

Language in Motion?
Popular, Political and Identity Aspects of
Hungarian in Romania

By
Emese Emőke Batizán

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisors: Prof. Dan Rabinowitz
Prof. Andrea Krizsán

Budapest, Hungary

2009

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank for the valuable suggestions, patience and sensible approach Prof. Dan Rabinowitz who was my main support while I was writing this paper. I owe special thanks to Prof. István Horváth who sustained me from the beginning. Further, I am very grateful to Prof. Andrea Krizsán and Prof. Barna Bodó for their constructive comments and suggestions.

The research which serves as a base for this study would have been penurious without the help of my brother, Attila Batizán as well as without the help of Lehel Pap, Enikő Szigeti and the members of the Association of Csango-Hungarians in Moldavia, especially Attila Salak and Emese Kiss – in this way I wish to thank them too. Similarly, I am grateful to Eszter Sipos, Jessica Jungblut, Eszter Timár, Margaret Kiss, Attila Ármos and Nikolay Domashev.

Special thanks for making this study possible are due to my parents, Margit and Márton Batizán. I am very grateful to them for the love and understanding they surround me with and dedicate this paper to them. Köszönöm.

Abstract

This thesis sets out to examine the status of the Hungarian language in Romania, and to analyze the origins, validity and meaning of the widespread view that it is in decline. It looks at daily use of the language and its role in public institutions, explores attitudes towards it amongst its users, and analyzes objectives and activities of a number of Hungarian minority organizations that advocate the preservation and revitalization of language as part of the effort to maintain Hungarian culture and identity in contemporary Romania.

Informed by work on minority culture in liberal democracies (Kymlicka, Csergő, Keller), I focus more particularly on issues of language dominance and predominance, language parity (Csergő, Mühlhäusler), language policy and planning (Bochmann, Bratt Paulston, Kloss, Toffelson), bilingualism and diglossia (Bourdieu, Grosjean, Bartha, Lambert, Ferguson, Fishman).

The thesis was researched in three sites. One is Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, a town in Central Romania, in an area where Hungarians make up 39.30% of the population, and which is known also as “the Hungarian semi-block” (Official Census Data 2002). The other two sites are diasporic communities, that is predominantly Hungarian communities in areas where Hungarians make less than 20% of the population. One is village of Răcăştie/Rákosd in South Transylvania. The other is a number of villages inhabited by members of the Csango community in Bacău county.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract.....	iii
List of Figures	v
List of Tables	v
List of Photographs	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Literature Review	6
Chapter 2. Methodology	17
Chapter 3. Case Study of a Semi-Block Settlement: Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely	20
Chapter 4. Case Study of a Diaspora Settlement: Răcăştie/Rákosd	32
Chapter 5. Case Study of the Csangos	42
Conclusion	52
Reference List	56
List of Documents	60

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Hungarians in Romania

Figure 2 - Fishman's model of diglossia and bilingualism

List of Tables

Table 1 - Ethnic Composition of Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely

Table 2 - Ethnic Composition of Răcăştie/Rákosd

Table 3 - Ethnic Composition of Hunedoara

Table 4 - What language do you speak to your parents?

Table 5 - What language do you speak to your brother/sister?

Table 6 - What language do you speak to your grandparents?

Table 7 - What language do you use most at your workplace?

Table 8 - What language do you use in shops?

Table 9 - What language do you use in post office?

Table 10 - What language do you use in doctor's surgery?

Table 11 -What language do you speak to your friends?

Table 12 - In what language can you express yourself better?

Table 13 - What kind of church service do you attend?

List of Photographs

Photograph 1 - One Way Street

Photograph 2 - Romanian National Bank

Photograph 3 - Cult of Heroes. Mureș County Association

Photograph 4 - National Association of War Veterans, Mureș

Photograph 5 - Ministry of National Defense, Military Circle

Photograph 6 - Community Police Forces, Tîrgu Mureș

Photograph 7- Chamber of Commerce

Photograph 8 - County Council, Mureș

Photograph 9 - Post Office

Photograph 10 - Wedding-Hall

Photograph 11 - Mayor's Office

Photograph 12 - Culture Palace

Introduction

A view often expressed in the Hungarian media in Romania is that the Hungarian language is in decline. It is, people say, used less frequently, less accurately and is quickly losing “purity”. József Gazda, a Hungarian language teacher from Covasna/Kovászna Harghita/Hargita county recently used the following prose to express this sentiment:

[T]he Hungarian language is in a defenseless situation in Transylvania, it is surrounded by wolves, because everyday we are made aware and made to feel that we speak a secondary language in this country (Erdély Ma/Transylvania Today, electronic newspaper of Transylvania, 29 04 2009).

The message in a local newspaper is similar. In the words of the *Népújság (Newspaper of the People)*: „*[t]he Hungarian language is continuously decaying, is corrupted and is becoming poor [in Transylvania]*”. Even the president of Hungary, László Sólyom has positioned himself on the occasion of the inauguration of the Museum of the Hungarian Language in 2008 by saying:

It is not by chance that the first signs of the assimilation can be seen on the language.[...] In these regions [outside Hungary but inhabited by Hungarians] the status, endangered situation or perhaps the blooming of the language are very different, in this way signalling the different perspectives of the Hungarian people based on their societal positions. Or how do we react to the fact that the Osiris Foreign Language Dictionary is full of [Hungarian] loan-words that come from the language of the state in Transylvania [in Romania], the Uplands [in Slovakia] and so on? (László Sólyom 23 04 2008)

This thesis sets out to examine the status of the Hungarian language in Romania, and to analyze the origins, validity and meaning of the view that it is in decline. To do so I look at daily usage of Hungarian, its role in public institutions and interlocutors’ attitude towards it. Also, I analyze the activity of those Hungarian minority organizations that advocate the preservation and revitalization of Hungarian. To offer a more comprehensive outlook, I also present the attitude of the Romanian state towards the Hungarian language, the legal status of Hungarian in Romania and discrepancies between the theory about its usage and the actual practice.

The studies written on this theme (Benő and Péntek 2003, Horváth 2003, Péntek 2001, Vetési 2002) do not seem to offer a comprehensive overview regarding the situation of the Hungarian language in Romania. Benő and Péntek (2003) deal only with the legal framework of the Hungarian language in Romania. Péntek's (2001) approach is rather a linguistic one, Vetési (2002) does his sociography only in diaspora areas of Romania, while Horváth (2003) achieves his findings mainly through survey analysis. Therefore, my study aims to offer integration between various aspects of the problem. I believe that a qualitative sociological research which treats the situation of the Hungarian language in Romania on different levels and in different sites will essentially contribute to the existing knowledge in this field.

While the Constitution of Romania defines the state as a nation state, specifying that "Romania is a national, sovereign, independent, unitary and indivisible state" (1st Article), on the territory of the country there are 19 national minority groups, namely Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Croats, Greeks, Germans, Italians, Jews, Hungarians, Poles, Roma, Russians, Serbs, Slovaks, Tatars, Turks, Ukrainians, Macedonians and Rutens (Official Census Data, 2002). Hungarians form the largest minority in the country, making up 6.6%¹ of the population of Romania and Csangos form 0.003%² according to the Official Census Data in 2002 while 0.30% in the estimation of the Council of Europe in 2001.

To put it in an international context, in July 1995 Romania signed and in May 2008 ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The Charter promotes the usage of regional or minority languages in public and private life, considering that these languages contribute "to the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and

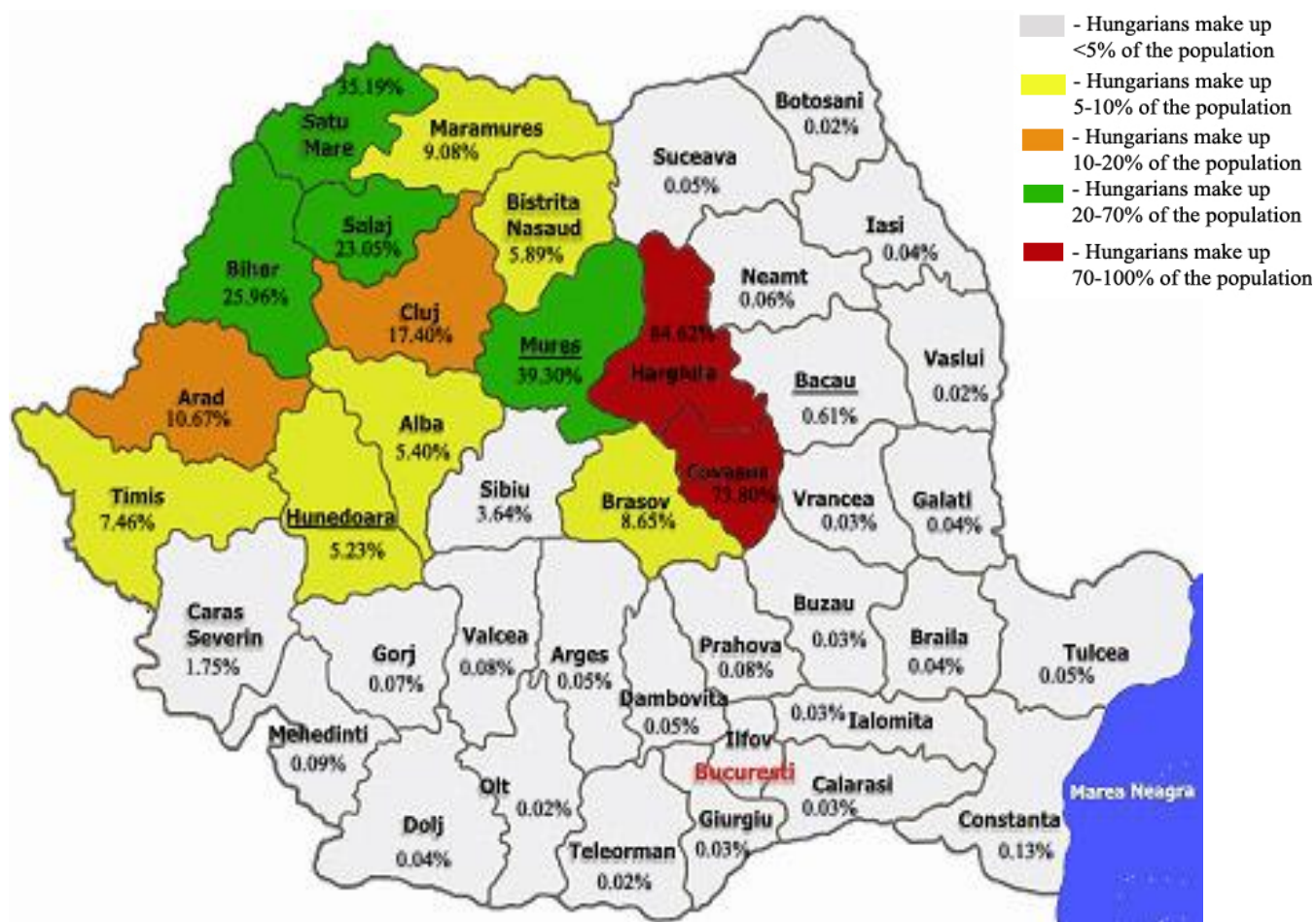
¹ The number of the Hungarian population in Romania is 1 432 000, while the total number of Romania's inhabitants is 21 681 000 (Official Census Data from 2002)

² The Official Census Data from 2002 registered 1266 Csangos (0,003% of the population of the country) while in the estimation of the Council of Europe in 2001 their number is 60000-70000 (0,30% of the country's population) (Recommendation 1521).

traditions”. The Charter defines as regional or minority languages the languages which are “traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state’s population” (Article 1.a). These languages are different from the official languages of the state. In Romania the only official language of the state is Romanian (Constitution of Romania, Art. 13.), thus Hungarian and “Csango” are regional or minority languages.

