as equal actors in knowledge production? What are the relationships between researcher responsibility, power relations and research policy?

It has become generally accepted that there is not, and has never been an intervention- and ideology-free research, scientific work that is apolitical and without ethical conflicts, and ethnographic fieldwork (as other qualitative methodologies) is woven through with political and ethical questions. Starting from how a researcher handles their relative status advantage compared to research subjects, or their power position, to whose voice they make heard in their writings, and what that voice is telling in comparison to the researched group’s own political and civil society representation.²⁰ The researcher’s

²⁰ FEISCHMIDT Margit, „Az antropológiai terepmunka módszerei”, in *Közösségtanulmány. Módszer-tani jegyzet*, szerk. KOVÁCS Éva, (Budapest és Pécs: Néprajzi Múzeum és PTE BTK Kommunikáció- és Médiatudományi Tanszék, 2007) 223–233.

responsibility in sociocultural anthropology can be attained in these issues among other things.

The use of participatory approaches and collaborative methods in anthropology means the involvement of locals in one or almost every process of scholarly work, from defining a research problem to implementing it, and to co-produced and co-written texts.²¹ By establishing relationships raising awareness of the sociocultural context between the researcher and the researched and based on dynamic dialogue from the outset can minimize the status advantage resulting from the relative power position that leads to the researcher speaking in the interest of the local society rather than working with them to find the right words.²² In case of action oriented and applied researches the former can be replaced by the assistance provided in the interest of locals, while the latter with the solution searched with them, to re-mobilize their will power, their ability to act, and to make themselves heard again.²³ In addition, to develop the skills needed to the critical conscientization (in Portuguese: *conscientização*) of past and present.²⁴ This shift in emphasis provides a great opportunity to transform that “enlightened” research base from which members of local society are seen as silent, helpless, passive and in need of outside help.

It is obvious, that the inclusion of participatory and action research and applied anthropological approaches in academic science can bring many benefits ranging from conscientization of researcher responsibilities and researched-to-researcher power relations, from the strengthening of self-reflexive and critical practice in the field of science, to the extension of the right to research,²⁵ to the democratization of scientific work; to the test of the effectiveness, relevance and validity of scientific knowledge in the world of contemporary social practice. The big question is, as a researcher, what do we do with this recognition in our scientific practice?

²¹ See Luke LASSITER, „Collaborative Ethnography and Public Anthropology”, *Current Anthropology*, 46(2005) Nr. 1. 83–106., 94–95.

²² Paul SILLITOE, “The Search for Relevance: A Brief History of Applied Anthropology”, *History and Anthropology*, 17(2006) Nr. 1. 1–19., 15.

²³ Katy GARDNER and David LEWIS, *Anthropology, Development and the Post-modern Challenge*, (Chicago, IL and London: Pluto Press, 1996) 47–48.

²⁴ According to the well-known Brazilian pedagogue and philosopher, Paulo Freire critical self-awareness refers to the result of a process whereby one learns to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to act against the oppressive factors of reality. Paulo FREIRE, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (Harmondworth: Penguin Books, 1972/1990) 15.; Paulo FREIRE, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, (New York: Continuum, 1973/2003)

²⁵ Arjun APPADURAI, „A kutatáshoz való jog”, *AnBlok*, 5(2011) 66–75.

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The Realms of the Evil

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1. The idea about the fight between the Good and the Evil belongs to the oldest mythological and most enduring religious ideas, which in all probability, has its roots in the deep layers of the human soul, as the Lord's Prayer emphasizes in its last request: 'Deliver us from Evil.' The idea first gained theological and consequently, philosophical significance with *St. Augustine* but because of its ancient nature, he also adopted it. According to the Manichean idea, the Good and the Evil are conflicting substances, and first, the Good is defeated by the Evil but this is only a prelude to the victorious return of the Good. Augustine purified the Manichean teaching getting rid of its various obscure elements but preserved its essence concerning the fight of the two realms and the final victory of the Good. In human history, the fight is fought between two 'cities' as two types of love established two cities: self-devotion established an earthly city while the love of God a heavenly one. But the struggle between *Civitas Dei* and *Civitas terrena* takes place within the individuals; and therefore, so that it could become a real philosophy of history, it had to be transposed to the history of mankind. This turn was taken in *Joachim of Fiore's* theology of history, who was the first to divide history into three phases: the ages of the realms of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. This latter one, the 'Third Realm' (this is the original meaning of the concept) is the synthesis of the process, with which idea Joachim laid the foundation for the concept of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Just like with him, in the case of the thinkers secularising his theology (Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Marx), there arises the danger that believers want to urge the coming true of these prophecies in the same way as Macbeth does with that of the witches.

In *Kant's* philosophy of history, the process starts from a natural state but development is promoted by the antagonism of 'ungesellige Geselligkeit' (unsocial sociability): people develop their personalities in struggle with one another. However, in the end, mankind should attain the 'allgemein das Recht verwaltende bürgerliche Gesellschaft' (a universal civic society which administers law among men). As a result, the organisation of society will be regulated by 'eine Staatsform, die für alle gerecht ist' (a perfectly just civic constitution)

while the relationship between states by a kind of 'league of nations'. However, it is impossible to achieve absolutely perfect conditions as such a gnarled wood (*krummes Holz*) that man is made of cannot be carved to become perfectly straight. *Fichte*, who is more radical, divides the history of mankind into five periods. These are: (1) the natural but not conscious state; (2) 'the period of emerging sins and the compulsion of authority', that is, the period of the emerging individual interests when the community is kept together by external authority; (3) 'the period of matured sinfulness, despotism and egoism', that is, the period of the matured private interests when people get rid of both authorities and the community; (4) 'the period of emerging rationalism or the science of reason', that is, the age when philosophy starts to establish the state of reason; (5) 'the state of matured justification and sanctification or the state of the rule of reason', that is, the state when reason takes over the rule, and mankind returns to its natural state at a higher level. The five periods actually make a trinity: it is the triad of the first, third and fifth period with two transitional ones. With *Hegel*, the necessary course of history is determined by the 'world spirit' working in it, and individuals are its devices: the individual acts according to his/her interests but the world spirit lays snares for him/her (this is the 'cunning of reason') and causes the individual to realize its own objective, as well. Hegel understands the course of history similarly to the necessary periods of human life. Pre-historic 'childhood' first develops into the 'boyhood' of the oriental world, then the latter develops into the 'young age' of the Greek world, and finally into the 'mature age' of the Christian-German world following the transitional Roman period. The latter, however, has two stages: its non-real representation is the Middle Ages and its real representation is the Modern Age following Reformation. The peak of development is an estate-based constitutional monarchy of the citizens. Finally, Kant and *Fichte's* triple division can be found in *Marx's* works, as well. He thinks that the romantic search for 'natural people' was based on the correct idea that primitive conditions are naive Netherlandsish paintings about the real conditions but between the primitive and the real conditions, there is the world of 'alienation' and 'fetishism'. In this, man sees his/her essence in the value of the things possessed by him/her, alienated from him/herself, failing to realize that it is he/she him/herself who creates these values just like a fetish worshiper creates his/her fetish. Furthermore, man's free activity, work is alienated from him/her: capitalist society implements the organisation of work in the form of a mechanism where man becomes the spare part of machines, and modern plants are 'mechanical monsters'. Marx's theory also includes the Hegelian idea of the necessary course of history: History is the process of the development of 'ökonomische Gesellschaftsformation' (economic structure of society), in the progressive periods

of which (following each other and from each other) the outcome is 'modern bourgeois society', which, however, will be surpassed by a free communitarian society.

Later, although philosophies of history taking historical development into consideration (as opposed to those working with isolated civilizations/cultures) did not give up teleology altogether, they adopted a substantially more moderate idea about it. Teleology is most characteristic of the theory of Catholic philosopher *Pierre Teilhard de Chardin*. He consolidated the idea of evolution with the Christian world view and placed the existence of the world and man within the framework of a development process. He called the beginning of this process 'Alpha Point' and its teleological end 'Omega Point'. In the theory of Protestant *Paul Tillich*, development is not manifested in getting closer to the end-point but in getting farther and farther away from the starting-point. The starting-point means the natural, original, mythic conditions, and as regards its relation to these, philosophical anthropology has two basic versions: Myth of Origin type of thinking (*ursprungsmythisches Denken*) and rational. The former is the root of every conservative and romanticist while the latter is that of every liberal and socialist way of thinking. The Myth of Origin type of thinking involves mythologizing the powers of land, blood and group, which leads to the rule of endless cycle. The Jewish-Christian, Reformed (prophetic) and enlightened (humanist) concept of time of historical development break with this. Political romanticism, which has a conservative and a 'revolutionary' type, the latter being manifested in fascism, takes action against this break. *Ferdinand Tönnies* contrasts the formations of organic community (*Gemeinschaft*) and mechanical society (*Gesellschaft*). He assumes that at the beginning there existed an organic community, the premodern community of blood and land while civic society, organised like a company, on the basis of a social contract, appeared later. Tönnies is clear about it that although one is concerned with parallel types in the case of traditional community and modern civic society, historically they represent consecutive periods. *Karl Popper* contrasts the phenomena of the premodern 'closed' and the modern 'open' societies in a similar way. In its perfect form, it is justified to compare closed society to an organism, and as it emerges from the tribal forms of social life, it is also justified to call it tribalism. Open society basically relies on freedom, and although this may lead to problems, it is not possible to return to the original community, which may only lead to grossly harmful and violent attempts.

2. The followers of teleological philosophies of history considered it natural that the internal objective of history should sooner or later be achieved. This was, above all, true of Marxists. Social democratic parties also based their activities

on this conviction but did not want to speed up this process with violent actions. Because of this, they were vehemently criticised by radical syndicalist *Georges Sorel*. For him, it seemed evident that the proletariat had the right to use the weapon of violence. Although according to bourgeois enlightening philosophy, violence was the remainder of barbarism, according to Sorel, it would only help the renewal of self-indulgent European nations. However, he did not approve of any kind of violence, just the one which appears spontaneously in revolution but distanced himself from any kind of violence organised by the state, including Jacobin dictatorship. In spite of this, he took a position to support Lenin and the Russian revolution in 1919 although at that time, it started to display the features of organised violence. There was no lack of barbarism, either, as Russia was considered barbarian, which idea even appeared in the thinking of such otherwise highly-educated revolutionists as was Sorel's eastern counterpart, *Alexandr Gercen* (Herzen). For him, socialism was built on barbarian Russian conditions, and that was how it exerted an influence on Europe. In the first edition of *Capital*, Marx criticised the 'half-Russian and totally Moscovite' author extremely severely for this but this part was omitted from the later editions.

At about the same time, as Sorel, *Georg* (György) *Lukács* also raised the idea that the proletariat could play the role of barbarians crushing the world of the old civilisation and creating a new culture. This is how his sophisticated culture critical ideas logically developed into a communist Messianism under the influence of the Russian revolution albeit through an irrational turn. Lukács' utopism is clearly revealed by such ideas of his that it only makes sense to eliminate class distinctions if with this, everything that so far has separated them disappears from people's lives: every kind of wrath and hatred, and every kind of envy and conceit. But utopias are utopias precisely because they cannot be realized and therefore those who believe in them are inclined to apply more and more violent methods to achieve the goal. Lukács proclaims with the words of Judith, the heroine of Hebbel's drama that in order to achieve the goal determined by God, we should not stop short of committing crimes, either. (Probably, this idea later had an impact on Brecht's famous didactic drama, *The Measures Taken*.) The class consciousness of the proletariat regarded as real by Lukács is not what this class actually has but what it *should* have, and if the individual members of the working class are not able or willing to act accordingly, they should be forced to do so. This is the exact equivalent of Rousseau's absurd idea that people unable to be free should be forced to be free.

In the Russian revolution, the Bolshevik takeover, starting seemingly peacefully, soon turned into a brutal civil war, and as a result, to ruthless dictatorship. The leader of this dictatorship was *Lenin*, a highly educated European and

basically, an honest man, but as Nikolai Berdyaev, who was forced to emigrate, claimed revolution is always irrational, and thus Lenin himself was in vain rational, he still became the 'man of fate'. Therefore, fully in the Lukácsian sense, he did not stop short of sin for the sake of an objective that he considered good and ordered the most ruthless terror measures. However, in principle, he regarded the suspension of morals and law as temporary and did not build a political system dominating all the areas of life out of dictatorship and terror. This was precisely what took place at the time of *Stalin's* dictatorship. Berdyaev clearly recognised the horrible character and political essence of it when he declared it to be Russian fascism. At the same time, he thought that as the only well-organised force, Bolsheviks had saved the Russian state from falling apart at the time of the civil war, and he also believed that Stalin's regime would be able to protect Russia from the impending dangers.

3. The essence of the opposition to revolutionary utopism and the idea of progress at all is the return to the Myth of Origin type of thinking and the denial of any results achieved until then due to breaking with it. *Friedrich Nietzsche* criticizes socialist thinkers because they think that there may be social combinations without the proliferation of crime, diseases, prostitution and poverty although these belong to the essence of life. In his theory about the *Übermensch*, he wishes to free human nature from the moral inhibitions imposed on it by civilisation. He calls his own new interpretation 'non-moral', and claims that real greatness does not only involve committing crimes but explicitly cruelty, too, as the final destruction of moral restraints. As he says, he denies God but does not deny the Devil. *Carl Schmitt* does not directly start from Nietzsche but in many respects, he carries on Nietzsche's reasoning. If Nietzsche derives every moral and every law simply from the will of the stronger, Schmitt creates a legal philosophical theory out of this called decisionism. According to it, law is simply based on the decision of the sovereign. As Schmitt himself refers to it, this seemingly reminds one of Hobbes' theory that the sovereign cannot commit anything illegal because he determines what law is but may indeed commit injustices by God's (or Nature's) standards. This idea is missing from Schmitt's theory, which later had severe consequences in the evaluation of the *Führer's* acts. Schmitt considers the essence of politics to be the opposition of 'friend and enemy' along the lines of the opposition between ethical good and bad and aesthetic beautiful and ugly. But while good and bad or beautiful and ugly are abstract concepts, friend and enemy mean concrete persons. And of course, this is no coincidence: for Schmitt, the enemy is the other person, the stranger therefore the real manifestation of politics is war (including civil war), which is not waged for ideas or law but simply against some kind of enemy.

The representatives of the conservative version of political romanticism showing nostalgia for Myth of Origin type of thinking (such as Chateaubriand, the creator of the concept of 'conservatisme') had no considerable social impact. But the idea of 'conservative revolution' did exert an influence, representing transition to the 'revolutionary' version. The ideas of 'konservative Revolution' were introduced into German public awareness by *Thomas Mann*, already in his work entitled *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Reflections of an unpolitical man, 1918), and soon after the war, conceptually, as well, following Dostoyevsky. For him, the concept means the consistent realisation of classic conservative values, first not yet but later in the political system of democracy. It is revealing about his standpoint that first, he regarded the seminal figure of Protestant reformation, Martin Luther, and then the creator of New Deal, President Roosevelt as a conservative revolutionist. Besides Mann, who can be called a left-wing conservative, a person who seems to be a right-wing conservative is, first of all, *Arthur Moeller van den Bruck*, whose work, *Das dritte Reich* (The third realm/empire, 1923) politically reinterpreted Joachim of Fiore's concept, and in this form, the Nazis made it a slogan. However, Moeller wanted a real people's revolution, let that be a communist revolution so the concept preserved its utopistic character for him, too. He firmly rejected the idea of cooperating with Hitler. Moeller died in 1925, but the other great right-wing conservative, *Oswald Spengler* lived to see Hitler's getting into power. He did not take much pleasure in it. His book entitled *Preussentum und Sozialismus* (Prussianism and socialism, 1919) describes socialism as a specifically German, what is more, a Prussian phenomenon. The Prussian spirit is a community spirit therefore, the Prussian officer, the Prussian official and Bebel's creature, the class-conscious Prussian worker (*Kamerad – Kollege – Genosse*) all rely on professional consciousness and work. The council system, as Baron vom Stein devised it, was a real Prussian idea based on the principles of selection, responsibility and collegiality. Spengler soon got into conflict with the Nazi regime but died before he would have had to face more severe consequences.

In contrast to conservatism, 'revolutionary' fascism tried to return to the conditions of the Myth of Origin type of thinking with methods adopted from utopistic revolutionism, and destroy everything that had been done until then to eliminate it: enlightenment and liberalism, democracy and socialism. According to Ernst Nolte's analysis, for utopistic revolutionism, the breakthrough from the present to the utopia to be achieved appeared as a kind of *practical transcendence* modelled on religious (theoretical) transcendence. Every conservative theory is opposed to this practical transcendence as they insist on theoretical transcendence, and fascism arises when together with utopistic practical transcendence, conservative theoretical transcendence is also

rejected. Fascism is a *par excellence* counter-revolution: it is not only the denial of revolution but also that of every utopia. The name *fascismo* comes from the founder of the first such movement, *Mussolini*. The fact that fascist revolutionary methods were adopted from utopistic revolutionism is well shown by the fact that in the beginning, Mussolini was a socialist under Sorel's influence, and quite probably, he did not overlook Marxist Antonio Labriola's idea about the necessity of concentrating the forces of the proletariat *in fascio* (in a bundle). After building out his regime, Mussolini experimented with various social and welfare measures, as well. But in the same way as his nationalism distanced him from his original socialist standpoint, these measures were also pushed to the background in favour of the imperialistic phantasmagoria of 'Mare Nostrum'. The strangest thing, however, is that undertaking to lead the terrorist satellite state Repubblica Sociale Italiana under Hitler's pressure, he tried to take the attribute 'social' seriously and started nationalisation although it remained on paper only, in fact.

The name fascism can boldly be applied to German national socialism because its leader, *Hitler* looked upon Mussolini as his ideal, and adopted several formalities from Italian fascism. For a long time, two trends struggled with each other in the Nazi party: a Prussian-socialist and a Bavarian-fascist one, and it was only in the end that Hitler, as its main representative, led the latter to triumph. This Munich trend was much closer to Italian fascism than the one in Berlin. In order to implement the second half of the attribute 'national socialist', in the end, it was necessary to take a turn towards Berlin. This work was done by the Strasser brothers: Gregor and Otto Strasser. It seems that they did not so much have a *Führer* state in mind but rather some kind of corporatist-social fascist state. The catchword of socialism was particularly important for the originally social democrat Otto, who finally turned against Hitler, left the Nazi party and established a 'revolutionary national socialist' organisation in emigration. Gregor Strasser remained Hitler's follower even after this, but after two years, the acceptance of Schleicher's 1932 'Querfront' plan proved to be fatal for him. Hitler himself did not have much to do with the elaboration of a paternalistic social policy but allowed the experts to work, who adopted a lot from the economic and social programmes elaborated under Brüning and by the Strasser wing. Hitler was only interested in one issue of internal policy: the Jewish problem. It seems that his obsessive antisemitism, based on racism, got ingrained in him in 1919, and from that time on, he only kept talking about the 'removal' of Jews. As a first solution, he would have been satisfied with the Jews 'voluntary' emigration (really forced by the Nuremberg laws or the Crystal Night). Then came the plan of their relocation to Palestine, Madagascar or occupied Russia but every such plan remained infeasible (due to the riots in

Palestine, the lack of vessel capacity, or the defeat at Moscow). In theory, from 1938, the concept of 'evacuation' was valid the question was only where to. Then the decision was made: to new type concentration camps which were not labour camps but extermination camps. If the 'removal' of the Jews was not possible in any other way, they had to be killed.

4. The common features of communism and fascism are expressed with the concept of *totalitarianism*. Totalitarianism is not simply tyranny, dictatorship or terror; history is full of these but they are not considered to be totalitarianism. In this case, we are concerned with such a system of rule which does not only intend to subdue the political sphere but also all the spheres of civic society. The concept, just like that of fascism, emerged due to Mussolini, who formulated the principle of the total state in 1925 as follows: 'Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state.' The attribute *totalitarian* was first used for the fascist regime in formation, from which the general concept developed, by liberal journalist and politician Giovanni Amendola. (Later, he fell victim to a squad of fascists.) At the same time, Italian fascism was not yet consistent totalitarianism. As Hannah Arendt points out, Mussolini wanted a fascist state and army, which were still army and state and were not subordinated to the fascist movement. Same was the case with Lenin's Bolshevik dictatorship because although it was a reign of terror, it was a political dictatorship and was not really totalitarian. It was only in Hitler's Germany and in Stalin's Soviet Union that the state, the army, and every sphere of life, schools, culture, etc. became a device subordinated to the movement and the Party. There is the same relationship between Lenin's and Stalin's regimes as between Mussolini's and Hitler's, and this accounts for the fact that Hitler and Stalin mutually had a high opinion of each other. Stalin admired and then imitated the Night of the Long Knives, which was, as a matter of fact, justified by Carl Schmitt in a cynical legal theoretical article on the basis of the supreme judiciary power and decision of the sovereign (the *Führer*) while Hitler admired Stalin for controlling his terror over his huge country from his desk. Nietzsche already had the idea that the horde produced its leader and Hannah Arendt remarked that mob mentality was attracted to the evil and to crime, and this attraction would then be embodied by the Leader.

Nonetheless, there are differences between the two versions of totalitarianism. Not so much in the level of terror although in comparison to Hitler's or Stalin's dictatorships, Mussolini's and even Lenin's claimed a relatively low number of victims. If we consider the full number of victims, this was largest in Hitler's reign of terror because of the Jews killed but if we only consider the number of those killed for political reasons, then Stalin's regime had the largest

number of victims. Although from a moral aspect, both were the realms of the Evil, there is a kind of history philosophical difference between the two. While communist totalitarianism intends to achieve a theoretically infeasible objective more and more violently, fascist totalitarianism strives to attain a particularist objective that can fully be achieved. (Mussolini's 'Mare Nostrum' and Hitler's 'Europäische Neuordnung' were only practically but not theoretically infeasible.) Therefore, such individuals may also identify themselves with the communist revolutionary objectives who only approve of its utopism while the pseudo-revolutionary fascist objectives remain selfish and narrow in principle, as well. According to François Furet, the fundamental illusion driving communist conviction is the illusion of historical certainty: the person who has a communist conviction or a liking for communism will always see the justification of his/her faith in the course of history similarly to the Calvinist Puritan who always discovers the proofs of his/her being chosen in the events of his/her life. As Thomas Mann says, the great processes of world history, including the great revolutions, are connected to the idea of mankind and perform their acts and wrongful acts (*Taten* and *Untaten*) in the name of mankind; and that is why mankind is inclined to forgive them for the latter. But to be more exact, it is not the *Untaten* that we forgive for but we forgive the whole process as such for them. Jacobin or Bolshevik terror is unpardonable but the whole of the French or Russian revolution can be forgiven. The evil itself will not become good because in the end, it gives rise to or it is followed by good things: the crimes committed remain crimes for this.

5. According to Augustine, the Evil is not a substance as with the Manicheans but the absence of good, *privatio boni*; the evil is always a challenge for the divine world order. The task of *theodicy* is to reconcile these three theses: (1) God is omnipotent, (2) God is the absolute good, (3) the evil exists nonetheless. This task cannot be solved with rational logic. *Schelling* approached this problem in a completely new way. He thinks that God includes the base of his existence in himself, and that is nothing else but nature in God. Nature as the base, however, is at the same time, the material, the dark principle, so ultimately, the fight between light and darkness is included within God himself. God creates order in the world but the material remaining as the base may get to the surface at any time, too, as all the evil strives to return to chaos, that is, to the state when it was not yet subordinated to order and light. It is nowhere to be seen that order and form would be inherent but it seems that the initial disorderly (chaos) gets to the state of order (cosmos). In modern philosophy, Teilhard represents the principle that in the world and in society, the Good means order and harmony while the Evil means disorder and disintegration. Finally, *Paul Ricoeur*, putting

aside the insolvable problem of theodicy, puts the emphasis somewhere else. We do not believe in God because the world is good but precisely *against* the existing Evil, so as to be able to overcome the Evil. In an immature form, this idea appeared earlier in both Rousseau's and Dostoyevsky's works.

Demythologising Schelling's idea: the world of man in which he/she lives, society and culture and man him/herself emerge from nature and on the base of nature. His/her created world appears for man as an ordered cosmos while the world unpenetrated by him/her as unordered chaos: as only causality independent from man operates in it but human teleology does not. Every such element of the ordered cosmos, which appears as good, that does not fit into man's teleological world, and furthermore, causes harm and suffering to man, necessarily appears as evil. This also applies to man's own nature: obeying the mere meeting of natural needs and the unregulated world of instincts morally also belongs to the scope of evil. Therefore, Kant saw the root of the evil in man in the inherent nature of man and thought that this can be named the innate propensity to evil, the neglect of the moral law or *radical evil* (Radikalböse). Man makes the driving force and inclinations of self-love the condition of following the moral law although he/she should do the contrary. Ricoeur calls crime the real moral evil, which is the active violation of the ethical code of the community, while suffering in general means the passive suffering of evil. It is justified to say that in these cases, the evil is really *the absence of good*: man has not yet transformed them, and in certain cases like in the case of death, he/she will never be able to transform them. And then, the Evil here is not some kind of neutral void but comes to the surface as the original, remaining, and although passively but still resisting and actually existing *base* in the world of the Good, in the individual's life as either passive suffering or active sin while in the life of the society as this or that kind of realm of the Evil.

Translated by Judit Szabóné Papp

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What Truth has Come to Mean since the Enlightenment

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The German physicist Max Born, who proposed the now undisputed principle of physics that an electron wave must be interpreted from the standpoint of probability, also asserted: "The belief that there is only one truth and that one-self is in possession of it seems to me the deepest root of all the evil that is in the world."¹ Born not only perceived this profound hubris of the Cartesian mind, he also saw that the physical world reflects this fundamental principle. No part of the reality we experience as humans within the boundaries of the time-space continuum is fully reducible to the objective explanations of our rational capacity. Although not in opposition to it, reality cannot be subsumed by it: "According to Born and more than half a century of subsequent experiments, the wave nature of matter implies that matter itself must be described fundamentally in a probabilistic manner."² In an article for the *Spectator* dated March 17, 2012 and titled "Brain Drain: Neuroscience wants to be the answer to everything. It isn't", philosopher Roger Scruton writes of the attempts to reduce all emotional, moral and aesthetic consciousness to observations of neurochemical interactions. He dubs this "neuroenvy," referring to what he characterizes as the subtle resentment of the persistence of any challenge to the superiority of the natural sciences. He typifies this kind of research as, "a vast collection of answers, with no memory of the questions."³ The anchor of Cartesian certainty, *Je pense donc je suis*, inevitably led to a *horror vacui*, the ultimately irreducible nature of liberty as the fundamental condition for reality. It was the beginning of a centuries-long attempt to provide answers to questions which it rendered irrelevant. For if the the conceptions of the mind alone were true, then absolute knowledge would not be rendered inaccessible by any function of time and space. This ignores the anxiousness behind the original question, as the nineteenth century German writer Annett von Droste-Hülshoff phrased it: "O Men-

¹ Jan PHILLIPS, *The Art of Original Thinking – the Making of a Thought Leader*, (San Diego: 9th Element Press, 2006) 88.

² Brian GREENE, *The Elegant Universe: Superstrings, Hidden Dimensions, and the Quest for the Ultimate Theory*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1999) 106.

³ Roger SCRUTON, „Brain Drain”, *Spectator*, 17 March 2012. Online: www.spectator.co.uk – December 2019.

What Truth has Come to Mean Since the Enlightenment

schenherz, kannst Du alles zwingen?" (Oh, human heart, can you force everything?) Is it possible through the exercise of reason to understand the inner workings of reality and manipulate them? Yet if there were no anxiety, there would be no question. Truth must therefore be more than an abstract ideal or concept capable of being possessed, tamed and subdued. The latter approach, far from alleviating the condition of our anxiety, can only exacerbate it and is even, as Max Born noted, the deepest root of all evil.

This question of evil remains at the heart of post-Enlightenment literature, from Romanticism to Realism to Existentialism. Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Fyodor Dostoevsky and Georges Bernanos, although inhabitants of vastly different places and eras, describe a reality similar to the one perceived by Max Born, a reality of endlessly complex interdependence and relation where truth escapes objectivity, not because it is nonexistent, but rather because it is made possible by non-human, eternal conditions, unrestrained by the time-space continuum.

Mark S. Morrisson, in his recently published study *Modernism, Science and Technology*, describes humanity's increasing awareness of flux as a binding existential force as the essence of the dawn of modernism at the beginning of the twentieth century: „While many people began to see science and technology as the greatest agents of transformation, some began to doubt that these changes were necessarily uniform, continuous, progressive, or even necessarily beneficial. The vocabulary of „progress,” „improvement,” „advancement,” „growth,” and „prosperity” was a legacy of the Victorian period, but the dizzying pace and nature of change in the early twentieth century caused some to question the inherited narratives of progress. It was not just the new scientific developments but the fact of flux, the unsettling nature of fundamental change itself, that defined modernist science and modernist culture.”⁴ The more humanity seemed to gain mastery over its circumstances, the more it seemed to alienate itself from the conditions of its existence. Change remained inevitable, and every new, purported advancement seemed to be accompanied by the revelation of hitherto inconceivable unknowns, or, as revealed by quantum mechanics, “narrowing the spatial focus leads to ever larger undulations.”⁵ The only hope for preserving any measure of coherence, if not truth, was to, in a manner similar to the way physicists hope to see new components of physical reality by creating particle collisions at the speed of light in the Large Hadron Collider, attempt to strip everything of its dependence on time. Morrisson notes that there were, „...epistemological concerns shared by modernist authors and artists and the

⁴ Mark S. MORRISSON, *Modernism, Science and Technology*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017) 2.

⁵ GREENE, *The Elegant Universe*, *op. cit.* 127.

scientists of the new physics that registered in linguistic and even aesthetic terms for both.”⁶ For both, it involved once more rethinking the paradigm of authority: for physicists the authority of time and space, and for writers, artists and philosophers the authority of rational chronology. As „Ihab Hassan noted in the early 1980s...modern science and technology and Finnegan’s Wake were part of a ‘trend toward dematerialization, the dispersal of languages, thus the (near) immanence of mind.’”⁷ Similarly, Wittgenstein’s philosophy of language had declared objects to be potentialities, as he wrote in his *Tractatus*, “Objects contain the possibility of all situations.”⁸ The Enlightenment had destroyed the old authorities, unwittingly replacing them with new absolutes which proved to be just as illusory. In *Wahrheit und Methode* Gadamer describes how the haste to dispose of all sources of prejudiced thinking overlooked the fact that authority is as much a necessary condition for truth as it is for prejudice: “Sofern die Geltung der Autorität an die Stelle des eigenen Urteils tritt, ist Autorität in der Tat eine Quelle von Vorurteilen. Aber daß sie auch eine Wahrheitsquelle sein kann, ist damit nicht ausgeschlossen, und das hat die Aufklärung verkannt, als sie schlechthin alle Autorität diffamierte.”⁹ (Insofar as the validity of authority takes the place of proper judgment, it is indeed a source of prejudice. However, the fact that it can also be a source of truth is not thus eliminated, and this was a misjudgment of the Enlightenment, with its wholesale defamation of authority) Oscar Wilde summed it up neatly in his assertion that at the dawn of the twentieth century, “There are more metaphysics (i.e. more a priori assumptions) in an unmetaphysical age than any other. We do not consider how much metaphysics are required to place us above metaphysics...we talk about facts when we are really resting on ideas.”¹⁰ Einstein’s discovery that the human experience of phenomena does not necessarily coincide with the truth of those phenomena according to the laws of physics debunked the conceptions of the Cartesian rational ego as the criterion of truth.

Human perception was indubitably warped by time and space rather than the other way around. This was the essence of the flux. How were “progress,” “improvement,” “advancement,” and physical movement itself to be defined when they depended upon definite placement within something which itself

⁶ MORRISON, *Modernism, Science and Technology*, op.cit. 78.

⁷ MORRISON, *Modernism, Science and Technology*, op.cit. 79.

⁸ Slobodanka VLADIV-GLOVER, “What Is Classical and Non-Classical Knowledge?” *Studies in East European Thought*, 58(2006) Nr. 3. 205–238.

⁹ Hans-Georg GADAMER, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 283. (Translation mine.)

¹⁰ Giles WHITELEY, *Oscar Wilde And The Simulacrum: The Truth of Masks*, (London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney Publishing, 2015) 18.

What Truth has Come to Mean Since the Enlightenment

was indeterminate? Thus Woolf's and Joyce's stream of consciousness, thus the palimpsestial nature of Eliot's "Waste Land" and Joyce's "Ulysses", thus the absurd surrealist juxtapositioning of objects, all attempts to expose the deception of the authority of human perception within time and the truth which is woven into every aspect of reality, beyond time and space. As Jason Cieply notes in his article "The Silent Side of Polyphony: On the Disappearances of 'Silentium!' from the drafts of Dostoevskii and Bakhtin", Dostoevsky foresaw this dead end of the Cartesian reality: "For Dostoevskii, as for Bakhtin, it is constant flux, which, by making every statement of self a dividing line between past and present, speaker and listener, I-for-myself and an unrecog-nizable other-for-me, corrupts the uttered thought into a lie."¹¹ Of course, this statement of self does not need to be uttered to be a lie. It is enough that it is a statement of self rather than of relationship.

As modernism burgeoned into postmodernism, Jacques Derrida would define the determination of absolute presence as self-presence, or subjectivity, which occurred at the height of the great rationalisms of the seventeenth century, as being "the most decisive separation" in the history of the relationship between eternal and finite writing.¹² Modernism had managed to establish that, "The 'real' is coeval with the Freudian 'uncanny.' It is something that escapes rational mental activity: it is beyond sense and sensibility. The 'real' is something that is by definition 'impossible.' As such, it coincides with the id (das Es) or the Freudian Unconscious as an exteriority, which is at the opposite pole of subjectivity."¹³ The real, the true, the absolute could indeed not be subsumed by the Cartesian ego, but was it, is it impossible? It evaded human rationale, but did that make it in itself impossible? This was the question postmodernist thinkers set about dissecting. Perhaps the real was merely improbable rather than impossible. Derrida identified this impossibility as being "the closure of the episteme," the ultimate incompetence of science and philosophy to capture the infinite in temporal conception.¹⁴ The closure of the episteme may be compared to what Giles Whiteley describes as a ruthless attack upon truth, ultimately forcing it to "disappear" as it were, rather than be destroyed by those attempting to capture it: "Truth finds itself having to somehow resist a

¹¹ Jason CIEPLY, "The Silent Side of Polyphony: On the Disappearances of 'Silentium!' from the Drafts of Dostoevskii and Bakhtin", *Slavic Review*, 75(2016) Nr. 3. 678–701., 686.

¹² Jacques DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, transl. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 1994) 16.

¹³ Slobodanka VLADIV-GLOVER, "The Representation of the Object as the Other in Modernism/Postmodernism: A Psychoanalytic Perspective", *Facta Universitatis. Series: Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and History*, 10(2011) No. 2. 173–194.

¹⁴ DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, *op.cit.* 93.

vertiginous mise en abyme, itself a paradoxical image, the fall which never ends, and thus also, etymologically, a question of 'decadence'. Truth is beset on all sides by dangers, and must perform ridiculous tasks that stretch it to its limits. These limits are the point where truth is so precarious that it can no longer operate as a stable ground (the identity of the Hegelian Grund), and so evaporates into paradox."¹⁵ Yet even evaporated truth is still truth, even if it is no longer in a form fit for human consumption. The paradox which truth evaporated into at the beginning of the twentieth century is named by Derrida as the "trace," or the condition of any sensible plenitude.¹⁶ The trace is the mark of our temporal and spatial placement, physically, intellectually, emotionally and spiritually, outside of the infinite. Without the trace there would be no *untruth*. Without the trace there would be no lack of knowledge, no lack of plenitude. As Derrida goes on to describe in *Of Grammatology*, the question of truth necessarily comes down to an irreducible distance: "Before thinking to reduce it or to restore the meaning of the full speech which claims to be truth, one must ask the question of meaning and of its origin in difference. Such is the place of a problematic of the trace...to make enigmatic what one thinks one understands by the words 'proximity,' 'immediacy,' 'presence' (the proximate (*proche*), the own (*proper*), and the pre-of presence), is my final intention in this book."¹⁷ As physics had established, time and space and our perception of them were relative. Postmodernism became the declaration of this principle as it applied to our perception of non-physical reality as well, rediscovering the urgency in the original question of whether or not it is possible to understand the inner workings of reality and know the truth about it. The urgency remained, as it had from time immemorial, and part of the key was now understanding that objectivity was only made possible by the difference of temporalization: "The outside, 'spatial' and 'objective' exteriority which we believe we know as the most familiar thing in the world, as familiarity itself, would not appear without the grammé, without difference as temporalization, without the nonpresence of the other inscribed within the sense of the present, without the relationship with death as the concrete structure of the living present."¹⁸ Difference is both the condition of as well as the impediment to our knowledge. Further on, Derrida aptly notes that, "Only infinite being can reduce the difference in presence. In that sense, the name of God, at least as it is pronounced within classical rationalism, is the name of indifference itself. Only a positive infinity can lift the trace..."¹⁹ Human

¹⁵ WHITELEY, *Oscar Wilde And The Simulacrum*, *op.cit.* 258.

¹⁶ DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, *op.cit.* 62.

¹⁷ DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, *op.cit.* 69–70.

¹⁸ DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, *op.cit.* 70–71.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

What Truth has Come to Mean Since the Enlightenment

finiteness cannot lift the trace, although this very finiteness drives us to desire to do so. It is this desire which is at the root of every rational discipline, yet, as Derrida concludes, it can only bear an illusory fruit, leading us deeper into mystery, into the paradox of the evaporated truth. He asks, "On what conditions is a grammatology possible? Its fundamental condition is certainly the undoing (solicitation) of logocentrism. But this condition of possibility turns into a condition of impossibility. In fact it risks destroying the concept of science as well."²⁰ Mihály Szegedy-Maszák also noted in his study *Literary Canons: National and International* that although Derrida's work largely came to be perceived as an attack on logocentric oppositions, "his intention was never reduction but the reinterpretation of the relations" between these oppositions.²¹ In the sense that the exercise of reason involves a subject-object position it would appear to necessitate the undoing of logocentrism, however finite subjectivity as absolute presence makes the need for objective science obsolete. The goal of objective knowledge must therefore be to move beyond the subject-object opposition, it must lift the trace. Thus, according to Derrida, where human knowledge is concerned, "...the concept of the simple absolute is always necessarily and indispensably involved. It would be easy to show that it always leads to an infinitist theology and to the logos or the infinite understanding of God."²² Even twentieth century philosophers whose conclusions did not necessarily lead them to an infinitist theology, such as Soviet era Georgian philosopher Merab Mamardashvili, came to reject the authority of subjectivity as deceptive. Mamardashvili summarized our "problem of rationality" as being its positioning of us "before the fact that the very state in which we express our knowledge about phenomena or in which we sustain them (phenomena), is not only a complex and total product of our life and our history, but, in turn, a part of the Universe and its evolution."²³ Human knowledge is inextricably bound up with flux, temporality, space and difference and can therefore never attain to absolute truth.

The experience of truth as the object of human knowledge was agreed upon as an impossibility, however, as Derrida wrote, the experience of a presence unmediated by time and space is only *nearly* impossible: "The pleasure (jouissance) of a continuous and inarticulate presence is a nearly impossible experience."²⁴ Nearly impossible is only improbable. The sexual connotation of

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

²¹ Mihály SZEGEDY-MASZÁK, *Literary Canons: National and International*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001) 250.

²² DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, op.cit. 78.

²³ VLADIV-GLOVER, *What Is Classical and Non-Classical Knowledge*, op.cit. 223.

²⁴ DERRIDA, *Of Grammatology*, op.cit. 249.

the French word *jouissance* implies a mutually pleasurable union, not the pleasurable enjoyment of an object by a subject, a slave by a master or the inanimate by the animate. Derrida said that Heidegger had summarized the history of metaphysics by “repeating that which made of liberty the condition of presence, that is to say, of truth.”²⁵ Liberty must be the condition of truth. Liberty allows that “nothing likes to be cornered”; it stipulates the impossibility of knowing the velocity and the exact location simultaneously; it causes truth to evaporate into paradox the more it is observed and analysed as an exteriority. Mamardashvili concluded that human consciousness must be, “a constantly self-transforming topology of indissoluble or irreducible relations [vzaimodeistvii] forming within their own time-space or “chronotope.” (R XIII, 43.) It is within this topology that Mamardašvili situates the “real” and “objective” (objectal) “acts of consciousness” in which “sense and symbolic formations” are grounded. (R XIII, 43.) It is this time-space of the topological “base layer” that constitutes the “living event of knowing” as something ‘objective’ and really taking place in the subject, and not as a reflexive or mental (or ‘cogital’) category.”²⁶ Just as our physical reality cannot be reduced to point particles, postmodernist philosophy determined that the true nature of human consciousness cannot be reduced to one thinking rational subject, rather it subsists in irreducible *relationship*. What bridges the gap between nearly impossible and the experience of *jouissance*? Jean-Luc Marion would say it is *agape*: „For that which crosses Being, eventually, has the name *agape*. *Agape* surpasses all knowledge, with a hyperbole that defines it and, indissolubly, prohibits access to it...because *agape* does not belong to us in itself. We fall--in the capacity of beings--under the government of Being.”²⁷ *Agape* not only subsumes Derrida’s positive infinity as well as Mamardashvili’s chronotope of irreducible relations, it also at once reestablishes the ancient link between true knowledge and moral goodness. The inaccessibility of truth and the persistence of evil are simply two aspects of the same problem. Mamardashvili explained how the experience of the essence of love is necessarily ultimately outside of the time-space continuum which the rational capacity is bound to: “The subjectifying of the “physical event” or the transformation of a “physical fact” into an “event” or “fact” of consciousness constructs a new kind of knowledge, imparts new sense to what can be known. In the non-classical ontology, knowledge becomes, like the experience of the essence of love, an event: it “has to happen,” it is a happening that appears, like a phenomenon. The

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁶ VLADIV-GLOVER, *What Is Classical and Non-Classical Knowledge*, op.cit. 217.

²⁷ Jean-Luc MARION, *The Essential Writings*, ed. Kevin HART, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013) 108.

What Truth has Come to Mean Since the Enlightenment

question arises, where is this “happening” or “phenomenal knowledge” (javljajuščešja znanie) situated? Where is it to be thought? In what place? (R XIII, 27.) The answer is: in no place!²⁸ Love at once makes possible and is made possible by liberty, thus eluding any attempt to be captured by knowledge, for, once captured it evaporates into paradox, having been rendered impossible. Love engenders knowledge, but it itself is irreducible in any possible sense. Mamar-dasvili describes it as a ‘substance’) which must be “lived through” and re-in-stated, re-constituted repeatedly and progressively, against “a background of infinite potentialities (R XIII, 23).”²⁹ Truth is love, and love is liberty, thus liberty can also not be encompassed by the subjectivity of the rational ego. In his article “The Right not to Use Rights” German literary critic Werner Hamacher wrote of the impasse reached by the free reign of individual wills in society, the same *horror vacui* as that reached in the philosophical search for truth with the ego as its defining absolute. Demonstrating the ultimate emptiness of any concept of human rights sans the ultimate right to give up all rights, to become completely vulnerable, he argues for the truth of the law of love as the framework for liberty: “Human rights are calculations with humans. The freedom that they grant to individuals, being the freedom established by the ‘universal’ law of subjectivity, is only the freedom to expand and universalize the reign of individual wills...freedom isn’t free so long as it finds its limit or its origin in the ego.”³⁰

This is the dilemma foreseen by Dostoevsky’s Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*: “Nothing is more seductive for man than his freedom of conscience, but nothing is a greater cause of suffering. And behold, instead of giving a firm foundation for setting the conscience of man at rest for ever, Thou didst choose all that is exceptional, vague and enigmatic...instead of taking possession of man’s freedom, Thou didst increase it...”³¹ Yet the Grand Inquisitor failed to perceive that it was agape which made even this knowledge possible and thus failed to trust agape for the solution.

²⁸ VLADIV-GLOVER, *What Is Classical and Non-Classical Knowledge*, op.cit. 215.

²⁹ VLADIV-GLOVER, *What Is Classical and Non-Classical Knowledge*, op.cit. 214.

³⁰ Werner HAMACHER, “The Right Not to Use Rights”, in *Political Theologies*, transl. Tobias BOES, ed. Hent DE VRIES and Lawrence E. SULLIVAN, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006) 671–690, 680–681.

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Innovative Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages to Dyslexic Learners

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1. Introduction

In Hungary dyslexic learners are educated in integrated classrooms. Dyslexic learners (DLs) form a special group within learners with Special Educational Needs (SEN) representing about 7–10% of all learners in Hungarian public education,¹ and their number is continuously increasing. Teachers are expected to recognise the characteristic symptoms of dyslexia, and direct learners to qualified teachers of SEN. However, in integrated education DLs would be entitled to receive special scaffolding necessary for their development, which, in lack of training and experience, is often beyond the competence of teachers.

Research, which seems to have intensified in recent years, suggests that dyslexia presents an especially grave challenge in foreign language learning,² as compensation strategies having been developed in the mother tongue cannot be directly transferred into learning additional languages. In addition, DLs represent a heterogeneous group and their tailor-made development would require awareness, training and appropriate resources. Problems resulting from the lack of the above mentioned conditions are often remedied by exemption from grading or foreign language learning in general. This might seem to be the easiest short-term solution, but it effectively breaches the DLs' right for equal chances in language learning. A more constructive approach could be recycling available research results into education both in the area of teacher training and material development.

This objective has inspired the „ENGaGE Digital English and German task bank for 4th-8th class dyslexic learners” TEMPUS Erasmus+ project (<http://engage.uni-miskolc.hu/>). The principal undertaking of the project, the ENGaGE

¹ MEIXNER Ildikó, *A dyslexia prevenció, reeducáció módszere*, (Budapest: Bárczi Gusztáv Gyógypedagógiai Főiskola, 1993)

² Judit KORMOS and Anne Margaret SMITH, *Teaching languages to students with specific learning differences*, (Bristol: MM Textbooks, 2012)

Task Bank offers a flexible, thematically organised English and German digital task bank for primary school learners with dyslexia and the inclusive classes they are educated in. The Teacher Training Programme accompanying the Task Bank provides information about dyslexia and foreign language learning, the benefits of digital technology, the possibilities of differentiation and inclusion, as well as project pedagogy. The project is realised in the cooperation of the following seven partner institutions: the University of Miskolc, the University of Szeged, Lingua-Met Gp. and Navigates Ltd. from Hungary, Lancaster University (UK), Masaryk University (Czech Republic) and Warsaw University (Poland).

The project is based on the available results of recent research and international projects related to the topic (DysTEFL 1–2, CalDys 2), which focus on three main areas: the difficulties and tailor-made skills development of DLs, the scaffolding potential of digital technology, as well as the significance of inclusive teaching and differentiation. In the following I shall introduce the theoretical background of the project and outline how the relevant results of recent research have been integrated into material development.

2. Specific difficulties of DLs and tailor-made skills development

Dyslexia is a specific learning difference that demonstrates itself most evidently in reading and writing difficulties.³ Fluent and accurate word coding and decoding might cause problems,⁴ reading and writing do not become sufficiently automatised,⁵ exchanging letters (b–d) and reading backwards (was–saw) are typical, and all this is often accompanied by disorganised or illegible handwriting. According to Everatt and Reid’s Phonological Deficit Hypothesis,⁶ reading/writing difficulties are caused by shortcomings of phonological awareness, and short-term and long-term memory, which are also responsible for problems of recalling words, discriminating sounds, phoneme – grapheme correspondence, and focusing attention.

However, besides the outlined difficulties, DLs might have numerous compensation strategies as well, which are important to consider when developing learning materials for them. Research suggests that these tend to include visual abilities, especially good long-term visual memory in remembering faces, shapes and colours, as well as creativity, effective problem-solving ability, and

³ KORMOS and SMITH, *Teaching languages*, op.cit.

⁴ Joanna NIJAKOWSKA, *Dyslexia in the foreign language classroom*, (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2010)

⁵ KORMOS and SMITH, *Teaching languages*, op.cit.

⁶ John EVERATT and Gavin REID, „Dyslexia: an overview of recent research”, in *The Routledge companion to dyslexia*, ed. Gavin REID, (London: Routledge, 2009) 3–22.

Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages to Dyslexic Learners

holistic thinking.⁷ Table 1 summarises the main requirements for DLs' scaffolding and how these are met by the ENGaGE Task Bank.

Table 1. Main requirements for DLs' scaffolding and how these are met by the ENGaGE Task Bank

Requirements of scaffolding DLs	Meeting the requirements in the ENGaGE Task Bank
Continuously recycling learnt information to help internalisation	Every module consists of six lessons focusing on the same topic, which support recycling in the following ways: Lesson 1 offers special developmental tasks for DLs relying on the new vocabulary introduced in lessons 2-3. Lessons 2-3 share an identical structure developing all four skills with 2-2 graded task blocks. A maximum of ten new vocabulary items and one language function per lesson are introduced and practised in these lessons. Lesson 4 contains an individual and a group project idea encouraging learners to recycle acquired new vocabulary and language functions in a creative way. Lesson 5 revises the content of lessons 2-3. Lesson 6 offers flashcard based practice tasks recycling the vocabulary of lessons 2-3. The leading topics of the modules are identical across the four levels of the Task Bank, facilitating the recycling and extension of previous content.
Developing working memory	Lesson 1 in every module contains tailor-made developmental tasks for DLs based on the topics of the module, appropriate for differentiated home or classroom work.
Multisensory approach in introducing new vocabulary and language functions	New vocabulary is introduced with flashcards using audiovisual support in lessons 2–3. Key words are visualised in big letters on flashcards, extended with a sample sentence in smaller letters and accompanied by parallel audio materials and a picture acting as an associative anchor. These pictures are recycled later in the module when the flashcard vocabulary is to be recalled, supporting associative vocabulary learning. New language functions are also introduced with the help of figures, colour coding, and audio materials.
Providing audiovisual support to reading and listening comprehension tasks	Reading texts are accompanied by audio materials and visual illustration. Texts are segmented into smaller blocks and presented against a tinted background. Most texts represent genres that typically consist of small, independent parts in real life as well, e.g.

⁷ Aisha Yakoub ALSOBHI and Nawaz KHAN and Harjinder RAHANU, „Personalised learning materials based on dyslexia types: Ontological approach”, *Procedia Computer Science*, 60(2015) 113–121.; Janice EDWARDS, *The scars of dyslexia: Eight case studies in emotional reactions*, (London: Cassel, 1994); Éva GYARMATHY, „Gifted Children with Specific Learning Difficulties and Teaching Foreign Languages”, in *Double exceptionality. Special Educational Needs in Europe Teaching languages to learners with special needs*, (Brussels: European Commission, 2005) Online: diszlexia.hu – 2018. január. 73–74.

	letters/email exchanges, advertisements, online media posts, online quizzes, etc. Listening comprehension tasks are also supported by tapescripts and visual illustration, but most lessons contain short videos, too. These are produced by the project team, and narration is supplemented with subtitles of varying complexity (full text appears in the subtitle, showing only key phrases, no subtitles at all).
Supporting and offering alternatives to writing	Scaffolding writing follows the principle of graduality. At levels 1 and 2 all task blocks offer task options enabling the learner to avoid writing (e.g. choosing pictures, ordering items, picture-text/text-text matching, etc.), to lead them towards more complex writing tasks through further completion options (e.g. choosing item from drop-down menu or typing it in). However, in all open-ended tasks learners are offered the possibility to write down or record their oral responses.

3. The supportive potential of digital technology

The members of Generation Z are growing up immersed in digital game culture, which shapes their affective and cognitive skills as well as social attitudes. One of the greatest challenges of our educational systems is that many of today's students are looking for the same impulsive, fast and experience-based learning, immediate feedback and rewarding mechanisms in formal school contexts as well. An effective way to meet this challenge is involving digital technology in education: it might improve motivation, help understanding and decrease cognitive workload.⁸ For DLs digital platforms can provide the individualised learning content which might enable them to keep pace with their groups with the help of individual work or differentiated group work.⁹

An effective way of increasing motivation is gamification: using gaming elements in non-gaming situations to engage learners in various activities, motivate them to act, facilitate their learning and solve problems. It is important to note here that game-based learning does not equal playing. In the case of „structural gamification”¹⁰ regular learning content is surrounded by the mechanisms, design and interactional features of games such as competitive challenges, performance and progression based games, collecting points and badges. „Content gamification”,¹¹ on the other hand, relies on using game-like

⁸ JAMES ALTY and A. AL-SHARRAH and Nigel BEACHAM, „When humans form media and media forms humans: An experimental study examining the effects different digital media have on the learning outcomes of students who have different learning styles”. *Journal of Interacting with Computers*, 18(2006) Nr. 5. 891–909.

⁹ ALSOBHI and KHAN and RAHANU, *Personalised learning materials*, op.cit.

¹⁰ Karl M. KAPP and Lucas BLAIR and Rich MESCH, *The gamification of learning and instruction. Fieldbook*, (New York: Wiley, 2014)

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages to Dyslexic Learners

characters/avatars, contexts, narratives, and related role plays, co-creation and small group work to develop different skills. The activities can be facilitated by group forums and various forms of social networking, providing further opportunities for learning and communication almost unnoticeably.

By combining various online educational platforms, we can create Virtual Learning Environments (VLE) to support learning. According to Rouse,¹² a VLE comprises curriculum mapping (breaking the curriculum into sections that can be assigned and assessed), student tracking, online support for both teacher and student, electronic communication (e-mail, threaded discussions, chat, Web publishing), and Internet links to outside curriculum resources.

Most VLEs are closed systems where the teacher is authorised to form groups and edit materials.

For the purposes of the planned task bank we sought for a platform which makes it possible to access materials from a public website, but if need be, can be operated as a closed system as well having the above described functions. Based on these criteria, the Screenager educational platform has been chosen, which offers the features summarised in table 2:

Table 2. Requirements related to the digital educational platform, and how they are met on the Screenager platform

Requirements related to the digital educational platform	Meeting these requirements in the Screenager platform
Makes it possible to access materials from a public website, but if need be, can be operated as a closed VLE	The tasks created in the Screenager system accompanied by feedback functions are available from the open link, except for the open-ended tasks, which can only be saved and sent in the closed Classroom function tied to registration. In the Screenager Classroom the curriculum mapping function enables teachers to send the chosen assignments to their groups, then trace students' progress by checking the submitted, automatically corrected responses as well as the number of attempts at solving the tasks. Teachers can send tasks and messages to their groups, but students can only submit their responses. Links to outside sources such as supplementary materials and online dictionaries can be integrated into the materials and sent via the message system as well,
Facilitating gamification by built-in functions and game templates	The decisive factor in choosing the Screenager platform was that its editing surface is user-operated with no or minimal need for IT support. This is largely due to built-in tasks supporting text processing (e.g. true or false, MCQ, matching, gap-filling

¹² Margaret ROUSE, „Virtual learning environment (VLE) or managed learning environment (MLE)“, (2011) Online: whatis.techtarget.com – December 2019.

	task, etc.) and game templates (falling words, word search, picture matching, memory game, online quizzes, etc.). The flashcards introducing key vocabulary in lessons 2–3 can be turned into 12 different playful word games, recycling vocabulary through varied task types.
Effective feedback system	The Screenager platform includes an effective, multi-level feedback system. Learners receive immediate visual (green and red indication of correct and incorrect answers) and audio feedback after completing closed tasks, but the correct answer is not given automatically, encouraging learners to make further attempts at task solution till perfection is achieved. At the end of lessons a summative lesson result can also be generated.
Possibility to upload visual, audio and video content, or connect them to the course material via external links	Screenager offers a freely editable online surface, the design of which is determined by the user-editor. We can upload texts and images, mp3 audio and mp4 video materials, pdf and excel files, links to online extensions, as well as game templates filled with the desired content.
Varied text design options (font size, background, segmenting)	The platform offers more than ten text frames/background schemata, each of which includes four text boxes and a task box of matching colours to differentiate titles, remarks, and different types of text. The font type is given, but size and highlight functions can be chosen.
Built-in alternatives and support mechanisms for writing	Flashcards and text processing tasks, as well as game functions offer more than 15 different options to avoid or support writing.

4. Inclusive education and differentiation

While learners with SEN are obliged to learn with methods and resources designed for learners with no apparent learning difficulty and proceed matching the pace of the „average“, it is no wonder they rarely enjoy a sense of success. Owing to their failures, their group prestige tends to be low, they are characterised with a higher level of foreign language use anxiety,¹³ and typically have a lower level of motivation and self-confidence.¹⁴ What makes the situation even more difficult is that being afraid of peer judgement, learners with special learning differences often refuse the help offered to them because they do not want to seem „different“. Thus the opportunities of development are continuously dwindling.

Solution might be offered by inclusive education, which provides differentiated learning options to learners with SEN. Their active participation in the

¹³ Ewa PIECHURSKA-KUCIEL, „Input, processing and output anxiety in students with symptoms of developmental dyslexia“, in *Language learners with special needs: An international perspective*, ed. Judit KORMOS and Edit KONTRA, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008) 86–109.

¹⁴ Kata CSIZÉR and Judit KORMOS and Ágnes SARKADI, „The dynamics of language learning attitudes and motivation: Lessons from an interview study of dyslexic language learners“, *Modern Language Journal*, 94(2010) Nr. 3. 470–487.

Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages to Dyslexic Learners

learning process is supported by principled scaffolding, which means that helping mechanisms are carefully matched to the learners' development and are gradually withdrawn to support learner autonomy. Part of scaffolding is differentiated instruction, which might involve modification of the learning material (e.g. reducing the number of words to be learnt, shortening/simplifying the text for reading comprehension, etc.), as well as accommodation of the processes of learning and assessment (e.g. providing more time or reducing the number of questions in tests, giving options for written or oral assessment, etc.).

The central concept of inclusive education is accepting differences: it is natural that learners have their individual strengths and weaknesses, and consequently might make different, individual contribution to group activities. This concept can be effectively supported by developing transcultural competence as well, which reaches beyond getting to know the target language and culture and encourages learners to adopt a conscious mediating role between languages and cultures. Table 3 presents an overview of the principles of inclusive education, and how they are addressed in the ENGAGE Task Bank.

Table 3. Principles of inclusive education, and how they are addressed in the ENGAGE Task Bank

Principles of inclusive education	How they are addressed in the ENGAGE Task Bank
Flexible scaffolding options	The Task Bank offers varied scaffolding mechanisms: 1) optional drop-down mother tongue translation for instructions and key vocabulary, 2) colour-coding for different text types, 3) function icons consistently accompanied by matching, highlighted function verbs, 4) unified, predictable module and lesson structure.
Differentiated instruction for DLs	Of the six lessons comprising a module, lessons 1, 5 and 6, and the first project task in lesson 4 are ideal for individual work, while lessons 2–3, and the second project task of lesson 4 are designed for group work. Lesson 1 presents tailor-made developmental tasks for DLs, which, however, might be useful for ALL learners to develop their language learning skills and revise the material – just as the revision tasks of lesson 5 and the flashcard tasks of lesson 6. The task blocks of lessons 2–3 contain three increasingly difficult tasks each, connected to a central language input. The aim is not to have all learners complete all three tasks, but to give each learner a task that suits their language competence. In a significant number of tasks learners can choose between two task solution options: writing or speaking and recording it, choosing items from a drop-down list or typing them in, etc.
Facilitating cooperation between group members	Graded tasks facilitate participation in whole group work as well by enabling all learners to work on the same task and contribute to the discussion of the task, although at different language levels. Task C

	(the third task of the task blocks) is mostly open and often interactive, to provide opportunities for group discussion and role play. The group projects of lesson 4 invite learners of different abilities to form small groups to work together and produce a creative outcome. The project ideas are based on the topic of the module, but the tasks are open-ended: learners can produce alternative solutions involving language items and connected topics depending on their language level.
Developing transcultural competence	The materials of the Task Bank provide opportunities for 1) familiarising learners with the linguistic varieties of English/German, 2) exploring English/German-speaking cultures as well as other cultures of the world, 3) comparing first language and foreign language cultures, 4) raising awareness of first language culture and discussing it in English/German.

5. Conclusion

The ENGaGE Task Bank is an innovative, experimental learning material offering English and German supplementary tasks for inclusive classes to facilitate the differentiation of dyslexic learners and learners with other learning differences. Differentiated scaffolding is provided by tailor-made developmental tasks on the one hand, and task solution options offered by the Screenager platform on the other hand. The main ambition of the Task Bank is to support inclusive learning environments, which contribute to decreasing the learning disadvantage of learners with SEN and promote their equal access to education.

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Proximitive Responsibility

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Keywords: Ethics of Responsibility, Personalism, Phenomenological Realism, Philosophical Anthropology, Transformative Intentionality

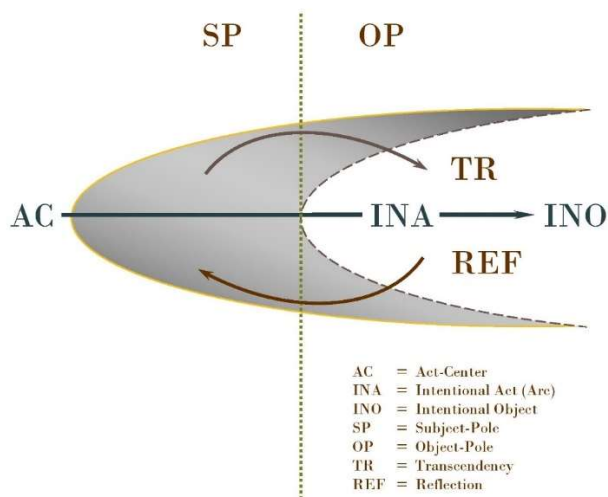
Classifying various types of responsibility is a difficult task, particular types are not as clearly separated in practical life as the theoretician wants to present them. Generally, the phenomenon of responsibility is a series of practical acts with complex structure: a series of actions through which a person *takes or disclaims liability* for *something* or *someone*, in a *certain way* and *relation*. Components defining the nature, types and modalities of responsibility fit into this structure – such as more or less clear sense and scope of responsibility; intended aims, motivations and characteristics of the actor; features of situational circumstances and factors; voluntarily or involuntarily realised consequences of the action; responsibility attributing or denying reactions from the social environment concerned; conditionalities defining the degree of decision making competence and accountability, and so forth –, which, after all, cannot be sharply separated because they are associated with the activity of a particular person and those factors that determine it in one form or another.

Responsibility for the intended consequences of an act is probably one of the most paradigmatic types of responsibility in moral philosophy – whether it be related to the ex-post assessment of the consequences of the act (*retrospective responsibility*) or the ex-ante evaluation of the intended action (*prospective responsibility*). Moreover, it is no coincidence that modern ethics of responsibility has a strongly *consequentialist character* – here we can think of the famous distinction of *Max Weber*,¹ where the *responsibility* and the *sentiment* lead to moral actions with differing ideal-typical logic ('*Verantwortungsethik*' versus '*Gesinnungsethik*') or might mention *Hans Jonas*'s ethics of responsibility) demanding veritable future-orientation.²

However, there is a type of responsibility that, strictly speaking, is not the consequence of our acts, it nevertheless burdens or obligates us; which is similarly inseparable from the action and practical life but rather depends on the

¹ Max WEBER, „Politik als Beruf“, [1919] in *Gesammelte politische Schriften*, hrsg. Johannes VON WINCKELMANN, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr und Paul Siebeck Verlag, 1988) 505–560.

² Hans JONAS, *Das Prinzip Verantwortung*, [1979] (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2003)



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⁴ MAKAI. *Transzformatív intencionalitás*. *op.cit.*

the traditional sense, that is, by his actions, he does not cause negativity for the existence or position of the second person. Its fundamental features are as follows: (α) it is the primary condition for the *personal* fulfilment of existence, the revelation of the person; without devotion and responsibility of the other person these processes will be stopped or at least made difficult. (β) This personal and direct form of taking responsibility is probably the basis of any other relation with moral content. (γ) Finally, it is one of the most important catalysts of the interpersonal *approximation process*, that is, the second person's adequate approach and understanding embedded in proper experience are made possible through this form of practical attention transposed into *responsibility*, through the *responsibility for them*.⁵ It is a conscious activity that, at the same time, puts the lives of persons concerned in a context of defined and diverse influences.

The second person preserves his or her *transcendence*, and therefore in no way can it be assimilated, since this would be equivalent to eliminating the personality or the *alterity* forming the basis of relation. Their alterity, however, is not an inaccessible, untouchable and incomprehensible ('infiniment étranger') otherness necessarily resistant to first-person approach,⁶ but a relationship that offers the possibility of building up a proximal field towards the second person.⁷ Breakthrough the strangeness, in the strict sense, offers the prospect of an encounter with the second person. Naturally, there can be a relationship that, due to its intimate nature, limits the approach of a third person; analogously, there may be relations of any person's life that cannot be assigned with a proximal field. However, there is no human isolation that can, in all relation, exclude or avert the consequences of taking or just of denying and disowning responsibility. 'Involvement' of individuals and their efficiency is an elementary fact whether in the form of assistance and succour or hurt and indifference. Near the other, intentional activity of humans is transformed into *personality* and *potential responsibility*. Partial transparency is a primordial condition of these events.

⁵ In analysing the moral infrastructure of (post)modern societies, Zygmunt Bauman formulated the following thesis, invoking the foundation of Lévinas's phenomenologically inspired ethics of responsibility: the perceptibility and intensity of elemental (pre-social) responsibility to the second person are *inverse proportion* to the increase in social distance between individuals – whether this distance is physical, psychic or symbolic, and so forth, based. Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, [1989] (Cambridge: Polity, 2008) 169–200.; Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Postmodern Ethics*, (Oxford and Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1994) 62–109.

⁶ Cf. Emmanuel LÉVINAS, *Totalité et Infini. Essai sur l'extériorité*, [1961] Le Livre de Poche, (Paris: Kluwer Academic, 1990)

⁷ In Hungarian these two words ['untouchable' ('érintheetlen') and 'incomprehensible' ('érthetetlen')] can be derived etymologically from a joint base ['ér-' ('to reach', 'to touch', 'to ripen')].

Substantially, practical attention to the second person bases and deepens the *approximation process* that intends to ensure perceptibility of the responsibility for the second person and dissolves the distance that excludes the possibility to build up ways to the stranger. Then, the parties *stay in common intentional field* in which they are involved in partial-one-way or mutual-two-way *activity* ('attention'); it allows the subject to (α) perceive the stranger as the *second person*, furthermore (β) to transform practical attention into *moral point of view*. The one-sided logic of giving is a direct and asymmetric responsibility-relation; the first person's personal, *unconditioned* but *not infinite responsibility* to second person is a fundamental *change of moral perspective* that is a genetic basis for any moral phenomenon, relation or regulator – such as the general principle of the *moral respect* concerning for *stranger* also, or as a norm of justice which serves, in different ways, as regulator of social life. Precisely because the *proximity field*, specific to committed personal relations, can produce such an *experience-horizon* which can create the *real* conditions of the view-point-changing or perspective-taking for the first person, and which is, therefore, defining element of the individually structured configurations of responsibility. This varied experience of the *responsible proximity* provides *motivational energy* for more public forms of the expected and required behaviour.

However, it is doubtful whether moral consciousness and respect for the moral law are *in themselves* sufficient motivation for an individual – possibly opposite to their other impulses – to do what he or she thinks is *right*. To this, formal and impersonal principles are often not sufficient in themselves. In the absence of proximal field, the second person is inaccessible or alien. In such cases, the first person has only the possibility of an unjustified extension of *their perspective* or of taking on a *hypothetically general point of view* – as can be seen, for example, in *Kant's* categorical imperative.⁸ The obligatory moral respect for all, in itself, is weak if it is not supported by motivational energies that originate from varied experiences of *responsible proximity*.⁹ Nevertheless, that is also true

⁸ Immanuel KANT, „Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten“, [1785] *Werke in zwölf Bänden*, Bd. 7, hrsg. Wilhelm VON WEISCHEDER, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977)

⁹ *Moral identity* does not depend, or only partially, on the convinced *principles* of a person to justify his behaviour towards others or oneself; rather, it depends on the experiences, effects and patterns that are generated in the *proximity field* and are actively processed internally and that lie behind such a possible justification. On this point, the prominent role of the internal skill called *phronésis* in the *Aristotelian* tradition is indisputable. The sense of the norms and the actualisation of the principles fit the content of the concrete situation for action, i.e. the skills and insights related to morality are inseparable from the practice of *application*. However, it should emphasise *secondary, derivative and instrumental* nature of moral principles. At the centre of moral action is the *proximity field* and the *second person*, and the person does not see the immediate *practical duties* tied to the general-principled level of normativity. General constraints only limit the scope of possible actions,

of the respect for moral imperatives; it does not necessarily have motivational power that – individually or even generally –, could lead to the moral turn of practical reason. The motivational basis for the fulfilment of moral imperatives ('ought' – values) follows from the indicatives ('is' – facts) of differentiated attractions generated in proximity field; therefore, beyond this field, we have to take into account the structures and dynamism of normative regulation that are different but not independent of this experience of proximity. Since the moral responsibility towards the second person and providing sufficient motivation in practice can sometimes be challenging to enforce beyond the proximal field of personal relations, the *responsibility-based ethics of committed relations* is a necessary but probably insufficient basis for normativity. Here, if appropriate, we need to move towards the functionally differentiated order of social institutions.

What conclusions might follow from the above? (α) First of all, notice that the distance that weakens or eliminates responsibility for the second person is inherently alienating. (β) The personal responsibility concretising in the relation between the first and the second person is unconditioned; still, it bears the mark of *finality* for two inseparable reasons. Its *extensibility* is highly limited, and *enforceability* depends on the resources and capabilities of the first person currently available. In this area, *indirect reciprocity*, the individual's experience that they may be themselves a second person (and also an 'object' of unconditioned responsibility) for a specific person, plays a significant role.

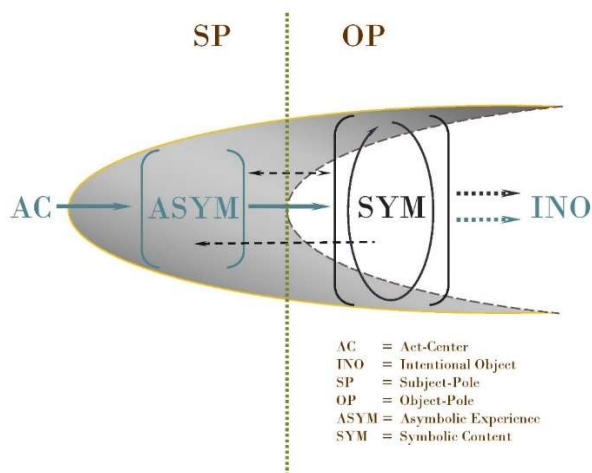
Everyone, anyone cannot be close to us. Weighty question about what kind of moral, and possibly legal, logic-based regulators take over the role of normalising relations in case of increasing distance (acquaintances, known and unknown strangers); and what are the causes, reasons and commitments that specify for – benevolent, indifferent or hostile, and so forth – attitudes for strangers. The obvious answer is that it is a primary function of religious morals, cultural patterns, historical and individual experiences defining the manner of life whether the circle of 'near ones' opens or closes around the person. I would underline two things: (β/1) foundation for a *culture of attention to the other* is the *proximative responsibility-relation*, anyone is standing at its centre. Presumably, the person was born with the ability to look at a personal, living or inorganic being *in themselves*, therefore to act *alone in the interest of the other*, or to subordinate their interests to those of others. That is why the fair behaviour towards a stranger, if necessary, may take priority over personal loyalty. (β/2) The second element to be emphasised is the realisation of the principle of *direct*

at the same time, the cognitive processing and validation of the moral universals cannot be independent of the nature of proximity experiences and effects induced in such a medium.

reciprocity, which defines the nature and form of human contact as a balancing regulator of actions-reactions, steps-responses, and in many cases as an unreflective *proto-justice mechanism*. Unfortunately, we still do not see the real significance of this in the statics of our social institutions. Attitude forming power of the legal systems is undoubtedly limited and cannot replace the moral infrastructure of society or the functions of social institutions dealing with education. All of these must be taken into account considering the content of our obligations to the *stranger*, the extent of reasonably expected help, or the nature of behaviour resulting from the respect of people.

The concept outlined here applies a teleological and consequentialist approach, while it is not based on a utilitarian but personalist foundations. Therefore, future basic research should also refer to the ontological question of the *relation between person and reality*. The anthropological turn of modern philosophy, denoted by *Kant's* name, struck epistemological wedge between the *appearance (phenomenon)* and the underlying *thing (noumenon)*, making it inaccessible to the paths to reality and real beings (such as the reality of persons). The human being is at the *intersection of the symbolic world and the reality*, though he cannot live for a long time under the pressure of an unknown reality. It must break the boundaries of direct experience and integrate the experienced into a larger, symbolic whole. Supposedly, there is never complete adequacy between reality and the symbolic world – the symbolic meaning has only limited ability to describe or convey pre-symbolic and pre-expressional content. Therefore reality always contains an 'element' that is not transmitted by the world as a symbolic universe (*Figure II*).

Figure II: Scheme of the Relation between Intentional Experience and Symbolic Field wedged into Intentional Field¹⁰



Nevertheless, this does not mean that symbolic constructions cover the intact ('in-itself') sphere of the 'underlying' reality as it would emerge from the paradigm of *critical philosophy*. On the contrary, the person is *simultaneously present* in these dimensions and has the opportunity to make comparisons; it is not enclosed forthwith in the symbolic universe transmitted by culture as such.¹¹ The active and experiential connection to reality is itself a *kind of nearness*, manifested in the diversity of *attractions* to the beings and the being. In this regard, we need to study more closely at the inseparably intertwined dynamics of the person and the reality.

¹⁰ MAKAI, *Transzformatív intencionalitás, op.cit.*

¹¹ MAKAI Péter, „Megtestesülés és szimbólum. Bevezetés a noumenológiába”, *Vigilia*, 82(2017) 1. sz. 10–17.

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Washback Effect of Language Exams on Test Takers' Foreign Language Learning Motivation, Attitude and Self-Concept: A Pilot Study

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Keywords: Attitude, Candidate, Exam afterlife, Language learning, Motivation, Washback effect

1. Theoretical background

1. 1. Washback in language testing

Publications and articles have investigated test impact and, within, the vital role of motivation, albeit with a focus on learners' performance and test impact in exam preparation-driven language learning processes. The term washback is a widely accepted expression in testing literature. The concepts of washback or backwash are ascribed to the results and consequences of language testing on teaching methods and learning processes.¹ Washback is seen as an after-effect of high-stakes exams that can make teachers and learners do things and make decisions because of the test.² Further, washback effect also provides benefits for exam-takers; it serves as an opportunity for test takers to learn from their mistakes and revise the contents.

1. 2. Changing motivation of candidates during language exam preparation

Within these mentioned individual differences, variables such as motivation, gained even more importance than the effect of personality.³ Apparently, in language exam preparation, extrinsic motivation achieved a highlighted position due to outer coercion of work and school expectations. It is supported by the fact that in most cases exam preparation courses have a high degree of extrinsic motivation; hence learners professedly attend the class to pass a certain exam. While intrinsic motivation refers to pursuing an activity only for the

¹ Charles J. ALDERSON and Dianne WALL, „Does Washback Exist?”, *Applied Linguistics*, 14(1993) Nr. 2. 115–129.

² *Ibid.*

³ Zoltán DÖRNYEI, *The Psychology of the Language Learner: Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition*, (Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2005)

Washback Effect of Language Exams on Test Takers' Motivation

enjoyment of the activity itself, rather than its instrumental value.⁴ Even so, teachers of language exam teaching contribute to the idea that intrinsic motivation is a scarce phenomenon among learners. However, it is a perceptible tendency during the exam preparation process that some exam takers experience change from one type of motivation to another or notice a mixture of the two types.

1. 3. Candidates' attitude to language learning

Attitude in language learning can be described as a set of presumptions developed at a period of time in a given socio-cultural setting. Different students bear different motivations, along with different perceptions of the learning process. Accordingly, the concepts of motivation and attitude in language learning are closely attached, though they seem different in specific respects. Gardner claimed that attitudes are one component of motivation representing the mixture of endeavour along with eagerness to reach the learning objectives, as well as reassuring attitudes to learning a language.⁵ According to Brown, attitudes are subjective, experimental and emotive.⁶ More specifically, the attitude is firmly interrelated with ideas, beliefs and, naturally, emotions.

2. The study

2.1. Research method and data collection

Qualitative data were collected in the form of semi-structured interviews and then analysed with a deductive approach. The exam candidates were interviewed, in three sections; before they wrote a placement test and started the exam preparation course, during their participation in the exam preparation courses, and after taking the language exam, covering a two-month period. The motive behind the selection was that they represent various groups of society, from diverse age groups, supposedly with different sources of motivation, attitude and language learning objectives. The sample group of the pilot study included 25 exam takers, aged between 16–45, who participated in exam preparation courses at a language school in Miskolc and then took the exam right after the course. All the participants have taken English language exams at B2 level, acquiring sufficient amount of experience concerning the examination procedure.

⁴ Richard RYAN and Edward DECI, „Self-Determination Theory and the Facilitation of Intrinsic Motivation, Social Development, and Well-Being”, *The American Psychologist*, 55(2000) Nr. 1. 68–78.

⁵ Robert C. GARDNER, *Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation*, (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1985)

⁶ Douglas H. BROWN, *Principles of language learning and teaching*, (White Plains: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000⁴)

3. Results

The questions mapped the exam takers' specific involvement in the learning process, and interpretation of events occurring during the preparation procedures, as well as their individual background on motivation, language learning attitude, worries and doubts that may emerge. Results obtained from the given answers provided by the test takers show that extrinsic motivation was high in all the interviewees, since, before they started the course, they all indicated instrumental sources as the reason for learning and taking the exam.

Generally, candidates are highly motivated, if they recognise the importance of learning the language in their later professional life. However, as it was foreseeable, they develop intrinsic motivation. As it was suggested in the literature concerning language exams, during and right after the language exam preparation course some exam takers experienced changes, and shifted between extrinsic and intrinsic types. Some of the participants created and learned new strategies that they found expedient and more practical than the ones they used before. They found connection between the standards and instructions which they assessed as positive washback. Negative washback may appear if instructions focus too heavily on exam preparation. Eight members of the questioned group indicated such impacts. Presence of worries and doubts during the language exam preparation may add a lot to the formation of attitude. These factors have strong opinion changing effects on candidates. When learners' aim is to pass the language exam, the progress is observably quicker and stimulated, but a language learning plateau may occur, when the learner reaches the intermediate level of language proficiency. In this way, the learners' earlier set goals have been attained, resulting in a lack of clear direction for focused study. Though, further assigned objectives can alleviate this state, by a newer focus the learners launch. On the contrary, unduly ambitious goals can demotivate and withdraw learners from further studies by setting them up for failure. The candidates' language exam after life is highly affected by the phenomena of this language learning plateau, and in many cases it may be prevented by finding new sources of motivation, as well as by changing attitude to language learning.

4. Findings

The results of the study suggest that attitude to language learning is a learned and developing behaviour. It may exert an influence on the achievements of the candidates concerning language exams. Motivation types during the preparation do not necessarily alter, but if they do, they exert significant effects on the candidates' exam afterlife, as well as their perspectives on further language

Washback Effect of Language Exams on Test Takers' Motivation

learning. In summary, findings suggested that before and during the preparation course and after the language exam, candidates experience various expected and unforeseen impacts that may strongly influence their self-assessment, change their attitude to learning and types of motivation.

5. Conclusion

Studies regarding the significance of language exams could undeniably be of utmost importance. It would be of interest to investigate whether the courses, where the emphasis is on the development on productive and receptive language skills, and also teaching strategies to be used at the exam, can actually generate a positive change in students' attitudes towards language learning. Likewise, it would be worthwhile to further explore and evaluate what type of teaching and learning methods can engender and activate the most pleasurable, satisfying and appropriate learning experiences for participants of exam preparations courses, the prospective exam takers.

Appendix

Interview questions

Before starting the course

1. What are your objectives to be reached with the language exam?
2. Can you give specific details about your expectations towards the course?
3. Can you give specific details about your expectations towards the exam?

During the exam preparation course

4. What positive observations can you report about concerning the course?
5. What negative observations can you report about concerning the course?
6. Are you experiencing any changes in your attitude to learning during the exam preparation?

After the exam

7. Looking back at your previous incentives to take the exam, do you find them sufficiently motivating now as you have taken the exam?
8. Are you planning to continue language learning? If yes, then for what reasons?
9. How do you assess your achievements reached at the exam?

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Population and Others – Small Miskolc Demographics

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Keywords: demography, number of population, population statistics, population processes, natural weight loss in population

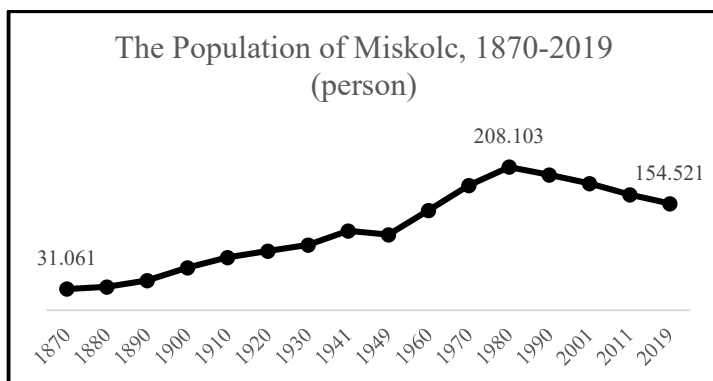
1. The city

The city of Miskolc in Hungary is a stepchild of time. For the past thirty years little has been said about the unmatched scenery, architecture or age-long cultural traditions of the relatively, at least in Hungarian terms, big settlement, much more frequently has its name been mentioned in connection with regression or unfavourable economic conditions.

In our days Miskolc is a city of one of the most poverty-stricken regions in Hungary. On the basis of almost every indicator the situation is much worse here than the average standards in the country and the fallback is even more significant in European terms. Facts and tendencies seem distressing, but its past and traditions as well as its present values, natural beauties and the talent of its citizens may contribute to the chances of revival.

The objective of this paper is to analyze and draw a comparison between the demographical characteristics and potential of the city and Hungarian data and to appoint a possible direction of revival.

2. The number of the population



After World War II, Miskolc lost a substantial number of its citizens as almost as many as ten thousand members of the Jewish community had been deported. The politics of forced industrialisation characteristic of the post world war period put the city on a radically new pathway totally different from anything before. Instead of being the citadel of wine-trade catering and culture, Miskolc became the symbol of manufacturing industry. The newly built housing estates swallowed the ten thousands of people flooding here, while the destruction of the historical downtown commenced. By the end of the fifties the number of the population multiplied, heavy industry and metallurgy, to which the activity of most people connected, seemed to be flourishing, and from 1949 university training was launched to secure the technical-intellectual resources of industrial production. By the eighties, owing to the gradually developing crisis, it became evident that the single-track development of industry would have its revenge. As a result of the collapse following the changing of the political system thousands of people lost their work from one day to another and became unemployed, families found themselves in acute income-social crisis, increased the number of occurrences of deviant behaviour, mainly alcoholism and mental illnesses.

In our days Miskolc is the fourth most populous city and its demographic tendencies follow the same pattern as those of the country, however, even more markedly. The 1986 peak of 211.660 decreased to 154.521 in 2019, which means that the city had lost almost 25% of its population in thirty years.

It was this phenomenon to which the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) called attention underlying that one of the long term challenges of the twenty first century had a demographic character. While

overflow of population represents a global problem, in post-industrial societies, especially in Europe, senescence and depopulation are characteristic features, which, carrying the decrease in the number of the active population, confine competitive which is one of the most important objectives of the European Union.

3. Demographical composition

3.1. Distribution according to gender

Social gender is a basic demographical criterion which does not normally change in the course of the individual's life. It has to be taken into consideration in any study of the demographical phenomena because it crucially influences the demographic behaviour of the population so affecting the number of future generations through birth, marriage and death ratios. Gender distribution of the society is influenced by several factors: firstly in every human society boys outnumber girls at birth but their expected life-span is shorter, secondly at war-time mainly the men were the victims, thirdly in territories under immigration the ratio of men is higher whereas there are more women in the case of emigration.

In Miskolc the ratio of women is higher than the average in the country, 53,5% in contrast to the men's 46,5%. In 2018, 1154 women fell on 1000 men which can be explained by the worsening of men's mortality.

3.2. Distribution according to age

Besides social gender age is another basic social demographical criterion. The composition of changes according to age determines every aspect of socio-economic life, for example the magnitude of the workforce-basis, number of dependants, educational, cultural, medical needs. Age is expressed in years. The composition of the public according to gender and age at a given point in time is usually demonstrated on an age-tree, which consists of two string-diagrams drawn opposite each other on the vertical axis of which are the years of age and on the horizontal one is the number of the population. At the bottom of the age-tree are the younger, and advancing higher are the representatives of the older generations. The population of men is usually represented on the left and that of women can be seen on the right hand side of the diagram. On the basis of the composition of age there are three main types of age-trees which, however, do not occur without exceptions help to recognize the basic tendencies. They can take the shape of a pyramid characteristic of young, increasing population, can resemble a bell reflecting constant and an onion or urn in the case of an ageing, decreasing population.

Studying the composition of the population of Miskolc according to age, we can detect very similar tendencies. Compared to 1990, the ratio of children decreased to 14% by 2018 which is a 7% decline, and the ratio of the elderly increased to 20% which is a 8% growth, so the ageing index (143) – the number of the elderly in contrast with one hundred children – doubled.

3.3. Distribution according to school-leaving certificates

The most general tendency of schooling of the population of Miskolc is a steady increase in the number of those who complete secondary or tertiary education on the one hand and a decrease in the number of those who do not complete primary education on the other.

The ratios have always been more positive in the town than in the country. In 2018, 35% of the population over 18 had passed the secondary school final exams and 19% of the population over 25 had university or college degrees. In this respect the role of the University of Miskolc can hardly be underestimated. The University of Heavy Industry and Technology was founded with three faculties of engineering, mining and metallurgy by the XXIII. Act of 1949 and for about thirty years it was an outstanding institution of Hungarian higher education in technology. Now it has further five faculties of arts, medicine, law, economics and music, so with its nine thousand students and seven hundred lecturers it has become one of the major universities in the country. Its further objective is to establish a status of similar significance in the European region.

3.4. Economic activity

By the term economic activity, we understand how the individuals take their shares in the social division of labour, whether they have regular incomes, and if they do how they earn their living. According to the recommendations of the International Labour Office (ILO) the population can be divided into economically active – employed or unemployed – and inactive – students and old-age pensioners.

In the years of transition the number of people in employment in Miskolc dramatically decreased – with almost as much as one third – owing to the regression of metallurgy, machine industry and mining, with a fivefold increase in the ratio of the unemployed. At the end of 2018, the proportion of active people has stabilized at 45%, as many as 4700 people were registered being out of employment, which was significantly less than the number of the previous year.

3.5. Regional distribution

The composition of the population is influenced by natural-geographical factors among which they live. Among these is very important the land, whose size and

quality, whether it is suitable for farming for example, are closely related to the increase of the population. Its indicator is the density of population, which shows the average number of people per square-kilometre. The density of population in Hungary corresponds to the European average 110 people/km² although with great regional differences.

Miskolc is one of the most densely populated cities. In 2018, there will be 668 inhabitants per km².

The study of the regional distribution of the demographical composition of the population can be carried out on the basis of administrative units, according to settlements as well. Their definition is different from country to country; however, normally organic human dwelling-places are labelled as settlements. Classification according to the size of the settlements is internationally recommended although there is no clear-cut criterion for the distinction between towns and villages. As a norm, settlements with a population smaller than 2000 belong to the latter.

Suburbanization, which is a tendency in Miskolc as well, has driven the population mainly into the small settlements surrounding the city and to a lesser extent to other towns and villages in the region. Beside the peaceful, calm and civilised suburban areas which are rather expensive and affordable only for the well to do with high social status, the groups of losers of the political transition not being able balance their family budget move towards the less expensive, rural areas far from the city which offer cheaper living conditions.

4. Demographical processes

4.1. Marriages, divorces

Marriage is the most common form of establishing a family, the most important objective of which is to secure the existence of the human race. It is a social institution which alters the structure of the population – first of all the marital status – and generates different demographical changes like the number of births. Fertility through the number of marriages is very sensitive to socio-economic changes, so demographical politics pays close attention to positively influencing the population's intention to marriage. The movements of marriage are influenced by social conditions, traditions, manners and their changes. As to the frequency of marriages, Hungary used to belong to the first couple of countries in Europe until the beginning of the nineteen eighties. It had two reasons. On the one hand compared with the west, fewer elderly people lived in the country due to higher mortality, people got married at a younger age and the intention to marriage was higher. On the other hand the ratio of the urban population was smaller and for the rural, farming population establishing a common existence by getting married was the norm. In the second half of the

nineteen seventies, however, a decrease in the intention to marriage started, which has been a tendency ever since. In contrast the number of divorces has increased. In 2016 5,3% of marriages and 2,0% of divorces fell on every one thousand people of the population, almost every second marriage breaks up and more than 6% of the population are divorced.

	Crude marriage rate	First marriage as a percentage of marriages	Crude divorce rate
1960	8,9	73	1,7
1970	9,3	75	2,2
1980	7,5	71	2,6
1990	6,4	72	2,4
2001	4,3	73	2,4
2011	3,6	75	2,5
2016	5,3	77	2,0

The statistics in Miskolc show similar tendencies although in 2018 the number of marriages was a bit higher compared to the previous years so 4,5% of marriages fell on every one thousand people of the citizens.

4.2. Migration

Migration means the changing of the habitat by crossing the border of the settlement. According to its direction we distinguish between national – migration inside the country – and international migration – one in the course of which the border of the country is crossed. In its intensity migration can be permanent – when the members of the population change their permanent address – or temporary – when the permanent address does not change – that is the individual's workplace and home are in different settlements. The reasons for migration may be different. The most important reason probably is the hope for a better living and more favourable working conditions, which drives the population of less developed regions to the more developed ones. Wartime situations and disasters of nature may also constitute a further reason for migration. In our country migration is a characteristic feature of men aged between 20–30, and its direction is the capital, Budapest, in most cases. In the first two decades of the twentieth century emigration was characteristic, then about 1,5 million people, two thirds of whom were men, mostly poverty-stricken farmers, emigrated to America. By the nineteen nineties, due to the disintegration of the socio-political systems in Eastern Europe and the war in Yugoslavia, Hungary had become an adoptive country that is we have a positive emigration balance.

Contrary to statistical data of the past thirty years of the country Miskolc has a negative emigration balance having to put up with losses in the number of the population every year. People who had lost their jobs moved with or without their families to the smaller settlements of the region or, in the hope of better living and working conditions, to Budapest or the western parts of the country. In 2018 the migration deficit of the town was 617.

4.3. Number of births, fertility

The study of births is divided into two parts by demographics. Birth-statistics studies the newborn, the number of births and demographical characteristics of the babies, while fertility statistics studies the woman that is the demographical characteristics of both the births and the mother. In Hungary the movement of births and fertility can be divided into three periods. The first period is the one of demographical transition from the end of the nineteenth century until World War II. The development of the population is characterized by a move from high fertility and mortality rates to low fertility and favourable mortality rates. The ratio of live births first slightly declined in the eighteen eighties and then radically in the nineteen thirties. The latter was followed by a decrease in the number of children per mother ratio mainly because of the recession in fertility. The second period lasted from World War II to nineteen seventies. At the beginning of the nineteen fifties due to the ban on abortion there was a baby-boom then, mainly because of social changes – liberalization of abortion, employment of women, lengthened schooling period – the number of births decreased to reach its nadir in 1962. The birth ratio in Hungary was the lowest in the world. Despite different incentives – maternity leave in 1967 – the efforts to keep up positive reproduction rates of the population were not successful although in the middle of the nineteen seventies due to the productiveness of the populous generations of the early fifties there was another boom but it was not long lasting. In the third period of the past twenty years low birth rates became permanent due to women's role of new type, the crisis of the family and the institution of marriage and ageing society, which forecast unfavourable demographic perspectives in the future. It was the first time in 1988 that the number of births did not exceed 100 thousand. In 2016, 9,5 births fell on every 1000 people. The number of children is de facto 30% less than necessary for simple reproduction, however, childless marriage is not a norm. Couples want to have children at a later age, after they have established their firm intellectual and material bases. This kind of thinking is mainly characteristic of the educated with certificates of completed secondary or tertiary education.

Year	Number of births	Live births per 1000 population	Total fertility rate	Gross reproduction rate
1960	146461	14,7	2,02	0,975
1970	151819	14,7	1,98	0,953
1980	148673	13,9	1,91	0,937
1990	125679	12,1	1,87	0,900
2001	97597	9,6	1,31	0,643
2011	97047	8,8	1,23	0,636
2016	95361	9,5	1,49	0,726

In our days the indicators of birth rates and fertility are below the average of those of the country in Miskolc. In 2018, 8,7 live births fell on every 1000 people, which is even more below the average of the counties. The phenomenon can be explained by significantly different attitudes of different social groups to having children. The better educated want to have fewer children and their ratio is higher in the city than in the other settlements in the county.

4.4. Deaths, mortality

Mortality, the uniformity determining the length of human life has been studied since ancient times. In our days death statistics are inevitable to make reliable calculations about the socio-economic processes. Since the end of the end of the nineteen forties a discontinuity can be detected in the death ratio in Hungary. From the promising beginning to the end of the nineteen sixties life expectancy at birth was growing and the number of deaths were decreasing. Then, paradoxically, until the mid nineteen nineties while living conditions were improving, contradictory development took place and then we entered a period similar to that of the beginning. The latter period, however, is not at all the same because differences between the social groups have clashed. The gap is especially deep between the victors and the losers of the transition concerning life expectancy and death rates. Mortality shows very different characteristics in the different layers of society. One of these is the phenomenon already mentioned that men can expect shorter lifetime than women, in 2016 life expectancy was 72 years for men and 79 years for women. This can be explained by the different physiological-biological makings and socio-economic situation most importantly women's share in the social distribution of workforce on the one hand and that the changes in the structure of causes of mortality in the past decades have taken a more favourable course for women on the other. This means that life expectancy is more likely to depend on non-epidemic diseases like heart disease, cancer and accidents. These causes are mainly derivatives of lifestyle and unbeneficial behaviour – smoking and drinking – more characteristic of men. The other phenomenon is also closely related to this. The differences

Population and Others – Small Miskolc Demographics

according to income as indicators of development and life quality show similar characteristics. The third phenomenon is that the mortality of people living in settlements with a population below 10 000 and in the north-eastern region is worse than that of those living in settlements with a larger population, in the capital or Trans-Danubia, which is due to cultural differences, the differences in the quality of medical care, housing, working and climatic conditions. The fourth phenomenon is that the higher the level of schooling is the longer the expected span of life is and their rate of mortality is also more favourable. This is closely related to the above because there are more people with lower education living in rural areas and the ones with higher qualifications live in towns.

Year	Mortality (men)	Mortality (women)	Mortality rate (per thousand inhabitants)	Infant mortality
1960	65,89	70,10	10,2	47,6
1970	66,31	72,08	11,6	35,9
1980	65,45	72,70	13,6	23,2
1990	65,13	73,71	14,0	14,8
2001	68,15	76,46	13,0	8,1
2011	70,93	78,23	12,9	4,9
2016	72,43	79,21	12,9	4,0

The life expectance of an average boy born in Miskolc in 2018 was 70,1 and that of an average girl was 77,6 – both were worse than the average of the eight settlements with a population above 10 000. The unfavourable situation correlates to the situation of income and economic indicators (e.g. GDP) mentioned above.

4.5. Natural fall in population

A unique feature of the demographical situation both in Miskolc and Hungary is that low birth rates associate with high mortality so the past quarter of a decade more people have died than have been born. In 2016 there were 35 thousand fewer births than deaths. This kind of fall in population constitutes the alarming problems of the demographic situation of the present and the future.

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Connection between Performance Management and Knowledge Management and its Effect on Competitiveness

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Keywords: human resource, performance, performance management, knowledge management, competitiveness

Introduction

In the present publication, the line and concept system of my planned PhD research is introduced.

The necessity and methods of performance management will be examined in the focus of the research. In order to show the importance of performance management, another significant area, knowledge management will be involved in the research.

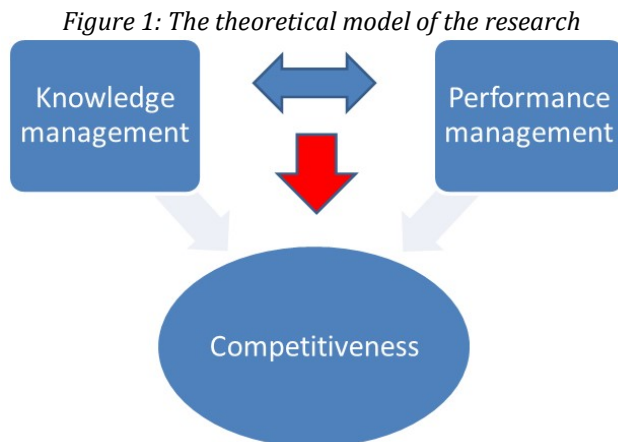
The aim of the research is to analyse – in its depth – the nature of the relationship between performance management and knowledge management, how it works and how it can be improved in order to develop the competitiveness of an organization. Whatever the sector, industry or agriculture, education or commerce, the key factors to the success of any organization are being able to compete with other organizations in the given field, adapting to the changing economic environment and surviving in the continually increasing competition.

Obviously, performance management has a basic impact on competitiveness, but the main question here is if its connection with knowledge management effects competitiveness or not, and if it does, how and to what extent.

In the course of the research, knowledge management and performance management are examined at different – individual, group and organization – levels, while the most effective methods at the different levels are explored. The research is conducted in different countries, comparing knowledge and performance management systems in several organizations of different sizes, in different sectors. It seeks the coherence that contributes to the realization of an organization's strategic plans, and also, how performance management together with knowledge management can help to increase organizational competitiveness.

Performance Management and Knowledge Management

The impact of knowledge management on competitiveness has already been analysed in different researches, just like the connection between performance management and competitiveness. In my research, hypotheses are built on the assumption that the relationship between knowledge management and performance management has an impact on the competitiveness of an organization, as it is shown in Figure 1.



In the following, the elements of the research model is explained shortly in an interpretation that conforms to the research considerations. The framework of the present publication does not provide sufficient space for a detailed presentation of the evolution and development of these disciplines. After describing the elements of the model, I briefly describe the proposed research methods.

Performance management

The central element of the model is performance management, it has no commonly accepted definition. It is an interdisciplinary area of research, and the different disciplines approach the concept from different aspects. Performance management is an important segment of human resource management, so it will be explained accordingly.

The concept of performance management is defined by Aguinis as follows: „Performance management is a continuous process of identifying, measuring, and developing the performance of individuals and teams and aligning performance with the strategic goals of the organization.”¹

¹ Herman AGUINIS, *Performance management*, (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2014) 2.

According to the above definition, performance management is a complex process of human resource management, in the process of which the leaders of the organization decide upon the tasks and functions of the different organizational units and the employees in order to achieve the organization's strategic goals. Continuity and the importance of feedback about performance are also included in the definition.

According to another researcher, a recognized expert, Gary Cokins, the concept of performance management should be defined at organizational level, and the gist of it is the developmental process which has a result. Performance management is a two-way process, which, on the one hand, creates value for the consumer, and it creates economic value for the organization, on the other. At the same time, it is defined not only as a process of managing the strategy of the organization, but the result of the process is also emphasized: „performance management is the translation of plans into results – execution”.²

Performance, the basic notion of performance management has been defined in several ways, different disciplines with different aspects have given different definitions. The common feature of these definitions is that it has several segments. Wimmer's approach is the closest to my research, she says that performance is a two-dimensional theory, in which one dimension is connected to some result, to produce some kind of output, the other dimension is about analysing the necessary human resources needed to reach the goals.³

We have to define and we can differentiate between individual, group and company performances, which are built on each other and coherently unite as one, consenting to the realization of the strategic goals of the organization. In its process, performance management contributes to the improvement of not only individual but also organizational performance evaluation in a way that it connects performance evaluation – the outstandingly important element of performance management – with motivation and compensation systems, competence development and quality assurance. Performance evaluation and performance measurement are important parts of performance management and also basic elements of the human resource processes of the organization. As a basic part of human resource management, performance management includes all the possibilities that make it possible for the managers of an organization to constantly measure performance and to continually improve efficiency.

² Gary COKINS, *Performance Management: Integrating Strategy, Execution, Methodologies, Risk, and Analytics*, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2009) 9.

³ WIMMER Ágnes, *A vállalati teljesítménymérés az értékteremtés szolgálatában, a működési és a pénzügyi teljesítmény kapcsolatának vizsgálatában*, (Budapest: BKAE, 2000)

Measuring and evaluating performance at the different levels and giving feedback about it are of vital importance, so that employees get information about their achievements reached at all the examined – individual, group and organizational – levels. This way improvement can be ensured, which contributes to developing the capability of being able to adopt to the continuously changing economic environment. Responding quickly to these changes guarantees the survival of the organization.

Knowledge management

Knowledge management is a tool for managing an organization, the purpose of which is to know, to identify, to evaluate and to utilize the details of an organization's intellectual capital. According to Davenport és Prusak, management is also responsible for maintaining, developing, protecting, sharing and applying organizational knowledge.⁴ The basic prerequisite for organizational improvement is the development of a knowledge management system at the organizational level.⁵ Organizational knowledge is thus more than the sum of the knowledge of individuals. Against this background, it should be emphasized that the development of employees' individual knowledge through professional training, further training and knowledge transfer within the organization are key issues for the success of the organization.

For the interpretation of the concept of knowledge management we have to explain the differences between the knowledge of the individual, the group and the organization. The knowledge of a person is the capability of using the theoretical information and the practical experiences he gained, as well as the ability to adapt to the organization. Group or organizational knowledge is not only the total summary of the individuals' knowledge but the capability of coordinating it in a well-communicated way, according to the special features of the organization. The function of the director or the human resource manager of the organization is of key importance, because like a good conductor, a good leader has to know the different group members' abilities, who is most talented at what field, in order to be able to sort out the tasks to the individuals, so as to develop harmony and accomplish effective work.

According to Fehér, some extra knowledge is created from thinking together and knowledge sharing of individuals.⁶ If tasks are sorted out according to the individuals' knowledge, they are not added up, but exponentially assist

⁴ Thomas H. DAVENPORT és Laurence PRUSAK, *Tudásmenedzsmet*, (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2001)

⁵ *Tudásmenedzsmet fejlesztési módszertan*, (Budapest: Magyar Zoltán Közigazgatás-fejlesztési Program, 2013)

⁶ FEHÉR Péter, *Tudásmenedzsmet: a jövő szolgáltatása, szolgáltatások a 3. évezredben*, (Budapest: BKÁE, 2002) 421–422.

to the performance of the group or organization. In addition to this, knowledge transfer and the ability to absorb knowledge (absorption capacity) are essential for successful operation and development, These are learnable competencies and need to be managed at an organizational level.

From the strategic management point of view, the aim of organizational learning is to get hold of the key competences which give a base to the successful operation of the firm in the future. These competences are workmanship, special technologies and know-how, creating value that are accepted by clients and so, differentiating the company from its competitors.⁷

Competitiveness

There is no uniform definition of the concept of competitiveness, economists and researchers interpret it differently on different aspects. According to Michael Porter, a pioneer in competitiveness research, the productivity of economic operators is an indicator of organizational competitiveness.⁸ From another perspective, organizational competitiveness also means constant renewal, adaptability, and compulsion, where you need to keep up with the changing environment, respond quickly, and continually seek solutions to make your organization more productive.⁹ In another approach, according to Csath, it is not enough for an organization to employ people with the right skills, and the competitiveness of an organization, it also means the extent to which its management can utilize the knowledge available within the organization.¹⁰

In Gelei's model of competitiveness, abilities are built upon each other in a way that basic skills are created by partial skills, and this makes the company different from their competitors.¹¹ The continuous competition with the competitors made the company learn all the time, the company had to continually improve the organization, train the employees, because this kind of investment that is put in human capital returns in a short time, if the company is evaluated positively by the customers, which places the firm in front of its competitors. The company's basic skills and its resources contribute greatly to the creation

⁷ VILMÁNYI Márton, „Szervezeti tanulás, hálózati kompetencia, bizalom”, in *A szociális identitás, az információ és a piac*, szerk. Czagány László és Garai László, SZTE Gazdaságtudományi Kar Közleményei, (Szeged: JATE PRESS, 2004) 186–200.

⁸ Michael E. PORTER, *The competitive advantage of nations*, (Boston: Harvard Business School, 1990) 543.

⁹ MÓDOS Gyula, *A versenyképesség összetevői és mérési módszerei a hús-termékpályán*, (Budapest: Agroinform Kiadó, 2004)

¹⁰ CSATH Magdolna, *Versenyképesség-menedzsment*, (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2010)

¹¹ GELEI Andrea, „Competitiveness: A match between value drivers and competencies in the Hungarian automotive supply chain”, in *X. International Federation of Purchasing and Supply Management*, ed. Attila CHIKÁN, (Budapest: Summer School, 2004) 43–50.

Performance Management and Knowledge Management

of dimensions of customer value. The research in the future dissertation will tend to deal with the human elements of this model, where knowledge is interpreted as a partial skill and good performance interpreted as a basic skill.

Research methods

After a detailed summary of the theoretical background, the regarded literature written in English and in Hungarian, human resources, performance and knowledge management systems are planned to be analysed in different organizations of different sizes in different sectors in different countries. Secondary and primary researches are planned in order to examine and prove the hypotheses of the dissertation topic. International examination is needed in order to gain information from a wide range, to reveal and show best practices in the different countries, regarding the management, knowledge and performance evaluation systems operating in organizations of both the private (multinational firms, MSEs) and public sectors.

In the secondary research statistical data are collected from official communications, reports, databases, publications and essays. The data are plotted and evaluated in a regression model to test the hypotheses. In the primary research I use quantitative and qualitative methods in the form of questionnaires and interviews.

Summary

As part of the research, I had the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews with staff and managers in the European Parliament and the European Commission in Brussels on the elements of the research model. I put forward a pre-developed set of questions on the topic and received very thoughtful answers. These interviews are being processed. I also compiled a questionnaire in which employees of the European Parliament and the European Commission would have been asked about the performance management system in place, how they, the valued employees, see this system internally. It would have been very interesting to present the comments and experiences of the employees in this regard, and to see the performance systems of the European Institutional System working from the point of view of the employees as well. I made a request to the President of the European Parliament but he did not allow this employee questionnaire. So I have to put the primary research on a different basis.

Summarizing the research topic, organizational knowledge developed and coordinated through individual knowledge, encompassing all theoretical and practical competences, leads to a high level of organizational performance that generates the satisfaction of the organization's partners (purchaser, customer, service provider, etc.), and the organization wins compared to its competitors,

thus ensuring the continued and more successful operation of the organization. This assumption is examined through the analysis of the hypotheses of the dissertation.

I am writing the dissertation in English, which, as a planned continuation of my research on the topic and as a result of this, I would like to create a bilingual database of human resources terminology that could be used in translator training.

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Angéla MOKRAINÉ OROSZ, „Succession planning: The keyrole of intellectual capital in the company,, in *Szellemi tőke, mint versenylőny avagy A tudásmenedzsment szerepe a versenyképességben*, (Körmárno és Budapest: Lifelong Learning Magyarország Alapítvány és Selye János Egyetem GTK, 2010) 433–439.

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A Window into Disciplinary Discourse: Titles of Research Articles

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Keywords: academic writing, disciplinary discourse, genre analysis, research articles, titles

1. Introduction

Academic writing, and more specifically writing for scholarly publication, is not an easy task. It involves learning the basics – expressing logical argument, using the proper register, structuring information, describing methodology, supporting claims, proper citation, and so on. This learning may be partially formalized in academic writing classes, but much of it takes place out of the classroom. This is because a successful academic writer must go beyond these building blocks to shape the materials in a way that suits the target audience – fellow scholars, in most cases. Disciplines have different ways of working and different focal points and over time develop their own conventions for academic communication.¹

It takes time, experience, guidance and attention to discourse conventions to become competent in writing for publication in a particular discipline. We know that learning to function comfortably in an academic discipline requires exposure and also effort, and the initiation of novices is a drawn-out process.² When a second language enters the picture, the situation becomes even more complex. A scholar may be initiated into the disciplinary community in one culture and language, but cannot necessarily carry over all of those conventions when writing for peers in a second language. If a scholar moves into a new discipline, he/she will need to acquire a new set of writing conventions. Thus, all scholarly writers need to acquire an understanding of disciplinary conventions

¹ Ken HYLAND, *Disciplinary Discourses: Social Interactions in Academic Writing*, (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000); Tony BECHER and Paul R. TROWLER, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001²)

² See e.g. Dacia DRESSEN-HAMMOUDA, "From novice to disciplinary expert: Disciplinary identity and genre mastery", *English for Specific Purposes*, 27(2008) Nr. 2. 233–252.

in writing for publication. One key to developing skills is awareness of discourse conventions.³

2. Why titles?

This paper considers one very small but significant aspect of a research paper – its title. Titles are important because they represent the full text. Their role is becoming even stronger as a result of digital databases and on-line resources. In earlier days, the title was more of a label used for easy reference to an article in a journal. The article itself was in a printed volume held in the hand; it was easy to flip through it, scan the abstract (if even available), note the headings, check out the figures and tables, glance through the names in the reference list, read a few lines here and there, skim for key words, and make a decision on whether the article was relevant and worth reading.

These days the title most often appears detached from the article (in a Table of Contents, for instance, or as a result from a database search). While the name of the author(s) and the title of the journal provide some information, the main source of information for the potential reader is the title of article. There may be dozens – hundreds – thousands! – of articles to choose among, and thus the potential reader must go through a decision-making process each time: check the box to select it or not? click on the article or go on to the next? In most cases going on leads to an abstract, which provides further information, based upon which the potential reader decides whether or not to access the full text. As the first step in this process, the title is, if anything, growing in importance.

The importance of research article titles has been recognized by scholars, leading to a number of studies in different disciplines and focusing on various aspects of titles. The study of ‘titology’ is often attributed to Genette,⁴ who focused mainly on book titles. Articles comparing titles of journal articles across disciplines.⁵ Numerous others analyze titles in one discipline⁶ or even one

³ HYLAND, *Disciplinary Discourses*, *op.cit.*

⁴ Gerard GENETTE, “Structure and function of the title in literature”, *Critical Enquiry*, 14(1988) Nr. 4. 692–720.

⁵ Madeline HAGGAN, “Research paper titles in literature, linguistics and science: dimensions of attraction”, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36(2004) 293–331.; Viviana SOLER, “Writing titles in science: An exploratory study”, *English for Specific Purposes*, 26(2007) 90–102.; Kingsley Richard APPIAH and Christopher ANKOMAH and Harrison Yaw OSEI and Timothy HATTOH-AHIADUVOR, “Structural Organisation of Research Article Titles: A Comparative Study of Titles of Business, Gynaecology and Law”, *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*, 10(2019) Nr. 3. 145–154.

⁶ E.g. Sara GESUATO, “Encoding of information in titles: Academic practices across four genres in linguistics”, in *Ecolingua. The Role of E-corpora in Translation and Language Learning*, ed. Christopher TAYLOR, (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2008) 127–157.; Mary E. KERANS and Anne

A Window into Disciplinary Discourse: Titles of Research Articles

journal. There is also interest in tracing title features in huge databases encompassing hundreds of journals, such as Lewison & Hartley,⁷ who looked at title length and the use of colons, or Ball, who investigated the use of question marks.⁸ Some studies are diachronic, tracing changes in title features over time while other studies attempt to determine whether title features have any effect on citation rates and yet others investigate the influence of the first language on titles written in a second language.

In all cases, the primary purposes of the title are similar: to represent the full text, to inform potential readers, and also to attract potential readers.⁹ However, titles can be framed differently in different discourse communities to fulfill these purposes. This paper attempts to demonstrate some of the ways that this occurs.

3. The data

The data presented in this paper is part of a corpus of titles representing eight disciplines chosen to represent hard sciences and soft sciences, as well as more theoretical and more applied areas. The four soft sciences are economics, education, history, and sociology; the four hard sciences are botany, fluid engineering, geology, and medicine. For the entire corpus titles were taken from 100 articles in four leading international general journals (mainly issued in 2006), making 400 titles per discipline, for a 3,200-title corpus, which was analyzed mainly by hand.¹⁰ For this paper, however, I have chosen a set of 100 titles from one journal of the four represented in the corpus (I randomly chose the third journal for each discipline). Based on the characteristics of each set of titles, I have selected a few titles that demonstrate typical features of that set and will use these to introduce features such as average length (in words) of the titles, common structures and styles, and lexical aspects such as word frequency and collocation.

MURRAY and Sergi SABATÈ, "Content and Phrasing in Titles of Original Research and Review Articles in 2015: Range of Practice in Four Clinical Journals", *Publications*, 4(2016) Nr. 2. article 11.

⁷ Grant LEWISON and James HARTLEY, "What's in a title? Numbers of words and presence of colons", *Scientometrics*, 63(2005) Nr. 2. 341–356.

⁸ Rafael BALL, "Scholarly communication in transition: The use of question marks in the titles of scientific articles in medicine, life sciences and physics 1966–2005", *Scientometrics*, 79(2009) Nr. 3. 667–679.

⁹ GENETTE, *Structure and function of the title in literature*, op.cit.; Christiane NORD *Einführung in das funktionale Übersetzen: Am Beispiel von Titeln und Überschriften*, (Tübingen: Francke, 1993)

¹⁰ For details see: Robin Lee NAGANO, "Research Article Titles and Disciplinary Conventions: A Corpus Study of Eight Disciplines", *Journal of Academic Writing*, 5(2015) Nr. 1. 133–144.

4. Typical features in titles from eight disciplines

In this section I introduce titles that demonstrate typical characteristics of the 100-title samples and briefly discuss these features for each of the investigated disciplines.

4.1 Botany (sample from the journal *Planta*)

(1a) *Molecular cloning and characterization of phosphorus starvation responsive genes in common bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.)*

(1b) *Water deficits accelerate ripening and induce changes in gene expression regulating flavonoid biosynthesis in grape berries*

(1c) *The isochorismate pathway is negatively regulated by salicylic acid signaling in *O₃*-exposed Arabidopsis*

Title 1a contains both the common name and biological name of the plant being studied, which appears to be a common practice. Other times just the common name appears, as in Title 1b. The exception is *Arabidopsis (thaliana)*, “a small flowering plant that is widely used as a model organism in plant biology”¹¹, and which appears in 20 of the titles, including Title 1c.

In structure, Title 1a is essentially a complex noun phrase, both pre- and post-modified. In contrast, the other two titles are essentially full sentences, containing finite verbs (active in 1b: accelerate, induce; passive in 1c: is regulated). Such titles are most commonly found in life sciences;¹² in this sample, 42 titles were of this type. Full-sentence titles tend to be somewhat longer: an average of 16.9 words, while the noun-phrase type has an average of 14.8 words; the overall average for the botany data set is 15.7 words. All three sample titles are single-unit titles, which is typical of this data set. Only 11 of the titles contained two units.

4.2 Fluid engineering (*Journal of Fluids and Structures*)

(2a) *Effects of actuator nonlinearity on aeroelastic characteristics of a control fin*

(2b) *Flow around two side-by-side closely spaced circular cylinders*

(2c) *Vortex shedding and aerodynamic forces on a circular cylinder in linear shear flow at subcritical Reynolds number*

The average length of the titles in the sample is 12.1 words, and the majority of titles consist of one unit (10 titles have two units). The vast majority are modified noun phrases, as seen in Titles 2a–2c. It is typical to have multiple prepositional phrases giving the description of the phenomenon being investigated and its parameters. Analysis of the preposition ‘on’ is rather revealing: it appears

¹¹ “About Arabidopsis”. The Arabidopsis Information Resource. Online: arabidopsis.org

¹² HAGGAN, *Research paper titles*, op.cit.

A Window into Disciplinary Discourse: Titles of Research Articles

most often as a collocation of effect(s)/influence (as in Title 2b; appears in 8 titles); collocates with force(s)/impact/loading (as in 2c; 6); is used as a synonym of 'about' either within in a title (3 times) or as its initial word (3 titles); appears in other collocations ('based on', etc.); and only once does it indicate location.

4.3 Geology (International Geology Review)

(3a) High- and Ultrahigh-Pressure Metamorphism in the North Qaidam and South Altyn Terranes, Western China

(3b) Early Orogenic History of the Eastern Himalayas: Compositional Studies of Paleogene Sandstones from Assam, Northeast India

(3c) Pressures and Temperatures of Ultrahigh-Pressure Metamorphism: Implications for UHP Tectonics and H₂O in Subducting Slabs

The average length of titles in the sample is 16.1 words. Certainly one factor characteristic of geology contributes to this length: the location being studied is necessary information for the title. Ninety titles include geographical locations (as do Titles 3a and 3b), ranging from broad descriptions ('Caribbean') to 3-level descriptions (usually geological feature, region, nation). The remaining ten papers focus on a general model, as in Title 3c. Nearly half of the sample titles (47) have two units, as in Titles 3b and 3c.

The lexical items appearing in titles are generally minerals, formations, landforms, geological eras or processes. Interestingly, several strategies are used to suggest that the researcher draws generalized conclusions from specific cases. One is to present a generalized topic, as in Title 3b. Another is to lean on lexical items such as 'implication(s)' (used in 12 titles); 'evidence from' (6); 'interpretation' (3); 'insights' (2); and 'as inferred from' (1). A less common claim is that of novelty, using the words 'new' (5) and 'first' (1).

4.4. Medicine (New England Journal of Medicine)

(4a) Single-Dose Azithromycin for the Treatment of Cholera in Adults

(4b) Long-Term Outcome of Renal Transplantation from Older Donors

(4c) Cyclophosphamide versus Placebo in Scleroderma Lung Disease

Title 4a is an example of the most typical pattern: medication/treatment for condition in patient group. Prepositional phrases are important in the structure of medical titles. A few titles add focus terms such as 'Safety and efficacy of', 'Feasibility of', but most title designers seem to feel that this is unnecessary (aiming for feasibility, efficacy, and safety would presumably be aims of most treatments). Other focus words are 'outcome(s)' (as in Title 4b), 'effect(s) of' and 'trends in', but these are rather infrequent. Perhaps this is a factor in the relatively low average word count of 9.7 words. Other space-saving techniques

are replacing ‘A comparison of x and y in...’ with ‘X versus y in...’ (Title 4c), and ‘Association of x with y’ with ‘x and y’.

No full-sentence titles appear in this general journal; although an earlier study of mine¹³ found that they are rare in the general journal corpus but common in a title sample from specialist medical journals.¹⁴

All titles in the sample have one unit. This is clearly the result of editorial policy, as the other journals in the full corpus include two-unit titles,¹⁵ and BMJ requires a second unit with information on the method or type of study.¹⁶ In contrast, in this sample relatively few titles (5) give explicit information on trial design. A sample of titles for the same journals for articles published in 2015 revealed the same trends as in titles from a decade earlier,¹⁷ despite this going against the recommendations of the International Committee of Medical Journal Editors.¹⁸

4.5. Economics (Review of Economic Studies)

(5a) *Investment under Uncertainty in Dynamic Conflicts*

(5b) *Measuring Peer Effects on Youth Smoking Behaviour*

(5c) *Information Markets and the Comovement of Asset Prices*

The average length of the sample titles is 7 words. The structure is most often a single unit (77%). The topic is often given further context through prepositional phrases, as in Title 5a. Alternatives to a noun as the initial word are also found: -ing forms (as in 5b) or prepositions such as ‘On’. There are relatively few occurrences of focus phrases such as “effect of x on y” or “the relationship between x and y”. Instead, as in 5c, the coordinate ‘and’ is often used (it is the most frequent word of all!). While the reader assumes there is some relationship between the two (or sometimes three) factors, this is not specified,

¹³ Robin Lee NAGANO, “Titles of biomedical articles: Data and a debate”, *Porta Lingua*, (2008) 115–123.

¹⁴ This observation has been confirmed by KERANS et al., *Content and Phrasing in Titles of Original Research*, *op.cit.*

¹⁵ NAGANO, *Titles of biomedical articles*, *op.cit.*

¹⁶ “The title should be informative and, for research papers, a subtitle with the study design (for example, „a phase III clinical trial” or „a systematic review and meta-analysis”).” Article Types at BMJ. Online: www.bmj.com / About BMJ / Article types. – December 2019.

¹⁷ KERANS et al., *Content and Phrasing in Titles of Original Research*, *op.cit.*

¹⁸ “The title provides a distilled description of the complete article and should include information that, along with the abstract, will make electronic retrieval of the article sensitive and specific. Reporting guidelines recommend and some journals require that information about the study design be a part of the title (particularly important for randomized trials and systematic reviews and meta-analyses).” – “Preparing a Manuscript for Submission to a Medical Journal”, Online: www.icmje.org / Recommendations – December 2019.

A Window into Disciplinary Discourse: Titles of Research Articles

possibly leading the reader of the title to begin thinking of potential connections or cause-effect relationships.

4.6 Education (Journal of Educational Research)

(6a) Factors Related to Instructors' Willingness to Participate in Distance Education

(6b) Exploring Teacher Perceptions of Small Boys in Kindergarten

(6c) Supplemental Instruction in Early Reading: Does It Matter for Struggling Readers?

The average title length is 10 words and 68 of the titles are single units. While titles such as Title 6a are common, a wide variety of structures appear, including -ing forms (as in 6b); 20 titles begin with an -ing form that can be interpreted as 'how to', reflecting an emphasis on taking action. Another strategy that appears is two-unit questions where one unit is a question (as in 6c). Titles units often contain 'effects of' (18 instances) or 'impact of' (8), indicating an orientation towards cause-effect (problem-solution) approaches. Coordinates are sometimes used to juxtapose two unmodified topics to create the impression of a relationship between them.

4.7. History (History, the Journal of the Historical Association)

(7a) Of Spies, Refugees and Hostile Propaganda: How Austria dealt with the Hungarian Crisis of 1956

(7b) 'On Account of their Disreputable Characters': Parish-Assisted Emigration from Rural England, 1834–1860

(7c) The Politics of Sir Thomas Fairfax Reassessed

The average number of words is 12.3, and 31 of the titles consist of a single unit. Predictably, names of places, people, and events are common, along with periods or dates. The high proportion of multi-unit titles gives the opportunity to use a variety of structures: prepositions (Title 7a), wh- statements (2nd unit in 7a), gerunds, questions, and quotations (7b) and questions appear. One interesting lexical feature indicates coming back to topics with a new perspective, as in 7c: the sample contains revisited (3), reassessed, a reappraisal, and reconsidered.

4.8 Sociology (American Journal of Sociology)

(8a) Black-White Wage Inequality, Employment Rates, and Incarceration

(8b) Gendering the Job: Networks and Recruitment at a Call Center

(8c) Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army

The average title length was 11.7 words, and the sample contained 27 single-unit titles. A variety of structures appears, including the coordinate 'and' used to indicate relationship (Title 8a). Title units that are not especially informative but that may attract readers' attention are quite common, especially as the first unit of a two-unit title (8b, 8c). The alliteration in 8c is just an example of the many rather creative devices used to appeal to readers. Whether such catchy titles actually attract readers (and citations) is still a debated question.