The Hungarian language in Romania is mainly used in Transylvania, but even within Transylvania in a differentiated manner, predominantly in Harghita/Hargita, Covasna/Kovászna, Mureş/Maros, Satu Mare/Szatmár, Bihor/Bihar, Cluj/Kolozs and Zalău/Zilah counties (see map in Figure 1.). The “Csango language” is used by Csangos, a “non-homogeneous group of Roman Catholic people of Hungarian origin” (Council of Europe, Report nr 9078, 2001) who are surrounded by an Orthodox Romanian majority in Bacău county.

This is why the situation of the Hungarian language cannot be treated in a uniform way on the territory of the whole country, not even in Transylvania. Bodó (2004) uses the categories of “block-Hungarian” region, “front-line situation” and “diaspora” to highlight the differences between the Hungarian-inhabited regions. On the basis of Bodó’s typology as well as the Official Census Data in 2002, I have also differentiated the block-Hungarian regions (Harghita/Hargita and Covasna/Kovászna counties) where the percentage of the Hungarian population is over 70%, the semi-block regions, where the Hungarian and Romanian population is balanced, or the Hungarian population is at least more than 20% and the diaspora regions, where it is below 20%. It is very salient to do this type of differentiation, because depending on the number of Hungarians in a certain region, the problems regarding the use of the Hungarian language are probably of a different nature and on a different scale.



*Figure 1. Hungarians in Romania
(Based on the Official Census Data, 2002)*

My analysis concerns the semi-block and diaspora regions, having three sites: Tîrgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely in Mureș county, Răcăștie/Rákosd in Hunedoara county and a number of villages (Trunchi/Trunk, Gioseni/Diószén, Răcăciuni/Rekecsin) in Bacău county³. An analysis of the situation of the Hungarian language, the activity of civic organizations and the attitude of Hungarians toward the use of their mother tongue in block Hungarian areas are outside the scope of this paper. The reason for this is that in block Hungarian regions the Hungarian and Romanian

³ These locations are underlined on the map in Figure 1.

languages are not in an intensive interaction with each other as well as the time limitations of my research⁴.

The thesis deals with the questions of language predominance, language dominance, language parity (Csergő, Mühlhäusler) as well as minorities and liberalism (Kymlicka, Csergő, Keller). The paper also addresses the issue of language planning: status planning, acquisition planning, corpus planning, language revitalisation, language standardization and language purism (Bochmann, Bratt Paulston, Kloss, Toffelson) bilingualism and diglossia (Bourdieu, Grosjean, Bartha, Lambert, Ferguson, Fishman). It is composed of three main chapters: literature review, methodology and research analysis. In the theoretical part I will present the main concepts and theories that I operate with. In the research analysis I will offer you guidance to the three loci of my research (Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely in Mureş county, Răcăştie/Rákosd in Hunedoara county and a number of villages in Bacău county) and I will explore the legal-administrative climate, the linguistic behaviour of the interlocutors as well as the aims of organisations (language revitalisation, acquisition planning, corpus planning, language purism) operating in the field.

⁴ The research was carried out mainly in April 2009.

Chapter 1. Literature Review

In this chapter I will present those concepts and theories that are salient in exploring and analyzing the situation of the Hungarian language in Romania. Going from the macro level to the micro, these concepts and theories include relations between liberalism and minorities, language policy, language politics and language planning orientations, individual bilingualism, diglossia as well as metalinguistic awareness.

Liberalism has a vast literature, and although I cannot present the whole debate related to it, I cannot avoid alluding to some of its aspects either. This, because the type of the liberalism that is internalized and acted by Romania is relevant for how the state treats its minorities and the language spoken by them. The National Liberal Party (Partidul National Liberal) emphasizes that 1990 was the year of “reinvention” of liberalism in Romania, the moment since when Romania qualifies as a liberal state. At the same time the WTO reports that Romania entered the process of liberalization in 1992 and until 1999 has succeeded in establishing a liberal political climate as well as an open investment and market regime (WTO Report: Romania, September 1999).

There is a consensus among many scholars and political entities that many linguistic and cultural minorities will not survive “let alone achieve relative equality without special assistance” (Keller 1998:35). Keller maintains that “the right to maintain and develop a cultural identity is in principle a universal right” (Keller 1998:35).

A very important idea is expressed by Csörgő: she dismisses the myth about an “irrational” attraction of the national and indigenous minorities toward their languages. Moreover, she alludes that majorities have the same relation toward their languages as the minorities have (we can label it rational or irrational, it does not matter). The only difference is that the relation of majorities toward their “own” languages is not manifest because their right to

practice it is not constrained or endangered, but on the contrary, it is guaranteed (Csergő 2007:15).

In the liberal nationalist approach, individuals are in the center of the society and accordingly, special minority language rights contradict the basic idea of liberal ethos: all individuals are equal and deserve equal treatment from the state. In this framework the state offers an identity for its citizens (citizenship itself) and within it, every other identity becomes a private matter (Kymlicka 1995). Every individual is allowed to use the language s/he wants but the question arises whether the state has any obligation in this respect (Vizi 2004:14)? Liberal nationalist states advocate that the state should adopt a neutral stance toward all languages used on its territory (“normative call for equality and inclusion”) but I would agree with those scholars who criticize this standpoint. Because there is no neutral language, the state has to choose one (or more languages) and the process and result of its decision affects and discriminates positively or negatively all its citizens. So, what liberal nationalism does is that it serves to legitimize “the collective territorial and cultural interests of national majorities” (Csergő 2007:16). Kymlicka highlights, that instead of “difference-blind institutions” states should cultivate the “politics of differentiation” and the “politics of recognition” (in Csergő 2007:16). Jung argues similarly, emphasizing that states should move toward liberal multiculturalism that is a “reflexive reaction against the homogenizing threats of modernity” (Jung 2009:35). Its protective acts are represented in collective rights accorded to minorities, and move in the spheres of “external protections” and “internal restrictions” (Kymlicka 1995, Jung 2009:41). External protections are significant in order for these minority cultures not to be targeted for a coercive (even if structural) assimilation as it happens in the case of the Csango population. Minority groups should therefore benefit from a certain level of political and economic autonomy so that they are not vulnerable to majority decisions (Kymlicka 1995:7). Internal restrictions are an even more sensitive issue, they

refer to the group members themselves and limit their liberty in “the name of group solidarity or cultural purity” (Kymlicka 1995:7).

Although in several countries there have been strong attempts to realize the ideal model of the Westphalian state, in most of the places this has remained an unsuccessful project. Thus, the highly desired congruence between nation, state and culture (and language, as part of culture) exists only in very few countries (Patten 2003:357). To illustrate, in 2000 there were 200 states while more than 6000 languages therefore we can state that linguistic variety dominates the whole world (including Romania) (Patten 2003:356).

In Csergő’s estimation in multilingual societies, the state of languages can be classified after official language orderings in the following way: language dominance, language predominance and language parity (2007:117). In the case of language dominance there is one official language which can be used and which needs to be used at all levels and in every domain. Language parity means that two (or more) languages are recognized in the same manner in all public places and government institutions at all levels. Language predominance allows the limited use of different languages in certain public institutions and places, but still “speakers of the dominant language can function without restrictions in all public institutions and places in all localities of the state, while speakers of other languages are expected to learn the language of the dominant group in order to function fully in the same settings” (Csergő 2007:118).

Analyzing the measures and state attitudes oriented toward languages, Mühlhäusler argues that we can distinguish three types of language policies, such as the “let them die”, “laissez faire” and “languages need to be maintained” approach. In my estimation, these attitudes toward languages are overlapping in their nature and goals with those defined by Csergő “language dominance”, “language predominance” and “language parity”. The basis of the first type of argumentation is that the struggle of a state for preserving a language is useless, because

languages have their own ecologies (Mühlhäusler 1992:163) and even if they die, they are “recorded in the mind of God” (Firth in Mühlhäusler 1992:171) . This argumentation legitimizes the language dominance-type of cultural policy. The “laissez faire” approach gives enough space for languages to compete with each other, all the state does, in this logic, is that it guarantees a “liberal” competing context for them. Representatives of this type of policy believe that in order to maintain a language, the state needs to preserve its oikos, which does not mean something natural or right. Generally, this type of logic and argumentation generates language predominance. The third approach (“languages need to be maintained”) is devoted to the importance of the idea of cultural survivals. This is always mirrored in the cultural parity policy line and in the application of positive discriminations toward minority cultures and minority languages.

Language policies can be of implicit and explicit nature (Bochmann in Szépe-Derényi 1999:41). Thus, until the 1960-s we can predominantly speak about implicit language policies (n. b. non action is action too). I agree with Giordan, who argues that language policies are important because “the optimal development of the linguistic and cultural riches is a major condition for the realization of a democratic society capable of guaranteeing peace in this geopolitical space [Europe]” (in Bratt Paulston 1997:83). In addition to the language policy enacted by the state it is of paramount importance to enlarge our perspective, exploring also a lower level, analyzing the language politics and language planning activity of minority organizations who advocate for the usage of minority languages.

Language politics is determined by a number of non-linguistic factors: origin of the linguistic-ethnic community and the status of its members, demographic-geographical factors (the number of persons that speak the particular language, whether they are spread or form a separate group), the standardization degree of that specific language and the functions which can

be fulfilled through that given language. This latter is a very important dimension, it is important to map the validity of the language regarding societal public communication. Bochmann argues that one has to verify different domains where the language is used: everyday life, religion, elementary and secondary education, literature, traditional technologies, electronic media, local and state level administration, industry and business, higher education, sciences and terminologies. One also has to verify the legal position of the language in question, whether it is official, co-official, regional official language or it has no official status. Equally important is the degree of the autonomy of the certain linguistic system: whether we are dealing with a territorial language, is it an endogenous or exogenous language, does the language have a country where it is considered to be official – all these elements can serve as explaining factors when analyzing certain language politics (Bochmann in Szépe-Derényi 1999:47-51).

The concept of language planning as a conscious political action emerged in the 1960-s and it was orientated toward solving the problems of linguistic minorities (Bratt Paulston 1997:74). Language planning is an organized language-problem-solving activity (Fishman in Szépe-Derényi 1999:96), an intended language reform (Rubin and Jernudd in Szépe-Derényi 1999:96), a mechanism that places the language into the societal structure and defines who will have direct access to political power and economic resources (Toffelson in Szépe -Derényi 1999:16). Its sphere of action is characteristically limited to the pursuit of solutions on national levels (Fishman in Bratt Paulston 1997). In this paper the level of the language politics is specific, because I am not addressing the national language politics, but the politics elaborated on local levels by the representative organisations and parties of the Hungarian and Csango minorities.

Language planning has separate directions: acquisition planning, status planning, corpus planning, language standardization, language purism and language revitalisation.

The acquisition planning focuses on the users of certain language and on the elevation of their status. This can be achieved together with status planning where the goal is to maintain the status of the language itself, its functional role and use in public domains (Kloss in Bratt Paulston 1997:78).

Corpus planning refers to the language itself and stays in the modification of old expressions or grammar, in the creation or facilitation the use of new terms in certain domains or in the whole language. Language purism, as the denomination already alludes, has as its aim for a language to be spoken “purely” by the members of a certain language community.

In Sanford’s estimation revitalisation always signals that a certain minority group has realised that they are part already of a “completed acculturation”. Sanford argues that when revitalisation emerges, the two (or more) groups follow similar basic values: they share the same language, kinship, marriage customs, religion, same living circumstances and strategies as well as common system of social stratification (Sanford 1974:504). She presents the view of acculturation that sustains: two cultures that are in permanent contact will become like each other “to a theoretical end point in which the two cultures would merge into a synthesis of some kind” (1974:506).

It is interesting to refer to the connotations of the categories “minority” and “majority”. They denote a numerical distribution in the population and a little bit more than that. As Vilfon points out, it is more correct to speak about “privileged and dominant and non-privileged and non-dominant ethnic groups” (in Bratt Paulston 1997:77). When I speak in my paper about minorities and majorities, minority and majority languages I do it in the numeric understanding of the terms, but also in this symbolic and deeper meaning.

85% of the Hungarian minority in Romania is considered to be bilingual or at least to have more than basic competencies in both Hungarian and Romanian languages (Csepeli, Örkény, Székelyi, 1999 Péntek, 2001 in Horváth 2003:7).

In Bloomfield's approach those people are considered bilingual who use two (or more) languages at mother tongue level (Bloomfield in Mackey 2000:29). However, scholars have proved that balanced bilingualism (equal competences in both languages) does not exist. As Bartha points out: those people can be considered bilingual who in their daily interactions use one or more languages, irrespective of the level of their linguistic competence (Bartha 1999). In Grosjean's estimation too, bilingualism means the regular usage of two or more languages and bilinguals are those people who in their daily interactions need to use these languages (Grosjean in Kiss 2002). In this paper bilingualism is accepted in Bartha's and Grosjean's definition, so Hungarians in diaspora who in part, mainly the younger people do not master the Hungarian language well, Csangos "whose" youth often does not speak Hungarian well and even Hungarians in semi-blocks, who do not speak Romanian well can be and are considered bilinguals. Thus the criterion is the continuous exposure to the Hungarian and Romanian languages.

Lambert defines different typologies of bilingualism: additive versus subtractive, balanced versus unbalanced and integrative versus instrumental bilingualism. In the case of additive bilingualism the acquisition of the second language does not squeeze out the first language from usage. On the other hand, in the case of subtractive bilingualism the second language "horns in to the territory of the first language" until the first language is supplanted totally from the daily usage (Lambert in Bartha 1999). Regarding the second typology, balanced bilingualism refers to those bilinguals who possess in both languages the same linguistic competencies, categorizing them as ambilinguals. In the case of unbalanced bilingualism the

agents generally have higher linguistic and communicative competencies in one “A” language than in “B” language (Li Wei 2000).

The third typology construes bilingualism from the point of view of language acquisition. In this approach Lambert emphasizes that people can be motivated of two considerations when learning a new language. Whether they want to become a part of the group which uses that certain language – Lambert calls this type of language acquisition integrative bilingualism – or they want to benefit from the fact that they master that certain language and use it as an object – labeled by Lambert as instrumental bilingualism (Lambert in Bartha 1999).

The continuous cohabitation of two languages can be characterized in several cases by diglossia. Diglossia is similar to bilingualism except that in the case of bilingualism when/if codeswitching appears, it is the consequence of individual choices while in the case of diglossia it is the result of the different functional roles played by the two languages.

The modern concept of diglossia was first defined by Ferguson in 1959 and this first definition referred merely to the two levels of the same language; these levels are used in different registers and fulfill different functions (Ferguson in Landry - Allard 1994:16). Later in 1973 he expanded the logical domain of the concept and added that diglossia can be also composed of two different languages. The latter happens only if two languages are used in different situations and the interlocutor is not aware of the fact that the languages used by him/her are parts of two different code systems (Ferguson in Hudson 2002:10). One is the standard variant, the high (H) version and is used mainly in official and interest spheres while the other one, the low (L) variant is the vernacular language, which is generally used in local interactions in micro-domains. Agents usually know which language to use in different situations because of the clear societal compartmentalization of the languages (Fishman in Landry - Allard 1994:17). In Fishman’s estimation this supremacy territory of the languages is the guarantee that both

languages will cohabitate for a long period next to each other. Stable societal compartmentalization therefore brings in stable societal bilingualism.

I have already made the allusion that diglossia is a similar situation to bilingualism, but still the relation between them can be described in the following model:

		Diglossia	
Bilingualism	+	bilingualism and diglossia	bilingualism without diglossia
		diglossia without bilingualism	neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Figure 2. Fishman's model of diglossia and bilingualism

Fishman in Landry - Allard 1994:20

On the grounds of the above model, we can identify the parallel cohabitation of diglossia and bilingualism which describes the situation when most people in the studied population speak both languages and there is also a degree of institutional support for using the H and L variants in different situations. A second category is bilingualism without diglossia, when nearly everyone in the studied population speaks both languages but the societal compartmentalization is very unstable. Additionally, when one language fulfills all the necessary functions in a society and when it is used in every type of situation, then there is no longer structural need for the other language. Thus the L language will be assimilated into the more “useful” H language. Nonetheless, until a language has its social compartment where it is used, there is a need for that particular language and it will not disappear. The third category refers to a diglossic situation formed by two registers of the same language, while in the fourth category neither diglossia nor bilingualism can be identified.

Language shift denotes the process, when a minority population „changes” its mother tongue to a more functional and more prestigious language, that is usually the official state language (Fishman in Stoessel 2002:94).

To be able to understand the linguistic behaviour of Hungarians in Romania it is useful to be familiar with Bourdieu’s theory of practice. Practices are results of different sets of predispositions or products of the “relation between habitus and special social context” (Bourdieu 1992). In his “field” he defines everyday linguistic exchanges

situated encounters between agents endowed with socially structured resources and competencies, in such a way that every linguistic interaction, however personal and insignificant it may seem, bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce (1992:2).

Practice is not wholly conscious and not wholly unconscious either. Practice is “happening” and it is part of the social game, where the rules of the game are inculcated in early childhood by the structure because they determine what one can and what one cannot do (Jenkins 2002:70-72). This is how actual speakers have a “practical competence”, however often are not aware of them (Bourdieu 1992:8). This can be measured through the metalinguistic awareness of the interlocutors.

Metalinguistic awareness refers to the ability of interlocutors to reflect on their own language/s and on their knowledge and deficiencies about it. Scholars argue that bilingual individuals dispose of a higher level of metalinguistic awareness than monolinguals. This is facilitated by the fact that they learn from their childhood to abstract from the form and to concentrate on more substantial aspects, as the meaning. Bilinguals always compare the two languages and work out an analytical strategy. Accordingly, they have a discursive knowledge about their bilingualism, code switching and language usage, but this is a subjective knowledge which can be characterized by a high level of metalinguistic desirability. This is why the questions put to the interviewed persons: what language do they use in different situations is

sometimes very difficult, because they imply a high level of metalinguistic awareness, which individuals often lack.

In this study I will analyze the bilingualism (additive, subtractive, balanced, unbalanced, integrative, instrumental) of Hungarian speakers in different sites, whether it is coupled with diglossia, their metalinguistic awareness and their linguistic behaviour regarding the use of Hungarian in different circumstances. Also, I will explore the language planning orientation (acquisition planning, status planning, corpus planning, language standardization, language purism and language revitalisation) of organisations that are active for the preservation and revitalisation of the Hungarian language in Romania.

Chapter 2. Methodology

My analysis concerns the semi-block and diaspora Hungarian regions in Romania, having three sites: Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely in Mureş county, Răcăştie/Rákosd in Hunedoara county, and a region in Moldavia inhabited by Csangos, whom I regard as a specific category belonging to the Hungarian population. To collect data for this study I used five methods: analysis of a number of official regulations, linguistic landscape (LL) analysis (in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely), linguistic interviews (in Răcăştie/Rákosd), semistructured interviews (in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, Răcăştie/Rákosd and among Csangos) as well as participant observation (in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely, Răcăştie/Rákosd and among Csangos).

In my thesis I try to construct the legal climate for the use of minority languages, Hungarian in particular, analyzing the following Romanian and European regulations: Recommendation 1521, Report nr. 9078, 2001, Education law nr. 84 24 July 1995, Decision nr. 1.206 from 27 November 2001 regarding the Law of local public administration. However, a restriction of this method is that it is very selective. I have chosen only a number of legal resolutions, only those that I have considered to necessarily influence the use of the Hungarian language among Hungarians and Csangos.

Moreover, because we know that policies are only rarely implemented as they were designed to work, I have decided to experiment with them. This is how a linguistic landscape (LL) analysis was done in Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely. LL refers to the public signs, linguistic objectives that define and form the public sphere of a given administrative entity (Ben-Rafael and Shohamy 2004). In this paper, I have narrowed the LL only to public signs, linguistic objectives placed by local and central state authorities. I believe that only these are relevant in testing how the Administration Law of 2001 is implemented, given the fact the law does not apply to private

entities. The LL analysis contains 42 photographs taken in the downtown, in the area where official institutions and authorities are located. The goal was to capture every bilingual and monolingual inscription in that area; naturally, totality cannot be proved, so the reader must have good faith in the author's work.

A third method used in my paper consists of semistructured interviews that I have conducted with members of organizations active in promotion of Hungarian in public institutions as well as during everyday interactions. These organizations are the following: Civic Engagement Movement, Association of Csango-Hungarians in Moldavia, the Catholic and the Reformed Church. Although I am aware that the number of the organizations interviewed is not representative of Romania or of Transylvania, interviewing more organizations was not possible because of the time limitations of the research. Nevertheless, I consider that the data gathered is still relevant in its content.

To be able to map the attitude of interlocutors toward the use of the Hungarian language in official places and everyday life, I have also conducted semistructured interviews as well as informal discussions. This was completed by participant observation and observing participation. I am aware that in a number of situations I might have fallen into the trap of home blindness, one of my research sites, Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely being my hometown. Another limitation of my study is that while doing my fieldwork among the Csangos, I rarely met them without the presence of Hungarian teachers of the Association of Csango-Hungarians in Moldavia. Consequently, during these interactions Csangos might have behave and state what they thought that was expected of them.

I consider that mapping those domains where the Hungarian language is used is important, especially in diaspora regions. Thus, I have used linguistic interviews designed by Susan Gal, completed with Mackey's ideas and adapted to the specific situations in Transylvania

(Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely and Răcăştie/Rákosd). In this interview that is similar to a questionnaire I have asked the subjects to answer questions regarding language use in different situations. I asked if they speak Hungarian or Romanian with their family members, friends, doctor, at post office, official institutions, workplace, school and church; which language they count, pray or swear in. However, the results of the linguistic interview are more interesting in the diaspora region, Răcăştie/Rákosd than in the “semi-block” Hungarian town, Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely. This is important, because having a record about the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC) one can state if a community is moving or has moved toward language shift. If the result shows that the interlocutors speak with more persons and in more situations and domains their second (not their mother) language, then the process of language shift has already started (Landry and Allard 1994). Working with linguistic interviews was thus very useful in this research. Admittedly, the method has certain restrictions too, namely, the interviewees knew what the „correct” answers to certain questions were, therefore they might gave those answers that they thought that were expected of them

Chapter 3. Case Study of a Semi-Block Settlement: Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely

The first locus of my study is Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely. The town is situated in the central part of Transylvania⁵ and is inhabited by Romanian and Hungarian people in almost equal numbers: 50% Romanian, 47% Hungarian, respectively Roma 2%, with 1% other nationalities (Official Census Data 2002). The town belongs to the semi-block Hungarian region, the number of the Hungarians in the county being 39.30% (Official Census Data 2002).