Conclusions

I hope this brief survey of titles of research articles in different disciplines has demonstrated that conventions for meeting the purposes of a title vary by discipline to some degree. Generally speaking, the hard sciences show less variation in structure and style compared to the soft sciences (with the exception of botany's full-sentence option). The features discussed here – title length, number of units, title structure, collocations, etc. – are easy to access. Undergraduate students might benefit from a vocabulary list made up of words appearing in titles; those beginning to read the literature might look at structure; writers might want to carry out a more detailed analysis of journal titles in their specialized field.

It is important to point out that one journal cannot represent a discipline, or even the category of international general journal within a discipline. The journal representing economics in this study is the most 'hard-science-like' of the four journals I studied, i.e. it has the highest proportion of single-unit titles and of titles initiated with a noun, as well as the lowest number of title units containing questions and the lowest average word count per unit.¹⁹ For a fuller understanding of title conventions, it is important to observe titles from a number of publications. As noted earlier, general journals and specialist journals may differ. If a researcher is targeting a particular journal for publication, it would be worthwhile analyzing the titles from a few recent issues before finalizing a title for the article to be submitted. Teachers who wish to aid their students' initiation into a discipline may find working with titles an effective way to open a window into the discourse community and the world of reading and writing about research in English.

¹⁹ NAGANO, *Research Article Titles and Disciplinary Conventions*, *op.cit.*

A Window into Disciplinary Discourse: Titles of Research Articles

Digital Object Identifier (DOI) codes of sample titles

title	DOI	title	DOI
1a	10.1007/s00425-007-0603-2	5a	10.1111/j.1467-937X.2006.0385.x
1b	10.1007/s00425-007-0598-8	5b	10.1111/j.1467-937X.2007.00448.x
1c	10.1007/s00425-007-0556-5	5c	10.1111/j.1467-937X.2006.00397.x
2a	10.1016/j.jfluidstructs.2007.04.003	6a	10.3200/JOER.99.2.109-115
2b	10.1016/j.jfluidstructs.2006.12.002	6b	10.3200/JOER.100.6.331-335
2c	10.1016/j.jfluidstructs.2006.11.004	6c	10.3200/JOER.99.2.99-108
3a	10.2747/0020-6814.49.11.969	7a	10.1111/j.1468-229X.2006.00359.x
3b	10.2747/0020-6814.49.9.798	7b	10.1111/1468-229X.00281
3c	10.2747/0020-6814.48.12.1053	7c	10.1111/j.1468-229X.2005.00347.x
4a	10.1056/NEJMoa054493	8a	10.1086/432780
4b	10.1056/NEJMoa052891	8b	10.1086/497257
4c	10.1056/NEJMoa055120	8c	10.1086/502690

My major publications on this topic:

Robin Lee NAGANO, "Titles of biomedical articles: Data and a debate", *Porta Lingua*, (2008) 115–123.

Robin Lee NAGANO, "Lexical comparison of journal article titles in soft disciplines", *Porta Lingua* (2009) 111–117.

Robin Lee NAGANO, "Semi-technical vocabulary: The lexis of research article titles", *Porta Lingua* (2010) 100–111.

Robin Lee NAGANO, "Research Article Titles and Disciplinary Conventions: A Corpus Study of Eight Disciplines", *Journal of Academic Writing*, 5(2015) Nr. 1. 133–144.

The Medial World View of Hermeneutic Philosophy¹

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Keywords: hermeneutics, mediality, grammar, middle voice, pure event, agency, *poiesis*, *praxis*, creating

1. Hermeneutics, mediality, grammar

It is well-known that hermeneutic philosophy, which became one of the defining philosophical trends all over the world during the last century primarily in virtue of the oeuvres of Martin Heidegger and his disciple Hans-Georg Gadamer, has radically rewritten the traditional views concerning the nature of being human, shedding thereby a new light on human world-interpretation in general. In a nutshell, all these can perhaps be summarized as follows. Heidegger presents human Being-there (*Dasein*) as a distinguished being due to its 'disclosedness' or openness.² This openness manifests itself in our always already attuned and finite, historically determined understanding that is also the basis of our ability to speak. Thus, in virtue of our openness, a 'world' is always already disclosed for us as a context of meaningful possibilities. It is in the horizon of such a 'world' that individual beings may then acquire meaning for us – not merely as reference-points of 'blind' interactions, but rather – regarding their Being. 'Being-in-the-world', 'understanding-of-Being', and 'linguisticity' prove therefore to be closely connected, basic determinations of human existence within the hermeneutic approach. Accordingly, humans do not exist in a world consisting of the sum total of objects, but rather, they exist in an originary 'hermeneutic universe' as it is articulated in the medium of understanding and its linguisticity.

Nevertheless, this fundamentally hermeneutic world-comportment receives somewhat different descriptions in the main works of Heidegger and

¹ The described study was carried out as part of the EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00011 "Younger and Renewing University – Innovative Knowledge City – institutional development of the University of Miskolc aiming at intelligent specialization" project implemented in the framework of the Szechenyi 2020 program. The realization of this project is supported by the European Union, co-financed by the European Social Fund.

² Martin HEIDEGGER, *Being and Time*, transl. John MACQUARRIE and Edward ROBINSON, (New York: Harper and San Francisco, 1962) 171. ff.

Gadamer. Heidegger sets out from the understanding of the meaning of Being which is given phenomenally as that which 'shows itself'. Such an understanding is originally tacit and interpretation is supposed to elucidate and thereby appropriate it. Here the movement takes place as a circular relation of the implicit understanding, on the one hand, and its interpretation making it explicit, on the other, and it aims at a self-enlightening of existence, that is, authentic existing.³ As opposed to that, Gadamer takes as his starting point the fact that we are always already addressed by 'issues' (*Sachen*) that transcend our own horizons. Such a 'Being-by' (*Dabeisein*) 'issues' is something that our understanding, which constitutes our Being-there (*Dasein*), must inevitably encounter even if it had been radically appropriated. Therefore, Gadamer characterizes the fulfillment of understanding as an appropriate execution of such an encounter with the 'issues', more precisely, as an immersion into the event of meaning formation. This process is not exhausted by the interpretive unfolding of understanding, but rather, it takes place as a testing of what has already been understood, a testing through our participation in a reality that transcends our understanding. This process is ultimately grasped by Gadamer as a play-like movement.

However different these two approaches to the hermeneutic world-comportment may be, with regard to a certain feature of them they exhibit an even deeper kinship than what has so far been mentioned. It is highly remarkable that, while clarifying their basic concepts, both authors mention a certain grammatical phenomenon. On a point both the Heideggerian discussion of the concept of 'phenomenon' and the Gadamerian analysis of the concept of 'play' make an allusion to the so-called '*middle voiced*' *verb formation*.⁴ To that extent, this grammatical phenomenon must have an important philosophical significance. Nevertheless, the orientation towards grammar is also reinforced by the fact that our linguisticity elementally shapes all human world-comportment, according to both authors. In Gadamer, this state of affairs comes to expression in his notion of 'language as medium' (*die Mitte der Sprache*) according to which "language is the record (*Spur*) of finitude", a "medium where I and world ... manifest their original belonging together".⁵ However, if language is such a 'record', constituting an unsurpassable medium of human world-comportment, then it must embody an immense stock of knowledge regarding the ways in

³ See Jean GRONDIN, *Introduction to Philosophical Hermeneutics*, trans. Joel WEINSHEIMER, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) 91–105.

⁴ HEIDEGGER, *Being and Time*, *op.cit.* 51.; Hans-Georg GADAMER, *Truth and Method*, transl. Joel WEINSHEIMER and Donald G. MARSHALL, (London and New York: Continuum, 2004²) 104 ff.; respectively.

⁵ GADAMER, *Truth and Method*, *op.cit.* 453., 469.

which humans proved to be able to come to terms with, and settle in, their historical existence.

It is for this reason that time and again Gadamer reverts to interpreting idiomatic expressions and especially to following up the history of concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*) in order to elucidate certain phenomena.⁶ Nonetheless, if the idioms of language and the historical development of concepts may be regarded as such elemental sources of meaning, *how much more should it be true of the most constant, basic structural elements of language*. Certain basic structural features of languages and especially the historical development of them should be regarded as perhaps the most basic records of the deep tendencies and transformations within the historical self-understanding of humans, and they must be interrogated accordingly.

My research concerning the middle voice and more generally the voice systems of languages rests on these considerations, and it ultimately led to the outlining of *two radically different world views* the differences of which are capable to shed a new light on a number of philosophical questions.

2. The middle voice and the medial world view

The middle voice is primarily known to us from ancient Greek because in the major occidental languages it is not expressible by a morphologically distinct form. At a certain stage of the history of ancient Greek, however, there was still a third voice distinct both in its form and meaning from those of the active and passive voices. The ancient grammarians named it as the *mesotes*, ‘the middle’. In order to show examples for that we do not need to turn to ancient Greek, however. For it is a remarkable fact that in the Hungarian – as well as in the Albanian, Icelandic, Bengali, etc. – one still finds morphologically distinct middle voice forms. In the Hungarian, e. g., middle voiced verbs are the followings: *‘kinyílik, elnémul, megmutatkozik’*, as opposed to their active forms *‘kinyitják, elnémítják, megmutatják’*, and to their (archaic) passive forms *‘kinyittatik, elnémíttatik, megmutattatik’*.

It is a characteristics of the occidental languages, on the other hand, that they are only able to express middle voiced meaning by reflexive or active forms. For instance, the German sentence – *“Dieses Buch liest sich leicht.”* – utilizes the reflexive form, whereas the English sentence – *“This book reads easily.”* – uses the active form for expressing middle voiced meaning. An even more revealing fact is that attempts aiming at the elucidation of the peculiar meaning

⁶ On the significance of conceptual history see Hans-Georg GADAMER, „Die Begriffsgeschichte und die Sprache der Philosophie” [1971], in Hans-Georg GADAMER, *Gesammelte Werke*, 4, Neuere Philosophie, II. Probleme, Gestalten, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr und Paul Siebeck Verlag, 1987) 78–94.

of the middle voice recurrently describe it as some mixture of the meanings conveyed by the active and passive voices. For example, standard introductions to ancient Greek grammar put it as follows: the middle voice “represents the subject as acting either upon himself (reflexive) or in his own interest”; or else, it “is often used for actions which in some way affect the subject”.⁷ As it is conspicuous, such characterizations are formulated in terms of activity and passivity and thus, *according to them*, the subject remains in the center of the action expressed by the verb: the action is carried out by the agent either in a reflexive way or in her own interest, somehow affecting herself, they think.

However, certain linguistic investigations indicate that in the case of the primordial Indo-European languages thinking primarily proceeded in terms of verb and subject and *not* along the distinction between subject and object, activity and passivity.⁸ For the primordial verbal systems consisted of two voices, namely, middle and active, and their difference turned on whether the subject was external (and therefor active) in relation to the event expressed by the verb or it was internal to it (and therefor medial). Accordingly, the Greek notion of *mesotes* should *not* be construed as ‘the middle’ or ‘the transitional’ between the active and passive voices, in which case it could be interpreted in their terms. Rather, it is to be understood as ‘*the medial*’: as that verb which *gives voice to an action of a subject who is always already positioned with regard to the medium of an event*. Both primordial voices simultaneously express three aspects: i) an event named by the verb; ii) a subject related to that event; and iii) the position occupied by the subject with respect to the event. As opposed to that, both of the occidental active and passive voices express merely two aspects which differ from the previous ones: i) an action (not anymore a pure event) expressed by the verb, on the one hand; and ii) the subject (without positioning it), on the other. Thus, it is a one-dimensional, *linear view* (active subject → action → passive subject) where the subject remains in the focus in each case.

In the primordial languages primarily a mode of *thinking in terms of event and subject* was predominant; they reflect an *elemental insight into the ‘mediality’ of the human condition*. As opposed to that, in the occidental languages *thinking in terms of subject and object* has become predominant; these languages promote *thinking from the subject’s viewpoint*. Thus, the historical

⁷ Alston H. CHASE and Henry PHILLIPS Jr., *A New Introduction to Greek*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1961³) 90.; Longworth A. WILDING, *Greek for Beginners*, (Oxford and Boston, Faber and Faber, 1986²) 68.; respectively.

⁸ Emil BENVENISTE, „Active and Middle Voice in the Verb”, in Emil BENVENISTE, *Problems in general linguistics*, (Coral Gables FL.: University of Miami Press, 1971) 145–151. Original edition: *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1966)

development of our languages attests to the fact that the notion of ‘pure event’ – an event behind which there is no agent whatsoever, its taking place cannot be attributed to any kind of underlying agency – characteristically has got lost.

3. *Circumscribing the philosophical significance of mediality*

It is important to emphasize, first of all, that a philosophy which capitalizes on the idea of mediality fits into the series of those critical efforts that have been formulated against the Cartesian subject-object dichotomy since the German Idealism. For in Descartes’ thought of *cogito me cogitare* (subject as a reflexive, thinking substance) one can recognize the philosophical fixing of the prevalent mode of thinking in terms of subject and object, a fixing which became determinant for centuries, as it was also preserved for example in Kant’s doctrine of the transcendental synthesis of apperception. However, the formalism and self-reference inherent in this idea aroused discontent in many philosophers. Thus, for example, Hegel tied the emergence of self-consciousness to material work, and Husserl strived to trace the process-like evolving of the Kantian transcendental apperception by scrutinizing the constitutive acts of transcendental subjectivity. Yet, many other philosophical endeavors of the 19th and 20th centuries can likewise be assessed as struggles against Cartesianism. One can enumerate here among others the works of Kierkegaard, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Dilthey, and the lots of later outcomes springing from them, as well as structuralism, the postmodern announcement of the ‘death of the subject’, or else the American pragmatist-naturalist movement which evolved in the second half of the 19th century.

Among all these efforts, however, hermeneutic philosophy is distinguished in virtue of the fact that, while protesting against Cartesianism, it explicitly reawakens the event-oriented world interpretation reflected in the primordial languages, investing it with a universal, ontological significance. The fact that the idea of mediality is able to clarify certain fundamental features of hermeneutic philosophy can be demonstrated not merely with regard to the aforementioned concepts of ‘phenomenon’ and ‘play’ but also more generally in the work of its representatives.⁹ In this respect, here I can only refer to the fundamental significance that the impersonal variants of middle voice had for Heidegger, since the very start of his carrier, in the form of the common German impersonal sentences. In the materials of the so-called *Kriegsnotsemester* from 1919, one can see how the demand for a philosophy as a ‘pre-theoretical primordial science’ emerged for him the subject-matter of which was not some being, but rather, life itself as it is lived through and filled with meaning, a life

⁹ Among my pertaining works listed at the end of this article, especially the first and the fifth yield examples for that.

The Medial World View of Hermeneutic Philosophy

that cannot be objectified.¹⁰ This dimension was subsequently called by Heidegger as 'factual life experience', and later as 'Being-there' (*Dasein*).¹¹ In the fact, however, that the subject-matter of hermeneutics – namely, lived through life – is not something that *is* but rather an *appropriating event* (*Er-eignis*), it immediately comes to expression that this philosophy thinks in the middle voiced terms of event and agent, verb and subject. It is on this ground that both Heidegger and Gadamer elaborate later on *event-ontologies* which endorse the primacy of the 'temporal, event-like' over against the 'objective, thing-like' and to that extent break with the traditional ontological conceptions built on the notion of substance and the related concept of subject.

Nevertheless, this hermeneutic mode of philosophizing proves to be unapproachable for many. What is more, there are people – among them distinguished thinkers, too – who frankly accused its representatives of unintelligibility in connection with certain basic utterances of them.¹² Especially analytic philosophers used to express such a suspicion against hermeneutics. However, we can already pinpoint what stands in the background of such claims. Namely, within the analytic tradition mostly two 'vocabularies' became generally recognized and the debates primarily revolve around the question of their reducibility to one another or the privilege attributable to them. These are the (broadly understood) 'physical' vocabulary of causation and the so-called 'mental' vocabulary of intentionality. Therefore, it is mostly a lack of comprehension concerning 'medial events' that lurks behind the tension between the analytic and hermeneutic philosophies. For the language which is to express such events cannot be made intelligible by the conceptuality of activity and passivity, or that of causation or intentionality.

Furthermore, the idea of mediality is beneficial not only in clarifying the peculiarities of hermeneutic philosophy – especially with respect to other currents of thought¹³ – but also in making possible a reinterpretation of a number of philosophical questions. An important example for the latter is the following. Building on the above underpinned hypothesis according to which the voice systems of languages reflect the historically conceived modes of activity – and

¹⁰ Martin HEIDEGGER, "The Idea of Philosophy and the Problem of Worldview" [lecture course, War Emergency Semester, winter 1919] in *Towards the Definition of Philosophy*, transl. Ted SADLER, (New Brunswick, NJ: Bloomsbury / Athlone, 2000)

¹¹ Theodor KISIEL, *The Genesis of Heidegger's 'Being and Time'*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993) 9, 17.

¹² The most famous example for this is Rudolf Carnap's criticism of Heidegger: Rudolf CARNAP, "The Elimination of Metaphysics Through Logical Analysis of Language", in *Logical Positivism*, ed. Alfred J. AYER, (New York: Free Press, 1959)

¹³ A further example for that is the second entry among my works listed at the end of this article.

therefore, of human agency –, a tripartite typology of the modes of activity can be drafted on the ground of the verbal systems of the primordial Indo-European and the occidental languages. Such a typology differs from the twofold, classical Greek division of human practice. The latter was conceptualized by Aristotle according to whom action (*praxis*) is distinguished from manufacturing or producing (*poiesis*) by the fact that, while the latter is related to an end external to it, namely, to the finishing of the product, true *praxis* includes its end within itself, it is desirable for itself.¹⁴ In the typology outlined in the mirror of historical development, however, three figures of agency – that is, of efficiency or moving force – can be delineated: 1) The occidental active voice expresses a pure agency that is a spontaneous source of action – to this, the Greek idea of *poiesis* corresponds. As opposed to that, 2) the primordial middle voice expresses an activity of the agent that is embedded in an event taking place – to that, the Greek notion of action in an eminent sense, i. e., *praxis* seems to correspond. 3) To the agency expressed in the primordial active voice, however, which is a spontaneous source of an action that is executed externally in relation to an event, nothing corresponds at the Greeks.

Taking a closer glimpse at the Aristotelian distinction reveals, indeed, that it does not cover certain activities. For it clarifies only the contrast between producing artifacts that are useful for some further end, on the one hand, and the excellence of a right action, on the other. However, there are achievements that we esteem highly although they cannot be characterized either as cases of ‘excellent deeds’ or as having importance for us owing to their usefulness. Works of art are such achievements, for example. Although these can mostly be characterized by features akin to producing, nevertheless, they often attain a glory comparable to that which usually is an excellent action’s due. Nevertheless, if a work of art is different in kind from the produced artifact then the modes of activity leading to their coming about should also be distinct, and they must be accounted for accordingly.

Thus, the activity of ‘creating’ which results in unique formations should be clearly distinguished from making or producing. For it belongs to the essence of the latter that a plan, which is based on an idea of the product to be prepared, be available in advance and producing consists in the realization of it—that, however, can be done repeatedly, the product can be prepared again and again. As opposed to that, an artistic creation is essentially unique and non-replaceable, and that can be made intelligible in the terms of ‘mediality’, above all. For a truly artistic creation is as much the outcome of an uncontrollable event – the

¹⁴ See ARISTOTLE, *Nicomachean Ethics*, transl. Terence IRWIN, (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1985) 1139b 1–6.

unrepeatable event of ‘succeeding’ celebrated by the exclamation ‘eureka’ – as it is the result of the technical efforts on the artist’s part. The process of ‘creating’ is therefore intelligible as a practice that relies on *techné* in order to participate, eventually, in an uncontrollable event of meaning formation. And that shows a kinship to the agency expressed in the primordial active voice, the paradigmatic case of which can be recognized in midwifery. To that extent, however, artistic creations — as well as their receptions — are on the way toward *praxis*, they prepare for that which is constitutive in *praxis*.

My major publications on the topic:

NYÍRÓ Miklós, „A mediális esemény ősi eszméje és ontológiai újraélesztése a *Lét és időben*”, *Többslet*, 13(2014) 1. sz. vendégszerk. FEHÉR M. István és LENGYEL Zsuzsanna Mariann, 110–143.

Miklós NYÍRÓ, *Art, Truth, Event. Positioning Pragmatic Naturalism and Philosophical Hermeneutics*, (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2017)

NYÍRÓ Miklós, *Medialitás, eseményontológia, gyakorlat. Hermeneutikai útkeresések*. (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2020) (Under press.)

Miklós NYÍRÓ, „The Primordial Insight into ‘Mediality’ and the Contours of a ‘Medial’ Philosophical Anthropology”, *Analecta Husserliana: The Yearbook of Phenomenological Research*, ed. William SMITH and Jadviga SMITH, (New York: Springer International Publishing AG, 2020) (Under press.)

NYÍRÓ Miklós, „A mediális esemény eszméje és a gyakorlat tipológiája. Az alkotótevékenység sajátságosságáról”, in *Nyelv, közösség, végesség, identitás*, szerk. FEHÉR M. István és KISS Andrea-Laura és LENGYEL Zsuzsanna Mariann és OLAY Csaba, *A filozófia útjai*, (Budapest: L’Harmattan Kiadó, MTA-ELTE Hermeneutikai Kutatócsoport, 2020) (Under press.)

Varying Generations with Various Communication

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Key Words: the communication of the generations YZA, conscious use of internet, changing knowledge and literacy, the relationship between the personality and the virtual world, the role of families in communication, new norms, new feedbacks, new forms of language.

Knowledge has become measured by minutes, the members of generation Y and Z – not to mention the Alphas – were not brought up in the old, ‘Prussian’ schooling system like we did, but their main source for search is the internet, whatever they are looking for. They precisely search events and phenomena based on an expression or concept – their key word is *instant*. In this concept, however, we can find the failure of knowledge retention – in the long run at least. Maybe this is not the greatest problem after all: instead, the question is whether the members of the young generations live in the virtual world with proper awareness and recognize the threatening dangers? If not, is there somewhere they can go? Can the institution of family give safety and confidence to these youngsters? Eszter Bakos studied the appearance of new kinds of knowledge, such as, audio-visual, digital and media knowledge: internet can be a source of numerous threats and conflicts for those who do not know it and so they do not use the rules that could protect them. Learning how to use the internet consciously and legally has absolute priority.¹

Their relationships

Interpersonal communication and way of life have also changed thoroughly – and is changing all the time – in case of the young of the generation Y, Z and Alpha. Making friends quickly and instantly, the continuous presence, hyperlinks resulting in changing reading methods have evoked significant changes in everyday life as well. Relationships often work only in the virtual space; personal presence is missing. This includes many factors that often have more weight in communication, for instance, ‘the chemistry’ between two people, eye

¹ BAKOS Eszter, „A felnővekvő generáció számára fontos új műveltségek a XXI. században”, *E-tudomány*, 9(2011) 1. sz. Online: e-tudomany.hu – December 2019.

Varying Generations with Various Communication

contact, pose, series of non-verbal elements resulting in missing instinctive and honest reactions to certain topics and opinions – all that (could) help getting to know the other person more deeply.

‘For the young, who are defined as ‘digital natives’, the omnipotence of internet manifests in their communication the most. The online function has two main channels of communication: the community page(s), that are used for keeping in touch, making friends and mostly conversations, and the other one is the blog, which is for narrating their own stories like in a journal, however, as it was accommodating to the modern age it lost its long-kept original role: the intimacy of the private sphere.

The short text message (SMS), which had been so important and modern for them, are only used in their offline function. Kaveri Subrahmanyam and Patricia Greenfield made a research studying what the young people’s relationships and communication were like with their friends and family members in the cyber space, since it is proven that they are the ones who use the online space the most often.² According to the research, the young communicate easily on the net with their contemporaries, but it is getting harder for them to find common voice with their parents.³

The community portals can keep up steady relationships and organize meetings just as it can help keeping contact with friends who they do not see often. If the child does not take his phone with him to school, the knowledge of not knowing can cause symptoms of anxiety, the feeling of being left out of something vital.

It is also a question whether the generations YZA regard the virtual world as the primary platform of communication for relationship? Where do they make friends, do they look up from their smart phone screen, can they leave it behind and make contact, flirt, talk in the school, in the library, in front of the cinema or the theatre? In the world, their real, living environment?⁴

Communication with the family has also significantly changed in the past years. It is not surprising since there are more and more parents and grandparents of the YZA generation members are on the internet. Family communication increasingly retreats compared to relational communication. It is much easier to write than to say an emotion-free and neutral message, not to mention when

² Kaveri SUBRAHMANYAM és Patricia GREENFIELD, „Online Communication and Adolescent Relationships”, *The Future of Children*, 18(2008) Nr. 1. 119–146. Online: futureofchildren.org – March 2019.

³ OSVÁTH Andrea, „Ki tanít kit? Valódi generációk és változó kommunikáció a kibertérben”, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 4(2013) 1. sz. 52–63., 55.

⁴ OSVÁTH Andrea, „Kimondani a kimondhatatlant – Kommunikáció a párkapcsolatban”, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 8(2017) 1–2. sz. 128–145.

there is emotion and passion in it, because there is no need to look in the eye with the other person and you do not have to endure sudden gestures and reactions. You do not have to bear the emotions coming from the other person's reaction, you can just go on easily and fast.

'However, Annamária Tari says that children are actually alone in the virtual community and therefore it is really important for parents to talk with them. Mutual tolerance and understanding are needed. It is also important that the parent should not postpone the conversation and the conflict since even if it is strange, the child does not like to be let free. It causes him feel fear, lack of love and anxiety and he probably wants to signal to the parents with his astonishing behaviour'.⁵

The foregoing obviously poses the question of how much these youngsters are happy, and do they know the concepts of happiness, contentment, peace and notions in connection of feeling satisfied, or the deeply hidden differences among these concepts?⁶ What are their happiness-factors; do they exist in the reality or just in the virtual word?

How does the virtual world affect the personality?

For the generations YZA, the virtual space where they are always online is becoming weightier than the real world still more genuine scene where they get into conflict, comment aggressively without consequences. It is anonymity, sometimes the distance itself giving the courage to do these things. There is no fear or retentiveness. They live in a world without consequences – at least they think so.

Nevertheless, there are or there can be consequences. On the one hand, legal – we are not focusing on this one – and the other is psychological results. Anger and passion are also present in the virtual space but the ongoing shares of posts, opinions and advice result in an instant but not considered decision-making. Furthermore, tensions resolve in a short time, there is no time for one to evaluate the conflict, express his anger and give time for himself coming up with a solution to the problem that well-founded, linked to his own personal values and a decision of his own.

As the virtual scene lacks the passions we would need to face in real life, the pattern is the online world, so they cannot or just partly can interpret and

⁵ OSVÁTH, *Ki tanít kit?*, op.cit. 56. Quoted literature: TARI Annamária, *Z generáció*, (Budapest: Ter-cium, 2011)

⁶ OSVÁTH Andrea, „Miért (nem) vagyunk boldogok?”, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 6(2015) 1–2. sz. 189–200.

live the real situations packed with tension, so they often react quickly and poorly, fearlessly and not knowing respect.

It follows that the cognitive response of the members of the YZA generation is super-fast, their emotional processing is, however, very slow. It is because they want to share their problems instantly and they do not undergo natural processes which could help them live and resolve their hurt and pain. They get a ton of information in no time, most of which they do not even need. They are used to the quick editing of TV shows and movies and after some time they imagine it to be real and try to conform to that speedy rhythm.

'Reality becomes an impoverished environment, the time period of keeping attention drops and along with that the power of imagination is threatened as well, which is an important factor in forming their personality and identity. Without imagination the magic world coming alive from fictional stories and reading does not exist and cannot be formulated in children; instead, visuality through media and internet prevails, *the principle of getting everything ready*. Our childhood stories and later our readings help creating that inner world inside of us, that has heroes and scenes coming to existence only in our imagination and it is always only ours. Novels and adaptation of stories can never provide the reality that we have formed into pictures, and that is why so often we do not experience <the aha moment> when we watch a movie after reading the book.⁷

New Norms, New Feedbacks

Children are looking for role models, to whom they can look up to, so it would be important for parents to provide a good example. Technological development has brought significant changes in such a short time, that we cannot really accommodate to yet. Traditions, values have changed and even if we are trying to shake the feeling off, the ugly truth is that we cannot sit idly because there is no one who knows where all this is going. One thing is for sure: old norms will disappear, and we need to relearn our grandmas' upbringing techniques. Family must be the foundation again.

'In the summer of 2012, there was a round table discussion with dr. Imre Csernus, who defined the lack of honest communication within the family as a distressing phenomenon. The kind of economical, emotional and self-expressional crisis acts as a barrier for open conversation that is building up personality and community. Lacking responsible and critical self-knowledge, parents cannot and do not dare to honestly speak with their children, who compensate

⁷ OSVÁTH Andrea, „Kommunikáció – internet – stílus”, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 2(2011) 1. sz. 214–223., 214.

the missing direct and mutual interactions on Facebook. The community page is nothing but a partly typical, partly special tool of the consumer society that makes someone, who is afraid of change and the resulting pain, tend to be passive and make him spend his free time pointlessly or poorly.

Contemporary communication used to be saturated with excitement and heightened emotional impulse when children were chatting in parks next to the school or called each other on landline telephones. Since it is easier to get attention easier, faster and more spectacularly on Facebook than in real communities, direct communication mostly gives them failure and lack of self-confidence. Therefore, the affection of keeping contact virtually becomes an addiction for the person and it will be a typical phenomenon characterizing the specific age-group'.⁸

The psychological process behind liking prove that Facebook works well as a negative booster in a short term. Like me, so love me! – that is the slogan of the compliance that is not met in real communities, which is based on the lack of self-confidence, the inability to accept and love ourselves. The inner tension, however, is silenced only for a while, the intensity of negative comments evokes and elevates it. In the virtual world based on fast interaction there is no time for speaking about or working through the pain. 'It is connected to the fact that users feel obliged to continuously give an account of all of their minutes: the young often call them <Every3Minutes>, since they keep posting but there is no way of liking because the posts get lost behind the new ones. It is clear if there is no time for friends to react then the interpretation of feelings cannot possibly happen in the user either. Reasonable thinking, emotional understanding and processing are fully missing.'⁹

Because of the speed, this generation has created a new type of language that is yet to be learned by other generations, because they tend to use the abbreviations and English phrases in spoken language as well. It is a frequent problem in writing tests in the school: there is an unknown phrase or abbreviation in the essay for the teacher – this new written language takes in parts of traditional script as well, creating a kind of e-Babel.¹⁰ Some examples: Bb – Bye, bye; Hh? – How come? Comin' – I am coming; Np – no problem; Omg – Oh my God, Ööööö....ööö... – thinking, but doing something at the same time etc..

It is inevitable to adapt to this for all earlier generations, otherwise they will lag behind. It is true vice versa as well, since the expressions of the Baby

⁸ OSVÁTH, *Ki tanít kit?*, op.cit. 56–57.

⁹ OSVÁTH, *Ki tanít kit?*, op.cit. 58.

¹⁰ OSVÁTH, *Ki tanít kit?*, op.cit. 59.

Varying Generations with Various Communication

Boomers and Generation X are often unintelligible for the generations YZA, but they are essential for preserving traditional values.

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Space, Affect and Identity: The Interconnectedness of the Urban Uncanny and the Self in Suhayl Saadi's *Psychoraag*

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My main field of research – and the subject matter of my doctoral dissertation defended in 2015 – is the interconnectedness of space, movement and identity in contemporary British Asian diaspora fiction. Through the close reading of representative novels I focus on issues like the mutually interdependent and transformative relationship between space and identity, the types of movements generated by space, and the influence movements have on space and the sense of place. Within the scope provided by the framework and the chosen corpus, I explore ways in which space and movement are affected by one's identity formation and, conversely, how identity is transformed (transfused, transmuted, metamorphosed) by and through various forms of movement in diverse spaces and places. I look at how space, movement and identity become intertwined and inseparable within the context of British diasporic consciousness and subjectivity – all this in selected representatives of contemporary British Asian fiction: Monica Ali's *Brick Lane* (2004), Nadeem Aslam's *Maps for Lost Lovers* (2004), Nirpal Singh Dhaliwal's *Tourism* (2006), Sunetra Gupta's *The Glassblower's Breath* (1993), Hanif Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990) and *The Black Album* (1995) and Meera Syal's *Anita and Me* (2004).

Although, due to what is often referred to as the 'spatial turn' in criticism, the interconnectedness of space, movement and identity has received a great deal of critical attention in the past two decades, the study of British diaspora literature has in general neglected this approach. There have been a number of references to space, movement and identity (either individually or in conjunction) in the critical work on contemporary British Asian fiction, but a monographic treatment of their interconnectedness has never been attempted. To remedy this lack, my dissertation first and foremost examines the pivotal role of space *and* movement in identity formation and construction, identity performance and performativity, agency and subjectivity, as manifested and depicted

in a selection of novels. The primary reason why my dissertation revolves around the notions of space, movement and identity is that they are the inseparable core elements of diasporic existence, and human existence itself, for that matter. Furthermore, I believe that investigating the complex interrelatedness of these concepts in British Asian diaspora fiction may in fact enable and contribute to a better understanding of the fundamentally social phenomenon and issue of diaspora and diasporisation in today's globalised world.

In the past five years, the research topic of my dissertation has been broadened by a new focus of examination due to another paradigm shift, the so-called 'affective turn,' which – in terms of the corpus chosen and analysed – means that concepts and phenomena related to identity are approached from the aspect of both movement in and between different spaces, *and* of theories of affect as well, thus enabling further interpretations and more complex research findings. The starting point for and theoretical basis of this additional research focus is provided by an interdisciplinary method connected to the notion of affect on one hand, and one thesis of my dissertation on the other: namely that a thorough exploration of literary representations of diasporic identity is possible only through the combination of various approaches to spatiality: in general terms, what we might call the phenomenological situatedness or facticity of the subject is inseparable from the subject's position and movement in cultural spaces.

The core of the theoretical background of my investigations and arguments is situated at the intersection of cultural, postcolonial and diaspora studies: particularly (but not exclusively) the critical insights of theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha (1994) and Stuart Hall (1996) on cultural identity and hybridity, Bhabha's (1994) notion of mimicry, Avtar Brah's (1996) complex concept of diaspora space, Judith Butler's (1988, 1993) theory of performativity, which I rely on both in terms of its implications for a gendered subjectivity and in relation to the diasporic subject's performance of cultural identity, Rosi Braidotti's (1994) concept of the female nomad, Walter Benjamin's (1972) idea of the *flâneur*, as well as various interpretations of the concept of belonging. In expanding the scope of my research, this list is complemented by interpretations of the concepts of affect and affectivity in fields of philosophy, psychology, architecture, urban studies and human geography. The studies I have published on the topic rely on Gernot Böhme's (1991) theory of the aesthetics of atmospheres, Tonino Griffero's (2014) concept of atmospheric affordances, Benjamin's (1999) notion of phantasmagoria, Steve Pile's (2005) corresponding theory of the emotional and phantasmagorical aspects of urban space and Sigmund Freud's (1919) concept of the *Unheimliche*, that is, the uncanny. Such broadening of my theoretical framework, and its application to the reading of British

Asian diaspora fiction in particular and to the exploration of the phenomenon of diaspora in general may facilitate a deeper understanding and more complex interpretation of the mutual emotional relationship of space and the self. The present study draws on this multifaceted theoretical background in investigating the interconnectedness of space and affect through the close reading of Suhayl Saadi's 2004 novel *Psychoraag*.¹

The primary area of my research is thus the literary representation of the atmosphere of urban spaces, revealing the emotional tones or affordances, as well as the emotional work of urban imaginaries, exploring the city's state of mind and the city as a state of mind. Gernot Böhme German philosopher's theory of atmospheres is an essential starting point for the interpretation of the complex psychological and affective relationship between the self and the city. According to Böhme "Atmospheres are indeterminate above all as regards their ontological status. We are not sure whether we should attribute them to the objects or environments from which they proceed or to the subjects who experience them. We are also unsure where they are. They seem to fill the space with a certain tone of feeling like a haze."²

My paper attempts to nevertheless localize a certain atmosphere in Saadi's urban imaginary of Glasgow, as created in and by his novel *Psychoraag* (2004). The close reading of the text may provide a better understanding of how the bodily experience and mental perception of Glasgow is played out in different contexts and with various connotations, thereby producing a multitude of specific and highly subjective atmospheres and spatial imaginaries of the city. Investigating most specifically one out of the many, I focus on the double identity of self and space, and Saadi's image of Glasgow as an urban uncanny. In doing so, I rely on Freud's concept of the *Unheimliche* and primarily draw on Petra Eckhard's (2011) interpretation of the urban uncanny as "a cultural imaginary, influenced by factors of race, class and gender, and articulating subjective post-traumatic experiences."³ I shall argue that there exists a mutually constructive relationship between the self and the city, and that the atmosphere of the latter is created by both its physical spaces and places, and the people inhabiting, experiencing or imagining them, thereby contributing to the image and imaginary of Glasgow as the urban uncanny.

¹ In the present study all quotations from the novel refer to the following edition: Suhayl SAADI, *Psychoraag*, (Edinburgh: Black & White, 2004) All page numbers are indicated in the text.

² Gernot BÖHME, „Atmosphere as the Fundamental Concept of a New Aesthetics“, *Thesis Eleven*, 36(1993) 113–126., 114.

³ Petra ECKHARD, *Chronotopes of the Uncanny: Time and Space in Postmodern New York Novels: Paul Auster's City of Glass and Toni Morrison's Jazz*, (Bielefeld: transcript, 2011) 20.

The Interconnectedness of the Urban Uncanny in *Psychoraag*

One recurring image of Glasgow presented by Saadi is that of “the liquid city” where “time wis always out of joint” (395, 8). Beyond a direct reference to the Clyde, the liquidity of the city may also denote constant changes in its physical shape and mental image, as well as the fluidity of its identity, which the protagonist of *Psychoraag*, DJ Zaf experiences as follows: [E]verythin seemed to be regressin – not so much into the past as into essences, sensations, concepts [...] The city seemed to be shiftin constantly [...] everythin was an illusion” (372). Zaf’s perception calls attention to the illusory nature of Glasgow and highlights the process through which “[u]rban space becomes temporalized, as thus the city has to be viewed as an entity constantly in motion.”⁴ Elsewhere he notes the deceptive buildings with “their shells done up to look as though they were something else or to create the impression that nuthin had changed in the course of two centuries” (370-71). This description seems to contradict the image of the city in flux but in fact indicates that any sign of stasis may only be a façade, a mask the city wears to conceal unwelcome changes. The “city of light and dark” (372), of change and stasis, thus becomes a city with a double identity, a city divided against itself, an urban uncanny, characterised by “a disturbance or conflict in the otherwise apparently smooth and efficient organisation” of urban space.⁵

Another prevalent portrayal of Glasgow in *Psychoraag* is connected to the point of view of Zaf’s parents and their fellow Pakistani immigrants, for whom Glasgow is “Migra Polis, the deepest layer ae hell” (310), where the first-generation’s immigrant experience involves a sense of alienation, isolation, and Weilian rootlessness (the loss of a common past). The portrayal of the traumatic experience of immigration may suggest that it is not only the city but its inhabitants as well that exist in temporal and spatial dislocation, contributing to the cultural hybridity of urban space. Let us take, for instance, the districts of Kinning Park as depicted in *Psychoraag*. As Zaf notes, “[t]he pavements hereabouts were all Punjabi” (373), marking the primal territory of a tribal group, “[p]rotectin their own. Keepin the others out. Imprisonin themselves” (23). Similarly to Kinning Park, Zaf’s native neighbourhood, “the Shiels wis a skin of sorts, an armour against the scaldin winds of an all-white Alba. [...] Halaal butchers, subcontinental grocers [...] religious bookshops [...] Silent churches with no visible congregations. *Masjids* [that is, mosques] secreted in tenement flats devoid even of Glasgow light” (379). The portrayal of both Kinning Park and Pollokshields points beyond or complicates the image of a culturally hybrid urban

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵ Lucy HUSKINSON, „Introduction: The Urban Uncanny”, in *The Urban Uncanny: A Collection of Interdisciplinary studies*, ed. Lucy HUSKINSON, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016) 7.

space, as they appear both familiar and different, protecting and suffocating, a shelter and a prison.

Such dichotomies evoke the concept of the urban uncanny yet again, an aspect of which Lucy Huskinson describes as follows: “The city is uncanny when it reveals itself in a new and unexpected light; when, for example, its familiar streets and buildings suddenly appear strange, even hostile.”⁶ In light of this interpretation, these Glaswegian districts may be perceived as at once familiar and strange by both the white Scots and the Scottish Pakistani immigrants, as the former cannot retain the traditional image of these cultural spaces, while the latter cannot create the exact replica of their lost homeland – as a result, ‘home’ becomes unhomely, uncanny. Glasgow as an urban uncanny thus signifies “the slippage or mismatch between [the inhabitants’] expectations of the city” and the “often surprising and unsettling experiences it can evoke within them.”⁷

Furthermore, the uncanny, ambivalent atmosphere of the city may be generated just as much by being visibly other and wearing a mask to conceal its otherness as by the immigrants’ ambivalent affective relationship with it, as well as their identity crisis, signalling “an urban self that is fundamentally dislocated.”⁸ The spatial, temporal and cultural dislocation of both Glasgow and its Pakistani diaspora is visible in Zaf’s recollection of the first Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow: “These were ... the *kisaan* who had powered the buses, the underground trains, the machines of the sweatshop underwear-manufacturers. The whole of Glasgow had walked in their footsteps and worn their clothes. With bare soles they had trodden out new, hard paths along the Clyde and they had clothed the lily-white bodies of whole generations of Scots and then, later, they had filled their stomachs, too. You eat what you are. If that was the case, then Glasgae was Faisalabad a hundred times over.” (242–243)

The *kisaan*’s [peasants] social practices transform it into some ‘immigrant city’ and the urban imaginary of a marginal space which disempowers and dehumanises the diaspora subject. The process of dehumanisation makes the presence of first-generation immigrants basically invisible, metonymic – they may have been the predecessors of current native Glaswegians, but they have already vanished physically, leaving behind nothing but the paths they had trodden out, the clothes they had laboured on, and their cuisine to feed ‘Scottish stomachs.’ The invisibility of the first Pakistani immigrants in Glasgow may be

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁸ Jo COLLINS and John JERVIS, „Introduction”, in *Uncanny Modernity: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties*, ed. Jo COLLINS and John JERVIS, (Houndsmills and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008) 1–9., 7.

The Interconnectedness of the Urban Uncanny in *Psychoraag*

read as a ghost-like quality: they 'haunt' the white Scots through the cultural products they have left behind, permeate urban space with their invisible but palpable presence and turn the city into an urban uncanny.

The portrayal of the *kisaan* as ghosts points to "Derrida's *hauntologie*, according to which "the present is always affected by (ghosts of) the past"⁹ and evokes Benjamin's understanding of the modern urban experience as dream-like and ghostly – a ghostliness that may be attributed to "the multiplicity and juxtaposition of spatial and temporal markers."¹⁰ In fact, the urban subject may be a ghost by definition, as it manifests itself as "an absent presence or present absence"¹¹ – the first Pakistani immigrants are long gone but their presence is still felt; the later generations are present but feel 'invisible,' unless they wear mask such as the Kinnin Park Boys in *Psychoraag*, a "mini Cosa Nostra" (104), who, "not knowing what mask tae wear, had acquired those of East Coast Gangstas" (253). Their identity performances indicate that "the urban subject as the familiar 'other' is uncanny per se as it epitomizes the ambiguity between the same and the other, the strange and the familiar."¹² Furthermore, the Kinnin Park Boys are a literary example of how the urban uncanny actually works: "[It] reveals the urban subject as one alienated from himself or herself, as a divided, repressed subject who reflects the situation of their environment as a place that promises the security and familiarity of a home, but cannot provide it. The urban uncanny thereby denotes an existential gap or mismatch between city and citizen."¹³

In Saadi's Glasgow fiction, the "divided, repressed subject" is the Scottish Pakistani immigrants struggling with a cultural identity crisis, generated by their experiences and visions of the urban uncanny, the creation of which they contribute to with their very presence.

The identity crisis of many of Saadi's characters is manifested in the wearing of masks, a kind of identity performance, as well as in the creation of alter egos. Zaf as DJ Zaf can become "immortal. Invisible, formless, perfect" (85), dissolving in the music he plays and creating himself a transcendental self. Interestingly, Zaf has three other alter egos in the novel: a Pakistani boy on a faded photograph who embodies Zaf's roots; Zafar, the gangster of Kinnin Park, who is Zaf's diasporic 'dark' self; and Zilla, a former girlfriend, his feminine side. Sometimes these alter egos merge into one, forming a 'mutant self': "Zaf-Zafar, the double-headed, mortal deity" (400). The alter egos of these characters may

⁹ ECKHARD, *Chronotopes of the Uncanny*, op.cit., 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹² *Ibid.*, 59.

¹³ HUSKINSON, *Introduction*, op.cit., 5–6.

be interpreted as doppelgängers, a double identity or “double aspect of the self” which, in Huskinson’s words, “leads the subject to an uncanny experience of themselves, as something familiar yet other, as out of sorts or out of ‘place’, as fragmented, disturbed and de-familiarised.”¹⁴ In Freud’s theory, the doppelgänger is created when “a person [identifies] himself with another and so become[s] unsure of his true self”¹⁵ but it may pose the danger of eliminating the original self.

The various interpretations of the uncanny discussed here – the doppelgänger and the ghost, a strange or hostile atmosphere and a mismatch between expectations and experiences – are ultimately embodied in the city and bodily experienced in through its atmosphere. Glasgow as an urban uncanny thus breaks down the boundary between not only “the ‘then’ and the ‘now’” as Freud has shown, but also the ‘here’ and the ‘there,’ the strange and the familiar, the self and the other with the help of an affective relationship between the urban subject and the city. As a result, the formerly hostile, ghostly, unhomely atmosphere of the city, created by both its physical spaces and places, and the people inhabiting, experiencing or imagining them, may be subverted and may lead to the acknowledgement and acceptance of an double yet distinctively Glaswegian identity.

My major publications on the topic:

Éva PATAKI, „‘Sounds from the Furthest Places’: Language, Music, and the Transfusion of Identity in Suhayl Saadi’s *Psychoraag*”, in *Space, Gender and the Gaze in Literature and Art*, ed. Ágnes Zsófia KOVÁCS and László SÁRI, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017) 18–200.

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¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁵ Sigmund FREUD, „The Uncanny” [1919], transl. David MCLINTOCK, (London: Penguin, 2003) 142.

New Aspects in the Stylistic Description of Krúdy's Fiction

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1. The Significance of Style in Krúdy's Fiction

The opinion already appears in the first critical evaluations of the author's oeuvre that its focal, the most important and idiosyncratic element from the aspect of signification is style. László Perkátai, the author of the first monograph on Krúdy, for instance, argues that Krúdy's "greatest achievement" and "the deepest manifestation of his creative personality" was nothing but his style.¹ Krúdy's characteristic style, "the sound of a cello," metaphorically speaking, motivated even his strictest critic, Aladár Schöpflin, to characterise Krúdy's style in the following lyric manner: "What I liked about him most was his voice, that deep, masculine baritone, which has life's melancholy in it, but also its joy, taking delight in people and things, but also showing a certain indifference towards them, like that of a lonely man playing the cello behind the garden bushes who refuses to play according to the score, but is lost in his own fantasies, as he pleases and as the inner impulse is moving his hands."² Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy highlights the epoch-making significance of his style: "Krúdy did not only find 'new' linguistic expressions to 'mirror' his own individual mood but a language that fundamentally changed the modes of expression in fiction."³

My goal in my previous research in this field has been to describe this style involving new perspectives, for which the linguistic-theoretical framework and the methodology was provided by functional-cognitive linguistics, or, in a narrower sense, cognitive stylistics, a field that evolved at the end of the 20th century and that has been dynamically expanding both in its results and impact.

¹ PERKÁTAI László, *Krúdy Gyula*, (Szeged: Délmagyarország, 1938) 86–87.

² SCHÖPFLIN Aladár, „Krúdy Gyula”, *Nyugat*, 26(1933) 10–11. sz. 629.

³ TOLCSVAI NAGY Gábor, „A képzeleti jelentéstana Krúdy műveiben”, in *Stílus és jelentés. Tanulmányok Krúdy stílusáról*, szerk. JENEI Teréz és PETHŐ József, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2004) 93–105, 94.

2. On the Concept of Style and Poetic Quality in a Cognitive Stylistic Approach

The traditional and the functional-cognitive stylistic approaches to style are basically different. The reason for this lies in the concept of language of the cognitive approach. It follows that, differently from the traditional approach, different and fundamental aspects and premises get more emphasis. Due to the lack of space, it is impossible to go into details here but it is worth mentioning at least some relevant basic theoretical and methodological principles and categories in order to be able to fit what follows into a suitable interpretative framework. Cognitive linguistics, including stylistics,

- brings forth the mutual relationship of theory and practice, thus theoretical premises and the collection and description of linguistic data mutually affect each other; so the description is not deductive and axiomatic in nature;
- regards signification as determining in the linguistic system but it is focused upon structure and meaning at the same time;
- takes prototype effects in language into consideration in setting up categories.⁴

Speaking of the cognitive stylistic characterisation of style itself in general, the preliminary remark must be made that one of the central starting points of any functional stylistics is the insight that style is not separate from the text or its meaning per se. On the contrary – style is an organic part of text signification. Style is thus not a “crust” that could be separated from the content, “not some decoration applied upon the ready text to achieve some aim,”⁵ but is an organic element of the score of the text. That is to say, style is an element of meaning stemming from the moulding of the text.

Another basic category I applied in the stylistics description of Krúdy’s fiction, besides style, is poetic quality. For the time being, it must be emphasised that the cognitive stylistic approach, in accordance with its principles, focuses on cognitive processes and linguistic structures but also points to the socio-culturally and historically determined nature of poetic quality as well.⁶ The essential elements of poetic quality can be listed as follows: a poetic linguistic manifestation is not merely a novel or creative linguistic structure but a construct that augments the number of conceptual frameworks to be activated during the

⁴ Cf. *Nyelvtan*, szerk. TOLCSVAI NAGY Gábor (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2017)

⁵ TOLCSVAI NAGY Gábor, *A magyar nyelv stilsztikája*, (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996) 107.

⁶ Cf. SIMON Gábor, *Bevezetés a kognitív lírapoétikába. A költészet mint megismerés vizsgálatának lehetőségei* (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2016); Peter STOCKWELL, *Cognitive poetics. An introduction*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); *Cognitive poetics: goals, gains and gaps*, ed. Geert BRÔNE and Jeoren VANDAELE (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009)

referential act, making ambiguity or multiple meaning possible, while highlighting the question of the validity of activated conceptual schemes at the same time. That is to say, referential uncertainty emerges which allows for different interpretive possibilities, thus inducing reflections. Prototypical examples from Krúdy's fiction include metaphorical (figurative) meaning formation, irony, or complex stylistic structure itself. Poetic fiction, similarly to poetry, "expect comprehension not primarily as a specific mode of language use but as a special linguistic interaction."⁷ That is, poetic quality is basically a discursive category that highlights certain stylistic and semantic features of the text in the cognitive process of reception that qualify as "poetic" in the sense outlined above.

3. Stylistic and Semantic Forms of the Poetic Quality of Krúdy's Fiction

3.1. Imagery

The basic importance of figures of speech in the Krúdy's oeuvre has been highlighted by the works of Gábor Kemény in a detailed way, whose studies show affiliations with both functional and structuralist approaches as well.⁸ It is mainly these results that a cognitive-inspired study of imagery is able to continue or amend. To illustrate the point, let me refer to a characteristic example, the individual conceptualisation of the relationship of the landscape and man. Personification is given a primary stylistic role in this, as can be seen in (1). Let us examine only one sentence in more detail:

(1) The birds left off their daily doings; the Lord's diminutive laborers flew off in silence toward their little homes, speechlessly, just like humans toward eveningtime.

First of all, the following personification is foregrounded in this sentence: "*The birds left off their daily doings*" followed by a nominal metaphor: "*Lord's diminutive laborers*." In the analysis of other figures, including the relationship of material and figurative planes appearing in the sentence, it is worth referring to the scaled structure to be observed here. The verb in the second sub-clause ("*flew off*") is semantically correlating with the material subject ("*birds*") but the nominal element of the space ("*toward their little homes*") and the adverb

⁷ SIMON, *Bevezetés*, op.cit. 89.

⁸ Cf. KEMÉNY Gábor, *Krúdy képalkotása*, Nyelvtudományi értekezések 86, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974); KEMÉNY Gábor, *Képekbe menekülő élet. Krúdy Gyula képalkotásáról és a nyelvi kép stilisztikájáról*, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1993); KEMÉNY Gábor, *Bevezetés a nyelvi kép stilisztikájába*, Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához XIV, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2002); KEMÉNY Gábor, *Krúdy körül. Stilisztikai tanulmányok és elemzések a 20. századi magyar irodalomról*, Segédkönyvek a nyelvészet tanulmányozásához 187, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2016)

“speechlessly,” which deserves our attention as a figure as personification on the one hand, as is the so-called *tertium comparationis* (i.e., linking or common element) of the second simile on the other hand, already belong to the figurative plane. (“Speechlessly” can be regarded as a figure because the concepts of SPEECH, and consequently SPEECHLESS are prototypically related to PEOPLE.) The semantic units *“left off their daily doings,” “their little homes,” “speechlessly”* appearing on the isotopic plane of figures, therefore, prepare the last figurative element in a gradual, scale-wise manner, which explicitly leads us to the human domain: *“like humans toward eveningtime.”* It is also remarkable that the poetic quality in this single sentence is realised through parallel conceptualising operations and figures from the aspect of stylistics-semantics. Figures of speech create the stylistic and semantic structure of (1) jointly, in an emergent way.

3.2. Rhetoricised Structures

Different types of rhetoricised structures, especially rhetorical-stylistic figures, play a role in creating style in Krúdy’s fiction. Of all these, I regard accumulation and other anaphoric figures as having primary importance. Anaphoric figures demand our attention not merely because of their frequency but because they are able to realise a broad scale of semantic operations, starting from simple strengthening to abstracting and generalising conclusions. Let us think of the recurring situations and characters of one of the most well-known short stories by Krúdy, *“On the Bridge (Fourth Journey),”* represented by repeated grammatical (syntactic) forms (the young Sindbad and the hussar officer; Amalia and her daughter, see (2), (3) or the iconic relationship of the cyclic concept of time⁹ and the recurring and repeated linguistic units, see (4)).

(2) Sindbad was standing [...] above the three-legged pool table, leaning on his cue, gracefully, nonchalantly and dreaming.

(3) ... a lanky young officer is standing above the table with negligent elegance, in a tunic unbuttoned at the neck, leaning on his cue.

(4) No-one is getting old. No-one dies. Life lasts quasi forever.

The mirror-like nature of repetition is represented by the chiasmic structure of predicates and determiners of place in (2) and (3) (which means that these are positioned in diametrically opposite places in these sentences). The repetitive syntactic structures and accumulations, the repetitions of unaltered words have an essential role in forming style in (4).

⁹ Cf. BEZECZKY Gábor, „Az ismétlődés szerepe Krúdy »mikszáthos« korszakában”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 91–92(1987–1988) 4. sz. 422–439., 424.

3.3. *Stylising*

Stylising is a term with several meanings, which can, for instance, denote making a text or a linguistic expression more clear, simple or accurate, or shaping forms with appropriate taste in mind in general. Here I use *stylising* to denote the intensified application of style elements of which the aim is conjuring a certain historical style. Stylising in Krúdy's fiction primarily means the evocation of 19th-century romanticism and *biedermeier* style. This stylising evidently goes together with the uncertainty of perspective. That is, the conceptualisation or the categorising-evaluative systems of the era in which the text was written and the evoked age are made manifest at the same time. These systems are constituted in language and are basically identical based on the law of historicity, but are markedly different in some characteristics. This duality was spotted and realised excellently by Karinthy, thus let me quote from his *Így írtok ti* (That's the Way You Write; caricatures of Hungarian and foreign authors) as an illustration of this characteristic style:

(5) Sindbad did not like these kinds of old books: he liked the fragrant present with patina, the joys of moments, a couple of friends with whom he could converse about daily events, actresses, Füred, moonlit evenings and chrysanthemums handed to him by gloved hands through the iron grates of the ballroom. That is why he decided to go to New-Pilvax Café today to listen to a dreamy Zerkovicz-gavotte and go to sleep early. [New par.] The usual company had already been sitting at the brownish tables. Degré Alajos, Kuthy, Pákh Albert, Vay Sándor, Vachott Imre, Lakatos László, Balassi Bálint, Molnár Ferenc, Tinódy Lantos Sebestyén Károly and Jules Bakti, "the marquis" as he was called among themselves, who was always gracious, fragrant and smiled nicely. Old, heavy silver spoons were ringing delicately in the old cups steaming with old, antique coffee – some were having antique ham and eggs with patina.

Stylising is the basis of irony in several Krúdy texts (that is what Karinthy is playing with) but irony is a more complex category in Krúdy's works. In the next section, I am going to examine the relationship of poetic quality and irony in the oeuvre.

3.4. *Irony*

Quote (6) can undoubtedly, and even prototypically, be qualified as "poetic" from the aspect of the recipient's attribution of style. Examples include turning directly to the reader ("*have you not heard*"), which is a mark of poetry, rather than of fiction; musicality arising from the characteristics of the phonetic and

grammatical structures (the musicality of the phonemes *ng*: “twanging, twanging and singing,” in Hungarian: “*peng, peng, flótázik*”; accumulations: “*strange, magical, otherworldly music*”). However, the continuation of the same passage, marked in italics here, replaces this poetic quality, this impressively dreamy, “lyric” and poetic scene with some crude prosaic style, thus this opposition results in an ironic punch line that offers a new interpretive framework for the poetic quality of the first unit:

(6) Have you not heard the cricket, as some strange, magical, otherworldly music can be heard suddenly in its monotonous song around midnight? At this time someone is walking on the roof in the moonlight, and the cricket produces its sounds that are secretive and incomprehensible for common people. An enchanted fairy is singing in the garden. Someone, a mysterious stranger, a wandering, wonderful spirit suddenly appears in the cricket’s song. An unimaginably sweet music is vibrating, unquenchable and eternal love, unspeakable longing, yearning, pining, joy are twanging, twanging and singing... When the cricket’s monotonous singing unexpectedly changes and is filled with unknown melodies, *beware, my poor, restless friend, don’t ever think about staring out into the silent garden, because someone mayhap will fall into your neck from the roof.*

The semantic and stylistic contrast of the two units in (6) which produces irony is even more emphasised on the level of smaller linguistic units by the contrast of the sophisticated, literary tone of the first passage and address forms like *my poor, restless friend*, which seems confidential, and even pejorative in some sense, or the verb *to stare out* which also has a pejorative sense here, also the colloquial, and, to some extent, slang-like, *mayhap* (*tán* in Hungarian, the abbreviation of *talán*).

The similar, ironic re-evaluation of romantic-lyric elements, this “game” that goes together with the uncertainty of the evaluating centre, is a frequent phenomenon in Krúdy’s writings. Sándor Márai essentially highlights this when he writes the following about the German translation of Krúdy: “Krúdy in German. It is manifest from the perspective of a foreign language that what is precisely untranslatable in Krúdy is his trademark: irony. [...] When his heroes and heroines keep sighing, rolling their eyes, saying sophisticated or sentimental things, the author supposes that the reader knows: all this is only a parody of the real. That is precisely what is marvellous in Krúdy’s writings in Hungarian. But the foreign reader reads it as real... and then the whole thing turns against itself.”¹⁰

¹⁰ MÁRAI Sándor, *Napló, 1958–1967*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992) 295–296.

3.5. Authorial name-giving

From the aspect of poetic quality, let us only have a closer look at one of the name types briefly, which is the category of saliently unrealistic, literary names. Besides stylising evoking the romantic era, musicality, metaphoricality and other poetic characteristics of style, names belonging to this type are characterised by the fact that they tend to suspend “realistic” referentiality. The most well-known prototypical example is obviously *Sindbad*. Some other names belonging to this category: *Szerenádi Szerafin*, *Szerelemvölgyi Áldáska* (which literally translate as Seraphim Serenade and Blessing of Love-Valley, respectively).

3.6. Special Narratorial Position

As has been pointed out by Gábor Bezeczký, at least four basic narratorial perspectives, or their combination, are present in Krúdy's works: that of the omniscient narrator, that of the witness, of the community and the perspective of the character.¹¹ From the aspect of poetic quality, the following type of the “combinations” seems especially important, described by Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy in the following way: Krúdy “identified the persons of the narrator and the character quite often, partly by first person narration, partly by a kind of narration in which the text spoken by the narrator and the (main) character can be regarded as the monologue of the narrator in which protagonist or even other characters are, so to say, projected as a third (or first) person, with conspicuously strong subjectivisation.”¹² This kind of identification can be observed in the free indirect discourse passages of (7) (where [FID] signifies the start of free indirect discourse):

(7) Suddenly he could smell the fragrance of roasted nuts and freshly-baked pie... [FID] Sure, sure, then, twenty-five years before, it was Christmas when he was travelling around here and was going to see his parents during the holidays. [FID] The chief forester's duffle coat had the colour of boiled crab; that was the most beautiful coat at that time in the country... [FID] The horses smelling the city, the coachman knowing the end of the journey, the sledge is being taken quickly towards the tower, red in the middle, as Sindbad's head is swarming with long-seen images. [FID] Twenty-five years! As if it had been yesterday...

¹¹ BEZECZKY Gábor, „Fülöp László: Közléteések Krúdyhoz”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 90(1986) 4. sz. 470–472.

¹² TOLCSVAI NAGY, *A képzeleti jelentéstana...*, op.cit. 98.

4. Summary

In this paper, I attempted to present the characteristic stylistic features of Krúdy's fiction with a synthesising aim, based on a new perspective, starting from the concept of style and poetic quality of cognitive stylistics.