Table 1. Ethnic Composition of Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely

Romanian	75533	50%
Hungarian	70108	47%
Roma	3660	2,5%
Other Nationalities	740	0,5% *
<i>Total</i>	<i>150041</i>	<i>100%</i>

(Official Census Data, 2002)

**Note: The category of „Other Nationalities” includes*

Ukrainians, Germans, Turks, Russians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Slovenian, Greeks, Jews, Italians

In this part of the paper I explore through the “education law” (Education law nr. 84 from 24 July 1995) and “administration law” (Decision nr. 1.206 from 27 November 2001) the legal status and administrative climate of the Hungarian language in Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely. In addition to this, I will verify through linguistic landscape (LL) analysis the relationship and eventual discrepancies between policy design and policy implementation regarding the “administration law”. Equally important is to explore the attitudes of Hungarian interlocutors toward the usage of their mother tongue in public institutions. The last part of this section will present the activity of the Civic Engagement Movement.

⁵ See map in Figure 1.

In Hornberger's estimation language policy and the language of education serve as a "vehicle for promoting the utility of a certain language and promoting the rights of the speakers to participate in state and global communities in their own terms but at the same time a vehicle for promoting a certain identity, culture too, that can be different from the one that is declared by the state as official (1998:441). This is why even EU member states "are more willing to give up their sovereignty over economic policies than over minority policies and policies of cultural reproduction (language and educational policies)" (Csergő 2007:11).

The Romanian education law in this respect can be seen to be more open (Education law nr. 84 from 24 July 1995). It guarantees the education in the minority (Hungarian) language from kindergarten to postgraduate studies. Every subject can theoretically be taught in Hungarian (in places where there is "enough" number of Hungarian children) with the exception of the history and geography of Romania. At the same time, Benő and Péntek draw our attention to the ambiguous and discriminatory aspect of this law. First of all, the law does not specify, what "enough" number of Hungarian children means. Besides, taking into account that children have final examination in these subjects (studied in Romanian language) and the result strongly defines the probability to be admitted into the secondary education, could make the situation of Hungarian children more difficult. The DAHR (Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania), an important political actor in Romania is insisting to change this paragraph of the law so that children belonging to national (Hungarian) minorities would also be able to study these two subjects in their mother tongue. The fact that the geography and history of Romania can be taught only in Romanian language signifies that these sciences are still considered to have "national" content (Benő and Péntek in Nádor and Szarka 2003).

The law also asserts that the education needs to "guarantee the cultivation of love directed toward the Romanian customs and toward the history of the Romanian nation" (Education law

nr.84, Art 4.2). Benő and Péntek highlight the discriminatory aspect of this article, of the fact that education deals only with the cultivation of the Romanian culture. This calls into question the interiorization and implementation of the 26th paragraph of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, namely that education “shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among *all* nations” (UDHR, Art.26) (Benő and Péntek in Nádor and Szarka 2003). In this respect children should learn how to cherish not only the Romanian culture, but also the cultures of different minorities present in the territory of the state. Moreover, I consider that the introduction for Romanian children as optional course the language of those minorities that they are cohabitating with, would truly promote the “understanding, tolerance and friendship” among nations (UDHR, Art.26) and help Romania in the progression toward a real multiculturalism.

The official language of the country is Romanian, while in certain areas of the country Hungarian has gained co-official status since 2001. These regions are settlements where the proportion of Hungarian inhabitants is more than 20% of the population. In these places there is official bilingualism, thus the use of both Hungarian and Romanian in official places is allowed and both languages are present theoretically on public signs. One is also allowed to address officials in public institutions in Hungarian and is allowed (however, not guaranteed) to receive oral and written answer to the request also in Hungarian (Decision nr. 1.206 from 27 November 2001).

Theoretically, this seems to be a just policy and would help individuals belonging to the minority population in sensing their full citizen status as well as in surmounting linguistic obstacles and discriminations. Practically, this law regarding official bilingualism is far from being realised. The discrepancy between policy design and its implementation is mirrored through the linguistic landscape of a Transylvanian town, Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely.

I decided to analyze a part of the linguistic landscape (LL) of the town in order to find out how the above mentioned administration law is implemented. I have taken 42 photographs in the downtown of the city and I can state that public signs are predominantly monolingual, only 6 out of 42 signs are bilingual. While local authorities tend to have bilingual inscriptions, representatives of central organs have monolingual Romanian inscriptions only, often decorated with the Romanian flag (see also Benő and Péntek in Nádor and Szarka 2003). For example, One Way Street Sign, Ministry of National Defense, County Council and Community Police Forces have monolingual inscriptions, while post offices, bus stations, the Mayor's Office have bilingual inscriptions. And to reiterate, this happens in a city where not only the minimum 20% but almost half of the population belong to the Hungarian minority group.

Some monolingual Romanian public signs:

1. One way street



2. Romanian National Bank



3. Cult of Heroes. Mureș County Association

4. National Association of War Veterans, Mureș

5. Ministry of National Defense, Military Circle



6. Community Police Forces, Tîrgu Mureș



7. Chamber of Commerce



8. County Council, Mureș



Bilingual public signs are more infrequent in Tîrgu Mureș/ Marosvásárhely:

9. Post office



10. Wedding-hall



11. Mayor's office



12. Culture Palace



Language predominance is accommodated and practiced in this part of Romania. Language predominance allows the use of Hungarian language in certain public institutions and places, but still “speakers of the dominant language can function without restrictions in all public institutions and places in all localities of the state, while speakers of other languages are expected to learn the language of the dominant group in order to function fully in the same settings” (Csérgő 2007:118).

Hungarian interlocutors in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely use during their daily interactions the Hungarian language almost in every domain: family, relatives, free time activities, friends, education and work places (however in the last case the Romanian language is already present). The sole domain where Hungarian is substituted by Romanian is the official institutional sphere. During my discussions with informants, I have noticed that the general attitudes toward using Hungarian in public institutions could be roughly divided into three categories, namely “conforming” (Merton 1968), adapting and defiant attitude.

Although most of the Hungarians in Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely are aware that they are entitled to use the Hungarian language in public institutions, they rarely profit from this opportunity. Some of them do not speak Hungarian because of “politeness” without reflecting on it; it is an internalized behaviour already, a “practice”, the product of the “relation between habitus and special social context” (Bourdieu 1992). This type of attitude overlaps with Merton’s “conforming” attitude. As one of my interviewee worded it:

I cannot speak very good Romanian, I am from Gyergyószárhegy/Lăzarea [village in Harghita/Hargita county], so that I was a little bit nervous when I had to authenticate my high-school graduation certificate [in Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely]. But I stood in the line and I was trying to grasp the keywords in order that when it will be my turn to know already approximately what they ask me and what the potential answers to the respective questions are (P. S. 20-year-old woman).

The reason expressed for using the Romanian language instead of the Hungarian one in public institutions also contains rational choice and irrational fear. On one hand, people are convinced that if they address to institutions in Romanian, they will be offered solutions to their problems in a shorter period and state officials will be less hostile and more benevolent. And this attitude is not only a generational phenomenon, present among those persons who have been socialized before 1989, but it similarly characterizes young people. Moreover, young people tend to be proud of their high level of Romanian knowledge and specifically of the fact that it cannot be assessed by strangers that Romanian is not their mother tongue. However, their first language is still their mother language, but the present attitude, admiration and need toward the official language and often frugality toward the mother language, can easily turn from additive into subtractive bilingualism. From the perspective of language acquisition, integrative as well as instrumental bilingualism is present among Hungarian speakers in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely.

Linguistic relations in this case too are relations of power, set by the authorized and legitimate cultural authorities of the dominant group and exercised even on lower level through “civil hegemony”. Bourdieu uses the term “symbolic domination” to express the same thing as Gramsci did. As Bourdieu puts it, “all symbolic domination presupposes, from those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values” (1992:51). Thus, the absolute dichotomy of constraint and freedom is challenged and something which Bourdieu describes as “invisible, silent violence” is happening (1992:52).

A second category is formed by the adapting Hungarian speakers, who employ a tactic in order to find out politely whether their language can be used in a certain situation, shop or public institution. As a number of my informants told me, when they enter a place, they always salute the people who are already there in Hungarian. If there is no answer, or the answer comes in

Romanian, it is to be considered a sign that they have to continue it in Romanian. While “conformists” use Romanian because of their “practice”, those individuals who belong to the adapting category usually decide ad-hoc which language will they speak, adapting to a certain situation.

The third type of attitude, the defiant one, is more infrequent among Hungarian speakers. Those interlocutors who belong to this category use their mother language irrespective of the situation. As one of my interviewees told me:

- *[I] remain in the language, and I know that s/he understands it.*
- *Are you sure that s/he does?*
- *Most of the times, yes. And if not, then I ask that doesn't s/he consider that as somebody working in commerce s/he should speak the language of half of the city? The answer: <No, because this is Romania>. I try, ok, but we are humans, and if we accept each other's culture... <No, because this is Romania>, but they are very angry already. But I don't care, I don't get mad (H. Á. 40-year-old man).*

The “illiberal” linguistic market, where the dominant language (Romanian) is a distinct capital while the vernacular language (Hungarian) has a more limited value, makes possible the internalization of the existing language ordering, language dominance by the Hungarian speakers themselves too. Therefore, those Hungarians who have a high linguistic and communicative competence in Romanian will have an “*experience of success*” (“sikerélmény”) while those who do not master the Romanian language on elevated level will feel “*apprehension*” (“szorongás”) (Horváth 2003:6). My interviews sustain what Horváth argues for, that in this way, having native linguistic competencies in Romanian is present among Hungarian interlocutors as something desirable, irrespective of the fact whether this results in an eventual language shift.

In this context the activity of the Civic Engagement Movement (CEMO) becomes salient. CEMO is an organisation that advocates especially for the usage of the Hungarian language in public institutions in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely. The discourse of this organization sustains the

prevalent view among Hungarian intellectuals and in the Hungarian media in Romania that the Hungarian language is in erosion. As the president of the organization, Enikő Szigeti explained:

I have always said that language is the basic structure bearing stanchion of the culture. If language collapses, culture will not bear the pressure any more and it will disappear. But cultures disappear every day, so it is not a big deal, only that we have to be aware of that. When we assume that we will not speak Hungarian in certain situations because in short-term it is worth for us for some reasons, we have to know only one thing: with this attitude we undermine our own culture (E. Sz. 35-year-old woman).

CEMO focuses its advocacy also on education because its members consider that “brainwashing” (as one CEMO-member called it) starts there and after that the state’s action can have only limited effects. They are also aware that it is undemanding to hold responsible the state and the majority population exclusively:

One can blame the nationalism and intolerance of the majority, but this is cheap, very cheap (K. Sz. 29-year-old man).

So in order to change the status quo, they aim at changing the approach of the Hungarian speakers first, teach them to stop only complaining, and waiting for solutions to be offered but to start working on potential solutions. They organize trainings for teachers and do experiments that prove that people can start having confidence in the authorities, and believe that even if they will speak Hungarian in public institutions (as they could) they will not be disadvantaged and discriminated.

In an experiment in 2009 March, the CEMO sent several letters to members with whom they previously agreed. The envelopes were addressed in Hungarian. In effect, they were testing the Romanian Post regarding the administration law from 2001, in which Hungarian street names became official in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely and Post should distribute letters addressed in Hungarian (Decision nr. 1.206 from 27 November 2001). Their project was successful: all the letters with the exception of one reached their destination.

This action was part of the larger “Hungarian” initiative, the “Bilingualism project” that aims to promote the usage of Hungarian in the public sphere and public institutions. Romanian documents and forms are being translated into Hungarian and sent out to mayors’ offices and diverse public institutions. This is an activity of overriding importance, because Hungarian public administration and legal language is almost non-existent. As one activist has formulated it:

There are very serious problems with the Hungarian language use, at least here, in Tîrgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely for sure. In the public administration they do not know the terminology, so this part of the language is gone already. We can go round and round, it is very nice, but on everyday level this part of the language does not exist. I do not understand, we say <factura> [bill in Romanian], <chitanţa> [invoice in Romanian] <declaraţie>[declaration in Romanian]”, and everybody speaks like that. And the next generation will speak the Hungarian language very badly, but this is where assimilation starts. And what I would like to highlight: this is not all right (E. Sz.35-year- old woman).

To categorize it into a language planning orientation, it clearly represents the literature’s description of corpus planning and partially language purism.

As the president of CEMO alluded, the use of Hungarian forms is hindered often already only by Hungarian leaders. Bilingualism is equivalent to additional endeavor, continuous translation for the office personnel from Hungarian to Romanian, and they probably do not recognize its long-term results and benefits. Hungarian politicians have assured Hungarian civil organizations that they will pay special attention to Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism, but these promises are rarely followed by their practical accomplishment. For example in 2009 instead of the usual bilingual “Happy New Year” inscription, in the town were exclusively Romanian inscriptions. The CEMO wrote an open letter to the mayor’s office, the subject began to be mediated by television and newspapers, until a morning a Hungarian inscription was present next to the Romanian one. The spokesman of the mayor’s office voiced that CEMO members should take A vitamin because they have tribulations with their sight, since the bilingual inscription was

mounted from the beginning. But photographs were taken of monolingual Romanian inscriptions, as a consequence the spokesman publicly apologized for his former statement.

This event is also significant because a Hungarian politician in high function hired by the mayor's office, has declared that it was nothing more than a technical error and more bilingual signs are to be placed in the town, promise, that was not fulfilled.

Chapter 4. Case Study of a Diaspora Settlement: Răcăștie/Rákosd

The second locus of my study is Răcăștie/Rákosd. The village is situated in the Southern part of Transylvania, in the diaspora region, in Hunedoara county⁶. Here, the percentage of Hungarian inhabitants is only 5.23% (Official Census Data 2002). Given the fact that the use of the Hungarian language in public institutions is not officially regulated (due to the number of Hungarians being below the 20% required by law), I concentrate on everyday linguistic behaviour of Hungarian interlocutors, then focus on the role of the Reformed Church as the main organisation undertaking the cultivation of the Hungarian language in the area.

As the result of recent administrative changes the village has become a neighbourhood of Hunedoara town. But I might sometimes speak about Răcăștie/Rákosd as a village in the following parts too, because it is situated 3 km away from Hunedoara and its inhabitants maintained their agricultural activities, therefore in its atmosphere Răcăștie/Rákosd is still closer to that of a rural settlement.

Răcăștie/Rákosd is inhabited mainly by people of Romanian (56%) and Hungarian (43%) ethnicity, totally 595 inhabitants (Official Census Data 2002). However, this number is not reflective of the total population as the Official Census Data does not record the presence of Roma's in the village. Nevertheless, Hungarian and Romanian inhabitants acknowledge Roma's existence in Răcăștie/Rákosd, often refer to them as the group who is living in the two margins of the village.

Well, with the elder one, we understand each other, but there are already many Romanians and many black people, you understand... Although it is true that there are people among them too (D.T. 50-year-old man).

⁶ See map in Figure 1.

One possible reason for Official Census not accounting for the presence of Roma's in Răcăștie/Rákosd might be due to the fact that being a Roma is often considered to have a stigma attached to it. As a consequence, during self-identification, people identify themselves as Hungarians or Romanians, rather than Roma's.

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of Răcăștie/Rákosd

Romanian	334	56%
Hungarian	256	43%
Roma	0	0%
Other Nationalities	5	1%
Total	595	100%

(Official Census Data, 2002)

**Note: The category of „Other Nationalities” includes Ukrainians and Germans*

It is also worth taking a look at the ethnic composition of Hunedoara. In Hunedoara the percentage of Hungarians is already less significant than in Răcăștie/Rákosd, as they making up only 5.4% of the population while Romanians 92% of the inhabitants of the town (Official Census Data 2002).

Table 3. Ethnic Composition of Hunedoara

Romanian	62 980	92%
Hungarian	3757	5,4%
Roma	1129	1,7%
German	319	0,5%
Other Nationalities	267	0,4%*
Total	68452	100%

(Official Census Data, 2002)

**Note: The category of „Other Nationalities” includes Russian, Slovenian, Greek, Jew, Serbian, Italian and Armenian people*

In order to find out the everyday linguistic behaviour and the Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC) (Landry and Allard 1994) of Hungarians in Răcăștie/Rákosd, I have conducted linguistic interviews and semistructured interviews. The presented questions were related to the use of language in different domains of life.

The results show that in the confines of the family, the most frequently used language is still the Hungarian, with 68.2% of the subjects stating they spoke Hungarian with their parents. Bilingual households, communicating both in Hungarian and in Romanian with the parents, made up 18.2%, while 13.6% of the asked could not give an answer to the question. The situation is similar regarding the language use between brothers and sisters: 54.5% of the subjects speak Hungarian, 4.5% speak Romanian while 40.9% could not answer which language do they speak with their brothers and sisters.

Table 4. What language do you speak to your parents?

		Hungarian	Hu. and Ro.	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	8 80.0%	2 20.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	>50	6 60.0%	2 20.0%	2 20.0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	1 50.0%	0 .0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
Total		15 68.2%	4 18.2%	3 13.6%	22 100.0%

Table 5. What language do you speak to your brother/sister?

		Hungarian	Hu. And Ro	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	5 50.0%	1 10.0%	4 40.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	6 60.0%	0 .0%	4 40.0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	1 50.0%	0 .0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
Total		12 54.5%	1 4.5%	9 40.9%	22 100.0%

The results are analogous regarding the language spoken with the grandparents: 45.5% of the subjects speak Hungarian, 4.5% speak Romanian, 13.6% speak both Hungarian and Romanian, while 36.4% do not know (do not answer) in what language do they communicate with their grandparents.

Table 6. What language do you speak to your grandparents?

		Hungarian	Romanian	Hu. and Ro	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	5 50.0%	1 10.0%	0 .0%	4 40.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	4 40.0%	0 .0%	3 30.0%	3 30.0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	1 50.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
Total		10 45.5%	1 4.5%	3 13.6%	8 36.4%	22 100.0%

Despite the aforementioned responses from my interviews, I often realized that family members were communicating in Romanian among each other. To illustrate this, when a mother addressed in Hungarian to her five-year-old child in my presence, the child did not comprehend her:

Mother: - In the house [we speak] Hungarian, in the courtyard Romanian, my husband is auto mechanic and mostly Romanians come, so when the crowd is here, the children speak Hungarian in the house but they also speak Romanian in the courtyard, and the neighbors are all Romanians. And the workplace, well it is our court, only in Hungarian, aa, Romanian, because we have to work at cars in Romanian. [in Hungarian]

Child: - Mummy! [in Romanian]

Mother: - Timea, go out sweetheart. [in Hungarian]

Child : - Don't talk to me in Hungarian, you know that I don't understand it. [in Romanian]

Mother: - Timi go out. Go out, go out! [in Hungarian]

Child: - Go out?? [trying to repeat what her mother said; hard to decide which language]

Mother: Timea why are you so crappy, Kriszti take her out!! [in Hungarian] (D.M. 40-year-old woman and her five-year-old child)

We need to take into account that while completing these linguistic interviews, the person responding may have been giving answers that would seem to be the “correct” answers due to the socially constructed expectations to be seen as a “good Hungarian” or a “good Romanian”

From the given answers, the percentage of the no answers or “does not know” option is markedly high. However, this can be explained through the concept of metalinguistic awareness. In order to know exactly what language the speaker uses in different situations, one has to have a high level of metalinguistic awareness, a high grade of self-reflection and self-awareness (Diaz 1983). This is especially hard, when the speaker masters two languages at a high level and those two languages are not totally separated in his/her head in the everyday language usage.

From the aforementioned results, the usage and position of Hungarian and Romanian languages noticeably changes when stepping out from the family cluster. As the following tables will illustrate, public life, in particular workplaces, shops, coffee houses, medical clinics, post offices, as well as television and newspapers tend to be dominated by the Romanian language.

Romanian is the first language at workplaces, 59.1% of the asked people communicate mainly in Romanian with their colleagues. Similarly, in shops 63.6% of the asked people speak exclusively Romanian while 36.4% speak Romanian and occasionally Hungarian.

Table 7. What language do you use most at your workplace?

		Hungarian	Romanian	Hu. and Ro	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	0 .0%	8 80.0%	1 10.0%	1 10.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	1 10.0%	4 40.0%	0 .0%	5 50.0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	0 .0%	1 50.0%	0 .0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
Total		1 4.5%	13 59.1%	1 4.5%	7 31.8%	22 100.0%

Table 8. What language do you use in shops?

		Romanian	Hu. and Ro.	Total
Age	≤50	7 70.0%	3 30.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	5 50.0%	5 50.0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	2 100.0%	0 .0%	2 100.0%
Total		14 63.6%	8 36.4%	22 100.0%

In post offices and doctor's surgeries too, the percentage of those people who use only Romanian is very high, namely 77.3%. We can say that all these above listed domains -workplace and official places- have Romanian as their functional and communicational language.

Table 9. What language do you use in post office?

		Romanian	Hu. and Ro.	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	7 70.0%	2 20.0%	1 10.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	9 90.0%	1 10.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	1 50.0%	0 .0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
Total		17 77.3%	3 13.6%	2 9.1%	22 100.0%

Table 10. What language do you use in doctor's surgery?

		Romanian	Hu. and Ro.	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	7 70.0%	2 20.0%	1 10.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	8 80.0%	2 20.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	2 100.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	2 100.0%
Total		17 77.3%	4 18.2%	1 4.5%	22 100.0%

The situation regarding language used during the population's free time activity is similar. 36.4% of the informants claimed that they speak Romanian to their friends, while only 9.1% claimed to use Hungarian in the same situation. With the exception of one person, the remaining interviewees, some 50% of the group said that speak both Hungarian and Romanian to their friends. The results also show that older persons (above 50 years) tend to speak more frequent Hungarian with their friends than their younger cohabitants.

Table 11. What language do you speak to your friends?

		Hungarian	Romanian	Hu. and Ro.	N.A.	Total
Age	≤50	0 .0%	5 50.0%	5 50.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	>50	1 10.0%	3 30.0%	6 60.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	1 50.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	1 50.0%	2 100.0%
Total		2 9.1%	8 36.4%	11 50.0%	1 4.5%	22 100.0%

More than half of the people interviewed appreciated that they had higher linguistic competencies in Romanian than they did in the Hungarian language. This is surprisingly high if it is taken into consideration that Hungarian is their mother tongue while Romanian is their second language.

Table 12. In what language can you express yourself better?

		Hungarian	Romanian	Hu. and Ro.	Total
Age	≤50	2 20.0%	7 70.0%	1 10.0%	10 100.0%
	>50	5 50.0%	5 50.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	2 100.0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	2 100.0%
Total		9 40.9%	12 54.5%	1 4.5%	22 100.0%

The INLC of the Hungarians in Răcăștie/Rákosd shows that Hungarian interlocutors tend to use in more domains the Romanian language than the Hungarian one, fact that sustains that language shift has started among them. Their bilingualism is mainly subtractive and unbalanced.