Naturally, the presentation of these characteristics and typical features cannot be regarded as final, since they could be expanded and the stylistic features presented here themselves would demand deeper analysis. After further analysis, following the principle of theory and practice, it would be possible to make categories more exact, including setting up an order of importance, or including and omitting some of them. But based on the results so far, it can be assumed that the aspects of cognitive stylistics offer new and meaningful insights into the study of Krúdy's fiction.

My major publications on the topic:

PETHŐ József, *A halmozás alakzata: A halmozás fogalmának, típusainak és funkcióinak vizsgálata (Krúdy Gyula Szindbád ifjúsága című kötete alapján)*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004)

PETHŐ József, *Krúdy-tanulmányok*, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2005)

PETHŐ József, *Alakzat és jelentés. Az alakzatok stílus- és jelentésképző szerepe a szövegben*, (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2011)

József PETHŐ, *Stil und Textsinn. Beiträge zur Stilistik*, (Nyíregyháza: Nyíregyházi Főiskola, 2015)

József PETHŐ, „»Unusual« similes. A cognitive stylistic approach of a special type of similes based on Gyula Krúdy's fiction”, in *Polsko-węgierskie Badania Hungarologiczne. Lengyel-magyar hungarológiai kutatások*, ed. Grzegorz BUBAK and László Kálmán NAGY and Szilárd TÁTRAI, (Kraków: Jagello University, 2018) 217–227.

The Evaluation of József Lévy's Career

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József Lévy (1825–1918) is a regular member of the literary public from the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th, although he is not among those who had the biggest effect on Hungarian poetry. Evidently, he has only one piece of poetry that is remembered by the public: the elegy called *Mikes*, published in 1848. Lévy is also ranked as a „second-tier” poet of his time by the literary history writings, sometimes even listed among the epigones of János Arany.¹ However, his evaluation and rank is not in accordance with the amount of appreciation he receives officially. He is a celebrated member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Kisfaludy Society for decades, he is an honorary doctorate of the Budapest University and receives high merits from the monarch. Therefore the contradiction between Lévy's literary performance and his official recognition is considerable. This issue is also addressed by the research program conducted by the Institute of Hungarian Language and Literature on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the poet's death.²

Lévy lives ninety-three years: he is born two years later than Sándor Petőfi and dies half year before Endre Ady. He works as Bertalan Szemere's clerk at the last feudal Diet, and he is also a witness of the last, critical years of the World War. His poetic career lasts unprecedentedly long: his first poems (*A vitéz; Koszorú; Éjjel*) are published in 1843 in the *Regélő Pesti Divatlap*, while he

¹ SCHÖPFLIN Aladár, „Lévy József száz éve”, *Nyugat*, 18(1925) 22. sz. 389–393., 391.; KOVÁCS Kálmán, „A népies-nemzeti irány kisebb költői”, in *A magyar irodalom története 1849-től 1905-ig*, szerk. SÓTÉR István, *A magyar irodalom története* 4, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1965) 168–174.; NÉMETH G. Béla, *Türelmetlen és késlekedő félszázad: A romantika után*, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1971) 101–103.; KOMLÓS Aladár, *A magyar költészet Petőfitől Adyig*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1980²) 100–101.; SÓTÉR István, *Világos után. Nemzet és haladás: Aranytól Madáchig*, Sóter István művei, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1987) 255.

² PORKOLÁB Tibor, „Monográfia és szövegkiadás a közelgő Lévy-centenárium jegyében”, *Könyvheti Újság. A II. Rákóczi Ferenc Megyei és Városi Könyvtár ünnepi könyvheti kiadványa*, (2016) 12. sz.; PORKOLÁB Tibor, „Lévy József emléködáinak és emlékbeszédeinek tudományos szövegkiadása”, *Könyvheti Újság. A II. Rákóczi Ferenc Megyei és Városi Könyvtár ünnepi könyvheti kiadványa*, (2018) 11. sz.

writes the last (*Örömtűz az olasz fronton*) only a few days before his death in June 1918. Although he lives at the same time as Mihály Babits, Dezső Kosztolányi, Margit Kaffka, the studies exploring Hungarian literature after the turn of the century lack a Lévy-chapter.³ This is certainly because his old-age, vintage (anachronistic) poetry is not allowed to participate in the forming of the literature of the new century. The Lévy-cult, which unfolds at the turn of the century relates to the fact that the poet outlives everyone and everything. As his illustrious coevals disappear from his side, Lévy's literary and public significance rises. He functions as a publicly celebrated nestor to Hungarian literature while he executes his mission: to connect the emblematic figures of the past (Sándor Petőfi, János Arany, Mihály Tompa) with the new century. Naturally, this means that his biography is rather legendary at some points. That is how the young jurat becomes close friends with Petőfi, the poet of the revolution, while in fact they only meet once momentarily. The militiaman, who never shoots a single bullet becomes the hero of the War of Independence and the popular guest of honour of the artifacts exhibition of the national defence.⁴ With this role he takes on the obligation of maintaining the glorious memory of his fellow poets. This task of great prestige manifests in several forms: establishing memorial signs (e.g. sculptures of Mihály Tompa or Bertalan Szemere),⁵ archiving (e.g. placing the letters of János Arany, Mihály Tompa and Gábor Kazinczy in public collections),⁶ editorial works (e.g. organizing and editing the works of

³ SCHÖPFLIN Aladár, *A magyar irodalom története a XX. században*, kiad. SEBES Katalin, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1990²)

⁴ Lévy Emlékkönyv: *A költő Kisfaludy-Társasági tagságának ötvenedik évfordulója alkalmából kiadja a Borsod-Miskolci Közművelődési és Múzeum-Egyesület*, (Miskolc: Klein és Ludvig Könyvnyomdája, 1912) 46–47, 81.; „Lévy József – 92 éves”, *Miskolci Napló* 1917. november 18.; KOZMA Andor, „Lévy József: Emlékbeszéd a Kisfaludy-Társaság ünnepi közülésén, 1922. február 5-én”, *Budapesti Szemle* 50(1922) 543. sz. 97–116., 100.; „Ünnepi ülés Lévy József tiszteleti tag emlékezetére 1925. nov. 30-án: Berzeviczy Albert ig. és t. t. elnök megnyitó beszéde”, *Akademiai Értesítő*, 26(1925) 12. sz. 315–316., 315.

⁵ LÉVAY József, „Jelentés a sárospataki Tompa szobor leleplezése ügyében”, *Akademiai Értesítő* 7(1896) 11. sz. 619–622.; LÉVAY József, „Tompa szobránál. Rimaszombatban 1902 június 4.”, *Vasárnapi Ujság*, (1902) 23. sz. 361–362.; LÉVAY József, *Tompa Mihályról*, Magyar Könyvtár 443, (Budapest: Lampel R. Könyvkereskedése, é.n. [1906]); LÉVAY József, *Szemere Bertalan szobránál*. Miskolcz, 1906. november 11. (Miskolcz: Klein és Ludvig Könyvnyomdája, 1906)

⁶ LÉVAY József, „Tompa Mihály levelei Lévy Józsefhez”, *Régi Okiratok és Levelek Tára*, 2(1906) 3. sz. 50–55.; LÉVAY József, „Pákh Albert levelei Tompa Mihályhoz”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 22(1912) 1. sz. 104–115.; GULYÁS József, „Kazinczy Gábor levelei Lévy Józsefhez”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 41(1931) 3. sz. 335–365., 335.; ARANY János, *Levelezése I. 1828–1851*, kiad. SÁFRÁN Györgyi és BISZTRAY Gyula és SÁNDOR István, Arany János Összes Művei 15, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975) 456–457.

Mihály Tompa for press release)⁷ and holding commemorative speeches. His discourses are of with special significance. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Kisfaludy Society commemorate Gábor Kazinczy, Mihály Tompa, János Arany and Ferenc Toldy with Lévy's high-calibre remembrance speeches and odes.⁸ Lévy often represents the two well-respected organisations outside the capital as well. He always fulfils the exhausting task of the travelling orator without complaint. Lévy's speeches are masterpieces that comply with the expectations of the genre: they express the gratitude of the remembering community (thus helping the greats of the nation enter the national pantheon), they encourage patriotism and strengthen the identity of the community.

Lévy is an exceptional orator, who possesses both important rhetorical abilities: the creation (*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*) and the presentation (*actio*) of speech. What is more, he proves to be proficient in all three classic rhetorical *genus* (*genus deliberativum*, *genus iudiciale* and *genus demonstrativum*). His talent plays an important role in the conformation of his career. The young Lévy is steered towards public administration in Borsod county by both family intention and personal interest. However, the fall of the War of Independence (1849) means the end of this opportunity. Therefore Lévy, who has poetic ambitions as well, moves to Pest with the intention of being in the centre of the newly forming cultural life. He tries to earn income as a paper editor, but his financial difficulties turn his career into another direction again. He returns to Borsod (1852), where he becomes a teacher at his former school, the Reformed Secondary School of Miskolc. This way he can establish safe existence in his homeland, and also follow his poetic ideal, János Arany, who is a teacher at Nagykőrös. When the opportunity of having a county official career emerges with the change of political conditions (1865), he permanently takes his place as a clerk of Borsod county. He is an honoured chief officer of Borsod county for 30 years. What makes him able to maintain such a successful career in this field is not only his oratorical skills, but also his degree in law, excellent knowledge of latin, due diligence, reliableness, conscientiousness, public activities and wise

⁷ TOMPA Mihály, *Összegyűjtött költeményei*, kiad. ARANY János és GYULAI Pál és LÉVAY József és SZÁSZ Károly, 1–6, (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1870); TOMPA Mihály, *Összes költeményei. Teljes kiadás*, kiad. LÉVAY József, 1–4, (Budapest: Méhner Vilmos, 1885); TOMPA Mihály, *Munkái*, kiad. LÉVAY József, 1–4, Magyar Remekírók 37–40, (Budapest: Kisfaludy Társaság–Franklin-Társulat, 1902–1905)

⁸ LÉVAY József, *Emlékezésed Tompa Mihály felett. Olvastatt a Kisfaludy-Társaság ünnepélyes közülésén Pesten 1869. Febr. 14.*, (Miskolc: Rácz Ádám, 1869); LÉVAY József, „Kazinczy Gábor emlékezete. (Olvastatt 1865. február 6-dikán)”, *A Kisfaludy-Társaság Évlapjai*, 2(1869) 220–250.; LÉVAY József, „Arany János emlékezete. Óda”, *A Kisfaludy-Társaság Évlapjai*, 19(1885) 317–321.; LÉVAY József, Toldy Ferenc emlékezete születése századik évfordulója után az Akadémiában, (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1906); LÉVAY József, „Arany bölcsője. Születése századik évfordulójának ünneplésére a Kisfaludy-Társaságban”, *A Kisfaludy-Társaság Évlapjai*, 50(1916–1917) 18–20.

political convincement which does not include any extremities. According to the general opinion, Lévay always works on smoothing political differences. On the other hand, his prosperous political career stands together with the image of the well-known poet; his *social* status as a chief officer of the county relate to his *literary* status as poet laureate harmonically. Borsod county honours Lévay with unprecedented recognitions: he is awarded a golden pen, and his full portrait is put in the council chamber, where Lévay, who embodies civil virtues is among monarchs, statesmen and aristocratic bailiffs in the pantheon of Borsod county.⁹

Lévay serves his county not only as an officer. He remains an active participant of social-cultural events throughout the second half of the 19th century. He is the initiator, organiser and orator of most commemorations (e.g. Ferenc Kazinczy centenary and the celebrations establishing the Bertalan Szemere-cult).¹⁰ He plays an important role in local associations and organizations (Miskolczi Nemzeti Casino, Miskolczi Polgár-Egylet, Miskolczi Polgári-Honvéd Lövész-Egylet, Miskolczi Athleta-Kör, Miskolczi Vadász-Társulat, Borsod-Miskolczi Közművelődési és Múzeum-Egyesület). His presence in the reformed church is also decisive. He becomes the undisputed lead poet of Miskolc and Borsod county, while he stays in safe distance of the local, mostly inbred literature. Lévay's literary network is of national scale, he is friends with Mihály Tompa, János Arany, János Erdélyi, Gábor Kazinczy and Pál Gyulai. His poems are edited by publishers in the capital, his translations, book reviews and dissertations come out in periodicals that provide countrywide recognition (e.g. the Budapest Szemle publishes more than 200 of his poems, poem translations and 50 of his reviews).¹¹ However, the local papers rarely publish his works, and even if they do, generally only in secondary publication. He barely has any poems that focus on local needs. Therefore the poet Lévay stands above the local literature regarding his publications, poetic role and relationship network,

⁹ „Borsodvármegye ünnepe”, *Borsodmegyei Lapok*, 1890. október 11.; „Lévay-jubileum”, *Borsod*, 1890. október 16.; Lévay József arcképe. Ünnepi szónoklat, melyet Lévay Józsefnek, koszorús költőnek, Borsodvármegye aranytollú főjegyzőjének és nyug. alispánjának a vármegye tanácssterme részére Stettka Gyula festőművész által megfestett arcképe ünnepélyes leleplezése alkalmával Dr. Vadnay Tibor vármegyei főjegyző az 1912. évi szeptember hó 10-én tartott évnegyedes rendes közgyűlésen elmondott, (Miskolcz: Klein és Ludvig Könyvnyomdája, 1912)

¹⁰ Kazinczy-Emlény: *A Miskolczon 1859. Octob. 27-én tartott Kazinczy-ünnepély rajza*, (Miskolcz: Rácz Ádám, 1860); LÉVAY József, *Szemere Bertalan emlékezete. Borsodvármegye tanácsstermében a dicsőült honfi arcképének ünnepélyes leleplezése alkalmával, az 1870-dik évi novemberhó 7-dikén tartott közgyűlésen* (Miskolcz, Rácz Ádám, 1870); LÉVAY József, „[Beszéd Szemere Bertalan gyászra-vatalánál]”, *Borsod*, 1871. május 4.

¹¹ PORKOLÁB Tibor, „Lévay, a kritikus: A Budapesti Szemle Értesítő-rovata a századfordulón”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 116(2012) 5. sz. 603–639.

however this paradox status is what makes him suitable for the effective representation of the intellectual image of the region. The cultural rebuild of Borsod county requires someone with a national reputation, which makes Lévy perfect for local representation. This is a role gladly and willingly taken by the poet. The local theme of his poetry and autobiography underpins this idea: the key metaphor of his autobiography is „glebae adstrictus”.¹²

Another reason of Lévy being „profeta in sua patria” is his conservatism that embodies the world view of the citizens of the 19th century Miskolc. His antimodern views are in full accordance with the local public taste. This mentality and values remain popular even after the poet's death. It is symbolic that the official representative and cultural organization of Miskolc takes his name (1923). The Lévy Society identifies the most important goal of its cultural work in total assimilation with the legacy of the poet.¹³ Therefore the name Lévy justifies efforts which identify modernity as some kind of destructive fashion phenomenon and view cultural life as an apocalyptic struggle. This preservation of tradition results in the opposition of the depraved capital and the healthy countryside, and its main goal is to protect the endangered local culture. Between the two World Wars culture and education is defined by this strict and closed system of principles in Miskolc and Borsod. The events of the centennial (1925) and the publicly dedicated memorial signs (memorial room, signs and sculpture) indicate the fulfilment of the Lévy-cult.¹⁴ The first sign of opposition to the direction represented by Lévy can be seen from the middle of the 1930s. The end of the Lévy Society also contributes to the process. Although Zoltán Csorba uses a Lévy-centric narrative when telling the story – which was designed to strengthen cultural identity – of local literature,¹⁵ the demise of the Lévy memorial signs means the once lead poet of Miskolc and Borsod loses his prominent status in local remembrance by the middle of the 1940s.

¹² LÉVAY József, *Visszatekintés*, kiad. BALÁZS Győző, (Miskolc: Miskolci Ref. Reálgymnázium VIII. osztálya, 1935) 32.; LÉVAY József, „Feljegyzések életemről”, *Akademiai Értesítő*, 30(1919) 1. sz. 5–16., 12.

¹³ „Előszó”, *Miskolci Szemle*, 1(1927) 1. sz. 3.; „Lévy-számunk”, *Miskolci Szemle*, 1(1927) 3. sz. 1.

¹⁴ PORKOLÁB Tibor, *Irodalmi emlékhelyek Abaújban, Borsodban, Gömörben és Zemplénben*, (Miskolc: Bíbor Kiadó, 1997) 132–145.

¹⁵ CSORBA Zoltán, *Miskolc és Borsod az irodalomban*, (Miskolc: Fekete Pál és Társai Nyomdája, 1942)

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PORKOLÁB Tibor, „Veteránok a Csonka-toronyban: Gyulai Pál, Lévy József és Szász Károly az 1899. évi nagyszalontai Arany-ünnepélyen”, in *(B)Irodalom. Gyulai Pál az irodalom élén*, szerk. AJKAY Alinka és CSÁSZTVAY Tünde, Reciti Konferenciakötetek 2, (Budapest: reciti, 2018) 133–144.

Applied Visual Anthropology

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The current study focuses on the meeting points of visual and applied anthropologies. It takes a look at the possibility of applying visual anthropological knowledge and methods in the applied anthropological research. It is not the task or goal of the current article to define applied anthropology. Here application simply means practical use in the framework of theoretical, scientific approaches. In everyday practice it means usefulness, application in a way that makes research easier and more accessible for the masses.

The relationship between visual anthropology and application is multifaceted – as the title of the current article also suggests. The text wishes to list the most promising methods and usages, but does not aim to be a definite account of all such methods and usages. On the one hand, the text talks about visual anthropological methods that can be used/applied in more orthodox social scientific research. On the other hand, it focuses on applied visual anthropological methods as well.

Nowadays, visual anthropology has at least three distinguishable definitions. The oldest among them is an approach that was born in the same time cultural anthropology gained recognition as a distinctive discipline. This definition comes from the Anglo-Saxon tradition and defines visual anthropology as the sum of visual tools used in the recording, data collection and illustration of “classical” anthropological fieldwork. And, of course, as soon as we leave the era in which authenticity was a question of gentlemanly behavior, it also serves as proof of the work done.

By the second third of the 20th century a new approach towards visual anthropology was born. This is the approach the Miskolc-schools has acknowledged and followed. According to this approach the aim of visual anthropology is to understand how culture influences our way to see things differently. As Ernő Kunt put it; visual anthropology deals with the culturally defined visual media of a given ethnic group. Just like cultural anthropology, visual anthropology in this sense aims to systematically describe the culture of the researched

communities and to record it with visual methods but also focuses on comparison, trans-cultural studies and on the analysis of suggested interactions.¹

According to the third definition, firstly embraced by András Bán in his lectures given at the University of Miskolc, visual anthropology equals its most popular form, i.e. ethnographic filmmaking. This notion implies that the great theoretical works of visual anthropology, that otherwise have huge scientific impact, do not have any influence on everyday people, they go mostly undetected by the masses. These works are created by a few thousand of researchers and theoreticians, and neither the works, nor their results reach the masses. In comparison, documentaries that usually depict something unfamiliar and therefore something interesting, reach a lot of people. They can be sketchy or deeply scientific in their form, but they reach not only the scientific community but also hundreds of thousands of everyday people. Due to their popularity coming from the fact that they are regarded as entertainment, these films are able to fulfill one of the most important roles in cultural anthropology: they mediate and translate between different cultures, they describe ‘the other’ and help to make the first step toward acceptance. This is the process during which the *unknown* becomes *known*, it moves toward being internalized.

The analytic anthropological documentary film that describes the laws and whereabouts of a culture is, in itself, applied knowledge. For researchers, scientists and consumers alike it provides an easy transition from research to application.

In part, experiments based on illusions fall into this category as well. Such illusions made their way into the entertainment industry, to fairs, science museums, and family entertainment centers. One of the most well-known among them is the Ames room. In this entertaining experiment two persons are asked to step into a room and stand in two of its corners. A third person is asked to peek into the room. From the peephole the observer sees an ordinary room with a floor that has geometrical patterns, with pictures, clocks and windows on the wall and sometimes with a table in the center. But the heights of the persons in the room changes dramatically: one grows to be a giant, while the other one is dwarfed. It works also with children as observers: the two most important persons in their lives – the mother and the father – are enlarged and dwarfed. Movement by the persons in the room does not put an end to the illusion; the moving persons grow or shrink in front of the observers’ eyes.

¹ KUNT Ernő, *Fotóantropológia. Fényképezés és kultúrákutató*, (Miskolc és Budapest: Árkádusz Kiadó, 1995) 12.

Applies Visual Anthropology

Picture 1. Ames room in operation Photography by: ZME Science



The American artist and psychologist, Adalbert Ames was fascinated by visual illusions. With this room he wanted to illustrate how perspective influences our perception of size. Disciplines on perception regarded the phenomenon on its biological basis,² no attention has been given to its cultural significance. Since the 1950s–1960s visual anthropology used the experiment as a proof of differences between perceptions in different cultures.³ In accordance with these researches the perception of the changes in size depends on the observers' culture, that is, not everyone sees it the same. The illusion never fails in the case of those who are living in complex societies, while those who live isolated from the modern built environment do not fall victim to the illusion. This leads us to the '*carpentered world hypothesis*' that has been proven by many in different cultures.⁴

According to the hypothesis, for those who were raised among geometrical lines, squares and parallels – i.e. in built environments – the fixedness of carpentered reality overrides the laws of optics. The floor is always horizontal, walls are perpendicular, and beams are parallel – no matter what. In this world

² William H. ITTELSON, *The Ames Demonstrations in Perception*, (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1952)

³ Marshall H. SEGALL et al., „Cultural Differences in the Perception of Geometric Illusions”, *Science*, 139(1963) Nr. 3556. 769–771.

⁴ Mary V. STEWART, „Tests of the 'Carpentered World' Hypothesis by Race and Environment in America and Zambia”, *International Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1973) Nr. 2. 83–94.

it is unimaginable that these things might look differently. Therefore the observer rather believes that his/her mother has shrunk than accepts that a room, the floor or the window can be a trapezoid with sloping floor and ceiling, like in the Ames room. For those who have been raised and socialized in a carpentered world, parallels and perpendiculars are the rules, the base of perception. On the contrary, those who are living in a world with cone-shaped tents, roundish houses and ball-shaped shacks such rules do not make sense. For them the Ames room is only a room in which one person looks smaller because he/she is farther in the irregular room. There are some suggestions that people living in complex societies can only experience such unbiased perceptions when they are in the peak of finding a mate (i.e. they are deeply in love) – but it has not been proven scientifically yet. They say that in this case the observer can see his/her loved one in the Ames room without falling into the trap of the optical illusion.

The Ames room fulfils several of the sublime requirements of anthropology. For those who, besides the entertainment factor, are curious about the explanation as well, it provides an example of cultural differences. Different cultures, different perceptions. Meanwhile it also proves that even simple, obvious situations require a holistic understanding of knowledge and that sometimes we are the blind slaves of our cultural systems. At the end the Ames room leads us to the conclusion that cultures different from our own can only be understood and perceived in their own frameworks. Otherwise we can easily misunderstand something.

One of the most important and most well-financed scientific experiments regarding the understanding of cultural differences has been carried out in the United States of America at the beginning of World War II. Besides other goals, the research aimed to understand the German psyche. The not-that-hidden agenda was to give ammunition to the defeat of the researched enemy. This gave birth to Gregory Bateson's analysis⁵ that has not been published until 1953 on the German propaganda film of 1933.⁶

Nowadays photography does not work anymore as a method catalyzing understanding and helping research. The possibility of instant digital image making, the constant presence of phones that are able to take photographs degraded the value of photography taken by researchers. *Photo-readiness*,⁷ i.e. the camera is never far away, brought to us by the digital technologies reshaped the

⁵ Gregory BATESON, „Hitlerjunge Quex“, in *The study of culture at a distance*, ed. Margaret MEAD and Rhoda MÉTRAUX, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) 331–348.

⁶ Hans STEINHOFF, *Hitlerjunge Quex – Ein Film vom Opfergeist der deutschen Jugend*, (1933), 95 min.

⁷ Daisuke OKABE and Mizuko ITO, Camera phones changing the definition of picture-worthy. *Japan Media Review*, (2003) Online: www.dourish.com – October 2019.

methodology used by visual research. All of the famous cases of visual anthropology have been put in brackets.

Shanklin's researches in West-Africa and Ireland⁸ in which the researcher was able to gain trust via taking photos among the kids of the community are not applicable and feasible anymore. Swartz's approach,⁹ according to which the researcher can make the community accept his/her presence by taking spectacular photos of emblematic places, buildings or landscapes does not work today. The analysis of built environment¹⁰ became also problematic. Visual researchers of the Hungarian diasporas talk about similar issues too. György Gergelyffy visual anthropologist, ethnographic filmmaker reports that in the beginning of the 1990s black-and-white photography could serve as a bridge between the researcher and the researched. After a few years color photographs, later on the new digital media were used to create relations. By the second half of the 2000s these 'opportunities' ceased to exist, not even kids were interested in the researcher taking pictures. They only asked him about the pixels and other technical properties of his camera. They photographed themselves and each other; they did not need the researcher's presence and work anymore.

⁸ Eugenia SHANKLIN, When a good social role is worth a thousand pictures, in *Images of Information*, ed. Jon WAGNER, (London: Sage, 1979)

⁹ Dona SCHWARTZ, *Waucoma Twilight: Generalization of the Farm*, (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992)

¹⁰ DOBÁK Judit, „Rozsdás vidék: A kohászat térségihatásainak és a területi fejlődésben játszott szerepének időbeli változásai”, in *Írások és képek Bán András 60. születésnapjára*, szerk. DANÓ Orsolya, (Miskolc: Kulturális és Vizuális Antropológiai Intézet, 2011) 139–148., 144.; DOBÁK Judit, „Miskolc ipari társadalmának kialakulása a befogadó települések tükrében. (Esettanulmány)” [2009], in *Egyszer volt, hol nem volt Acélváros. Projekt, 2008–2009*, Észak-Keleti Átjáró Egyesület, Online: www.atjarokhe.hu – August 2017.

Picture 2. At the beginning of the new Millennia a digital *Sony Mavica* was met with peaked interest in the community. Photography by: *János Beregszászi*



As soon as the visual documents became widespread, mobile and cheap, researchers tried to utilize these to involve their research subjects into the evaluative-analytic part of the research. Bateson and Mead have already used such methods in their research of 1963 in Bali. They showed a selected group of natives the recorded material – dancers in trance – using substandard cinematographic equipment. They had a pragmatic goal: they wanted to prove that the dancers are really in trance due to the intensive movements of the dance.¹¹

The method has also been used by one of the Hungarian pioneers of visual anthropology, Lajos Boglár, as early as in the beginning of the 1970s. He organized local screenings for the locals, the “natives” first as an experiment, and later as final control of the authenticity of collected data.

Similar in form, but different in its goals is „photo-elicitation”, that has emerged as a methodological tool in the last couple decades. Some argue¹² that the method is rooted in Mead’s fieldwork of 1925 in Samoa, where the researcher made interviews with girls by using photographs as visual stimulations. Others say¹³ that the emergence of the method runs parallel with the postmodern trends that have changed the course of social sciences as well. The

¹¹ Paul HENLEY, „From Documentation to Representation. Recovering the Films of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson”, *Visual Anthropology*, 26(2013) Nr. 2. 75–108., 84.

¹² Fadwa EL GUINDI, *Visual Anthropology. Essential Method and Theory*, (Altamira: Rowman, 2004) 176.

¹³ Marcus BANKS, *Visual Methods in Social Research*, (London: Sage, 2001); Elisa BIGNANTE, „The use of photo-elicitation in field research. Exploring Maasai representations and use of natural resources”, *EchoGéo*, (2010) Nr. 11. Online: journals.openedition.org/echogeo – December 2019.

postmodern turn – that, in contrast to the positivist approaches questions the possibility of objective knowledge of the world – swept over the cultural anthropology and put visual methods in front of text-based researches. American sociologist and photography theorist, Douglas Harper calls fieldwork with photographs a postmodern dialogue.¹⁴

The method of photo-elicitation is quite simple: during the interview we show visual representations – photographs, films, paintings, drawings or any other visual signs – to our interviewee and ask for their comments on them. The visuals can come from the culture or community, from the researcher him/herself, but can also be “found” images, coming from newspapers, advertisements, TV shows or from the internet.

The emphasis is not on the content of the pictures but on the relation between the interviewee and the pictures. In this regard photo-elicitation is very similar to some of the projection tests used in psychology. In Rorschach test it is not the actual form of the inkblots that matters but the responses and perceptions of the examined person. It is the researcher’s task to decode the messages, to give a plain interpretation of the content of the culture coded in the pictures.¹⁵ By using photographs and films, we are able to gain a deeper understanding of the mind-set of people living in technocrat worlds, in complex societies.¹⁶ The emergence, spread and general acceptance of photo-based perception not only allows but requires such techniques. By talking about an “optical unconscious”¹⁷ Walter Benjamin argues that the soul of the modern man can only be understood via photo-cinematographic tools.

¹⁴ Douglas HARPER, „On the authority of the image: visual sociology at the crossroads”, in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. DENZIN and Yvonna LINCOLN, (Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications, 1993) 403–412.

¹⁵ BANKS, *Visual Methods*, *op.cit.*

¹⁶ TÖRÖK Zsuzsanna, „Birokra kelni a valósággal”, in *Birokra kelni a valósággal. Vizuális antropológiai esettanulmányok*, szerk. DOBÁK Judit és R.NAGY József, (Miskolc: Aldebaran, 2005) 7–14.

¹⁷ Walter BENJAMIN, *Kommentár és prófécia*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1969) 301–334.

Picture 3. Csangos from Ghimes in the company of cultural anthropologists from Miskolc, during a photo interview in the spring of 1995. Photography by: Gyula Gulyás



Photo-elicitation, just like any other interview techniques using photographs is based on the differences between processing textual/oral and visual contents. It has biological grounds: the parts of the brain responsible for processing visual information are older in evolutionary terms than the parts processing vocal information. Therefore pictures call front deeper structures of the consciousness than words, texts, or human voice do. In addition, the brain uses significantly less energy when processing textual information than it does during the process of pictures.¹⁸ Thus, interviews with photographs turn up different results and offer different information than text-based interviews. Social scientific photographic interviews differ from text-based interviews to an extent that they should be understood and regarded as a distinctive form of interview technique.

The visual anthropologist, John Collier Jr., has used photographic interviews in his early works, right after the end of World War II. As he writes in one of his essays, he had very practical reasons to do so. If asked by using photography, his interviewees were talking at length and in more details. They also were less tired after the sessions. All in all, he has been more effective in making interviews. Collier also notes that photographs catalyze the process of remembering, so his interviews became more detailed and provided more data.¹⁹ Besides, photographic interviews utilized the characteristic of the photography,

¹⁸ Douglas HARPER, „Talking about pictures. A case for photo elicitation”, *Visual Studies*, 17(2002) Nr. 1. 13–26., 13.

¹⁹ John COLLIER Jr., „Photography in anthropology”, *American Anthropologist*, 59(1957) 843–859.

called “the mummification of the change”²⁰ by Bazin. By this the actual physical space and time of the interview can be expanded, and a new space emerges in which the past is part of the present memory – as Todorov argues.²¹

Sztompka also reasons for interviews with photos. According to him a purely verbal interview is more like a bureaucratic procedure, while the photographic interview reminds interviewees of a merry family gathering.²² The end result is superior, both in quality and in the extent of information gained.

Zoltán Fejős talks about the changes in categories in terms of the fieldwork photographs exhibited in museums. First photographs served as substitutes, then they contributed to contextualization and finally photography became a separate analytical and interpretative tool.²³

The American film, *Krippendorf's Tribe*²⁴ talks about the belief in the authenticity of visual material in a comedy setting. In the story, a cultural anthropologist professor is unable to account for the money received for research. To cover up his misuse of grant money he forges false evidence and data. In his report he creates a primitive tribe with its myths, symbols and complex way of life. In order to prove the existence on this non-existent tribe in front of the suspicious scientific community of anthropologists he provides visual documentation – fake films and photographs – of the tribe. The belief in the unquestionable truth of visual documentation in cultural anthropology taking roots in the beginning of the 20th century works: the scientific community believes the professor and he don't need to pay back the grant. The “objective” visual materials pass the test of authenticity.

²⁰ André BAZIN, „A fénykép ontológiája”, in André BAZIN, *Mi a film?*, (Budapest: Osiris, 2002) 16–19.

²¹ Tzvetan TODOROV, *Az emlékezet hasznáról és káráról*, (Budapest: Napvilág, 2003) 19.

²² Piotr SZTOMPKA, *Vizuális szociológia. A fényképezés mint kutatási módszer*, (Pécs és Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó és PTE Kommunikáció- és Médiatudományi Tanszék, 2009) 83.

²³ FEJŐS Zoltán, „Miért a foto?”, in *Foto es néprajzi muzeológia*, szerk. FEJŐS Zoltán, (Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 2004) 24.

²⁴ Todd HOLLAND, *Krippendorf's Tribe*, American comedy, (1998), 94 min.

Picture 4. It doesn't need to be true, it should only look like it is! Excerpt from the movie Krip-pendorf's Tribe



Since the 1966 film experiment by Sol Worth and John Adair among the Navajo People²⁵ the so-called Navajo-films are very popular in applied anthropology. Paradoxically the original research did not have any practical usage, it qualifies as an experiment to prove one on the basic premises of visual anthropology, that is, similar to language, visual perception differs in cultures. Even so, the followers use the method because of its applied perspective.

Actually, most of the Navajo films do not qualify as purely authentic representatives of the recorded culture. Almost all of these films represent the viewpoints of at least two cultures: that of the makers of the film and that of the team providing technical equipment and post production. And there is the director's perspective as well. If there is a research interest and intent in the background, the original idea of Navajo films, i.e. the film is made solely by the members of the given culture, can rarely be carried out truly. It is especially interesting that the docu-entertainment started to use the same pattern recently.²⁶ The survival reality shows focusing on solitude and isolation build upon the visual materials recorded by the participants, without the use of professional cameraman. Post production is carried out by experts, though.

²⁵ Sol WORTH and James ADAIR, „Navajo filmesek”, in *Montázs*, szerk. HORÁNYI Özséb, (Budapest: TKK, 1977) 271–324.

²⁶ One of the most popular survival reality show *Alone* (History Channel, 5 seasons 2015–2018) used this method, just like a *Marooned with Ed Stafford* (Discovery Channel, 3 seasons, 2013–2016), and also *Primitive Life*, *Brave Wilderness Primitive*, *Primitive Technology Ideas* on YouTube or the biggest of the genre *Primitive Technology* with its 9 million followers.

Picture 5. Navajo filmmaker during shooting. Photography: PENN Museum



The success of self-filming for the consumers raised in complex societies of generalized pictures lies in its simplicity, cheapness and exotic visual style. The researcher asks the members of the researched community to make/take visual recordings – films, photographs, pictures, etc. – in their own culture, in accordance with the special rules and laws of their respective group. There are several sub-categories of such creations and they make it to scientific or artistic gatherings on a regular basis. See Zsófia Vitézy's *Made in Romania* (2004), Zoltán Füredi's *Szia Nagyi! Jól vagyunk! [Hi, Gran! We feel fine!]* (1999), Alexander Nanau's *Toto and his sisters* (2014), or Tamás Almási's *Alagsor [Basement]* (2001) for example.

The branch of visual anthropology focusing on the media finds its roots in the issues of representation. These studies deal with the individual values of family members²⁷ and the media representation and presentation of underprivileged social groups. They analyze the way of how the major society visualizes, and in many case stigmatizes, minority groups.²⁸ The anthropological approach adds to the traditional media theory and media-influence theory by focusing on the influence of media not only as something that influences the viewer, but as a mutual and multi-layered interaction.

Translated by Zsuzsanna Török

²⁷ MOLNÁR Ágnes, „Oltalmazó család”, in *Fehéren, feketén*, szerk. BORSOS Balázs et al., (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2004) 437.

²⁸ BERNÁTH Gábor és MESSING Vera, „Romákkal beszélgetve a médiáról. Ellenállni a hatalom értelmezésének”, *socio.hu*, 7(2017) 2. sz. Online: socio.hu – October 2019.

My major publications on the topic:

R.NAGY József, „Képek és kultúra. Vizuális antropológiai megközelítések”, *Ex Symposion (Dokumentum – tematikus szám)*, 36(2000) 32–33. sz. 33–38.

R.NAGY József, *Családi album. Vizuális antropológiai szöveggyűjtemény I*, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2000)

R.NAGY József, „A digitális fényképezés társadalmi gyakorlata Magyarországon”, in *Docēre et movēre – Bölcsészet- és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok a Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar 20 éves jubileumára*, szerk. ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS Mária, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem BTK, 2012) 247–262.

R.NAGY József, *Privát emlékezet Miskolcon*, (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2015)

R.NAGY József, Vidékiek [A vidéki életmód vizuális reprezentációi], in *Szemes csavar*, szerk. URBÁN Tibor, (Miskolc: Miskolci Galéria, 2015)

Online Adult Foreign Language Education

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Keywords: adult education, online education, multisensory learning, andragogy, language teaching

The internet has played a more and more significant role in our lives. As a language teacher my conviction is that using and capitalizing on digital tools offer new possibilities in our work. My field of research is online adult education, due to personal experience. The online language school I work for offers one-on-one personalized classes, during which we “only” talk for 60 minutes, activating the vocabulary. Our teachers’ goal during these classes is to rid our students of their potential English-related inhibitions and negative thoughts, which could hinder the learning process. Online learning is a viable alternative for adult learners. Besides its multiple advantages its only real disadvantage is lack of personal communication, although turning the webcam on can give online classes almost the same feel. In the following I will give the theoretical background of adult education, and venture to define the reasons why lessons on Skype¹ are so successful, while also introducing our students’ inhibitions, and how we try to overcome them.

Andragogy

Adult online education obviously differs from teaching in person, mostly regarding methodology, however the real difference does not lie in the obvious contrast between online and physical presence. As far as my research is concerned, the real distinction should be made based on the persona of the student, more specifically his/her age. Malcolm Knowles developed the theory of adult education, named it andragogy, and made a clear distinction between pedagogy and andragogy. “Andragogy is defined (...) as the art and science of helping adults (or, even better, maturing human beings) learn.”² While pedagogy deals

¹ Skype is obviously not the only program that can be used for online education. Actually, there are technically more dependable software. However, since Skype is free, it is easily accessible and widely used. Therefore, due to its popularity, during my essay I will use teaching and Skype as an umbrella expression to online education, using any and all similar software.

² MALCOLM KNOWLES, *Self-directed Learning: A Guide for Learners and Teacher*, (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Cambridge Adult Education Prentice Hall Regents, 1975) 19.

with teaching children, andragogy is not about teaching, but facilitating self-directed learning.

In his study Gyula Csoma emphasizes the differences between pedagogy and andragogy, pointing out that adult education has developed over a long process.³ Many still do not recognize the practical distinction between these two fields, stemming from psychological, psycho-social, intellectual, emotional, motivational and methodological differences, therefore I try to summarize these below. Knowles lists five assumptions of adult learning: changes in self-concept, the role of experience, readiness to learn, orientation to learning, motivation to learn.⁴

In order to effectively teach adults one must be familiar with the special psychological, psycho-social, intellectual, emotional, motivational characteristics of adults.

Psychological characteristics

Piaget's cognitive theory could greatly help teachers understand the difficulties in adult language acquisition,⁵ assist the students overcoming these difficulties, and facilitate the understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of the students' existing knowledge when learning a second language. In the adult's native language, or in another second language, the existing knowledge is made up of *schemas*, which are essentially building blocks to which the student can connect the new information pieces. Unfortunately, existing schemas can often prevent students from progressing. If new vocabulary, grammar rules or structures do not work with schemas already in existence in the mother tongue (or other languages known by the student), the learner might find accommodating the new information contradictory, and particularly challenging. A rewarding, yet often laborious or complex task for the teacher is to discover in each individual where the gap is, in order to assist with the accommodation process. The teacher's role is to find a way for these new schemas to serve as building blocks for future knowledge.

Psychosocial characteristics

Teachers in adult education are also encouraged to familiarize themselves with Erik Erikson's psychosocial development theory.⁶ Erikson introduced eight

³ CSOMA Gyula, „Andragógia a pedagógia mellett (?)”, in *Andragógia elmélete és történeti alapjai, jegyzet-tervezet*, szerk. KHADEMI-VIDRA Anikó, (H.n.: k.n., 2013) Online: pukanszky.hu – December 2019. 3–28.

⁴ MALCOLM KNOWLES, *The adult learner: A neglected species*, (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1973)

⁵ N. KOLLÁR Katalin és SZABÓ Éva, *Pszichológia pedagógusoknak*, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2004)

⁶ ERIK ERIKSON, *Az emberi fejlődés nyolc szakasza*, (Budapest: Osiris kiadó, 2002)

Online Adult Foreign Language Education

stages from infancy to older adult stage. Each stage corresponds to a struggle that an individual will need to go through in order to become a healthy human being. However, success in dealing with the issue is not only necessary to move on to the next stage, but failure to do so reduces the possibility of becoming a fully-functioning and happy person. Each of these struggles can be summarized by an existential question, specific to the age-group the individual would like to move to.

Erikson's stages of psychosocial development

Stage	Existential question	Psychosocial crisis
Infancy (0–1 year)	Can I trust the world?	trust vs. mistrust
Early childhood (1–3 year)	Is it OK to be me?	autonomy vs. shame/doubt
Preschool (3–5 year)	Is it OK for me to do, move, and act?	initiative vs. guilt
School age (5–11 year)	Can I make it in the world of people and things?	industry vs. inferiority
Adolescence (12–20 year)	Who am I? Who can I be?	identity vs. role confusion
Young adult (20–40 year)	Can I love?	intimacy vs. isolation
Middle-age adult (40–65 year)	Can I make my life count?	generativity vs. stagnation
Old age (above 65 years)	Is it okay to have been me?	ego integrity vs. despair

It is easily imaginable how a 40-year-old adult who left grade-school feeling inferior rather than industrious might have more problems learning a second language than another who felt confident in his capabilities of producing correct material. On the other hand, a 70-year-old who always had a desire to learn English and has not yet done so would feel very motivated to learn the language, and it might help him resolve some of his conflicts remaining from previous stages.

The relevance of Erickson's theory is that both internal and external factors must be taken into account in order to understand one's student, and therefore be able to teach them to the best of our abilities. Also, a teacher has to consider the stage at which his/her student is most likely to be, as it will determine the student's needs, interests, and involvement.

Intellectual and emotional characteristics

Intelligence is another important factor, which determines how quickly a person is able to understand grammar rules, how well they adapt them, and how efficient they are in learning new words. Typically high intelligence primarily affects written language. Spoken language seems to require alternate sets of skills, which obviously depend on existing knowledge, gained with the

intelligence a student has, however, in order to communicate verbally, intelligence does not suffice.⁷

Language aptitude is a factor the lack of which usually all unsuccessful students blame for their failure. Aptitude can be classified as a skill, or even a talent; the reason why some people are quicker to learn a new language, capable of learning almost native-like pronunciation with minimal effort, understand the grammar rules, and utilize them without much trouble. “One of the pioneers in this area, John Carroll, has characterized aptitude in terms of the ability to learn quickly.”⁸

While teaching a foreign language, considering the personality traits and learning styles is also of utmost importance. Based on Oxford’s research, there are seven ways to categorize an individual, and teachers have to take into account all seven categories when creating a plan for their student, when conducting a class, or coming up with new ideas to assist an individual.⁹

1. Each individual has sensory preferences of how they process and store new information best. Students can be auditive, visual, kinesthetic, or tactile.

2. Whether someone is extraverted or introverted also makes a difference. Extraverted individuals have an easier time communicating. On the other hand, researches prove that introverted people have more perseverance to study, and more specifically they “may have the patience and focus to attend to clear articulation in a foreign language.”¹⁰

3. Being intuitive-random or sensing-sequential could be a determining factor as well. Intuitive-random students are more creative, like to make up their own theories, and enjoy taking charge of the learning process. They prefer the random, non-sequential, even arbitrary approach. On the other hand, sensing-sequential people want order; they want clear instructions, and teacher guidance.

4. A thinking individual is rational, says things how they are, and is usually not at ease when expressing emotions. Feeling people, on the other hand, are

⁷ Patsy M. LIGHTBROWN and Nina SPADA, *How Languages Are Learned*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006)

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Rebecca L. OXFORD, „Language learning styles and strategies: an overview”, in *Learning Styles & Strategies*, (Oxford, GALA, 2003) Online: web.ntpu.edu.tw – December 2019.

¹⁰ H. Douglas BROWN, *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*, (White Plains NY: Pearson Education, 2000*) 156.

compassionate, emotional, and like to be praised. Knowing his/her own personality type is very important for the teacher, especially if he/she works one on one with a student, because he/she has to make a conscious effort to tune into the student's needs. (For example a thinking teacher needs to make sure to praise the feeling student more than what might be natural for the teacher; likewise, a feeling teacher needs to tone himself/herself down when working with a thinking student.)

5. Closure-oriented students are the serious learners: they want to have deadlines, with a sense of accomplishment. They are well organized, and get down to business. The open/perceiving students are flexible, and take language learning as a game. They enjoy random activities, and do not mind the unpredictable, the impulsive, and the unforeseen.

6. Holistic students look at the big picture. They try to utilize all of their language knowledge, not worrying about the "minor" details of grammar structures, syntax, and semantics, for example. Analytical students, however, have the need to understand all the rules, and want to be able to use them as accurately as possible.

7. Knowing the students' biorhythms, needs and environment is also imperative. Some might be more tired in the afternoon and cannot concentrate as much. Others might need to eat or drink during class. Location could also be a factor: the room temperature, the lighting, how comfortable the seats are, etc. all make a difference.

H. Douglas Brown lists six categories of the affective domain, which define one's personality, and have an enormous influence on second language learning: self-esteem, self-confidence, inhibitions, risk-taking, anxiety, empathy, and extroversion.¹¹ All these have an effect on how much an individual is willing to and can communicate without inhibitions. Hence the reason why our Skype-lessons focus on this aspect of language acquisition: we focus on oral communication during our sixty-minute classes.

Motivational characteristics

Brown categorizes the types of motivation into two groups: instrumental and integrative, intrinsic and extrinsic.¹² In order to motivate the student, knowing

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

what directly motivates him/her to learn the language is relevant. Brown states that integrative-intrinsic motivation is the most effective, therefore the teacher's role is to induce and maintain it. Dörnyei points out as well that initial motivation is not enough in itself: if the initial motivation is not maintained, repeated, and reinforced, its effect on the students will diminish, and eventually it will wear out.¹³ The teacher's role is therefore utterly important, as extrinsic motivation could somewhat influence even those who are not internally motivated; moreover, intrinsic motivation might derive from external motivation. Dörnyei's principle is: quality over quantity! Choosing the right methods to motivate students, and using these methods regularly, but necessarily frequently, is better than overusing, for example, the reward systems.

Types of Motivations in Foreign Language Acquisition

	Integrative	Instrumental
Intrinsic	Someone who is love with a foreigner, learning their language.	Getting better grades at school, to be able to get to a better high school/college.
Extrinsic	Going abroad to work, and learn that country's language.	The parents would punish the student if he/she got a bad grade.

Knowing the above mentioned differences is essential to those teaching adults. Being familiar with the adult students' special needs allows us to develop concepts, methods, and curriculum based on the individual's needs. Based on Knowles's assumptions, there are four approaches that are currently used in adult education: self-directed learning, experiential learning, transformational learning, and contextualized learning. Integrating all these concepts into the teaching process will allow for better motivation, consequently better effectiveness.

Implementation

Being familiar with the theoretical background, I attempted to find the key to the success of online teaching through case studies, the answers given by our students to my survey questions, and one-on-one interviews conducted with my colleagues. The answers given by the students are obviously subjective, and are solely based on the students' perception, which, in some instances could be crosschecked by taking the teachers' responses into account.

The survey questions were sent out to about one hundred previous and current students, with a 50% response rate. All of our students are busy adults

¹³ Zoltán DÖRNYEI, „Motivation in second language learning”, in *Teaching English as a second or foreign language*, ed. Marianne CELCE-MURCIA and Donna M. BRINTON and Marhuerite Ann SNOW and David BOHLKE, (Boston MA: National Geographic Learning / Cengage Learning, 2014⁴) 518–531.

(employees, managers, entrepreneurs), with little spare time to learn English. Therefore the flexibility of online classes is a huge advantage to them, especially to those working in the service industry, as their schedule tends to be sporadic. Thus most of our students having integrative and intrinsic motivation is not surprising, as this is essential for them to invest time, money, and energy into the learning process.

The key motivating factor in the opinion of 90% of the respondents is reaching their goal. This resonates with the teacher answers in the interview as well, where they mentioned that setting appropriate goals, in cooperation with the teacher, was of utmost importance. Thus students have a say in the method and the curriculum. They feel at ease with the teacher, due to the supportive and positive attitude they get from him/her. The classes are tailored to the students' needs, based on their learning style, learning strategies, personality type, psychosocial stage, motivation, and obviously his/her English level: considering all these elements contribute to the teacher-student partnership. Only then can we give support to our students in gaining confidence, releasing blocks, having good self-esteem, and eliminating anxiety. These are all vital in order for the student to reach his/her goal.

Student motivation is essential to success. Many of the adult students have integrative motivation, which is the most advantageous for language learners.¹⁴ A teacher's job is to keep the motivation high, by giving positive feedback, and by providing a supportive environment for the student. The chemistry between teacher and student is also important, as it helps creating a partnership between these two parties. The partnership is also a necessary element of self-directed learning, which is what the offline parts of our classes are.¹⁵ Self-directed learning proves to be more effective for adults. Being equals also allows the student to give honest feedback to the teacher, letting him/her know what works and what should be changed in the curriculum and methodology, in order for the student to benefit the most from the classes.

Motivation and good student-teacher relationship are essential, but not sufficient. We ask our students to spend at least 15 minutes a day studying English. Whether they do their homework, watch a movie, listen to a podcast, read a book, or chat with a native speaker, is up to them. The options are endless, and the students can decide what is most pleasant and effective for their purposes and personality. Studying a second language should not be hard work; rather exciting and fun. In our classes we create a nurturing, friendly

¹⁴ John H. SCHUMANN, „Affective Factor and the Problem of Age in Second Language Acquisition”, *Language Learning*, 25(2006) Nr. 2. 209–235.

¹⁵ KNOWLES, *Self-directed Learning*, *op.cit.*

environment, to ensure that our students are looking forward to seeing us online, instead of signing in on Skype with fear or acrimony, just like we are excited to see and talk to them.

Some students have preconceived notions about themselves: they have negative self-concept.¹⁶ Quite often the problem is not the student's English knowledge, but this negative attitude, which we also work hard to change. The teacher's positive attitude is needed for this reason as well, as it can be transmitted to the student. Each student has his/her own blocks, which are just as unique as his/her personality, and should be found out, in order to release them. Therefore we also teach according to Mezirow's Transformational Learning Theory.¹⁷ We want to make our students' lives better, not only by teaching them a language, but also proving to them that they are capable of doing what they set their minds to, if they believe in themselves, and are willing to make their contributions.

Being truly productive and efficient in our work with the students seems to be possible through personalized teaching. One key element in our methodology is multisensory learning. During the first, introductory class, the teacher conducts an assessment of which multisensory category the student fits in (visual, auditive, kinesthetic), in order for the teacher to know later on what methods, tools, and tips we should turn to so that we can enhance the learning process.

Kardaş points out that language acquisition is most effective when expressions are personalized, which is important in the methodology, but also in the curriculum: if we "include people, events, or information that represent students' lives (in the form of scenarios or simulations), their learning will be permanent."¹⁸ Based on the principles of contextualized learning,¹⁹ students often discuss personal experiences, their joys, their sorrows, their private lives. The teacher knows a lot about the student, and in return, he/she shares information about himself/herself as well, thus enhancing the student's listening skills. This also builds trust, and adds to the special bond which enhances the learning experience.

Everyone has different personalities, insecurities, goals, interests, and schedules. Teachers have to work with all the "given" input, and in cooperation

¹⁶ Sarah Mercer and Stephen RYAN and Marion WILLIAMS, *Psychology for language learning: insights from research, theory and practice*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012)

¹⁷ Lori-Kyle D. HEROD, *Adult Learning: From Theory to Practice*, (2002) Updated: 2012. Centre de documentation, Online: en.copian.ca – December 2019.

¹⁸ Demet KARDAŞ, „The use of personalized texts for teaching Turkish as a second language”, *Academic Journals*, 11(2016) Nr. 6. 252–259.

¹⁹ HEROD, *Adult Learning*, *op.cit.*

with the students, have to turn these into the desired output, which is confident English knowledge, and its enthusiastic, frequent use.

Building on motivation a good teacher is able to enhance the student's occasionally not so positive self-esteem. Learning on Skype has more advantages than a typical language course, or especially compared to classes at a regular school, despite the fact that it may be less personal, due to lack of physical presence. Students and teachers find that one-on-one language learning on Skype is an advantageous method, because it is time-effective, personalized, focuses on the individual's learning style, and builds self-confidence, while providing practical language knowledge.

All the World is a „Stage”. The Role of the Stage-Model and the Stage-Metaphor in Translation

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Keywords: conversive verbs, observer, point-of-view, stage-model, stage-metaphor

Introduction – My encounters with linguistics

I am one of those few who, as a child of teacher parents intended to choose teaching as a profession. I studied hard preparing to become a teacher of Russian. Thus in high school I just had to decide on a second subject that could go with it. When I was a high school student, I came across college lecture notes for Hungarian majors on linguistics. Reading the assignments and looking at the diagrams which I did not understand at all, I immediately decided not to specialise in Hungarian. I thought linguistics was too difficult for me to learn.

Strangely enough, at the university subjects on linguistics, among them theories about verbs, were the ones that aroused my interest and later had a significant impact on my teaching career. My teachers at university were Árpád Sebestyén, József Dombrovski, Ferenc Papp and Béla Korponay, all of them emblematic figures, excellent and recognized representatives of linguistics. In my thesis, which I defended at the end of the fifth year, I applied the method of contrastive linguistics and examined the aspect and tense of the verbs in a Hungarian drama by László Németh and its Russian translation. My interest in linguistics remained even after finishing my studies, when I worked as a lecturer at the Technical University of Heavy Industry in Miskolc. In my doctoral dissertation (*Verbal functions in specialized texts*, 1989) I examined the function of verbs in Russian specialized texts on mining, metallurgy and mechanical engineering. I came to the conclusion that many verbs used in everyday conversation lose their original meaning and instead of referring to actions in the objective world they refer to a special field of knowledge. They either obtain a new meaning or lose their original, semantic content.

The title of my PhD thesis was *The Role of the Verb-Centred Theory in Descriptive Translation Studies* (1997), in which I presented the linguistic model of translation, regarding the sentence as the unit of translation. Later on, I continued to deal with the role of verbs as chief governors in the sentence and the introduction of the stage-model, which became one of the main subjects of my

habilitation thesis, as well. Before going into details in the linguistic basics, I made a detour toward the investigation of the relationship between reality, man and language. The theoretical framework of the present study was partly provided by the American linguist R. Langacker, and partly by the representatives of valency theory.¹ As for my own intellectual product, I will show the reader how the theories related to verbs can be incorporated into the theory and practice of translation.

1. The relationship between reality, language and linguistics

Looking at the surrounding world, we experience that reality is the same for people the world over, but languages structure the world differently and this phenomenon is reflected in their lexical systems (e.g. there are two colour terms in one language and there may be eleven in another). But in this paper, my aim is to concentrate on grammatical relations.

Reality existing in space and time is populated by static and moving objects as well as active persons. The world around us consists of smaller and larger units constituting part and whole relationships. There are movements and forms of action in reality performed by active agents in spatial locations and in time. All of these relationships are reflected in the grammatical system of languages. Forms of action are expressed by verbs and agents are referred to by nouns. Their relationships are expressed in language as parts existing in space and time, from which units, that is, from words sentences can be formed. Language users as members of a given language community recognise these relationships and the fact that both the world and language are hierarchically structured.

The static and moving objects, the states, events and the forms of action are complex and prototypical phenomena of the surrounding world. There is correspondence between them and parts of speech in language. Prototypical nouns denote entities, that is, existing objects and persons and refer to participants of the situation. Prototypical verbs refer to forms of action and denote actions set in time. In languages thoughts are expressed by sentences.

¹ See Ronald W. LANGACKER, *Transitivity, Case and Grammatical Relations. A Cognitive Grammar Prospectus* (Duisburg: L.A.U.D. 1987); Gerhard HELBIG und Wolfgang SCHENKEL, *Wörterbuch zur Valenz und Distribution deutscher Verben*, (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1973); Люсьен ТЕНЬЕР, *Основы структурного синтаксиса*, (Москва: Прогресс, 1988); LÉVAI Béla, *Egyszintenciális és lokális mondatok az angol és az orosz nyelvben*, (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadója, 2000).

2. *The billiard-ball model and the stage-model*

To exemplify the relationship between reality and the individual living and acting in the surrounding world, the American linguist, one of the founders of the cognitive linguistic movement and the creator of cognitive grammar, Ronald W. Langacker² set up two models, on the basis of which the relationship between persons and objects can be illustrated. One of them is the billiard-ball model while the other is the stage-model.

According to the billiard-ball model, our world is populated by discrete objects which can be separated from each other. Some of these objects are capable of moving about and interacting with others, thus transmitting energy. Movement, on the one hand, can be due to internal energy, and, on the other, to outer sources.³ Due to the accumulation of energy in objects, a special relationship is created and based on this, objects are capable of performing certain actions with volition and responsibility.⁴

As for me, the stage-model seems to be much more useful and expressive. It develops and completes the former model assuming that in reality the movement of interrelated objects is monitored by an observer in the same way as a theatrical performance is followed with attention by people sitting in the auditorium and watching the play. Observers, who watch the surrounding world, can attend only to a limited portion of reality, and the same thing happens when members of the audience are watching the play. How much they are capable of seeing from the stage depends on their position in the auditorium.⁵ Members of the audience are unable to survey the whole stage. The same thing happens when the observers perceive reality. Since they are unable to see the entire world, their world view depends on the position they occupy in reality, a subjective vantage-point, which contributes to the formation of a specific point-of-view. The vantage-point interpretation can be different for each language community, and this has an impact on the linguistic structure.

3. *Comparison of the stage-metaphor and the sentence structure*

The stage-model reminds us of the stage-metaphor used in linguistics. In this sense, we must imagine the sentence, the smallest natural, structural and functional unit of speech as a miniature drama, which has a plot and some actors, as well as spatial or temporal circumstances. The referent of a sentence is a certain part of reality, a given situation or a state of affairs. Actions taking place in

² LANGACKER, *Transitivity*, *op.cit.*

³ LANGACKER, *Transitivity*, *op.cit.* 40.

⁴ Michael BAMBERG, „Actions, Events, Scenes, Plots and the Drama”, *Language Sciences*, 16(1994) Nr. 1. 39–53., 40.

⁵ LANGACKER, *Transitivity*, *op.cit.* 3–4.

reality are represented in the sentence by the predication, which is most often expressed by verbs. Actors are referred to by nouns and the circumstances of the action by different adverbials. Participants of the situation are attracted into the sentence by the main organizer, the verb. Based on its internal structural features, the verb is capable of „deciding” on the number of actors necessary for constructing a grammatically correct sentence. Just as the play may have a positive and a negative hero, the sentence prototypically also has to have an Agent, who performs the action. Besides this, the sentence may nominate some persons who experience the action or are acted upon. For example such is the role of the victim in Fillmore’s Case Grammar, who experiences the action of another Agent or the Recipient, who is the beneficiary of the action. All the cases, like the Agent, the Object, the Patient, the Experiencer, the Instrumental etc. are deep structure designations denoting who did what to whom, who experienced the action, etc. These semantic or deep structure cases correspond to roles in real life situations. As it has already been mentioned, in a play it is the plot (or the action) that has a dominant role, and in the sentence it is the verb. It determines the number of the participants of the situation and the fact whether or not the actors should be the performers or the beneficiaries of the action or the „sufferers” acted upon.⁶

Spectators watch the events on the stage from different positions which make different vantage-point interpretations possible. This contributes to creating a spatial point-of-view and can be expressed in language on the sentence level. This point-of-view is not identical with the ones classified by Simpson,⁷ manifesting themselves in literary works and extending to the text level. I would call this phenomenon a point-of-view reflecting a spatial perspective expressed by grammatical means. Since this study deals only with verbs, this grammatical point-of-view represents only a small part of the topic investigated. For more information about Case Grammar and valency theory see the material listed in the bibliography.⁸

⁶ Charles J. FILLMORE, „The Case for Case”, in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. Emmon BACH and Robert Thomas HARMS, (New York: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1968); SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, „Az ige-centrikus elmélet és gyakorlati alkalmazhatósága”, *Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Közlemények*, 2(2007) 157–177.

⁷ Paul SIMPSON, *Language, Ideology and Point-of-View*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993)

⁸ SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, *A fordítás mint közvetítés*, (Miskolc: STÚDIUM rendezvények és nyelvtanfolyamok, 2006); SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ, *Az ige-centrikus elmélet...*, *op.cit.*; SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, „A fordító nyelvészeti nézőpontjának szerepe a célnyelvi szöveg kialakításában”, in *Docēre et movēre – Bölcsészeti- és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok a Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar 20 éves jubileumára*, szerk. ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS Mária, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem BTK, 2012) 89–100.

4. The emergence of the stage-model and the stage-metaphor in translation

At the University of Miskolc, during seminars on the lexical and grammatical issues of translation, the students taking part in translator training had to compare English and Hungarian original literary texts and their published translation and had to find explanations for the translator's decisions. We paid special attention to the translation of sentences containing conversive verbs, i.e. verbs which make it possible for the translator to express a reversal of point-of-view by approaching and describing the original situation from the opposite direction and translating it by using a change in perspective. In my opinion this phenomenon can be explained by the stage-model as well as the stage metaphor. The relationship between the two phenomena is based on the fact that there is a parallel between the position of the spectator sitting in the auditorium and that of the translator. Language makes it possible for members of the audience to speak about the events taking place on the stage as they could see them from the positions they occupy in the auditorium. The translator looks upon the text to be translated in the same way as the monolingual communicator looks upon the surrounding world. The translator views the text from a vantage-point based on his/her own knowledge and culture, while the grammar of languages makes it possible for him/her to bring a participant of the situation closer to the reader, but in other cases s/he can push a participant into the background. Teachers have to draw the students' attention to the fact that the relationships between the actors, which reflect relationships in reality (e.g. objects, experiencers, beneficiaries, etc.), should coincide both in the original and in the translated text. The translation has to be adequate not on the surface, but in the deep, semantic structure of the sentences, otherwise the translation will not reflect the original situation. In the translation process the choice of the verb determining the sentence structure and the number of its complements plays a significant role.

4.1. To sell and buy – A commercial transaction

A characteristic example in linguistics is the one reminding us of a commercial transaction which can be described in any language from both the seller's and the buyer's point-of-view. If we want to express *who sells what to whom*, by using the verb *to sell* we bring the trader to the fore. The same situation can be described by using the verb *to buy* and the construction *who buys what from whom*. In this case it is the buyer whom the speaker brings into the foreground and emphasizes his point-of-view.⁹ Such transfer operations based on reversal

⁹ SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ, *A fordítás, op.cit.*

of point-of-view belong to antonymous translation, their application is optional and always depends on the translator's subjective decision.

4.2. *Transfer operations when translating the verbs to give, receive and ask for*
The translation of sentences containing conversive verbs is an extreme form of exchange of meanings. As mentioned above, it is an optional transfer operation. Whether translators apply it or not depends on the context as well as the habits of usage in the target language community. This latter case can be illustrated by the Hungarian translation of a sentence by Steven Pinker. When recommending his book entitled *The Language Instinct/A nyelvi ösztön* to his parents he says: *For Harry and Roslyn Pinker who gave me language*. Since in Hungarian, we never say that parents **give** their children language, the Hungarian translation contains a conversive verb and goes like this: *Harry és Roslyn Pinkernek, akiktől a nyelvet kaptam /For Harry and Roslyn Pinker, from whom I received language*. The translator's decision was the result of language compulsion, but his aim was not the reversal of point-of-view, but adaptation to Hungarian language use.¹⁰

Changing the point-of-view in the case of the verbs *ad* and *kap* or *give* and *receive* is also the result of the translator's decision. Depending on which verb of the conversive pair is used to construct a sentence, we can bring the actor or the beneficiary nearer or away from the speaker. For example the translation of the sentence *Tom gave Mary a rose* may be either the word for word one *Tamás adott Marinak egy szál rózsát* or its conversive pair *Mari kapott Tamástól egy szál rózsát*. The point is that the actants of the conversive verbs have to play the same role in the original and the translation. In other words, there should be equivalence between the original sentence and its translated version on the level of deep structure cases, which correspond to roles in real life situations. As regards the above mentioned Hungarian sentences, both of them are equivalents to the original one because in both cases the Agent is Tamás and the beneficiary is Mary. During translator training we have to draw the students' attention to the fact that equivalence has to be created on the level of deep structure cases, otherwise the translated sentence will be incorrect. This phenomenon can be observed not only between languages but also within one language.¹¹ The exchange of conversive verbs like *sell* and *buy*, *give* and *receive*, *borrow* and *lend*, *come* and *go* expressing opposite relationships makes it possible for translators to manipulate the original text and make one of the

¹⁰ SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ, *A fordítás, op.cit.*

¹¹ KLAUDY Kinga és SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, *Angol-magyar fordítástechnika*, (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2000)

characters in a novel superior or inferior to the other. This opportunity can play an important role in expressing a political point-of-view.

4.3. Transfer operations when translating the verbs **to come** and **go**

In the English translation of the novel *A Pál utcai fiúk*/ *The Paul Street Boys* by Ferenc Molnár, we often witness exchange of the verbs *to come* and *go* expressing change of position. In Hungarian, the verb *jön/comes* indicates movement towards the speaker, the observer, or the referent of the subject – *Látta, hogy jön a vonat.*) while the verb *megy/goes* refers to movement away from the speaker. The following example demonstrates that a given situation is approached in the translation from the opposite direction than it was described in the original: *Geréb egész közel ment Janóhoz* → *Geréb came quite close to Jano*. The author of the original suggests that Geréb, the active agent of the action is moving from a starting point to an endpoint, that is, towards his goal, Janó, while the English translation describes this form of action by changing the point-of-view based on approaching Jano, the goal of the action. But it happens in English that the equivalent of the verb *megy/go* is the verb *come/jön* not only in translated texts, but also in everyday usage, e.g. *Would you mind my coming with you?*/ *Veled mehetek?* / *Can I go with you?* In Hungarian we never ask *Veled jöhetek?* / *Can I come with you?* But in the answer Hungarians can say: *Természetesen, velem jöhetsz.* / *Of course, you can come with me*. In this example, the verb *jön/comes* means that the participants of the speech event will leave together for the same place from where they are staying. In this case, the verb expresses the moving away of both participants. I suppose it is not the change of perspective but a case of language usage.

It can be stated that both the Hungarian verbs of movement *jön* and *megy* incorporate semantic features indicating motion in opposite directions. In certain cases these features emphasize the speaker's point-of-view (*Megyek és meglátogatlak* / *I am going to see you*), but in other cases they put the emphasis on the receiver of the information (*Jövök és meglátogatlak* / *I am coming to see you*). The translator, who is the observer of the source language text, can also do the same.

5. Summary

Nowadays, translators are not only expected to create grammatically correct sentences and coherent texts, but are expected to mediate between languages, professions, cultures and ideologies. As a result, the sentence(-centred) analysis together with the linguistic aspect of translation loses its significance. New phenomena, new challenges and new theories emerge. In spite of this, I suppose it is necessary to establish the linguistic background at universities, because the

theories, for examples the ones described in the present paper, can be incorporated into the teaching of a number of university subjects like mother tongue education, teaching English as a foreign language, psycholinguistics and last but not least teaching and practising translation. They make it possible for people, among them the translator, to look upon and interpret reality from various points-of-view and make decisions appropriate to the situation and context and suitable for the conventions of use in the particular language. The writer of this study did her best to apply the theories outlined while performing on the “stage” of higher education for 44 years.

My major publications on the topic:

KLAUDY Kinga és SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, *Angol-magyar fordítástechnika*, (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2000)

SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, *A fordítás mint közvetítés*, (Miskolc: STÚDIUM rendezvények és nyelvtanfolyamok, 2006)

SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, „Az igecentrikus elmélet és gyakorlati alkalmazhatósága”, *Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Közlemények*, 2(2007) 157–177.

SIMIGNÉ FENYŐ Sarolta, „A fordító nyelvészeti nézőpontjának szerepe a célnyelvi szöveg kialakításában”, in *Docēre et movēre – Bölcsészeti- és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok a Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar 20 éves jubileumára*, szerk. ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS Mária, (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem BTK, 2012) 89–100.

Remarks on the Margin of Researching Transsylvanian Free Churches, New Religious Movements. The Issue of Forming Sects in the Practice of Anthropological Research

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Preface

In the reference to the writing titled „Szabadegyházak története Magyarországon 1989-ig” by Kamarás István, Rajki Zoltán,¹ Szigeti Jenő it is claimed that average men, average believers, either graduates or most of the theologists and ministers consider not only Jehovah’s Witnesses, but also Nazarenes, Adventists, ancient Christians, free Christians as sects, believers in false doctrines. The latest scientific research also takes prejudice into consideration avoiding the „sect” expression or determining it as a neutral concept. In this essay I am going to reflect on one of the main questions of my doctoral thesis completed in 2012, focusing on small churches and new religious movements implicating the religious-cultural patterns of the sect formation of Transsylvanian free churches. I started my relevant research two decades ago in a small Transsylvanian region.

As an anthropologist I distance myself from the negative „sect” expression. During separating the small churches, the free churches and the new religious movements my interpretation is not theological and certain terms from the local public discourse like „more sectarian”, „more accepted” and „more zealous” are used in quotation marks avoiding the classification of the religious behaviour of the congregations and the believers.

Historical and conceptional frames

According to Csaba Fazekas it was about the time of the Enlightenment when in the most European and Northern American countries the process of the modification of the public perception in connection with the religious minorities

¹ RAJKI Zoltán és SZIGETI Jenő, *Szabadegyházak története Magyarországon 1989-ig*, (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2012) 9.

Forming Sects in the Practice of Anthropological Research

started even at the level of the political power and from the point of view of historic Christian churches. In other words, the transformation of the social structure and the state control resulted in the medieval treatment of the non-official religious life that is the heretic movements. The consequence of this very slow process was that in modern countries by the second half of the XIX. century instead of heretic movements we talk about sects or small churches.²

Sándor Makkai distinguishes five categories among the reasons of sect forming which are theological, congregational, social, psychological and other factors.³ In this essay I do not intend to deal with each factor separately and I do not necessarily determine the congregational criteria of the sect phenomenon. I am analysing combination effects and trying to introduce new conceptual categories into the description of the mechanism of sect formation.

In the local communities researched by me there is a sharp confrontation between the believers of the Reformed church which is the majority and the sect members. Religious communities have always had their own organization which is the church. Religion conveys culture, worldview, moral and behavioural patterns together with the institutional background of the church. As for the anthropological research the examination of the religious-church (inner) circle of phenomena does not only mean the discussion of the methodological questions, you should also take the historic-social context into consideration. In this case I only mention the political-cultural criteria of the regime change in Romania. In the small region examined by me the church-social frames of the sect formation developed only after the regime change.

In the examined twelve Transsylvanian settlements with Reformed believers' majority and Hungarian ethnicity the Reformed church preserved its ethnic characteristics during the Ceaușescu era. The minority ethnic identity and culture propagated by the church was able to fix the identity patterns of the locals. At that time there were no other identity and religious-political alternatives. In the former socialist countries after the 1990s the social-economic change also resulted in religious change. The new religious movements decentralized the situation of the historic churches in Romania, especially in some particular Transsylvanian regions. In the examined small region during the regime change the signs of the crisis in religious life could already be found. Reformed congregations could hardly adapt the traditional models of religiousness to the suddenly appearing religious 'market'. The powerlessness of the

² FAZEKAS Csaba, *Kisegyházak és szektakérdés a Horthy-korszakban*, (Budapest: TEDISZ és Szent Pál Akadémia, 1996) 11.

³ FEKETE Péter, *Az egyház és a szekta*, (Budapest: Magyarországi Református Egyház Kálvin János Kiadója, 1993) 87.

congregations towards the new spiritual needs did not originate from the rigidity of traditionalism or dogmatic isolation. They experienced a certain religious-social phenomenon which was a burden for the critical social factors so the signs of crisis in the spiritual and religious life came out of the sphere of interest of the church and the congregation.⁴

The dissolution of the inner order of the examined Reformed congregations after the regime change was in connection with a phenomenon which is called concentration of capital in the Protestant ethics by István Kinda who researched it in other Transylvanian Protestant communities. He says that some Hungarian congregations which successfully cooperated with western or overseas religious foundations received financial support for caritative investments (e.g. nursing homes) and were able to give financial, moral and social help to the members of the congregation and to families who needed it. Experience shows that in these congregations with successful twinning partners the conflicts are more hidden and the social tensions appear in the form of gossip which focus on the public goods stolen by the minister or the suspiciously big fortune of the reverend.⁵ In the early 1990s the unequal distribution of the foreign support had a negative effect on the traditional order of the Reformed congregations examined by me. As a consequence certain groups were left out of the support by the church administrative elite. The goods distributed in carton boxes were meant as living conditions by the locals. These goods from the West which they had never seen before generated economy-centered intentions and the content of these boxes effected long fights. In many places there were open debates accusing the ministers and the unequal distribution resulted in forming 'parties' within the local communities. One party was loyal to the church and the opposing party was against it. The distribution soon influenced the attendance at churches and the church-social cooperation was continuously narrowing. The support from the West (mainly from the Netherlands) caused conflicts and overshadowed the church-religious role of the minister. A typical Reformed minister who was the necessary figure for the religious-social rituals in the traditional Transylvanian communities and who was placed above average people because of his purity and his service became a secular person due to his capital-centered intentions. In this way his former sacral status was lost.

The widespread secularization resulted in changing the image of an ideal minister. In some communities (mainly where the rate of education is higher)

⁴ Vö. BÍRÓ A. Zoltán – TÚROS Endre, „Egyház – a társadalom szemszögéből”, in *Változásban? Elemzések a romániai magyar társadalomról*, szerk. TÚROS Endre, Helyzet könyvek, (Csíkszereda: KAM – Regionális és Antropológiai Kutatások Központja és Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, 1995) 105–133.

⁵ KINDA István, „A protestáns pap és közösség konfliktusa”, *Korunk*, 15(2004) 12. sz. Online: Elektronikus Periodika Archívum, epa.oszk.hu – November 2019.

Forming Sects in the Practice of Anthropological Research

the minister can/could lose his monopolized intellectual position and the local community becomes less religious. Nowadays more and more requirements are attached to the status of ministers of historical churches which are aimed to maintain the public interests. In addition, a good minister should be influential, an excellent speaker, an outstanding economist and organizer.⁶

The free churches and the new religious movements reacted on the social-cultural signs of crisis after the regime change more sensitively, so they were able to solve the problems more effectively. This kind of sensitivity, the ideological skills to solve the problems soon created an ideological market at the level of the individuals. During the process of sect formation certain academic writers blame the church for not supporting its believers.⁷ According to most writers dealing with Hungarian and Transylvanian sects this kind of distance between the church and the believers stimulated the sects to be formed.⁸

The people asked during the research think that the free churches and the new religious movements check and support their believers' social factors more effectively. Hard work connected with the change of the lifestyle, frugality and the life strategies was offered by the free churches and the new religious movements offered the believers the possibility of rising their social status. They showed the way not only to salvation but also the solution of the problems of secular life.⁹ The social factors themselves did not start the process of the distribution of historic churches and the process of sect formation. One of the reasons of sect formation is the protest of the poor congregation members against the rich and secularized church.¹⁰

The protestant theological approach about sects emphasizes that sect formation originates from the personal power of Satan.¹¹ During my field research I also found that most of the Reformed believers called sect members' people obsessed with Satan'. In the missionary practice of the free churches and the new religious movements polemics are unavoidable generating the dissymmetrical connections among congregations. The local people especially stigmatize Jehovah's Witnesses using the 'sect' expression. Examining the scripture reading among Jehovah's Witnesses Tünde Lőrinczi says the community does not

⁶ Ld. bővebben: KINDA, *A protestáns pap, op.cit.*

⁷ FEKETE, *Az egyház és a szekta, op.cit.* 22.

⁸ FEKETE, *Az egyház és a szekta, op.cit.* 23.

⁹ MÁTÉ-Tóth András és TÖRÖK Péter és NAGY Gábor Dániel, „Az új vallási közösségek viszonya a társadalomhoz. Nyitottság, zártság, vonzerő néhány új vallási közösség tagjainál”, in *Vallásosság/változatok. Vallási sokféleség Magyarországon*, szerk. MÁTÉ-Tóth András és TÓTH András és NAGY Gábor Dániel, *Vallás a társadalomban – Religion in Society* 3, (Szeged: JATEPress, 2008) 29–47., 44.

¹⁰ FEKETE, *Az egyház és a szekta, op.cit.* 23.

¹¹ FEKETE, *Az egyház és a szekta, op.cit.* 89.

have set prayers. As an unwritten rule every member knows that the goal of their gatherings is to accept the sacred messages and they ask Jehovah to make them understand the messages and to guard their life. The longest part of their congregational lesson is learning. During these lessons everything (the 'what' and 'how') is organized. The members should prepare for these lessons at home by solving the tasks appointed by the Barbican each month. The Barbican serves as a code text offering elaborated scripture reading possibilities to everyone. Jehovah's witnesses as a community is regulated by institutional frames. Their basic dogmas are well elaborated and the community operates according to a system of rules. The community has a common knowledge, because the rules related to the readings are known by each member.¹²

In Transsylvania the public discourse judges rashly when the free churches and the new religious movements are said to be the enemies of the state and the church. The Baptist and Adventist congregations examined by us operate in agreement with the Reformed church in everyday life. They intend to keep their own religious identity rather than to practice their religion in an extensive way. In the self-statement of the Baptist believers there is a certain critical attitude towards the Reformed church, but it is not against the local historic primary situation of the church. The community of all the free churches is not organized from above by the society. The believer decides independently whether he/she wants to belong to a certain church or not. In contrast with the hierarchy of the historic churches the free churches operate in a democratic way. They accept ecumenical clergy and do not use liturgical clothing. Some of their spiritual leaders have studied theology, and others have civil professions. The community itself decides who will be accepted as a leader.¹³

In the examined small region the free church communities are divided according to the social status, age and sex, but they have their own characteristic features. There are urban groups (which belong to the congregations in Marosvásárhely), but the communities preserve their original rural base. Examining the specific effects of modernization in the region, which are the possible social factors affecting the discontinuity of religious life, we have to mention the extremely strong domestic mobility towards Marosvásárhely. This kind of mobility and the broad social horizons which are linked with the new residential area and workplace are between the religious life and the urban status quo. Changing a residential area meant not only a new milieu, but also a different

¹² LŐRINCZI Tünde, „Bibliaértelmezési lehetőségek egy Jehova Tanúi közösségben”, *Vallástudományi Szemle*, 6(2010) 3. sz. 63–70., 66–67.

¹³ FEHÉR Ágnes, „A szabadegyházak”, in *Egyházak és vallások a mai Magyarországon*, szerk. GESZTELYI Tamás, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991) 121–142., 123.

sense of identity, which did not weaken even after the 1990s, when a lot of people moved back. Moreover, it is becoming stronger as a result of the change of the generations. As more and more young people are going to school to Marosvásárhely or other Transsylvanian cities or going to work to Hungary or Western Europe, the effects of modernization and the new inventions (infocommunications technologies) are in direct contradiction to the traditional segments which regulate the society and the religious life. The primary signs of crisis related to the distribution of the traditional church are the decreasing number of the believers, the cessation of the inner unity of religiousness and in the congregations which are in crisis aimlessness and disinterest can be experienced in connection with the religious life.¹⁴ This process increases the number of disappointed people who take part only in the great religious festivals.

Most of the related literature considers secularization as a conducive factor of constructing the religious-social conditions of free church movements. Besides secularization there are several processes which can result in the necessary changes of religious life. So secularization is not the only process which is the reason for the cessation of the religious life, it is a natural process which shows the changes in the form of religion.¹⁵ Tomka does not understand why the effects of secularization were a lasting evidence in connection with the ceasing public role of the church. The most problematic part of this theory is that its starting point assumes that everybody is a believer.¹⁶ Secularization is basically a social process, its theoretical frame focuses on christianity especially on the christianity in the West. it is linked with 'secular', it is the opposite of 'clerical' and its meaning is 'collateral'. Attila Jakab historian, the specialist of the history of religion says that the second most important point of secularization is that it ends the influence of the religion on the state.¹⁷ In some cases secularization is useful for the believers because it reveals the externals in christianity. Only the convinced believers keep their faith. In this case the dogmas and the religious moral norms find each other.¹⁸

The anthropological research focusing the new Transsylvanian religious movements and free churches show that the members of the society consider the believers of the free churches fundamentalists because of their principles,

¹⁴ GEREKEN Ferenc és TOMKA Miklós, *Vallásosság és nemzettudat. Vizsgálódások Erdélyben*, (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány és Corvinus Kiadó, 2001) 584–585.

¹⁵ TOMKA Miklós, „A vallásszociológia új útjai”, *Replika*, 7(1996) 21–22. sz. 163–171. Online: www.c3.hu/scripta – November 2019.

¹⁶ TOMKA, *A vallásszociológia új útjai*, op.cit.

¹⁷ JAKAB Attila, „Mi a szekularizáció?”, in *Magyar Szekuláris Egyesület*, 2014. április 20. Online: szekularis.blog.hu, 2019. november.

¹⁸ JAKAB, *Mi a szekularizáció?* op.cit.

social philosophy and their behavioural patterns. According to Dóra Szilc the main feature of fundamentalism is that the members get a well-organized frame by organizing their life on the ideological base like a family. In this way the outside rejected world is substituted by a specific worldview (Mannheim) the ontological unity of which is created by the group building up the necessary ideology.¹⁹ Besides Jehovah' Witnesses the majority, the Reformed believers regard the Kalapos Gábor gypsies who belong to the Hetednapi Adventist church as fundamentalists. In the religious life of Kalapos Gábor gypsies certain fundamentalist features can be found, but fundamentalism as a basic religious rule is not characteristic for them.²⁰

Conclusion

The examined free churches and new religious movements are regarded nonconformists by the Reformed majority congregations in spite of their diversity and they are separated and easily stigmatized. The meaning of the 'sect' notion changed a lot in the past one hundred years. According to a determination from the early XX. century a sect is a free community of strict and self-conscious Christians who consider themselves truly reborn, form a league, separate themselves from the real world, have a common lifestyle, emphasize the law instead of mercy and with their radicalism they try to create the Christian life of love preparing for the coming country of God.²¹ Nowadays the 'sect' expression is related not only to the Christian communities which left the church, but also other religious groups or even certain groups which follow their political or cultural goals fanatically. The word 'sect' supposedly does not originate from the verb 'secare' meaning 'cut', rather than from the verb 'sequi' meaning 'follow'. The emphasis is not on separation, following a particular message is important. Christian sects used to be determined on the basis of their isolation by christianity and in many cases by the researchers.

Examining the different ethnics strategies of the historic churches and the small churches in Vojvodina and comparing the traditional religious communities and the free small churches Richárd Papp points out that in spite of the fact that the latter have less believers, but they have different answers to the

¹⁹ SZILCZ Dóra, „Új vallási fundamentalizmus”, in *Szektták – új vallási jelenségek*, szerk. LUGOSI Ágnes és LUGOSI Győző, (Budapest: Pannonica, 1998) 29–48., 43.

²⁰ About the adventism of Kalapos Gábor gypsies I have already published several essays. In the centre of my research there was the analysis of the effects of the gypsy Adventist congregation on the local society. I have examined the gypsy-Hungarian, the Hungarian-gypsy and the gypsy-gypsy relationships and cohabitation in different timelines.

²¹ NÉMETH Dávid, *Pasztorálintropológia I*, (Budapest: KGRE és L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2012) 240.

Forming Sects in the Practice of Anthropological Research

questions of the relations of culture, national identity and religion.²² The historic churches and the free churches had common theological denominators for a long time. Fragments are constructed along the social-cultural interpretations of the religious contents. According to Papp the particular differences between the historic and free churches need examining and revealing by researchers.

In the examined local communities the members of the local society give the 'sect' name to the believers of the free churches during the everyday interactions. In the public intercourse of the locals the sects are small religious communities the aim of which is finding the 'true way', the 'truth'. Their life is separated, isolated.

Because the intense religious pluralism each congregation and church in the examined region has a specific competitive connection and they rationalize their institutions in order to fight effectively in the religious 'market'.²³ The religiousness of the locals stays in the private sphere or appears in the religious communities formed by the religious elite or the religious involvement ends together with the forms of private religious commitment.²⁴

In my essay I tried to avoid ranking the congregations in spite of the fact that these religious groups are highly standardized and hierarchical. As János Szántó says there are more and more potential 'consumer' in the 'religious market' where depression can be dissolved by the allotment of the alternative values. In the value integration process of a society it is important what kind of positive values can be chosen by the next generation because religious activities –beyond the individual level- are group activities. The specific religious interest can serve as the collection of the local social interests.²⁵

Translated by Zsuzsanna Békésiné Bodnár

²² PAPP Richárd, „Történelmi egyházak és kisegyházak a vajdaságban: eltérő etnikus stratégiák?”, in *Kisebbség és kultúra. Antropológiai tanulmányok I*, (Budapest: MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet és MTA Politikai Tudományok Intézete és ELTE Kulturális Antropológiai Szakcsoport, 2004) 212–249., 230.

²³ SZÁNTÓ János, *Vallásosság egy szekularizált társadalomban*, szerk. NAGY Péter Tibor és RÁCZ György és LENGYEL Zsuzsanna, (Budapest: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 1997) 35.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 35.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 35–36.

My major publications on the topic:

SIMON Zoltán, „Identitás-vizsgálat Nyárádkarácson község egykori görög katolikus közösségében”, *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, 4(2003) 2. sz. 100–131.

SIMON Zoltán, „»Szappan és víz«. A karácsonfalvi cigányság vallásos életének vizsgálata a Hetedik Napot Ünneplő Adventista Egyház térnyerésének vonzatában”, in *Ünnepi tanulmányok Szigeti Jenő 70. születésnapjára*, szerk. Daniel HEINZ és FAZEKAS Csaba és RAJKI Zoltán, (Miskolc, Bíbor Kiadó, 2006) 278–299.

SIMON Zoltán, „Etnikai, vallási identitás-konstrukciók egy középső-nyárádmenti görög katolikus kis közösség példáján keresztül”, *Néprajzi Látóhatár*, 19(2010) 4. sz. 4–44.

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SIMON Zoltán, „»Műk régen nem jártunk templomba, sehova (...) most mind megtértünk«. Nyárádkarácsonfalvi gábor cigányok vallási életének múltja és jelene”, *Néprajzi Látóhatár*, 27(2018) 1–2. sz. 125–152.

A Perennial Misunderstanding from Misunderstood Years: Was Lajos Helfenstein, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1382/83-1391) an „Adherent of Horvátis”?

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Keywords: Louis Helfenstein, John Horváti, Elizabeth Kotromanić, Queen Mary, Nicholas Garai, Lorenzo de Monacis, 14. century, Archdiocese of Kalocsa, internal strife, leagues, source criticism

The history of the years between the death of King Louis the Great (10 or 11 September 1382) and the accession of Sigismund (31 March 1387) was previously discussed many times as the end of the Anjou- and the beginning of the Sigismund age, but always cursorily. The presentation of this period based on the holistic treatment of the available sources was an old debt of the Hungarian medieval studies. In the course of this work¹ in many mistakes were detected which are difficult to change. We can see by means of one of these examples, that some theories repeated in the literature over and over again, do not stand up in the way of painstaking source criticism.

Louis Helfenstein (1382/83–1391) archbishop of Kalocsa is said to have been „Kis-Károly egyik főpárthive” (one of the main adherent of Charles III of Naples – Gyula Schönherr, 1895), „Kis Károly párti volt” (he was the adherent of Charles III of Naples – Béla Bottló, 1932), „Nápolyi László táborához tartozott” (he belonged to the camp of Ladislaus of Naples – Bálint Hóman, 1936), and „Horvátiék híve volt” (he was the adherent of Horvátis – Elemér Mályusz, 1984)². Even in 2009 was published the same about him: „Ezerháromszáz-

¹ See results: SÜTTŐ Szilárd, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával*, 1–2, Belvedere-monográfiák 2, (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003)

² SCHÖNHERR Gyula, *Az Anjou-ház örökösei*, szerk. SZILÁGYI Sándor, *A magyar nemzet története 3*, (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1895) 385–630., 397.; BOTTLÓ Béla, *Dlugosz János Historia Polonica mint magyar történeti forrás 1385–1418*, (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1932) 9.; HÓMAN Bálint – SZEKFÜ Gyula, *Magyar történet*, 1–5, (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935–1936²) 2, 331.; MÁLYUSZ Elemér, *Zsigmond király uralma Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984) 22.

nyolcvanhét március utolsó napján Székesfehérvárott Himházi Benedek veszprémi püspök magyar királlyá koronázta Luxemburgi Zsigmond brandenburgi őrgrófot, címei szerint ekkor »Magyarország gyámját, kapitányát, előjáróját«. A koronázást a már kialakult koronázási rendtől eltérően nem az esztergomi érsek végezte, mivel Demeter bíboros február 20-ai halála miatt az érseki székhely betöltetlen volt, de nem is a rangban utána következő kalocsai érsek, mivel ő meg a Horvátiak híve volt.” (– On the last day of March 1387 Benedek Himházi, bishop of Veszprém, crowned Sigismund of Luxemburg, marquess of Brandenburg as Hungarian king, in Veszprém. At this time Sigismund was titled as »guardian, captain and superior of Hungary«. Contrary to the coronation order, the coronation was not carried out by the archbishop of Esztergom, as the death of Cardinal Demeter on 20 February made the archbishop’s chair vacant, but not by the archbishop of Kalocsa the next in the rank, because he was an adherent of Horváti.)³ – Although not directly related to the subject, it should be noted, that before his coronation, Sigismund did not have any official Hungarian-related title, and in his charters he used various titles and their blends, most often addressing himself as the captain or lord of Hungary.⁴

At first we have to point out the lack of evidence of this misbelief. The enemies of Elizabeth Kotromanić and her court is known from several sources, but Louis Helfenstein was not on the list. It may be mentioned Queen Elizabeth’s command to Zágráb (today Zagreb, Croatia, 14 August 1384), where Paul Horváti, archbishop of Zágráb, Stephen Csáktornyai Lackfi, Nicholas Szécsi, their relations and leaguemates are named as rebels.⁵ And in the „*intitulatio*” of a letter addressed to Pozsony (today Bratislava, Slovakia) from 16 May 1385, John Horváti, Nicholas Zámbo and Stephen Simontornyai Lackfi were on the

³ C. TÓTH Norbert, *Luxemburgi Zsigmond uralkodása 1387–1437*, Magyarország története, főszerk. ROMSICS Ignác, (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2009) 6, 21.

⁴ See. SÜTTŐ, *Anjou-Magyarország*, op.cit. I. 147. note 834. (12 November 1386: „*dominus atque tutor*” [SÜTTŐ, *Anjou-Magyarország*, op.cit. II. No. 769, 432–433.]; 29 November 1386: „*capitaneus et antecessor*” [Ibid. No. 770, 433.]; 4 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 773, 434–435.], before 6 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 774, 435–436.], 10 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 776, 436–437.], 14 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 778, 437–438.]: „*capitaneus*”; 15 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 779, 438.]: only marquess; 19 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 781, 439.]: „*capitaneus et dominus*”; 27 January 1387 [Ibid. No. 782, 439–440.]: „*dominus et capitaneus*”; 2 February 1387 [Ibid. No. 785, 441–442.]: „*dominus, capitaneus et antecessor*”; 10 February 1387 [Ibid. No. 786, 442–443.], 11 February 1387 [Ibid. No. 787, 443.]: „*dominus et capitaneus*”; 1 March 1387 [Ibid. No. 789, 444–445.]: „*dominus*”; 5 March 1387 [Ibid. No. 790, 445–446.]: „*dominus et capitaneus*”).

⁵ „*Paulus episcopus Zagrabiensis, Stephanus filius condam Stephani wayuode, Nicolaus de Zeech et fratres ac colligati eorumdem, tamquam perversi dolositate et rebelles*”(see SÜTTŐ, *Anjou-Magyarország*, op.cit. II. No. 213, 143–144.).

list.⁶ In an other letter of palatine Nicholas Garai, the main confidant of the Queen, dated from the same day, the rebels against the court were presented as his former enemies. He named Stephen and Ladislaus Horváti, two grandsons of Ákos Mikcs, that are sons of Stephen Mikcsfi: Stephen and Ákos, Ladislaus Gorbónoki and John Besenyő too.⁷ In the available sources there is no trace that Louis Helfenstein had anything to do with John Horváti or his league.

The narrative sources of this era contain no reference to this supposed connection between the archbishop and the Horváti league. There is nothing like this in Lorenzo de Monacis' work⁸ about Charles III of Naples. Louis Helfenstein had Elizabeth Kotromanić, the Queen mother to thank for all, and Lorenzo de Monacis wrote on behalf of Queen Mary.⁹ He certainly would not have left such a betrayal unmentioned.¹⁰

Of course, it is not only on the basis of the *argumentum ex silentio* that this idea is suspicious. The archbishop's family name is already eye-catching. It is

⁶ „Paulus, Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus ecclesie Zagrabiensis; Stephanus, olim wayvoda; Nicolaus de Zeech, pridem iudex curie regie; Iohannes, nuper banus de Macho; Nicolaus Zambo, condam tavarnicorum regalium magister; et Stephanus, filius condam Dionisii wayvode ceterique barones, fratres, proximi, amici, socii et adherentes nostre lige” (see *Ibid.* No. 393, 220–221).

⁷ „Nos, Nicolaus de Gara, regni Hungarie palatinus et iudex Comanorum, notum facimus universis, quod cum quedam discordie et disensiones [sic!] inter nos ab una, ac venerabilem in Christo patrem, dominum Paulum, episcopum Zagrabiensem; necnon magnificos viros dominos Nicolaum de Zeech, pridem iudicem curie regie; ac Stephanum wayvodam; Stephanum filium Dionisii condam wayvode; Iohannem, olim banum Machoviensem; Stephanum et Ladislaum fratres suos; Nicolaum Zambow, pridem magistrum tavarnicorum regalium; magistros Stephanum et Akus filios Stephani filii Mychik condam bani; Ladislaum de Gorbónuk ac Iohannem Bissenum et universos eorum fratres, proximos, amicos, socios, colligatos, fautores et familiares ipsorum parte ex altera orte fuissent” (see *Ibid.* No. 392, 219–220).

⁸ Laurentius DE MONACIS, *Carmen, seu historia de Carolo II. cognomento Parvo rege Hungariae*, in Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Cretae cancellarii chronicon de rebus Venetis Ab U. C. ad Annum MCCCIV. sive ad conjurationem ducis Faledro. Accedit eiusdem Laurentii Carmen de Carolo II. Rege Hungariae, et Anonymi Scriptoris de causis belli exorti inter Venetos, et Ducem Ferrariensem (ad Ludovici Antonii Muratorii *Rerum Italicarum scriptorum tomum VIII.* appendix), omnia ex MSS. editisque Codicibus eruit, recensuit, Praefationibus illustravit Flaminio CORNELIUS senator Venetus (Venetiis: ex typographia Remondiniana, 1758), 321–338.

⁹ To the special status of Mary see: Szilárd SÜTTÖ, „Als die Königin König hätte sein sollen. Die »possessio reginalis« in einer königslosen Zeit Ungarns”, *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis, Sectio Philosophica*, 12(2007) Nr. 2. 117–122.

¹⁰ To the interpretation of Lorenzo de Monacis' work see: Szilárd SÜTTÖ, „Ungarn in Lorenzo de Monacis' *Pia descriptio miserabilis casus illustrium reginarum Hungariae*. Notizen zum Werk”, *Studia Historica Adriatica ac Danubiana. Periodico dell'Associazione Culturale „Sodalitas Adriatico-Danubiana”*, Duino Aurisina (Trieste), 2(2009) Nr. 2. 51–88.; resp. SÜTTÖ Szilárd, „Volt-e kettős uralom Magyarországon Kis Károly országlása idején? (Válasz Bertényi Ivánnak)”, *Aetas*, 21(2006) 2–3. sz. 232–246., 242–243.

worth looking into how he came to Hungary. To put it bluntly, it could be said that it is not by accident, that ‘Helfenstein, the Conqueror’ is missing from the legendary Seven chieftains of the so-called Anonymus, the famous writer of the *Gesta Hungarorum*. So the later archbishop of Kalocsa – or maybe one of his ancestors – had to get to the country in some other way. He really came in a different way, and we have long known how. His father, Count X. Ulrich Helfenstein from the Swabian land, had nothing to do with Hungary. But his mother, Mary of Bosnia, was a relative of Elizabeth Kotromanić, most likely her cousin.¹¹ After his father’s death (1372), Louis was patronized by the Hungarian court. In 1381 an attempt was made to obtain the Patriarchate of Aquileia for him,¹² but this endeavour failed. At the end of 1382 but no later than January 1383 he became the archbishop of Kalocsa in Hungary.¹³

So, there are some unavoidable questions. After the death of King Louis the Great why the foreign archbishop set himself against the court? Why would he have formed an alliance with the Horváti brothers and would he have been involved – at least indirectly – in the killing of Queen Elizabeth, who was his relative, benefactress and the only person, that bound him to Hungary? In Agatha Christie’s novels could happen such things like this, and on the last pages it would turn out why, but this is hard to believe in reality. At least not until those who are reiterating their views of this alliance between the archbishop and the Horváti league come up with the explanation expected on the last pages.

Even if Louis Helfenstein had felt prompted to enter into an alliance with the Horváti league, the creation of this pact would have been hindered not only by the relational connections and the gratitude, but also by another common and trivial factor, namely money. A charter known for a long time dated 30 November 1384 (see app.) by which Louis Helfenstein leases all the income of his archdiocese for five years, for annual 6000 forints, for the sake of studying abroad. This document clarifies the archbishop’s political affiliation, twice.¹⁴ First of all, the contracting party was palatine Nicholas Garai, who was the main confidant of the Queen and the deadly enemy of the Horvátis – which at that time meant, that they really want to kill each other, like the members of the Horváti league really cut Garai’s head off on 25 July 1386.¹⁵ In addition – and here appears the material factor – archbishop Louis did not charge the rent in

¹¹ THALLÓCZY Lajos, „Bosnyák nemzedékrendi tanulmányok”, *Turul*, 13(1895) 5–17.

¹² *Ibid.* 16.

¹³ ENGEL Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, 1–2, (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996) I, 65.

¹⁴ To the importance of the charter and the appraise of the behavior of archbishop Louis see: SÜTTŐ, *Anjou-Magyarország*, *op.cit.* I. 73., note 332.

¹⁵ To the political relations and history of this era see. SÜTTŐ, *Anjou-Magyarország*, *op.cit.* I. 9–155.

A Perennial Misunderstanding from Misunderstood Years

advance, but wanted to get it in three instalments per year, and the charter itself reassured Nicholas Garai of the first 2000 forints. Joining the enemies of the palatine he could not have expected, that he would receive further instalments of the enormous amount he was entitled to.

All in all, it can be ruled out that Louis Helfenstein was an „adherent of Horvátis”. There is the question, whether there is any lesson of the above that beyond the discussed case of Louis Helfenstein? Yes, it is double, but neither can be called new: *nil novi sub sole*. First of all, it has been proven, that the research results are only slowly reaching the level of the popularize literature. On the other hand, that it is impossible to vote against the facts, and the so-called centuries-old scientific consensus does not always have to be taken seriously.

Appendix

Nos, Lodovicus, Dei et apostolice sedis gratia archiepiscopus Colochensis et Bachiensis ecclesiarum unitarum, memorie commendantes tenore presentium significamus quibus expedit universis, quod quia nos matura deliberatione prehabita causa studii pronunc [sic!] ad regna aliena transire intendamus, de pecuniaque seu expensis propredicto [sic!] negotio nostro sufficientibus indigeamus, et obhoc [sic!] dominium ipsius nostri archiepiscopatus plenarium demptis instrumentis ipsius ecclesie, que in nostra et capituli nostri potestate ac conservatorio et loco consueto relinquendo per idem capitulum servare commisimus et committimus, viro magnifico, Nicolao de Gara, regni Hungarie palatino, modo infrascripto possidendum, tenendum et gubernandum committere disposuerimus. Ideo totum dictum dominium prescripti nostri archiepiscopatus, videlicet possessiones, villas, tenuta, districtus, terras, fenilia, aquas, piscaturas, silvas, nemora, tributa, honores et officiolatus et alias cunctas utilitates, proventus, fructus et redditus [sic! instead of redditus], quovis nominis vocabulo vocitentur, ad prescriptum nostrum archiepiscopatum spectantia et pertinentes, a presenti festo beati Andree apostoli usque quintam revolutionem eiusdem festi annualem in feudum seu censum annualem dedimus et locavimus exintegro [sic!] palatino prenotato possidere et habere, eomodo [sic!], ut idem palatinus ratione conservationis domini dicti archiepiscopatus singulis annis singulos sex milia florenorum aureorum, duo videlicet milia florenorum in festo beati Georgii, et similiter duo milia florenorum in festo nativitatis beate virginis, necnon modo simili duo milia florenorum in festo beati Andree apostoli nobis in presentia Mauriti filii Pauli, civis de Florentia, mercatoris Budensis, in eadem Buda dare et persolvere debeat et teneatur sine prorogatione, ipsum autem palatinum nunc super duobus milibus florenorum aureorum, quos nobis ad presens persolvere dinoscitur, videlicet de una predictarum solutionum venturarum expeditum committendo. Promittimus, ut si

aliquo predictorum annorum malum tempus et caristia evenerit, tunc eidem palatino de debito et solutione predicta huiusmodi anni, ut convenit, alleviationem et relaxationem faciemus. In cuius rei testimonium presentes eidem palatino concessimus litteras nostras privilegiales pendentis et autentici sigilli nostri munimini [sic! instead of munimine] roboratas. Datum in Buda predicta, in festo beati Andree apostoli prenotato, anno Domini millesimo CCC^{mo} LXXX^{mo} quarto.

The original: National Archives of Hungary, Diplomatic Archives 7350. Not entirely correct editions and regesta: LEDERER Emma, *A középkori pénzüzetek története Magyarországon* (Budapest: [a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia támogatásával] 1932), 258–259.; *Monumenta diplomatica civitatis Budapest, tomus tertius* (1382–1439), ad edendum praeparavit L. Bernardus KUMOROVITZ (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1987), 22. sz. 9–10.; SÜTTŐ, *Anjou-Magyarország, op.cit.* II. 260. sz. 143–144.

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My major publications on the topic:

SÜTTŐ Szilárd, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával*, 1–2, Belvedere-monográfiák 2, (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003)

Szilárd SÜTTŐ, „Der Dynastiewechsel Anjou–Luxemburg in Ungarn”, in *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa. Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8–10. Juni 2005*, hrsg. Michel PAULY und François REINERT, (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006) 79–87.

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Szilárd SÜTTŐ, „Spuren einer vom niederen Adel ausgeübten Autonomie im Siebenbürgen des ausgehenden 14. Jahrhunderts”, *Gesta*, 16(2017) 22–27.

Municipality Assessment – with Local Guts

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Keywords: area typology; local innovative potential; social innovation; social integration; community development

1. Introduction

In the past few years, as a researcher and practicing community developer, I have been interested in questions concerning the compensation for disadvantages. In this study I am writing about the methods of municipality assessment and area typology that I have been working on for the past two years and in which besides the economical parameters the local guts are also taken into consideration, in other words how strong the power of community is, how much it can exploit the existing energy sources by realizing the possibilities regardless of the difficulties.

In the region of north Hungary the disadvantages both in social and area perspective are present more concentrated than the national average. The results of scientific researches on area and social processes shed light on the fact that we can only expect to reduce disadvantages by implementing innovations, within developing and introducing social innovations. Typical feature of social innovations – compared to technical innovations – that they basically concentrate on the renewing of human potential, not in particular research labs, but in every day workshops. Theories are based on experiences and require broad social joint effort. In the 21st century especially sociology – among the many social sciences – is faced with real challenges by the fact that social innovations are impossible without involving these fields.

In the study I am going to introduce – in focus of the local social innovation potential diagnostic means developed in our institute – the possible application in five municipalities of the county of Abaúj.¹ In working out the local innovative potential (LIP) I took into consideration the descriptions relating to social innovation and also the existing models. The complexity of LIP indicator is given based on the qualitative and also the methodology of quantitative data and analysis as well as their generated “data” so consequently it builds on traditionally “soft” and “hard” social scientific methods. In addition to this, I started out

¹ Attila Papp Z. was helping me in finalizing the model.

from the presumption that a municipality and a community could be standing on several “legs” therefore the LIP indicator must have several pillars as well. The LIP indicator is suitable to take the local particularities and local “fineness” into consideration and by doing so it is able to show the present state of each municipality, facilities as well as future possibilities and developing measures subtly.

2. Municipality typology and local innovative potential

There are a good number of methods of municipality typology and there are several methods and models for assessing a municipality’s innovation potential. These models grasp the essence of innovations in different components (or dimensions) and the range of indicators for assessment is very wide. One of the most complex models was developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 2006,² in which they compared different countries and the indicator consisted of four pillars: political and institutional framework, finance, businesses and society – all include qualitative and quantitative indicators. Castro Spila and his colleagues suggested assessment for innovative challenges according to an area’s social, institutional, economic and environmental vulnerability, however, testing this model has not been done.³ Other researchers use only statistical data in assessing social-economic innovations, statistics (like census) on all municipalities that are available in databases (such as the number of businesses/100 people, net income/individual; ratio of people with higher education in percentage in the population, etc.)⁴

Considering all these indicators, in this part of the study I will present the theories and parameters by which we developed the LIP indicators we use and I have tested the applicability of the model as a pilot in five municipalities of Abaúj county (Büttös, Fáj, Fulókércs, Szemere and Hernádpetri).⁵

I developed the basic model in parallel with the previously outlined concept concerning social innovations, ensuring that it has several pillars.

² *Social Innovation Index, 2016: Old problems, new solutions: Measuring the capacity for social innovation across the world*, (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2016) Online: www.essmart-global.com –December 2019.

³ Javier CASTRO SPILA and Álvaro LUNA and Alfonso UNCETA, *Social Innovation Regimes: An Exploratory Framework to Measure Social Innovation*, SIMPACT Working Paper, 2016, Nr. 1. Online: simpact-project.eu – December 2019.

⁴ For example: PÉNZES János, *Periferikus térségek lehatárolása – dilemmák és lehetőségek*, (Debrecen: Didakt Kft., 2014); SZENDI Dóra, „A társadalmi innovációs potenciál mérésének lokális szintű lehetőségei”, *Erdélyi Társadalom*, 16(2018) 1. sz. 31–58.

⁵ The database for my research was gained by a project of Faculty of Arts (University of Miskolc), named as Creative Region.

I also wanted to make sure that in its foundation it should mirror one of the most important features of innovations which is diversity, in addition, combine the qualitative and quantitative sociological procedure and approach. Furthermore, it shall build on data sources available on the different levels. In addition to the above mentioned, I developed indicators that are available and assessable in all analyzed municipalities. I seek to take the criteria of validity and reliability into consideration as well as develop a standardized measure.

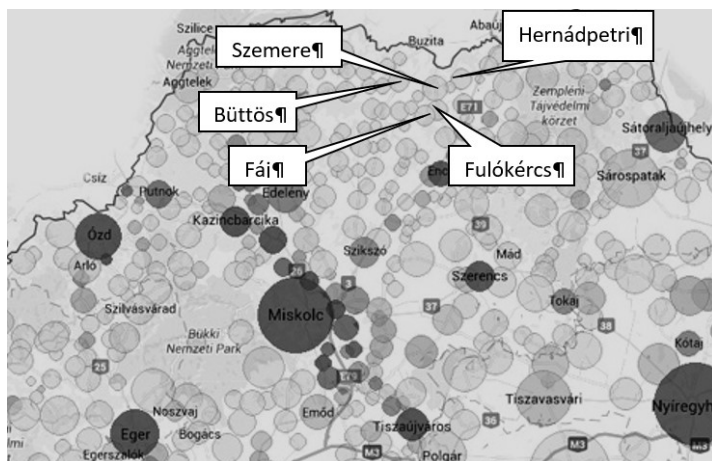
The basic model stands on four pillars: (1) local guts (LG); (2) human resource potential (HR); economic resources (ER); as well as cultural and environmental resources (CER).⁶ The first pillar (LG) was mainly included in the model as I had wanted to emphasize the feature of social innovations that is coming from “beneath”, the smallest segment of society, as well as the fact that basically we are talking about novelty solutions which focus on existing social problems and challenges. Compared to previous innovation potential measures developed by others, it is about a new component in the sense that to my knowledge earlier researches did not identify the processes mentioned above as local guts. The second pillar or component (HR) is the established component of innovation potential measures which by operationalising in different ways is usually part of such indicators, as well as the third, the dimension aggregating the economic resources (ER). The CER pillar became part of the indicators with specific regard to the factors taken into consideration when establishing the Hungarian Census Subdivision, and grasps the municipalities’ cultural and environmental resources and values – through which the local identity and local bond can be strengthened.⁷ This pillar is also a reappearing element of the means developed for local innovation assessment, and is usually referred to as general environmental factor. The CER component suggested by me is much more and more complex as I believe one of the important elements of helping disadvantaged municipalities catch up is to show local cultural values and by doing so strengthen the locals identity.

First, some details on the municipalities under investigation.

⁶ See for more details: Kinga SZABÓ-TÓTH Kinga and Attila PAPP Z., „Applied Social Scientific Methods for the Measurement of Local Innovation Potential”, *‘Club of Economics in Miskolc’ TMP*, 15(2019) Nr. 1. 53–64.

⁷ Magyar Értéktár / Collection of Hungarian Values. Online: www.hungarikum.hu – December 2019.

Figure 1. LIP index development in five municipalities of Abaúj County by pilot features



Büttös⁸ is a dead-end village located in the valley of the Rakaca-creak and it belongs to Encs region. Its population is 189 (2018). The village is ageing (the ageing index in 2016 was 390,9) The village belongs to the Krasznokvajda notary. The residential care is provided by the general practitioner system of the Krasznokvajda region. There are neither kindergardens nor schools in the village. Children are driven to the kindergarden and school in Krasznokvajda by a bus provided by the village administrator. There are large apple orchards nearby, however, the apples cannot be processed locally – they are transported hundreds of kilometers for that. There are no grocery shops or bars in the village and the bus runs once a day. In the past five years, Slovak individuals bought 8-10 houses. There are no churches in the village, only a belltower which was originally built for the previos local school. Most people are greek catholics, the other main congrigation is roman catholic. In the economic history of the village the most significant period was the beginning of the 20th century when it had a distillery and a mill (owned by the Czinner family). Presently there are 32 public workers in Büttös. The products made by them are sold locally which provides revenue for the local government. There is one enterpreneur working in agriculture, he raises sheep and farm animals, other than that livestock is not a feature in the village.

⁸ For the descrition of the village I used the material of László László on Büttös (Manuscript, 2018)

Fáj is in the Encs region, 50 km-s from Miskolc. It bears the village features written down by Ladányi and Szelényi (and others) about ageing villages with growing gypsy population, located in rim regions. A typical feature of this type of villages is that their economic downturn started in the 1970's which resulted in the development of a truncated local society without a model or intellectual stratum. As a result of that an abandoned, declassed local society developed which started to develop depression, hopelessness and lack of future ambitions. The population of Fáj is 457 (2018). In the 2011 census, 3% of the population claimed to be gypsy origin – according to other estimates, the ratio of the gypsy population is much higher than that. The holding used to belong to the Fáy family. The history of the family is preserved by their mansion built around 1750 and which was rebuilt in claccisist style in the 19th century. The building has been under the maintainance of the National Heritage Trustie since the middle of the 1990's. The village holds a joint local governemnt office with Szalaszend. There is a roman catholic church in the village.

Fulókércs⁹ has a population of 415 people (2018). Most of the population is roma (gypsy) origin so it is not affected by the ageing factor. 60% of the apaprments (71 flats) out of the 113 has drinking water and gas installed in 29 houses. In the present “populasing” program they are building six rental appartments. Fulókércs has a kindergarden with 51 children and an elementary school.

The study hall in the village has been operating since 2012. An elderly home – as the residents call it – in the center of the village has a kitchen and also a library. There is also a community hall with a very active social life. There is a protestant church in the village as well as a nice soccer field with changing room. Public transport is scarce, the bus provided by the village administration runs houndreds of kilometers daily. There are two local grocery stores and also a renovated doctor's office, however, there is no doctor permanently in charge, only a nurse who regularly visits the village. Presently there are 100 public workers in the workers' program in which they raise livestock, grow vegetables and take part in different renovations. There is agricltural activity in 2-3 hectares, they grow almost everything that the locals need. The villigers are very hardworking. Several civil organisations have tried to support the village with greater or lesser success. The mayor of the village is also roma origin and is well respected.

⁹ For the descreption of the village, I was using the material of Virág Havasi on Fulókércs (Manuscript, 2018)

Hernádpetri¹⁰ is a small dead-end village in the north-east part of the Cserehát, close to the border with Slovakia. Its population in 2018 was 259 people. Access to the village by public transport is difficult, there are busses only from Encs. The village by now is populated only by gypsies with a few exceptions. There are noticeably many houses in ruins, there are still houses without drinking water and many households can only get electricity if they pay by rechargable cards. The village was built in the middle of the 18th century, its baroque style church has been declared to be in life-threatening condition. Even providing the basic grocery needs for the locals is not solved, the only store in the village has uncertain and unreliable opening hours. Basic medical care is provided only one day a week, emergency or more serious cases are treated only in Encs. There are no schools or kindergarden in the village, the children go to the neighbouring village called Hernádvécse. It is an ageing and segregating village. Its residents are under graduated and there are no job opportunities.

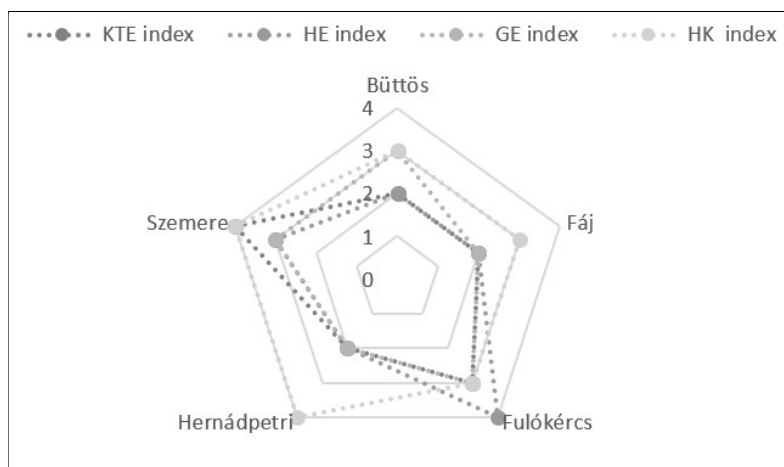
Szemere is located 5 km-s from the Slovakian border, 18 km-s north from Encs and 60 km-s from Miskolc. Presently it has been administratively operated by the Szalaszend Joint Local Government Office since 2013. The village is in the Encs sub-region. It has no railway station, the closest one is in Méra municipality which is also the area where the main road starts. Public transport is only provided by the Volán bus company – there are only few buses daily. A little more than half of the population (58%) is Hungarian, 42% is gypsy origin. The population of the village is 417 (in 2018). The local government is the largest employer, there are no other contractors that could employ large numbers of employees. A pig farm was established for public work and which provides for the local kitchen. They also set up plastic tent green houses. The village got land from the government and bought chip furnices. In a public work program there is a small group which makes dough for baking for the local kitchen, and bakes cakes and other goods for children for snacks in the morning and afternoon. They also established a fruit processing factory that processes apples and makes 100% fruit juices and for this purpose they established a Social Cooperative that employs six people. Even though there is a doctor's office in the village, there is no doctor available so the patients either go by the bus provided by the village or privately to the doctor's office in Szalaszend municipality. There are two grocery shops here (one of them is a Coop, the other one is private – but both have very limited goods), there is a pub (more

¹⁰ For the description of the village, I was using the material of Attila Papp Z. on Hernádpetri (Manuscript, 2018)

Municipality Assessment – with Local Guts

like a café, meeting place) and also a post office. There is also a primary school and two mixed agegroup kindergarden.

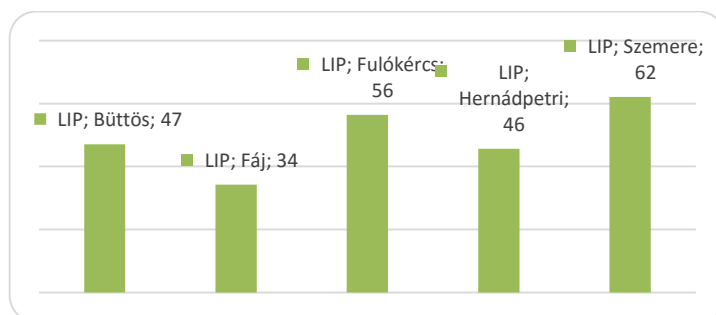
Figure 2. The model pattern of Local Innovative Potential (LIP) including the 5 villages (assessed on a five level scale for the different dimensions)



Source: my own draft

Explanation: KTE (CER); HE (HR); GE (ER); HK (LG)

Figure 3. Local Innovation Potential (LIP) indicator on the five villages (standardized on a scale of 100)



Source: my own draft

As it is shown in the above two diagrams, of all 5 villages the local innovative potential is the strongest in Szemere, where two of the pillars (components) of LIP show above average index (CER and HR). Fulókércs, where

the local guts is outstanding, is in second place, third place is divided between Büttös and Hernádpetri, which are though different in many parameters, still have almost the same LIP indexes. Fáj shows the lowest index overall, which can be due to its adverse socio-demographic, geographic and economic situation (therefore would need immediate intervention).

3. Conclusions, summary

The purpose of the study was to give an insight of the research project that I have been doing in the past few years – mostly in disadvantaged villages. In the study, I introduced the LIP index developed in the course of the project and how it possibly works in practice. I was motivated by the consideration to show: two, fundamentally similar in socio-demographic and also geographic villages can be still very different and show very different patterns. And vice versa: I also wanted to show that two different, for both first and second sight, villages can face similar challenges therefore be in similar groups.

In the future I would still like to further test our recently introduced indicators and compare the results with other indicators and also extend the assessments, “fine-tune” the indicator. Taking into consideration that the developed index contains qualitative data as well, the extendibility has boundaries (it would be difficult to extend it to thousands of villages), but regionally (in a reasonable area) it could still work.

I believe that the LIP index as an aggregated indicator put together by several mosaic pieces, can show diversity of villages as it builds both on qualitative and quantitative data, traditionally “soft” and “hard” socio-scientific methods, at the same time in a creative, innovative way seeks systematic analysis. In fact it does not “disclose” the fact that the social reality and the social world depend on perspective: through several parallel worlds and opinions can we draw some picture which is never unified or at least never fully the same.

Translated by Viktória Kopaszné Láng

My major publications on the same topic:

SZABÓ-TÓTH Kinga, „Alkalmazott szociológiai kutatások régióink szolgálatára”, in *Te mit tettél hozzá?*, szerk. BERKŐ Péter és SZABÓ-TÓTH Kinga és PATKÓ Gyula, (Miskolc: MTA Miskolci Területi Bizottsága, 2018) 265–267.

SZABÓ-TÓTH Kinga, „Rongyszőnyeg vagy patchwork? Társadalmi együttélési formák és normák, együttélési simulások és konfliktusok multikulturális környezetben – Egy társadalmi innováció háttere,, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 9(2018) 1–2. sz. 171–186.

Kinga SZABÓ-TÓTH Kinga and Attila PAPP Z., „Applied Social Scientific Methods for the Measurement of Local Innovation Potential”, *‘Club of Economics in Miskolc’ TMP*, 15(2019) Nr. 1. 53–64.

SZABÓ-TÓTH Kinga, „Kapaszkodó(k). Hátrányos helyzetű roma gyerekek és fiatalok – esélyek és lehetőségek”, *Vigilia*, 85(2020) 1. sz.

Kinga SZABÓ-TÓTH, „Measuring Local Social Innovation”, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 11(2020) Supplement. (Under press.)

Non-standard Grammatical Structures, Vocabulary Use and Native Tongue Interference in the Utterances of Competent Non-native Speakers in the VOICE Corpus

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Keywords: English as a Global Language (EGL)/Lingua Franca (ELF), varieties of English, competent non-native speaker, Standard British English, VOICE corpus, mother tongue interference

Introduction

At present, an important issue of teaching English as a foreign language is how to handle the large number of varieties that English has (e.g. British English, American English, Euro-English, etc.) As a result of globalisation, which involves that more and more people work, study and pursue freetime activities in a real or virtual international environment, it has become an almost everyday experience that the individual can easily get into contact with people speaking a variety of English different from his/her own and somehow he/she has to cope with this situation. (In Europe, this is made even more possible by the fact that from the German branch of the Indo-European languages, English has become the working language of the European Union (in addition to French, representing Romance languages), and this situation will not be changed by Brexit, that is, the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union.) What is more, it is highly likely that the communication partners will not be native speakers as in his study made for the British Council, Graddoll concluded as early as in 2006 that the majority of English language intercourses in the world took place between people who were not native speakers of English.¹ The VOICE Corpus (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), compiled in cooperation between Oxford University and the University of Vienna, include such communication acts, taking place between non-native speakers of English. In this paper, I am going to analyse some of the material of the VOICE corpus with regard to grammatical and vocabulary differences from Standard British

¹ David GRADDOLL, *English Next*, (London: British Council, 2006) Online: englishagenda.britishcouncil.org – December 2019. 87.

English, which is still the dominant variety in primary and secondary school education in Hungary, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, from the aspect to what extent the differences from the standard observed in the language use of Hungarian speakers may be attributed to the interference of their mother tongue. In addition to the consideration mentioned above, I have chosen Standard British English as a reference point because 1) it can be regarded as basic in the sense that all the other varieties developed from it in some way – directly or indirectly – historically; and 2) as regards structures, this variety displays the greatest diversity. In the investigation of mother tongue interference, I have made an effort to exclude those cases when the difference from the standard may be attributed to the effect of another foreign language that the person has learnt (e.g. German). I think such investigations may be useful in enhancing the consciousness of language learning (I regularly use some of the examples concerning the interference of the mother tongue in the Contrastive Linguistics course of the BA programme in English Studies), and also in preparing the students for what they can expect if they have to communicate with non-native speakers in English.

1. The VOICE corpus and the method of investigation

As you can read in the corpus description,² the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English consists of 151 recorded interactions of varying lengths (from a few minutes to one or two hours). In terms of duration, these 151 interactions altogether last over 110 hours. They represent three domains or areas of activity: education (coded as ED), leisure (LE) and profession. The latter one is further subdivided into three areas: business (PB), organisational (PO) and research and science (PR). Within the three domains, the material represents 10 types of speech events: conversation (con), interview (int), meeting (mtg), panel discussion (pan), press conference (prc), question-answer session (qas), seminar discussion (sed), service encounter (sve), working group discussion (wgd) and workshop discussion (wsd). The speakers involved in the interactions are mostly Europeans, and those whose mother tongue is Hungarian represent 1.15%. The corpus description underlines that they are all competent speakers (not language learners!), who function adequately in the given communication situations.