The only domain where more than 90% of the respondents stated that use Hungarian was the church. Of the subjects who were interviewed, 95% went to Hungarian church services while only 4.5% attended Romanian sermons.

Table 13. What kind of church service do you attend?

		Hungarian	Romanian	Total
Age	≤50	10 100.0%	0 .0%	10 100.0%
	>50	9 90.0%	1 10.0%	10 100.0%
	N.A.	2 100.0%	0 .0%	2 100.0%
Total		21 95.5%	1 4.5%	22 100.0%

Thus, the role of the Reformed Church and religion is of paramount importance in shaping and maintaining the Hungarian community's identity and language in Răcăștie/Rákosd. The Reformed community is the second biggest community in the village, 37% of the inhabitants belonging to this faith. Furthermore, 86% of the Hungarian community in Răcăștie/Rákosd is reformed, 220 people out of the 256 Hungarian inhabitants (Official Census Data 2002).

Hungarians in Răcăștie/Rákosd form a diaspora community who have almost substituted their mother tongue during daily interactions with the official and functionally more useful Romanian language. The sphere where the Hungarian language has remained the first language used is the Reformed Church. Bilingualism in Răcăștie/Rákosd is coupled with a diglossic situation too, where the social compartment of the Hungarian language has become the Reformed Church. Therefore, religious events –confirmations, weddings, church services, religious

celebrations- are occasions where Hungarian is the language of the event. Despite this fact, not every participant understands it. Being aware that Hungarian is continuously losing its function in every domain of societal life, the Reformed Church in Răcăștie/Rákosd aims to revitalize the Hungarian language among young people whose mother language is Hungarian but do not have high linguistic and communicative competencies in it. However, there is a high probability that Hungarian will become exclusively a sacred language in this area.

It is an interesting situation when the grandmother tells of her 4-year-old granddaughter born in a mixed-marriage, that she does not know how the little girl will learn Hungarian by the time she is due to have her confirmation. The religious confirmation is an event that has to be in Hungarian even if the children do not speak the language at all.

Let the God bless our priest and guard him in every step that he takes, because he helped us very much with Andrea [the elder granddaughter]. And not just us, but every eight children, he understood that they went to Romanian school and arranged it in a way that none of them remained in shame. [...] Today a little, tomorrow a little, and they have learned every question and answer. Well, but what will happen to Vera [the younger granddaughter], who will teach her until she will do her confirmation, I don't know... I would be very grateful if God kept me alive to see her having her confirmation, but we never know... We are from Răcăștie/Rákosd, me and my husband, our parents and our grandparents too, everybody, but what can we do. We were so close to the town, and there was here this huge factory and then in Romanian, in Romanian, in Romanian... (B. A., 60-year-old woman)

The Reformed Church is aware of its “ethnic” role and has even introduced into its inner statute that the sole language which can be used during sermons is Hungarian. Therefore, there are people who regularly attend church services without understanding the text of the sermon. Young people doing their confirmation are capable to do the “examination” in Hungarian, unless they speak the language. The same situation occurs at weddings: those men and women, who might not understand at all Hungarian, give their oath mechanically in Hungarian, following the

priest. The case of funerals is interesting and unique because it is only on these occasions that the priest is asked to give the speech at the grave in Romanian as well as in Hungarian.

Scholars agree that one function of religion is to maintain a group's collective memory and to stabilize collective identity which is often threatened by disintegration (Assman 2006:16). We can see through this study an almost ideal typical example of how religious and ethnic belonging are embedded into each other and how they can draw the boundaries of a certain community. In line with this idea, Hungarian people are those who participate in the reformed sermons. And the tendency is clearly visible in the village: those who attend church have a stronger ethnic identity, endeavor to use the Hungarian language in different societal interactions and usually teach their children to speak Hungarian as well. This is how language can become a "liéux de mémoire" (Nora 1989) as well as a "social glue" (Deutsch in Wright 2000:64) and together with the narration of the common past establishes a common identity that ties individuals to each other.

Chapter 5. Case Study of the Csangos

Csangos form 0.003% of the population of Romania according to the Romanian Official Census Data of 2002 and 0.30% in the estimate of the Council of Europe in 2001. The Romanian Data Census cites a total of 1266 Csango persons, while the Council of Europe estimates their number round 60000-70000 (Recommendation 1521). There are different Csango groups in different parts of Romania, including Harghita/Hargita in Gyimes, near Brasov and near Deva in Hunedoara county. This thesis deals exclusively with the Csangos in Moldavia, Bacău county⁷.

This chapter analyzes the linguistic situation and the language struggles of the Csango population - or more precisely the language struggles of the association that claims to represent the interests of the Csangos.

Csangos are an ethnic minority, who were and still are the causes of many political and scientific debates. Both the Hungarian and Romanian national elites are eager to integrate them into their body nation. Romanian public discourse affirms that they are originally Romanians who were “magyarized” (“made” Hungarians), while Hungarian public discourse states that Csangos are originally Hungarians who were “romanianized” (forced to become Romanians). These two “forces” are interfering against each other permanently and this becomes especially manifested when it is covered by mass media (see letter discussion between Petru Gherghel and László Tőkés). However, these people identify themselves in most of the cases as Catholics and rarely as Csangos, Hungarians or Romanians. The most common position taken by scientists and official organs regarding the Csangos is that they are “a non-homogeneous group of Roman Catholic people of Hungarian origin” (Council of Europe, Report nr 9078, 2001).

⁷ See map in Figure 1.

The Csango language is not an autonomous language with its own vocabulary and syntax, but it is a mixture of archaic Hungarian and Romanian expressions. Although the Csangos' language is defined by the Council of Europe as an archaic and "early form of Hungarian language" (Recommendation 1521, 2001), still in every "European" document it appears that Csangos have the right to education, religious services in "Csango language" (and not in Hungarian or Csango-Hungarian).

Even though, the instruction of the Hungarian language existed only for a short period in the 1950's, and the language of the Catholic Church in Bacău County (where these Csango villages are situated) has always been Romanian, the speech of Csango people usually follows the rules of the Hungarian language. Thus, the Hungarian is the basic language (matrix language) whose structure is followed by the guest-language (second language) (Myers Scotton 1999). The fact that elder generations speak Hungarian, while the younger tend to speak only Romanian, together with the European official point of view (based on the results of a research made by the Council of Europe in 2001) enable me to treat the language of the Csango population as Csango-Hungarian.

Csangos migrated from the Carpathian basin, Transylvania to Moldavia in several phases between the 13th and 18th centuries. They were sent there to protect the borders of the Hungarian kingdom, while a part of them fled Transylvania after the 1764 rebellion at Madéfalva (village in Transylvania, Harghita/Hargita county) has been crushed ("Siculicidium"). Being already outside of the Hungarian kingdom and state, they were not part of the nation building processes, did not have Hungarian liturgies and education, therefore their connections with Hungarian culture were weakened in the course of time. As Pozsony words it: "Csangos are the only Hungarian speaking group who did not became organic part of the modern civic Hungarian nation" (2002).

Barszczewska (2007), who looks at Csango identity between 1860 and 1916, offers an interesting historical context for Csango culture at a time when the “Romanian national homogenizing projects weltered” (Barszczewska 2007:9). Barszczewska analyses letters from the Vatican Secret Archives (Archivio Segreto Vaticano) and from the Archives of the Saint Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples (Archivio Storico della Congregazione per l’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli), written by Catholic missionaries in Moldavia. She found in those reports that missionaries were not allowed to speak Hungarian –even if they could- with the Catholic population and that “pure Hungarian pupils were educated by Walachian professors in state schools” (Domenico della Posta 1987 in Barszczewska 2007:10). After a while, Hungarian missionaries were denied to work in that region and were substituted by French and Italian missionaries who could easily learn Romanian.

Barszczewska presents a dialog from 1908 between Barabás, a local teacher and a researcher, most probably:

- *And can those children who come to the school speak Romanian?*
- *They cannot sir, they are like a piece of wood, but they learn it in the first grade.*
- *It is very nice, that these little wild Hungarians can learn Romanian in one year.*
- *Well, in one year only a few of them learn Romanian, but they go to the first grade until they learn it.*
- *And what does that mean in general?*
- *Only a few of them spend the third year still in the first grade (in Barszczewska 2007:15).*

Pozsony emphasizes that official Romanian institutes, such as the church and other educational, administrative and political entities have always aimed to connect the Csangos to the Romanian nation, regardless of the instruments used to achieve this goal (2002). I conclude this short historical trip with Barszczewska’s summary about what happened to the Csangos between 1860 and 1916:

[t]he Vatican, while worrying about its political influence in Orthodox Romania, accepted the conditions imposed by Romania, although he was very well aware of the needs of the Hungarian Catholics in

Moldavia. The Vatican was so worried about the popularization of the Catholic religion among the Orthodox population that it contributed to the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the Csangos (Barszczewska 2007:26).

In the present the Association of Csango-Hungarians in Moldavia (ACSHM) is playing a very salient role in raising the awareness of the importance and uniqueness of the Csango-Hungarian culture and language. The ACSHM started a revitalization movement of the Csango-Hungarian language at the beginning of the 1990-ies. This has undoubtedly been part of an attempt to enhance and revitalize the Hungarian identity of Csango children.

The ACSHM teaches 980-1000 Csango children in 15 villages within the framework of the official educational program (3 Hungarian lectures in a week) and is present totally in more than 20 villages with a Hungarian-afternoon program taking place at the houses of the teachers working for the ACSHM, involving more than 500 children. The association had and in certain villages still has conflicts with the school directors and local priests. Their main activity is the education of Hungarian, Csango-Hungarian language, organizing different cultural events, festivals as well as running a social program. This last one refers mainly to providing health care and consultations for those who are in need and cannot afford it (dental treatment for children, or eye consultations).

Csango people say that they are Romanians as it is written in their identity card too. At the same time they feel offended if they are confused with “Walachians” (derogative word used for Romanians) or Orthodox. But it is salient to add that this is only true in the case of elder generations. Children in some villages have no dilemmas when identifying themselves as Romanians as they usually do.

In April 2009 two Hungarian language teachers from neighboring villages – Trunchi/Trunk and Gioseni/Diószén - inhabited mainly by Catholic Csangos, organized a

football-game between groups of boys who attend the private Hungarian lessons in the respective villages. In Gioseni/Diószén the Hungarian teachers are known to put more effort into teaching the children Hungarian than their colleagues in Trunchi/Trunk. As a result, the children in Gioseni/Diószén speak better Hungarian than those in Trunchi/Trunk, some of whom can hardly speak it at all. I traveled with the group from Gioseni/Diószén, and when we arrived in Trunchi/Trunk, I was surprised when the local children started yelling that “*Bozgorii* [derogative word used for Hungarians] have arrived!”.

This short story exemplifies their ambivalent sense of identity when faced with a situation analogous to what Rabinowitz has termed “trapped identity” (Rabinowitz 2000:768). Csangos are trapped between their Hungarian and Romanian identities, between something that is presented to these children as their tradition and between all those inducements that are coming from the Church, television, education and often from their parents. There are still a number of villages where children of 7th and 8th grade speak among themselves Hungarian, naturally the Csango dialect of it. Significantly, I noticed that boys speak better Csango-Hungarian than girls, and that they tend to speak it among themselves more frequently than girls of the same age do. A Hungarian teacher had the following explanation for this:

They go with their fathers here and there, and hear more Hungarian speech. Or they go in the pub too. They somehow know more, the girls stay at home, and obviously, their mother speaks in Romanian to them, so they know less, but boys learn it on the streets too (Cs. I. 27-year-old man).