² VOICE. *The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English*. (version 2.0 XML). Director: Barbara SEIDLHOFER; Researchers: Angelika BREITENEDER, Theresa KLIMPFINGER, Stefan MAJEWSKI, Ruth OSIMK-TEASDALE, Marie-Luise PITZL, Michael RADEKA. (2013) Online: voice.univie.ac.at Utolsó letöltés: December 2019. / Corpus information.

Reading through the tapescripts, I have taken note of every item displaying a difference from Standard British English in terms of grammatical rules as described in *A Student's Grammar of the English Language*, a textbook widely used in tertiary level English courses all over the world,³ or the use of lexical items as modelled in *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*,⁴ and, at the same time, attached a label to them referring to the type of difference (e.g. tense, article, agreement) together with their original code number in VOICE. As one cannot expect the same level of accuracy in speech as in writing, and one must also take it into account that speech is much more spontaneous than writing and that we constantly think while speaking and adjust to our thoughts what we are saying, I have ignored those cases where immediately after the non-standard form, the speaker also used the standard one as such cases reveal that the speaker was well aware of the standard form, and the use of the non-standard one could have been just a slip of the tongue. (I have regarded such cases as a kind of self-correction.) As I have not examined the phonological differences from the standard, I have deleted any labels used in the corpus for the prosodic and paralinguistic features (e.g. pause, volume) of speech.

As regards the scope of investigation, I have examined all the utterances in the corpus produced by speakers whose mother tongue is Hungarian (or actually, one of the relative Finno-Ugric languages, that is, Finnish or Estonian) with regard to grammatical structures and vocabulary use. I have also examined the first interaction in each of the abovementioned three domains.

2. The findings

In presenting my findings, I refer to the relevant interaction using the code and number assigned to it in VOICE: e.g. EDcon4 (that is, conversation No. 4 in the educational domain), followed by a colon and the number of turn. In case of Hungarian speakers, I refer to the mother tongue with the code H. In the examples, I highlight the differences from the standard in bold type. I classify the findings as differences concerning the verb phrase (VP), the noun phrase (NP), the level of the clause and vocabulary use. For reasons of space, after identifying the type of difference, I only give some illustrative examples instead of presenting all of them.

³ Randolph QUIRK, and Sidney GREENBAUM, S. *A Student's Grammar of the English Language*, (London: Longman, 1991)

⁴ *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, Online: www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary – December 2019.

2.1. Differences concerning the Verb Phrase (VP)

In the examined corpus segment, differences affecting verb forms, verb complementation as well as the use of tense and aspect forms can be found in comparison with the standard.

2.1.1. Differences in verb forms

This group includes differences affecting verb forms (e.g. non-standard past tense form, the use of a full infinitive instead of a bare one). As a general remark, it can be mentioned that the use of forms *wanna*, *gonna* (characteristic of American English) is widespread in the segment examined. Further examples include:

- (1) LEcon8: 284: does anyone **wants** bread?
- (2) LEint551: 15: and we **choose** what we **did want**
- (3) POprc465: 50: I may **to add** to this...
- (4) POMtg541: 1245: ... when **did** you **circulated** this... (H)

In the example produced by a Hungarian speaker (4), the difference from the standard is that the speaker marks past tense both on the auxiliary and main verb. This may be accounted for by the fact that in Hungarian, no auxiliary is used to form the tenses so a main verb in the past always carries the past suffix.

2.1.2 Verb complementation

The following example by a Hungarian speaker shows the non-standard combination of the two structures used in Standard British English (*It seems that the situation is a bit chaotic.*, and *The situation seems to be a bit chaotic.*). In Hungarian, the equivalent of the verb *seem* (*látszik* or *tűnik*) subcategorises for a finite clausal complement (e.g. *Úgy látszik/tűnik, hogy érti a problémát.* – the verb in the subordinate clause is in present tense, third person singular form, definite conjugation, the English equivalent for this example is: *He seems to understand the problem*), but the example in the corpus includes a copula which is omitted in our language with a third person singular subject in the present tense. Therefore, the Hungarian equivalent of (5) is: *Úgy látszik, (hogy) a helyzet kissé zűrzavaros.* The second part of the English sentence is a mirror translation of the Hungarian clause. After the English example, I give the Hungarian equivalent with an English gloss.

- (5) PBmtg269: 526: ... **it seems to be the situation a bit chaotic**... (H)

Úgy látszik, (hogy) a helyzet kissé zűrzavaros.

So seem+Pr indef Sg3 (that) the situation a bit chaotic

2.1.3. Tense and aspect forms

It is remarkably common that Present Perfect and Simple Past forms are used in a switched way. In the following examples, the time adverbials referring to a period leading up to the present would require the use of the Present Perfect according to the rules of the standard:

(6) EDwgd5: 355: ... I **didn't write** anything today

(7) POWsd256: 149: in what way **did** my organisation **become involved** in the youth pact **so far**?

(8) PRInt30: 351: **how long did** you **work** on it **by now**?

(9) EDSed31: 608: I **never** even **saw** this button in another ele-elevator.

There are also examples – although fewer – in the examined segment of the corpus where the speaker uses Present Perfect instead of the standard Simple Past with a time adverbial referring to a definite point of time in the past:

(10) PRcon29: 53: I've **completed** my study **last year**.

(11) EDcon4: 460: **have** you **seen** me **yesterday**?

As in present-day Hungarian, aspect (the fact that the action is in progress, completed, telic or atelic, etc.) is expressed with lexical (pre-verbs or co-verbs, similar to the adverbial particles in English phrasal verbs) or morphological devices (suffixes), there are relatively many examples where standard perfect forms are replaced by non-perfect ones. One utterance includes the following three cases:

(12) PBpan25: 3:**since nineteen**... he **is fulfilling** his current position... he **is** vice governor of [] **since nineteen ninety-nine** ... **since nineteen ninety-two** he **is serving** as governor of []... (H)

The first line of the example also displays a difference in vocabulary use, for which see section 2.4.

2.2. Differences concerning the Noun Phrase (NP)

Here, examples of the non-standard use of the singular and plural forms, articles and quantifiers can be found.

2.2.1. Switched use of singular and plural forms

In many cases, these examples are related to the fact that the speaker ignores the countable-uncountable distinction determining the use of English nouns in the sentence. This way, in the following example an uncountable noun is used in a non-standard plural form:

- (13) PBqas410: 2: also thank you very much for your presentation and **informations**

This occasionally involves the switched use of quantifiers as in example (14), where the speaker uses a quantifier applied in the standard with uncountable nouns with a countable one:

- (14) PBpan25: 6: ...no need to go into **much details**... (H)

In some cases, the language use of Hungarian speakers is, on the one hand, determined by the fact that our language does not know the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns, and, on the other hand, that Hungarian does not make use of the redundancy option to put a plural noun after a quantifier referring to a greater number than one:

- (15) PRqas495: 158: ... and young people lives in **two society**... (H)

- (16) PBpan25: 6: ...I'll just mention **a few advantage**.... (H)

Unlike English, we do not have irregular plural forms in our language, either, (the plural suffix is always *-k*), so there are cases when the speakers analyse the irregular plural as a singular form and add the regular *-(e)s* suffix to the irregular nouns that are actually in the plural already (17), or use a singular verb with them (18).

- (17) PBpan25: 19: ...there might be other **criteria**s... (H) (double marking of the plural)

- (18) POmtg541: 1147: ... **this proposal or criteria** relies heavily on these two... (H)

2.2.1. Non-standard article use

In the following examples, the article is omitted before countable nouns in the singular:

- (19) EDSed31: 1038: and do you think it's better for **exchange student** to go...
(20) EDwgd5: 241: I don't feel like doing that because I have **exam** on German...
(21) LEcon8: 125: okay how they prove you are **student**

The Hungarian language requires the use of the definite article before abstract nouns used in a general sense. This is carried over to the English language in the following example:

- (22) POcon543: 586: ... but as far as I remember its focus would be **the quality assurance in general...** (H)

Similar differences in article use is identified by Barbara Seidlhofer as one of the characteristic features of ELF (English as Lingua Franca), regarded as an independent variety.⁵

2.3. Clause-level phenomena

I have put the differences concerning word order, concord (agreement), double negation, the use of assertive and non-assertive forms and sequence of the tenses here. A non-exhaustive set of examples is the following.

2.3.1. Word order

It is frequent that the rule of the strict adjacency of the transitive verb and its object is unobserved:

- (23) EDSed31: 734: **obeying strictly the rules**
(24) EDwgd5: 242: ...do we **have on Friday our presentation?**

In the following examples produced by Hungarian speakers, an adverbial intrudes between the transitive verb and its object:

- (25) EDSve422: 110: so and ... with this paper **we can get today this ticket...**
(H)

⁵ Barbara SEIDLHOFER, „Common ground and different realities: World Englishes and English as a lingua franca”, *World Englishes*, 28(2009) Nr. 2. 236–245., 240.; quoted by: Jennifer JENKINS, *Global Englishes. A Resource Book for Students*. Third edition, (London and New York: Routledge, 2015) 90.

- (26) PBpan25: 19: ...what might be the pros and cons for **adopting unilaterally the euro...** (H)

2.3.2. Lack of obligatory sentence constituent

There is no semantically empty, 'dummy' subject in the Hungarian equivalent of the following sentence (27), and this is carried over to English producing a case of interference:

- (27) POcon543: 904:... according to my mind **was not a task of this project** to invent or to determine points of convergence in the national high education systems... (H)

2.3. Lexical differences

Here, the differences in the use of phrasal and prepositional verbs and collocations as well as the phenomenon of 'false friends' can be found.

2.4.1. Phrasal/prepositional verbs and collocations

With regard to phrasal-prepositional verbs, there are cases when an obligatory preposition is missing (28), but more often, a non-standard, redundant preposition is added (29–31), or a preposition is used as the mirror translation of the equivalent structure in the speaker's mother tongue (Table 1):

- (28) PRqas18: ... and if they **succeed their exams** ... (*in* is missing)
 (29) EDsed31: 1611: ... but if a professor address **at** me
 (30) PRpan1: 22: ... I don't want to continue **into** that...
 (31) PRpan1: 141: ...you cannot enter **to** mosque in a miniskirts and uncovered heads also...

Table 1. Mirror translation of Hungarian structures into English

Hungarian	English
csatlakozik valaki hez (allative case ending)	join to (PBpan25:3)
köszönetet mond valaki nek (dative)	say thank you for all the participants (PBpan25:70)
reggelen (superessive)	On the morning (POmtg542:351)
részér ől (delative)	from the part (of the eurozone) (PBpan25:47)

It should be remarked about the last example that the Hungarian case ending – *ról, -ről* is not the exact equivalent of the English preposition *from* but it is a common element in their meaning that both denote movement away from something.

Table 2. Mirror translation of Hungarian collocations into English

Hungarian	English
lépést tesz	the next steps we have to do (PBmtg269:550)
igazat mond	say the truth (POcon543:888)
nézetem/elképzelésem szerint	according to my mind (POmtg542:351)

2.4. False friends

In the following two examples, the Hungarian speaker replaces the words used in the standard with other words that sound similar but actually have a different meaning.

- (32) PBpan25: 3: ... since nineteen... he is **fulfilling** his current position... (H) – *fulfil* is used instead of *fill*
- (33) PBpan25: 3: ...on the optimal **adaptation** of the euro before the end of this decade... (H) – *adaptation* is used instead of *adoption*

Summary

In my paper, I have presented grammatical and lexical differences from the standard, observed in the utterances of competent, non-native speakers involved in the majority of English language interactions currently taking place in the world, on the basis of the analysis of a segment of the VOICE Corpus, including all the utterances produced by the speakers whose mother tongue is Hungarian. I have used the examples of non-standard language use observed in the utterances of Hungarians to draw contrastive linguistic conclusions and show the interference of the mother tongue, as well. I think such investigations are useful in enhancing the awareness of language learners concerning mother tongue interference, and furthermore, with them, we can make them realize that one can use the English language in a competent way in different varieties and can function well and achieve one's communication goals in the various communication situations characteristic of our globalised world even if one does not 100% comply with the rules of the native standard. This is also reflected by the fact that ELF (English as Lingua Franca) is now recognised in linguistics as an independent variety of English in its own right.

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Trends of Piety in the Free Churches of Hungary in the 20th century

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The name itself „free churches” is applied in Hungary to the small Protestant denominations which – on the basis of their Biblical conviction – insist on the voluntary and active membership in the congregation based on a conscious decision of faith and maintain their congregations as well as their national origins by the voluntary contributions of their church members.

The Hungarian free churches are the descendants of late puritan communities. They keep much of the elements in practicing their faith that has considered to be out-of-date according to the liberal protestant piety that turned back to pietism. These new denominations reached significant success with their mission-works, strict and old-fashioned puritan morals. They formed a modern piety that's originated in ancient times, but responds the challenges of these days. There are communities however among them the Nazarene (Apostolic Christian Church) which is stuck to the stiff traditions and they are against any changes although the majority wants to accept the newer and newer challenges of fast-changing life by being accustomed to those. They seem more flexible and succeeded than the historical churches which can hardly get used to such changes because of their vast number of members and strict adhering to traditions.

In this short survey I might to follow what challenges were accepted by the piety-practice of free churches in the complicated Hungarian society that developed from many ways. The Nazarenes started at the end of the 1830s in the last century as well as the first followers of Baptists in the middle of 1840s all came from lower middle-class citizens. Here was laid the claims that confession of faith should be based on personal conviction of faith. That can be practiced in democratic, violently-free, little intimate denominations. But only conscious adult membership can materialize these facts. The adult baptism is one of the most important fundamental doctrines of these movements.

These denominations link to the late puritan protestant ecclesiola which were on to be closed down by the historical churches. These churches were the way of thinking more liberally, fighting for political grounds and weakening morally. I have examined that in many of my studies. These ecclesiola found shelter among the groups of Nazarenes and Baptists where they could live their

Trends of Piety in the Free Churches of Hungary

faith enriched by new elements. That is the reason why the majority of these free churches spreaded in the villages in the last century: their piety morals, honoring the other's possession, the purity of spoken words and the practicing of love for each other were the basis of the piety.

The area of urbanization was coming in the 19-20th century. The closed productional denominations in the villages weakened. Young people moved to the town. This process that became social tensions went through the free churches, too. The close connected, helping-each-other small denominations were fixed points in the difficulties of changed lifestyle. The old puritan morals were thought to be important however they were modified because of the lot of challenges. There was a basic dilemma drawn up in the free churches. Shall we keep the ancient lifestyle of ecclesiola or just apply and practice the puritan morals by accepting the changes of modern life. The conservative thought on the turn of the century but they were not split from the society unlike the extreme piety groups (like Amish). The Baptist however preferred the second option.

Contrary to a few conservative groups they took on the connection with modern life. New free churches were founded by appearing of new claims. The teetotal, antialcohol programs of the 100-year old Methodist mission, the reformed lifestyle of the same aged Adventist mission and their prophetic historical view gave answers to the men-in-the-street who embarked the way of becoming criticized. The missions applied puritan basis in a modern form to people living in crisis. The intellectuals of simple peoples' origin wanted to live the close connection of free and democratic denominations (Church of the Brethren etc). Jeno Henrik Schmidfs followers propagated the ideal God's Kingdom on earth. It had effect on the marxist and socialists movements at the beginning of the Great World War. These movements carried socially effective plans and their members were zealous and enthusiastic to make the plans real. They published periodicals, books and they distributed them and made social services, too.

The movements of free churches became stronger and stronger after the carnage of the World War while helping hands and services based on Christian love were need in Hungary. The Methodists with the social help programs (Huszar akció) and the Adventists with the work of Tabitha club got high appreciation from the society. The precise programs of Salvation Army had just begun at that time, too (free soup acts). But such effort of Baptist church is also significant. These small low-membered churches with an even stronger faith tried to fulfill Jesus' love command. That only could be managed by activating the members. The basic principal of free churches' piety was to do something for the others, to help the others, to sell books, to earn money to give food and

clothes to people in need. We can find another free church that represents a new piety between the two World War: it is the Pentecostal Church. While the members of early free churches were from people ambited by their puritan deligent, the Pentecostal people propagated a new charismatic feeling to men having poor emotions and experience. That was another kind of religiousness than the old puritan originated faith.

The emotional storm, the glossalia, gave a renewal of people's feeling and gave the feeling of the „second Bless“ to people with no hopes. This kind of piety different from the others produced antipathy from the free churches' side. In the Pentecostal congregations the attention was turned from the serving communities to the feeling of one's faith, from the objective act and life model to subjective charismatic gift, in one word to the miracle. That's the reason why these communities could become denominations with great difficulty despite their success.

These trends of free churches can be followed in the practice of piety of historical churches. It is not accidental that the inside mission works in the last century affected the same strata and emphasized similar ethic principles and even applied the same methods like the free churches. That's the reason why so many times these well-intentioned church-builder movements were condemned to be sectarian. Baptist or Nazarene acts. On the other side it is interesting that as the historical churches reconciled with the inside mission works their persecutive power lessened and they became more open toward the free churches, too. It is also interesting that there were groups in the Bethania movements which had some attraction to charismatic manifestation.

So what was the piety of traditional free churches like? The nearest of then were the family-athmosphered worships, the singing, the free prayers that connected to everyday life problems and the sermons based on practical everyday life. The whole lifetime was under the control of faith: job, free time, family. Living the common faith surmounts the differences.

The charismatic service is different. In the centre of it stands the „spiritual controversy“, I mean the ecstatic prayer when our words are no more under the control of conscience. It's associated with intuitive propheting and healing. Furthermore it involves an enthusiastic, emotionally boiled up state of mind that is followed by relief and free-from-tension feeling that feels the Christians.

The 2nd World War brought new trials in the life of free churches. Most of them were prohibited on the 2nd of December in 1939 as they were said to threaten the national defense's mistakes. The denominations became closer and more ultimate. At the same time by getting used to the inner struggle of war events these churches became bigger and stronger. The more active adult members of the Adventist church tripled in the 1940s, but this increase is typical of

Trends of Piety in the Free Churches of Hungary

other denominations, too. The apocalyptic trials of events (wars, holocaust, and deportations) produced a new apocalyptic piety of which basic points were to take on trials, to hold on and to be persistent.

But the series of trials did not end after the war. The hard years of personal cult came after a few free years. This kind of dictatorial model of the society was based on a strict, central control. That's why they think of the close democratic denominations as opponents and „agents of imperialism”.

They made great effort to have these churches be visible and controlled. That's the reason why they urged to make the „community” of free churches based on religious liberty become even more closed „councils”. Policemen controlled the ministers and applied spies to give information and so they could follow the inside events of the churches. The political power even attempted free churches to be followed by a more centralized control. To choose leaders in a democratic way became totally impossible. This fact caused incalculable damage in the denominations that constituted the basis of piety. On the other hands these outer effects and throwing in their lot with each other voluntarily united the denominations of free churches. Being a Christian became a common mark which made members second class citizens in the society. At the same time those churches appraised in the society's informal public opinion. It had many reasons. The simple vital process and the upright work originated in the puritan moral became more and more popular after 1956. These persecuted citizens found shelters in the human communities. But that balance based on the outer pressure began to disintegrate because of the more liberalized ecclesiastical politics in the 1970s. A strange „vital feeling” strengthened in the members of different free churches as „there was used to be better earlier because it was worse. There were much more love in the denominations.” The politics of small steps got the church leadership to find constant concession and be restricted. That attitude questioned the identity of leaders within the church. That's the reason why so many schisms weakened these denominations. The questions were the same: What does it mean to live in the world and apply the puritan heritage to everyday life?

The party illegal existence of schismatic groups and tolerance of the state weakened consciously or semi-consciously the traditional free churches. A new issue of free churches' life started by the change of regime. A new charismatic wave developed that searched answers for questions of people living estranged in capitalizing Word. Syncretic half Christian faith, representatives of new age and missions of eastern religion appeared. Examining the strong of these new movements is the task of another study.

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Social Change and Stability in the District of Encs in the Era of the World Wars

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Introduction

My research of certain villages in the District of Encs in Abaúj-Torna County started in 2018 as part of the “Creative Region” project of the University of Miskolc Felsőoktatási Intézményi Kiválósági Program and concerned 24 selected settlements. They include Abaújdevecser, Baktakék, Beret, Büttös, Csenyéte, Detek, Fáj, Fancsal, Felsőgagy, Forró, Fulókércs, Gagyapáti, Hernádpetri, Hernádvécse, Kány, Keresztéte, Krasznokvajda, Litka, Pamlény, Perecse, Pusztaradvány, Szalaszend, Szászfa, and Szemere.¹ All of them are small villages with the great majority having numbered only a few hundred inhabitants during the respective period.

The research focused on the social characteristics of the region between the two world wars, but it unfolded along two – partly interrelated, yet – different lines. On one hand, it examined the question if the decision at Trianon instigated any changes – and, in case it did, what kind and to what extent – in the villages that consequently came to be situated on or near the new border with Czechoslovakia. In this regard, it searched four basic areas: population changes, the extent of assimilation, occupational patterns, and religious distribution. On the other hand, a further objective was the examination of the quality and dynamics of Jewish-Christian co-existence. In this respect, attention was paid to Jewish integration, social and economic status, Jewish-Christian relations, and the events and immediate consequences of the Holocaust in addition to Israelite population numbers and position in religious ranking. No prior research has scrutinized these aspects of the history of the said villages.

¹ Abaújdevecser was incorporated into Encs in 1966. Baktakék was formed by the unification of Bakta and Szárazkék in 1950. Szalaszend was formed by the unification of Szala, Alsószend, and Felsőszend in 1936.

Collecting sources for the purpose of this project proved to be a difficult task. Because the communities under investigation are small, few monographs on local history have been published, and the professional and academic quality of the available works is often uneven. Furthermore, they concentrate on the history of the villages in the pre-20th century and post-1945 eras, leaving the ramifications of the Trianon peace treaty largely untouched. Similarly, they hardly at all deal with Jews, which is not surprising in light of the fact that local communities were usually made up of only a handful of families. Other secondary sources consulted were also of modest assistance. Works on the immediate and wider region are lacking in numbers, and they usually offer an aspect partly or completely different from what was taken by the research.²

Browsing primary sources did not significantly ease the research process either. The collection in the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Archives of the Hungarian National Archives holding documents pertaining to villages mostly deals with the post-Second World War history of the settlements in question and, in a few cases, not a single record is available. Little valuable information can be found in further collections of the county archives and in periodicals.

Because of these weaknesses of the source materials, relevant data collections and census statistics, which present the most varied and reliable information, served as the basis of the research. Most useful among them were population counts and data on nationality, mother tongue, religious affiliation, and occupations pertaining to villages. In reconstructing Jewish-Christian relations, recollections of local Holocaust survivors provided outstanding help.

Results

It is generally accepted that the territorial and population losses as well as the disruption of traditional economic ties resulting from the Trianon Peace Treaty caused severe distress in Hungary. The dictate closely affected Abaúj-Torna County including the examined communities of the District of Encs, which now became villages situated on or near the newly-drawn Czechoslovak-Hungarian border.

² See, e.g., BODNÁR István, *Forró története*, (Forró: Magánkiadás, 1996); GULYÁS János, *Abaúj-vecser története*, (H. n.: k. n., 2002); NEVELŐS Béla, *Az „aranylábú” Szászfa*, (H. n.: k. n., 2000); TAKÁCS László és KOVÁCS Zsolt, *Baktakék története*, (Baktakék: Baktakék község Önkormányzata, 2000); *Abaúj-Torna vármegye*, szerk. CSÍKVÁRI Antal, *Vármegyei szociográfiák VII*, (Budapest: Vármegyei Szociográfiák Kiadóhivatala, 1939); POPÉLY Gyula, *Felvidék 1914–1920*, (Budapest: Fókusz Egyesület, 2010); DOBÁNY Zoltán, *A Cserehát történeti földrajza (18–20. század) / Historical Geography of the Cserehát Region (18th–20th Century)*, ANP Füzetek VIII, (Jósvafő: Aggteleki Nemzeti Park Igazgatóság, 2010).

A refugee movement is known to have begun from the territories outside the new borders toward the mother country but neither the census of 1920, which reflected the immediate effects of the peace treaty, nor the census of 1930, which showed long-lasting consequences, reported a significant population growth in the region. In the interwar period, there were only two villages – Forró and Hernádvécse – where the total population exceeded 1,000, while in the smallest Gagyapáti and Keresztéte it stayed under 200. The immediate influence of Trianon can be perceived in the single case of the border village Szemere whose growth was highest in the region: its population increased from 502 in 1910 to 695 in 1920, and to 778 in 1930, which equaled a natural growth of 38.4% and 11.9% respectively. In this case, the statistical data for 1920 clearly reflected the effect of the peace treaty as Szemere received the farm-lands and 194 inhabitants of Buzita following the latter's incorporation into Czechoslovakia. Neighboring Litka might have also profited from this population exchange. Here, according to statistics, the rising number of servants caused the sudden growth of 32.7% by 1920, which continued during the next decade, producing a further 12.1% increase.³

Despite that there was no modification in the typical small-village-structure of the region after the First World War, it is plausible that the refugee movement after Trianon from the lost territories into Hungary indeed made an impact. Total population counts indicate that the number of people living in the 24 settlements grew from 12,261 in 1910 to 13,204 in 1920, which means a 7.7% increase that greatly surpassed the 3.0% county and 5.0% national average during the same period. In the next decade, however, the growth slowed down: a 4.8% natural increase produced a total population of 13,843 people in 1930 whereas the county average stood at 6.5% and the national average was 8.7%.⁴ These data suggest that the area served as a transit zone for the new arrivals from Czechoslovak territories.

³ Az 1920. évi népszámlálás. Első rész: A népesség főbb demográfiai adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint, Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények Új Sorozat 69, (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1923; hereinafter: MSKÚS 69) 277.; Az 1930. évi népszámlálás. I. rész: Demográfiai adatok községek és külterületi lakotthelyek szerint, Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények Új Sorozat 83, (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1932; hereinafter: MSKÚS 83), 58–59.; LÖKKÖS János, *Trianon számokban: Az 1910. évi magyar népszámlálás anyanyelvi adatainak elemzése a történelmi Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Püski Kiadó, 2000) 164.

⁴ Own calculations based on *A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Első rész: A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint*, Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények Új Sorozat 42, (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1912; hereinafter: MSKÚS 42), 200, 202, 204, 206, 208.; MSKÚS 69, 4*–5*, 102, 277.; MSKÚS 83, 1**, 58–59, 206.

One of the basic goals of the treaty system ending the First World War was the formation of nation states. In the case of Hungary, it aimed at the drastic rise of the ratio of Hungarians in the general population since, prior to the border changes, Hungarians had been little more than the largest minority among several other nationalities living in the country.

At first glance, the examined villages showed a colorful picture of ethnicities before Trianon, and even afterwards. Besides Hungarians, there were people belonging to German, Slovak, Vlach, Ruthene, and even Croatian language categories in the statistics displaying data for the period between 1910 and 1930. Yet a closer look reveals that the region was a Hungarian-dominated area in which ethnic Hungarians had a ratio of 97.3% already in 1910 and speakers of the Hungarian language had a share of 99.1%. Because of the close vicinity of territories with significant Slovak populations, it is no surprise that people whose mother tongue was Slovak numbered second after Hungarian speakers in the region. They were followed by Ruthenes and Germans, and this ethnic ranking remained the same in 1920. A change occurred only in 1930 with the complete disappearance of the Ruthene minority, a phenomenon that reflected a national tendency.⁵

Analyzing the village populations by mother tongue, a gradual decline in the representation of foreign ethnicities is detectable, the reason for which was either migration or assimilation. In the case of the Ruthene minority the former is more probable as the number of dwellers in Kány and Perecse (where Ruthenes had originally concentrated) remained virtually unaltered between 1910 and 1930, although, Ruthenes were known for high birth rates. In the case of the Slovak community, the question is more complex. They might have moved away from the villages (Hernádvécse, Baktakék, and Büttös) where they used to have a more marked presence partly to Forró and partly to Perecse where most of them are likely to have assimilated. The appeal of Forró, the most important settlement of the region, supports the validity of this idea as well as the fact that in Perecse, which numbered only about 250 persons, the number of Slovaks reduced from 53 to 7 between 1920 and 1930 despite that there was no population decline. Even more telling is the fact that the number of villagers who claimed Hungarian as their mother tongue grew significantly from 190 to 253 during the same period.⁶ It is difficult, however, to make a definitive

⁵ Own calculations based on MSKÚS 42, 200–209; MSKÚS 69, 10*, 100–101; MSKÚS 83, 7*, 202–205.

⁶ HUNYADI László, „A Felvidék történeti vallásföldrajza”, in *A Felvidék történeti földrajza: A Nyíregyháza 1998. április 1–3-án megtartott tudományos konferencia előadásai*, szerk. FRISNYÁK Sándor, (Nyíregyháza: MTA Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Tudományos Testülete és BGyTF Földrajz

statement about the fate of the barely visible German ethnicity. It is most probable that they assimilated into the local societies.

Therefore, in accordance with the aim of the peacemakers at Trianon the territorial losses afflicting Hungary after the First World War further enhanced the ethnic-linguistic presence of Hungarians in the region surrounding Encs. Not only was the ratio of national minorities low but the number of residents who did not know Hungarian was also negligible. So much so that, in 1920, in both Kány and Perecse – the villages with the highest number of non-speakers of Hungarian – merely 7 persons were registered, and ten years later, only in five communities – Forró, Hernádvécse, Kány, Krasznokvajda, and Szalaszend – did non-speakers of Hungarian still live, 1 or 2 persons at the maximum. It is not surprising then that, by 1920, the ratio of Hungarians had risen to 98.3% and that of Hungarian-speakers to 99.8%. The same indicators increased even more during the next decade and stood at 99.7% and 99.9% respectively in 1930, making it a legitimate statement that the examined settlements had become fully Hungarian.⁷

The new boundaries drawn after the First World War caused essential changes not only in the country's territorial and demographical characteristics but also in its economic life. Still, in the researched villages in the District of Encs time seemingly stopped. The geographical features and small-village structure of the region did not facilitate the development of large industrial centers, and other important economic sectors such as mining, commerce or transport also lagged behind. The last census before the First World War revealed that, in this traditionally rural area, 81.2% (9,959 persons) of the population lived on agriculture, while the second most populous category, industry, attracted only 7.0% (863 persons). If we ignore the people in the category of other and unknown occupations (3.5%=426 persons), we find workers in the civil service and liberal professions in the third place with a ratio of 2.5% (305 persons). Trianon did not bring any changes in the basic structure of the economy. Instead of decreasing, the importance of agriculture continued to grow and, in 1920, 82.4% (10,886 persons) of the population made a living there. Industrial workers still occupied second place but their ratio fell to 6.4% (849 persons). Third in ranking, again, we find civil service employees and those in the liberal professions whose share was 2.2% (293 persons).⁸

Tanszéke, 1998) 133–144., 140.; DOBÁNY, *A Cserehát történeti földrajza*, op.cit. 64.; MSKÚS 42, 200–201, 206–207.; MSKÚS 69, 100–101; MSKÚS 83, 202–205.

⁷ Partly, own calculations based on MSKÚS 69, 100–101; MSKÚS 83, 202–205.

⁸ Own calculations based on *A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. Második rész: A népesség foglalkozása és a nagyipari vállalatok községenkint*, Magyar Statisztikai

Yet, two obvious changes indeed occurred in the category of mining and metallurgy and that of armed services. The former had minimal role already in 1910 as only 0.2% (27 persons) of the region's inhabitants earned a living in this field. But ten years later it virtually ceased to exist since only three dependents were registered in the village of Fulókércs. In the area of armed services, on the other hand, a significant growth was detectable, which was a clear consequence of the new Trianon boundary. The status of the analyzed settlements fundamentally changed as they became border and near border villages, thereby gaining a border-guard role. The earlier 0.2% ratio (22 persons) of armed services employees in 1910 rose to 1.5% (192 persons) during the next decade. Representatives of the category appeared in every village bordering Czechoslovakia – Perecse, Kány, Büttös, Szemere, Pusztaradvány, and Hernádpetri – and, what is more, they were present in all the researched communities except 9. Another ten years had passed before the role of the armed services declined again due to the stabilization of the borders, and they provided employment for only 0.5% (75 persons) of the total population. Further statistical data of the second census after the decision at Trianon reiterated the lack of long-term fundamental changes in the economic life of the region. The agrarian character of the communities was preserved and, although, agriculture did show some decline – its ratio stood at 81.8% (11,326 persons) in 1930 – its lead role remained unchallenged.⁹

As seen above, the Trianon dictate strengthened the national character by increasing the ratio of Hungarians and the level of Hungarianization, yet a similar process was taking place also in the field of religious affiliation. While Trianon had no consequence for the religious ranking at all – i.e., Roman Catholics, the leading denomination in Hungary as well as in the researched settlements, were followed by adherents of the Reformed and Greek Catholic churches, and then came foundering the Evangelicals and Israelites – not only did Roman Catholics keep their dominant position but they were even able to increase it. They had already accounted for almost half (46.3%) of the total population before Trianon, and they were the only community capable of permanent growth in terms of both ratios and absolute numbers. Therefore, this denomination

Közlemények Új Sorozat 48, (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1913; hereinafter: MSKÚS 48), 398, 406, 410, 414.; *Az 1920. évi népszámlálás. Második rész: A népesség foglalkozása és a nagyipari és kereskedelmi vállalatok községenként*, Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények Új Sorozat 71, (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1925; hereinafter: MSKÚS 71), 100.

⁹ Partly, own calculations based on MSKÚS 48, 398, 406, 410, 414.; MSKÚS 71, 100.; *Az 1930. évi népszámlálás. II. rész: Foglalkozási adatok községek és külterületi lakotthelyek szerint, továbbá az ipari és kereskedelmi nagyvállalatok*, Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények Új Sorozat 86, (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1934), 68–69.

that numbered, in 1910, 5,678 followers had grown to 7,193 persons by 1941, making up for more than half (51.1%) of the population of the 24 examined villages. In the same year, they proved to be the most populous religious group in 14 (earlier in 12) settlements, including Forró and Hernádvécse with the largest populations. Reformed Christians were dominant in 5 (earlier in 7) villages while Greek Catholics enjoyed a majority in 3 (earlier in 4). Evangelicals dominated only one settlement, Fancsal, but they could maintain this position throughout the period. Yet Israelites, who were number five in the religious ranking, were unable to produce a majority anywhere, and they were the only group to continually lose influence both in ratios and absolute numbers.¹⁰

Notwithstanding the losses, most villages did have Jewish dwellers and, in fact, all settlements used to have Jewish populations before Trianon. Yet, beginning in 1920, the number of villages without Jewish residents started to increase. The new borderlines most probably played a role in this development. Abaúj-Torna County lost its former seat, Kassa, and nearly half of its territory and population. As it became economically peripheral, younger generations of Jews decided to leave their home places, thereby reducing local communities. The smallest Gagyapáti and Keresztéte were the first villages to get abandoned by Israelites. In 1930, Fáj and Fancsal joined them and, by 1941, the number of settlements lacking a Jewish community had grown to seven with the addition of Detek, Kány, and Pusztaradvány. Total population numbers were also constantly declining from 487 persons in 1920 to 370 in 1930, and 298 in 1941. It meant that their share of 3.7% in the year of the Trianon treaty had dropped to 2.1% by the time of the Second World War.¹¹

Despite its low numbers, the Israelite community was characterized by religious diversity. Although, its governing bodies in Forró and Hernádvécse followed the Orthodox tradition, a few Neolog and Hassidic Jews also lived in the region. Forró and Hernádvécse had working synagogues but the villages that hosted just a small number of Jews lacked religious institutions. For instance, worshippers from Csenyéte and the surrounding places attended services in the prayer house in Felsőgagy, and the same rabbi served several villages. Since a Jewish elementary operated only in Forró, Israelite children received secular education mostly together with Christians. The main sphere of religious

¹⁰ Own calculations based on MSKÚS 42, 200–209.; MSKÚS 69, 100–101.; MSKÚS 83, 202–205.; *Az 1941. évi népszámlálás. 2.: Demográfiai adatok községek szerint*, Történeti Statisztikai Kötetek, (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtár és Dokumentációs Szolgálat és Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1976; hereinafter: TSK), 192–203.

¹¹ *A magyarországi holokauszt földrajzi enciklopédiája*, I–III, szerk. Randolph L. BRAHAM, (Budapest: Park Könyvkiadó, 2007), 1, 94.; MSKÚS 42, 200–209.; MSKÚS 69, 21*, 100–101.; MSKÚS 83, 202–205.; TSK, 192–203.

education was the family home, although the more populous communities in Forró and Hernádvécse operated a heder. However, the nearest yeshivas, which provided advanced religious studies, were located in Abaújszántó and Encs.¹²

The majority of community members remained loyal to their faith regardless that they defined themselves as Hungarians, a feature that was reflected by their language use. The results of the census in 1941, which introduced the categories of Jewish nationality and Yiddish/Hebrew mother tongue, were telling in this regard. No person in the examined villages was found to have professed a Jewish nationality, and only four in Bakta claimed Yiddish or Hebrew as their mother tongue. Furthermore, just one person who did not follow Judaism and was still regarded Jewish under law lived in Krasznokvajda, Abaújdevecser, and Bakta each, and three in Hernádvécse.¹³

The high degree of assimilation must have played a role in the fact that Jewish and non-Jewish neighbours were on good terms both in business and human relations. Despite that the region's rural and agrarian-oriented character – that left little space for sectors, especially industry and commerce, in which Jews were traditionally over-represented – was unfavorable, most Israelites chose to stay. In the interwar period, there was a good working relationship between Christian and Jewish inhabitants. The majority of tradesmen, merchants, and other businessmen were Jewish, but they were many among landowners and farmers as well. Jewish chandlers, innkeepers, renters and owners of distilleries, butchers, threshing machine owners, and merchants dealing in rawhide, lumber, firewood, and farm produce were especially common. At the same time, most Christians were engaged in farming, and a lot of

¹² *Magyarországi zsidó hitközségek 1944. április: A Magyar Zsidók Központi Tanácsának összeírása a német hatóságok rendelkezése nyomán. I. rész: Adattár A–B*, kiad. SCHWEITZER József és FROJIMOVICS Kinga, Hungaria Judaica 6, (Budapest: MTA Judaisztikai kutatócsoport, 1994), B, 788–790.; SZÁNTÓ István, *Isten szabadságra ment: Hernádvécse–Auschwitz–Hernádvécse*, (H. n.: Ab Ovo Kiadó, 2014) 20, 34.; Israel FLEISCHMANN, *Abaui-Torna Megye Memorial Book: Örök fenyek Abaui-Torna varmegye hirközsegeinek*, [sic!] (New York and Amherst: The New York Public Library and National Yiddish Book Center Yizkor Book Project, 2003), 272–274. Online: yiddishbookcenter.org – December 2019.; GASSNER-GUTTMANN Chaviva, *Torna és környéke zsidósága élete* (H. n.: k. n., é. n.), 376.; *Visual History Archive* (USC Shoah Foundation) video interviews: Binyamin OBERSHTAG, Interview 26685 [Éberstark Béla, 1907, Hernádvécse], Esther LUCKY, Interview 9355 [Czinner Eszter, 1911, Büttös], Joseph WELTMAN, Interview 37514 [Weltman József, 1918, Szárazkék], Edith SAMUEL, Interview 2543 [Hauer Edit, 1925, Debrecen; grew up in Forró], Dr. Theodore SCHWARCZ, Interview 12324 [Schwarcz Tibor, 1930, Szikszó; grew up in Forró], SZTAHON Ágnes, Interview 50227 [1932, Csenyété], FARKAS István, Interview 50246 [1932, Csenyété], Online: vhaonline.usc.edu – December 2019.

¹³ *A zsidó népesség száma településenként (1840–1941)*, szerk. KEPECS József (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1993) 54–61.

them worked as employees (e.g., maids, clerks) in Jewish households or business enterprises.¹⁴

Social connections between Jews and Christians were also pleasant for the most part. In addition to the high degree of assimilation, the low Jewish presence – often limited to one or two families – may have contributed to the generally peaceful relationships. The most populous community in Hernádvecse numbered merely 83 people in 1930, which accounted for 7.1% of the total population but equaled approximately 15 families at the maximum. Anti-Semitism was negligible, and only the late 1930s brought change in this regard. As anti-Jewishness built up in Hungary and laws restricting the economic and other activities of Jews were passed, the situation became strained in the region. Especially troublesome was the revision of commercial and trade licenses that endangered the livelihood of a great number of people. Although, no incidents more drastic than the ones about children's fights were reported, survivors shared a growing number of bitter memories.¹⁵

Just like for their brethren in Hungary, the German occupation on March 19, 1944, signaled the real turning point in the fate of the Jews in the researched villages. The numerous anti-Jewish measures that followed soon after hurt them just as they hurt Israelites all over the country. Moreover, in a cross-national comparison, the application of disenfranchising and restrictive legislation as well as the preparation and implementation of the deportations were performed in one of the most intensive and radical ways in Abaúj-Torna County. All of the examined settlements lay in Gendarmerie District VIII centered in Kassa, which corresponded to Operation Zone I and included Carpatho-Ruthenia and northeastern Hungary. Consequently, the concentration of Jews resident in the area started as early as April 16. According to eyewitness accounts, the collection of Jews was executed without prior warning. Some had to stand up and leave the breakfast table behind when the authorities arrived while others were taken in the evening at bedtime. Before being put on trains to Kassa, the residents of Csenyété, Büttös, Fulókércs, Krasznokvajda, Litka, Pamlény, Perecse, Szászfá, and Szemere had been concentrated in Szepsi. In the meantime, in the more populous Forró, they were gathered at the Catholic school,

¹⁴ WELTMAN, SAMUEL and SCHWARCZ interviews; SZÁNTÓ, *Isten szabadságra ment...*, *op.cit.* 30.; *Magyarország kereskedelmi, ipari és mezőgazdasági címtára / Ungarns Adressbuch für Handel, Industrie, Gewerbe und Landwirtschaft*, (Budapest: Rudolf Mosse, 1931), *passim*, Online: genealogyindexer.org – December 2019.

¹⁵ CSÍKI Tamás, „A holokauszt Borsod, Abaúj és Zemplén megyékben”, *Történelem és Múzeológia*, 2(2015) 2. sz. 61–67., Online: hermuz.hu / Látogatóinknak – December 2019. 62–63.; MSKÚS 83, 204–205.; FARKAS, SZTAHON, SAMUEL, WELTMAN, SCHWARCZ, OBERSHTAG and LUCKY interviews; SZÁNTÓ, *Isten szabadságra ment...*, *op.cit.* *passim*.

and the train for Kassa left directly from the station at Forró-Encs. In Hernádvécse, on the other hand, the gendarmerie escorted the Israelites to the notary's office and then made them walk to the station in Garadna. In Kassa, the Jews from around Encs together with local Israelites – ca. 13,000–14,000 people – were crammed into two brick factories on the outskirts of the city. The Jews concentrated here were among the first ones to be deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau between May 16 and June 3.¹⁶

The great majority of the deported people were killed a few hours after arrival. A lucky coincidence of circumstances in addition to outstanding will and toughness were crucial for survival. Yet most deportees never returned. Even though, there are no exact data on the number of the victims, the staggering extent of the loss is convincingly demonstrated by the census of 1949. While, in 1941, the population count recorded 298 Israelites in 17 villages, the survey in 1949 found only ca. 20 individuals in 5 settlements: Bakta, Beret, Felsőgagy, Forró, and Hernádvécse. It suggests that the community severed a loss of over 90%, but the statistics does not take into consideration the survivors who never returned to their original home places (maybe, not even to Hungary) or those who did return but then left again. It was a common phenomenon after the war that the Jewish remnant moved into nearby larger cities or to the capital while many started a new life in a foreign country or, even, on a different continent.¹⁷

Conclusion

Apart from the wartime human losses, two great social traumas of the period of the world wars for Hungary were Trianon and the Holocaust. Even so, only one of them inflicted a permanent change in the examined villages. Whereas, the consequences of the peace dictate were hardly perceptible and only temporary, the Holocaust made local Jewry disappear almost completely and forever.

¹⁶ BRAHAM, *A magyarországi holokauszt...*, *op.cit.* 1, 53–55, 94–95, 107.; CSÍKI, *A holokauszt...*, *op.cit.* 64.; SAMUEL, SZTAHON, FARKAS and SCHWARCZ interviews; SZÁNTÓ, *Isten szabadságra ment...*, *op.cit.* 40.; Randolph L. BRAHAM, *A magyar holocaust*, I–II, ford. ZALA Tamás et al. (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1988) 2, 514–515.

¹⁷ 1949. évi népszámlálás: *Vallási adatok százalékos megoszlása településenként*, szerk. KEPECS József (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1996) 33–38.; FARKAS, SZTAHON, SAMUEL, WELTMAN, SCHWARCZ, OBERSHTAG and LUCKY interviews; SZÁNTÓ, *Isten szabadságra ment...*, *op.cit.* *passim*.

My major publications on the topic:

Sz. HALÁSZ Dorottya, „Trianon társadalmi következményei egyes Abaúj-Torna vármegyebeli községekben”, in *1918: vég és kezdet*, szerk. GÁL Máté és PÉTERFFY Gergely, Régióink története I, (Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2019) 243–275.

SZISZKOSZNÉ HALÁSZ Dorottya: „Sorsok egy fotó mögött”, *Miskolci Egyetem BTK Történettudományi Intézet blog*, 29 November 2018. Online: tti.uni-miskolc.hu/blog – December 2019.

Dorottya Sz. HALÁSZ, „The Social Effects of the Trianon Peace Treaty in Selected Villages of Abaúj-Torna County”, (Prešov, 2020) (Under press.)

Sz. HALÁSZ Dorottya, „Zsidósors Abaúj-Torna vármegyében, az Encsi járásban”, *Régióink története* II, (Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2020) (In press.)

Dorottya Sz. HALÁSZ, „Images and Testimonies of the Hungarian Holocaust”, (Cluj-Napoca: Mega Publishing House, 2020) (In press.)

Non omnis moriar... – or reception of Janusz Korczak, Pál Ranschburg and József O. Vértés on the field of Radnóti's Razglednica

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„... Just such an end you'll make ...”

I have been interested in the life and especially in the work of Janusz Korczak, Pál Ranschburg and József O. Vértés set in parallel with Razglednica of Miklós Radnóti since decades. And of course I was deeply interested in the life and fate of Miklós Radnóti as well. There are pains, silences and taboos in our history.

Explaining the title of this study I could point the testament of Pál Ranschburg. Quintus Horatius Flaccus wrote in his poem *Carminum Liber Tertius XXX*: „Non omnis moriar multaue pars mei / vitabit Libitinam; usque ego postera / crescā laude recens, dum Capitolium / scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.” – which means according to the translation of Gábor Devecseri: „Meg nem hallhatok én teljesen: elkerül / téged síri folyó, jobb felem; és nevem / folyton fényesedik, míg Capitolium / megy föl a pap és véle a néma szűz.” (I cannot die completely: bypass you/the river silent as a tomb, better half of me, and my name/ it is constantly getting more and more shiny, until Capitolium/ the priest is marching up with the mute virgin on his side)

The scientist, polymath doctor quoted these lines from Horatius, when he saw that the time has come to write his testament. I have noticed that the memory of all three scientists is undeservedly fading. However it is necessary to show life paths and achievements for students of intellectual careers for that these great men could serve as an example for “always new ones”.

What do they have in common? Maybe humanism, awareness of a polymath, interest in his own field of science – most of all in the human being, at first in the child, in the fragile handicapped child. And could be common for them the curiosity, the effort they make to understand the world, and last but not least the professionalism. And there is something else that make a link between these gentlemen. The tragedy of their faith. Of all of them. *Because they have been living on earth at that age...* – all three were assimilated Jews.

Reception of Janusz Korczak, Pál Ranschburg and József O. Vértés

Over the past three to four years, it took an important place amid my activities working with the culture of remembrance – sometimes just reflection: as an example of the role of ideas in the world of science.¹ My colleagues and I are talking more and more about how the information explosion is shaping the thinking of our students – of the society – concerning of the preservation of the memory of the exceptional figures of the past. How informed young professionals are in the history of their field, how well they know and do they want to rely on the work of their predecessors. In brief: do they want to follow anyone's path?

„... I lived upon this earth in such an age ...”

Through the complexity of my discipline, which is the healing pedagogy, philosophy, ethics, medicine, psychology, pedagogy, sociology are of great importance. Life, the quality of life, the purpose of life, and the way in which a helping professional – in our case a special education teacher – serves his fellow human beings are also decisive in what we need to convey in our teaching work. In this respect, the mainstream of special education is already beyond at least one paradigm shift if the medical model or approach were to be replaced by pedagogy – this is something I think differently with reference to Janusz Korczak and Pál Ranschburg.²

Acceptance is a value – as we recently wrote with my colleague Zoltán Kovács in the foreword of a volume and tried to convince the reader of the importance of respect for each other and of the professional humility – of the fact that there are many things to do beyond the professionalism in human relationships, most of all in helping activities.³ Me and my colleagues, we have begun to present the work of the three scientists with the demand of their reception.

¹ POLÁNYI Mihály, *Személyes tudás*, (Budapest: Atlantisz Kiadó, 1994)

² Thomas S. KUHN, *A tudományos forradalmak szerkezete*, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2002)

³ TAKÁCS István, „A zsidóság és a magyar társadalom”, in *Az elfogadás pedagógiája*, szerk. KOVÁCS Zoltán és SZÁNTÓNÉ Tóth Hajnalka, (Kaposvár: Kaposvári Egyetem Roma Szakkollégium, 2018)

*Janusz Korczak*⁴

While I was working for UNICEF, the UN Children's Fund, I've got the possibility to learn the power of faith from my Polish friends. The publication of the Children's Rights Decree in the UN in 1989 was due to Polish efforts. And the commitment and strength of the Polish intellectuals came from the life and work of Janusz Korczak. We saluted Korczak and his spirit as well publishing the writings of Korczak and Hungarian thinkers almost a decade ago.⁵ And we went on with this commitment editing several volumes of his selected works in Hungarian recently.

The work of Janusz Korczak is unquestionable from the point of view of numerous disciplines.

The work of the Polish physician who lived in the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century is decisive all over the world even nowadays. We can start the list of stakeholders with specialists of the children's rights who can be followed by doctors, educators, psychologists, sociologists. At the same time we have to mention his point of view and practice of preparing for democracy and self-management, which can still be – should be taught even today. That is what Korczak associations do in many countries, and why the International Janusz Korczak association nurtures his spirituality. Personally we could experience it the last time in the spring of 2019 in Warsaw at the Korczakianum (the academic institute that takes care of the heritage of Janusz Korczak), in the Jewish museum POLIN and at the Department of Pedagogy of the University of Warsaw.

I find it to be important that Korczak's writings and messages would be able to reach the students of Hungarian higher education by means of meaningful interpretation – at least to get to them...That is why we have been working on this with my colleague Ferenc Csillag, the journalist Anna Flóri and the publishing house Flaccus for some years organizing the translation of the main works of Janusz Korczak, than publishing them as a lifetime achievement series

⁴ Dr. Hersz (Henryk) Goldsmith, became known under his pseudonym Janusz Korczak, was born in 1878 or 1879. As a child of an assimilated Jewish family, he studied medicine after finishing high school. He graduated in 1905. He participated at the Warsaw Courier competition as a young man in 1899, that was the first time he used his pseudonym. He founded an orphanage under the name of „Our Home” in Krochmalna Street in Warsaw in 1912. He worked for a radio, published in newspapers, and worked on pedagogical, children's rights, sociological and medical issues. In recognition of all this the Polish Literary Academy awarded him with the Golden Crown Writer Award in 1937. Together with his children from the orphanage, he was murdered in the Treblinka extermination camp in 1942.

⁵ *Hogyan szeressük a gyermeket? Korczak és magyar gondolkodók írásai*, szerk. TAKÁCS István és CSILLAG Ferenc és TRENCSENYI László; (Budapest: UNICEF Magyar Bizottság kiadványa, 2011)

Reception of Janusz Korczak, Pál Ranschburg and József O. Vértess

of him. In the course of this we published a number of Korczak writings not yet read in Hungarian in 2017-18, and a Korczak monograph in 2019. We summarized our project with a conference in October 2018. The participants were greeted by the Polish ambassador to Hungary professor Jerzy Snopek and the president of the Association of Hungarian Jewish Communities András Heisler. The speakers were Béla Pukánszky, László Mészáros, Gábor Hegyesi, Anna B. Aczél, Szilvia Gyurkó, and the participants of the panel discussion Miklós Beer, László Donáth, Gábor Iványi and Tamás Verő.

We do hope to find the possibility to publish the lectures of this conference in a volume soon. After reaching this goal we plan to visit the Hungarian universities as a kind of dissemination, offering the volumes for their libraries and launching a discussion for maintaining the heritage of Janusz Korczak.⁶

*Pál Ranschburg*⁷

The professional discourse initiated by us has mainly taken place within the Hungarian Psychological Society in recent years. The plural is justified also this time. My partner in this field was Maria Weiss, a child psychiatrist who personally knew the Professor. With her I had a decade-long professional relationship – she was one of those through whom I was getting to know Paul Ranschburg's activities in medicine, psychology, and special education. It is not accidental that all three disciplines consider Ranschburg to be their founding, initiating scientist. We made a call together with Mária in 2016, invited professionals from the three disciplines, those who are teaching in these fields, to attend the events of the 2020 commemorative year, meanwhile we initiated activities in medicine – with special emphasis on psychiatry –, psychology and special education for the year of 2020.

⁶ The volumes that has been published so far:: Janusz KORCZAK, *A gyermek joga a tiszteletre. Internátus, nyári táborozás, árvaház*, ford. SZENYÁN Erzsébet és ÉLES Márta (Budapest, Flaccus, 2017); *Hogyan szeressük a gyermeket. A gyermek a családban*, ford. ÉLES Márta (Budapest, Flaccus, 2018); *Az élet iskolája*, ford. KONCZ Éva (Budapest, Flaccus, 2018); *Tanító mesék. Társadalmi publicisztika, 1898–1912*, ford. SZENYÁN Erzsébet, (Budapest, Flaccus, 2018); Johanna OLCZAK-RONIKIER, *Korczak. Életrajzi vázlat*, ford. HERMANN Péter (Budapest, Flaccus, 2019)

⁷ He was born in Győr in 1870. His father was the rabbi of the town. He completed his high school studies in Győr and his medical studies in Budapest. He later worked together with Wilhem Wundt in Leipzig. As a doctor he dealt with mental medicine. He was the founder of experimental psychology and special education psychology in Hungary. His laboratory was the site of many scientists – to foundations of him, the Hungarian Royal Laboratory of Special Education and Psychology and the Hungarian Psychological Society were the defining scientific workshops of the era. We are celebrating the 150th anniversary of his birth and 75th anniversary of his death in 2020.

We also initiated a discussion regarding Pál Ranschburg's work at the main platforms of the three disciplines.

Maria Weiss passed away in 2017 at the age of 89. The head of the ad hoc committee of the Hungarian Association of Psychology Ágnes Szokolszky became my most important partner in organizing events and creating plans of this commemorative year. Together we prepared the materials of two major assemblies (PPKE – 2018: Ranschburg Pál 2020 – round table discussion; DE – 2019: The presentation of the concept of the commemorative year „Ranschburg Pál 2020”).

The commemorative year begins in February with the placement of a commemorative plaque at Pál Ranschburg's last residence. In March we will have a memorial session with 15 presentations paying tribute to his work at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Important to mention, that students of special education in Miskolc will also attend the event.

Further celebrations include: wreathing at Pál Ranschburg's Tomb, a „Pál Ranschburg Memorial Walk” at the locations of the professor's life in Budapest, making his works available through the creation of a digital archive, and finally publishing a memorial volume that will include the presentations of the memorial session at the Academy.

*József O. Vértess*⁸

The last home of József O. Vértess and his family was in the 12th district in Budapest. In accordance of our initiative we have put a commemorative plaque on the wall of the building 10. street Zsámbéki on 3. December 2016. Some colleagues and the representative of the district have been present at the inauguration as well. The actuality of the event was to commemorate the 135th anniversary of the birth of Joseph O. Vértess.

The Institute of Psychology at the University of Szeged celebrated the 90th anniversary of its foundation recently, in the fall of 2019. On this occasion I was lucky to have the opportunity to give a lecture on the professional and friendly

⁸ He was born in Törökszentmiklós in 1881 and died in 1953 in Budapest. After graduating from high school, his interest turned to special education. As a European, he has been in regular contact with Europe's leading psychological and special educational workshops. He was the first to set up an institution for the therapeutic treatment of behavioral disorders, The State Institute for Nervous Children, which was in synergy with the alternative pedagogy of the turn of the century and provided special pedagogical and psychological methods to the students concerned. He was imprisoned in 1920 and then deported. The forced silence has thrown him back for decades. Later he became a private professor at Szeged. In 1944 Sándor Imre and Dezső Hildebrand Várkonyi stood by him, so they saved him from the attacks related to his Jewish origin. After the World War II, he was professor at the Special Education Teacher Training College as well.

Reception of Janusz Korczak, Pál Ranschburg and József O. Vértés

relationship of the founder of the Institute, Dezső Várkonyi Hezebrand and József O. Vértés based on their correspondence.

The nearly five hundred items of archive material that are available for me thanks to the heirs of József O. Vértés are of special importance for students in special education because he was the founder of the first school in Budapest to provide training and care for „nervous children”. The institute that has been providing care for pupils with behavioral and integration disabilities for a decade (1909–1909) was unique even in an international context.

The monograph of József O. Vértés will be published as part of a series of psycho-pedagogical portraits dedicated for the special education training at the University of Miskolc. The monograph will contain most of the archive material related to him. At the time of the publication of this volume we will launch a virtual museum of the history of psycho-pedagogy. This website will offer a unique access to the most important events of the history of psycho-pedagogy for students and researchers in a way that meets the expectations of the age.

„... The squad stands about in knots, stinking, mad ...”

We have published a study volume titled as “Pedagogy of Acceptance”. We have published five volumes of selected works of Janusz Korczak and organized a conference to present his heritage. We have organized a memorial exhibition in honor of József O. Vértés and inaugurated a plaque by the sculptor Kata Gera for his memory. An other plaque will be placed soon on the square Hild in the downtown of Budapest to commemorate the oeuvre of professor Pál Ranschburg. We will summarize his achievements at an academic session later this year.

Whether our fellow scientists hear our voice, detect our activity? Will there be some who remember? Could the thought of Horatius be right: „Non omnis moriar...”?

Questions are difficult to answer, but it would be a sin to give up trying as Radnóti says: „but still it might yet happen! The moon’s so round today!...”

My major publications on the topic:

Katalin SZALAI és István TAKÁCS, „Research of career identification of special education students at a Hungarian university”, in *ERPA International Congress on Education 2015: Book of abstracts*, (Athens: ERPA, 2015) 220–221.

TAKÁCS István és ANTAL István, *A gyermeket szeretni kell! – Három hónaphól lett 33 év*, Film: 61 perc, (Kaposvár: Kaposvári Egyetem, 2016)

TAKÁCS István, „A zsidóság és a magyar társadalom”, in *Az elfogadás pedagógiája*, szerk. KOVÁCS Zoltán és SZÁNTÓNÉ Tóth Hajnalka, (Kaposvár: Kaposvári Egyetem Roma Szakkollégium, 2018)

SZALAI Katalin és TAKÁCS István, „Az elfogadás pedagógiájának pszichológiai aspektusai”, in *Az elfogadás pedagógiája*, szerk. KOVÁCS Zoltán és SZÁNTÓNÉ Tóth Hajnalka, (Kaposvár: Kaposvári Egyetem Roma Szakkollégium, 2018)

István TAKÁCS, „Korczak yesterday, today, tomorrow... – in Hungary”, *International Conference: Janusz Korczak's Pedagogical Ideas: Framing the future of a respectful world for children and their rights*, (Patras: University of Patras, 2019)

Devotional Literature and Imagination in Early Modern Hungary

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Keywords: history of literature, early modern period, devotional literature, rhetoric, theory of soul

During the second half of the 18th century major changes took place in the field of anthropology and the theory of soul, and they were crucial to the evolution of the post-Romantic episteme of literature. These changes have been investigated by researchers worldwide. Also in Hungarian scholarship some initiatives have been taken to unfold the new approach to the sense perception, to the faculties of the soul, especially to the imagination and to map the turning-point of the so-called “litterae” and “literatura”. However, it is almost impossible to explore these issues in detail without getting acquainted with the early modern precedents.

In the German and English scientific literature numerous remarks are made in relation to investigating the early modern concepts and conceptions of imagination; that make possible to describe systemically the changes taking place in the functioning of literature and also in the concept of literature. I am convinced that 17th century devotional literature and the determining precepts in philosophy, theology and rhetoric played a crucial role in this process.

Debora Kuller Shuger has thoroughly described the most important change in early modern period that motivated the evolution of the post-romantic episteme of literature: according to Shuger, in homiletics from the 16th century onward instead of reasoning and discursivity a new type of persuasion emerged that was based on the impact on the passions of the audience.¹ The tradition of the “genus grande” in homiletics offered a proper solution for the impossible reconciliation of magnitude and presence (*magnitudo et praesentia*): it recommended tools that evaluate affects, enargeia and visuality. In my monograph (2009) I initiated the description of this phenomenon in the

¹ Debora K. SHUGER, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)

Hungarian literature.² Since then I have started to examine the philosophical, theological and rhetorical contexts of this change.

Nowadays it is not necessary to emphasize anymore how important it is to unfold the epistemological basis of the texts written at the turn of early modern and modern period dealing with the theories of text production and literature. At the same time it is also necessary to understand the epistemological views of the text producers and users, whether their texts are providing reflections on the operation of literature itself.³ It is especially true for a group of texts – Catholic devotional literature, mainly sermons – that is commensurate with and has genetic connections with the emotionality crucial to the Post-Romantic episteme of literature, because the related theoretical texts in that age were able to estimate the significance and the paradigm-creating potential of being anthropologically involved by non-conceptual factors. That is why it is necessary to explore in detail the epistemological basis of this theoretical literature, not just in order to disassemble the parallel endeavours in the same period, but also with the aim of eventually comparing early modern and Post-Romantic emotionality.

I began my research with sorting out the relevant views and contexts of the concept “imagination” deriving from the theory of soul. My aim was to confront these views with picture theory and also with those theological, rhetorical views that reinforce the crucial role of seeing and through this the significance of *phantasia-imaginatio* became a subject of some kind.

Firstly I undertook the examination of the philosophical context: the textual basis was the Catholic school philosophy. I explored and examined the relevant resources: textbooks and handbooks, originated mainly in the Jesuit order, that deal with the phenomenon “*imaginatio*”, conventionally discussing it in the section on the soul. I also put them in the context of the 17th century Jesuit school philosophy.⁴ I discovered that the resources printed in the Kingdom of Hungary are quite well informed in the scholastic and contemporary scholarship. They might have different views on the system of the inner senses – according to their sources, but they all are the same in dispensing with the “*vis aestimativa*”. This latter has rhetorical consequences: without “*vis aestimativa*”

² TASI Réka, *Az isteni szó barokk sáfárai*, Csokonai Könyvtár: Bibliotheca Studiorum Litterarium 45, (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2009)

³ HEGEDŰS Béla, *A megértés metaforái: kép és pecsét az elmében*, [manuscript, conference paper]

⁴ I dealt with the following prints: Gabriel IVUL, *Philosophia novella* (Kassa, 1661). – RMNy 2973. TARNÓCZI István, *Philosophia quam [...] in [...] universitate episcopali Cassoviensi pro suprema philosophiae laurea consequenda publice propugnavit [...] Georgius Pothoransky de Farkas-falva...* (Kassa, 1665). – RMNy 3207. KÉRY János, *Universa philosophia scholastica* (Pozsony, 1673). – RMK II. 1325.

the relationship between imagination and pathos becomes rather direct, and even the intellect can intervene, the one element among the inner senses that could regulate or control the interconnection of phantasms and pathos is missing. This change can be traced mainly in the neo-scholastic philosophy that adheres most to Aristotelianism.

Another interesting finding was that the influence of Francesco Suárez, who produced numerous innovations in scholastic philosophy, can be observed in our resources. He was also a reformer in the field of the theory of soul, as he reduces the very complicated Thomistic system of the inner senses to the *phantasia-imaginatio*. Those significant changes in the 16–17th century Catholic rhetoric and homiletics that led to the increased rhetorical significance of the “*imaginatio*” definitely did not happen independently from those shifts occurring in the philosophical discourse of imagination. Although we haven’t acquired an extended view of these shifts yet, even our Hungarian resources foreshadow the fact that the oeuvre of Suárez played a crucial role in them.

Next I examined the function and significance of the early modern theories of imagination in the context of the theology of image and of the debates around it. Facing and reflecting the power of imagination can be apprehended in the Catholic theory of images, in its argumentation, in the Catholic practices and rituals of veneration of images, but also in the Protestant criticism and rejection of images. Therefore I focused on the Post-Tridentine Catholic theology of image, the arguments operating with the theory of imagination, and also their influence on prints from Hungary. I paid particular attention to the work of the Bolognese archbishop Gabriele Paleotti entitled *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre i profane* (1582), as the concept of *phantasia-imaginatio* plays a crucial role in its chapter discussing the effects of images.

The discourse on images appeared in the Carpathian Basin in the framework of the Catholic-Protestant conflicts, mainly in religious debates, bringing dogmatic aspects into the spotlight. Therefore I paid attention primarily to the Hungarian polemical texts dealing with the theology of image, especially to Péter Pázmány’s texts and those of his contemporaries.⁵ I had to face a quite extended corpus, but I only focused on the specific arguments relevant to my topic. Those were the semiotic arguments using the concept of “*imaginatio*” and

⁵ Mainly with the *Kalauz* that contains a whole chapter on images, veneration of images, theology of images (Book XV, Chapter I): PÁZMÁNY Péter, *Hodoegus: Igazságra vezérő Kalauz* (Pozsony, 1637), HARGITTAY Emil tanulmányával, Bibliotheca Hungarica Antiqua XXXII (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó – MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézete, 2000). At the same time some other polemic texts were also useful in my research, from the following authors: Monoszlóy András, Illyefalvi István, Szegedi Dániel, Kecskeméti C. János.

the arguments dealing with the enormous impact of images on human imagination. The theory of soul seems to be an obvious basis for the theory and theology of images.

Prior studies have noted the importance of the optical theories behind the visually determined Catholic institutional rituals and religious practices.⁶ Accordingly, optical theories formed a significant context for my research focusing on the connections between the theology of images and the theory of soul. Their religious usage could be traced in the devotional literature discussing the sins of the eyes and the purifying effects of seeing. (E.g. the sermon of Zsigmond Csúzy, a Pauline Father, written for the 2nd Sunday of Lent, printed in his book entitled *Lelki éhséget enyhétő evangeliomi kölcsönözött három kenyér*, Pozsony, 1724.)

The next context and therefore the next research task was the rhetorical concept of imagination and the rhetorical context around it. I reviewed the rhetorics and homiletics used in early modern Hungary in order to trace the influence and imprints of the philosophical concept of *phantasia-imaginatio*.⁷ This area of research can make a major contribution to the history of imagination before the Romanticism, because unlike the majority of previous studies that deal with poetics, it focuses on the relationship between rhetoric and imagination. The reason for the previous focus is simple enough: the majority of rhetorical textbooks do not contain anything new compared to the antique rhetoric and the tradition based on it that links imagination to the concept of *enargeia*

⁶ Sven DUPRÉ, „The Return of the Species: Jesuit Responses to Kepler’s New Theory of Images”, in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse DE BOER and Christine GÖTTLER, (Leiden, 2012) 473–487.; Ruth S. NOYES, “‘Sacro orrore and the Species’: Counter-Reformation Visual Theory and Eucharistic Spectacular Ornament”, in *Cultures du spectacle baroque: Cadres, expériences et représentations des solennités religieuses entre Italie et anciens Pays-Bas*, ed. by Ralph DEKONINCK et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018) 235–248.

⁷ Ludovicus CARBO, *Divinus orator* (Venice: 1595). Nicolaus CAUSSIN, *De eloquentia sacra et humana libri XVI* (La Fleche: 1617). Emanuele TESAURO, *I cannocchiale aristotelico, o sia Idea dell’Arguta et Ingeniosa Elocutione che serve à tutta l’Arte Oratoria, Lapidaria, et Simbolica esaminata co’ Principij del divino Aristotile* (Torino: 1654). Jacob MASEN, *Palaestra oratoria* (Köln: 1659). Francisco POMEY, *Candidatus Rhetoricae* (Lugduni: 1661). Cyprianus SOARIUS, *De arte rhetorica libris tres. Ex Aristotele, Cicerone & Quintiliano deprompti. Adiectis tabulis Ludovici Carbonis* (Venetiis: 1691). *Tractatus Chriae* (Tyrnaviae: 1699) – RMK II. 1977. *Manuductio Ad Eloquentiam Seu Via Facilis Ad Assequendam Juxta Praecepta Soarij, Artem Rhetoricam Ex Classicis Authoribus Desumpta Et Ad Usum Eorum, Qui Oratoriam hanc Scientiam, seu profanam; seu sacram profitentur accommodata. Nuper Utini in Lucem Edita. Nunc vero Recusa*, Tyrnaviae: 1709. – RMK II. 2377.

and to the theory of passions.⁸ At the same time it is also important to note even the tiniest difference with the tradition, eg. traced in the terminology as the absence of the term *phantasia-imaginatio*. Post-Tridentine Catholic rhetorical theory seems to discontinue the use of the discredited term *phantasia-imaginatio*.⁹ In the meanwhile a new rhetorical discourse appears: this new tradition is based on the work of the Italian Emanuele Tesauro (*Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico*, 1664), and defines *imaginatio* as a rhetorical figure of speech, what gives rise to the application of the poetic imagination in oratory. Two textbooks printed in Trnava (*Tractatus Chriae* – 1694, 1699, *Manuductio ad Eloquentiam* – 1709) also make use of this new tradition.

This tradition, based on Tesauro, gives a brand new role to the concept of imagination: it defines imagination as a figure of speech that needs a functioning similar to the obsession of the poet, while at the same time narrowing it into a controlled speech structure. Therefore this figure of speech simultaneously needs and condemns the almost pathological imagination which resembles that of obsessed people. The orator's activity and creative, even subversive imagination were never so closely linked to each other in the rhetorical textbooks before, which shows the strengthening of the role of creative imagination.

My research focuses on some ignored relationships between the philosophical, theological and rhetorical basis of the Catholic baroque prose, and my hope is to lay down new foundations for the description of the literary-anthropological transformation that occurred at the turn of the 18th century. My aim is twofold: to put the early modern devotional literature into a new literary context and to provide the Post-Romantic literary episteme with new connections.

⁸ Ruth WEBB, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Heinrich F. PLETT, *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age: The Aesthetics of Evidence*, International Studies in the History of Rhetoric 4, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012)

⁹ In the 17th century numerous prints were published on the problematic (even demonic) effects of imagination leading to corporal and mental illnesses. Stuart CLARK, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

My major publications on this topic:

TASI Réka, „Barokk vízió – skolasztikus imagináció: Egy eszme- és retorikatörténeti kutatás első állomása”, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 122(2018) 2. sz. 145–168.

TASI Réka, „»...sed non Deus ipsa«: Latin és magyar versikék a képtiszteletet tematizáló kora újkori forrásainkban”, *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis: Sectio Philosophica*, 23(2019) 1. sz. 291–301.

TASI Réka, „Képvita és phantasia: A phantasia-imaginatio szerepe a katolikus képtisztelettel kapcsolatos kora újkori argumentációban”, *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, 20(2019) 2. sz. 3–25.

Voluntary Societies and Social Transformation in Early- and Mid-19th century Hungary

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Keywords: civil society, voluntary societies, self-organisation, social history, Reform (Pre-March) Period

The concept of civil society is a typically interdisciplinary field of study at the intersection of various social scientific disciplines. Intellectual historians have specialised on the ca. 250 year long evolution of the term, first coined by the Scottish Adam Ferguson; political sociologists have interpreted, among other aspects, the formation of the relationship between the civil sphere and the state in modern societies; while social historians have focused on the past tendencies of those civil activities trying to influence public affairs, analysing their variations, structure, social composition, efficiency and importance. My contribution reflects on the latter approach, focusing on the circumstances under which the earliest voluntary societies were set up in the pre-March age, i.e. in the period of waning influence by the principles of estate society. It includes some of the principal points of my PhD dissertation but it also raises questions that have only partially been answered so far.¹

The early stage in the history of voluntary societies in Hungary

Still dominant in the study of the field, political historical approach has linked the rise of voluntary societies in Hungary to Count István Széchenyi who initiated a new thematisation of political life from the mid-1820s onwards, as well as to his founding of a debating society called National Casino (first in Pozsony [now: Bratislava, in Slovakia] during the parliamentary sessions 1825–7, then moving to Pest [later united with other towns resulting in the birth of Budapest]). However, it rather was the Pest Charitable Women's Society (and, to some extent, its counterpart on the opposite site of the Danube, in Buda) set up in 1817 that can be considered the first modern voluntary society in the

¹ Since this paper is largely based on my PhD dissertation (defended in 2003) that was published in 2005 with the same title I do not use footnotes when I refer to this material. Yet, it also reflects some of my research experience collected since its submission and it includes certain results of my reconsideration of some crucial aspects of the topic.

Kingdom of Hungary if one uses the usual definitions developed in the international research into voluntary organisations. The difference is more than just the decade between the two dates: PCWS was not only earlier but it had even more in common with the Western European samples of voluntary activities. They were not only 'modern' institutions in terms of form and the principles of organisation – (1) membership reflected voluntary decisions of joining by individuals and (2) did not depend on their legal status; (3) decisions were made following the majority of the members, and (4) voluntary societies were highly autonomous within the framework of the state and membership. (These criteria were regarded as milestones from the legal historical perspective in the analysis of voluntary societies. It was this why liberal approach, as desperate opponent to the social model of the estate societies where legal status played a definitive part, saw these organisations as a 'laboratory' of modern constitution-ism.)

In addition, the founding of PCWS was also a clear symptom of the emergence of modern bourgeois ethos and values in Hungary since it created a new, bourgeois, thematisation of poor relief. A new experience in rapidly growing Pest, modern urban poverty was dealt by PCWS using a variety of new institutional devices which had the concept of 'work' in their core: they supported only those destitute who wanted work. PCWS paid wages after 'useful' working activities carried out in their institutions: a 'voluntary workhouse' (*freiwilliges Arbeitshaus*) where simple manual labour could be executed, as well as a 'shop of female manual articles' for those women who produced embroidery and other textile wares, to be sold in a fashionable draperies shop as commission business. Besides, the society offered – using a current term – 'restarting loan' for bankrupt artisans, founded a school for poor children to train crafts and established a 'hospital' for blind people (because they assumed relationship between their medical state and ability to work). Even after the setting up of the society, they established new institutions, eg. a 'house of convalescers' to nurse people just after a serious illness and still unable to work.

Related to modernity and the moral content of middle class perception of work, social issues remained in the core for the earliest Pest voluntary societies even in the organisations arranged independently of PCWS. It is reflected in the ideology of the early infant school societies which tried to transmit the norms of the 'right' Christian morality to the children of the labouring poor as well as in the objectives and organisation of the first Pest savings bank. In its earliest years, the latter functioned more as a charitable society rather than a bank as it tried to advance to teach people to save their scanty wages earned with physical work, i.e. to get accustomed to saving.

Voluntary Societies and Social Transformation in Hungary

It was not only charitable work and moral improvement that voluntary societies used as an objective in pre-March Pest, though. Debating societies – National Casino and Merchants' Casino, the latter presumably set up as a rival to the former one – attempted to offer space for fashionable social life and an educated manner of pastime. Established already in early 18th century, the Burghers' Shooting Society originally arranged competitions for target-practice but these events later gradually became opportunities for socialising. Although other voluntary societies also supported the creation of a cultural life of high standard in Pest – e.g. National Casino rented a box in the Hungarian National Theatre and arranged concerts for string quartets while the Society for the Encouragement of Industry (*Gewerbeverein*) published books for skilled workers –, some of them were directly of cultural profile. The public concert life, of free admission with tickets at affordable price, were initialised by a Musical Society (*Musikverein*) whereas the first public, annual expositions of arts (mostly paintings) were arranged by an Arts Society (*Kunstverein*) and these attracted a number of highly esteemed painters from abroad, fostering further commissions. In addition, this period was the organisation of the first professional associations (those of doctors and surgeons), and scientific research and popular interests in it also generated the setting up a voluntary society. Other societies had a more indirect relationship with Pest since they used the town essentially as the national centre of their activities as in the case of the Agricultural Society and the Society for the Encouragement of Industry. Further organisations were less clearly examples of voluntary societies: they reflected utilitarian and liberal principles but did not entirely work in the form of voluntary societies. Some examples for these are the Learned Society (the would-be Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a *Gelerntengesellschaft*), the various types of benefit societies (*Krankenvereine*, *Leichenvereine*), and the free mason lodges, founded as early as in the 1780s.

The pursuit of Western cultural-social patterns and the 'slope' of urbanisation

What has been so far presented is not much more than a taxative overview of pre-March Pest voluntary societies. But what is the point in this historical development and what conclusions can be drawn for the purpose of a general assessment? In which context can this wide variation of voluntary organisations be evaluated and interpreted?

One possible point of reference is if we regard the 'movement' of voluntary societies as a pattern how society organises itself and put it into an international (intercultural) network of imitation and adaptation in order to examine the ways and dynamics of its expansion. From this point of view it can be argued that the setting up of a voluntary society was not a difficult project. On the basis

of printed documents, easily accessible through the public sphere, the potentially objectives of voluntary activism, and the related types of voluntary societies, were easily learnt. The various types of documents (such as founding declaration, rules, annual reports with membership lists, advertisements of events in newspapers) did indeed reach the potential receptive middle-class element of the Pest urban community. It was not only Count Széchenyi who brought his personal impressions about foreign (mostly British) voluntary organisations from his travels abroad but Hungarian intellectuals and educated burghers frequenting Vienna also mediated their experience to Pest. (Such as those Pest art dealers who had been members in the Vienna *Kunstverein* and became later founders of its Pest counterpart whilst Professor Ludwig Schedius of the Pest University who had good connections in Vienna promoted the establishment of PCWS as its clerk with claiming printed forms by correspondence with the administration of the Vienna Charitable Women's Society.) Another way of getting information can be detected in the book written by András Fáy who ordered, purchased and analysed the rules of a number of foreign, European savings banks in order to popularise this type of organisation and to draw conclusions concerning the right construction when the Pest institution is established.²

Since voluntary organisations pursued international patterns, the Pest associations can be compared to their original counterparts. How far were they similar to, or different from, them? What were their specific features in their workings and how diverse was the network of voluntary societies in Pest? On the basis of international, comparative studies, it can be argued that a great degree of similarity can be found in the case of the most important types of organisations. Differences can be detected mostly in the intensity of their presence (in the number of voluntary societies as well as in the proportion of members and of those affected by their activities to the whole urban population) and in the ways how the everyday practice of Pest voluntary societies adjusted to the peculiar conditions determined by that time social norms. One typical example for this is the gender relation: while women were allowed to join in a number of debating societies in the German Empire (*allgemeine gesellige*

² Tóth Árpád, „»Nachäffen« oder zivilisatorisches Aufschließen? Die Pester Vereine des Vormärz und ihr Verhältnis zu westlichen Vorbildern”, in *Vorbild Europa und die Modernisierung in Mittel- und Südosteuropa*, hrsg. Flavius SOLOMON und Krista ZACH und Juliane BRANDT, (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2009) 49–70. Its Hungarian version (with minor changes): Tóth Árpád, „»Majmolás« vagy civilizációs felzárkózás? A reformkori pesti egyesületek mint a nyugati minták követői”, *Történelmi Szemle*, 59(2017) 3. sz. 399–416.

Voluntary Societies and Social Transformation in Hungary

Vereine),³ the rules of the Pest National Casino prevented this. As for the density of the network of voluntary societies, it looks reasonable to compare Pest, reaching the threshold of being a 'city' with more than 100.000 inhabitants by mid-19th century, to Vienna. This comparison reveals that most types of voluntary societies operating in the imperial capital had their counterpart in Pest usually with not more than 5-15 years of delay. This time order of the years of foundation normally corresponds to a specific 'slope' of cultural development and urbanisation. In this sense, the relation of Pest to its pattern urban societies can be in turn transformed to its relation to the major provincial towns in Hungary as some of the Pest voluntary societies (casinos, infant school societies and savings bank societies) soon had their followers in the provinces.

As a relevant means of analysis, it would be important to study the various types of the urban network in the Kingdom of Hungary as to the extent to which these were acceptable to adapt the voluntary societies – whether the old chartered towns with a traditional burgher culture (of a predominantly German-speaking townsfolk and located mostly at the Western border, or the Northern region of mining towns and county Zips) or the newly emerging agrarian market towns (with a mostly Hungarian population) did better in this adaptation? Although a general answer to this question cannot be given yet, a recent study on the dynamics of the establishment of debating societies has proven that the location of this type of voluntary society was more frequently a free chartered town than one of those towns which are seen 'towns' in a functionalist approach (ie. they served as market centres and carried out various central functions in their vicinities).⁴

However, there are clear differences between the Pest societies and their Western European antecedents. While in Vienna there were rivalling voluntary societies set up for the same functions, only one organisation was usually established in the future Hungarian capital city. The social background was also slightly different: the Charitable Women's Society in Vienna was aristocratic in the literary meaning of the word since this *Damenverein* was marked with the greatest noble families linked to the imperial court, whereas its Pest counterpart was operated on the basis of a fairly wide social 'coalition' which ranged from the wife of the Palatine (a member of the Habsburg dynasty) and titled

³ Michael SOBANIA, „Vereinsleben. Regeln und Formen bürgerlicher Assoziationen im 19. Jahrhundert“, in *Bürgerkultur und 19. Jahrhundert. Bildung, Kunst und Lebenswelt*, Hrsg. Dieter Hein und Andreas Schulz, (München: Beck, 1996) 170–190.

⁴ EÖRY Gabriella, *Kaszinók Magyarországon, különös tekintettel a két világháború közötti budapesti kaszinókra*, PhD thesis, (Budapest: ELTE BTK Gazdaság- és Társadalomtörténeti Doktori Iskola, 2016) esp. 45–49.

nobles families with lands around the town to respectable burgher wives and widows.

Support and background: 'social composition' or the social mechanisms of recruitment?

This example takes us further to the issue of social background. In this respect, it is important to stress that the approach of analysis has shifted during the history of study. It was not only contemporaries but for a long time also the historical assessments that found it satisfactory to use the texts of the rules of the voluntary societies to discover to what extent these organisations promoted the trespassing of social boundaries. Or, put it in another way: how far were these heterogeneous or homogenous in a social sense, the latter meaning a version of exclusive elitism? The rules of the Pest voluntary societies had in many cases, but by no means always, a paragraph with the highly liberal preconditions of admission that every adult (independent) male can join independently of his origin, of his status in the society of estates and of his belonging to religious denomination. This way of definition worked as a demonstration of its spirit as a clear contrast to the segregated view of estate society. Thus, early literature on voluntary societies was easily satisfied with the general evaluation that they were social institutions where the trespassing of social borders could be put into reality.

Still, it was only in the 1980s when historical research on voluntary societies started to check how far this general picture fits reality. Characteristically for the social scientific way of thinking of the period, empirical study tried to uncover how far the social structure of the individual voluntary societies (either their leaders or their entire members) represented inner proportions of the total population of the town. To carry out such an analysis, they needed two things: a list of the whole membership (if this was available but in case of missing source at least that of the leaders) containing all the 'relevant' data as well as a general picture of the social structure of the townsfolk. A typical output of research applying this approach is a crosstable with a detailed breaking down of social groups represented in different voluntary societies or in several years. A highly spectacular example for this is the greatest product of the German comparative historical study of quantitative technics which depicted the 'social composition' of the 19th century voluntary societies.⁵ As a part of the so called Frankfurt project focusing on the social transformation of burgher

⁵ Dieter HEIN, „Die soziale Konstituierungsfaktoren“, in *Stadt und Bürgertum im Übergang von traditionellen zur modernen Gesellschaft*, Hrsg. Lothar GALL, Stadt und Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert, Band 4., (München: Beck, 1993) 151–182.

communities from estate societies to modernity, Dieter Hein collected data for members of 20 debating societies in 12 towns and ordered them into 23 social categories in order to show the differences in the structural proportions of the supporting social groups active in various voluntary societies and in different types of towns (residence seats, university towns, merchant towns, etc.). This (statistical) representation has become a standard method in the international study of the field. In Hungary, Vera Bácskai urged this sort of analysis of membership lists in her paper on the important tasks for urban historians⁶, and I also tried to apply this research method in my monograph on Pest voluntary societies, principally in the case of PCWS and National Casino which had better sources for such an examination. In this respect, one can conclude that pre-March Pest voluntary societies were typically of 'coalition' nature, yet the individual organisations differed highly from one another in terms of the rates of the social groups which served as their basis. In the case of National Casino, there was a strong dominance of the titled aristocracy at the outset while in the following years the great majority of the newly admitted members belonged to the gentry (nobility without aristocratic titles). In addition, from the late 1830s even those earning their living in a 'burgher way' (either commoners or gentry) had a growing percentage within the whole membership. In the same years, the Burghers' Shooting Society started to lose its original social profile with the increasing number of joining gentlemen and professionals and even Merchants' Casino had a heterogenous membership with a significant number of landed aristocrats, lawyers, doctors and artisans beside the Christian and Jewish merchants.

It is essential to emphasise that such an analytical tool is based on various presuppositions on society. We have to take into account that it is not self-evident that it is just social status (*Stand*, position within the estate society) and/or 'occupation' which are the most significant elements that define the social identity of the members of a voluntary society in terms of his motivation to join. It is also a question that the board or committee which made the decision on the admission used just this information while deliberating. In fact, there were a few other elements which could play equally important part in the formation of the membership of a voluntary society in the highly complex urban communities. Apart from wealth and religious denomination as obvious elements, specific points of demographical situation (such as the participation of lonely widows or spinsters who had no family task in womens' societies), the level of

⁶ BÁCSKAI Vera, „Az 1848 előtt városi társadalom kutatásának főbb forrásairól”, in *Kutatás – módszer. Konferencia, Gyula, 1987. augusztus 26–28*, szerk. ERDMANN Gyula, *Rendi társadalom – polgári társadalom* 2, (Gyula: Békés Megyei Levéltár, 1989) 10–20., 19.

integration into the community (with a higher rate of the newcomer immigrants among the active members in order to hereby enhance their reputation) and individual psychological properties related to social behaviour also played a great part. Even though the latter aspect usually cannot be analysed due to the lack of suitable sources, we have to take into consideration, that two major reasons may cause that historical study has such a bias while making methodological decisions on research strategies. First, there is a historiographical tradition which tends to use the macrostructural language of estate and class for the period before and after the bourgeois revolutions, respectively. Second, it is just these data that membership lists usually give the historians: titles of aristocrats (in addition the word 'von' in the German versions of the sources) and occupations/offices. Therefore, it is both the internal logic of the source and research tradition encourages the historians to examine the social composition of a voluntary society in the theoretical framework and terminology of estate and occupation.

It is even more important that the analysis of 'social composition' as a research strategy shows a specific picture of the way of recruitment. We tend to view the joining a voluntary society as a sort of 'market' behaviour where a great number of people make individual decisions on admission – or, applying the language of this metaphor, on the acquiring of membership as a commodity –, and the probability of this decision is influenced by his/her individual features (which are advantageous or disadvantageous in this context). Still, it is highly questionable that such an interpretation of the situation of joining does match the reality.

I mention two examples to demonstrate that the recruitment into a Pest voluntary society was, at least partly, based on a pre-existent social network, therefore it is misleading to over-accentuate the individual intentions to join. In the case of the National Casino, it has been proven that the personal network around Count Széchenyi explains a significant proportion of the growth in the membership. Based on the assumption that the set of people mentioned in Széchenyi's egodocuments (his diary and correspondence) represents those who played a significant role in his life, it is striking that his various kind of acquaintances mentioned in these two great source publications amount to more than 40 percent (406 out of 1008) of the members of the National Casino admitted in the first two decades (1827–1848). In addition, many of these people joined *after* the date of their name turned up in Széchenyi's files. Moreover, it is clear that this is not coincidence since Széchenyi himself consciously made attempts to broaden its membership by selection of candidates. As he puts it in a letter written in 1835: 'I wish that certain tables were made with notes of all

people capable of being a member of Casino [*Casinofähig*]. This work should already be started.⁷

A completely different social network can be identified behind the establishment of Pest Charitable Women's Society: a web of related Lutheran families who migrated to Pest from Győr, a middling town close to the Western border, after the decree of religious toleration (1781) which made it possible for the Protestant denominations to settle down in all chartered towns.⁸ Here, two men stood in the core of the network: the merchant Sámuel Raits and a key figure in contemporary cultural history, Ludwig Schedius, the first Lutheran Professor of the University of Pest. Born into a well-to-do Hungarian family of butchers and oxen-dealers in Győr, Raits (1765–1838) set up his haberdashery shop in the central street in Pest, and was given burgher right as the second immigrant from Győr, in 1795. He soon became the churchwarden (*Inspector*) of the Hungarian-speaking part in Lutheran congregation as well as a member of the outer council of the town. A later the churchwarden (*Inspector*) of the whole congregation, Schedius (1768–1847) was already an inhabitant in Pest since his nomination to the university in 1792 and obtained his legal status as a burgher in 1808. The acquaintance between the two men probably reached back to their early or adolescent years – their fathers were members in the board of the Győr Lutheran congregation in the 1780s and both families sent several sons to the same Lutheran secondary school in Pozsony in the same years. Their acquaintance looks even more likely after 1790 when the father of Schedius (a respectable lawyer in Győr) was requested as 'best friend' on the part of the bridegroom, Pál Raits (a Lutheran pastor and brother of Sámuel), in his wedding in Győr. This link sheds a special light on the setting up of PCWS in 1817 after a grave famine when the administrative part of the organisation were carried out by Schedius as the clerk of the society while Raits's wife, Katharina Birnstingel, was one of the 12 members of the board. In addition, two of Raits's sisters-in-law were activists in the first decade. Further family links can also be identified around the two people within the membership of PCWS – eg. the Julianna Gomöry née Bogsch was both an activist (later a member in the board) and

⁷ SZÉCHENYI István, *Napló*, vál., szerk., jegyz.: OLTVÁNYI Ambrus, (Budapest: Gondolat, 1978); Széchenyi pesti tervei, szerk. BÁCSKAI Vera és NAGY Lajos, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1985) 64. See: TÓTH Árpád, „A pesti Nemzeti Casino reformkori társadalmi összetételének tanulságai”, in *Historia mezején. A 19. század emlékezete. Tanulmányok Pajkossy Gábor tiszteletére*, szerk. DEÁK Ágnes és VÖLGYESI Orsolya, (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2011) 45–56., 56.

⁸ Further family relations in membership of PCWS: TÓTH Árpád, „Az evangélikus polgárság részvétele a korai magyarországi egyesületekben: közéleti ambíciók, társadalmi hálózatok, csoportstratégiák”, *Korall*, 19(2018) 74. sz. 5–27., 22–24.; TÓTH Árpád, *Önszervező polgárok. A pesti egyesületek társadalomtörténete a reformkorban*, (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2005) 88–89.

bound to this family network since her husband, Károly Gömöry, was also born in Győr into a urban resident, professional gentry family and was a relative to Schedius after 1804. Further examples could be listed around PCWS.

These examples show us that previous friendships and family relations could and did exist between future members in the Pest voluntary societies and they could play a part in the process of their recruitment of membership. Indeed, the founding of PCWS can be perceived as a linkage between various social networks within the urban upper and middling groups in a crucial moment of social crisis, mediated by certain 'community brokers'.⁹ It is important to stress that one should not claim that individuals from outside any 'circles' did not join and could not play a significant role in voluntary societies and the rapid expansion of this sort of social organisation. Yet, the role of social networks in this process seems understudied and may be underestimated. Such examples look to support the argument that the continuous elements in social organising might be undervalued in the process of transformation into modernity. While it is undoubtedly reasonable to emphasise the radical novelty of voluntary societies from the points of view of legal history and sociology of organisations, they might have resulted in less evident break in the everyday social practices and networks of community. Indeed, in the period of the adaptation of this new institutional form it was just existing social relations that created its loose framework. Therefore, the particular social culture of voluntary societies was partly formed under the influence of social networks already created in the context of estate societies. This transitory and mixed nature of early modern voluntary activism in Hungary seems a crucial factor. It may contribute to a better understanding why the authority of the old social élite still prevailed in most voluntary societies (as shown in the election of aristocrats or respectable gentlemen to leading positions) whereas in a number of aspects they clearly created modern, 'democratic' social practices (such as in the growing tendency that the printed membership lists used alphabetic order of family names which demonstrated their affinity for the equality of rights in terms of their vision of social structure).

⁹ For the mentioned linkage see: Shani D'CRUZE, „The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Interdependence, Social Relations and the Community Broker”, in *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800*, ed. Jonathan BARRY and Christopher BROOKS, (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1994) 181–207.

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A Distinctive Piece of Work.

Thoughts on Pierre Bourdieu's Distinction

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Pierre Bourdieu is hard to read. It is an unquestionable fact, for his sentences and arguments are just like the alchemist's ring with the snake biting his own tail. In my article I would like to share some of my thoughts on his book *Distinction A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. The book is built up by layers and within the limits of the length of my paper I can only examine some of its aspects. On the one hand I would like to discuss some general thoughts about the work, talking about its limits as being a very specific sociological analysis. On the other hand I am going to take a closer look to a few key terms and concepts of the book, such as the term *habitus*, capital, culture and class. Finally, I will try to place him into the broader framework of anthropological theory about class.

In the preface of the book *Distinction* Pierre Bourdieu himself states the followings: „I have every reason to fear that this book will strike the reader as ‘very French’”.¹ He probably understands or wants us to understand this statement as a form of ‘apology’ for the nature of his argument, for the scholarly style of his writing. I think he has every right to say that his book is ‘very French’, although I would say that his work is ‘very European’. Not in terms of style but in terms of relevance. From my point of view Europe and the United States has a very different system of class. As suggested by Samuelson,² about 80% of Americans consider themselves ‘middle class’, whereas Europeans usually have a deeply rooted class-consciousness. This class-consciousness is one of the key points for Bourdieu to form his argument and theory about class *habitus*. He shows that French express their class position through taste, shopping, education, and leisure activities. I believe these observations are slightly less applicable to the American ‘middle class’.

There are two other specific examples of the European nature of Bourdieu's argument. He develops a theory about the reconstruction of social

¹ Pierre BOURDIEU, *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1984) xi.

² Robert J. SAMUELSON, *The Good Life and Its Discontents: The American Dream in the Age of Entitlement*, (New York: Times Books, 1995)

Thoughts on Pierre Bourdieu's Distinction

condition. He argues that being the member of a given class or class fraction in most cases determines the future status and position of the individual and because of this the class as a whole reproduces itself from time to time.³ Historically it fits exactly to Europe, but not to the United States or even to Canada. The other theory is about the socially ranked geographical space. He points out that the average distance from goods and facilities has a high influence of one's cultural capital and the possible life trajectories.⁴ In order to understand his point we have to consider the fact, that the European inner-country migration rate is one third of that of the United States.⁵ In other words, Europeans don't like to move, not even if it means that they would have higher chance to increase their cultural capital in somewhere else than their hometown. I believe that differs from the trend of the United States.

Secondly, I would like to argue that Bourdieu's work has certain limitations because of the exclusive use of statistical data. The book is based on a survey carried out in 1963 and 1967–8, with a total of 1217 subjects. As we look at the questionnaire provided in the appendix⁶ we can see that people were asked to specify their preferences in a huge range of things. They specified their personal tastes in art, home decor, music, leisure activities, food, literature and so on. They also give answers to questions regarding their knowledge about these topics. For somebody who had ever undertaken an actual fieldwork in a community even the structure of the questionnaire makes the reliability of the data questionable. The number of possible answers is limited, as it is in every closed questionnaire, the questions suggest a certain answer and don't leave any room for any individual answer to arise. To base a whole book on statistics and analysis of questionnaires? I believe it makes one's argument slightly weaker as opposed to those works based on more empirical data.

After looking at two general problems of Pierre Bourdieu's work, I would like to turn to the provided data and discuss the key terms he uses throughout the book. First of all I have to point out that Bourdieu tends to assume that his readers are already familiar with his terms, developed mostly in his earlier works, „*Outline of a Theory of Practice*“ and „*Logic of Practice*“.⁷

What is the status for Weber and the production for Marx is the *habitus* for

³ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 121–123.

⁴ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 124–125.

⁵ Current Population Survey. *US Census Bureau*, Online: www.census.gov / Surveys – February 2020.; Geographic mobility. *Eurobarometer*. Online: ec.europa.eu/Eurostat / Statistics. – February 2020.

⁶ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 513–518.

⁷ Pierre BOURDIEU, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard NICE, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)

Bourdieu. It is the „objective relationship between two objectivities, [that] enables an intelligible and necessary relation to be established between practices and a situation, the meaning of which is produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition”.⁸ The habitus is „not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes”.⁹ The habitus is the essential organizing ‘power’ of the class system, the deepest underlying structure of the classification. With this term and more with the use of it Bourdieu steps toward Levi-Strauss, toward the structuralism. Of course I only mean that Bourdieu tries to find the Durkheimian ‘social fact’ in the term habitus, he takes his additional data ‘down’ to the level of habitus. The term’s roots are probably go back to Mauss or even beyond him to the original Latin word habitus, being the past participle of *habere* that means *to have*. I believe Bourdieu took the word as it is in its original meaning and understands it as everything an individual has, all the learned skills, habits, style, taste, etc. Because his understanding of habitus is that it mainly comes to the person as something granted by his/her socialization, it is obvious that there must be some kind of general class habitus that characterizes a certain class or class fraction of a society. And if it is so, then it could be the „structuring structure” and also the „structured structure” as it is stated above. For Bourdieu habitus combines the role of structure of society and agency of the individual and puts up a frame for the individual to decide what and how to do. Habitus is intuitive, unstated, invisible. It is a sixth sense for the individual through which one looks at the social relations of everyday life.

The second term to examine as being a key term for Bourdieu is the capital. Originally it has roots in the Marxist sociology, but Bourdieu reformulates the conception by looking at cultural, economic, social and educational capital within a more unified framework.

First of all we have to find out what exactly Bourdieu thinks the different forms of capital are. The concept of ‘cultural capital’ is one of his most influential notions. It is a particular form of capital, convertible to economic capital. It can be measured by statistical methods, by corresponding opinions.¹⁰ The cultural capital is partly guaranteed by birth, partly acquired through experiences. The educational capital is measured by qualifications, although he is aware that

⁸ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 101.

⁹ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 170.

¹⁰ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 13.

Thoughts on Pierre Bourdieu's Distinction

different schools could provide different levels of educational capital with the same qualification. Educational and cultural capitals are strongly connected. As Bourdieu argues „ the possessors of strong educational capital who have also inherited strong cultural capital [...] enjoy a dual title to cultural nobility”.¹¹ Unfortunately he only mentions social capital once in the *Distinction*¹² and it is not described there, but it is defined in his other work *The Forms of Capital*. The social capital is about conflicts and power relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance his/her interest. It is a resource in the social struggles that are carried out in different social fields.¹³ This lack of information is not true when we arrive to the notion of economic capital. His economic capital, or as he uses it, is in practice close to the everyday category of 'wealth'.

After looking at the notions we have to try to understand the connection between capitals and that how the capitals lead us to form a theory of class. It seems that cultural and educational capital are connected the same way as economical and social capitals are. There are two ways of converting one form of the capital to another. Rich people try to secure that their children attend good colleges. This is a way of converting money (economic capital) into knowledge (cultural and educational capital). The other way is when somebody converts his/her educational capital, his/her knowledge, into economic capital, in terms of selling his/her skills.

Bourdieu doesn't use the concept of capital in a metaphoric sense; they are distinguished from value or wealth, although one could understand them as such. They all are the base on which the classification of a society can be built up. His account of capital differs mostly that version of Marxism, it rejects the very notion of economic determinism. He never states that economic goods are the main or even the underlying motivations of action or are the basis of the overall system. Neither does he argue for the autonomy of cultural goods, such as the Weberian prestige and status. Bourdieu brings it all together and arrives to a new understanding of class system.

Although social classes are very important divisions of complex societies, and although they are very powerful concepts for analyzing a society, they are hardly definable, and the usage of the notion social class is merely unified. Before Bourdieu there were two scholars to influence the thinking about class: Marx and Weber. Marx's developmental model from a simplified class structure

¹¹ BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 81.

¹² BOURDIEU, *Distinction*, op.cit. 114.

¹³ Pierre BOURDIEU, "The Forms of Capital", in *Handbook of Theory and Research in the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. RICHARDSON, (New York: Greenwood, 1986) 241–258.

toward a universal mode of social organization¹⁴ was obviously 'out of question' for Bourdieu, although I would argue later that he indeed was Marxist in a sense. The other big contributor of class theory, Max Weber, accepted many of Marx's ideas about the global modernization process based on the progress in technology, but pointed out that different societies are differently placed into the emerging new world system and that beside the economy or technological changes there are equally important ideological and cultural dimensions of class relations.¹⁵ Classes for Bourdieu are defined by different types and levels of capital. He points out how the working class lacks capital in any sense and therefore how the economic necessity becomes ingrained as taste for things that are non-formalized, natural, unhealthy, functional. The bourgeoisie owns high volume of capital, economical and sometimes cultural too, therefore their taste is more formalized, less functional. He also talks about the new petite bourgeoisie in terms of capital, this class usually have a high volume of cultural capital and therefore the taste of the bourgeoisie, but usually not the economic capital or the habitus to fulfill the requirements to achieve the life-style of the bourgeoisie. I found that very interesting how Bourdieu asserts a structural relation between economic status and life-style, almost being Marxist in this particular matter. His theory of class is also in a sense Weberian, for his classes appear as status groups.

Finally I would like to discuss some aspects of Bourdieu's impact, to try to place him into the broader perspective of social anthropological theory. Of course he had an exceptionally broad and yet relatively uneven impact in social sciences. His influence is extremely strong over the sociology/anthropology of education but the impact of this particular book, *Distinction A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, is rather limited. It created, or was partly responsible for creating a new, contemporary sub-field of sociology of culture, it is highly cited and discussed among those working on cultural studies. I found it surprising though, that it didn't lead to systematic cross-cultural or cross-national studies/research on the organization of tastes in different settings. Bourdieu himself carried out a research on attendance at museums in six European countries, about which study I, unfortunately, have little knowledge.

Another strong impact of Bourdieu's works is that from those a new way of understanding emerged in terms of actors, institutions and cultural models.

¹⁴ Karl MARX, *Das Kapital, a critique of political economy*, (Chicago: H. Regnery, 1959)

¹⁵ Max WEBER, *The theory of social and economic organization*, (New York and London: Free Press and Collier Macmillan, 1947)

Thoughts on Pierre Bourdieu's Distinction

His work influenced, for example, Anthony Giddens' structuration theory too.¹⁶

In order to understand Bourdieu's thinking more deeply, we have to take a look at the intellectual arena that existed in the time of his writings. He is approximately in the same generation with Foucault and Derrida, he is a scholar, writing in the era of 'poststructuralism'. In spite of this, more or less he is out of this discussion, he isn't a member of this intellectual generation. One could ask why did it happen so, but, as I believe, it is mainly because of the nature of the 'poststructuralist' approach that leaves little space for talking about the social as Bourdieu does. His background comes from the intellectual tradition of Levi-Strauss, Durkheim, Marx and Weber.

In my paper I discussed some aspects of Bourdieu's work, *Distinction A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. I examined three of his key terms, habitus, capital and class, and tried to find the intellectual roots and ties of the usage of them. Finally I pointed out some of the broader perspectives that could be researched in order to gain a deeper understanding of Pierre Bourdieu's writings.

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¹⁶ Anthony GIDDENS, *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984)

The Feud in the Middle Ages

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One of the greatest differences of the modern world with regard to all previous periods is the profound transformation of the rules that determine the use of lawful violence. In former historical periods this right was primarily vested in the individual, or the kin and servants, and only secondarily in a community that was independent from the individual. There could exist several such communities. The village or the town was involved in violence at least to the same extent as the state. Moreover, the violence exerted by a village or town was not licensed by the state, with the latter ceding, as we would say it today, part of its authority to a lower-ranking organisation, but functioned alongside state violence, being the independent activity of communities protecting their own members. It is this individually-based violence that helps to explain the working of countries and empires for thousands of years without an effective police and abundantly staffed judicial courts. Although most sources related to the use of individual violence have come down to us from the late Middle Ages, this by no means implies that we are facing a purely medieval phenomenon. This kind of violence is already recognisable in ancient times, for it was in effect a *sine qua non* of traditional civilisations.¹ Consequently, it had been a constant companion of human history, gradually losing ground in the past few centuries only, to become finally marginalised by now.

This system of un-stately violence can be reconstructed not from laws but from customs, and principally from the practice. Legitimate individual violence was born in the world of customary law, and its working was regulated by customs. There exists no single law-book, no legal treatise that would have catalogued and systemized all the relevant customs. Neither in Hungary nor in any other country of Europe is such a work available.

Starting from the Hungarian experience, one can identify five institutions that worked according to the customary rules of legitimate individual violence: arrest, reprisal, defence against damaging a field or forest, and the protection

¹ Winfried SCHMITZ, „Nachbarschaft und Dorfgemeinschaft im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland“, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 268(1999) 561–597.

of noble land.² Arrest (Lat. *arrestatio*) meant both the seizure of things and the arrest of persons. According to the urban law-book of King Sigismund from 1405, arrest could be applied if a debtor defaulted on a payment obligation, if someone committed a crime, or caused damage to someone else. In the two latter cases it was the person who suffered the crime or the damage, or his kinsmen, who were authorised to arrest the criminal and seize his chattels. It is not without reason that, in listing the cases of legitimate individual violence, we have mentioned *arrestatio* first, for all the remaining cases can be derived from it. Reprisal was in fact a specific form of arrest. In this case it was not the person who caused damage or defaulted on a debt who suffered the arrest, but another person from the same country, town, village or estate. In the middle of the fourteenth century Bartolus de Saxoferrato even dedicated a civil law treatise to the question reprisals, going as far as to derive the wars from this particular institution. While there is no information about the reception of this work in Hungary, reprisals were as integral to trading there as in other countries of Europe.³

Protection against field and forest damage was based on arrest.⁴ If someone accidentally drove his animals on another's field, the shepherd was taken, beaten up, the animals were arrested and only released after their owner had paid for the damage. Those cutting wood illegally faced the same punishment: they were beaten, their tools, carts and vestments were confiscated, and were, moreover, obligated to compensate for the damage. If a landholder was violently ousted from his possession, Hungarian customary law left him with one year's time to get it back violently. According to the first summary of Hungarian customary law, the Tripartitum of 1514, in such cases force could be countered by force. After the one year term, however, the plaintiff was only allowed to recover his possession by law. Such violence was permitted in other cases as well, for instance if someone erected a water mill and thereby caused damage

² TRINGLI István, „A középkori hatalmaskodások törvényes alapjai”, in *Testimonio litterarum. Tanulmányok Jakó Zsigmond tiszteletére*, szerk. DÁNÉ Veronka és LUPESCUNÉ MAKÓ Mária és SIPOS Gábor, (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2016) 409–417.

³ TRINGLI István, „Vásártér és vásári jog”, in TRINGLI István, *Szokás és szabadság. Tanulmányok a középkori magyar jogszokások és kiváltságok történetéhez*, (Budapest: Line Design, 2017) 138–185., 169.

⁴ TRINGLI István, „A magyar szokásjog első összefoglalói a mezei károkról”, in *Arcana tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, I–II, szerk. BÁRÁNY Attila és DRESKA Gábor és SZOVÁK Kornél, (Budapest és Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézet, 2014) 793–808.

to a mill already standing or to the surrounding lands, or fished in another's fishpond, or hunted in another's forest.⁵

The limit to violence was set by common sense and humanity. Frequently the threat of physical violence was enough in itself to force a debtor to pay or an illegal occupant to leave. In other cases, however, events took a different course. Mills were set to fire, illegal woodcutters were beaten up bloodily, the castle taken by siege, and wounding, mutilation and even killing were common currency.

Individual violence was based on the idea of justifiable self-defence: all landholders – nobles, churchmen, peasants or townspeople, though not in the same way, but all in terms of their own customs – protected their own goods or those of their village, church or town. Yet what was seen as legitimate self-defence by one, could be regarded as unlawful violence by the other. Unpaid debt could be made in a number of ways, and the neighbouring pasture, arable or fishpond was not necessarily used illegally, if the neighbour held it against the law, and thus resorted to unlawful violence. The victims of violence applied in defence against field and forest damage were almost without exception neighbours, those of property protection neighbours or kinsmen, and those suffering reprisal business partners.

Hardly any of the sources that make it possible to reconstruct the system of individual violence described above report on victims who suffered violence quietly acquiescing in their fate; on the other hand, thousands of documents are known from the medieval period which show these victims refusing to admit the lawfulness of the violence they had suffered and instead seeking legal remedy or fighting for justice in another way. In these sources individual violence appears as an unlawful act.⁶ The one who uses violence is not the protector of his own property, but the violator of another's. This act was known in old Hungarian as *hatalmaskodás* (rendered as act of might hereafter), in Latin variably as *iniuria*, *violentia*, *potentia*, or *actus potentiarius*. Although these words emerged only as late as the second half of the thirteenth century, the origins of the institution they denote are lost in ancient times. Acts similar in nature to

⁵ TRINGLI István, „A magyar szokásjog a malomépítésről”, in TRINGLI, *Szokás és szabadság*, op.cit. 61–76.; TRINGLI István, „Adalék a magyar vadászati jog történetéhez”, in TRINGLI, *Szokás és szabadság*, op.cit. 77–84.

⁶ KÓFALVI Tamás, „»...a rosszat rosszal tetézve...« Hatalmaskodási esetek a középkori Dél-Dunántúlon”, (Szeged: SZTE, 2006)

what was later referred to by these words already appear in the laws of the first king of Hungary, Saint Stephen, as well as in others from the eleventh century.⁷

An act of might was an unlawful deed which, however, was carefully distinguished from a crime.⁸ It was not a crime, and the person who resorted to it was not a criminal. In the Middle Ages, robbers, murderers, and the like, if caught and convicted, normally paid with their lives. An act of might, on the other hand, was controversial violence, and the litigation it generated was hardly different from those cases that today we call civil proceedings.

The parallel between acts of might and civil proceedings may seem surprising in the light of the fact that those who were convicted of the former from the late thirteenth century were sentenced to the loss of both life and property. This apparently double punishment, however, was in reality rather alternative: only one of the two was meted out to the person convicted of an act of might. And even this only in theory. The exploration of thousands of cases has failed to reveal even a single example of a person convicted of an act of might effectively submitted to the death sentence. Nor, apparently, was the sentence of property confiscation normally put into effect; in the majority of cases the convicts were either pardoned or compromised with their opponents. This is anything but surprising, given the fact that every single step in a case of act of might was intended to force the parties into a compromise. This was quite normal, since in most cases of act of might both parties were within their rights. The price (*homagium*) of the murdered person was paid to his kin, the damage was paid for, and, before all, the very source of the violence was cut: the disputed borders were fixed, and the debt was settled. Litigation and compromise were not mutually exclusive. Compromise was possible at every stage of a lawsuit, even after a sentence was passed. Agreement was mediated either by lay arbitrators appointed by the parties, or by the official jury itself, having transformed itself, upon the petition of the parties, into an arbitrating body.

Neither the act of might, nor individual violence was an institution carved into stone: the rules applied to them changed constantly. In the late Middle ages, during the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg, increasing efforts were taken in order to set limits to unlawful violence. In the middle of the fifteenth century, when civil war erupted in the wake of the double royal election of Ladislaus V (1440–1457) and Wladislas I (1440–1444), endemic warfare elicited new regulations to check violence. The rules were tightened by way of civil procedure: the acts of might were ever more distanced from civil cases, or, in contemporary

⁷ TRINGLI István, „Hatalmaskodások a 11. századi magyar törvényekben”, *Történelmi Szemle*, 60(2018) 4. sz. 531–533.

⁸ TRINGLI István, „Feudális anarchia vagy lovagi erkölcs?”, *História*, 16(1994) 3. sz. 6–7.

terms, from property cases. A new procedure of trial, only used in acts of might, was introduced, the length of lawsuits was curtailed, the execution of sentences was tightened, and, most important of all, the minor and major cases were separated from each other. The former were consequently referred to as minor acts of might, and the latter were grouped under the heading of major acts of might. The sentence to loss of life and property was thereafter limited to this latter group.

Change was generated by legislation. And legislation was the collective work of the royal court and the estates attending the diet. Both were interested in suppressing the unlimited use of violence. All four estates in medieval Hungary, the prelates, the barons, the nobility and the towns shared the desire to check the resort to acts of might, the only difference between them being that the towns exerted a much more limited influence on legislation than the other three estates. The changes did not lead to the emergence of modern penal law, nor did they put an end to the acts of might, but they proved successful in considerably confining them. All laws enacted during the reigns of Matthias and his Jagiellonian successors on the acts of might were executed, and they were constantly referred to in the following decades.

The settling of acts of might, or rather of cases regarded by one of the parties as an act of might, was by no means limited to litigation and formal compromise. Until the beginning of King Sigismund's reign, the major part of the country was in the possession of the ruler, and these regions were governed by persons who held offices in the royal court.⁹ Acts of might were committed from these estates as well as from those of the church or the nobility. In such cases the plaintiff, if he could not come to an agreement with the governor of the royal estate, did not resort to the legal way, but turned instead directly to the king as lord of the estate. Then the chancellery addressed in the name of the king to the person in charge of the estate a mandate, ordering him to desist from the act of might, and pay compensation. This way of settling acts of might never disappeared. In the late Middle Ages, acts of might launched from the remaining royal estates were likewise terminated by the ruler, or rather by the chancellery acting in his name. Yet in one important way the situation did change in the course of Sigismund's reign. Thanks to the immense grants made by the king, the majority of the royal domain was turned into private possession, and the

⁹ ENGEL Pál, „A honor”, in ENGEL, *Honor, vár ispánság, Válogatott tanulmányok*, szerk. CSUKOVITS Enikő, Millenniumi magyar történelem, Historikusok, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2003) 73–100., 101–160.

acts of might committed from there were thereafter settled through litigation.¹⁰ This accounts for the phenomenon that from the diet of Temesvár in 1397 there is an unbroken series of procedural laws regulating litigation in matters of acts of might, whereas previously, with the exception of one single act, very few related regulations can be found.

Individual violence and acts of might were not committed and suffered only by persons with landed property.¹¹ In the majority of such cases a great number of people had to be mobilised. Kinsmen, neighbouring nobility, familiars, townspeople and peasant tenants were called to arms by the lords resorting to violence. Yet the acts of might connected to field and forest, which constitute the majority of acts of might, were committed by peasants, not lords. Coming across alien animals on their land, or strangers cutting wood in their forest, the peasants rarely waited for their lord. They had to act instantly, for the shepherds or woodcutters could quickly take to their heels, and thus their animals or tools could not be arrested. Accordingly, lordly tenants also resorted to violence on their own initiative. They were liable to prosecution for that, but this took place before the tribunal of their lord. Individual violence, thus the act of might itself, was the common concern of all people living on the same estate, and thus legal responsibility was also shared by all. Lords were answerable in the royal court, the nobility of Transylvania, Slavonia and the southern counties before the court of the voevode of Transylvania, the ban of Slavonia and the ban of Macsó, respectively, the tenants before the tribunal of their lord.

While the system of individual violence extended to all social groups of the country, one single person, the king, remained outside of it. There was no allowed way of using violence against the monarch, and so no act of might could be committed against him, and nor was the king answerable for any act of might launched from his own lands. This was a constant principle throughout the centuries of Hungarian history. Respect for the ruler was never shaken there.

Phenomena similar to an act of might can easily be identified in other European countries as well. This is far from surprising, since the use of individual violence was not confined to Hungary. The best known example is the German Fehde, discussed in dozens of books and studies, but there is also the English entry and riod, the Scottish raid and the French prendre. The Middle Ages,

¹⁰ ENGEL Pál: „A magyarországi birtokszerkezet átalakulás a Zsigmond korban”, in ENGEL, *Honor, vár ispánság, op.cit.* 451–471.

¹¹ István TRINGLI, „Mittäter oder Anstifter? Die Rolle der Helfer bei den Fehdehandlungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn”, in *Fehdehandeln und Fehdegruppen im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, hrsg. Mathis PRANGE und Christine REINLE, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014) 163–194.

the terms of feud and faide, common in the English and French scholarly literature today, were not used. And the same principle can be seen working in the Polish *zajazd*, the Ruthenian-Lithuanian *kwalt*, and the Ruthenian *najazd*, all in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian union.¹² If the Hungarian act of might is compared to the well-explored German *Fehde*, important divergences emerge alongside the great number of similar features. The most important is a conceptual difference: while the *Fehde* could equally be lawful or unlawful, the Hungarian act of might was invariably unlawful. While in Hungary the ruler remained outside the system of acts of might, subjects of the Empire were allowed to launch a *Fehde* against the ruler. Moreover, the ritual of individual violence was not as tightly regulated in Hungary as in the Empire: no *Fehdebrief* was sent before the act of might was committed, and no time for preparation was fixed.¹³

The thorough exploration of individual violence and of the act of might has revealed that several terms that have been adopted by historiography from the political language of the modern period are in fact unapplicable for the description of the historical phenomena that we try to understand. Thus, terms like fist-law, feudal anarchy or robber knight should be forgotten for all. They only retain any importance for the researchers of the history of historiography, otherwise there is no place for them in a modern work of analytical history. Likewise, act of might and blood feud are not synonyms, and accordingly denote two different phenomena. Nor is private war able to cover completely what is comprehended by the term of act of might.

The exploration of the phenomenon of the act of might belongs partly to legal history, partly to social history. Such an effort sheds light on some minor procedural problems: the changing maximum number of non-attendances at

¹² Christine REINLE, „Überlegungen zu Eigenmacht und Fehde im spätmittelalterlichen Europa. Einführung und Ergebnisse des Sammelbandes »Fehdehandeln und Fehdegruppen« im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa”; Mathis PRANGE, „Das englisch-schottische Grenzgebiet im Spätmittelalter. Der »raid« im Kontext königlicher Politik”; Andreas KLEIN, „Machtstrukturen auf einem Gewaltmarkt. Strukturen der Gewalt im anglo-schottischen Grenzland des 16. Jahrhunderts”; Adam SZWEDA, „Feud in medieval Poland. An introduction into the concept”; Daria STARCENKO, „Von eintrittslustigem Adel und fehdeanalogen Praktiken. Zwischenadlige Gewalt in den frühneuzeitlichen ruthenisch-ukrainischen Woiwodschaften Polen-Litauens im 16. und im 17. Jahrhundert”; Jean-Philippe JUCHS, „Die »Nahme« als wesentliche Beziehung in der Fehde. Das Beispiel des Königreich Frankreich zwischen dem 14. und 15. Jahrhundert”. To the *kwalt*: TRINGLI István: „A kora újkori kodifikáció és a Hármaskönyv”, in TRINGLI: *Szokás és szabadság, op.cit.* 85–100., 95.

¹³ István TRINGLI, „Fehde und Gewalttätigkeit. Vergleich eines germanischen und eines ungarischen Rechtsinstituts”, in *Legal transitions. Development of Law in Formerly Socialist States and the Challenges of the European Union*, ed. Elemér BALOGH et al., (Szeged: Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, 2007) 281–286.

trial, the emergence of certain legal regulations, the interpretation of some chapters in the two sixteenth-century summaries of customary law, the Tripartitum and the Quadripartitum, and the customs of proofing. More profound knowledge of it will further refine our view of the relationship between ruler and subjects, lord and tenants, of the nature of medieval power in general, and, last but not least, of the emergence of the modern state.

Translated by Tamás Pálosfalvi

My major publications on the topic:

TRINGLI István, „A magyar szokásjog első összefoglalói a mezei károkról”, in *Arcana tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, I–II, szerk. BÁRÁNY Attila és DRESKA Gábor és SZOVÁK Kornél, (Budapest és Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézet, 2014) 793–808.

István TRINGLI, „Mittäter oder Anstifter? Die Rolle der Helfer bei den Fehdehandlungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn”, in *Fehdehandeln und Fehdegruppen im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, hrsg. Mathis PRANGE und Christine REINLE, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014) 163–194.

TRINGLI István, „A középkori hatalmaskodások törvényes alapjai”, in *Testimonio litterarum. Tanulmányok Jakó Zsigmond tiszteletére*, szerk. DÁNÉ Veronka és LUPESCUNÉ MAKÓ Mária és SIPOS Gábor, (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2016) 409–417.

TRINGLI István, *Szokás és szabadság. Tanulmányok a középkori magyar jogszokások és kiváltságok történetéhez*, (Budapest: Line Design, 2017)

TRINGLI István, „Hatalmaskodások a 11. századi magyar törvényekben”, *Történelmi Szemle*, 60(2018) 4. sz. 531–533.

Dementia in Hungary: One of the Greatest Social Challenges of the 21st century

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Keywords: ageing population, dementia, attitude shift, community reaction, social integration

As a sociologist and expert of social policy, I deal with questions that arise from issues of social integration on both theoretical and practical planes.

In this current study, the forward primarily focuses on the effect dementia has on society. I then turn towards the areas which my colleagues and I have endeavored to form and shape throughout the past half-decade. Next, I will touch on our progress, in terms of these initiatives. Of these, our award winning publications: *“Handhold(s): practical advice for those caught in the labyrinth of dementia”* (In Hungarian: *“Kapaszkodó(k), gyakorlati tanácsok a demencia útvesztőjében”*) and *“Basic information on Dementia”* (In Hungarian: *“Információk Demenciáról Alapfokon”*) in addition to the Alzheimer Cafe network and the Dementia Hours program (In Hungarian: *“DIÓ”*) are just some of the tangible outcomes of our work. It is also prudent to call to mind the increased media attention on the subject. Communication between experts on the topic has also transformed and developed in recent years. Though these facets are perhaps more difficult to ascertain or measure, these positive trends should also be considered.

During the past few years, I have examined the effects dementia has on society, through national and international programs respectively. My major projects included (excerpt):

„Dementia, Social Integration...” Fulbright scholarship, Florida, United States of America, 2018

„Innovation for Dementia in the Danube Region” International project- 10 European countries took part, coordinator from 2018 onwards

“Day-time Dementia care- professional recommendations” (In Hungarian: *„Demenciával élők nappali ellátása – szakmai ajánlás”*) co-author, professional study, Szociálpolitikai Szemle, 2017

„Dementia and the Hungarian Society”, presentation, Alzheimer’s disease International conference, 2016

“Handhold(s): practical advice for those caught in the labyrinth of dementia” (In Hungarian: „Kapaszkodó(k), gyakorlati tanácsok a demencia útvesztőjében”) until now 30 000 copies (co-editor), first edition: 2015

“Interprofessional Dementia Approach Program” (In Hungarian: Interprofesszionális Demencia Alapprogram (INDA program), research director, vice program director from 2015 onwards

“Ageing society” (In Hungarian: „Idősödő társadalmak”, Campus Hungary scholarship, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 2014-2015

The effects dementia has on society

In Hungary, many have heard of dementia, however, knowledge on the subject is still faulty, limited or insufficient. Not all elderly individuals have dementia. Nevertheless, age is evidently a risk factor. According to some sources, only one in every hundred people will have dementia above the age of 65, while above 85, this increases to 30%.¹

There are various types of dementia. Of these, Alzheimer’s disease is the most common. In all cases, we are facing a chronic progressive disease that for the time being is incurable. The clinical course of the disease is typically long. In many cases, it can succeed a decade in duration. Memory (most especially, short term memory) declines. Mood swings, as well as conspicuous behavioural changes can arise. Spatial and temporal disorientation is also common. Dementia cannot be halted or diminished. Though pharmaceutical, drug availabilities, or therapies do exist, they are indeed limited.²

So dementia is here, and it looks like it’s here to stay. This simple fact raises several questions. Moreover, Hungarian society must adequately prepare for further escalation of this issue.