A Csango woman gives the following reasoning:

The boy will later go out of the village, perhaps to work in Hungary, so it will be very useful if he will be able to use the language. But the girl, why? She will anyhow remain in the village, will get married, she does not need it (S. C. 45-year-old woman).

The most typical parental attitude is that they speak to their children exclusively in Romanian, even if they talk in Csango-Hungarian between themselves. Many parents consider

that the best interest of their children is to learn to speak Romanian as well as possible, as they, at their turn, had to suffer because of not mastering the Romanian language. Therefore, those who want an enhanced future for their children, necessarily see it only through Romanian education. This is one explanatory factor to the inquiry: why is the Romanian language spoken in all segments of everyday life among Csangos. In a number of Csango villages we can seldom identify bilingual agents, or interlocutors whose speech act can be defined even by subtractive bilingualism.

If the language and culture of the mobility is still exclusively the one consecrated by the state, a minority population –such as the Csango population- finds itself in an illiberal decision situation. They can choose then between the Romanian language that offers a higher chance of mobility and economic success, or they can opt for the Csango-Hungarian language spoken by their ancestors but which has lost its utility in the public sphere. Although this should not be a zero sum game, often it is for people belonging to the minority population. Hungarian-Csango language is not competitive on the labor market, therefore it is being substituted with the more functional and prestigious Romanian one. This is exactly the situation described by Bourdieu: when as a result to the directed nature of the linguistic market - even if by “neutral values” or “laissez faire” ideals - languages do not have the same value, and dominant legitimate language is a distinct capital (in Jenkins 2002:154).

Theoreticians of liberal multiculturalism would argue that in this situation recognition of Csangos as a distinct entity is important, but there is certainly a need for more efficient resolutions, namely for certain positive affirmations in order to protect the Csango culture from the impossible market situation. As Margalit and Halbertal formulated, liberal multicultural states “need to assist needy cultures [...] to make possible for the members of minority groups to retain

their identity. Thus the motivating force behind the right to culture is an interest that stays in protecting the existence of minority cultural groups” (in Eisenberg and Spinner-Halev 2005:212).

The prestige of the Csango-Hungarian language has recently started to grow with the activity of the ACSHM, as a result of their successful status and acquisition planning politics. They take the Csango children to festivals, where the children, with their folksongs and ballads have already won several awards. Csango children are also taken to summer camps in Transylvania and Hungary, and through the ACSHM’s scholarship program it is possible to study further in Hungarian language in a Transylvanian school. It is equally important that those who attend the Hungarian language lessons are eligible to special scholarship of 20 000 HUF (70euro)/year, funded by the Hungarian Government. So, studying and speaking Hungarian, starts to be something desirable in economic terms. With all their activities the ACSHM tries to revitalize the Csango culture and the use of the Csango-Hungarian language.

I grew up in bilingualism too. And I consider that I had only advantages because of this. But further than its practical use, we would like to save a culture that is characteristic of the Csangos, and wouldn’t like to see this dying. I pass this on to my own children too (Adrian Solomon president of the ACSHM, 37-year-old man).

In Sanford’s estimation revitalizations always signals that a certain minority group has realized that they are part already of a “completed acculturation”; two cultures that are in permanent contact have become similar to each other and the two cultures have “merged into a synthesis of some kind” (1974:506). I would agree with Sanford’s argumentation, except that I miss from this model the power relations between the different ethnopolitical groups, or at least the theoretical place for non-dominant or dominated and dominating languages. I consider that two contacting languages are rarely on equal feet, one being always the official and the other one the vernacular version. If this assumption is true, we cannot speak, even on theoretical level,

about the “synthesis” of these two languages, but about the assimilation of the vernacular language into the official one. Because as it is illustrated in my case studies in diaspora regions Hungarian and Romanian languages are not merging into each other, but Hungarian is incorporated into the Romanian language.

Language shift is already a long weltering and advanced process among Csangos and their present linguistic situation is certainly a transitional one. The direction of the language shift is from the low version, the Csango-Hungarian to the high language, the Romanian one. The Hungarian language or the Csango-Hungarian language does not dispose of a particular “social compartment” any more (not even family or church) where it could have a function and role.

National Romanian interests are best represented by the Catholic Church. Csangos are a very religious Catholic group, identifying themselves first of all as Catholics surrounded by an Orthodox majority. The idea of Hungarian liturgies among them is dismissed by the bishop in Iași (where the Csango Catholics belong) who uses the rhetoric according to which Csangos need to have liturgies and education in Csango language and not in Hungarian. But the clergy cannot realize this until the written form of the language is codified (Diószegi 2008). However, the language spoken by the Csangos can be understood if someone speaks both Romanian and Hungarian, because it is a fusion of these two languages.

Recently (16 02 2009 – 03 03 2009) there was a public letter-discussion between Petru Gherghel, the Romanian catholic bishop of the Iasi diocese and László Tőkés, a Hungarian bishop of the Reformed Church in Transylvania, who deputy in the European Parliament at the same time. Tőkés wrote to Gherghel because recently in a village – Szitás/ Nicorești- that belongs to Gherghel’s diocese there have been hostile attitudes and actions by the Romanian catholic priest directed against those Csango families whose children attend facultative Hungarian language lessons. Tőkés refers to the common Christian intellectuality and requests the Catholic

bishop to take in his personal defense these families and to prevent these events in the future. The response of the Romanian Catholic bishop was that he was surprised by the Transylvanian (Hungarian) bishop's interest in the situation of the Catholics belonging to the Iasi diocese. However, he ordered an immediate investigation of the case in the village. The investigation showed that nobody, especially not the representatives of the Catholic Church, were against Hungarian language lessons just as they are not against English, French or any other language lessons if that serves the interest and will of the community. He also specifies that in his diocese there are no Csango Hungarians; the Official Census Data shows that there are exclusively Catholic Romanians. However, Gherghel recognizes that this population speaks a different language or language variant of Romanian, but he believes that helping them to preserve their language or language variant is not in their interest and it was not their idea either.⁸

They have requested the Hungarian lessons under a foreign impulse. Somebody gave them to drink and they started to croak. And then the [school] director told them very clearly: until this moment nobody from Răcăciuni/Rekecsin and Ciucani/Csikfalu declared that has Hungarian citizenship to be allowed to ask for mother language education. Moreover, they have asked for mother language and not for Hungarian language. What an idea! So it was clear that the idea came from outside the village and not from the village. Because nobody from the village knows what is that mother language. Where should they know from? (Iulian Pascaru, priest in Ciucani/Csikfalu in Csángók/Csangos, documentary, 2008, directed by: Fekete Ibolya).

People in Ciucani/Csikfalu are very honest, religious and good but they are very poor. [...] But they have a natural goodness like all our Romanians, actually.[...] Those who come from outside make problems. Here in the village this difference does not exist, or at least it is smoothed. They feel themselves Romanians since they were born, no matter that they speak this language that they have inherited from father to son, or whatever it is; they are a minority that is true, a religious minority, but everybody feels herself/himself Romanian (Iulian Pascaru, priest in Ciucani in Csángók/Csangos, documentary, 2008, directed by: Fekete Ibolya).

⁸ The two letters were published in an online daily newspaper: Erdely.Ma/ Transylvania.Today in 16 02 2009 and , 03 03 2009

Consequently, it is evident that while the ACSHM is following the Hungarian nation-building or rather nation-saving project sustained also by the Hungarian state, the same project is being carried out in the opposite direction by the Romanian Catholic Church. Being aware that the language use of the Csangos is already long time ago on the way of the language shift from Csango-Hungarian to Romanian, the ACSHM aims to realize its revitalization.

Interestingly, while in the case of Hungarians in Răcăștie/Rákosd the Church is the one who is almost solely responsible for grooming the Hungarian language and Hungarian identity among its parishioners, the exact opposite is happening in the case of Csangos. The fact that in both cases the Catholic, respectively the Reformed Church are the central figures in maintaining the parishioners' identity signals the still paramount national role of these entities.

In the case of Csangos the language of the Church is Romanian, therefore the ACSHM as a civic organisation took over the role of revitalising the Csango-Hungarian language. This is similar to the situation in Tîrgu Mureș/ Marosvásárhely as described earlier in the third chapter, the town analyzed as representing the semi-block region, where also a civic organisation, the Civic Engagement Movement is dealing with the facilitation of use of the Hungarian language in public institutions, through corpus planning and partly by language purism.

Conclusion

A view often expressed in the Hungarian media in Romania is that the Hungarian language is in decline. It is, people say, used less frequently, less accurately and is quickly losing “purity”. This thesis aimed to be an inquiry and to examine the status of Hungarian in Romania, as well as to analyze the origins, validity and meaning of the widespread view that it is in decline.

The research which was carried out on particular sites and scales, confirms the widespread view that Hungarian language in Romania is in a transition and changing phase.

The phenomenon that I was exploring is very broad and it does not allow me to cover every aspect of this issue. Further research is needed in the domain of minority education, but I truly believe that this paper gives a good foundation for further academic research.

Official bilingualism exists in regions where the percentage of the Hungarian minority is more than 20% of the population. However, this remains often no more than an official discourse as the case of the multiethnic Transylvanian town Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely illustrates. There is a discrepancy between policy design and policy implementation: while the town is composed almost in equal numbers of Romanian and Hungarian inhabitants, bilingual inscriptions in the town are scarce and Hungarian is very rarely used in official contexts. Hungarians in Tîrgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely communicate in their mother tongue during daily interactions, in most spheres of their life.

The situation is different in Răcăştie/Rákosd, situated in a diaspora region. In Răcăştie/Rákosd already the most frequently used language by Hungarian interlocutors is Romanian. The sole social compartment of the Hungarian language is the religious life and partly the family; nevertheless, we could see that because of the lack of metalinguistic awareness

speakers often stated that they speak Hungarian in their family while in practice they were using Romanian or both languages.

Among Csangos the language shift is already almost in its final stage, the Csango-Hungarian language being generally excluded even from the family cluster. Here bilingualism (in cases where it exists) is not coupled with diglossia, as in the case of Hungarians in Răcăștie/Rákosd. Nevertheless, language shift has started also among Hungarians in Răcăștie/Rákosd, their Individual Network of Linguistic Contacts illustrating that more domains are tied to the Romanian than to the Hungarian language. In Tîrgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely it seems that there are no signs yet of language shift; however, my interviews sustain what Horváth argues for, that having native linguistic competencies in Romanian is present among Hungarian interlocutors as something desirable, irrespective of the fact whether this could result in an eventual language shift. Therefore, those Hungarians who have a high linguistic and communicative competence in Romanian have an “*experience of success*” (“*sikerélmény*”) while those who do not master the Romanian language at a high level, feel “*apprehension*” (“*szorongás*”) (Horváth 2003:6).

My case studies support the argument that linguistic relations are relations of power, set by the authorized and legitimate cultural authorities of the Romanian group and exercised even on lower level through “civil hegemony” and “symbolic domination”. As Bourdieu puts it, “all symbolic domination presupposes, from those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values” (1992:51). Thus, the absolute dichotomy of constraint and freedom is challenged and in Romania something which Bourdieu describes as “invisible, silent violence” is happening (1992:52).

I have analyzed in three sites the activity of three organizations which are advocating for the usage of Hungarian in everyday life, in official institutions as well as for elevating the status

of the Hungarian language and of the Csango-Hungarian language. Depending on the region and the percentage of Hungarians, these organisations are aiming to implement different language planning orientations.

The CEMO's activity can be categorized into a language planning orientation which clearly represents the literature's description of corpus planning (planning the vocabulary of the Hungarian administrative language in Romania) and partly language purism. The language struggle of the Reformed Church in Răcăștie/Rákosd is different. Seeing that the Hungarian language is continuously losing its function in every domain of societal life, the Church aims to revitalize the Hungarian language among young people especially among those whose mother tongue is Hungarian but do not have linguistic and communicative competencies in it. In spite of this, there is a high probability that Hungarian will become exclusively a sacred language in that area, meaning that it will be used only in church settings. The struggles of the ACSHM among Csangos are similar to those of the Reformed Church in Răcăștie/Rákosd. Thus, the ACSHM endeavours to revitalize the Csango-Hungarian language for the people who constitute a potential community of language users. Additionally, the organisation also implements the status and acquisition planning of the language and of its speakers.

This leads me to the final consideration of the analysis where I join Kymlicka (1995), Csergő (2007), Jung (2009) and other theoreticians of liberal multiculturalism who argue that recognition of minorities as a distinct entity is important. Moreover, there is certainly a need for more efficient resolutions, namely for certain positive affirmations in order to protect from decline the Hungarian and Csango-Hungarian language. As Margalit and Halbertal formulated, liberal multicultural states “need to assist needy cultures [...] to make it possible for the members of minority groups to retain their identity. Thus, the motivating force behind the right to culture is

an interest that stays in protecting the existence of minority cultural groups” (in Eisenberg and Spinner-Halev 2005:212).

If not, the Hungarian and the Csango-Hungarian languages in Romania might sooner or later become only memories. Consequently, this part of the culture will disappear and it will deprive the language speakers of their unique identity. The consequences of this potentially harmful event cannot be overestimated. The process can only be stopped if the Romanian state takes the measures in the true spirit of multiculturalism to protect, to promote and to preserve the language spoken by the Hungarian and Csango-Hungarian minorities.

Reference List

- Anderson, Perry. 1976. *The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci*. The New Left Review. Pp.1-100.
- Assman, Jan. 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory. Ten Studies*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Barszczewska, Agnieszka. 2007. A moldvai Csángók identitáskérdése (1860-1916): politikai tényezők [The identity-question of Moldavian Csangos (1860-1916): political factors]. In Horváth István (ed.): *Erdélyi Társadalom* [Transylvanian Society] Vol. 5. Nr 2:9-29. Cluj Napoca: Cluj Napoca University Press.
- Bartha, Csilla. 1999. *A kétnyelvűség alapkérdései* [The Basic Questions of Bilingualism] Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.
- Ben-Rafael, Eliezer and Shohamy, Elana. 2004. Framing the Issue: LL Research and Implications to SLA. <http://www.vc.ehu.es/eurosla2004/program/panel1.html> (Accessed: 09 04 2009)
- Benő, Attila and Péntek, János. 2003. Nyelvi jogok Romániában [Language Rights in Romania]. In Nádor Orsolya and Szarka László (ed): *Nyelvi Jogok, Kisebbségek, Nyelvpolitika Kelet-Közép Európában* [Language Rights, Minorities, Language Politics in Eastern-Central Europe]. Budapest: Academic Press. Pp.123-148.
- Bodó, Barna. 2004. Identity and Diaspora Discourse. In *Minority Research* Nr. 6.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1992. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bratt Paulston, Christina. 1997. Language Policies and Language Rights. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 26:73-85. Annual Reviews <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2952515> (Accessed: 22 03 2009)
- Calhoun, Craig, Puma, L Edward and Postone, Moise (ed.). 1993. *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Csergő, Zsuzsa. 2007. *Talk of the Nation. Language Conflict in Romania and Slovakia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- De Bot, Kees - Stoessel, Saskia. 2002. Introduction: Language change and social networks. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 153:1-7.
- Diaz, Rafael. 1983. Thought and Two Languages: The Impact of Bilingualism on Cognitive Development. In *Review of Research in Education*.10:23-54.
- Diószegi, László. 2008. *Veszélyeztetett örökség, veszélyeztetett kultúrák, a moldvai csángók*.

[Endangered heritage, endangered cultures, the Csangos of Moldavia]
http://www.felvidek.ma/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4222&Itemid=33
 (Accessed: 14 02 2009)

Eisenberg, Avigail and Spinner-Halev, Jeff ed. 2005. *Minorities within Minorities. Equality, Rights and Diversities*. Cambridge.
http://books.google.com/books?id=gOriClUj9WAC&pg=PA217&lpg=PA217&dq=liberal+multi+culturalism+Spinner&source=bl&ots=xxatNz_XGt&sig=NWphIxhtuBnOt_wS6J4uMypVnpo#P PP1,M1 (Accessed: 12 04 2009)

Fishman, Joshua. 2000. Who speaks what language to whom and when?. In Li Wei (ed): *The Bilingualism Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. Pp. 88-105.

----- 2002. Diglossia and societal multilingualism: dimensions of similarity and difference. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157:93-100.

Hornberger, Nancy H. 1998. Language Policy, Language Education, Language Rights: Indigenous, Immigrant and International Perspectives. In *Language in Society*, Vol. 27, No. 4:439-458. Cambridge University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168870> (Accessed: 13 03 2009)

Horváth, István. 2003. Az erdélyi magyarok kétnyelvűsége: nyelvmentés és integráció között? [The bilingualism of Hungarians in Transylvania: between language salvation and integration?]. In *Erdélyi Társadalom* [Transylvanian Society] Nr1.1:7-23.

Hudson, Alan. 2002. Outline of a theory of diglossia. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157:1-58.

Jenkins, Richard. (1991) 2002. *Pierre Bourdieu*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jung, Courtney. 2009. *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics. Critical Liberalism and the Zapatistas*. Cambridge University Press.

Keller, Perry. 1998. Re-Thinking Ethnic and Cultural Rights in Europe. In *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1:29-59. Oxford University Press <http://www.jstor.org/stable/764721> (Accessed: 22 03 2009)

Kiss, Jenő. 2002. *Szociolingvisztikai alapfogalmak. Társadalom és nyelvhasználat* [Basic Concepts in Sociolinguistics. Society and Language Usage]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. Chapter 1-3 in *Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lagerspetz, Erik. 1998. On Language Rights. In *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, Vol. 1, No.

2:181-199. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Liberal Democracy,
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27504027> (Accessed: 13 03 2009)

Landry, Rodrigue - Allard, Réal. 1994. Diglossia, ethnolinguistic vitality and language behaviour. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108:15 – 42.

Li Wei. 2000. Dimensions of bilingualism. In Li Wei (ed): *The Bilingualism Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. Pp. 4-25.

Mackey, William. 2000. The description of bilingualism. In Li Wei (ed): *The Bilingualism Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. Pp. 26-57.

Merton, Robert King. 1968. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Free Press.

Myers Scotton, Carol. 1999. Putting it all together: the Matrix Language and more. In Brendemoen, Bernt – Lanza, Elizabeth – Ryen, Else (ed): *Language encounters across time and space*. Oslo: Novus Press. Pp.13-28.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1992. Preserving Languages or Language Ecologies? A Top-down Approach to Language Survival. In *Oceanic Linguistics*, Vol. 31, No. 2:163-180 University of Hawaii Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3623012> (Accessed: 13 03 2009)

Nora, Pierre. 1989. Between Memory and History: Les Liéux de Mémoire. *Representations* 26:7-24.

Patten, Alan. 2003. Liberal Neutrality and Language Policy. In *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 31, No. 4:356-386. Blackwell Publishing: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3557955> (Accessed: 22 03 2009)

Péntek, János. 2001. *A Nyelv Ritkuló Léggöre. Szocolingvisztikai dolgozatok* [The Narrowing Atmosphere of the Language. Sociolinguistic Papers]. Cluj Napoca: Komp-Press, Korunk Baráti Társaság.

Pozsony, Ferenc. 2002. A moldvai csángók történeti tudata [The Historic Consciousness of Csangos in Moldavia]. In *Néprajzi Látóhatá [Ethnographic Horizon]* XI:341-362.

Rabinowitz, Dan. 2000. Postnational Palestine/Israel? Globalization, Diaspora, Transnationalism, and the Israeli- Palestinian Conflict. In *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 26, No. 4:757-772 The University of Chicago Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344329> (Accessed: 24 04 2009)

Sanford, Margaret. 1974. Revitalization Movements as Indicators of Completed Acculturation. In *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4:504-518. Cambridge University Press.

Stoessel, Saskia. 2002. Investigating the role of social networks in language maintenance and shift. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 153:93-131.

Szépe, György – Derényi, András. 1999. *Nyelv, Hatalom, Egyenlőség. Nyelvpolitikai írások* [Language, Power and Equality. Linguistic policy papers]. Budapest: Corvina.

Vetési, László. 2002. *Ne csüggedj el, kicsiny sereg!* [Don't quail small flock!]. Cluj Napoca: Kalota Press.

Vizi, Balazs. 2004. Az Európai integráció és a kisebbségi nyelvek [The European Integration and Minority Languages]. In *Kisebbségkutatás* [Minority Research] 1:8-17.

Wright, Sue. 2000. *Community and Communication. The role of language in nation state building and European integration*. Multilingual Matters 114, Series Editor John Edwards, Cleveland, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters LTD.

Csángók/Csangos. Documentary. 2008. Regizor: Fekete Ibolya, camera-man Markert Károly, Scientific advisor: Vlad Naumescu, 84 minutes.

List of Documents

Constitution of Romania. http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?den=act2_1&par1=1#t1c0s0a1 (Accessed: 14 02 2009)

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Strasbourg, 5.XI.1992 <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm> (Accessed: 14 02 2009)

Hotarare nr. 1.206 din 27 noiembrie 2001 Legata de Legea administratiei publice locale nr. 215/2001 [Decision nr. 1.206 from 27 November 2001 regarding the law of local public administration nr. 215/2001]. Emitted by the Romanian Govern. Published in *Monitorul Oficial* nr. 781 from 7 December 2001 <http://www.dri.gov.ro/documents/hg%201206.pdf> (Accessed: 14 02 2009)

Lege nr. 84 din 24 iulie 1995 republicată si rectualizată, Legea învățământului actualizată pana la data de 15 iunie [2007 Education law nr. 84 from 24 July 1995 republished and updated until 15 June 2007]. Emitted by the Romanian Parliament.
http://www.dri.gov.ro/documents/LEGE_nr_%2084.pdf (Accessed: 14 02 2009)

Official Census Data, 2002. <http://recensamant.referinte.transindex.ro/> (Accessed: 25 01 2009)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>, Accessed 6 05 2009

Tőkés László levele Petru Gherghel jászvásári megyéspüspökhöz – VIDEÓ[Tőkés László's letter to Petru Gherghel bishop of Iasi diocese] In *Erdély.Ma* [Transylvania Today] 16 02 2009, <http://www.erdely.ma/dokumentum.php?id=48290> (Accessed: 16 02 2009)

Petru Gherghel megyéspüspök válaszevele Tőkés László püspöknek [Petru Gherghel's answer letter to Tőkés László]. In *Erdély.Ma* [Transylvania Today]. 03 03 2009 <http://www.erdely.ma/dokumentum.php?id=48893> (Accessed: 03 03 2009)

Recommendation 1521, Report nr 9078, 2001, Csango minority culture in Romania Council of Europe, <http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/AdoptedText/ta01/erec1521.htm> (Accessed: 25 01 2009)

WTO Report: Romania, September 1999, http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tpr_e/tp115_e.htm#Government%20report (Accessed: 28 05 2009)