1) According to demographic trends, dementia is set to spread in an increased manner in Hungary. The term “aging population” refers to a complex process:

a) More and more individuals will live to celebrate their 85th, 90th, 95th and even 100th birthday. According to the estimation of the Hungarian *Central*

¹ KOVÁCS Tibor, *Interprofesszionális együttműködési lehetőségek az egészségügyben: a demencia diagnózisa és kezelése*, (Interprofesszionális Demencia Alapprogram, 2015) Online: inda.info.hu – December 2019. 14.

² Colin DWYER, „Pfizer Halts Research Into Alzheimer’s and Parkinson’s Treatments”, *NPR*, 8 January 2018. Online: npr.org – December 2019.; Norbert VAJDA, „Dementia and Society”, *Szellem és Tudomány*, 8(2017) 1–2. sz. 101–110.; Norbert VAJDA, „Social interactions in dementia care and the relevance of basal stimulation”, *Acta Szekszardiensium. Publicationes Scientifcae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis*, 18(2016) 177–183.

Statistical Office, between 2020 and 2060 the percentage of 85–89-year-olds with dementia will increase by two and a half times, while those in the 90 and 90+ category will see an increase of five times the levels that currently stand.³

b) Growing older goes hand in hand with the gradual loss of self-sufficiency, which is precisely why, in addition to physical and mental deterioration, individuals with dementia will increasingly depend on those that surround them. One layer of society – predominantly those, with higher status –, are able to access government funded resources. During the past few years, in concert with the rise of demand, market based elderly care has also become more viable; in addition to the government funded variants. This trend, which is like Western European market economies, is expected to rise in Hungary, as well.

c) We can also be sure that a growing number of elderly individuals will not be able to be self-sufficient. These individuals cannot access government services or market based services. They cannot benefit from either of these channels.

– This is the point when only supportive informal relations remain, which in most cases is based on family connections. The so called “sandwich generation”, today’s middle-aged block, faces double challenges. They are raising their children, as well as taking care of their elderly parents or relatives. The former is partly on account of postponed childbearing, while the latter is the result of rising expected lifespans.

– Undoubtedly, elderly patients who live alone are in the worst situation, namely those who do not have supportive relations.⁴ From this standpoint, it does not matter whether the individual lives in the city in an apartment by themselves, or in a deprived area.

2) In addition to factors of age, heart and vascular system diseases are also marked risk factors.⁵ According to experts, about a third of all dementia cases can be averted through a more health conscious lifestyle.⁶ Of these, vascular dementia makes up for a third of all dementia cases. The typical lifestyle of the

³ Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH), *Interaktív korfák*, Online: ksh.hu – November 2019.

⁴ Norbert VAJDA, „Intervention in the Interest of Deprived Elderly”, *Journal of Educational, Health and Community Psychology*, 4(2015) Nr. 3. 20–27.

⁵ Lydia RAMSEY, „6 factors that can increase your risk of Alzheimer Disease”, *Science Alert*, 28 December 2017. Online: sciencealert.com – December 2019.

⁶ Gill LIVINGSTON et al., „Dementia prevention, intervention, and care”, *The Lancet*, 380(2017) Nr. 10113. 2673–2734.

Hungarian populace raises alarming questions of general health. These statistics are even very poor in considering the central European comparison and do not leave much room for optimism.⁷ Much like other developed nations around the globe, life expectancy is expected to rise in Hungary as well. However, the so-called Healthy Life Years (HLY), are not up to par. Resultantly, the last 10–15 years of the average Hungarian is spent dealing with a chronic disease,⁸ a growing proportion of which, is expected to be dementia.

Hungarian society has only recently begun to realize the effects dementia has on families and communities, even though the problem, naturally, has existed for quite some time. The pressure of the norm supported fear based on stigmatization for a long period of time. Individuals with dementia are often-times excluded from society, which results in hiding on the part of both patients, and their respective care-givers.

These individuals, namely, patients as well as their relatives are isolated in a sense. Several hundred thousand individuals in Hungary are caught within this web. Dementia, which in advanced stages is unceasing, requires 24-hour care and watch. Evidently, this disarranges order within the lives of care-giving family members. On a national level, those directly or indirectly related to the disease number more than 1 million, however, this number is set to rise. Most consider the topic taboo. They hide the issue. Essentially, these individuals are ashamed of their incapacities or limitations.

Many have done a great deal to change this vicious process and many still continue to work to achieve further changes in Hungary. At this time, during the first quarter of 2020, there is still much to do, in terms of international comparisons, and within these liaisons, that of central Europe. Nevertheless, it is imperative to recognize the progress made thus far. Within the country, and indeed, in Miskolc, information on the topic is increasingly accessible. Training sessions, as well as advanced studies were initiated within the health care and social sectors. Inter-professional dialogue, with the notion of providing more efficient services in mind, has allowed for collaboration within and between fields. Moreover, countless local and national policy makers, regardless of world views or political orientation, have realized that dementia, as well as its effects on society, must be dealt with.

⁷ Thomas STRAUMITS, *Health Literacy. A bridge to better health outcomes*, (Budapest: Innovatív Gyógyszergyártók Egyesülete 2017) Online: szocialisklaszter.hu – December 2019.; *A halál-okokra vonatkozó statisztika*, Európai Unió, Eurostat (2018) Online: ec.europa.eu – 2019. december.

⁸ Source: „Health Expectancy in Hungary”, *EHLEIS [European Health and Life Expectancy Information System] Country Report*, (2013) Nr. 6. Online: ksh.hu – November 2019.

Results

In terms of the ageing population, dementia manifests as the type of challenge that presents itself on a personal level, yet also has the capacity to fundamentally impact how a community works. While it is possible in some sense to somewhat prepare society for potential challenges they might face in the future, it remains impossible to try to do so in full. However, various actors within society can do a great deal so that those affected by the disease, are not torn from society.

The Interprofessional Dementia Approach Program (In Hungarian: *INDA*) was launched in 2015. The program was set up forming connections through shared acts, in this regard. For the quality of life of those with dementia, and by extension, their caregiving family members, to improve, the attitude of society must change. Based on international research results, as well as projects based on these results, my colleagues and I planned and brought to fruition further programs.⁹

There are evidently overlaps between program activities listed below, but the following intervention areas are identified:

- 1) A conscious campaign against stigmatization, cultural taboos, and individuals' exclusion from society.
- 2) Reacting to the lack of relevant knowledge on the topic, on the part of experts and lay care people alike.
- 3) To assist efforts of interprofessional dialogue.

Humans fear, what they do not know. Along these lines, people likely fear those even more, who do not act in a calculable manner. Memory problems, behavioural issues, spatial and temporal disorientation, hallucination or aggressive reactions are precisely what bring about these situations of unrest. Many do not know the mechanisms of this disease. Oftentimes, wilfulness is linked with strange behaviours. The man in pajamas on the regional bus singing loudly isn't trying to annoy other passengers, nor is he intoxicated. As those around him know the song and the melody, it really seems as though the man is acting in this manner deliberately, breaking the norm with his actions. However, this is almost definitely not the case. He probably got lost and has no clue where he

⁹ Norbert Vajda, *Research Findings of the INDA program*, Alzheimer's Disease International Conference, Poster presentation (2016)

is, who surrounds him and why people are yelling at him. He remembers the song, because of the melody. Most types of dementia preserve this capability, namely that of music and rhythm for a considerable amount of time. At the same time, the man cannot express himself; he cannot defend himself or represent his stance in an adequate manner.

Those that cannot make other members of society understand them, are eventually and ultimately excluded from society. In cases where there are available family members, in order to evade such situations, they often lock the old individual away from others at home. In the ever-growing cases of the family not being able to manage putting the patient in a specialized elderly care institute, most tasks of aid will essentially fall on one or two family members, in full. In practice, this oftentimes equates to 24-hour care. This results in exclusion from work and personal life circles after a while. All of this takes place, in quiet. Those who are affected by dementia do not speak of it. Moreover, they do not ask for help from other members of society either.

This Alzheimer Cafe movement, which was organized based on international models altered these almost automatic ways of doing things; ways which persisted for decades beforehand. They are run by volunteers; whose shared goal is that a given settlement has a place where those effected can gather and meet. Participants can exchange information, give advice to one another, or ask questions from experts who are also invited to the event. As these events are organized on a settlement by settlement basis, the movement strengthens existing communities, while also concomitantly reducing stigmatism on a local level. Lay or informal caregivers realize that they are not alone. As a kind of added benefit, the impetus to work on these themes is increased on the part of doctors, social workers or legal professional invited. After a while, the local press pays attention to such events, which correspondingly will ultimately reach policy makers and politicians, directing their attention to the problem at hand.

The Alzheimer's Cafe in Miskolc began on account of the cooperation of the *INDA* program, a local civil organization, as well as a local elderly home. The daily organizational work involved, like other Alzheimer Café's throughout the country in different settlements, persists through the ardent work of keen volunteers. The volunteers do this kind of work in addition to their own professions in their free time. At the beginning of 2019, I was honoured to hold a presentation at the Alzheimer's Cafe in Miskolc, as the invited guest expert of the event.

The amplification of knowledge on the subject on the part of experts and informal caregivers alike is, indeed, highly necessary. Professionals must be trained. Our research endeavours in 2015 confirm that the knowledge of

doctors on this topic is not adequate.¹⁰ During med-school, med-students receive minimal information on dementia. At later training sessions, only a few develop their knowledge with regards to dementia even though a growing number of their patients are affected by it. As per a lack of regular screening programs, many elderly patients visit various health care institutions with signs of dementia without workers recognizing that their patient has dementia. Workers expect things from said patients that they cannot fulfil precisely because of their disease. At this time, it is unfortunately an exception of the norm, if this is not the case. Therefore, it is evident that the directed briefing of medical professionals is vital.

In 2016, at the Pfizer organized professional day and later in 2019 at the “3 Generations for Health” conference which was supported by the Hungarian government, I had the chance to present on the importance of screening for dementia in front of an audience of general practitioner arriving from several points of the country. Since the conference in 2019, several thousand screenings have taken place country-wide. This contributes to timely diagnosis, as well as establishing accurate details on these numbers.

I also gladly took part in the Hungaropharma led professional events held for pharmacists. From 2017–2018, I held several conference presentations on dementia in Miskolc, as well as several other Hungarian cities. Following the presentations, the interactive question period thereafter confirmed, that the relationship a pharmacist has with a dementia patient or their caregivers plays a serious role in dismantling taboos, concerning the disorder. A calm, safe environment, helping patients and their caregivers receive information on home care, would be one of the most optimal settings, for this transfer of knowledge.

I took part in formulating syllabuses, as well as the accreditation process for elderly care employees who work with dementia patients on a daily basis.¹¹ I am oftentimes asked to be part of the examination panel of these training programs, at various points of the country. I have been doing so, from the start. Since the accreditation, several hundred employees at elderly care homes have taken part in the training. They are the ones that work by the bedside of the elderly day by day. Those who received a certificate, all successfully developed their theoretical and practical knowledge of dementia. This contributes to higher quality care, country wide.

¹⁰ *A háziorvosok szerepe és lehetőségei az időskori demenciák ellátásában*, szerk. VAJDA Norbert és HEIM Szilvia, (Budapest: Interprofesszionális Demencia Alapprogram, 2015) Online: demencia.hu – December 2019.

¹¹ *Az interprofesszionális demens ellátás alternatívái*, szakmai lektor BOGA Bálint, (Budapest: Római Katolikus Egyházi Szeretetszolgálat, 2015)

During the first half of 2019, I took part in a multiple day workshop in Nyíregyháza, where those working in sectors related to elderly care, namely social work professionals participated in a training course. Getting to know the perspective of other relevant fields was central to the discussion. Also imperative to the discussion was establishing and raising awareness on situations where communication is key. It was very interesting to see how participants (based on feedback) gained practical knowledge on the topic.

In a similar way, from 2015 onwards, my colleagues and I strove to extend our services to informal caregivers at home, in the form of trainings. These individuals oftentimes have little-to no previous knowledge on the topic. In 2019, the first groups were formed in six different Hungarian settlements. Based on previous work, 12 different topics are discussed throughout the course of 12 months, through the *DIÓ* or Dementia Information Hours program. Of these topics, of note are themes devoted to physical issues, communication, law, as well as health. The primary responses to this program are positive. If the program continues to be successful, we will strive to organize similar training programs throughout the county, in as many settlements as possible.

In addition to adults, the younger generation must also get to know what dementia is all about, as they need to know what's happening to their grandparents, or elderly relatives, when the warning signs of the disorder begin to manifest, or get serious. The hold taboos have on society must be dismantled, just as they must be diminished within family circles. Secrecy or belittling does not help. Within 10–15 years, the child becomes an adult. If the family treats the situation as a taboo topic, this will evidently lead to repression and suppression. This may have a negative effect on one's adult years. Instead, parents and adults must not treat the problem as a secret. Moreover, they must not be ashamed of the situation. Naturally, this is not easy in a community that is dismissive, in this regard. The family, similar to individuals, can only change their stance on the subject, if they receive help from the outside. In light of this, we began a pilot program at a high school in Hungary. The teachers who volunteered were trained for months. With their help, we launched a program which is held by the homeroom teacher of the students, after their parents are informed. Teachers were brought to elderly homes, where they received information on dementia. They were educated on topics such as music therapy, communication, aggressive behaviour, feeding and legal issues related to the disorder. After training the teachers, they jointly came up with a curriculum based on their observations and information they gathered at the elderly homes visited. It is imperative that children learn that dementia is common in other families, as well. Dismantling the wall of stigma is also crucial. For this occur, it is important that students have the opportunity to talk about their experiences with one another,

and with their families. The program will finalize in the second semester of the 2019–2020 school year. Following the systematic analysis of the results of the program, we plan to include other schools, as well.

Our 80-page information book, entitled: “Handhold(s): practical advice for those caught in the labyrinth of dementia” (In Hungarian: „*Kapaszkodó(k), gyakorlati tanácsok a demencia útvesztőjében*”) was published in 2015, in order for families who assume caregiving roles to better access information on the topic. This is not an academic work. It was written in to help those in need gain more practical knowledge on the topic. It circumnavigates everyday issues that might arise as a result of dementia; issues, those families oftentimes try to hide from the outside world. Alongside a wide array of topics, it discusses behavioural changes, as well as how communication changes.¹² It also concentrates on helpful tools, as well as available services. The publication received the Health Literacy award in 2016, based on a jury independent from our team. These booklets oftentimes run out within a very short time within the network of the Alzheimer Cafes, as well as at pharmacies and clinics. This indicates that those who are affected by the disorder would indeed like to access more information on the topic. The booklet is available for free in printed form. However, it is also available online.¹³

In 2019, we published a new issue, entitled „Basic information on Dementia”.¹⁴ It focuses on results reached in recent years. It explores various types of dementia, stages of the disorder, as well as everyday tasks involved in the care of those afflicted. Accessibility, in terms of the language of the text was imperative here, as well. Most topics include diagrams or pictures.

In 2019, I also took part in the formation of an academic publication on the topic. As the editor of the publication of the Catholic Charity Service, I strove to render material that might lend help to those working at elderly care homes in the country. The publication: “Day-time Dementia care- professional recommendations” (In Hungarian: „*Demenciával élők nappali ellátása – szakmai ajánlás*”), was published with the support of the Ministry of Human Capacities.¹⁵ According to plans, all relevant caregiving institutes in the country, have received this publication in printed format. Many from said homes sought out the

¹² Norbert VAJDA, *Using the Right Language, Proper Communication Technics in Dementia Care*, Alzheimer Association, USA, Florida, Poster Presentation (2018)

¹³ *Kapaszkodó(k), gyakorlati tanácsok a demencia útvesztőjében*, szerk. VAJDA Norbert et al., (Budapest: Katolikus Szeretetszolgálat, 2015) Online: demencia.hu – December 2019.

¹⁴ *Információk a demenciáról alapfokon*, szerk. VAJDA Norbert et al., (Budapest: Katolikus Szeretetszolgálat, 2019) Online: demencia.hu – December 2019.

¹⁵ *Demenciával élők nappali ellátása*, szerk. VAJDA Norbert et al., (Budapest: Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma és Katolikus Szeretetszolgálat, 2019) Online: szocialisportal.hu – December 2019.

publisher, thanking them for this publication. Their response focused on how this publication was one that they have been waiting for, for quite some time.

Alongside the publications, we continue to find the settlement based gatherings to be indispensable, in order to improve communication between professionals.¹⁶ In light of this, and after many preparations, locally based inter-professional forums will be held in six different Hungarian settlements in 2020. Evidently, local health care and social work representatives will take part, as well as members of law enforcement sectors, such as firemen and policeman. Dementia plays a part in the role of their field too. Police deal with those vying to cheat property out of the elderly. Additionally, we as citizens should also be aware of that fact that the elderly are more at risk for house fires, as well as carbon monoxide poisoning. Our goal is to manifest dialogue between local professionals and for this relationship to strengthen, so that questions on the topic of dementia are answered in a more precise manner.

Summary

In sum, we know a great deal about dementia. However, we still have many questions. In most types, based on patient statistics, risk factors have been identified. Moreover, based on the observation of the nervous system, we can gauge the effects of the disorder in the brain. At the same time, the triggers are still not clear. We do not know what causes this irreversible spiral downwards. Despite 30 years of pharmaceutical research on establishing a potential cure, they are still searching for answers.

It is quite possible, that within the next years and indeed, decades, more and more individuals, families and communities will encounter dementia in some form. No one is immune, in a sense. It can occur in anyone's life. Status plays no role here. If individuals are excluded from communities as a result of their unsettling, strange symptoms, communities will weaken.

In my study, I endeavoured to showcase how negative outcomes can be diminished, on a society based level. During the past couple years, as a Fulbright scholar, as a member of Alzheimer Europe, and also, as a part of a Central Europe based international program, I found that we can manifest change, if we begin our efforts on the local level. The results are promising. Be that as it may, in Hungary, and in Miskolc specifically, there is a great need to widen this circle of knowledge, in order to achieve comprehensive changes in attitude. Ultimately, the amplification of knowledge on the topic is indeed, henceforth very necessary.

¹⁶ *A szociális szolgáltatások szükségletalapú megközelítése*, szerk. VAJDA Norbert et al. (Budapest: Nemzeti Család és Szociálpolitikai Intézet, 2014)

My major publications on the topic:

A szociális szolgáltatások szükségletalapú megközelítése, szerk. VAJDA Norbert et al. (Budapest: Nemzeti Család és Szociálpolitikai Intézet, 2014)

Kapaszkodó(k), gyakorlati tanácsok a demencia útvesztőjében, szerk. VAJDA Norbert et al., (Budapest: Katolikus Szeretetszolgálat, 2015)

Norbert VAJDA, „Intervention in the Interest of Deprived Elderly”, *Journal of Educational, Health and Community Psychology*, 4(2015) Nr. 3. 20–27.

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A Suitable Nest

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Keywords: Native English Speaking Teacher (NEST), quality of language input, quantity of language input error correction, language learning (L2)

I have learnt four languages in my life and forgotten two of them. My experience of language learning is divided into traditional school learning and, what I call, real-life learning. By that I mean learning a foreign language in the relevant country where the aims of acquiring the language are survival and communication as opposed to earning grades. As to teaching, I have taught young children, teenagers and young adults in state institutions and almost every age group and many nationalities in language schools both in England and Hungary. I have personal experience of both studying and teaching languages with different goals and methods. From living in France as an infant to teaching at university in Hungary there are a whole range of events and influences which have made me into the teacher I am today. My name is often misleading and many of my students presume I am Hungarian. Others value my maiden name, Dawson, above my married name because of the prestige that it brings. Budai László was one who valued both my abilities and my name.

The debate about whether native English speaking teachers in language learning are necessary is complex and divisive.¹ Moreover, the definition of what a Native English Speaking Teacher (NEST) is remains unresolved, perhaps unresolvable, as the divide between a native and a non-native is blurred and impossible to define precisely.² However, having been born in England and raised with English as my mother tongue, I regard myself to be a native English speaker but am I merely a native English speaking teacher?

In his paper, 'Native or non-native: who's worth more?',³ Medgyes puts forward the concept that 'The ideal NEST is the one who has achieved a high degree of proficiency in the learners' mother tongue'.

¹ Thomas M. PAIKEDAY, *The Native Speaker is Dead!* (Toronto and New York: Paikeday Pub Co. 1985)

² Péter MEDGYES, "When the teacher is a non-native speaker", in *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language*, ed. Marianne CELCE-MURCIA, (Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2006) 429–442., 430.

³ Péter MEDGYES, "Native or non-native: who's worth more?", *ELT Journal*, 46(1992) Nr. 4. 340–349., 348.

As a NEST myself, do I agree with this?

After living more than half my life in Hungary and having more than a reasonable grasp of the Hungarian language it could be said that I fit Medgyes's formula. Whether I am ideal is another issue. 'Ideal', using the definition in the Oxford dictionary, is 'satisfying one's conception of what is perfect; most suitable.' I would like to substitute the word ideal with suitable thus the definition becomes: *A suitable NEST is the one who has achieved a high degree of proficiency in the learners' mother tongue.*

Medgyes admits his weaknesses with the English language and identifies them as speaking and listening.⁴ I can identify with having weaknesses with a foreign language though mine in the Hungarian language is a single skill: writing. I can write Hungarian when necessary but my other skills are much better developed. Writing remains a challenge for me unless I have access to a good spell-checker or friendly colleague. After reading in my CV about my level of Hungarian, Budai began our correspondence in Hungarian for sake of simplicity on his part and from then on our correspondence was conducted in Hungarian on his part and English on mine; both of us opting for the easier alternative.

My competence with the Hungarian language gives me an awareness of Hungarian grammar which enables me to highlight points in English grammar and the style and structure of the language which Hungarians often find confusing. It is a great advantage for me to be able to predict problems that students will have, and demonstrate L1 interference. Showing similarities or differences between the two languages can be of great help to students but this does not mean that Hungarian need be spoken in class. I only speak English in class, except in translation courses where Hungarian needs at times to be spoken.

There are several reasons for this. The first: teaching English grammar without using a word of Hungarian may seem impossible to some. However to me explaining all the English tenses and aspects in a language that has mainly structural differences in terms of language typology seems equally impossible and I am only able to do so by using the target language itself. Second: if students are aware of my competence in Hungarian they frequently revert to Hungarian for an explanation or definition as it is easier for them and quicker in the short term. In the long term, however, many opportunities for speaking English are lost. A definition of a word in English or an explanation of a grammatical structure involves using the language itself and adds more target language communication to a class. Thirdly: it is sometimes difficult for me to translate words from one language to the other when I am in the middle of speaking English or

⁴ Péter MEDGYES, "Always look on the bright side: Being a non-native", in *70 snippets to mark Ádám Nádasy's 70th birthday*, (2017) Online: seas3.elte.hu/nadasdy70 – December 2019.

Hungarian. This means I cannot always give the perfect translation of a word on the spot and this can cause students to lose confidence in me and in themselves.

Therefore, I regard Medgyes's transformed suggestion of a suitable NEST as true for me. My knowledge of Hungarian is invaluable in my teaching here in Hungary. However, other teaching skills as well as many other factors are also essential.

Other factors which affect the effectiveness of teaching need to be examined. In order to investigate this further and expand on how I contribute to aiding my students to attain a greater proficiency in the English language I have selected a paper written by Budai László which studies the role of the mother tongue in language learning.

In his paper, Budai outlined subjective and objective aspects of differences between language acquisition (L1) and language learning (L2).⁵ The subjective aspects include motivation, the student's stage of development and absence of preconceived ideas associated with language acquisition and how these vary when the student learns a second language. While such aspects are important, my approach is more pragmatic so only the language learning side of his study, more precisely the three objective differences which he details in his writing, will be examined. These are 1) the quality of the language input, 2) the quantity of the language input and 3) tolerance shown towards student error.

By addressing each of these three points the intention is to show not only more about teaching methods and other aspects which affect language learning but also what I add to these points and contribute to the teaching process. Although no mention is made in his publication about whether the teacher is a native or non-native speaker of the language, for the purpose of this paper I will expand on them from the point of view of a native speaker.

1) The quality of the language input

In Budai's analysis of the quality of the language input for L2 he states that the input given to language learners is often artificial and rather simplistic for students and unrelated to their lives. This is true even when the language learning process strives to be modern and true to life.⁶

Examples are a fundamental part of teaching; not textbook examples which have nothing to do with the students' lives or interests but examples that students can relate to. Demonstrating the way the language and structures are

⁵ BUDAI László, *Az anyanyelv változó szerepe az idegennyelv-oktatásban*, (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2010)

⁶ BUDAI, *Az anyanyelv változó szerepe*, op.cit.

used in real life helps students to understand and acquire them. Whether it be in demonstrating the difference between formal and informal English or more complex structures, examples are essential.

Here are some instances that I use in class:

- To demonstrate the differences between formal and informal language I often use the Queen's 'voice' to highlight how it differs from the more informal language I generally use.

- Song lyrics work as a tool for demonstrating language structures. Using a single line from a well-known song to fix a structure in students' heads is also effective. Here it is important to note that the songs used be known to the students. It is not enough for any song to be used as unknown songs are as intangible as textbook examples.

- Famous lines from films and even games can also be helpful. Students associate new structures with lines or quotations of which they were previously aware and remember them better.

- To demonstrate the structure *must have to* 'to say we conclude something based on what we know about a present situation',⁷ I found the text book example met with blank stares. Upon using questing in games as an example I saw instant recognition on my students' faces.

Using technology in class, another divisive subject, also provides the students with materials and examples which they are better able to relate to. It is however not enough to use a podcast or video and hope that the medium itself used will be sufficient to gain and retain the students' attention. Any technological-based language input used must be analysed and presented to the students with as much care as with any less technological input.

Using real-life examples in class is not solely available to NESTs. However NESTs have the advantage of having a whole life-time of experiences and examples in the target language in their heads from which to choose. They are often able to invent new examples spontaneously as required.

2) *The quantity of the language input*

When writing about the quantity of language input for language learning, Budai states that the time students are able to spend with the language is less than for

⁷ Martin HEWINGS, *Advanced Grammar in Use*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 36.

that of language acquisition (L1) and time is even more restricted for spoken language. He also states that the student is given explicit grammar rules and often does not have enough time to reflect and absorb new language.⁸

Unless the student is learning in the target country there are fewer opportunities to be exposed to the language outside of the classroom. Studying in the target country is the most effective method as to perform even basic everyday tasks the target language must be used. It does not give the student the opportunity to hide at the back of the class and keep silent. Submersion in the language and the culture greatly aids language learning. However, it would be impossible for every student to study in an English-speaking country so the teacher's task is to take the country and its culture into the classroom along with the language itself.

Students are often encouraged to read in English but in this day and age they often lack incentive as so many other forms of entertainment are available at their fingertips. However, other methods can increase exposure to the foreign language.

Some simple methods which can be implemented are:

- Changing the language of phones, gaming consoles, and computers to English can increase target language input.
- Using an intelligent virtual assistant can aid students' pronunciation and ability to form questions.
- Watching films in the original language with subtitles in either language increases exposure.

A common misconception with gaining language exposure through films is that students should watch films similar to those that they enjoy in L1. Unfortunately, this does not always work as if the language is too complex, enjoyment is lost. Many children's films have humour which appeals more to adults than to children for whom they are originally designed. They also contain many English cultural references ranging from fairy tales and nursery rhymes to politics and moral values.

The teacher must make the most of the time given in class and maximise input and communication. Rapport is an important tool that can be used in teaching to better utilise the available teaching time and increase the quality of

⁸ BUDAI, *Az anyanyelv változó szerepe, op.cit.*

input. Knowing the students' names⁹ and knowing the students as individuals are basic tools to build rapport within a classroom and thus increase productivity. In order for students to acquire new grammar points they can be given a need in the context of their own lives rather than being given the rules as a final product; 'through the back door'. However, this is only possible when the teacher has some knowledge of the students' backgrounds and personalities. Knowing the students as individuals incorporates awareness of not only events that students have experienced but also personality traits which help or hinder their ability learn the English language. Knowing who will talk in front of the class and who is happier in a one-to-one situation aids the teacher to convey information and manage the class in an effective way.

These techniques are not solely available to NESTS but their advantage is that every interaction in class is natural communication as NESTS communicate with their students in the teacher's native tongue. Every exchange is another opportunity for students to practice their skills. With the advantage of knowing the language and culture of their students the NEST is able to impart additional information to aid a student's comprehension. Differences in culture, traditions and attitude can impair a student's ability to understand a particular language point. Thus for me, my experiences in Hungary and knowledge of Hungarian help in my teaching.

3) Tolerance shown towards student error

In his analysis of tolerance shown towards student error, Budai states that sentence fragments are not tolerated and that the students' language is continually being corrected. Such correction inhibits the development of many students' fluency.¹⁰

This raises an important point for language teachers: when to correct and when not. Many students may want to have every mistake addressed when speaking but it is important to remember that for every mistake that is corrected the fluency decreases proportionately.¹¹ There is a need to correct students in the classroom but not every instance should be corrected unless that is the focus of the lesson. With many students, who are not learning a language for an exam but to use in their jobs, error correction must to some extent take a backseat to fluency and communication. For a university student studying grammar, error correction in the exercises being studied is essential but there is still room for learner mistakes when discussing the exercises themselves. The

⁹ (Harmer 2007, 26) [****?****]

¹⁰ BUDAI, *Az anyanyelv változó szerepe, op.cit.*

¹¹ Jeremy HARMER, *How to Teach English*, (Harlow: Longman, 2010*) 231.

teacher must decide what the focus of a lesson, or part of a lesson, is and correct accordingly.

What about the expectations of the students? I put some questions to one of my present students about his expectations of the lessons and NESTs. Ferenc, who has had several NESTs, said the following about:

‘I appreciate that native speakers correct with patience, they give space to think and this builds my confidence. My previous teachers killed verbal communication through corrections. It gave me a ‘bad feeling’ and I felt I had to speak perfectly or not say anything at all. I trust the native to know the correct term or word. I enjoy the random vocabulary that arises outside of the given task and spontaneity it brings. Natives give a greater focus on communication and they also give different aspects to not only the culture but also thought processes, attitudes and ways of thinking.’

Ferenc mentions an interesting point here about teachers’ ‘killing verbal communication’. It is a common complaint among students that they are afraid to speak because they feel they will be ridiculed if they make a mistake. Perfection in a second language is required by many teachers from students from a young age. In my experience of schools in England more tolerance is given to native speaking children than to Hungarian students learning English as a second language. When learning their mother tongue, native-speaker mistakes are tolerated in spelling and grammar and native speakers may use a dictionary in class without losing self-esteem.

Hungarians often think that unless they speak a foreign language at a high level that they do not speak the language at all. The anxiety this causes greatly hinders the student’s ability to learn a language. One task of the teacher is to build confidence in the student’s belief that they can communicate and that they are understood by others. Once this belief in their own ability is instilled, students can progress much more effectively and improve on their knowledge.

Willingness to communicate and other psychological aspects also affect language learning.¹² If a student is unwilling to communicate in the target language their progress will be impeded. In many cases students need to communicate with other non-native speakers, so they also need to be made aware of the fact that other nationalities have similar problems, even if they do not admit to having them.

Every teacher has a different approach towards error correction and a different attitude towards the importance of communication in the classroom. This is the result of many varying factors in the teacher’s experiences and

¹² Zoltán DÖRNYEI, *The Psychology of the Language Learner: Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition*, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2005)

education. For me communication is important as it is not just the subject of a class but also the language of interaction in the classroom and error correction depends on the focus of the lesson. In addition having knowledge of the students' mother tongue increases my awareness of L1 interference and helps me anticipate and understand student error.

These aspects affect the extent to which students master a foreign language and lend themselves to giving students as much quality input as possible in lessons. No matter what the subject of a course, students become more engaged and improve more quickly when the content is presented and practised in a way that relates more closely to themselves, their lives and their interests. The teacher's attitude towards errors and mental juggling involved in deciding whether correcting a student's error will improve their English or merely deflate their confidence is complex.

My experiences of both language acquisition and language learning are diverse and varied in terms of my level of success, and these experiences help me perceive the process of teaching and studying a foreign language from a student's position. For the most part my teaching experience has occurred in Hungary and has mostly, but not solely, involved teaching Hungarians. This has increased my awareness of language issues and L1 interference specific to Hungarians. Over the years as my level of Hungarian has improved I have, gradually, gained a greater understanding of the problems for Hungarians learning English as a foreign language. This has given me an insight into expected difficulties and possible solutions for their alleviation or mitigation. Taken together these lend themselves to making my teaching more effective thus improving my students' chances at successfully learning English. It is not solely my knowledge of Hungarian which aids me in my teaching but what that knowledge provides and how incorporating it into my existing teaching methods help make me a more suitable NEST, in Hungary at least.

The Fate of the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family in the 20th century

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Keywords: the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family, private archives, princely family, second world war, Pál Esterházy, István Hajnal, János Hárich

The history of the Prince Esterházy family has been at the center of my research for a long time. With my colleagues, members of the Pál Esterházy Research Team (Péter Király, Erika Kiss, István Monok and Edina Zvara), we have been visiting archives, libraries and processing datas since 2015, which always bring new surprises. One of the most interesting experiences was getting acquainted with archival documents concerning the archives (the National Archives of Hungary, the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family, P 114, so called Generalarchiv), which included the files and correspondence of the Esterházy archivists. In particular, Lajos Merényi's (1854–1919), József Gaszner's (? –1922), István Hajnal's (1892–1956) and János Hárich's (1904–1990) administrative dossiers, historical records and official reports gave a big boost to research that stopped short of sources. The family archives, which have been growing for more than 300 years, were severely traumatized in the 20th century – understanding its history is essential for today's researchers.

The Archives of Prince Esterházy Family itself has two main parts today: one in the National Archives of Hungary in Budapest and the other in Fraknó (Forchtenstein, Austria), between the cold and thick walls of the Esterházy Castle, today owned by the Esterházy Privatstiftung. The latter, as private archives, are subject to different rules and its researchability is not as self-evident as it is with public archives. For keeping the archives in two states in two places have historical reasons, which Imre Ress described in detail in his studies.¹ At the end of the 17th century, the archives were kept at the impenetrable 'Stammburg' Fraknó, but in the 18th century the documents were divided: the

¹ RESS Imre, „Das Esterházyische Hauptarchiv in Eisenstadt zwischen Verwaltung und historischer Forschung (1790–1918)”, in *Burgenländische Forschungen. Sonderband XXII. Archivar und Bibliothekar, Beiträge zur Landeskunde des burgenländisch-westungarischen Raumes*, (Eisenstadt: Amt d. Burgenländ. Landesregierung, 1999) 407–419.; RESS Imre, „Hajnal István, a kismartoni hercegi levéltáros”, *Korall*, (2004) 15–16. sz. 284–315.

economic ones stayed in place while the legal-historical-family-related part moved to the palace in Kismarton (Eisenstadt, Austria). The Treaty of Trianon 1920 also tore apart the empire of the Esterházy princes: some of the estates were transferred to the newly created province, Burgenland, Austria, and the rest to Hungary.

After the unexpected death of his father Prince Miklós Esterházy, in April 1920, the young Prince Pál (1901–1989) was forced to make a difficult decision. Does he leave the most valuable part of his family archives in his palace in Kismarton, in the area given to Austria by the terms of the treaty, or does he try to remove it until the peace comes into effect? With his family council he decided to move it. The time was urgent in August 1921 – the Austrian troops were ready to march to Kismarton – so the not simple task was carried out by archivist József Gaszner. The archives were taken to Eszterháza in Hungary, and even the most valuable pieces were selected from the library's stock, the musical instrumental collection and musical notes were also transferred. However, Eszterháza proved to be only a temporary station. In February 1925, as a final repository, Prince Pál Esterházy designated his palace of Tárnok Street in Buda Castle (Budapest, Hungary), following the suggestion of the historian István Hajnal, his new archivist. This another move was made in August 1926. It's history and the conversion of some rooms of the Tárnok Street palace into archives can be found in the reports of Hajnal. Not only the Eszterháza material, but also the other documents remaining in Kismarton, were transferred to Buda, however the huge archive in Fraknó was impossible to move, so it remained there. This amount of documents could not fit into one railway wagon, so the Prince's staff had to rent two wagons. The sealed boxes outside Hajnal were accompanied with the attendance of an officer and two hunters. By that time, the furniture was ready in the palace, iron racks were ordered from the Factory Schlick, and the documents were conveniently located in two rooms. The court room housed the main archive (so called repositories), the family correspondence, and the collection of seals and medals. In the other room there were the music documents with the Haydn manuscripts, estate records, receiver and patronage documents, map and plan collections. And in the library room in addition to 4,000 volumes, there were inventories of the old archives, estates, buildings, and art treasures.²

Thus, from 1927, the peaceful work in the Esterházy archives was secured. Hajnal had diverse responsibilities included providing legal information to the Esterházy fidei-commissum, writing family history, monitoring the press, expanding the library, and handling requests from researchers. At Hajnal's

² RESS, *Hajnal István, op.cit.* 311–315.

The Fate of the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family

request, a new archivist, János Hárích, was employed in 1928. He was a young man dedicated to music and that year he began to create an independent music (*Acta musicalia*) and theater history collection (*Acta theatralia*) inside the main archives, taking advantage of the international interest in Joseph Haydn and the Esterházy Opera. In addition, he organized the main archives, such as the sorting of 17th-century family documents. His carefully typed registers on the copper engraving collection or on the correspondence of László Esterházy (1626–1652) and Pál Esterházy (1635–1713), his catalogs of Haydn's manuscripts, his historical summaries of the musical life of the Esterházy's and history of garden in Kismarton to this day have been preserved.

For the next decades Hárích played an important role in the princely archives. He studied history at the university and then received his doctorate in 1928, and from 1930 to 1946 he was the head of the Esterházy Archives. From 1946 there were hard times: he did not find a job, then worked at the National Archives of Hungary, but in 1949 he was removed during the Mindszenty and Esterházy trials. He was arrested for a short time, then he was a cultural worker at the Electric Works, and music teacher between 1953 and 1957. He emigrated to Austria in 1958, where he was employed again as archivist in Kismarton. He died there in 1990.³

Like Hajnal, he wrote reports to the prince on the state of the archives and the library. He regularly commuted between Budapest and Fraknó, especially during the first period of his activity, when he collected hundreds of music and theater history sources from the archives of Fraknó and took him to the Tárnok street palace in Budapest. Hárích, by the way, also highly valued the archives remaining in Fraknó. For the exceptional materials in the 19 ground and first floor rooms of the castle he also made lists and catalogs and even a floor plan for easier search.

The bombing of Budapest in 1942 forced Pál Esterházy to take protective measures to secure his collections. This also affected the Archives in the Tárnok Street, and on the order of the Prince, Hárích deposited the most important documents in the National Archives of Hungary in October 1942. Two years later, in October 1944, another deposit was added, but there was still material in the Tárnok Street too. At the end of the second world war, the Esterházy Palace suffered severe damage, some of the furniture and treasury were destroyed, while the library and archives were preserved. Pál Esterházy did not leave

³ Otto BIBA, „János Hárích (1904–1990)”, *Haydn Yearbook*, 18(1993) 111–114.

Hungary, but moved to an apartment on the Pest side. He married Melinda Ottrubay, the celebrated ballerina of the Opera House, in 1946 and they lived quietly.⁴

However, the communist system did not leave him and his family alone. He was arrested at Christmas 1948 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on charges of organizing the overthrow of the democratic state order and republic as fourth defendant of the Mindszenty trial.⁵ On February 10, 1949, János Hárích, was also arrested. In parallel with these events, on December 15, 1948, archaeologist László Gerevich began excavating the ruins of the Esterházy Palace. In January 1949, in the cellar of the palace, which was more than ten kilometers long, were found the boxes containing the princely treasures. These were transported to the Museum of Applied Arts, where in the following decades, Joachim Svetnik and his colleagues restored the artworks that could still be saved.⁶

The property, unaffected by the bombing, was handled by a new government organization – the Ministerial Committee on Endangered Private Collections – set up on July 11, 1946, under the leadership of Erik Fügedi. This investigating authority has successfully secured and transported abandoned aristocratic collections to museums. The Esterházy Palace was inspected on December 13, 1949: it surveyed pictures, books, newspapers, musical notes, engravings, furniture and archives were then distributed to museums and libraries. The summary report of December 1949 on the Esterházy Archives said: „The archives of the Esterházy family (formerly Kismarton) contains 2000 medieval diplomas (in the value of 400,000 forints), documents of Palatine Miklós and Pál (in the value of 67,000 forints), Turkish letters, 17th century royal correspondence. The greatest value in this area is undoubtedly the documents of Pál Esterházy, the Foreign Minister of 1848. This material, which to this day was unknown, cannot be overestimated.”⁷ The archives – such as „repositories, self-

⁴ HANNA MOLDEN, *Griff és rózsza. Esterházy Pál és Ottrubay Melinda, egy hercegi pár története*, (Budapest: Elektra Kiadóház, 1999) 164–166.

⁵ GERGELY Jenő, „Dr. herceg Esterházy Pál a Mindszenty-perben”, in *Esterházy Pál 1901–1989. Az utolsó herceg a szélsőségek évszázadában*, szerk. Stefan August LÜTGENAU, (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008) 87–131., 104–127.

⁶ HORVÁTH Hilda, *Nemzeti kincstárunk az Esterházy hercegi kincstár 20. századi története*, (Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2014) 60–67.

⁷ ERIK FÜGEDI, „A veszélyeztetett magángyűjtemények miniszteri biztosának összefoglaló jelentése, 1949. december 21.” – Hungarian National Archive (hereinafter: MNL OL) XIX-I-1-h 380. d. 2. t.1620/3/1950.; KERESZTES Csaba, „Műkincsek ebek harmincadján. Veszélybe került műtárgyak Magyarországon 1944–1949”, *Archívnet*, 15(2015) 1. sz. Online: archivnet.hu – December 2019.; FARKAS Kornél, „Műtárgymozgások 1945–1949”, *Századok*, 151(2017) 147–188.

The Fate of the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family

contained volumes, diplomas, 67 running meters” – are listed through five typed pages.⁸

Esterházy's properties were nationalized under the new Fideicommissum Act of 1949 (the final abolishment of this institution) and the archives were transferred to the National Archives of Hungary. There, the former system was left unchanged, ie it was formed since the end of the 17th century, with two exceptions: medieval diplomas and maps were treated separately. István Bakács, Iván Borsa, Emma Iványi, László Magyari and Lajos Pataky took part in organizing the Esterházy archives material. The first inventory was published in 1956, and in 1978, with the development of the concept, another reviewed repertory was published.⁹ The Archives of Prince Esterházy Family currently consists of 54 fonds, 26 series – covering 326 running meters.¹⁰

The music and theater history collections created by Hárích in the early 1930s were transferred to the National Széchényi Library in 1949. „The arrival of the princely archive (manuscript and musical notes, other music and theatrical materials – fortunately the cabinet with them) came unexpectedly and unprepared for the Music Collection. It is certain, however, that Jenő Vécsey recognized at the very moment of the transposition that the library had acquired invaluable materials in the history of music.”¹¹ It is clear from Vécsey's reports that the materials were taken from the National Archives of Hungary. So the deposits from 1942 and 1944 were handed over by the archives. Of these, 70 records have been given to the Theatre History Collection in the Széchényi Library and are still preserved there.

⁸ MNL OL XIX-I-13-5/3 (5.d.)

⁹ BAKÁCS István, *Az Esterházy család hercegi ágának levéltára*, Levéltári leltárak 2, (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1956)

¹⁰ KÁLLAY István, *Az Esterházy család hercegi ágának levéltára. Repertórium*, Levéltári leltárak 66, (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1978)

¹¹ VÉCSEY Jenő, „Az OSZK zenei gyűjteményének fejlődése az elmúlt tizenöt évben”, *OSZK Évkönyve*, 1958, 80–97., 87.

1926–1945	After 1945	
The main archives in the palace (Tárnok street, Buda)	The National Archives of Hungary	Collection before 1526 (medieval diplomas)
		Prince Esterházy Family Archives
		Collection of plans (maps and drawings)
	National Széchényi Library	Collection of Manuscripts
		Music Collection
		Theatre History Collection
Archives in Fraknó	Esterházy Privataarchiv Forchtenstein	

The history of the Esterházy archives could be completed here, but unexpectedly around the change of the socialist regime, in the early 1990's several princely documents appeared at antiquarian bookstores. The good condition of the manuscripts and books allegedly rescued from the ruins of Tárnok Street palace contradicted the seller's story, as they were not damaged. The owner's seal was cut off from Haydn's works and the manuscript of *Harmonia caelestis*, published in Vienna in 1711, however it can be stated that they are from the former music collection created by János Hárigh. According to experts, a former princely employee kept the small collection, and after his death the heirs sold it. The documents were purchased by the National Széchényi Library.¹² A similar case was encountered by theater historian Mátyás Horányi in the 1960's. He discovered the sketchbooks of Pietro Travaglia – painter and designer of the opera and puppet theater of Eszterháza between 1771 and 1798 –, in the collection of a stage designer of the Operetta Theater in Budapest. This was also obtained by the Széchényi Library.¹³ It is probable that members of the prince's family and staff may have retained additional documents, which are now privately owned. Apart from these latter cases, it can be said that the relocations after 1920 and the war years did not cause as much damage to the Esterházy archives as did other similar archives. The Archives of Prince Batthyány Family was partially destroyed by the Soviet army in Körmend, and the remains were burnt in the buliding of the National Archives of Hungary in 1956, after a bomb

¹² Ágnes SAS, „Rediscovered Documents from the Esterházy Collection”, *Studia Musicologica Academiae. Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 34(1992) 167–185., 168–169.

¹³ STAUD Géza, *A magyar színháztörténet forrásai*, 3. rész, Színháztörténeti könyvtár 9, (Budapest: Színháztudományi Intézet, 1963) 12.

The Fate of the Archives of Prince Esterházy Family

hit.¹⁴ The Archives of Prince Esterházy Family in Budapest is easily accessible to researchers, and its vast stock offers adventures for everyone.

My major publications on the topic:

KUNT Gergely és VISKOLCZ Noémi, „Fejezetek az Esterházy hercegi család levéltárának kutatástörténetéből (1847–1945)”, I. rész (1847–1870), *Turul* 91(2018) 3. sz. 107–113.

KUNT Gergely és VISKOLCZ Noémi, „Fejezetek az Esterházy hercegi család levéltárának kutatástörténetéből (1870–1900)” II. rész (1847–1870), *Turul* 92(2019) 1. sz. 9–23.

VISKOLCZ Noémi, „Az örökségvédelemről 2019-ben az Esterházy-kincsek példáján”, in *Európai, nemzeti, lokális kulturális örökség és identitás*, szerk. ÚJVÁRI Edit, (Szeged: Szegedi Egyetemi Kiadó és Juhász Gyula Felsőoktatási Kiadó, 2019) 75–88.

VISKOLCZ Noémi, *A herceg története. Hajnal István az Esterházyak szolgálatában 1922–1930*, (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 2019)

¹⁴ KOLTAI András, „A Batthyány család körhendi központi levéltárának kutatástörténete”, *Levéltári Közlemények*, 71(2001) 1–2. sz. 207–231.

Social and Literary Movements of Hispanic-Americans Since the 1960s

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1. Historical preliminaries, prejudice on both sides

When the Spanish government noticed that the Russians began to expand their empire on the American continent, southward from Alaska, they made arrangements to curb Russian expansion by establishing missions along the Californian coastline. The Spaniards created two basic types of settlements: the *mission* and the *presidio*, which was a military camp, or a *fort*, as the Anglo-Americans called them. Another outpost of Spanish civilization was the *rancho*, that is an agricultural plant dealing primarily with animal husbandry. The Spaniards found a lot of gold- and silver treasure in South- and Central America, and they were anxious to find similar wealth in the North. In 1598, that is, several years before the first Anglo-Saxon settlement was established in North America, Don Juan de Oñate began to organize Spanish administration in the territory of what is today Texas and New Mexico.

The Pueblo Revolt that broke out in 1680, and continued as a turmoil and violence that lasted for years, decimated the Spanish settlers in what is today the Southwest United States. The rapidly spreading American republic wanted to obtain these territories, and first they simply intended to purchase it, similarly to the Louisiana-deal signed with Bonaparte Napoleon. Such a deal would have doubled the territory of the country. The American government made an offer of half a billion dollars for the San Francisco bay and Northern California. The Mexican government took the offer as an offence, but the American efforts to acquire the huge and wealthy territories did not cease, until an open war broke out between the two countries. As the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo concluded the war, the United States obtained the desired territories and a lot more.

The prominent Chicano-Mexican-American-author, Rudolfo Anaya's opinion about the situation is the following: "whenever cultural groups as different as the Anglo-American, [and] Chicano [...] exist side by side, cultural sharing takes place; but also each group will develop a set of biases or stereotypes

Social and Literary Movements of Hispanic-Americans

about the other groups”,¹ Rupert Brown comments as follows: “Groups competing for scarce resources typically display more biased attitudes and greater mutual animosity than groups which are cooperating to achieve jointly desired objectives.”²

The territories obtained by the United States can hardly be described as “scarce resources,” but the mutual animosity and distrust, the lack of cooperation for the common goals were all so powerfully present that the effects are felt even in the early 21st century.

Mexicans are proudest of their dual-European and American-cultural heritage, and it is exactly what the (Anglo)-Americans despise most. They often regarded the Mexicans as “mongrels”, who are half Indians. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, consider “manifest destiny”, that is, God’s alleged intention as their ideology. The Anglo-Saxons are, in accordance with the Manifest Destiny, bring civilization to underdeveloped and undeprivileged countries populated by barbarians. The Mexicans are, naturally, barbarian mongrels, totally unworthy of a wonderful lands like California. This idea had emerged in American public thinking even before the Mexican War broke out; what is more, it was powerfully present until recent times.

For the Mexicans, the ideological foundation was, in addition to their dual cultural roots, was the myth of Aztlán. Aztlán is the mythical ancient homeland of the Aztecs, which is believed to have been located north of the present Mexican-U.S. border. The word Aztlán means the land of white egrets, or just white egrets, whereas Aztec means a person from Aztlán. For the Mexicans, the Native American blood, the Aztec cultural background are the symbols of their deep roots in the American continent.

The mutual prejudice appeared in a rather asymmetrical way in the second half of the 20th century. In American public thinking and literature—primarily in popular literature—and even in movies Mexicans are depicted as lazy, unreliable and cowardly people. At the beginning of Steve Carver’s 1983 movie titled *Lone Wolf*, the American hero, Chuck Norris, single handedly defeats an entire horde of Mexican *bandidos*. Two of them survive, and the triumphant hero is merciful, and spares their life. But as soon as he turns his back to them, they try to backstab him. Since that is exactly the attitude our hero expects from Mexicans, he is ready and finishes them off as well. In Robert Rodriguez’s 1995 movie, *Desperado*, they want to hire a Mexican assassin, but they are not sure that he will be up to the job, so they ask him: ‘Are you a Mexican, or a Mexican’t?’

¹ Rudolfo ANAYA, “Aztlán”, in *The Anaya Reader*, (New York: Warren Books, 1995) 295.

² Rupert BROWN, *Prejudice. Its Social Psychology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997) 203.

Hispanic characters were rarely cast positive roles in American movies until recently.

Racial stereotyping and distortions of Latino, Latin American and Spanish history and culture were present from the earliest days. From this perspective, all Spanish-surnamed persons were viewed with some degree of racial suspicion. For that reason, the Latino superstars of the 1920s seldom if ever portrayed Latino characters.³

In Ríos-Bustamante's comment the most interesting thing is perhaps that *Hispanic* actors were often given *non-Hispanic* roles.

2. A Movement Emerges

The Hispanic minorities – Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans – only began to break out of the trap of prejudice and animosity. César Chávez's movement, originally launched as an agricultural interest movement, was launched in the 1960s. It might appear to be surprising, but in the decade when America sent a man to the Moon, agricultural workers in California still had to fight for more ergonomically designed hoe handles. Chávez, at the start of his movement, paid attention to keep it as an agricultural pressure movement, as the mere presence of Hispanics in society irritated a lot of people, not only in public thinking, but also among politicians. Linda Chávez, who was selected to be the secretary of labor in George W. Bush's government, formulated the following arguments on behalf of the assimilation of Hispanic minorities:

"The purpose [of the American schools] is not to assimilate Hispanic children, however, but to maintain and strengthen their ethnic identity by teaching them in their native language and by inculcating in them their native culture. In the process, these children have become the most segregated students in American public schools, kept apart from their English speaking peers even after they have acquired basic English skills, sometimes for years."⁴

The quotation is from the chapter titled *Bilingual Battleground* from Chávez's book, indicating that the author looks upon assimilation as some sort of warfare. The unfriendly attitude was soon converted into acts. At schools the use of Spanish language was banned, and those were caught using it, had to stay at

³ Antonio RÍOS-BUSTAMANTE, "Latino Participation in the Hollywood Film Industry, 1911–1945", *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance*, ed. Chon A. NORIEGA, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992) 18–29, 20.

⁴ Linda CHÁVEZ, *Out of the Barrio*, (New York: Basic Books, 1991) 9.

Social and Literary Movements of Hispanic-Americans

school for an extra hour after classes.⁵ A lot of politicians shared these views, some still do, and the Chicano Movement that grew out of Chávez's agricultural movement, emerged as a reaction to this social and political attitude. Hispanic politicians soon joined the movement, the cause. "In 1966 Senator Joseph Montoya (D-NM) told a group of Mexican Americans that if they would organize, work together, and, above all, register and vote, they could become one of the most politically potent groups in the United States."⁶

3. *The Literature of the Movement: Prose*

The contribution of literature to the *Movimiento* is even more powerful and important than that of politicians. The first major Hispanic-American novel is Rudolfo Anaya's *Bless me, Última!*, which became the unofficial grand novel of Mexican-Americans. Code switching, that is inserting Spanioish words into the English text, emphasizing the values of the ethnic community are all present in the novel. In the story, the characters live in a rural environment, far from the busy big city world of the Anglo-American civilization. The novel, published in 1972, was followed by Luis Rodriguez's *Always running* less than two decades. The subtitle of Rodriguez's novel is Spanish: *La vida loca*, that is, the Crazy life. The novel takes place in the big city, in the *barrio*, that is, the Hispanic quarter. This is also the story of a young boy's growing up, his way to adulthood. The protagonist, after gang wars and pointless drifting in the streets, finds the way out in literature. He strays into the library, and under the distrustful eyes of the librarian, chooses books for himself.

"And then there was Piri Thomas, a Puerto Rican brother, *un camarada de aquellas*: His book *Down These Mean Streets* became a living Bible for me. I dog-eared it, wrote in it, copied whole passages so I wouldn't forget their texture, the passion, this searing work of a street dude and hype in Spanish Harlem – a barrio boy like me, on the other side of America."⁷

The sense of belonging, camaraderie and common background is indicated by the use of Spanish words in the English text. The book that became a "living Bible" for Rodriguez, describes the trials and tribulations of a dark-skinned boy from Haiti, whose road is winding through petty- and major crimes, prison life, until he is finally able to leave behind the self-destructive way of life, and find sensible activities for himself. On pages 66-69 of Thomas's novel we find a

⁵ Richard R. VALENCIA, *Chicano School Failure and Success. Past, Present and Future*, (New York: Routledge, 2002²) 9.

⁶ Juan GÓMEZ-QUINONES, *Chicano Politics. Reality and Promise, 1940–1990*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990) 102.

⁷ Luis RODRIGUEZ, *Always Running. La Vida Loca. Gang Days in L. A.*, (New York: Touchstone, 1993) 138.

particularly fine example for the reasons why the school is unable to integrate young Hispanics. All the characters in this scene of Thomas's novel—the schoolmaster, the teacher, the colored Mrs. Washington—act on distorted, erroneous assumptions about the other parties. None of them has any idea or suggestion that would lead them towards a reasonable solution. When the headmaster is forced to retreat, Mrs. Washington and Piri believe that they are triumphant over the white man, and fail to recognize that *they were the ones* who were defeated by a near hopelessly distorted system which is entirely alienated from those whose needs it is supposed to serve.

It is only after such difficulties that the recognition worded by Rodriguez as follows: "It's about time we become part of America."⁸ arrives. It is an important and precisely formulated sentence, since Rodriguez does not say that they need to become *Americans*, since they are Americans. In fact, they have been Americans longer than the Anglo-Saxons. And now they wish to take a seat as equal partners at the great American dinner table.

Julia Alvarez is a Dominican-American author, and her novel titled *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accent* is often referred to as a textbook example of assimilation narrative. The author, however, refutes assimilation with her own life. When the protagonist goes home to Dominica, and wants *guava* juice, the soft drink of her childhood, the shopkeeper is unable to serve her with that. Instead, she offers her Coca-Cola, demonstrating how well supplied her *cantina* is.⁹ Alvarez today shares her time between New York and her native Dominica, where she teaches local people advanced methods of farming.

4. The Literature of the Movement: Theatre

Hispanic theatre in North America looks back on long and rich traditions. When Don Juan de Oñate's expedition arrived at the banks of the Rio Grande in 1598, the first thing they did was stage a play, written by a cavalry officer for the occasion.

It is therefore not surprising that one of the most important cultural contributions to the civil rights movement of the Hispanics is theatre, specifically the "peasant theatre," that is, *El Teatro Campesino*. The word "peasant" refers to the fact that the theatre started in parallel with, and in support of, Chávez's movement. Luiz Valdez, the founder and most prominent member of the movement of *El Teatro Campesino* does not select topics exclusively from the world of farmworkers. In fact, he often deals with subjects from city life, and recent cases of injustice suffered by the Hispanics. One of Valdez's plays, *Zoot Suit*, was

⁸ *Ibid.* 212.

⁹ Julia ALVAREZ, *How the Garcia Girls Lost their Accent*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2004) 13.

Social and Literary Movements of Hispanic-Americans

made into a highly successful musical. Zoot suit was a characteristic outfit of the *pachucos*, the Hispanic youngsters. The suit consisted of vividly colourful, and several sizes larger than necessary pieces, complemented with a meter-long watch chain. This clothing, emphasizing separation from the majority and belonging to another community exposed the *pachucos* to a lot of attacks and hostilities. In the nineteen forties, even the newspapers encouraged honest Americans to rip off the zoot suit from the *pachucos*.

Hispanic-American theatre now flourishes, and the playwrights process a wide range of topics. Carlos Morton loves historical subjects; in his play titled *La Malinche* he tells the story of Cortés, his lover and their son, *the first Mestizo*. Code switching, the appearance of Spanish words in the text written primarily for an Anglo audience, is there throughout the play. There are authors, including contemporary Californian playwright Octavio Solis, in whose works code switching develops into complete bilingualism:

“CHINA: Aqui no has trespassing, papacito! Ni tu cabrón, keep a distancia!”¹⁰

There are only two English words – *trespassing* and *keep* – left in this sentence, although *distancia* is also understandable, since its English equivalent is *distance*, and *no* is the same in both languages. There are, however, long passages in Solis’ plays that are only understandable for people who speak both languages equally well.

5. *I want to get assimilated!*

The struggle of Hispanic-American authors against assimilation—but *not against social integration*—and for the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity is easier to understand when we find an example of those who are not against assimilation.

In the most famous work of the prominent feminist author, Sandra Cisneros the short novel titled *House on Mango Street*, the writer makes it clear that she is exclusively interested in personal progress, her American dream is strictly a personal dream, with no place for ethnic community or a family: “Not a man’s house. Not a daddy’s. A house all my own. With a porch and my pillow, my pretty purple petunias. My books and my stories. My two shoes waiting beside the bed. (...) Nobody’s garbage to pick up after.”¹¹

¹⁰ Octavio SOLIS, “El Paso Blue”, *Plays by Octavio Solis*, (New York: Broadway Play Publishing Inc., 1999) 100.

¹¹ Sandra CISNEROS, *House on Mango Street*, (New York: Vintage Books Inc., 1991) 108.

Although Cisneros did not become a Lesbian, unlike the prominent Hispanic-American poetess, Gloria Anzaldua, men are not attractive to her either. Men are rather disgusting, they snore at night, their legs are swollen like dough, and Cisneros only emphasizes the negative characteristics of her own ethnic community (as if any ethnic community could exist without some negative characteristics).

Code switching is present in the novel, there are Spanish words in the text, but Cisneros even avoids the use of the word *barrio*, although Mango street—where the story takes place—is located in the *barrio*. What is more, the authors draws up the exact borders of the *barrio*, when one of the characters buy a car, and they drive around the *barrio*.

6. Into the 21st Century

In less than half a century, the Chicano movement and the new Hispanic-American literature achieved their major goals. They were unable to dispel all the prejudice, but they broke through the wall of silence and hostility, and the Hispanic-American literature was made equal with the other literatures of the country. The attention of the mainstream society was drawn to the situation of the Hispanics, not only to their troubles and bitterness, but also to their values in literature, music, clothing and culinary arts. This success is indicated by the fact that most of the sequels to the first major literary works were much less successful than the first ones. The real classics, like Valdez's play and Anaya's: *Bless me, Última!* were made into successful movies.

My major publications on the topic:

VRAUKÓ Tamás: „Ideológiai határeset: A mexikóiak Aztlán-mítosza és az amerikai »Manifest Destiny« a »spanyol határvidéken«, *Napút*, 16(2014) 2. sz. 102–109.

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